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Investigating the Transnational Identities of Filipina/o/x Youth in Toronto Urban High Schools: A Critical Ethnographic Study of the Impact of Canada's Live-In/Caregiver Program

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the impact of transnational family separation and reunification through Canada's Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP) on the educational experiences of Filipina/o/x newcomer youth in Toronto urban high schools. I draw on theories of identity and belonging, intersectionality, and postcolonial and transnational feminism to understand the experiences of Filipina/o/x youth. This is in relation to the migration trajectories of their mothers and the impact that these have had on their identity and belonging, as well as their experiences of schooling in Canada. Utilizing a critical and performance ethnographic approach, the youth engaged in oral history and memory through the use of visual methods that required them to engage in artwork projects. I also employed focus groups and individual interviews and used my own field notes as vital data sources. By employing these methods, knowledge about how the youth negotiate meaning(s) of "home" within transnational space(s) with its implications for their schooling was generated. The data were triangulated with the perspectives of parents, particularly the mothers who were the former caregivers of the L/CP, and community leaders to provide a crystalized representation of how Filipina/o/x students engage in agency.

This study highlights how Filipina/o/x youths' agency is relationally constituted and contingent upon transnational feminist praxis and decolonization. Additionally, it shows how their agency is contingent upon the legacy of colonialism, their memories of global migration, and through active school-community partnerships. This study's focus on intersectional, postcolonial, and transnational feminist analyses provides deeper understandings of the youths' place-belonging, thus having implications for policy making in social services and education, particularly in identifying the social and educational needs of transnational youth—specifically Filipina/o/x students—in Toronto urban schools.

Keywords: Filipina, Filipino, Filipinx youth, education, postcolonial and transnational feminism, gender, race, class, sexuality, spirituality, religion, agency, decolonization, critical and performance ethnography, oral history and memory, visual arts methods, emotion, embodiment, diaspora, Live-in/Caregiver Program.

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The Transnational Identities of Filipina/o/x Youth

1   Introduction

This dissertation investigates the impact of Canada's Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP)[1] on

the transnational identities and experiences of Filipina/o/x[2] newcomer youth in Toronto urban

schools. The educational experiences of Filipina/o/x youth, particularly among those who

have experienced family separation and reunification through the L/CP, is a significant topic

of investigation. While there is limited research on Filipina/o/x youths' educational

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[1] Canada's L/CP is one of the programs within Canada's Temporary Foreign Workers Programs (TFWP). TFWP programs consist of temporary workers who are tied to one specific employer, demanding "low-skilled" jobs, such as farm and domestic work to be filled with workers from "developing countries," as Canadians typically do not undertake these positions. As of June 20, 2014 the Canadian government limited foreign workers from accessing these low-wage jobs to prioritize Canadians first in accessing these particular forms of employment (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2015). According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2012), 89.5% of the L/CP participants in 2012 were Filipina women. From 2006-2011, Filipina/o/xs were the leading wave of migration to Canada, and they comprised 13.1% of all newcomers in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011; Friesen, 2011). The current L/CP requires family separation, a period in which caregivers remain separated from their families until reunification, which usually lasts longer than 2 years, typically 6-8 years on average (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014; Kelly et al., 2014; Pratt, 2012).

[2] The construct "Filipino" is a contested term scholars critique as being male dominated as it excludes the lived experiences of Filipinas. In this sense, "Filipina" refers to women, while "Filipino" refers to men (McElhinny et al., 2012). Similar to "Latinx," utilizing "Filipinx" attempts to challenge the gender binary "Filipina/o" for the purpose of including all genders (Reichard, 2016). I have included all three pronouns in this dissertation so that participants were able identify their gender in relation to their transnational migration experiences.

experiences, (Caro 2008; Farrales & Pratt, 2012; Kelly, 2014; Kelly et al., 2014; Pratt, 2012), this study examines the experiences of Filipina/o/x youth in the context of transnational mobility with specific attention to an intersectional analysis of their identities. The research focuses on identity and belonging, postcolonial, transnational, and intersectional analyses that have not been addressed in previous studies dealing with Filipina/o/x youth and schooling. I situate the study within the context of Philippine history as colonialism has impacted the nation's current social, political, and economic situation (Bankoff &Weekly, 2002; Constantino & Constantino, 1975), and, in turn, Filipina/o/x youths' identities. The study also focuses on Filipina mothers who were the former participants of the L/CP and Filipina/o/x community leaders in order gain further insight into the mothers' particular experiences of family separation and reunification and the youths' educational experiences.

The main objective of this research was to develop an understanding of how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Kincheloe, McLaren, and Steinberg (2011) acknowledged that though critical social theories are diverse and constantly evolving, the general assumption is that these theories involve power relations situated within a social and historical context. My study addresses how these power relations are embodied within the lived experiences of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools and in society more broadly. Given the gendered and racialized conditions under which the L/CP operates, it is crucial to understand how the program impacts transnational families, and to deepen and generate understanding(s) and knowledge(s) about the subjectivities of Filipina/o/x youth through their voice(s) within the context of their school experiences. In short, I learned how Filipina/o/x youth have "achieved" and "adjusted" in relation to what others define as "success" in Toronto urban schools.

Specifically focusing on Canada's L/CP within a transnational context is significant in its potential to highlight the impact of global migration and the extent to which it necessarily informs an understanding of how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. I want to shed light on how issues related to race, class, gender, sexuality, religious and spiritual affiliation can deepen our understanding of these

students' experiences in the educational system. By including the voices and experiences of Filipino/a/x youth themselves, this study provides insights into how questions of identity and belonging impact their participation and achievement in school. Additionally, the purpose of this study was to ask Filipina/o/x youth, parents, and community leaders what they would like to see improved within the educational system, particularly in relation to the youths' reflection on their own experiences of schooling. The focus on the emotional experiences of Filipina/o/x youth as a consequence of family separation and reunification is what demarcates this research as making a significant contribution to the study of transnational migration, globalization, and educational experiences of migrant youth.

This research intentionally sought to include the perspectives of Filipina/o/x youth's mothers and community leaders in order to gain deeper insight into how globalization has impacted transnational families, particularly through the L/CP, and Filipina/o/x youth's identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Seeking out these triangulated perspectives is important in further enhancing an understanding of the role of memory and emotion among Filipina/o/x youth and the impact of their global migration trajectories on their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Such perspectives have the potential to inform education policy and practice with regards to supporting migrant children, specifically Filipina/o/x youth in schools (Zembylas, 2012).

1.1   Research Questions

This research is specifically focused on the following questions:

1. How do Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their racial identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools?
2. How do Filipina/o/x youth make sense of being "Filipino," and to what extent do social constructs such as gender, race, class, sexuality, spirituality, and religion influence their self-understandings as newcomers?

3. How have the specific global migratory circumstances of family separation and reunification impacted Filipina/o/x youth and their experiences of schooling? How have the experiences of family separation and reunification impacted the identities of Filipina/o/x youth?

In the following section, I provide a context and backdrop for the study's focus on the L/CP before going on to explicate the concepts of identity and belonging and the overall theoretical framework that informs this study.

1.2   Canada's Live-in/Caregiver Program

Canada is one of the receiving countries of Filipina domestic workers and the Live-in Caregiver Program (L/CP) is one of the programs in which the government of the Philippines utilizes gendered stereotypes within the global labour market for its own economic prosperity and repayment of debt (see Tyner, 1996). For instance, Filipina/o/xs were the leading wave of migration to Canada from 2006-2011 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011). During this period, the Filipina/o/x community comprised 13.1% of all newcomers in 2011 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011; Friesen, 2011). According to Statistics Canada (2012), 89.5% of the participants of the L/CP were Filipina women. Tyner (1999) argued that "ultimately, studies of gendered labor migration—and subsequent policy formulation—must be cognizant of how institutions affect the simultaneous geographies of gender and migration" (p. 687).

The current L/CP requires family separation, a period in which caregivers remain separated from their families until reunification, which usually lasts 2 years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014). However, family separation typically lasts longer than two years (Kelly et al., 2014; Pratt, 2012). Prior to the L/CP's reforms in October 2014, caregivers were required to live in their employer's home in order to obtain permanent residency for the whole family. This could happen only after having had completed 3900 hours of work within 4 years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2014), the government eliminated the mandatory live-in requirement on October 31,

2014 in response to caregivers' and activists' demand to redress forms of exploitation and abuse such as low wages, overtime inequities, excessive charges, and sexual abuse (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014; Khan, 2009; Valiani, 2014). Other reforms include the option to live with their employer, and protecting the caregiver from wage deduction for room and board (Valiani, 2014).

However, Valiani (2014) voiced that the L/CP's reforms do not enforce protection through regulation and placed a quota for permanent residency as of December 2014, limiting the number of applicants to 2,750 per year. The amount of work hours required within the employment time period remains status quo, even after the L/CP's reforms (Valiani, 2014). Moreover, the vulnerabilities of Filipina domestic workers remain within the current structure of the caregiver program. Friesen (2015) documented how caregivers under the current L/CP lack employment protection, and if experiencing job loss, caregivers must be assessed through the Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) to be reconsidered for a new work permit. This employment reassessment could take up to 47 months. Though the L/CP has removed the live-in requirement, more paperwork is involved in approving applications for caregivers from abroad (Friesen, 2015). Race, class, and gender play a significant role upon reunification as children are often estranged from their parent(s) who work multiple jobs to economically survive (Kelly, 2014; Pratt, 2012). In my study, I was concerned to look at how Filipina/o/x youth understand and relate to their parents who work multiple jobs in order to ensure financial needs are met. Hence, this context is integral and informs an important backdrop to understanding key questions of identity and belonging as they pertain to generating knowledge and understanding about the experiences of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools. In the next section, I explicate my theoretical framework.

1.3   Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

This dissertation is informed by identity and belonging, intersectionality, and postcolonial and transnational feminist frameworks. I focus specifically on these theories to understand the experiences of Filipina/o/x youth in relation to the migration trajectories of their mothers and

the impact that these have had on their intersectional identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

1.3.1 Identity and Belonging

Hall (1996) proposed that "identity" is a subjectification process, which entails engaging in political practices of discourse and exclusion that shape identification. Identities are viewed as a construction that is always "'in process'…and lodged in contingency. Once secured, it does not obliterate difference" (pp. 2-3). The process of identification requires the making of symbolic boundaries, requiring "what is left outside, it's constitutive outside, to consolidate the process" (p. 3). This understanding of identity is connected to agency, which is "an ongoing and situated negotiation of self-naming and being named by others that relies on visible and non-visible markers of difference and is implicated in power relations" (Coloma, 2008, p. 20). These definitions of identity and agency apply to my understanding of how the Filipina/o/x youth in my study make sense of and negotiate how they define themselves and how others define them within the context of Toronto urban schools. With regards to politics and agency, Hall (1996) stated that:

> By politics, I mean both the significance in modern forms of political movement of the signifier 'identity,' it's pivotal relationship to a politics of location—but also the manifest difficulties and instabilities which have characteristically affected all contemporary forms of 'identity politics.' By 'agency' I express no desire whatsoever to return to an unmediated and transparent notion of the subject or identity as the centred author of social practice. (p. 2)

These understandings of identity and agency signify how the "Filipino" identity shifts and changes and is contingent upon global migration trajectories, postcolonial histories, geographical location, relationships with loved ones, community and friends, and social location as racialized minorities. Agency plays an important role as Filipina/o/x youth negotiate these social influences within these contingencies and as they navigate their belonging in Toronto urban schools. "Belonging" as a concept is understood as both

"personal, intimate, [including] feelings of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and…a discursive resource that constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (politics of belonging)" (Antonsich, 2010,). Furthermore, Yuval-Davis (2006) argued that:

> Belonging is about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home'…Belonging tends to be naturalized, and becomes articulated and politicized only when it is threatened in some way. The politics of belonging comprises specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging in particular ways to particular collectivities that are, at the same time, themselves being constructed by these projects in very particular ways. An analytical differentiation between belonging and the politics of belonging is, therefore, crucial for any critical political discourse on nationalism, racism or other contemporary politics of belonging. (p. 197)

This current study investigated how both place-belonging and politics of belonging are intimately entwined in the lives of Filipina/o/x youth. Their global migration experiences have impacted them significantly on an affective and political level, which are then tied to memories of family separation and reunification through the L/CP and experience of global migration. Thus, my research is concerned to represent and understand Filipina/o/x youth as agentic subjects who construct their identities within their global migration trajectories, particularly through the L/CP.

In the next section, I provide my theoretical framework and situate my analysis within postcolonial, intersectional, and transnational feminist frameworks.

1.3.2 Postcolonialism

Postcolonial theorists such as Fanon (1986) argued that colonialism initiated hierarchies. He noted that colonization constructed the European colonizer as "superior" and the colonized as "inferior":

However painful it may be for me to accept this conclusion, I am obliged to state it: For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white. Before beginning the case, I have to say certain things. The analysis that I am undertaking is psychological. In spite of this it is apparent to me that the effective disalienation of the black man entails an immediate recognition of social and economic realities. If there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process:…primarily, economic…subsequently, the internalization…or, better, the epidermalization…of this inferiority. (Fanon, 1986, pp. 12-13)

This process created internalized oppression among the colonized on a psychological level with the colonized believing that their cultures were indeed inferior to Europeans. Given the colonial history within the Philippines—mainly by Spain for over 300 years and the United States (McElhinny et al., 2012), it is important to investigate the impact of colonialism on Filipina/o/x youth and their families and communities, not only psychologically, but also emotionally, socially, and economically. On a social level, postcolonial theorists, such as Said (1979), indicated that influential Europeans, such as academics and scientists, worked with colonial powers to perpetuate the "exotic Other" through Orientalism:

Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point. Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. (p. 11)

Spivak (1988) refered to the "Other" as the "subaltern," groups of people who have been marginalized through colonialism and/or economic and cultural imperialism, the continual imposition of western cultural values and economic domination in postcolonial nations. Moreover, she posited: "What must the elite do to watch for the continuing construction of the subaltern?...if you are poor, black and female you get it three ways. If...this formulation is

moved from the first-world… into the postcolonial context…the description…loses persuasive significance" (p. 90). This suggests that cultural meaning(s) shift depending on context, which is significant for my study as I investigate the situated knowledges of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools.

In terms of theoretical gaps and limitations, postcolonial feminists such as Jones (2011), Mohanty (2003), and Spivak (1988), for example, argued that established postcolonial theories and practices have excluded gendered analyses of the effects of colonization, neglecting to include women's experiences and contributions. I draw on these postcolonial feminists specifically to inform my centering of the particular socio-historical legacies of colonization that have significantly impacted the gendered lives of Filipinas, particularly in the feelings of cultural shame and inferiority as females (Pierce, 2005; de Jesús, 2005). My study addresses how the legacies of colonization have impacted gendered relations and their intersection with race, for example, how various skin colours are perceived on an individual, collective, and cultural level. Pierce (2005) and de Leon (2012) argued that colonization has impacted the "politics of skin colour," the "colourism" evident within the Filipina/o/x community today. The politics of skin colour and colourism refer to centuries of colonialism that produced a preference of lighter over darker skin colour: "Colonization gave meaning to the variation in physical appearance among Filipinos. Spain introduced colorism; preferential treatment was clearly associated with lighter skin color. Centuries of this education primed the Filipino for vulnerability to internalize American rules of race" (Pierce, 2005, p. 33). In addition, de Leon (2012) proposed that colourism impacts the social relations among Filipina/o/x youth as she stated:

> The ways in which skin itself is spatial was critical in understanding how the participants' bodies and skins encountered each other in real and imagined ways, as well as how the meaning carried within light or dark skin created particular epidermal boundaries. Furthermore, investigating the ways in which the spatial expressions were charged with tension, reflecting conflict between and among Filipina/o youth from different regions of the Greater Toronto Area…Understanding that intraracial

colourism among Filipina/o youth is grounded in the Philippines' messy colonial and imperial history is one entry point for getting at the roots of such conflictual positionings. (p. 398)

My study investigates these concerns of colourism among Filipina/o/x youth and how they have impacted their transnational identities. To move beyond these relations, de Leon (2012) argued that sustained dialogue is "needed to break down the real and imagined spatial divisions caused by intraracial colourism today. Being open to such dialogue can push against those dominant systems of racial oppression that our communities knowingly and unknowingly sustain" (p. 398). Employing this lens enabled me to reflect upon how skin colour has impacted Filipina/o/x youth's individual and cultural sense of identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools, and there are clear intersectional axes of situatedness that are highlighted in this analysis of race.

Postcolonial feminism is a framework that theorizes and proposes decolonization processes, an acknowledgement that the effects of imperialism, colonialism, and oppression are present in the lives of individuals, families, and nations (de Jesús, 2005; Mohanty, 2003; Pierce, 2005). Pierce (2005) argued that decolonization involves exposing the "imperial skeletons" that encourage "silence and self-loathing" (p. 43). Though I do not necessarily agree with Pierce's ideas of "self-loathing," I acknowledge that it may be a "troubling" process whereby the Filipina/o/x youth have been asked to reflect upon the effects of colonization, particularly their embodied experiences of sexism, heterosexism, and racism among other forms of oppression, which in turn becomes a political process (see Hall, 1996). Pierce (2005) indicated that decolonization is a political process that connects personal and colonial histories as a social justice practice:

The importance of theorizing our personal histories is crucial, not only to understanding ourselves but to the larger project of decolonization. Contextualizing my mother's seemingly instinctive privileging of whiteness within larger, oppressive

economic and colonial structures effectively moves the discussion away from the demonization of the colonized, toward more positive strategies for change. (p. 37)

Thus, engaging in decolonization may be a form of redressing social inequities within Toronto urban schools as Filipina/o/x students engage in a process of negotiating their transnational identities. This process may be transformative given that Mohanty (2003) understands decolonization as involving "transformations of self, community, and governance…it is a historical and collective process, and as such, can only be understood within these contexts" (p. 8). Mohanty (2003) pointed out that decolonization usually involves an unpacking and processing of colonization's effects in relation to policy:

We defined decolonization as central to the practice of democracy…outside free market…individual agency and state governance. We discussed that centrality of self-reflective collective practice in the transformation of the self, reconceptualization of identity, and political mobilization as necessary element of the practice of decolonization. (p. 8)

These decolonization processes proposed by Mohanty (2003) are significant for my current research as it has been utilized as a tool for understanding the processes that impact the transnational identities of Filipina/o/x youth. Lastly, she argued "that history, memory, emotion, and affectional ties are significant elements of the construction of critical, self-reflective, feminist selves" (p. 8). Her last point is significant for my study as I focused on how Filipina/o/x youth engage in decolonization processes through their emotions and memories of global migration, as well as their affectional ties within Canada and in the Philippines.

Kohn and McBride (2011) proposed that the legacy of colonialism brought the "economic penetration of capitalism into less developed regions…core countries have sought ways to profit from their dominance over the periphery" (p. 12). These processes have resulted in thoughts and debates around postcolonialism and decolonization. Shahjahan (2016) argued

that postcolonialism designates the official ending of colonialism and that these theories "largely [emerge] from and [embody] the interests of the subaltern school, locating its objects primarily in the Middle East and South Asia as influenced by European and Western imperial actors" (p. 696). The theories from the subaltern school of thought have been discussed at the beginning of this section. Following McClintock (1992) and Shohat (1992), Shahjahan (2016) posited that postcolonialism misses the "important continuities of power and violence across 'colonial' and 'postcolonial' trajectories" (p. 696). Moreover, he drew from Grosfoguel's (2008) work around how decolonization goes beyond postcolonial thought as it "centers the geopolitical-economic processes highlighted by world-system theorists, but extends the latter by centering race and highlighting the interconnections between racialized ideological strategies, capitalist accumulation processes, and the inter-state system of the core-periphery relationships at a world scale" (p. 696). González (2003) argued that a,

> *de*-colonial voice is one which attempts to undo the constructions of colonizing ontologies and epistemologies. The function of such a voice is to bring to awareness the functions and implications of the taken for granted realities in the colonialist discourse that surrounds us…There is an awareness of colonization after having been woken from a hegemonic slumber, often accompanied with deep psychological and emotional malaise or anguish. This intense subjective suffering provides a just motivation to rebel against one's colonial history and to reject its contemporary influence…but…this awareness does not erase the reality of the colonization occurring. (p.80-81)

Additionally, nationalist movements in postcolonial states have failed to engage in critical gendered analyses:

> For many independence movements, the goal was to restore a national identity that was taken away by colonial powers; including traditions and practices that were lost during the colonial period. In the case of some traditionally Muslim countries, the nationalist independence movements were positioned in opposition to European

modernity, including what was viewed as an exclusively European feminism. The
reclaiming of national tradition and identity meant for some a return to Indigenous
patriarchal practices that had been supplanted by European patriarchal practices. If
women questioned their position within the anti-colonial struggle, they were often
accused of being aligned with the colonizer. Women who actively struggled for
independence alongside men are often written out of the history of these movements.
(Jones, 2011, p. 36)

Thus, decolonization is an important conceptual tool for this study as I investigated how the
legacy of colonization impacted Filipina/o/x youth's identities, particularly on their racial and
gendered transnational and intersectional identities. This study employs a feminist
intersectional analysis to complement previous studies on postcolonial feminism.

1.3.4 Intersectionality

McCall (2005) stated that "interest in intersectionality arose out of a critique of gender and
race-based research for failing to account for the lived experience at neglected points of
intersection—ones that tended to reflect multiple subordinate locations as opposed to
dominant or mixed locations" (p. 1780). Furthermore, she described three categories within
intersectional analyses: *Anti-categorical* refers to the deconstruction of categories: "social life
is considered too irreducibly complex…to make fixed categories anything but simplifying
social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences" (p. 1773).
Inter-categorical refers to the intersecting relationship between different social categories
such as sexuality, race, class, gender, religion, and other social factors, such as redistribution.
Intra-categorical refers to problematizing and making meaning of social categories, such as
how meanings shift depending on time, space, geographical and spatial location, culture, and
site. Yuval-Davis (2012) argued that mutually constitutive intersectionality entails that each
particular social category cannot have the same political meaning(s) as another category and
cannot be reduced to having the same meaning; the political role of intersectional analysis is
to make visible seemingly invisible inequalities and inequities, but this does not mean these

categories solely define people. When utilizing an intersectional analysis, Yuval-Davis (2006) suggested three important points:

> First, while people can identify exclusively with one identity category…their concrete social location is constructed along multiple axes of difference…Second, the intersecting social divisions cannot be analysed as items that are added up but, rather, as constituting each other. Third, the question of describing social location in terms of certain specific grids of difference is far from simple...there are some social divisions that are more important than others in constructing individuals' specific positionings…the construction of categories of signification is, in the last instance, a product of human creative freedom and autonomy. Without specific social agents who construct and point to certain analytical and political features, the other members of society would not be able to identify them. (pp. 200-201)

In addition, while people define themselves social categories construct their identities within the process of becoming. Identification could be a narrative of who people are and who they are not, and identification does not necessarily need to be verbal but may be performative as people are continually in the process of becoming:

> The first level concerns social locations; the second relates to individuals' identifications and emotional attachments to various collectivities and groupings; the third relates to ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others' belonging/s. These different levels are interrelated, but cannot be reduced to each other, as so many political projects of belonging tend to assume. (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 199)

Yuval-Davis (2012) argued that a mutually constitutive intersectionality is a major theoretical tool and contribution to feminist theory. By mutually constitutive intersectionality, she proposed that specific power, economic, and social relations hold precedence over additive intersectionality, which maintains a hegemonic "identity politics" that homogenizes the

meanings and experiences of particular groups of people. Thus, particular groups of people in specific social locations cannot share the same experience(s).

McCall (2005) described intersectional analyses as experiential, intersubjective, organizational, and representational investigations. Experiential investigations refer to the narratives of peoples' experience, while intersubjective investigations explore the social relations. Organizational investigation "focuses on institutional or other organizational forms…for instance, how is sexuality, biological reproduction or population categories constructed" (p. 213). Representational investigations "are the symbolic and representational means, the images and texts, the documents and information flows around the ontological spaces of social difference and inequality" (p. 213). This intersectional approach informs my data analysis of the accounts provided by the youth as they explicate their global migration trajectories and its impact on their social relations in Toronto urban schools.

Anthias (2011) maintained that the meanings of intersectionality shift depending on "the lived experiences of people [as] they are articulated in contextual and combinatory ways" (p. 213). She argued that:

> Greater analytical rigour would contribute to a more robust intersectional framing in terms of 'what' is being referred to as intersecting, and what that means. This does not require that the objects of reference (seen as intersecting) should be the same (in fact this opens up the possibility of different foci), nor does it mean that 'intersecting' has to have one meaning—merely that it must be defined in particular instances. (p. 6)

Therefore, the meaning of "intersectionality" shifts and the significance of the construct depends on a particularity. She described three levels of abstracted intersectional analyses: social ontologies, social categories as categories of discursive practice in the making of boundaries and hierarchies, and concrete social relations. Social ontologies means that ethnicity, race, class, and gender are related to the "conceptions about different realms in the world or ways the world is organised. These act like maps, pointing to where sets of relations

are situated, manifested in categories and materialised in concrete relations" (Anthias, 2011, p. 6). The youth participants in my study were asked about their close relations, both here and in the Philippines, to map out the impact of their global migration trajectory on their relations, particularly with their mothers with whom they have had experienced family separation and reunification. Social categories as categories of discursive practice in the making of boundaries and hierarchies refer to:

> The social categories of gender, ethnicity, 'race' and class construct particular criteria by which people are ordered into the categories but the categorising of people should not be elided with particular population categories/groupings as they relate to social life…the claims that people make and their practices may be different from the ways in which they have been sorted out in terms of auditing systems of the state, or in terms of social representations at any particular point in time and space…This is not to imply that these are mutually exclusive categories but merely indicates that placing people into categories involves a sorting exercise that can be done in different ways, and indeed that people themselves may not always act or identify in ways denoted by these. (Anthias, 2011, p. 7)

Lastly, concrete social relations address the, "social relations of hierarchy and inequality [that] are embodied in concrete social relations" (Anthias, 2011, p. 9). My study engaged with intersectional analyses to understand how youth make sense of their transnational identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Finally, in the next section, I discuss transnational feminism, particularly in how globalization has impacted transnational families, and, in turn, how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

1.3.5 Transnational Feminism

This study also draws on transnational feminist perspectives to examine the impact of global migration experiences on Filipina/o/x youth. Nagar and Swarr (2010) explicated their perspective of transnational feminism:

> We propose that transnational feminisms are an intersectional set of understandings, tools, and practices that can: (a) attend to racialized, classed, masculinized, and heteronormative logics and practices of globalization and capitalist patriarchies, and the multiple ways in which they (re)structure colonial and neocolonial relations of domination and subordination; (b) grapple with the complex and contradictory ways in which these processes both inform and are shaped by a range of subjectivities and understandings of individual and collective agency; and (c) interweave critiques, actions, and self-reflexivity so as to resist a priori predictions of what might constitute feminist politics in a given place and time. (p. 5)

Therefore, transnational feminists engage in transnational political practice that is contingent upon building solidarity across divisions, which globalization makes it difficult but also offers up possibilities as well (Mohanty, 2003). One area of possibility is through education, a site in which "feminist activist teachers must…also learn from their students. The differences and borders of each of our identities connect us to each other, more than they sever" (p. 25-251). Without "obliterating difference" (Hall, 1996), this suggests that solidarity among various identities and bodies is a significant aspect of transnational feminist praxis. In connection with postcolonial feminism, transnational feminism suggests working toward gender and racial justice within the context of decolonization. In particular, Jaggar (2009) scrutinized how women are vulnerable on a transnational level:

> Women frequently receive low pay and suffer long hours, high pressure, employment insecurity, and sexual harassment. In addition to the feminization of the global labor force, other transnational gendered disparities include lower rates of political participation by women, lower literacy rates, and susceptibility to harassment and violence, particularly sexual violence. (p. 35)

Parreñas (2004) investigated the specific case of women and children in the Philippines and posited that there is an increase of care crises in the First World:

The result is a care deficit, to which women from the Philippines have responded in full force. Roughly two-thirds of Filipino migrant workers are women, and their exodus, usually to fill domestic jobs, has generated tremendous social change in the Philippines…Many Filipino children grow up in divided households, where geographic separation places children under serious emotional strain. (p. 39)

Additionally, Parreñas (2005) posited that these globalization processes create an "international division of labor," a "three-tier transfer of reproductive labor among women in sending and receiving countries of migration" (p. 100). Women in the developed world "purchase the low-wage services of migrant Filipina domestic workers," while migrant Filipina domestic workers "purchase the even lower-wage services of poorer women left behind in the Philippines" (p. 100). Her definition of the international division of labour connects with the international transfer of caretaking, which is defined as the, "social, political, and economic relationships among women in the global labour market…Filipina domestic workers not only ease the entrance of women into the paid labor market force but also assist in the economic growth of receiving countries" (p. 107). It seems to be the case that there is a gendered vulnerability due to the feminization of labour, as pointed out by Jaggar (2009). Jaggar (2009) argued that gendered vulnerability:

Now seems to extend across transnational spaces. One part of this cycle is the global domestic work industry, in which millions of women cross borders and oceans to seek employment as maids and nannies in private homes. Transnational developments generate both the demand for this labo[u]r and its supply. The supply is stimulated by the scarcity of good jobs for both men and women in poor countries and by many poor countries' consequent reliance on remittances from citizens working abroad. (p. 41)

The reliance of remittances prior to and post-global migration demonstrates the dependence on exploiting transnational women in order to uphold the "strategic gendering" (see Sassen, 2008a) within global cities.

Fraser (2005) identified three types of social justice in transnational feminism: *recognition, redistribution,* and *representational.* In the 1960s, social movements involved *recognition,* the form of justice concerned with differences and linking the personal to the political or "identity politics," the expanding of "the boundaries of contestation beyond socioeconomic redistribution—to include housework, sexuality and production" (p. 298). Postcolonial feminists have pointed out that the particular experiences of women of colour have been excluded from Western feminisms, such as social justice based on recognition (see section on postcolonial feminism). Recognition politics lack defense against, and acknowledgement of, neoliberalism and free-market globalization (Fraser, 2005)—social influences that have impacted Filipina/o/x transnational families significantly.

Redistribution is concerned with the nation-state allocating a fair distribution of economic capital within its borders. Only citizens of a nation-state are privileged to receive distributive justice, meaning the exclusion of non-citizens. Following World War II in Western Europe and North America, nation-states had enough economic prosperity to build a welfare state and class solidarity. However, "this historical class compromise rested on a series of gender and racial-ethnic exclusions, not to mention external neocolonial exploitation" (Fraser 2005, p. 297). This current study investigated further into how this exclusion and exploitation impacts Filipina/o/x youths' sense of identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

Finally, Fraser (2005) indicated that forms of *representational* justice address neoliberalism, synthesizing the strengths of redistribution and recognition justice, "many transnational feminists reject the state-territorial frame...the result is a new appreciation of the role of transnational forces in maintaining gender injustice" (p. 304). Representational seeks justice beyond the nation-state, and transnational feminists engage in solidarity with other social movements such as Indigenous and environmental movements (Fraser, 2005). Representational justice as a form of transnational feminism is applicable to my study as these global forces have impacted the transnational identities of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools.

Fraser argued that, "new neoliberal [policies] of structural adjustment [have] threatened the postcolonial developmental state. The result…greatly reduce[s] the scope for egalitarian redistributive projects in the South" (p. 300). The legacy of colonialism plays out in current neoliberal policies and liberal Western feminism that influence the lives of women of colour:

> What is known as liberal feminism in the west was assumed to have the one solution to issues of patriarchy and oppression, regardless of cultural geographic location. In many ways, these western centric views of oppression and liberation privilege middle-class, white, western women as the category of analysis. The term 'woman' was defined by some as a category of essential oppression, flattening the experience of women of color and poor women in the west along with those living on the periphery. The privilege of class, race, and nationality of the women were not taken into consideration as mitigating factors of experience. (Jones, 2011, p. 33)

Many transnational feminists today have been working toward representational justice in transnational spaces, including an analysis of gender and its intersection with race, sexuality, power, class, globalization, colonialism, neoliberalism, and imperialism (de Jesús, 2005; Jones, 2011; Mohanty, 2003; Pierce, 2005). Linking race, class, and gender analyses to broader political and economic processes builds a deeper understanding of how many immigrants and minorities, particularly women, have migrated from postcolonial nations to "global cities" (Sassen, 2008a). Global cities, such as Toronto, possess a high demand for low-wage labour supply where the nation-state does not regulate the "global economy," the free-trade of products, labour, and goods (Sassen, 2008a). The global city possesses high economic growth sectors that also demand the work of transnational professionals:

> The consumption practices of high-income professionals both at work and in their households, practices generate a demand for low-wage workers in expensive restaurants and shops as well as for maids and nannies at home. In this way, low-wage workers get incorporated into the leading sectors, but they do so under conditions that

render them invisible…undermining what had historically functioned as a source of workers' empowerment—being employed in growth sectors. (Sassen, 2008a, p. 459)

Despite these structures of exploitation and minimal opportunities to obtain power in global cities, Sassen (2008b) argued that global cities are the site in which oppressed minorities, "can move between the multiple meanings of citizenship…in their daily life in the community where they reside (raising a family, schooling children, holding a job) [earning] them a particular type of recognition" (p. 63). The purpose of utilizing transnationalism is to, "de-familiarise present practices and categories, to make them seem less self-evident and necessary, and to open up spaces for the invention of new forms of experience" (Ball, 1995, p. 266).

1.4 Conclusion: Organization of Dissertation

This chapter focused on discussing the research topic, significance, purpose, and research questions in relation to the concepts of identity and belonging, and postcolonial, intersectional, and transnational frameworks. Ball (1993) argued that, "in the analysis of complex social issues…two theories are probably better than one…What we need in policy analysis is a toolbox of diverse concepts and theories" (p. 10). Utilizing the chosen frameworks facilitated deeper understandings of how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

Chapter 2 identifies the relevant literature in migration studies concerning the global migration experiences of diverse transnational communities, particularly those of migrant mothers and left-behind children, through a thematic approach. The themes are: the impact of family separation and reunification; school experiences of transnational youth; and agency and transnational identity. Chapter 3 provides justification for utilizing critical and performance ethnography using oral history, memory, and interview methods. In this chapter I outline my positionality and my approach to data analysis. Chapter 4 engages in intersectional analyses of the themes that emerged from the data collection and synthesizes the findings with the literature. Chapter 5 presents a summary of the study, including a discussion on the

implications for theory, policy, and practice, specifically explicating the use of transnational feminist praxis within educational systems. Recommendations are then provided based on the themes from the previous chapter on data analysis.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2   Introduction

This chapter reviews literature sources in migration studies, particularly in regards to how transnational youth make sense of their identity and belonging in urban schools. First, this chapter will provide an overview of how colonialism has impacted the policies that influence the migration trajectory of Filipina/o/x communities, particularly the connection between policies of the Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP) and Foreign Export Policies in the Philippines. Second, I examine the literature that investigates the impact of family separation and reunification on transnational youth. This focus is important, especially given that a significant body of work has documented that many of the policies driving global migration, which requires family separation and sometimes reunification, have significant psychological, economic, and social impact on transnational families (Castañeda & Buck, 2011; de Leon, 2014; Kelly, 2014; Parreñas, 2000; Pratt, 2010). Third, I review the literature sources that have investigated the impact of family separation and reunification on the school experiences of transnational youth. I also review the existing literature that examines how educational systems and communities respond to and help to improve transnational students' social, psychological, and educational needs. Lastly, I examine the literature that addresses the agency of transnational youth, from how they make sense of their identity and belonging to how they engage with both local and transnational policies as part of their identity-making, extending the argument to include how migrant Filipina mothers engage in political agency as these processes are relationally constituted (Hörschelmann & El Refaie, 2014).

The aim of this chapter is to highlight how my study contributes to existing research that looks at the specific experiences of family separation and reunification of Filipina/o/x communities within Canadian cities, mainly in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. As similar global migration processes impact particular groups differently (Ignacio, 2005), this chapter examines the existing literature in relation to my study, which concerns the impact of

Canada's Caregiver Program on transnational families, and on the educational experiences and identities of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools. While my study focuses on newcomer Filipina/o/x child/ren and their parents, particularly on the biological mothers who are (former) caregivers, I do not disregard the importance of studying male, non-heterosexual families, transgender, and single female migrant workers (Manalansan, 2006) for further study, as they have not been included in the existing research literature reviewed.

2.1 The Legacy of Colonialism: Global Policies and Migration

The legacy of colonialism has impacted the current global migration policies in the Philippines. Sassen (2016) examined the policies and models of international development as well as three flows of migration from specific countries over the last 30 years:

> I present these three flows as indicators of a condition that is becoming acute in more and more places: the loss of habitat…I want to emphasize the slow-moving destructions and expulsions that have resulted partly from deeply misguided development policies. These destructions should not be overshadowed by the destructions generated by wars. (p. 205)

The three flows of migration that she referred to are: 1) minors who are not accompanied by caregivers specifically from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras; 2) the Rohingyas migrating from Myanmar; and 3) migration mostly from many parts of Africa, especially from Eritrea, Somalia, Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq (Sassen, 2016, p. 204). While some of these migrations are marked by extreme violence, the flows of migration have also been influenced by international development policies from the last 30 years, "the natural resources of much of Africa and good parts of Latin America and Asia count more than the people on those lands count as consumers and as workers" (p. 207). Global financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the IMF, are seen as "global disciplining regime[s]" (p. 209) as they implemented Structural Adjustment Programs and lent money to countries in the Global South. However, these countries still remain in debt, "even before the economic crisis of the mid-1990s, the debt of poor countries in the South had grown from US $67 billion in 1980 to

US $1.4 trillion in 1992" (p. 208). While not looking specifically at the Philippines, Sassen's (2016) article provides useful background information about the global policies that impact the migration flows out of the Philippines to geographical locations such as North America.

Espiritu (2003) studied the transnational experiences of diverse Filipina/o/x communities in San Diego, California in relation to American colonial history in the Philippines. Her study took place from 1992-2000, and she interviewed over 100 Filipina/o/x people. The criteria for participants were those who identified as Filipina/o/x of diverse backgrounds. Her method of collecting data were through open-ended interviews that lasted from 3 to 10 hours each. Within the interviews, Espiritu (2003) covered four areas in general, "family and immigration history, ethnic identity and practices, family relations, and community development" (p. 20). Gender was significant for the women, particularly young Filipinas as they "almost always recounted stories of restricted gender roles and expectations, particularly of parental control over their whereabouts and sexuality" (p. 20). Gender and sexuality are significant areas in which to investigate as they relate to the transnational experiences of Filipina/o/x in Toronto urban schools. However, my study also investigates the gendered experiences of Filipino boys in relation to their mothers' global migration experiences through the Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP).

Espiritu (2003) described herself as a first generation Vietnamese immigrant, who came to America when she was 12 and as a woman of colour situated within "in a racialized patriarchal society and [who negotiated] intergenerational tensions within [her] own family" (p. 20). While not claiming to be an "insider," she stated that her own migration experience enabled her to gain "a *comparative* perspective that is implicit, intuitive, and informed by [her] own identities and positionalities and with it a commitment to approach these subjects with sensitivity and rigor" (p. 21).

Explicating my insider/outsider positionality is important as I engaged in a critical ethnography, which will be described further in chapter 3. As Espiritu's (2003) study

described global migration within the context of San Diego, I look at the particular policies of the L/CP in relation to how it impacts the transnational Filipina/o/x communities.

Espiritu (2003) described her perspective on the impact of U.S. colonial history on Filipina/o/x people as racialized minorities:

> Filipino American racial formation is determined not only by the social, economic, and political forces in the United States but also by U.S. (neo) colonialism in the Philippines and capital investment in Asia. The Filipino case thus foregrounds the ways in which immigrants from previously colonized nationals are not exclusively formed as racialized minorities within the United States but also as colonized nationals while in their "homeland"—one that is deeply affected by U.S. influences and modes of social organization. (p. 8)

While Espiritu (2003) described the colonial relationship between the Philippines and the United States, she did not explicate the relationship with other colonizers in relation the Filipina/o/x community's transnational migration experiences. Besides becoming independent from American colonialism in 1946, the Philippines also became independent from Spain in 1898 and from Japan in 1943 (Bankoff & Weekly, 2002). Constantine and Constantine (1975) argued that since Spanish colonization, which lasted approximately 300 years, beginning from the 16th century and ending in the 19th that, "the most fundamental aspect of Philippine history is the history of the struggles of its people for freedom and a better life" (p. 81). Subsequently, American and Japanese colonizers continued the economic exploitation of people in the Philippines:

> Thus, a poverty-breeding society was nurtured, and the widening gap between a wealthy few and the impoverished majority became an apparently insoluble problem. State power was manifested in various ways, all leading to the suppression of any move for basic changes…export crops predominated over produce to feed a grossly expanding population; and the government was burdened with a type of foreign aid

which insured that the debtor would be in constant debt to the creditor. (Constantino &
Constantino, 1975, p. 394)

I argue that this trajectory of Philippine colonial history situates the influences on Filipina/o/x
youths' transnational identities in Toronto urban schools.

Drawing from Michael Peter Smith's (2001) *agency-oriented theoretical perspective*, Espiritu
(2003) maintained that the Filipina/o/x community are transformed by experiences of
colonialism and migration, "I examine how [they]—as simultaneously colonized national[s],
immigrant[s], and racialized minorit[ies]—are transformed through the experience of
colonialism and migration and how they in turn transform and remake the social world around
them" (p. 8). An agency-oriented theoretical perspective describes how one "concretely
connects macro-economic and geopolitical transformations to the micro-networks of social
action that people create, move in, and act upon in their daily lives" (p. 6). Espiritu's (2003)
study provided background information about the colonial relationship between the U.S. and
the Philippines, which also impacts how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their identity and
belonging in Toronto urban schools as American (neo) colonialism impacts global migration.
Thus, her study not was not just about the nation-state of the Philippines and that of the
United States, but was also about the:

> Local and global structures of inequality…Filipino Americans confront U.S. domestic
> racism and the global racial order…shaped as much by memories and ties to the
> Philippines as by the social, economic, and political contexts in their home in the
> United States. (p. 8)

Espiritu (2003) chose San Diego as a site for research because it has been a place of
settlement for Filipino Navy personnel since the 1900s. Espiritu did not outline her specific
methodology, though she described the purpose of the book as "organized around the
concepts of boundary maintenance and boundary transgression, this book integrates the
analysis of microstructures of the home, the family, and the domestic realm with macro

debates about globalization, the nation, and community" (p. 22). Furthermore, she focused on "*home making*—the processes by which diverse subjects imagine and make themselves at home in various geographic locations" (p. 8). Connecting colonial history to current global migration, engaging in agency-oriented theoretical perspectives, and home making are concepts that I engage with to an extent in my own research. In this current study, I utilized home making as a tool as I investigated how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools, particularly within the context of the L/CP, through their memories and oral histories.

The impact of colonialism and current global migration policies influence the identities of Filipina/o/x youth. I look to Tyner's (1999) argument around gendered labour migration as it relates to the youth's experiences of family separation and reunification due to the L/CP. He stated that, "the migration of Filipinos to the United States and the rest of the world must be seen as part of an institutional response to a changing world economy" (p. 61). He offered a gendered analysis of labour migration within the Philippines by looking at relevant literature and Foreign Export Policies in the Philippines, which connects to the policies of Canada's L/CP:

> By the early 1970s…the Philippine government wished…to take advantage of changing global employment opportunities. Internally, labor export was expected to reduce levels of unemployment and underemployment (especially of the educated, professional surplus population), to improve the stock of human capital as workers returned with skills acquired from abroad, and to promote Philippine development and alleviate the balance of payment problems through mandatory remittances. (p. 679)

Migrant workers, such as caregivers, annually remit 1.5 billion Canadian dollars to the Philippines, assisting the government in foreign debt repayment, and to their families who also receive a part of their wages (Friesen, 2011; Kessler & Rother, 2016; Pratt, 2012; Sassen, 2004). Tyner (1999) maintained that labour is highly gendered in that males worked in the Middle East in "masculine" positions, such as construction, while "sexual and racial

preferences [were] aligned so that women, especially the lighter skinned, English-speaking women from the Philippines, were perceived as the ideal domestic workers" (pp. 680-681). While Tyner's (1999) work offered a gendered analysis of Foreign Export Policies in the Philippines to provide crucial information about the policies that impact family separation and reunification, the lived experiences of Filipina women and Filipina/o/x youth, parents, and community leaders were not included. My study attempts to look at how global policies and the policies of the L/CP impact the transnational identities of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools.

2.2 Impact of Family Separation and Reunification

This section begins with an overview of the literature that elaborates on a framework for understanding family separation and reunification processes, particularly its costs and benefits to transnational families. Zentgraf and Chinchilla (2012), for example, proposed a "transnational chain of care" framework that looked at the specific contexts of transnational families; the transnational care chain includes "the children, substitute caregivers and communities of departure and reception" (p. 345). The main components the authors proposed were the pre-migration factors such as pre-migratory structural traditions of the family and child-care; the nature of regular contact between family separation; the ways in which remittances were used and perceived by communities and their reliability; specific opportunities for reunification and its context; and policies influencing family separation and reunification. Zentgraf and Chinchilla (2012) argued for a systemic and holistic approach to "look at transnational parenting practices and the perceived and measurable costs and benefits of separation that shape and are shaped by them from the point of view of key actors in their local, national, and global contexts" (pp. 346-347). The purpose and goal of the framework was to assist researchers, policy-makers, and social service providers in creating policies and services that help to reduce the costs of transnational family separation and reunification. Zentgraf and Chinchilla (2012) argued that global migration is not new; globalization has fueled the trend of transnational children being left behind by parents who face economic difficulties to support the family:

What is new in the recent decade…is the number of children who are being left behind by parents who face declining economic opportunities at home for sustaining families, along with this level of demands for the labour that such migrants can provide in their countries. Globalisation has fueled this trend by making it possible not only to cross international boundaries relatively rapidly and easily but also to maintain contact while separated, giving rise to new forms of 'transnational family' life and new definitions of parenting and parent-child relations. (p. 347)

The authors surveyed literature on family separation and reunification starting from the 1990s to the mid-2000s, identifying various reasons for global migration from economic reasons to rational choice and focused on studies that documented its psychological impact, particularly with experiencing trauma. They highlighted, through an examination of this literature, that "leaving a child behind can be a painful and anxiety-provoking process for all individuals involved. Decisions are rarely taken lightly, especially by mothers, and the circumstances surrounding the departure are often etched into the children's minds" (p. 350). Castañeda and Buck (2011) added to the argument that global migration involving remittances has social and emotional costs that may lead to traumatic separations for transnational families as "migrants are not only affected by political and social realities, but also by psychological ones":

Viewing migration as trauma does not mean that all migrants face paralyzing emotional pain. Like all traumas, an individual's response is highly dependent on character, maturity, life experience, past responses to traumas and the quality of parenting received. Migrants must cope with the new distance from loved ones, and overcome the trauma of migration, while simultaneously finding a job and place to live, remitting, negotiating with a strange language and culture, and parenting from afar. The traumas encountered by migrant parents may result in fewer emotional resources made available to parent their children from afar. (p. 89)

Thus, these scholars highlighted that the processes migrant parents face impact their children and those involved in the transnational chain of care and suggested that, while parents may be

able to provide economically through remittances, geographical distance may get in the way of meeting their children's emotional needs.

Mazzucato and Schans (2011) specifically identified the ways in which transnational family separation and reunification impacted the "psychological, educational, and health outcomes…of children who are left in the country of origin" (p. 704), and noted that the literature on transnational families need to take into consideration the cultural norms of the family and move beyond research on the nuclear family in their data collection, including multiple sites and countries. Interestingly, the authors emphasized that "it is important to recognize that not all families that are separated by borders have family reunification as their ultimate goal" (p. 706-707). Lee (2016), for instance, pointed out that sometimes family separation occurred when transnational youth return to their parents' homeland, such as in the case of Tongan youth who are sent back to Tonga by their parents due to behavioural concerns. In studying the well-being of left-behind children and families, Mazzucato and Schans (2011) maintained that "context must be taken into account when comparing the effects of migration on child well-being around the globe" (p. 708). Therefore, I review three context specific cases of transnational families impacted by family separation and reunification: Mexican, Caribbean (general, not specific countries), and Filipina/o/x. These studies inform my own research on how the experience of transnational migration has impacted on the identities of Filipina/o/x students in urban schools in Toronto, and shed light on this question, "How can separated children and parents be better prepared for the challenges to family life created by geographical distance?" (Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012, p. 361).

Dreby (2007), as part of an ethnographic study, interviewed 141 Mexican transnational families that consisted of 44 parents living the in the United States and 60 children residing Mexico; thirty-seven of the caregivers in Mexico participated as well. In terms of family separation from their children, mothers had been away from 1-4 years, while fathers had been away from 5-9 years. Living in a region in Oaxaca for 7 months, the author interviewed children separated from their parents and their caregivers. Additionally, Dreby conducted 12

semi-structured interviews of transnational families (3 per constellation) for triangulation: single fathers, single mothers, married parents, and divorced/separated parents. In terms of the results, Dreby analyzed the interviews based on the needs of the children during preadolescence and adolescence and found that the former group was not as distressed with their parents' migration as the latter.

With pre-adolescent participants, Dreby (2007) reported that they used naming, that is calling their caregivers who were grandmothers "mother," even with the consent of their biological mothers. However, the mothers felt offended when the children would avoid calling them "mother" and called another caregiver by this label. Fathers did not take it as an offense when their children called another caregiver "father." Another finding was that preadolescents seemed to pretend that they did not care about the departure or absence of their parents, "even when children anxiously awaited parents' return, once they arrived, children's behavior indicated to parents that migration was not without a price" (p. 1055). In this instance, both mothers and fathers felt disregarded by their children's behaviours. Though the children said they wanted their parents home and loved and missed them, "it suggests not that parents are not unimportant to them but rather that they feel their parents had not lived up to their expectations" (p. 1055).

Dreby (2007), for example, found that preadolescents demonstrated a pattern of behaviour that was opposite to that of teenagers: they tended to defer authority to the caregivers, and continued the pattern even when their parents came back home for visits; "in effect, ignoring parents' authority underscores the emotional costs of parental absences" (p. 1056). The researcher also discovered that preadolescent children refused to reunite with their parents in the United States, and highlighted both the emotional and economic costs involved for low income workers:

> In summary, when preadolescent children make parents feel badly for being away, parents may make significant efforts, involving substantial economic resources for low-wage workers in the United States, to make arrangements to send for their

children. In this way, young children's emotional reactions to their parents' absences

often have significant economic repercussions. (p. 1057)

Dreby (2007) found that adolescents grow more outwardly resentful of their parents, particularly due to their absence. She found that the phenomenon of absent parents influenced adolescents in these particular ways: "ambiguous lines of authority [and] acting out" (p. 1057). With caregivers other than their biological parents, adolescents enjoyed relative freedom due to having lenient authority over them since they were children. Thus, retaining authority over children as teenagers becomes difficult, and when caregivers are stricter, teenagers then turn to their migrant parents who seem more lenient. To gain their teenage children's respect, migrant parents become their friend rather than a parental figure. Due to the geographical distance between transnational families, adolescents found it difficult to demonstrate accountability and responsibility to their parents. Dreby's study found that due to the absence of their parents, adolescents felt additional responsibility to take care of themselves and younger siblings on their own, and often acted out aggressively as a result of their parents leaving them behind. The study reviewed demonstrates the impact of global migration on transnational youth's educational experiences and informs deeper understandings of the impact of family separation and reunification on Filipina/o/x students' academic achievements, "traumas," losses, hopes and dreams in the urban Canadian context of Toronto. This focus on the impact of global migration, as it relates specifically to how Filipino/a/x youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto schools, constitutes a gap in the existing literature.

Scholarship that addressed the experiences of transnational Caribbean families has also made a significant contribution to the field, specifically as it relates to the topic of global migration and its impact in terms of family separation and reunification. Bakker, Elings-Pels, and Reis (2009), for example, reviewed policy and government documents on migrant and "left-behind" children's rights. They also found that left-behind children "in the Caribbean are significantly affected by migration" and "risk losing the right to education, health, as well as long and sometimes indefinite periods of separation from their parent(s)" (p. 2). In terms of

psychosocial problems, these researchers indicated that many migrant left-behind children, particularly when undocumented, suffered from depression, decreased self-esteem, and behavioral concerns. On a social level, they indicated that these particular children were "more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, including sexual abuse as well as child labour and trafficking" (p. 4).

Bakker et al. (2009) argued that in the context of the Caribbean, internal, external, and seasonal migration are common, specifically impacting women and children as "global migration patterns as well as those in the Caribbean region have been subject to an increased feminization" (p. 6) where women are mainly taking migrant work jobs. They highlighted that migration studies tend to solely focus on remittances and that more information is needed about the impact on the "left-behind" children and socio-economic status in relation to remittances. In addition, they stated that migration is almost always discussed from an economic standpoint, with the role of remittances viewed as a development issue with positive economic effects and growth, but the impact of such migration on children has not been taken into account.

Bakker et al. (2009) found that the "psychosocial and emotional consequences of separation from a parent(s) seem to also vary by gender. The coping mechanisms among boys often include externalizing their pain and frustration, while girls tend to internalize their suffering" (p. 9). This connects to the importance of studying gender within migration studies.

Bakker et al. (2009) also found that "acting out behaviours" such as running away from home seemed to be common among left children in the Caribbean as those between "11 and 13 years old…experience most frequent disruptions…due to the coping difficulties of having to care for younger siblings…14-18 years old…are also particularly vulnerable considering the little support which is given to children in child-headed households in the Caribbean" (p. 9). In addition to older left-behind children looking after younger siblings, they found that other caregivers tended to include elderly grandparents who often lack social support; children under the care of elderly grandparents also often lacked access to nutritious food and

healthcare. To redress these concerns, the researchers recommended the following: First, more research is needed to formulate policy recommendations; second, there is a need to strengthen research on socio-economic status and global migration; third, specific to the Caribbean community, legal reform is needed to ensure that children are protected, regardless of their status or country of origin; and fourth, there is a need to review social policies to ensure that all children and families receive access to public goods, social services, pension and safety nets and education that accommodate and support the needs of children left behind. Therefore, identifying social, political, and economic factors impacting transnational Caribbean children may help to improve the impact of family separation and reunification, if reunification is the ultimate transnational family goal.

Such literature highlights the need for further research on how youth have been impacted by social, political, and economic factors related to global migration experiences, as well as transnational family dynamics. In my research, I am concerned to address such a need, and to investigate the experiences of Filipina/o/x youth urban schools in Toronto in light of such transnational considerations involving global migration.

There are several studies, which have focused specifically on Filipina/o/x families/youth. de Leon (2014), for example, studied the impact of family separation and reunification processes due to Canada's Caregiver Program, particularly among Filipina mother-daughter relationships in Toronto. Using the framework of *Pinay Peminism* (de Jesús, 2005), a form of Filipina American Feminism that distinguishes itself from the many forms of "Western" feminism, de Leon (2014) looked at how mothers and daughters navigated post-reunification tensions and involved "an intimate analysis [that] allows us to pay close attention to the ways in which global migration processes operate at macro and micro levels, including that of 'the family'" (p. 140). Post-reunification tensions in the family, particularly with their mothers, significantly impacted the lives of the Filipina young adults in the study as they had all been affected by the structural determinants of migration such as race, class, and gender (Parreñas, 2000). Investigating these intimate spaces in which mothers and daughters relate centralize the experiences of Filipina mothers and daughters and their influential relationships.

de Leon (2014) examined the global migration trajectories of Filipina mothers and daughters through in-depth interviews with four participants: two former domestic workers and their two adult daughters. Her analyses were particularly useful for understanding the "initial moments of family separation, some of the key challenges to immediate reunification, and activism as a way of fostering a sense of community among migrant workers and their families, establishing awareness of the structural causes behind systemic family separation" (p. 140). Thus, the intimate spaces of their lives were connected to the economic and political structures of global migration.

de Leon (2014) stated that former caregivers revealed that family separation began in the Philippines with their own mothers who would work in various areas of the Philippines as nannies. The adult daughters of caregivers shared that their most vivid memories of their mothers were the point of separation as "the moment of departure is an important moment to examine in the lives of children 'left behind' by migrant mothers, for the moments of departure signifies a moment of loss" (p. 147). de Leon connected this moment of loss to the process of remembering through *postmemory*. Postmemory is a powerful form of memory that emerges "not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation" (Hirsch, 1997, p. 22). In the immediate years post-reunification, the daughters and mothers experienced tension and conflict (de Leon, 2014). However, as the daughters became involved in activist organizations supporting Filipina/o/x youth who have experienced separation from their mothers, they were able to reconcile with their mothers; they were able to understand the political reasons why their mothers had to leave in the first place, "involvement in mass protests and community projects aimed at fighting against discriminatory Canadian foreign policies helped [to] name…childhood pain and understand the structural causes behind it" (de Leon, 2014, p. 151). Therefore, external community support appears to be a significant factor in helping to repair the (traumatic) ruptures of family separation and reunification of transnational Filipina/o/x communities.

de Leon's (2014) study makes an important contribution in that it sheds light on the challenges of transnational family separation and reunification. It draws attention to how the parent's absence makes it difficult to maintain trusting relationships with their children. My study extends de Leon's study to include Filipina/o/x youth who have experienced family separation and reunification, but it takes as its specific focus the context of the impact of transnational migration on students in urban schools in Toronto.

In addition to experiencing (traumatic) ruptures within transnational family relationships, particularly its impact on left-behind youth, economic factors come into play. Mazzucato and Schans (2011) wrote a special review of left-behind children and expanded the analyses found within family and migration studies. They reviewed studies that investigated the impact of migration on the social, psychological health and well-being of transnational children under 18, and acknowledged that:

> All of the contributions address at least one of the methodological and conceptual challenges we have identified: that families are not bounded by the nation state; that cultural norms around the family are important to understanding transnational families' choices, the forms they take, and the effects they experience; and that it is necessary to include more actors than just the nuclear family. (p. 708)

They argued that while it is important to address the cultural norms of the family, it is just as crucial to understand that these norms shift, especially when transnationalism comes into play. They maintained that trust among transnational families is difficult to maintain due to geographic distance, travel costs, and lack of regular visits. Migrant parents expected their children to attend excellent educational systems and caregivers who take care of left-behind children think that migrant parents may have more economic resources. Thus, caregivers of left-behind children expected that migrant parents support the entire household.

Though Mazzucato and Schans (2011) advocated for large-scale systemic data and integrative mixed-method study to fully understand transnational relationship functionality of all

members, they acknowledged the difficulties in doing so. Some questions that these mixed-methods studies could address in these types of data are, "how pervasive are transnational families? What effects do they have on all of the actors, not only children, and how do the effects and issues that affect transnational families differ from those of families who live together?" (p. 709). While these questions are beyond the scope of my study, they have important implications as it addresses concerns on a large-scale systemic level, which includes the perspectives of all members of transnational families and the caregivers who took care of left-behind children. The questions and concerns play an important role in how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. To study the impact on all members of the transitional family, Mazzucato and Schans (2011) argued that longitudinal data collection is needed to see how family separation and reunification affected members over time and in multi-sited geographical locations.

While my study did not involve longitudinal data collection it does focus on transnational migration and its impact on those involved in a specific geographical site and context. Moreover, it adds to the field in that it focuses specifically on how such processes impact on identity formation and negotiation of Filipina/o/x youth in a specific urban school context taking into consideration an intersectional analysis that attends to questions of race, gender, sexuality, religion/spirituality, and social class. Mazzucato and Schans' (2011) work has significant implications for my study as it is important to investigate why migrant parents had left the Philippines in order to provide for their families, and how this support is sustained during the period after separation. It is important to look at how these migrant parents may continue to support extended family back in the Philippines. Moreover, it is crucial to look at how these economic processes impact transnational families, particularly Filipina/o/x youth who have recently reunited with their mothers within the last 4 years.

2.3   School Experiences of Transnational Youth

This section reviews literature that looks specifically at the global migration experiences of transnational students and the impact of global migration policies on their school experiences in various geographical locations. Green (2003) explored the experiences of undocumented

children of migrant workers in the United States and advocated that these children deserve the right to be educated. His contribution to migration studies includes an analysis about how policies have impacted the lives of students and their school experiences. Unlike Filipina/o/x youth who experience family separation and reunification due to the Caregiver Program, Green (2003) explained that the presence of children of migrant workers, mainly Latina/o/x students, in American public schools "has caused some states and communities to rethink their educational policies" (p. 52). Providing a historical trajectory of laws that legally reduce migrants and undocumented workers to "aliens", Green (2003) pointed out "from World War I to the present, migrant workers have contributed to American food abundance, while their dependents have suffered malnutrition, health problems, educational deprivation, and poverty" (p. 55). He pointed out that many of the migrant workers in America are Latina/o/x, African (American and Caribbean), and Whites of lower socio-economic status, and "despite the apparent diversity among migrant children, there are many common links that join them: poverty, inadequate health care, substandard housing, and astonishingly poor educational achievement" (p. 62). Green indicated that these particular children also work as migrant workers, impacting their educational experiences.

Filipina/o/x youth who migrate through Canada's Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP) do not work as migrant workers and are permanent residents upon arrival (See Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010, 2012 & 2014). Olsen and Jaramillo (1999) reported that children who are migrant workers completed 7.7 years of educational experience, while the general population has 12.5 years. Children who are migrant workers only have a 40% chance of entering high school in the ninth grade, and only an 11% chance of entering the twelfth grade, in comparison to a 96% chance of entering high school in the ninth grade and an 80% chance of entering the twelfth grade among the general population. Green's (2003) study did not include interviews with children of migrant workers and children as migrant workers to gain in-depth understandings of their experiences, nor did the researcher provide any insight into how these students make sense of their identity and belonging. My own research fills an important gap in that it focuses on Filipina/o/x students' own accounts of their school experiences within a specific context of transnational migration in the Canadian context.

Elias and Kemp (2010) engaged in a comparative analysis of empirical studies that have already been conducted on new second-generation communities in Israel. They looked at these specific migrant groups: the second-generation immigrants from Ethiopia and the Former Soviet Union (FSU) to identify the common factors of growing inequality between two waves of migrant workers in Israel. They also focused specifically on children of migrant workers and their schooling experiences. In the 1950s, the first wave of migrants consisted of the "Jews of Asian and North African origin, known in Israel as *Mizrahim*, and Jews of European and American origin, known as *Ashkenazim*" (p. 76). The *Beta Israel* were second wave during the 1990s, consisting of one million migrants from the FSU, including non-Jews, as well as Jews from Ethiopia. According to the study, children of migrant workers often had difficulty connecting with peers and building friendships in school due to cultural and language barriers. Twenty percent of these students often dropped out of high school, compared to the 10% drop-out rate of students who were born in Israel (Epstein & Kheimets, 2000).

Elias and Kemp (2010) addressed the issues of transnationalism, race, nationality, religion, and citizenship, particularly in light of "non-citizen labour migrants." These researchers indicated that Israel, as a consequence of a neoliberal and global economy, was no longer exclusively open to Jewish immigrants, "Israeli society shares the same attributes that typify other countries that have admitted large numbers of immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, migrant workers, and persons seeking family unification" (p. 85). As such, they claimed that the State had constructed new stratification criteria impacting the children of migrant workers and their "socio-economic mobility and cultural incorporation…[and] it could be argued that transnational networks provide their members with substantial social capital that could be further utilized in advancing occupational or social integration" (p. 85).

Elias and Kemp (2010) pointed out the processes may be different for Russian and Ethiopian transnational students in Israel as Russian transnational communities may be more successful in the labour market as there are demonstrated "continuous community building efforts" (p. 86). However, as Ethiopian transnational youth have identified as belonging to the "Black Diaspora" rather than specifically to the "Ethiopian" community, the authors pointed out that

the Black Diaspora is diverse and as such, building community is "less likely to provide them with realizable social capital" (p. 86), in comparison to the Russian transnationals who build community.

Elias and Kemp (2010) also reviewed existing studies of various transnational students in Israel, including how students understood their transnational identities. However, they did point out the importance of community-building, which is significant for my study as it highlights the need for research to address how newcomers, such as Filipina/o/x youth, make sense of their identity and belonging, and how such a focus on schooling contexts for these youth has the potential to provide significant insights into the impact of global migration.

Hands' (2014) qualitative study contributed to the community involvement literature by investigating how school-community partnerships helped to meet students' social, emotional, physical, and academic needs. The exact methodology used in her study was not clearly outlined, though it noted "the importance of context and setting on partnership establishment and the need for a deeper understanding of participants' experiences of the phenomenon, [and]the research questions were exploratory and descriptive" (p. 76). Seeking the perspectives of educators, support staff, administrators, and youth, Hands (2014) attempted to answer the research questions: "what role do students play in determining the nature of the partnership activities, developing the partnerships, or even determining the existence of partnerships at their school?" (p. 70). Her study consisted of 51 students in Grades 2-12, with 10 individual interviews with seven teachers, three support staff, the principal, and three students in grades 2, 4, and 8. In addition, the other participants—students, teachers, and administrators—participated in 10 focus group interviews. Hands pointed out various reasons for school-community collaborations; while some students noted that rewards were given for mandatory participation in some schools, most were motivated on their own to personally gain through their participation as it helped them connect with their friends, help others in the community, and get to know about different cultures. While the study does not focus specifically on transnational students, Hands' (2014) study does provide important background information on how school-community partnerships can help transnational

students achieve a sense of identity and belonging, which my study is concerned to investigate.

Helping transnational students through school-community partnerships may also help students with their academic achievement and school performance, as this seems to be a concern for left-behind children. Dreby (2007) also drew attention to school performance as a concern for transnational Mexican students left behind by migrant parents. She identified four reasons for poor school performance and dropping-out: 1) depression that occurred after their parents left; 2) misbehavior; 3) discomfort with peer pressures; and lastly, 4) a feeling that their caregivers in Mexico did not support them academically. Dreby pointed out that grandparents are usually uncomfortable with the educational system due to having low levels of education and literacy themselves. This relates to Bakker et al.'s (2009) study of transnational Caribbean children who were under the care of elderly grandparents and lacked access to further social and economic support. Derby (2007) provided a useful framework for understanding how to identify systemic gaps in order to make recommendations to improve the social and educational needs of transnational students and their families.

Lastly, migrant parents in the United States often send money for their children to attend college and private schools as most dream of their children becoming professionals in Mexico. This connects to Mazzucato and Schans' (2011) finding that reunification may not be the ultimate goal as migrant parents may provide economically from a geographical distance, while having dreams and hope for their children to grow up in their homeland, or country of origin. However, as Dreby (2007) pointed out, transnational Mexican children often drop-out and join their parents in the United States and end up in low-wage jobs like their parents. Dreby claimed that as adolescents become young adults, they start to understand their parents' migration better and take advantage of their transnational networks in the United States, though the children have not entirely forgiven their parents. Zentgraf and Chinchilla (2012), in fact, argued that while there are social and economic benefits to transnational migration, there are significant emotional costs resulting from family separation.

With transnational Filipina/o/x families, the literature documents low academic achievement and high school dropout rates for Filipina/o/x students whose parents participated in Live-in/Canada's Caregiver Program (L/CP) (Caro, 2008; Farrales & Pratt, 2012; Pratt, 2012). Kelly (2014) examined the educational and career achievement among Filipino/a/x youth in Toronto and maintained that they "present a double anomaly: they are less likely to hold a degree than their parents or their peers in other racialized groups" (p. 1). His study addressed four important aspects: the first examined the school and career outcomes of existing studies for the children of immigrants in Canada; the second compared Filipino immigrants to other immigrant groups; and the third with how Filipino immigrant parents usually have high academic achievement while their children do not; the fourth included qualitative interviews with over 70 Filipino youth, educators, and community leaders. Over 650 youth participated in an online survey. Focus groups with youth took place all over Canada, though the number of focus groups conducted was not mentioned. In Kelly's (2014) study, three themes emerged: 1) Issues of family resources of time and money; 2) The networks and information flows which youth navigate the labour market; and 3) how constructions of "Filipino-ness" shaped the self-esteem and aspirations of young people (p. 1). In regards to family resources of time and money, Kelly (2014) referred to Filipina/o/x immigrant parents who may have educational and professional experience in the Philippines but are unable to participate in the Canadian labour market. Many of the Filipina/o/x transnational families who migrated through Canada's Caregiver Program continue to experience financial difficulties upon family reunification in Toronto.

The second factor impacting Filipina/o/x youth career and school achievement outcomes were the "networks and information flows through which youth navigate the labour market" (Kelly, 2014, p. 1). Kelly argued that the Filipina/o/x community remained marginal in the labour market due to keeping their social networks within the Filipina/o/x community, particularly among friends and extended family. He proposed, "any professionals within the Filipino community may not be part of networks that are accessible to all" (p. 25) and pointed out an important factor of class privilege within the Filipina/o/x community.

The third factor was constructions of Filipino-ness that shaped the self-esteem and aspirations of young people. Kelly (2014) argued that Filipina/o/x parents believed that educators were responsible for the education of their children, while educators believed that "parents are reinforcing and assisting children with their lessons at home, especially when children are new arrivals and need to catch up" (p. 21). He indicated that more Filipina/o/x teachers were needed to be role models for these particular students as educators are predominately White. Through the qualitative interviews with Filipina/o/x youth, Kelly's (2014) research highlights the importance of self-esteem, aspirations, and role models in education, particularly Filipino males. Though Martino and Rezai-Rashti (2012) acknowledged that the politics of representation and race do indeed matter, they also advocated for a focus on teachers possessing excellent pedagogy rather than solely on essentialist and biological identification based on race, sexuality, and gender that perpetuate heterosexism and colonial ideologies.

Caro (2008) also looked at the global migration of Filipina/o/x youth in urban schools in Montreal, Quebec, and focused on their academic achievement. In her Master's thesis, Caro (2008) found that all of the 7 students interviewed who went to school in the Philippines, were adjusting to the Quebec school system having had experienced family separation and reunification through Canada's Live-in/Caregiver Program. Because Quebec schools focus heavily on speaking French, participants found that the language barrier contributed to the difficulties in academic achievement and adjusting to school culture. Caro (2008) pointed out that only two of the seven participants went on to post-secondary schooling and ended up working in professional fields. In terms of community involvement, the author identified that:

> Their lives significantly changed as a result of their being involved in Filipino community organization…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. (p.87)

Caro's (2008) study relates to Elias and Kemps' (2010) and Hands' (2014) argument that community support is necessary for helping transnational students adjust to schools and a new country. Moreover, such studies highlight the need for schools to collaborate with these community organizations and services, learn about the specific circumstances with which these particular students face, and/or allow space for more opportunities for community connection to allow for student agency to thrive. My study investigates how community-school connections and partnerships impact how transnational Filipina/o/x students make sense of their identity and belonging and utilize their agency in Toronto urban schools. In this sense, my research makes a significant contribution to the field particularly given its attention to an intersectional analysis.

2.4   Agency: Identity and Belonging

In this section I focus on literature that deals explicitly with the ways in which transnational students engage in agency to make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Agency is, "an ongoing and situated negotiation of self-naming and being named by others that relies on visible and non-visible markers of difference and is implicated in power relations" (Coloma, 2008, p. 20). This theme is important especially given, as Hoang and Yeoh (2015) pointed out, that a consideration of the agency of left-behind children takes,

> into account both broader socio-economic processes at the macro level and the concrete and local scale at which children's lives unfold. By outlining how children's experiences of parental migration are constitutive of their attitudes toward this livelihood strategy, we also argue that the ability of those "left-behind' to exercise agency is closely intertwined with processes of social becoming and navigation in the transnational social fields constructed for them by adults. (p. 180)

Dreby's (2007) ethnographic research specifically explored the ways in which Mexican transnational children simultaneously experience power and powerlessness in relation to being left behind by their migrant parent(s). She interviewed 141 Mexican transnational families, including caregivers, migrant parent(s), children, and educators and found that

though left-behind children experience "powerlessness," she argued that they also hold "power":

> Yet it would be a mistake to infer that children left behind are consequently powerless in their families. To the contrary, I find that their negative reactions to separation ultimately shape families' migration trajectories when parents make subsequent migratory decisions grounded in their children's responses. (p. 1062)

Moreover, given the complexities of international politics and the need for analysis of specific contexts, Hörschelmann and El Refaie (2013) analyzed the interviews of transnational youth aged 16-19 from Bradford, UK about their perspectives on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in relation to their sense of identity and belonging. The authors stated: "we argue for greater recognition of the complex entanglements of young people's lives with international politics and for more nuanced analyses of the specific, contextual relations and identities that inform their sense of citizenship" (p. 444). Hörschelmann and El Refaie maintained that the research on youth citizenship and transnational identity needed to focus on "the relations of inclusion/exclusion and affiliation/dissociation that position youth unequally and that make conflict and contestations inevitable" (p. 447). They added that youths' transnational identities and citizenship go beyond territorial borders and that their "political understandings and perspectives" (p.445) have been influenced by their "relationships with family friends across distances" (p. 445). Furthermore, they stated that these youths' transnational and citizenship identities have been impacted by social influences such as gender, class, and religion, as well as the relations with other people whom they do not know directly, whether these people live within or outside of their territorial borders.

While my study does not ask transnational Filipina/o/x youth about their perspectives on global policies or their mother's "citizenship" status prior to becoming a permanent resident, it does speak to the impact of these factors on transnational students' educational experiences, on family and close relationships, and on their lives. Moreover, it focuses specifically on "complex entanglements" as they pertain to a specific context and process of global migration

in terms of addressing key questions of identity and belonging for Filipina/o/x youth attending urban schools in Toronto.

Lee (2016) conducted empirical research on 28 transnational students aged 11-19. The participants were Tongan youth born overseas, either from Australia, New Zealand, or the United States, who "returned back" to Tonga, their migrant parents' homeland, due to behavioural concerns, or by their own choice. She used more informal "Talanoa" sessions, which is a methodology used in Pacific research, that includes people from the community in the actual conduct of the research—in this case with two other Tongan women who worked with youth. These Talanoa sessions consisted of small groups and took place within four weeks for duration of two hours where the youth would talk about future aspirations and personal experiences (Vaioleti, 2006). Lee (2016) focused on youth born overseas within 6 high schools using the Talanoa methodology speaking in English, the participants' first language. The overseas born Tongan students were also provided cameras to take pictures of their daily lives and they met with the researchers weekly to discuss their photographs. At the end of the four weeks of the Talanoa sessions, the youth drew posters of their experiences.

Lee (2016) was interested in looking at how Tongan youth perceive their agency in terms of the experiences in Tonga as well as the cultural expectations they are expected to meet "as a means of strengthening their cultural identity and sense of belonging" (p. 2573). In Tongan culture, the authority of the parent is rarely questioned, and many decisions are made for their children without their input, "as a strictly hierarchal society in which children and youth are expected to demonstrate obedience and respect to their elders, children's agency is seen as something to be controlled and constrained" (p. 2574). With the youth born in a Western context, Tongan parents are usually concerned with youth making their own choices without parental consent: "by emphasizing that she had wanted to do things her way, Julie was capturing many Tongans' concerns about attitudes to children's agency in host countries such as New Zealand, which they equate to do as they want" (pp. 2578-2579). When in Tonga, the youth's behaviours were constrained by those in authority, such as community leaders, teachers, and caregivers, and they were expected to be respectful and obedient. However, the

transnational Tongan youth had found a sense of identity and belonging through their own accounts of agency: "paying attention to young people's own accounts of their agency helps illuminate important aspects of their experiences of transnational movement" (p. 2586). In terms of agency, the cultural values of respect, obedience, and behavioural restrictions were an empowering and transformative experience for them: "by choosing to act in culturally appropriate ways they can effectively reclaim their agency, exerting it in ways that gain approval and enable them to develop a new sense of belonging" (pp. 2585-2586). While my study does not look at the return of Filipina/o/x to the Philippines, Lee's (2016) study is significant in that it looked at the cultural appropriateness of behaviour and the meaning of agency, which has relevance for my study on transnational Filipina/o/x youth.

The literature highlights that there are limits to studies which focus on the social, emotional, educational, and behavioural impact of family separation and reunification on youth as these do not include the voices and perspectives of the youth themselves. For example, while Dreby (2007) positioned the children as having the "power" to influence their parents' migration trajectories, there is a gap in understanding how the children themselves make sense of their identity and belonging in Mexico as left-behind children. My research aims to address this important gap in its focus on Filipina/o/x students' own accounts of their experiences of belonging and agency in Toronto urban schools.

Pratt (2010) did address this gap to a certain extent as she compared the differences between how first-generation Filipina/o/x youth who migrated through the Live-in/Caregiver Program and second-generation activist youth construct their transnational migration experiences in Vancouver. Much like the Filipina/o/x second-generation youth, migrant activist Filipina mothers have engaged in vivid understandings and stories of their transnational experiences. Pratt's intention was "to consider practical and political implications of listening for different forms of agency and subjecthood" among first-generation Filipina/o/x youth who have been separated from their mothers for years (Pratt, 2010, p. 344). She analysed the transcripts of past individual and focus group interviews with first and second-generation Filipina/o/x youth—there were 20 mothers and 17 youth participants included in the study. She engaged in

collaborative community, interview-based research with the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia, a feminist activist group working for the rights of Filipina/o/x on a transnational level. In 2009, the interview data were used in "verbatim theatre" to enact the experiences of the women in the L/CP. Using second generation youth and Filipina/o/x domestic workers of the L/CP, and Berlant's (2007) concept of "spaces of ordinariness," Pratt (2010) concluded that:

> I aim to slow down to examine speech that emerged from interviews and focus groups with immigrant youths with an ear to different styles of speaking, in particular the distinction between narrative and the chatter of ordinary speech. The talk of first- and second-generation youths offers two means towards imagining the future. Neither is better than the other, but it is possible to miss one if attuned only to expectations of narrative adhered to in the other. The failure to listen is consequential: the effect might be to blame first-generation youths for the difficulties they experience navigating their lives between and across national borders. (p. 344)

Spaces of ordinariness refers to an experience that is both extreme and ordinary at the same time, "the shift I am proposing reframes the ways we think about sovereignty, emphasizing in particular an attenuated, non-mimetic relation between political and personal or practical sovereignty" (Berlant, 2007, pp. 754-755). Documenting the disruption of Filipina/o/x youths' school experiences due to the impact of the L/CP, Pratt (2010) indicated: "in Vancouver high schools, we have found drop-out rates to be high and grades low for those who speak Tagalog at home, relative to a selection of other language groups…school officials have pointed to the [L/CP] as a decisive factor" (p. 346). She referred back to the collaborative community research she conducted at the Vancouver School Board in 2008, though there was no description of the participants or how many there were. Advocating that researchers and educators look beyond the "fragment stories" that first-generation youth often told in the interviews, Pratt (2010) argued that:

> There are good reasons why so few separated youths could perform a heroic narrative

and their stories came less easily and in a more disjointed form than those of either their mothers or second-generation youth activists. Family conflict, distance from their mothers, the pain of leaving primary caregivers in the Philippines: these are difficult stories to tell and involve revealing intimate details, not just of themselves, but about family members within the private spaces of the home. (p. 347)

Pratt (2010) addressed these concerns by stating, "I can see my efforts to transform this chaos of fragmentary revelations into an orderly narrative focused on the nuclear family and individual responsibility—and in the process missing much of what is said" (p. 348). This statement is profound in that there are some moments in which the researcher needs to "get out of the way" and let the participants "lead" the process as researchers may miss the rich and deep meanings that are significant to the lives of the participants.

Listening to Filipina/o/x youths' "fragmented" stories of family separation and reunification allowed Pratt (2010) to acknowledge the "importance of the collective for affirming individual stories and the need to listen differently" (p. 349). She compared the "agency" seen among first and second generation youth, the fragmented stories of first generation youth and the "choice" to engage with their transnational identities among second generation activist youth, pointing that agency may be identified in "small curiosities and enthusiasms against the grinding statistics of Filipino high school drop-out rates…although their mothers' migration experiences haunt the lives of their children, they do not entirely define them or their capabilities in the present and the future" (p. 350).

Pratt's (2010) research speaks eloquently to the notion of agency despite the statistical evidence of high drop-out rates among Filipina/o/x students, and it highlighted the value and need for research which is committed to including the voices of transnational students and their families as a basis for generating more nuanced and complicated understandings of their schooling experiences. However, her study did not investigate the importance of how colonization played into the religious/spiritual, sexual, and intersectional identities among Filipina/o/x youth, as they have played a significant role in how the youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

Thus, it is important then to understand how global policies are impacting students migrating through the L/CP as their agency that is relationally constituted. Furthermore, Hörschelmann and El Refaie (2014) argued that:

> The citizenship practices and identities of young people encompass a wide spectrum, including those that reify territorial borders and political exclusions and those that extend empathy to strangers 'within' and 'without'…Relations with family and friends across distances impacted on the political understandings and perspective of those whose families migrated…These relations were made present and maintained through a range of practices. (p. 445)

Hence, connecting the experiences of transnational Filipina/o/x youth with those of their parents who came through the Live-in/Caregiver Program, is crucial, particularly in how (former) caregivers engage in agency. The literature on global migration tends to focus on Filipinas as domestic workers in transnational contexts as they constitute the majority of this type of employment (de Leon, 2014; Ehrenreich & Hoschild, 2004; Manalansan, 2006; Parrñeas, 2000).

While Manalansan (2006) acknowledged that the majority of domestic workers are Filipina women, he argued that literature needs to involve the experience of men, single women, and queer-identified Filipina/o/xs as it would allow for inclusive studies beyond Filipina mothers who belong to heterosexual marriages and have biological children. Additionally, he advocated that domestic migrant workers are more than economic workers, as they were also gendered and sexual agents who engage in embodied lives through intimate relationships. Manalansan's (2006) work is significant and has influenced my research in its focus on attending to the multiple influences on Filipina/o/x youths' identities, including race/ethnicity, culture, class, gender, sexuality, and spirituality/religion. In this way, I extend Manalansan's (2006) argument to Filipina/o/x youth, investigating the many possible influences on their identities and how they make sense of these influences on their lives within a specific urban

context. This knowledge serves as a site for studying the impact of transnational and global migration processes.

While Manalansan's (2006) argument holds importance for my study, the focus on economic migration and the feminization of labour is just as significant as these influential factors play a role in transnational migration (Ehrenreich & Hoschild, 2004; Manalansan, 2006; Parreñas 2000, 2004, 2005). Parreñas proposed that the "international transfer of caretaking" is situated within a global market economy. The phenomena is described as the "three-tier transfer of reproductive labor among women in sending and receiving countries of migration. While class-privileged women purchase the low-wage services of migrant Filipina domestic workers, migrant Filipina domestic workers simultaneously purchase even lower-wage services of poorer women left behind in the Philippines" (p. 562). Parreñas'(2000; 2004; 2005) main concerns were the structural determinants of migration, particularly as they relate to race, class, and gender. Manalansan (2006) proposed a "queer reading" of Filipina/o/x caregivers and argued that they possess sexual agency in terms of erotic desire, and their reasons for migration are "not limited to social and material advancement" (p. 243); that sexuality goes beyond the normative and universal biological family and intersects with other "social, economic, and cultural practices, and identities" (p. 243); and, lastly, that sexuality goes beyond other reasons that constitute migration such as seeking refuge or asylum. Additionally, it is not only White families and women who hire domestic workers, but also Filipina/o/x Canadian families as well (Davidson, 2012). Coloma (2012) argued that as Canadians, we are complicit with the exploitation processes of the Caregiver Program. Nevertheless, Parreñas (2000; 2004; 2005) identified valid structural concerns that significantly influenced Filipina/o/x youths' global migration experiences in Canada.

Tungohan (2012) identified the political agency of Filipina migrant workers, providing foundation for my study's focus on Filipina/o/x youths' agency. Tungohan (2012) proposed that despite the oppressive structures of Canada's Live-in/Caregiver Program, Filipina domestic workers were able to move beyond the state and into transnational spaces through solidarity with other social movements. Through their political agency, Tungohan (2012)

argued that Filipina domestic workers were able to shift the policies of the Live-in/Caregiver Program, despite being non-citizens of the Canadian State. While not positioning the youth as agents who are changing policy, Tungohan's study looks at the transformative spaces of agency beyond structural oppression. It is important to highlight how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of systemic oppression in relation to their identities, particularly in the areas of race, class, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and religion.

2.5   Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the literature pertaining to the global migration experiences of transnational families impacted by family separation and reunification. The significant literature reveals that family separation and reunification impact transnational youth, and that particular policies, such as Canada's Live-in/Caregiver program, shape these processes within global migration. These policies impact transnational youth emotionally, psychologically, relationally, socially, economically, and educationally particularly with regards to separation and reunification in transnational families such as those involving Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto. My study addresses these concerns, yet it also centres on the voices of the youth, which does not seem to be the case in much of the literature on youth agency that focuses on the impact of global migration (see Bakker et al., 2009; Dreby, 2007). However, a strength of Dreby's (2007) research is her ethnographic method in interviewing caregivers and youth in Mexico and migrant parents in the United States. Such studies have influenced my decision to embrace an ethnographic method especially given the need identified in the research literature to focus on the perspectives and voices of transnational youth themselves. This review has identified gaps in the literature and highlighted what policy recommendations are necessary to improve the social, psychological, and educational needs of transnational students (see Bakker et al., 2009).

A positive finding in the literature is that collaborative efforts between the community social service organizations and school systems help to holistically meet the needs of transnational youth and their communities, facilitating the process of creating transformative educational and social progressive policies. This chapter also looked at the sources identifying

transnational youths' agency in relation to the global migration policies impacting family separation and reunification. The literature on Filipina/o/x youth who are children of migrant workers also suggests higher drop-out rates in comparison to the general population (See Kelly, 2014; Pratt 2010; 2012). What is distinctive about my study is that while it also investigates Filipina/o/x youths' future career aspirations to attend postsecondary education, it directs attention to how they engage in agentic ways within the context of school-community agency partnerships as set against an investigation of the impact of family separation and reunification. It makes a significant contribution especially in light of the call to address the specific entanglements and contextual relations and identities that are implicated in how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools given their global migration experiences through Canada's Live-in/Caregiver Program. The following chapter will explicate the methodology I undertook in my study.

Chapter 3

Methodology: Critical Ethnography

3   Introduction

In this chapter I outline my methodological approach, positionality, and provide justification for my use of specific methods. I begin by explaining my use of critical and performance ethnography followed by a discussion of the two research sites and the participants. I then justify my use of oral history, memory and interview methods, and discuss my overall approach to data analysis.

In this current study, I adopt a critical ethnographic approach to examine the experiences of Filipina/o/x youth. In addition, I draw from performance ethnography methods to encourage "alternative strategies for the exploration, narration, celebration, and rewriting of personal identities and social realities" (Tedlock, 2011, p. 334).

Critical ethnography is linked to critical social theory in that "all observations of the world are shaped either consciously or unconsciously by social theory—such theory provides the framework that highlights or erases what might be observed" (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011, p.168). The *bricoleur*, or critical researcher, acts "on the concept that theory is not an explanation of nature—it is more an explanation of our relation to nature" (p. 168). Ethnography entails doing fieldwork through cultural immersion at a particular site, gathering data on participants' culture, such as experiences, actions, and rich insights (Scott & Morrison, 2007). Fetterman (1984) noted that the *emic* perspective, or the perspective of the participant, is central to ethnography and its study of "culture." Culture may be described as the learned social behaviour of a particular group, "the rules and symbols of interpretation and discourse. Culture also includes the material and symbolic artifacts of behaviour…upon which cultural meanings are re-created and maintained" (Thomas, 1993, p. 12).

In critical ethnography, the purpose is to evaluate appropriate forms of advocacy through linking the data gathered from local sites to broader global meanings (Madison, 2012). Critical ethnography disrupts seemingly neutral and taken-for-granted knowledge, shedding light on issues of power and control (Madison, 2012). Thomas pointed out that traditional or conventional ethnography *speaks for* their participants whereas critical ethnography focuses on participants' voices in order to engage in social action and change. Traditional ethnography "assumes the status quo, affirms assumed meanings when others might exist, and seldom reveals the perspectives of research subjects on the researcher" (Thomas, 1993, p.5). Whereas, in critical ethnography, power and privilege dynamics that contribute to the marginalization of different groups in various social categories are identified (Creswell, 2013). Behar (1996) proposed that ethnography engages in social inquiry that "breaks your heart," requiring a sense of vulnerability. As a "vulnerable observer," I have chosen to privilege the emotional experiences of Filipina/o/x who have experienced family separation and reunification because, "when you write vulnerably, others respond vulnerably. A different set of problems and predicaments arise which would never surface in response to a more detached writing" (Behar, 1996, p. 26). Erikson (2011) argued that critical ethnography "stepped out of a defended position of value neutrality to one of vulnerability, shifting from distanced relations with informants to relations of solidarity" (p. 51).

Critical ethnography goes beyond verifying facts and information, concerning itself with reflecting upon deeper truths of individual and collective subjectivity, the "memory, yearnings, polemics, and hope that are unveiled and inseparable from shared and inherited expressions of communal strivings, social history, and political possibility…*I am because we are, we are because I am*" (emphasis in original) (Madison, 2012 p. 29). Madison extended social justice action to include the *politics of positionality* whereby the researcher acknowledges their "own power, privilege, and biases just as [they denounce] the power structures that surround [their] subjects" (p. 8). Thus, critical ethnography has been chosen as a methodology as it applies to critical theories, such as postcolonialism and transnational feminisms in action. Therefore, this type of methodology supports critical self-reflexive analysis and interrogation at every stage and step of carrying out research (Madison, 2012).

As Madison argued for the importance of the politics of positionality, I share my positionality in relation to the participants after explicating how I draw from performance ethnography.

3.1 Performance Ethnography: Embodying Advocacy

This study draws from performance ethnography methods, particularly in understanding how identity performance "speaks back" to structural power (Conquergood, 2013). Johnson (2013) stated that Conquergood (2013) was "interested in macro-structures of political economy…he is invested in how macro-structures impinge on micro-textures of subjugated peoples' experience and how individuals caught within forbidden structures struggle for agency" (p. 7). For Conquergood, according to Johnson (2013), "performance [is] a lens for examining culture, particularly the communication practices of subaltern groups—the power of symbols and imagination in both consolidating and contesting oppression and how cultural creativity and human agency are both inscribed and incited by domination" (p. 7). This description links performance ethnography methods to critical ethnography, as advocacy is central to the study as are the voices of the participants.

Madison (2012) proposed that culture is a performance as identities are constructed in the space(s) between structures, such as race, class, gender, sexuality, and socio-economic status. Utilizing an intersection of critical and performance ethnography, the body is privileged "as a site of knowing...getting one's body immersed in the field for a period of time sufficient to enable one to participate inside that culture" (Conquergood, 2013, p. 82). Thus, the researcher is the instrument that embodies sensuality, emotion, and intimacy. She is, and becomes, both witness and co-performer in relation to her participants (Conquergood, 2013).

Moreover, Madison (2005) proposed that critical ethnography is a "performance" of critical social theory. Moving beyond text, i.e., writing, I intend to engage in data analyses through the "world of performance (Conquergood, p. 96). The "world of performance" refers to culture, beyond aesthetics, as the "unfolding [of] performative invention instead of [a] reified system, structure, or variable" (p. 96). Rather than just "collecting data" fieldwork is seen as a collaborative performance that has potential for political space(s) that challenges hegemony

(Conquergood, 2013). To create these collaborative spaces, this study engages in both traditional and non-traditional methods for data analyses on the school and global migration experiences of Filipina/o/x youth. Madison (2012) proposed that dialogue between various viewpoints is an ethical performance as it privileges connection and listening. The "cultural politics" of dialogue may be used as a political intervention tool that drives both local and global policies (Madison, 2012).

3.2 Positionality: Four Sources of Cultural Intuition

Bernal (1998) proposed the extension of one's personal experience to the collective community's experience and memory, pointing out the importance of engaging participants in data analyses. The *Four Sources of Cultural Intuition* are: personal experience; existing literature; one's professional experience; and analytical research process. Bernal argued that "one's personal experience represents a very important source of cultural intuition and is derived from the background that we each bring to the research situation" (p. 564). Cultural intuition also involves "community knowledge [that] is taught to youth through legends, corridos, storytelling, behaviour, and most recently through scholarship in the field of Chicana and Chicano studies" (p. 564).

My own personal experience of being a Filipina-Canadian has influenced my emotional and political involvements with not only the Filipina/o/x community, but with other marginalized groups as well. This shared experience is one of the main reasons for pursuing a PhD—to study the impact of global migration on Filipina/o/x youth and their educational experiences. Although the participants and I may share the same racial background "Filipina/o/x," my reality of growing-up as a second-generation Filipina who was born and raised in Canada, differs from Filipina/o/x youth's experience(s) as children of former migrant domestic workers who are newcomers and permanent residents who have migrated to Canada approximately within the last four years.

Growing up during the 1980s and 1990s, my parents never taught me any of the Philippine languages they spoke (Tagalog, Ilocano, or Ilonggo) as a way to protect me from racism and

social exclusion while growing up during the 1980s and 1990s though I was fully able to comprehend Tagalog because my parents would speak the language with one another. However, I was not protected from racism as I had witnessed people in society tell my parents to "go back to where they came from" many times while growing up, experiences that still impact me significantly to this day. They had their own experiences of economic exploitation while working precarious jobs when first immigrating to the country in the 1970s, but they were able to mobilize to middle-income positions.

My parents also taught me to not take things for granted, especially food, and explained how hard life was "back home" (in the Philippines) and how lucky my sister and I were for having been spared from poverty. They also thought that only speaking English would help me to "fit in" with my classmates. However, during that period in time, I was one of the few racial minorities in my school who was often mistaken for "Chinese". Raised as a Roman Catholic, my parents were, and still are, devout Catholics. While I consider Catholicism a part of my cultural identity, I would not consider my spiritual practices to be religious. In terms of spirituality, I am curious about the pre-colonial spiritualties in the Philippines, particularly among the various Indigenous groups.

Also, I am curious about my own oral history. I learned through my mother that my maternal grandfather was a herbal doctor whom the community used to turn to in order heal diseases. Torres (2012) mentioned Aeta healers who currently use herbals as medicine, but my mother did not identify any Indigenous linkages in our family history. Although I have never met my grandfather, the "memory," of him through my mother's storytelling serves as my own oral history and decolonization process.

In addition, my position as a privileged lower middle-class, cisgendered, and heterosexual academic researcher, psychotherapist/counsellor, and educator, with working-class roots, is a different reality from the participants who have experienced family separation and reunification with their parents due to Canada's L/CP, and who may identify as queer and/or Indigenous. However, our shared social, historical, and cultural background(s) are the reason why I am drawn to study the particular experiences of Filipina/o/x youth. Therefore, I hold

that multiple subjective realities exist and that our identities and experiences cannot be essentialized. Yet, the participants and I are interconnected through shared socio-historical and cultural factors that have impacted our collective identities.

My engagement with existing literature, as Bernal (1998) pointed out, enhances "cultural intuition by making me sensitive to what to look for in my data and helping me generate interview questions" (p. 564). The literature in the field of migration studies has facilitated my awareness of the tensions between scholars of migration and Indigenous studies. Existing literature has helped me to be mindful of the implications of the study for both the Filipina/o/x community and Indigenous peoples. In regards to professional experience, working as a counsellor/psychotherapist and as a community worker has helped me to understand the importance of systemic and holistic work in education, social services, and community settings with diverse groups in inclusive and equitable ways. Lastly, Bernal (1998) explained that the analytical research process,

> comes from making comparisons, asking additional questions, thinking about what you are hearing and seeing, sorting data, developing a coding scheme, and engaging in concept formation. As one idea leads to another, we are able to like more closely at the data and bring meaning to the research. (p. 568)

This last point concerns the data analysis process, which will be explained further in this chapter.

3.3   Research Sites, Participants, and Recruitment

I initially began with one site though I ended up with two sites in order to increase the amount of participants for the study. The first site is *The Newcomer Support Centre* (NSC)[3]. The NSC

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[3] Pseudonym.

is a non-profit settlement organization that serves the needs of former and current caregivers, newcomers, and immigrants. While the NSC is open to serving diverse newcomers and immigrants with their settlement needs within the Toronto area, many of the NSC's programs serve the particular needs of the Filipina/o/x community. The NSC offers a variety of services, such as advocacy, women's support groups, information and referral, completion of forms, translation, counselling, employment referrals, access to trades and professions, computer classes, job search help, senior's recreation, summer youth camp, after school programs for students in grades 9-12, workshops, and problem gambling counselling. The NSC offers services for former and current caregivers, such as counselling and income tax help, as well as support around family separation and reunification issues. The second site *Services for a Diverse Community* (SDC)[4] offers a wide range of social services for newcomers, refugees, and immigrants; youth, children, and families; seniors and their caregivers; life skill-building and healthy living; mentorship; and developing community.

The program in which I was a participant-observer was the school settlement program, which is located within Toronto High schools in both the Public and Catholic School Boards. These programs provided services for all transnational newcomer students as well as Filipina/o/x-specific ones that help in their adjustment to Toronto schools. Many of the programs took place after school or during lunch. The settlement worker's office was also a drop-in location for all newcomer youth who had questions about employment, resumes and job search, and other cultural adjustment concerns. Many of these organizations work in partnership(s) with other community and social service agencies in order to meet the needs of Filipina/o/x and other transnational youth, their families, and their communities.

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[4] Pseudonym.

Participant criteria included the Filipina/o/x youth aged 14-19 willing to reflect upon how the L/CP has impacted their identities as well as their school experiences and other newcomer youth who could speak to how they make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Participant recruitment in each site began with contacting a person whom the students trust, such as a community leader, displaying posters around the organization, and briefly presenting my research to potential participants during events and/or workshops. Twenty-two youth participated in the study: there were a total of 9 Filipina self-identified girls and 12 Filipino self-identified boys. While 17 interviews were audio-recorded and detailed notes were taken during the interviews, 4 youth refused audio-recording. These specific youth consented to the researcher, myself, taking detailed notes during these sessions.

I also had 3 face-to-face interviews with 3 mothers who were former participants of the caregiver program and who have children within the K-12 educational system. These mothers are not the parents of the youth interviewed and all consented for their interviews to be audio-recorded. Due to the difficulties in recruiting the youth participants' parents—either their father, mother, and/or guardian—the paperwork was sent home with the youth participants, and the answers were given back in a sealed envelope. This seemed to work best for the parents' schedules as all of them work multiple jobs, and many of the parents identified as single mothers. Five parents responded, 4 mothers and 1 father, and they provided their answers in a sealed envelope, which the students gave to their school settlement worker who then passed them on to me. Each group of participants engaged in one-hour individual semi-structured interviews until saturation—consistent responses after three consecutive interviews from three different groups of participants—was reached.

In addition, I interviewed 9 community organizers/leaders so that they could provide their perspectives and give further insight into how to meet the educational and social needs of these particular Filipina/o/x students. Eight interviews were audio-recorded and detailed notes were taken during the interview; one community leader refused audio-recording but consented to detailed note-taking during the interview. Including parents and community workers

provided a degree of triangulation in terms of different viewpoints and insights, potentially generating an understanding of the transnational identities of Filipina/o/x youth.

For a period of 10 months, I engaged in cultural immersion at 2 community and social service organizations in Toronto, given the high concentration of Filipina/o/xs in this area. Cultural immersion involved participating in Filipina/o/x youth's activities, such as being involved in community events and meetings; observing participants' social behaviour and interaction with others in the organization's community; journaling reflections on my position as Filipina and as a researcher; and taking notes on the organization's documents, policies, and practices of equity. I participated in youth programs and attended each site one to three times week, depending on my availability and when the programs were taking place. The study was also open to interviewing educators; however, due to time constraints, educators were not interviewed during this time.

3.3.1   Description of the Participants

This section provides a detailed overview of the Filipina/o/x youth, mothers/parents/guardians, and community leaders who participated in the research. I have included a table for each group to include pseudonyms and relevant information about the participants while protecting their identities. The youth participants appeared to be particularly eager to share their global migration stories. Nineteen out of the twenty-two students have experienced family separation and reunification through the L/CP, though Philip experienced family separation when his mother went to work as a nanny in Hong Kong. They later reunified in the Philippines and then came together as a family in Toronto, in 2016. Two students, Rachel and Jason, did not experience family separation and reunification through the L/CP, but they provided useful information in terms of class and socioeconomic status and insights related to identity and belonging as Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools. Their parents, who were medical doctors in the Philippines, are currently unable to obtain their respected positions in Toronto. According to the participants, migrant mothers were not the only ones to leave children behind as fathers also left their families to work as migrant workers for economic reasons. The youth sometimes did not

remember the exact years when their parents had left them behind as they were infants/young children. Many shared that their mothers worked as domestic workers in various geographical locations such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, and the Middle East before migrating to Toronto.

Seven out of eight parents were mothers who had worked through the L/CP and voiced that their reason for working in the program was that they wanted to make available educational and career opportunities for their children. Derek, the only father who responded, had experienced family separation and reunification through the L/CP and was able to provided details as to why his spouse had worked in the program, that is, to provide educational and career opportunities for Edna.

The community leaders interviewed were those who provided social services, particularly settlement services, to newcomer youth, specifically transnational Filipina/o/x youth and their families. The community leaders were either from the NSC or the SDC, or their partner organizations with whom they worked closely to serve the social and settlement needs of the Filipina/o/x community in Toronto. There was a total of nine community leaders interviewed, two from the NSC and seven from the SDC.

Table 1: Youth Participants

Pseudonym	Racial and gender self-identification (Filipina/o/x)	Age	Sexuality	Religion/ Spirituality	Year of Family Separation	Year of Family Reunification
Alicia	Filipina	18	Heterosexual	Christian	2007	2015
Angelica	Filipina	17	Heterosexual	Catholic	2008	2015
Anthony	Filipino	19	Heterosexual	Catholic	2005	2015
Bryan	Filipino	18	Questioning bi-	Catholic	2000	2013

			sexuality			
Cara	Filipina	15	Heterosexual	Catholic	2008	2016
Chloe	Filipina	16	Heterosexual	Catholic	2008	2016
David	Filipino	16	Heterosexual	Catholic	2004	2016
Derek	Filipino	16	Heterosexual	Catholic	2014	2016
Edna	Filipina	17	Heterosexual	Catholic	2006	2015
Edgardo	Filipino	17	Heterosexual	Christian	2005	2015
Eric	Filipino	18	Homosexual	No religious identifi-cation	Unknown	2016
Ivy	Filipina	16	Heterosexual	Catholic	2008	2015
Jason	Filipino	16	Heterosexual	Catholic	n/a	n/a (arrived in 2013)
Joshua	Filipino	17	Heterosexual	Catholic	2006	2015
Juanito	Filipino	16	Heterosexual	Catholic	2005	2012
Marcelino	Filipino	16	Heterosexual	Catholic	2003	2016
Marsha	Filipina	17	Heterosexual	Catholic	Unknown	2016
Philip	Filipino	16	Heterosexual	Catholic	2001/2002 Unknown	n/a (arrived in 2016)
Rachel	Filipina	18	Heterosexual	Christian	n/a	n/a (arrived in 2015)
Rita	Filipina	17	Heterosexual	Catholic	2008	2015
Ricardo	Filipino	16	Heterosexual	Catholic	2006	2016

| Rodrigo | Filipino | 19 | Heterosexual | Catholic | 2007/2008 Unknown | 2015 |

Table 2: Parent Participants

Pseudonym	Mother/ Father	Single Parent	Child is a participant of the study	Pseudonym & age of child	Reason for working in the L/CP	Current Occupation
Courtney	Mother	Yes	Yes	Chloe, 16	Economic, educational and career opportunities	Unknown
Derek	Father	No	Yes	Edna, 17	Economic, educational and career opportunities	Unknown- about to retire
Emilia	Mother	No	Yes	Eric, 18	Economic, educational and career opportunities	Unknown
Evelyn	Mother	Yes	No	Children are aged 12, 14, 16	Economic, educational and career opportunities	Unknown
Natalia	Mother	Yes	Yes	Angelica, 17	Economic,	Factory

					educational and career opportunities	worker
Marcela	Mother	Yes	No	Children aged 6 & 7	Economic, educational and career opportunities	Caregiver (Children)
Tara	Mother	No	Yes	Alicia, 18	Economic, educational and career opportunities	Unknown
Viviana	Mother	No	No	Children aged 11 & 12	Economic, educational and career opportunities	Personal Support Worker (full-time); Caretaker (part-time)

Table 3: Community Leader Participants

Pseudonym	Site/partnership	Role in site	Experience (approximate)
Carla	SDC	Partner, educational consultant	8 years
Catherine	SDC	School settlement worker/program co-ordinator	3 years
Cynthia	SDC	Partner/school social worker	3 months

Darlene	SDC	Partner/community arts educator	4 years
Nora	SDC	School settlement worker	6 months
Selma	NSC	Settlement worker	26 years
Silvana	SDC	Partner, community arts educator	6 years
Sonya	NSC	Executive Director	27.5 years
Valerie	SDC	School settlement worker	6 years

3.4   Data Collection

3.4.1 Visual Oral History and Memory Methods

As a co-performer and witness, I engaged in dialogue with participants through the interview tool, the *Vidaview Storyboard*, which is used in research, education, and therapy settings (Vidaview Information Systems Ltd., 2012). The Vidaview Storyboard, "is a magnet-receptive play board, [which contains] sets of magnetic cards, markers, [and clay] for people, events…and many other significant life elements…With this robust set of components, the Vidaview Storyboard is capable of depicting complex narratives". The interviews included an audio-recording of the storyteller's voice in order to:

Gather important information about the [participants'] current circumstances; Depict all the major players in a situation, and the significant actions and relationship dynamics between them; Address a crisis or specific question; Witness and record the Storyteller's unique personal narrative; Reflect patterns and prevalence of themes such

as relocation, health issues, and particular behaviours or experiences—within a family, peer group, or larger community; Track correlations between outer experiences and inner feelings; Explore effects of cultural experiences, practices, rules, beliefs; Identify the Storyteller's risks and resources; Map out a route from present reality to future goals; and Consider personal development or legacy questions such as life myth, values, aspirations, achievements, most significant experiences. (Vidaview Information Systems Ltd., 2012)

After the interview, I took a picture of the participants' storyboards in order to analyze and supplement their verbal interview. I engaged in dialogue with participants using oral history and memory interviews through the Vidaview Storyboard, using a visual and interactive representation of their lives. Additionally, I elicited deep conversations on belonging and the politics of belonging (See Yuval-Davis, 2011). Oral histories are collections of stories and recollections of events that are considered valid representations of participants' lives (Janesick, 2010). Oral history and memory interviews do not necessarily elicit objective evidence, "nor are they pure fictions of history. Instead, they present to us one moment *of* history and how that moment *in* history is *remembered* through a *particular* subjectivity" (emphasis in original) (Madison, 2012, p. 884-885). González (2003) indicated, "the telling of stories of cultural reality is sacred" (p. 82). I saw the interview time as a "sacred" space in which the youth could reflect through words and art about how they make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

Shopes (2011) suggested that there are six characteristics of oral history. The first characteristic is the dialogue that takes place between an interviewer and the interviewee, and "oral historians value the intimacy of a one-on-one exchange" (p. 451). The second characteristic is that oral history requires recording the interview as it serves as the results for a study, and the third characteristic "seeks new knowledge about and insights into the past through an individual biography" (p. 451). The fourth characteristic of oral history is "both an act of memory and an inherently subjective account of the past" (p. 452), while the fifth characteristic is "inquiry in depth" (p. 452). The sixth characteristic of "oral history is

fundamental[ly] oral, reflecting both the conventions and dynamics of the spoken word" (p.
452). Oral history and memory interviews were employed as a basis for encouraging
participants to reflect upon their global migration histories as newcomers and permanent
residents, specifically mapping their global migration trajectories from the Philippines—
and/or other places around the world—to Canada. Oral history and memory data analyses are
concerned with attending to the rich narratives and thick descriptions filled with possibilities
(Madison,2012 p. 35).

As the researcher, I engaged in making the familiar unfamiliar through thick description,
excavating the deeper, below the surface, taken for granted knowledge of the participants (see
Madison, 2005, 2012). While I was conscious of my insider status as a 'Filipino' throughout
the research, my 'outsider' status was evident as I cannot speak Tagalog or any other
Philippine languages/dialects. My "insider" status emerged as I understood what the youth
were saying in their interaction with other Filipina/o/x youth as I understand Tagalog. I was
also an outsider in that I was not used to being called "miss" or "ate," meaning "older sister,"
as a form of respect, and the youth shared that they were not used to calling someone in
"authority" or those "older than them" by their first name.

Through the use of oral history and memory, "the researcher embraces the emotions and
sensuality of *what* is being described and *how* it is being described through highlighting,
sometimes [re-describing], the remembered textures, smells, sounds, tastes, and sights
rendered through story and performance" (emphasis in original) (Madison, 2012, p. 36).
During the events and after-school workshops, I would remember the youth's and community
leaders' laughter, silence during some activities, 'Filipino' food, and a profound sense of
community amongst everyone present. Though the programs were 'Filipino'-specific,
students of various cultural backgrounds attended the workshops and were willing to learn
about family separation and reunification as well as the political and economic forces that led
to global migration. Oral history and memory methods inform an understanding of how
identities are made and remade through personal and public events, constructing memory as a
personal, psychological, collective, and social phenomena (Madison, 2012). Thus, this current

study utilized oral history and memory methods to elicit deeper understandings of how Filipina/o/x youth perform their cultural identities.

The Vidaview Storyboard was used to capture and map "events, acts, changes in living situations, locations, and other temporal factors along the dimension of time" (Vidaview Information Systems Ltd., 2012). There are three colour-coded zones on the Vidaview Storyboard: 'Green', 'Yellow', and 'Blue', and my research questions were matched accordingly. The 'Green Zone' on the Vidaview Storyboard is concerned with "Families and close relations"; the 'Yellow Zone' indicates a "Representation of identity and identity constructions" in the Philippines and in Toronto; and the 'Blue Zone' represents "Community."

A collective art piece embodying both Filipina/o/x youths' individual and collective understandings of identity and belonging was developed by the youth as a representation of the connection between their individual and collective identities and how they make sense of their belonging in Toronto urban schools. The activity was mainly non-verbal as the youth reflected through their drawings and thus was not audio-recorded. The intention for this collective art piece was to possibly utilize the emergent themes as an advocacy tool.

Once the individual interviews with all the youth participants were completed, I met with the youth collectively once more for 2 hours to co-create a *paper quilt*: a collective art project that represents their idea of group identity (Taylor & Murphy, 2013, p. 170). Each participant received their own piece of paper to draw and/or write a story or poem, reflecting on the themes from the Vidaview Storyboard, which were: *Family/Close Relations*; *Representation of Identity and Identity Constructions*; and *Community*. The participants chose the themes to focus on, but some prompting questions were: What kinds of meaningful symbol(s), poems, stories, art remind you of your close relationships, particularly with the parent/guardian whom you experienced separation and reunification with? (Family/Close Relations); What kinds of symbols, poems, art, stories help you understand your identity as a Filipina/o/x person? (Representation of Identity and Identity Constructions); What kinds of symbols, art, poems,

stories, remind you of the meaningful relationships you have with Filipina/o/x community members? (Community). I informed the participants that there would be no identifying information in the final product. Once the youth finished their individual pieces, each picture counted as a patch on the paper quilt (Taylor & Murphy, 2013). The original piece was given to one of the sites, while I kept a photograph for my data analysis.

Finally, the themes emerging from the Vidaview Storyboard, Filipina/o/x youths' parent/guardian, community leaders, and the collective art piece, will be used in the reports I intend to use as an advocacy tool for policy makers, community leaders, education systems, and social services. Finley (2011) argued "arts-based inquiry is a strategic means for political resistance…it is a form of cultural resistance and a way to create a critical and dialogic space in which to engage in struggle over the control of knowledge and domination of discourse" (p. 446). According to Finley, in critical arts-based inquiry, art provides "mechanisms and forms with which to see and hear each other's views on local socioeconomic systems, racial and cultural divides, and potential to develop common meeting spaces" (p. 435). Thus, critical arts-based qualitative research and methodology engages in social justice activism through the arts with the participants and their communities (Finley, 2011).

The next section describes how I engaged in fieldwork and field notes within the SDC and the NSC.

3.4.2 Fieldwork and Field Notes

I took detailed field notes during events, workshops, meetings, and conferences during my fieldwork, including during participant interviews, with the participants' consent. Fieldwork refers to, "learning the "native language" of the setting or program being studied and attending to variations in connations and situational use" (Patton, 2002, p. 289). Within my fieldwork, I learned about the culture of emotion surrounding family separation and reunification and the crucial role of community leaders in attending to the social and educational needs of Filipina/o/x youth and the social needs of their families. Additionally, I learned about the native language of how Filipina/o/x embody agency as they make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

Field notes refer to "reports of the observer [that] include the exact language used by participants to communicate the flavo[u]r and meaning of "native"…language" (Patton, 2002 p. 289). My field notes included a variety of techniques, such as point-form notes, detailed notes, and artwork to visually represent observations in my journal. With field notes containing the descriptions of observations, "variation include[s] the writing materials used, the time and place for recording field notes, the symbols developed by observers as their own method of shorthand, and how field notes are stored" (p. 302). After taking point-form notes, I would type up the notes after visiting the sites in a more detailed way.

Patton (2002) argued that field notes are descriptive, "they should be dated and should record such basic information as where the observation took place. Field notes contain the descriptive information that will permit you to return to an observation later during analysis" (p. 303). My own perspectives were included as "field notes also contain the observer's own feelings, reactions to the experience, and reflections about the personal meaning and significance of what has been observed" (p. 303). Lastly, field notes included my "insights, interpretations, beginning analyses, and working hypotheses about what is happening in the setting and what it means" (p. 304).

The next section describes how I engaged in fieldwork and in field notes through participant-observation.

3.4.3 Cultural Immersion as an Insider/Outsider and Co-performer

At The Newcomer Support Centre (NSC) and Services for a Diverse Community (SDC), I engaged in participant-observations of workshops, conferences, after-school programs, Youth Leadership Training programs, community events with partner organizations, and eating dinner and lunch with participants. Patton (2002) maintained that, "the participant-observer employs multiple and overlapping data collection strategies: being fully engaged in experiencing the setting (participation) while at the same time observing and talking with other participants about whatever is happening" (p. 265-266). As a participant, I was fully immersed in the programs as a member of the Filipina/o/x community in some events, however, within the registered programs for the youth, participants knew that I was a PhD

candidate studying the experiences of newcomer Filipina/o/x youth. As such, I was an "insider" as I was able to participate as a facilitator and "member in such a way as to develop the perspective of insider in [an] adult role" (Patton, 2002, p. 226). In larger community events and conferences, my researcher status was unknown and I was fully immersed as a member of the Filipina/o/x community. In all situations, I fully engaged in the activities, such as role-playing and presentations, art projects, group discussions, and meals. On a few occasions, I participated as a community leader as a guest speaker to talk about my career and educational trajectory, discussing post-secondary options, as well as to facilitate anti-oppressive workshops[5] in after-school programs.

Thus, I engaged in both emic and etic approaches as an insider/outsider, since "a participant observer shares as intimately as possible in the life and activities of the setting under study in order to develop an *insider's view* of what is happening, the emic perspective" (emphasis in original) (Patton, 2002, p. 267). The etic perspective refers to capturing the perspective of the ethnographer, or the, "outsider's view. The etic viewpoint of the ethnographer implied some important degree of detachment or…level of conceptual analysis and abstraction" (Patton, 2002, p. 84).

In the next section, I will explicate how I engaged in data analyses.

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[5] Workshop ideas, such as Safe Space Agreements, Body Maps, and Community Circles Strategies were adapted from this source:

Rock, C., Fletcher, J., Lyons, D., McClenaghan, M., Ogilvie, L., Thompson, C…Truscott, H. (2013). *Beyond Intersections…: Equity, Diversity & Social Justice: K-12 Strategy Toolkit* (pp. 15-16). Supporting inclusive schools. Retrieved from: http://equity.oesc-cseo.org/Download.aspx?rid=10127.

3.5   Data Analysis: Four Seasons of Ethnography and Cultural Representation

I examined the relevance of participants' particular local experiences to broader global economic processes and evaluated interventions in terms of their implications for addressing equity concerns related to the schooling experiences of Filipino/a/x youth (Madison, 2012). Data analysis is a process of identifying "significant patterns…and construct[ing] a framework for communicating" what the data revealed (Patton, 1990, p. 371-372). To begin the process of fieldwork and cultural immersion in the community organization, González (2000) proposed that the researcher let go of control in order to honour the sacred and spiritual cycles of the Four Seasons of Ethnography: Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter.

Spring is a time of "much introspection and honest observation of the self" (González, 2000, p. 638). Summer "is a time of intense realizations…this is what true immersion fieldwork is like…making it through the summer of ethnography means working even when fatigued, heat-exhausted, and weary. This fatigue will be mental, emotional, and spiritual as well as physical (p. 642). The season of Autumn "is the stage when the ethnographer needs to concentrate on his or her task, because it is at this point that winter is anticipated" (p. 644). Lastly, "Winter will be the time of writing and publishing, of sharing one's work publicly. Without a good harvest, one's effort will be of naught" (p. 644).

González (2000) identified these seasons as *rooted in a holistic ontology of circular order* where both traditional and non-traditional analytic methods were applied. Furthermore, Patton (1990) argued "there is typically not a precise point at which data collection ends and analysis begins…it is important to keep track of analytical insights that occur during data collection" (p. 377-378). The Four Seasons of Ethnography serves a means for self-reflexivity and a reminder of the circular rather than linear process of research.

Keeping the connection between critical ethnography and the Four Seasons of Ethnography in mind, it was important to utilize art with the youth in order to elicit expression around "the

multivocalic nature of the research process…those formerly voiceless communities [were] able to participate in a variety of public forums in which their non-mainstream positions can been effectively aired" (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 474). Observations of events, programs, interviews, and community interaction were recorded each time I visited the sites through field notes. I shared some of the observations with the participants, mainly with community leaders during interviews and interactions in workshops, programs, and events throughout my time at the site, as they are the ones I mostly had contact with.

Patton (1990) maintained that field notes were descriptions of observations that help researchers understand the context of the setting and interaction among participants, and these need to be formally recorded as soon as possible. Thus, I used field notes and drew in an art book if I could not describe the experiences in words right after my visits to the site. Patton (1990), for example, stated that field notes were descriptive details of the activities, events, physical setting, social interactions, and the location and date of the observations. He further indicated that observations are concrete descriptions rather than interpretations, feelings, reflections, and reactions, though the observer should include these experiences in their field notes as separate and bracketed from observations. Other types of observations entailed recording quotations during fieldwork (Patton, 1990).

In critical ethnography, the researcher needs to be politically or emotionally, or both, involved with participants and avoid treating participants "solely as depersonalized objects of research" (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 474). Moreover, the researcher needs to ask relevant questions in order to "look within the community for answers drawing on its own untapped (and perhaps unrecognized) resources" (p. 474). Lastly, as an advocate, the researcher "ends up working *with* the community, rather than working *for* the community, which implies a more distanced stance" (emphasis in original) (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, 474). In this sense, the current study engaged in advocacy *with* the Filipina/o/x community as many of the answers and solutions emerged from the perspectives of the participants.

The data analysis first included a descriptive analysis that attempted to answer the research questions of the study. Patton (1990), for example, proposed that it is important not to rush the description phase and jump into interpretation and finding patterns for an analytic framework, which is similar to González's (2000) suggestion to not rush the process of doing ethnography. This "conceptualization" phase, Patton (1990) claimed, helps the researcher to focus on information relevant to the study, as well as prepare for the results section.

In Autumn (see González, 2000), was the season in which I organized and analyzed the data into two "primary sources…(1) the questions that were generated during the conceptual phase of the study and clarified prior to final analysis and (2) analytic insights and interpretations that emerged during data collection" (Patton, 1990, p. 378). The traditional methods of data analysis included transcribing interviews, coding insights, grouping codes, creating themes from grouped codes, and interpretation (Creswell, 2003). The participants were given the opportunity to verify and revise my analyses for triangulation purposes as I often returned to the sites and spoke with the settlement workers about the data. In addition to these methods, I utilized *crystallization*, which:

> Seeks to produce knowledge about a particular phenomenon through generating a deepened, complex, interpretation…Utilizes forms of analysis or ways of producing knowledge across multiple points of the qualitative continuum, generally including…constructivist…and one interpretive, artistic, performative, or otherwise creative approach…Crystallized texts include more than one genre of writing or representation…[and] feature a significant degree of reflexive consideration of the researcher's self in the process of research design, collection of empirical materials, and representation. [Finally], crystallization eschews positivist claims to objectivity and a singular, discoverable truth and embraces, reveals, and even celebrates knowledge as inevitably situated, partial, constructed, multiple, and embodied. (Ellingson, 2011, p. 605)

I used *integrated crystallization,* a single representation, such as when "small pieces of two or more genres are layered together in a complex blend" (Ellingson, p. 605) to provide a cultural representation of the triangulated data sources. In terms of validity, the *triangulation* of qualitative data sources was used to compare observational and interview data as well as to compare participants' quotations during group activities/events and individual interviews; checking for consistency from what participants say about a particular theme over time; and comparing different perspectives from the youth, community leaders, and parents/guardians (Patton, 1990). Thus, *triangulation* of qualitative data sources was helpful in the overall evaluation of advocacy needed for the participants and their communities (Patton, 1990).

3.6   The Four Ethics of a Postcolonial Ethnography

The Four Seasons of Ethnography—Spring, Winter, Autumn, Summer—are part of a *holistic ontology of circular order* in which there are specific ethics an ethnographer engages with, particularly within postcolonial ethnography (González, 2000, 2003). As I engage in identity and belonging, intersectionality, postcolonial and transnational feminist theoretical frameworks, I view my ethnographic study as postcolonial in nature. González (2003) offered alternative meanings to colonial meanings with her conceptualization of the Four Ethics of Postcolonial Ethnography: accountability; context; truthfulness; and community. She challenged the colonial meanings of these words and encouraged ethnographers to look at the word itself, acknowledging that meanings have been taken for granted. Once ethnographers recognize that colonial meanings have permeated the words, they can,

> meditatively "let go" of this meaning [and] invit[e] the new interpretation [to] fill the accustomed meaning occupied. It is much more difficult to embody this practice than to conceptualize it, but my experience is that without such an embodiment of the transformation of meaning, there is no real transformation. A postcolonial stance reclaims the full body as participant in meaning. Not only has the mind been colonized. Without the subjugation of the body, the mind could never be held captive. (González, 2003, p. 83)

Thus, shifting to a postcolonial mindset goes beyond just engaging the mind, but also the body and the sacred, which can "lead us to discover the organic ethics of postcolonial ethnography emerging. Attempting to practice our ethnography with these ethics can highlight where we are still captive to the colonial mind" (González, 2003, p. 85). Identifying where colonialism still exists in the meaning of words may be viewed as a decolonization process.

Within a colonial mindset, the first ethic, accountability, tends to focus on the "rules" and the repercussions if these are not followed. González (2003) encouraged ethnographers to "begin to look at the word. Account-ability. The ability to account. To tell a story" (p. 83). I do, of course, believe that ethnographers should take responsibility and not harm participants; however, accountability may mean more than just a concern about repercussions and following the rules:

> The ethic of accountability is not just the telling of the ethnographic tale. It is the telling of *our* story…there is no natural boundary between a story and our learning of it. In order to know a story, it has to become part of us. In practice, this ethic reflects itself in our ability to explain how we came to know what we know. What were the decisions and actions we made and took while engaging in our ethnographic research? While we discovered and opened to awareness and cultural knowledge, what were we challenged with? To what did we close ourselves? (González, 2003, p. 84)

Thus, a postcolonial ethnography entails an engagement with self-reflection in order to come to deeper knowledge of how ethnographers understand their knowledge. Practical application of accountability in a postcolonial sense asks ethnographers to look at their own behaviours, actions, challenges, and cultural influences. To understand one's cultural background, the second ethic to keep in mind is context. González (2003) proposed that the ethnographer be mindful of the following questions when considering context, which goes beyond a description of the surrounding environment, "What were the political, social, environmental, physical, and emotional surroundings of one's story? What was happening in the lives of the people about who the story is told? What features of the setting are vital to "getting" the

story?" (p. 84). Thus, through a holistic account of context, the ethnographer also engages in accountability in a postcolonial sense.

The ethics of accountability and context allow for truthfulness of colonialism and postcolonialism to emerge. In the ethic of truthfulness, vulnerability exists as the shame, fear, and dishonest nature of colonialism are identified, the "postcolonial voice is a courageous voice, full of heart, fully aware of the colonial imperatives and rather than a fighting against them, daring to speak nakedly *in spite* of them" (emphasis in original) (González, 2003, p. 84).

Lastly, the fourth ethic, community, goes beyond people working together on social and political projects. Within a postcolonial ethnography, misunderstandings and/or oppositions exist, but the "ethic of community challenges us to further open ourselves that we might be better seen and understood. This is absolutely in contradiction to the notions of defensiveness inherent in colonialist, territorial, competitive approaches" (p.85). There is a sense of compassionate learning through challenge rather than defense through postcolonial ethnography.

Additionally, when there is a disagreement, compassionate responses do not necessarily mean agreeing but,

> rather, compassion is the willingness to open one's self to see, hear, feel, taste and smell everything about another's experience—at the same time as we share our own experience without intentional or strategic, fearful distortion so that it might also be experienced by those open to community with us. Often the most compassionate sharing of one's tale will make others uncomfortable—not because we have chosen to be harsh, but because they are unaccustomed to our experience of reality. (González, 2003, p. 85)

Through my own vulnerabilities and compassion, I engage fully with these ethics and detail them in my fieldwork and field notes section in chapter 4.

3.7 Critical Ethnography's Limitations and Strengths

Although critical ethnography has the potential to transform social inequities, it is not without its limitations. Angrosino (2005) pointed out the possibility of harm when researchers attempt to "move academic research to the application of research in service to a social agenda. Such action would seem to require intervention or advocacy" (p. 736). I connect Angrosino's argument to critical ethnography's aim to redress inequities through the researcher's advocacy. Both Angrosino (2005) and Madison (2005; 2012) note that while participants are considered research collaborators, the researcher still holds the privilege in the research relationship, thus holding the power to (re)produce harm. Angrosino (2005) provided ethical guidelines for researchers engaging in advocacy work and noted that they do not need to become distant observers in order to avoid harm: "Ensure that the means used do not cause disproportionate harm…[and that] the means used to achieve the value will not undermine it" (p. 737). Lastly, the researcher needs to choose methods that have the least potential to do harm (Angrosino, 2005). Thus, it is ethical for the researcher engaging in critical ethnography to acknowledge potential harm and to take responsibility in minimizing harm as much as possible. Hickey and Austin (2009) argued that while critical ethnography goes beyond traditional ethnography with regard to social justice and advocacy, it is not enough to fully transform the social system. Rather, critical ethnography is seen as a means to the beginning of social transformation (Trueba & McLaren, 2000).

Nevertheless, one of critical ethnography's strengths is that it allows for the "insurrection of subjugated knowledges…a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate…located low down the hierarchy, beneath the required level of…scientificity" (Foucault, 1980, p. 82). Socially and historically constructed as marginalized, Filipina/o/x youth in this current study were provided opportunities to "insurrect subjugated knowledges" (Foucault, 1980, p. 82) through the spaces that were created for them to talk about their lives and experiences.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided justification for my use of critical and performance ethnography through arts-based oral history and memory interviews and discussed the research sites, participant recruitment, as well my approach to data analysis through the Four Seasons of Ethnography, triangulation, and crystallizing cultural representation. I also explicated my positionality in relation to "cultural intuition"and my own background as a Filipina woman conducting research on Filipina/o/x youth. The next chapter contains my field notes during the data collection phase of the study.

Chapter 4

Situating My Insider/Outsider and Co-Performer Status in the Field

4 Introduction

In this section, I situate my positionality as an insider/outsider, describe my field work experience, and share my own observations and insights as a "vulnerable observer." I describe how I gained entry into the two sites, the Newcomer Support Centre (NSC) and the Services for a Diverse Community (SDC), and how I engaged with my positionality within the field to acknowledge my privilege as a researcher and the responsibility to identify and work toward addressing inequities in the lives of the participants (see Madison, 2012). As an "insider," I explicate my own experiences of transnational migration through my parents and my own processes of subjectification and of decolonization as a racialized Filipina subject. As an outsider I acknowledge the ways in which my experiences differ from the Filipina/o/x youth as I have not experienced family separation and reunification through the Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP) as a Canadian-born citizen, and I do not speak Tagalog, the national language of the Philippines, or any other Philippine languages/dialects, though I fully comprehend Tagalog. Additionally, I identify the ways in which the NSC and the SDC have engaged in transnational feminist praxis through collaborative enterprises and note the importance of using critical arts-based inquiry with the youth (see Finley, 2011).

4.1 Vulnerable Observer

As a *vulnerable observer* (see Behar, 1996), I was a witness to the participants' emotions as well as how they utilize their agency to make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Moreover, as a researcher I connected with my emotions as well as the spiritual and the scared in a circular rather than linear process (See González, 2000). Dillard and Okapaloka (2011) understood that "*spirituality* is to have a consciousness of the realm of

spirit in one's work and to recognize that consciousness as a transformative force in research and teaching" (emphasis in the original) (p. 155). The *sacred* refers to "*the way the work is honoured and embraced as it [is] carried out…*work that is worthy of being held with *reverence* as it is done" (emphasis in original) (Dillard & Okapaloka, 2011, p.148-149). Madison (2012) maintains that sensuality, or the use of the senses in an important aspect of ethnography, "The researcher embraces the emotions and sensuality of *what* is being described through highlighting, sometimes redescribing, the remembered textures, smells, sounds, tastes, and sights rendered through story and performance" (emphasis in original) (p. 36). During fieldwork, I was completely immersed in my senses I smelled and tasted food; I heard music and conversations in Tagalog, other Filipino languages and English; I saw laughter, shyness, openness, dancing and tears; and I touched pen, paper, and markers to mark my insider/outsider status through artwork. As an insider, I felt a sense of belonging as a member of the Filipina/o/x community in Toronto. However, as an outsider, I was a witness to the youths' experiences of family separation and reunification through the L/CP. Before continuing on to the participants' data analysis, I will share some of my relevant field notes:

> This is the first set of interviews with the youth at SDC (Services for a Diverse Community), and I interviewed 4 students in a row! It has been such a rough 5 months at NSC (Newcomer Support Centre) because I was not able to get any participants, though I tried so hard to get participants. But luckily enough, I found NSC and great school settlement workers who have office space at the school and who run their programs within the school setting. I was introduced to students at lunch at the cafeteria and tomorrow I will be participating in their after school program led by the NSC facilitators. It's great that the students can just walk into the office and feel safe in doing so. One Filipino student just opened up to the settlement workers and said that he thinks that he is bisexual. I also like how there are programs for all newcomer students, but also how there are culturally-specific ones too. The settlement workers are attentive to the needs of the students, providing them with snacks, juice, and a listening ear. When it came to the interviews, I was surprised about how open the students were about their lives and their emotions. I feel like they were waiting for

someone to just ask them about how it was like to be separated from their mothers for so long. (October 11, 2016)

During my first 5 months of fieldwork at the NSC, I was not able to interview participants. Upon meeting the Executive Director, Sonya,[6] she explained that the NSC had a negative experience with university researchers in the past and wanted to consult with the rest of the staff to see what their perspectives were about me doing research at the site. Due to this previous experience, she shared that she wanted me to gain the trust of potential participants as well as the staff, and one of the ways to do this was to participate in programs, workshops, and community events. It took approximately two weeks before Sonya and I reconnected after our initial meeting and she granted me permission to enter the site under the condition that I immerse myself within the organization's culture before interviewing potential participants. From May to July, 2016, I found it difficult to get to know participants on a deeper level because the programs were usually one-day workshops and I would not see the participants again. Also, I was not able to attend some after-school programs due to schedule conflicts, and these programs ended in mid-June, 2016. For the month of July, 2016 I was actively recruiting potential parents for interviews through brief presentations of my research, emails, and phone calls. While there was some interest, many of these parents have not yet been reunified with their children or did not come to Canada through the L/CP, or some simply decided not to participate. There were no youth programs until August, 2016 when the Youth Summer Program took place for 10 weeks. I also attempted to recruit youth during this program through a brief presentation of my research as well as contact through email and telephone calls. There was initial interest with a few youth, though they changed their minds later on. Though I experienced difficulties in participant recruitment and gaining entry into the NSC, I had the opportunity to fully engage in cultural immersion and observe how the

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[6] Pseudonym

NSC addresses the social needs of the Filipina/o/x community in Toronto, particularly newcomers and women who came through the L/CP. Also, I was able to observe that community partnerships with key organizations are vital to supporting the educational and social needs of Filipina/ox youth and their families. The following is an excerpt from my field notes at a community event:

> I am still not sure if the NSC will approve my entry into the site as I was asked to gain the trust of community members before engaging in data collection. I agree that this is the best entry point into the site. I was invited to volunteer at a community event and I decided to participate. I knew most of the members there as I have been regularly attending community events for the last 5 years. The event consisted of different health and social service organizations with tables containing information such as brochures and pamphlets that attempted to address the social needs of the Filipina/o/x community in Toronto. It is important to note that there are counselling services available for participants of the L/CP and a resource kit for migrant workers in both Tagalog and English that contains information about legal rights as well as contact information for social, employment, individual, group and family, and health services. In addition, there was a group for youth support as well as LGBTQ services available for culturally-specific groups. (April 16, 2016)

I thought it was important to note that there were a variety of referral, information, health, and social supports for the Filipina/o/x community, particularly for the youth, as they navigate their lives in educational and social spaces. These community organizations may provide the safe spaces for Filipina/o/x youth to make sense of their identity and belonging; help facilitate the youths' individual understandings of how gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, spirituality, and religion influence their identities and address the concerns and opportunities of global migration (see Mohanty, 2003) through the L/CP, the main concerns being the emotional, psychological, and educational impact of family separation and reunification on the youth.

Migrant scholars who study family separation and reunification among diverse transnational families argue that the process is traumatic (Castañeda & Buck, 2011; Lee, 2014; Mazzucato & Schans, 2011; Pratt, 2012; Zentgraf & Chinchilla; 2012) as "migrants are not only affected by political and social realities, but also by psychological ones" (Castañeda & Buck, 2011, p. 89). Having counselling services available to assist transnational families in a culturally-specific manner, such as the services available for the Filipina/o/x community, may help to address the effects of family separation and reunification through the L/CP.

Having these organizations address the specific needs of Filipina/o/x youth may facilitate the process of utilizing their agency to make sense of their transnational identities in Toronto urban schools. It is important to also acknowledge that individuals may experience family separation and reunification through the L/CP differently, "viewing migration as trauma does not mean that all migrants face paralyzing emotional pain. Like all traumas, an individual's response is highly dependent on character, maturity, life experience, past responses to traumas and the quality of parenting received" (Castañeda & Buck, 2011, p. 89). I think this is an important piece of information for social services, educational systems, and policy makers to understand as family separation and reunification through the L/CP impacts individuals differently.

4.2   Rooted and Uprooted

As part of the program on April 16, 2016, I engaged in a body map[7] exercise of migration (see Figure 1), which helped to visually represent my positionality as an insider/outsider and

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[7] A similar activity can be found in the body mapping exercises with undocument migrant workers:

Gastaldo, D., Magalhães, L., Carrasco, C., & Davy, C. (2012). Body-map storytelling as research: Methodological considerations for telling the stories of undocumented workers through body mapping. Retrieved from http://www. migrationhealth.ca/undocumented-workers-ontario/body-mapping.

my embodied transnational experiences as a second-generation Filipina-Canadian. Instead of having my whole body traced, I used a body map outline. Here is what I wrote in my field notes after the event was over:

> I am rooted and have been uprooted from my roots. I know of the Philippines, but it is also so foreign to me. My whole body has been affected by my family's migration to Canada, even though I was born and raised here, but the legacy of my parents' experiences is my story too, and their firsthand experiences of racism haunt me... But my strength lies in my heart and mind as I work with these tools to transform society. In my heart is my community, my loved ones, and the youth that I have worked with on such an emotionally intimate level. My hands are creative and I constantly create, whether through art, jewellery, or through written form. My feet symbolize migration and my transnational roots and my own process of identity and belonging, which is still in the making. (April 16, 2016)

Feel free to draw, write or colour on any other parts of your silhouette, or outside of it, reflecting your own experiences and day-to-day reality.

How have parts of you been affected by your own or your familiy's migration to Canada?

the well-being of marginalized groups **is** constantly on my mind.

Head

-who or what is on your mind frequently? What are symbols for these things?
-what does stress look like inside your body?

stress   stress

I was born and raised in Canada but my parents are from the Philippines

Heart -think of someone or something you really care about and symbolize this

family
Loved ones   Strength   friends
community

Strength in my community looks like gathering and laughing together but also looks like engaging in social justice through creative means.

I create with my hands

I carry my family's migration history — The burdens and the sources of strength

I give back to others? - what are things you make for yourself for others?

Hands

I am transforming myself and society and I am taking my communities with me

I am in the process of unlearning cultural shame

I learned to challenge colonial influences and its effects on my identity

-do you now have roots in different places?

-what does the inside your body? where is it found?

Feet

-what does strength look like inside your body? where is it found?

Now to the **right** of your silhouette draw colour or write something to symbolize where you're going.
-is it a place?
-is it a transformation or expectation of yourself?
-who are you taking with you?
Draw or colour to symbolize these things.

What teachings or traditions do you carry with you?
-what do these look like inside your body? who taught them to you?
-did you have to <u>unlearn</u> some of these teachings or traditions? Draw them <u>outside</u> of yourself

I have roots in the Philippines   uprooted   I have roots in Canada

Where are you from? To the <u>left</u> of your silhouette draw, write, or colour to represent:
-what kind of place is this?
-what does making a living look like here (what are the usual types of jobs/occupation) ?
-what does strength look like in the community that you are from?

Figure 1: The Researcher's Body Map

My body map represents how I view my transnational identity, which goes beyond identification as "Filipina" and as "Canadian." While there are national borders surrounding the Philippines and Canada, I am rooted in both lands in different ways. My transnational identity is situated within a borderland rather than through borders. As Anzaldúa (1999) pointed out:

> Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them.* A border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge. A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition. The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants…those who cross over, pass over, or go through the confines of 'normal.' (emphasis in original) (p. 25)

The "emotional residue" of my parents' migration has affected how my own identity is in "a constant state of transition." As I mentioned in the body map that "I am in the process of unlearning cultural shame," cultural shame exists as an effect of colonization; however, I am constantly negotiating its effects. I expressed that, "I have roots in the Philippines" and "I have roots in Canada" in my body map, which also represents a borderland in that, "the Third World grates against the first and bleeds…[and] the lifeblood of two worlds merge to form a third country—a border culture" (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 25). As I unlearn cultural shame and make sense of the "emotional residues" of colonialism within a "border culture," I engage in acts of decolonization through the process of uncovering the impacts of imperialism and colonialism and its effect of on my family and community within a borderland (Anzaldúa, 1999; de Jesús, 2005; Mohanty, 2003; Pierce, 2005). In examining the effects of colonization in my personal and family life, I am able to move, "toward more positive strategies for change" (Pierce, 2005, p. 37). I think engaging in creative arts expression is a tool that one may use to engage in decolonization processes as I shared in my body map that, "I am transforming myself and society and I am taking my communities with me" (see Figure 1). As I engage in my own decolonization process, "I change myself [so] I [can] change the world" (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 71).

My body map represents my own displacement from being "uprooted"
from the Philippines as global migration has, "created new displacements, new diasporas"
(Brah, 2003, p. 614). Diaspora can be understood as theoretical tool and as a concept to
facilitate understandings of migration experiences:

> I suggest that the concept of diaspora should be understood in terms of historically
> contingent 'genealogies' in the Foucauldian sense, that is, as an ensemble of
> investigative technologies that historicise trajectories of different diasporas, and
> analyse their relationality across fields of social relations, subjectivity, and identity. I
> argue that the concept of diaspora offers a critique of discourses of fixed origins, while
> taking account of a homing desire which is not the same thing as a desire for a
> 'homeland.' This distinction is important, not least because not all diasporas sustain an
> ideology of 'return.' (p. 614-615)

Colonialization has impacted my parents' migration experiences and thus, my transnational
identity. My body map provides a visualization of how I have engaged in my own
decolonization and agentic process as the ethnographer of the study and as a Filipina subject
within the Filipina/o/x community in Toronto:

> The practice of ethnography no longer exists primarily to serve the interests of
> colonialist agency. The methodology of such a postcolonial ethnography is therefore
> radically different, requiring the ethnographer to embody the postcolonial
> reality…Being comfortable in one's body [and] exploring the realms of sensuality
> fully…are reflections of confidence and no longer reflect the hierarchically driven
> fears and apprehensions of the insecure colonial standpoint. Voice is the clear
> channeling of honest mindful experience. We begin to share stories without colonialist
> guile. (González, 2003, p.83)

4.3 Cultural Immersion

I was officially accepted into the NSC in May, 2016 and for my orientation, I reviewed the history, mission, and values of the organization. The organization's mission is to provide services for newcomers, work toward inclusion through addressing barriers, and recognizing the cultural and educational skills of newcomers. As I immersed in the NSC, I observed how community plays out at the site: community leaders have lunch together, and prayers are often said before meals as a way to say thanks and "bless the food." While growing up, praying before having meals was a common ritual in my household and during community events, particularly religious ones at church or at celebrations.

From May-June, 2016, I engaged in participant-observation in after-school programs, which took place either at a Toronto high school or at a community centre. I was at the site once or twice a week. As a participant, I was a volunteer/facilitator during the after-school programs. The settlement worker demonstrated a close relationship with the youth and the youth deemed her as a "mother figure."

The workshops were mostly spoken in Tagalog, though when speaking to me, the youth would speak in English. This was uncomfortable because I thought, why do they have to speak English and meet my needs instead of me speaking to them in Tagalog? However, I understood that given the historical moment that my parents arrived to Canada, it was common practice for Filipina/o/x parents to not teach their children Tagalog and to privilege English as the main language. Nevertheless, letting the students speak in Tagalog while also understanding the conversations allowed me to observe that the settlement worker created safe space for them as they did not have to conform to speaking in English.

While I did not attend the workshops from the start, the settlement worker had asked the students for their input. I think it is important to add the students' input as it demonstrates a collaborative approach to meeting their social and educational needs. Most students seemed to appreciate the program as it talked about career development and relationship skills, though

they mentioned that they would like to see more art, dance, and trips in the after-school program.

In August, 2016 there was a 10-week youth summer program that involved community partners at the NSC. What I found significant was the ability of the community leaders to bring in partners from America as well as from social service organizations in Toronto. It also centred on the youth's voices as they were involved in program planning and brain storming for future events for themselves as well as for future newcomer youth. Inviting partners from America demonstrated how that while there may be similarities between the Filipina/o/x diaspora there and in here, it is just as important to address the social needs locally as they are context-specific. On August 9, 2016, I wrote the following in my field notes:

> Today there were two guest speakers who engaged with the youth in an embodied way. Their pedagogy was amazing as they spoke about anti-oppression in an interactive way such that the youth remained engaged. For example, they talked about equity through a running game where the one who was oppressed had to jump through many barriers while the privileged one had won the race even though the length of the race track was "equal." Another example was talking in a circle with the youth rather than talking at the front "lecture" style. The youth seemed to receive this very well, though some appeared to be shy talking within this format. The leaders went around the group to ask what their preferred gender pronoun was "his, her, or they." Many identified as cisgender, but one youth said "he/she." The other youth started laughing, but the leaders talked about how this is okay as one leader identified as "they." At the end of the workshop, they deconstructed the Filipina named "Maria" and the lesson was about how the meaning of "Filipino" changes and is in constant flux. The youth also engaged in collages to demonstrate how oppression impacts the body. This is how I want to engage with the youth, in an embodied way, and relate the ideas of anti-oppressive practice to their concrete experiences.

I found this workshop significant, because it demonstrated how transnational feminist praxis methods may be used among transnational youth within social services and may be applicable to educational systems. The community leaders' pedagogy attended to the, "racialized, classed, masculinized, and heteronormative logics and practices of globalization and capitalist patriarchies, and the multiple ways in which they (re)structure colonial and neocolonial relations of domination and subordination" (Nagar & Swarr, 2010, p. 5). The activities demonstrated how these logics get played out in their embodied experiences as transnational youth and students in Toronto urban high schools.

Deconstructing "Maria" and asking the youth about their preferred gendered pronoun are practical tools that help to, "grapple with the complex and contradictory ways in which these processes both inform and are shaped by a range of subjectivities and understandings of individual and collective agency" (Nagar & Swarr, 2010, p. 5). The agency of the youth is thus relationally constituted and contingent upon the pedagogies of the community leaders, which may be applicable to educational systems and how they relate to transnational students. The deconstruction of the colonial "Maria" and the social justice activities the youth engaged reflects the notion of how, "the colonialist context is defeat[ed]…and is transformed into an environment within which full agency can be exercised" (González, 2003, p. 82).

In September, 2016 I was becoming concerned about the fact that I did not have any participants, though I tried to recruit them through handing out flyers, emailing potential participants, and through the help of community leaders. I reached out to a colleague and mentioned to her that I would be doing the PhD "forever" because I did not have any participants. She encouraged me and said, "You'll never know! You could get a bunch of participants all of sudden!" At this point, I was doubtful, but it also helped me to engage with another organization, the SDC. From the day I started at the SDC, there were youth interested in talking about their experiences.

4.4   Participant-Observation and the Four Seasons of Ethnography

González (2000) challenged the linear beliefs that the study had to be done in a particular way within a given timeframe, i.e., that after approval from the Research Ethics Board (REB) from Western University and from the Executive Director of the first site, I would be able to begin research and be done within 6-9 months. Upon reflection, the data collection part worked out toward the last few months of the research and in relatively prompt timing. However, the beginning of the study resembled more of the *holistic ontology of circular order* (González, 2000, p. 628) that González conceptualizes in the *Four Seasons of Ethnography* (see chapter 3 of this dissertation).

González (2000) named my concern with finishing on time as, "*opportunism…*the linear and material orientation to process manifests itself in beliefs that research methods and outcomes should reflect predictable forms" (p. 630). This is where my vulnerability came in as a PhD candidate with pressures to finish on time while also remaining ethical through the "natural cycles" (appropriateness) (p. 632). As the ethnographer of the study, gaining entry to sites and building mutually trusting relationships takes a significant amount of time and it is difficult to predict the outcome:

> A sensitivity to seasonal cues must develop to appropriately respond throughout one's research, requiring much of the researcher as a human instrument. If the seeds are not planted at the appropriate time, in other words, allowing for the development of deep analytic skills and awareness-in-practice of the value of all forms of research-related experience, researchers are not accustomed to such necessary heightened awareness can find it fatiguing. (González, 2000, pp. 632-633)

During the months of participant recruitment, I was able to build mutually trusting relationship and observe the dynamics within the site. At the same time, I felt like the "vulnerable observer," which Behar (1996) stated as, "the desire to enter into world around

you and having no idea how to do it, the fear of observing too coldly or too distractedly…the insight that is always arriving late" (p. 3). These vulnerabilities connected to whether or not I would have been able to gain entry into the NSC and interview participants for the study after trying so hard during the first five months. At the five month mark, I needed to make a "risky" decision and trust that it would work out, and I chose to add another site mid-point during the study while still remaining involved in the first site.

In both sites, I was the insider/outsider, which also positioned me as the vulnerable observer. Behar's (1996) explanation of the insider/outsider sums up my vulnerabilities while going through the process of gaining entry into the sites as well as participant recruitment:

> Our intellectual mission is deeply paradoxical: get the "native point of view"…without actually 'going native.' Our methodology, defined by the oxymoron 'participant observation,' is split at the root: act as a participant, but don't forget to keep your eyes open. Lay down in the mud in Colombia…but when the grant money runs out, or the summer vacation is over, please stand up, dust yourself off, go to your desk, and write down what you saw and heard. (p. 5)

This paradoxical position also reminds me of how I embodied the concept of "borderlands" within my body map in that I am both rooted and have been uprooted from the Philippines and in Canada.

In terms of time spent at the sites, I spent two or three days a week at the SDC to conduct interviews and participate and observe in after-school programs and I went to the NSC once a week to continue the relationship with the organization and engage in participant-observation. Eventually, three students from the NSC decided to participate in the study in November, 2016 as well.

I had originally started fieldwork with one site, the NSC. The NSC has two offices located in Toronto, one main office and one satellite. This site offers newcomer settlement services such

as life skills, advocacy, language interpretation, information and referral services, and career planning and advice. This site also works with newcomer clients individually and in groups and who are of various cultural backgrounds and age groups, mainly women, seniors, and youth. Most of the clients speak Tagalog/Filipino, Nepali, Tibetan, and English, and they serve clients who speak 14 other languages from all over the world. Some of the programs for women included workshops on women's rights and information about violence against women. These workshops are usually done in partnership with other organizations. For the youth, they have summer camps during the summer break and after-school programming from September to June. The settlement workers travel to Toronto high schools and for culturally-specific programming designed for Filipina/o/x youth. The aim of these programs is to help newcomer Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto high schools feel and become empowered. For seniors, support groups are provided to help them deal with loneliness, abuse, job and housing searches, and pension applications.

I conducted fieldwork at the SDC from October, 2016 to February, 2017. Like the NSC, the SDC works with diverse newcomer communities of newcomers of all within in culturally specific programming. Unlike the NSC, SDC's the school settlement workers are located within Toronto urban schools, thus making it more accessible for students to come to the office during lunch and after school. If the students were having a difficult time in the classroom, teachers often sent them to the SDC office for further support. Guidance counsellors also worked closely with the school settlement workers, particularly when encountering concerns with newcomer students. The SDC works with a variety of age groups, including the early years (below 5 years old) and offers English language learning at their sites. Settlement workers are also situated in local libraries as their form of outreach to newcomers. The SDC engages in technology through Digital Storytelling to reach out to families, youth, and others in the community. The purpose of Digital Storytelling is for newcomers of all ages to share their stories of migration or any story they would like to share with the community. In schools, teachers have also been adopting this method as a way to relate to their students. In terms of community policies, the SDC engages with partner

organizations to gather people to talk about things that matter and as a way to be active and engaged in politics and in society.

I spent the majority of time at the SDC as a participant-observer in youth after-school programs from October, 2016 to February, 2017. The topics ranged from learning about the youths' family's migration history; positive self-talk; learning about Filipino de-professionalization and community power; showcasing Filipino professionals; and learning about social services. Some of the methods that the facilitator used to engage the students were mindfulness/meditation tools, art, role-playing, video, and games. These programs were developed in order to help Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their intersectional identities as well as to gain an understanding of their global migration experiences as newcomers, particularly through the Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP). They were able to safely engage with others about the impact of family separation and reunification, such as the reasons why their parents, usually their mothers, are still stuck in low-paying jobs and why they barely see them. Along with this process in the workshops, such as positive self-talk, the youth were able to engage how these global migration processes have impacted their transnational identities in Toronto urban schools. Thus, the SDC played a role in facilitating the youths' agency that is not individualistic but in an agency that engages with the,

> *processes of subjectification*—the processes which people become bearers of social structures. Processes of subjectification give the researchers access to ways of thinking and writing about categories such as a race, gender, sexuality,….without reifying them and without divesting them of the historical relations of power through which they are produced. Analyses and narratives about who people are, and the lives they have lived, will always be incomplete if we cannot see the processes of social formation through which they became inaugurated as subjects. (Pascale, 2011, pp.154-155)

One guidance counsellor also attended some of the sessions to gain an understanding of the impact of family separation and reunification on Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools. He was able to voice his position within the social structures that constructed him as

privileged, White, male, and he encouraged the youth to challenge oppression. The youth performed during role play activities and (re)enacted the difficulties of attaining jobs due to racialized, gendered, and classed oppressions. Interestingly, there were other newcomer youth from Africa and White male youth who attended sessions. They shared that had it not been for the workshops they would not have known that many of the Filipina/o/x youth had been separated from their mothers for a long time. The purpose of the workshops was to assist the school staff in meeting the educational and social needs of the Filipina/o/x youth; to help build agency among the youth to become self-advocates; help reduce isolation by connecting youth to community and social services; and to help youth understand the economic reasons for their parents' migration in order to help bridge relationship gaps. Learning about their mothers' migration experience in particular through the lens of race, class, and gender helped to engage with the youth in an embodied way; the SDC embodied a form of transnational feminist praxis that facilitated how the youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

Nagar and Swarr (2010) asked these questions in relation to partnership collaborations, such as those between SDC and NSC and Toronto urban schools: "What forms can transnational feminist collaboration take and what limits do such forms pose?...What are the relationships among collaboration and transnational feminist theories in creating new spaces for political and intellectual engagements across North/South and East/West divides?" (p. 14). Through my fieldwork and participant-observation, I learned firsthand that partnerships between Toronto urban schools and community organizations have the potential to create collaborative efforts by creating new spaces for Filipina/o/x youth through programs. A limit to this would be if these collaborative efforts did not support the agency of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools.

Nagar and Swarr (2010) argued that activism is not an individual effort because the work of one activist is constituted within collective praxis in which members utilize:

An intersectional set of understandings, tools, and practices that can: (a) attend to racialized, classed, masculinized, and heteronormative logics and practices of globalization and capitalist patriarchies, and the multiple ways in which they (re)structure colonial and neocolonial relationships of domination and subordination; (b) grapple with the complex and contradictory ways in which these processes both inform and are shaped by a range of subjectivities and understandings of individual and collective agency; and (c) interweave critiques, actions, and self-reflexivity so as to resist a prior predictions of what might constitute feminist politics in a given place and time. (p. 5)

The workshops at the SDC attended to transnational feminist praxis in that the systemic oppression that influenced the youth's global migration were addressed. There was a White male student who frequently attended the workshops and participated in the skits that addressed the racial discrimination that Filipina/o/x newcomers face when looking for jobs. Interestingly, this particular White male student's role portrayed the exploitative employers who took advantage of the vulnerabilities of Filipina/o/x workers. A discussion followed and the guidance counsellor who attended these sessions pointed out his position as a White male who privileges from these oppressions and the youth discussed how difficult it was for their parents, who were professionals in the Philippines, to obtain their respected professions in Canada. Sensing the feelings of heaviness and overwhelm of the newcomer students as well as the White male student, the facilitator engaged in mindfulness activities to help the student feel safe and acknowledge the impact of this stress on their bodies.

On November 30, 2016, I reflected upon the youth after school program at the SDC, especially upon the time I was part of the Filipino professional panel. The youth had asked what had led us to choose our careers. My answer was a vulnerable one as I hoped to embody collaborative transnational feminist praxis through my own experiences of racism, as "praxis can become a rich source of methodological *and* theoretical interventions and agendas that can begin the process of identifying and re/claiming…space" (Nagar & Swarr, 2010, p.3). The sharing of the following experience speaks to the need to voice systemic oppression and its

impact, as well as the need to create collaborative spaces for Filipina/o/x youth to make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools:

> I was sitting at the panel with four other Filipina/o/x professionals, two were first generation and the other two were 1.5 generation as they came to Canada as young children. The panel was held in English as the audience was not all Filipina/o/x though the majority were. The two first-generation Filipinos spoke in Tagalog, but myself and the 1.5 generation Filipinas spoke in English. My heart was pumping so hard because I wasn't sure if this was the place to speak about my experiences as a Filipina growing up, but I did anyway. I told them that the reason why I chose the field that I did, as a researcher and as a psychotherapist, is because I was not welcomed in Canada growing up. There were no Filipino people around and my family experienced racism —it was right in our faces. I was told by my teachers that I had problems learning, but I 'failed' because I was mostly scared of my classmates who thought I was 'Chinese.' They made fun of Chinese people's eyes. This is why I chose the career(s) that I did: to help change society. The Filipina panelist also began to speak of her own experiences of racism, and started to tear up but held her tears back. This experience also influenced her to choose her career and to support her local community.

As Behar (1996) noted, ethnographers labour "through introspection. And then we go public again" (p. 9). Through a sharing of this story above, I was able to position myself as an insider/outsider in that my story of racism, migration, and discrimination impacted my identity and belonging in an urban school while growing up as a second-generation Filipina. As an outsider, I was able to observe how my particular experience was situated in relation to others on the panel, as well as to the newcomer Filipina/o/x youth who may have experienced issues of systemic oppression. I chose to disclose vulnerabilities in relation to the purpose of the study and revealed, "keen understanding[s] of what aspects of the self are the most important filters through which one perceives the world, and more particularly, the topic being studied…a personal voice…can lead the reader…into the enormous sea of serious social issues" (p. 13-14). The revelation may have helped the students to reflect upon their

own positionalities in relation to the social concerns that exist inside and outside of Toronto urban schools.

For November 2016 I helped facilitate 4 workshops with Filipina/o/x parents at the SDC, and the main concerns that came out of these workshops were the strained relationships between left-behind children and the inability to repair these relationships years after reunification. Some of the parents were single mothers and some were married. All of the parents described high educational expectations of their children, but the school experiences did not seem to meet their expectations. Parents indicated that their children experienced bullying or lack of attendance in school and mentioned that guidance counsellors have suggested that the child get counselling and/or see a settlement worker for support. The parents reported that the school social workers would tell the youth to attend school because "it's the law." One single mother shared that her son was caught for having drugs in his possession and that she did "not know how to parent." Zentgraf and Chinchilla (2011) maintained that due to long periods of separation and "a lack of parenting experience…create[s] challenges for parent-child reunion" (p. 357). The settlement worker and I listened to the mother as she explained that her son is a newcomer, and we asked her how the school is supporting the son with his adjustment to Canada. Answers included referring the students to school settlement workers, though not every school has a settlement worker to turn to. Pratt (2010) argued that family separation and reunification through the L/CP has had significant impact on the youth who have migrated through the program:

> Family separation and subsequent migration and reunification in Canada have been found to be disruptive to children's education, a poignant and troubling finding because so many mothers begin their migration stories from expression of hope for their children's futures. In Vancouver high schools, we have found dropout rates to be high and grades low for those who speak Tagalog at home, relative to a selection of other language groups. In interviews, school officials have pointed to the L/CP as a decisive factor. (p. 346)

I reflected on this session afterwards, which was the second out of four sessions, recording this field note on November 13, 2016:

> We expect newcomer students to succeed just like that without really knowing what's going on. For social workers to tell student like this that "it's the law" to attend school doesn't really address the issue, I think. Individual counselling is a good idea, but I also think an understanding of the students' migration experiences is just as important. I don't think the mother or the son are to blame for the "lack of skills," but I think they do need to talk about how family separation and reunification have significantly impacted their relationship. I can imagine it's a very scary topic to even begin to talk about.

These workshops took place in a private room at the SDC site and guest speakers came to talk to parents about post-secondary options for themselves or for their child and healthy financial planning. One of the workshops included support from another worker at the SDC, and she talked about self-care for parents. I also provided referrals to social services that may possibly address the needs of these families. I wrote the following after the last workshop in my field notes:

> I guess my skills as a psychotherapist came in handy during this workshops. I know that I didn't do a "therapy" session, but I was able to listen to the mothers and provide resources for them for extra support. (November 27, 2016)

In addition, I facilitated workshops both as an "insider" and as community leader. From November to December, 2016 I facilitated two social justice workshops at the SDC. The settlement worker and I planned the workshop together and we conducted a conversation circle. We went around the group asking how the students identified their gender pronoun. Most of the students were Filipina/o/x in English as a Second Language (ESL)/English Language Learners (ELLs) classes, but there were also newcomer students from Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East. The students stated at first that they did not understand

the concepts of gender identification and the settlement worker and I explained that some students whom others think is a "boy" might feel like a "girl," which they could identify as "they," or if people think you are a boy or girl and you also feel like one, you identify as "he" or "she". The school settlement worker explained that some students in the Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) at the school might feel this way too and it is better practice to ask rather than to assume. The students understood this and we went around the circle, and they described their gender pronoun. In order to get to know the students better, I passed around affirmation cards of their choice, and they described how they wanted to achieve this or how they were already like this. This icebreaker also helped them to get to know other students better. We introduced "community circle strategies"[8] to the students, which originated from Indigenous Peoples where the students held a ball when someone was talking and everyone remained quiet out of respect for the speaker. The settlement worker also spoke with them about the importance of acknowledging Indigenous Peoples as the first peoples on this land and made a connection of the land acknowledgement and Indigenous People at the beginning of the school day during the morning announcements. The students seemed to understand the concept of the community circle and shared where they had migrated from when it was their turn to speak.

The next session that the settlement worker and I facilitated was one on body maps, similar to the one that I had done myself at the April 16, 2016 event at the NSC. One of the students volunteered to have their body traced. He shared that as a newcomer, he did not feel safe in

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[8] Activity was adapted from the following source:

Rock, C., Fletcher, J., Lyons, D., McClenaghan, M., Ogilvie, L., Thompson, C…Truscott, H. (2013). *Beyond Intersections…: Equity, Diversity & Social Justice: K-12 Strategy Toolkit* (pp. 15-16). Supporting inclusive schools. Retrieved from: http://equity.oesc-cseo.org/Download.aspx?rid=10127.

Toronto. He said that he did not fear physical harm, but he did feel the need to protect himself. The conversation went deep and the youth described their experiences with sexuality, religion, spirituality, racism, sexism, and gender. One student from Latin America shared that people from his country of origin punished those in the LGBTQ community. Most of the students held religion and "God" close to their hearts. We also engaged in an activity where students were standing at different places in the room with a ball of paper in their hands. They would then try to shoot the ball into the garbage and whoever did so first was the winner. The purpose of the game was to teach them about equity and how those who were the furthest from the room were the most disadvantaged. Upon reflection of these two workshops, I wrote the following field note entry on November 28, 2016:

> The youth may not grasp abstract theories of oppression such as racism or heterosexism, especially when learning English. However, working with the youth and getting to know them better was the tool needed to help engage their embodied experiences of transnationalism. Providing concrete examples such as referring to the GSA in the school or acknowledgement of Indigenous territories in the morning announcements facilitated the learning process. I think this is important for not only educators, but also social service workers who work with newcomers and youth. It is important not to impose academic and professional knowledge onto the youth, and it is crucial that educators/social service providers engage in intimate ways so that students/youth have a relationship with the meanings of these words. (November 28, 2016)

Overall, through these workshops, I learned the importance of embodying transnational feminist praxis through collaborative efforts to create space (See Nagar & Swarr, 2010) for Filipina/o/x youth to engage in agency as they make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. One of the ways in which these workshops engaged in transnational feminist praxis was through art, which stems from my belief "in the power of community-based art making to tap deep cultural histories, to engage peoples' hearts and minds through transformative process" (Barndt, 2010, p. 168). While the workshops were not explicitly

"feminist", though the facilitators did address the impact of family separation and reunification of mothers and children, I was a participant-observer, in "feminist epistemological questions and methodological practices" (p. 168), as the SDC and the NSC and I collaborated in a way that engages in:

- Adopting an intersecting analysis of power;
- Honouring local and historically contingent practices, but within a context of globalizing processes;
- Focusing on situated knowledges and collaborative knowledge production;
- Promoting self-reflexivity;
- Using arts-based research methods to examine arts-based educational practices that challenge body/mind and reason/emotion dichotomies. (Barndt, 2010, p. 169)

4.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I first situated my insider/outsider and co-performer status through a body map to represent my own embodied experiences of transnational migration through my parents. I then reflected on the politics of positionality as a vulnerable observer in the field as, "positionality is a reflexive ethnography…when we turn back on ourselves, we examine our intentions, our methods, and our possible effects. We are accountable for our research paradigms, our authority, and our moral responsibility to representation and interpretation" (Madison, 2012, p. 16). In the next chapters, I provided an analysis of the Filipina/o/x youths' embodied experiences of global migration in Toronto urban schools.

Chapter 5

The "Green Zone": Emotional and Embodied Transnationalism

5   Introduction

This chapter is focused on the data analysis of the "Green Zone" from the Vidaview Storyboard (VSB) (Vidaview Information Systems Ltd., 2012), (see Chapter 3 for a description of the VSB). The youth interviewed embody how belonging can be culturally performed aesthetically through verbal, non-verbal, artistic, written, and poetic expression. The affect the youth shared passionately and creatively without inhibition spoke volumes to the impact of family separation and reunification on transnational families and their identities in Toronto urban schools. Most of these youth experienced family separation over a period of time that lasted anywhere from two to fifteen years. Their parents' (and mainly their mothers') migration journey sometimes began from the Philippines to other geographical locations all over the world before coming to Canada.

5.1   Memories of Family Separation and Reunification

Researcher: You felt pain, emotionally?

Juanito: Cause she left me, right? I was kind of angry.

Researcher: Hurt?

Juanito: Yeah.

Memory plays a significant role in how Filipina/o/x youth use agency to construct a sense of identity and belonging in transnational spaces. Mohanty (2003) argued that, "history, memory, emotion, and affectional ties are significant elements of the construction of critical, self-reflective, feminist selves" (p. 8). This section addresses the situated, emotional, and

embodied experiences of transnationalism among Filipina/o/x youth, particularly those affected by family separation and reunification through Canada's Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP). As demonstrated in Juanito's quotation above, many of the youth understand that their parents, particularly their mothers, had left them, and like Juanito, many of the youth indeed felt hurt and angry.
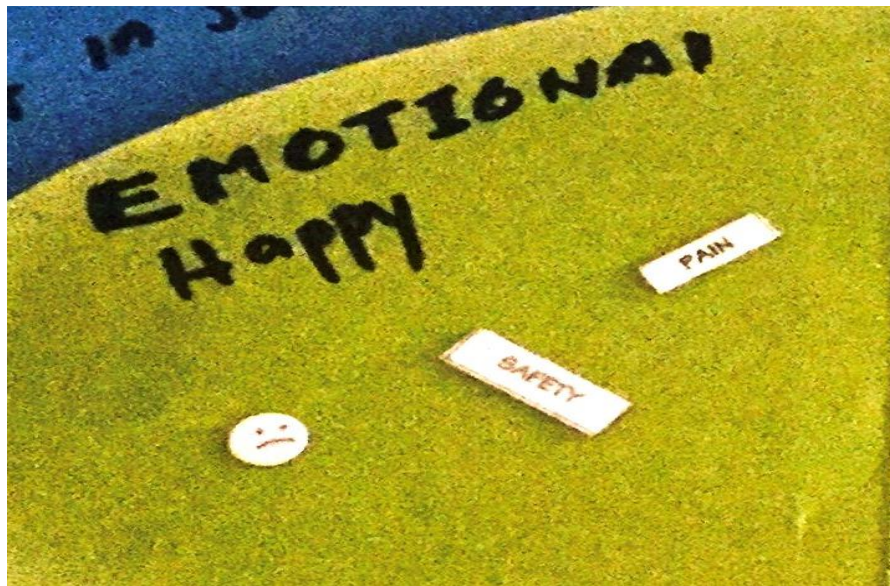
Figure 2: Juanito's Memory at the Moment of Family Separation

On his Vidaview Storyboard, Juanito indicated that he migrated to Toronto with his dad and older sister and wrote that during family reunification, he was "emotional" and "happy," yet below these words is a sad face and the words "safety" and "pain." During the interview, his VSB expressed more than what he could express in words:

Researcher: How was it like…when you [met] your mom again?

Juanito: Emotional.

Researcher: It was emotional to see your mom? You can draw the emotion or you can write the emotion.

Juanito: I don't know what to write.

Researcher: That's ok, you can put emotional, cause you didn't see her for so long, 8 years!

For Edgardo, family separation had broken his heart. However, the act of reunifiying with his mother had "completed" his heart:

Figure 3: Edgardo's "Completed" Heart at the Moment of Family Reunification

Pratt (2010) found that Filipina/o/x, "youths' stories often came in disorganized fragments," (p. 348), however, after three years she looked over a past interview with a youth and admitted that she overlooked emotion: "I rather astonishingly reframed and redirected the conversation to individual responsibility within his nuclear family" (p. 348). In my study,

some of the youth, though not all, initially appeared to tell "fragmented stories" about their global migration experiences. However, engaging in an arts-based inquiry seemed to provide them the tools needed to express their emotions in addition to verbal expression. Here, I chose to provide them space to utilize their agency and make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. While I attempted to explore Juanito's emotions, I was also mindful of the fact that family separation and reunification is difficult to talk about as the youth have also left extended families back in the Philippines (Pratt, 2010). As I stepped back and let Juanito lead the session, he was then able to succinctly, yet verbally, express that he was hurt and angry that his mother had left, as shown in the opening interview data of this chapter. Though he did not go into detail, his words and his artwork were a powerful indicator of the impact of family separation and reunification.

Migration scholars have found that experiences of family separation and reunification have had significant psychological and emotional impact on left-behind children; some have even posited that they have also experienced trauma (Bakker et al., 2009; Castañeda & Buck, 2011; de Leon, 2014; Pratt, 2010, 2012; Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012). Bakker et al. (2009) maintained that, "many children left behind suffer from depression, low self-esteem, which can lead to behavioural problems, and at increased risk of poor academic performance as well as interruption of schooling" (p. 2).

In Cara's VSB, she indicated that in the process of family separation and reunification, she was shocked, lonely, and missed her dad and friends. She made the connection between her memories of global migration and expressed an understanding of the reason for her mother's migration through the L/CP: "mom had to go to Toronto for $$$$, for a brighter future, and for better education".

Figure 4: Cara's Understanding of Family Separation and Reunification

However, Pratt (2012) argued that although, "separation is traumatic and that mothers' and children's losses are irretrievable, it is not to say that families are passive in the face of these challenges, or that new and positive mother-child relationships cannot and do not develop in Canada" (p. 68). My research supports such an assertion and provides further nuanced

insights into the experience of family separation through the L/CP program and its impact on youth by utilizing methodological tools not employed by previous researchers.

Angelica, a 17 year old Filipina who reunified with her mother in 2015, understood the reasons why her mother had left her and her brother, yet, it has impacted her on a deeply emotional level. While seemingly having a "good" relationship with her mother, Angelica reflected upon some of the memories of family separation and being left-behind in the Philippines while her mother was in Canada. When I had asked what her understanding was of why her mother had left the Philippines to work as a caregiver in Toronto, she responded:

Angelica: I guess it's because most of us have been separated with our moms for a very long time and not everyone is, like, open-minded, not everyone understands the sacrifices that their parents made for them. That's what my mom is very proud of, like, me and my brother, like so open-minded, we have an understanding of what happened. Though, I don't know, sometimes I feel like something is missing.

Researcher: Yeah?

Angelica: Yeah cause you know like, she left us during our growing years so it's kinda of tough cause my brother is lucky I would say, I was the eldest, so I'm always there to support him and attend his meetings, like parent's meetings, I'm always the youngest one attending the meetings because I'm always there to support my brother because I don't want him to feel like he's not complete, like, I know how it feels so I don't want him to feel that way so I try my best to like give him everything that I don't have, and I don't know sometimes I realize that why my brother is so lucky that he feels everything that I want you know like, he has everything that I wished I had. You know, like the support, while growing up, no one supports me.
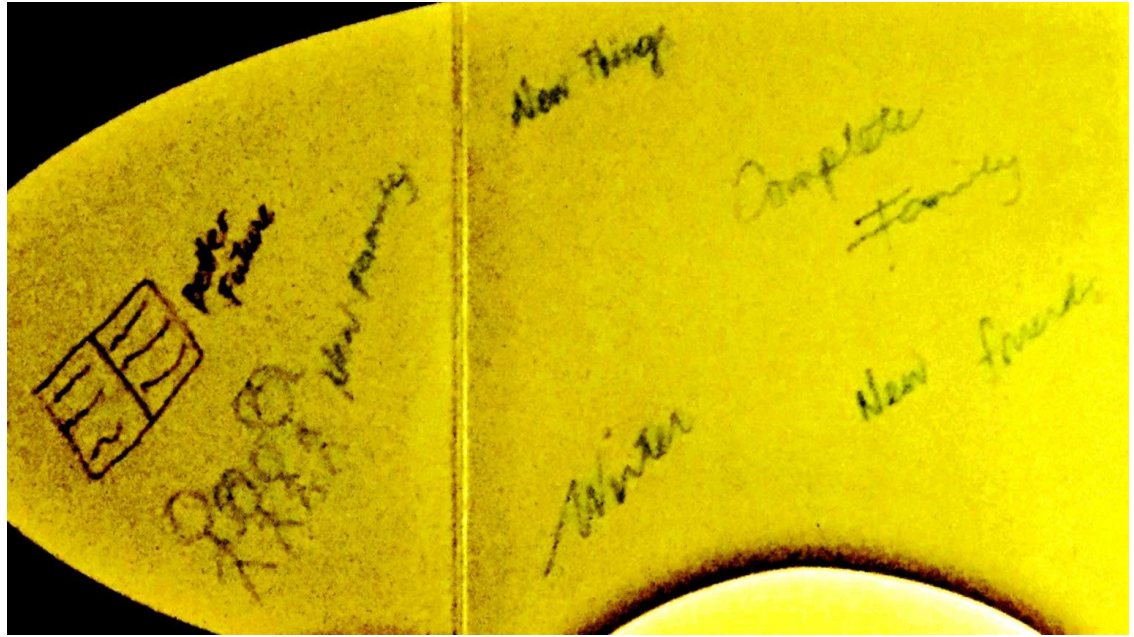
Figure 5: Angelica's Understanding of why her Mother had to Work in Toronto

Angelica's verbal expression and artwork demonstrated the nuanced experiences of family separation and reunification through the L/CP. In her interview, she indicated that while she understands that her mother left for economic reasons, she still feels like something is "missing". In her artwork, she acknowledges that her mother left for a "better future". Her transnational migration experience has created new relationships with family and friends. Angelica's ability to eloquently and verbally express herself differs from Pratt's (2010) experience of interviewing Filipina/o/x youth whom she argued only shared fragmented versions of their experience. Angelica's comment resonates with Bakker et al.'s (2009) research, which noted that older siblings between the ages of 14-18 experience, "coping difficulties of having to care for younger siblings…[they]…are also particularly vulnerable considering the little support which is given to children in child-headed households in the Caribbean" (pp. 9-10). However, what is missing from Bakker et al.'s research are the voices of the left-behind children and their particular experiences of family separation and reunification and its impact on schooling.

Angelica recognized that the lack of her mother's attendance at school meetings may be the

driving force for attending her younger brother's meetings. Caring for her younger sibling is a transnational experience as her caretaking role had not stopped once Angelica had reunified with her mother. Thus, the international transfer of caretaking (Parreñas, 2005) from mother to daughter continues after the reunification has taken place and is related to the economic conditions under which these families endure in order to make ends meet. The international transfer of caretaking:

> Refers to social, economic, political and economic relationships among women in the global labo[u]r market…Filipina domestic workers not only ease the entrance of other women into the paid labor force but also assist in the economic growth of receiving countries. (p. 107)

Parreñas (2005) acknowledged that the international transfer of caretaking impacted left-behind children in that "migrant Filipina domestic workers usually cannot afford the higher costs of maintaining a family in industrialized countries due to their meager wages" (p. 109). Such economic conditions require that older children, such as Angelica, to maintain an active role in caring for their younger siblings. Parreñas also argued that as Filipina mothers migrate, fathers back in the Philippines renegotiate their role within the household or some hire domestic workers in the Philippines to take care of household needs,

> under that international transfer of caretaking, the unequal economic standing of nation-states and discrepancies in monetary currencies are prominent factors that distinguish the position of female low-wage workers in advanced, capitalist, and developing countries. (p. 109)

Gender then becomes a strategy for professionals and low-waged workers in the global city:

> Gendering becomes strategic for the high-level professional workforce in the global city for two reasons. One is the disappearing subject that is the 'wife' in the urbanized professional household given long work hours and very demanding responsibilities at work. The result is a proliferation in global cities of what we might think of as "the professional household without a 'wife'"…I posit that these households should be

reconceptualized as part of the strategic "infrastructure" of global cities and that the low-wage domestic workers are in fact strategic infrastructure maintenance workers (Sassen, 2008a, p. 488).

Sassen (2008a) and Parreñas (2005) provided an in-depth analysis of how women in Western societies were increasingly joining the workforce. As such, this also increased the need for low-wage labour such as hiring domestic workers to maintain a household without a "wife". Parreñas adds another layer by positing that migrant Filipina domestic workers either hire nannies in the Philippines or that gender roles shift if fathers take on caregiving and household duties. However, what seems to be missing in the literature is an analysis of the international transfer of caregiving has been transferred to Angelica who has taken on the caregiving role in relation to her brother as Natalia, her mother, joins the global labour market as a single mother who "cannot afford the higher costs of maintaining a family…due to meager wages" (Parreñas, 2005, p. 109). As a former caregiver in the L/CP, Natalia took care of household duties for an economically well-off family in Toronto, while Angelica and her brother were raised by extended family back in the Philippines prior to reunification with her mother:

> You know, like the support, while growing up, no one supports me. Like my relatives, they have their own families, my lola (grandma) is very old, she's already 86, 87, so she's really old, and there is no one really who takes care of us like a mom's nurture so it's really different, I got used to it. (Angelica)

Feeling like she did not have her emotional needs met while growing up provides deeper understandings of how left behind children "get use to it." This sentiment of getting used to family separation resonates with Schmalzbaur's (2008) findings. She studied the experience of transnational Honduran youth who had experienced family separation and reunification and argued that, "economic remittances bolster the expectations and improve the lifestyles of transnational youths to the detriment of their parents' welfare" (p. 329). However, Angelica's feelings of loss despite material gain, as well as her mother's sacrifices, made her question how important "material" things are. During the reflection upon the important memories of

the Philippines, she stated:

> My mom would always send us money and let us buy anything that we want, new clothes, new shoes, gadgets, foods, like any foods that we want…I realized that it's really not about the material thing(s), it's really like what matters the most is your family being together. (Angelica)

As a result of Natalia joining the global work force, Angelica switched to a caregiver role. In contrast to Schmalzbauer (2008) who found that Honduran migrant parents chose not to tell their children about their struggles, Angelica was well-aware of Natalia's (her mother's) struggles as a working-class single mother. Angelica's lifestyle in the Philippines permitted her some privilege to access the material goods that she wanted through her mother's remittances. However, in Canada, Angelica had taken on the caregiving role, such as attending her brother's parent-teacher meetings as her mother works long hours at a factory. Schmalzbauer (2008) found that when migrating to the USA, upward class mobility seemed to be the pattern among transnational Honduran youth:

> I argue that flows of economic and social remittances have fostered a lack of understanding among transnational youth of their parents' lives in the USA and growing inequality within families. Transnational youths are developing middle-class lifestyles and expectations while their parents are living in poverty, working low-wage, unstable jobs. (p. 330-331)

Contrary to Angelica's own experience, she understood the connection between her mother's position in a low-wage job and her mother's inability to spend quality family time due to long work hours; this impacted Angelica's decision to become the caregiver for her younger brother. In this sense, Angelica participates in the international division of labour and the international transfer of caregiving (Parreñas, 2005) as she became an "equal" to her mother, sharing in the caregiving while her mother brings home the money as a single mother. Angelica explained that, "here in Toronto, money's a problem cause my dad died when we were kids."

Even as Angelica attempted to understand her mother's sacrifices, it does not seem to repair the 7 years of family separation from 2008-2015, as she has expressed that she feels like "something is missing." Like Pratt (2012), I do not wish to position Angelica as a victim of global migration forces. On the contrary, there is evidence of her agentic engagement as she makes sense of her identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. As a newcomer and transnational Filipina youth, she is situated within an unfamiliar geographical space: a Toronto urban high school. She stated that her first day was rough, "I even experienced crying in the washroom." In speaking for herself and negotiating the culture of her school, the relationship with her mother, and Canadian society (see Coloma, 2008), Angelica engaged in a "subjectification process lodged in contingency" (Hall, 1996) through her acknowledgement of both her mother's sacrifices and her own feelings of incompleteness. Her verbal and visual expressions are not necessarily "fragments" as Pratt (2012) frames the youth's stories; I view them as meaningful narratives of trying to make sense of her identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. To Pratt's credit, she admitted and realized three years later that the "fragmented stories" of her subjects are connected thematically and contingent upon Filipina/o/x youths' global migration experiences. Through Angelica's memories of global migration and emotions, she engaged in a process of subjectification as Pratt (2012) explained:

> From the narrativization of the self…the necessarily fictional nature of this process in no way undermines its discursive, material or political effectivity, even if the belongingness, the 'surturing into the story' through which identity arises, is, partly in the imaginary (as well as the symbolic) and therefore, always, partly constructed in fantasy, or at least within a fantasmatic field. (p. 4)

Thus, Angelica's narrative of global migration through her memories and emotions demonstrates how she utilizes her agency as she makes sense of her identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Pratt (2010) maintained that migrant mothers have some agency, while left-behind children have minimal. However, in contextualizing agency within Hall's (1996) framework of subjectification and identity-making, imagination plays a dynamic role

in making sense of Filipina/o/x youth's agency. Therefore, I focused many of the questions on emotion, memory, and imagination, which elicited rich data on how Filipina/o/x youth utilized their agency given the specific circumstances of family separation and reunification through the L/CP.

Derek, aged 16, was one of the few youths to have reunified with his mother after two years. However, this was not the first time experiencing family separation and reunification due to economic reasons as he had already experienced separation as a young child when his father left to work in Korea:

> *Derek*:   When I was 7 years old, my father left the Philippines to earn money because our expenses were getting higher so we need more money to survive our daily lives.

> *Researcher*:   Do you know where he went?

> *Derek*:   I think it's Korea.

Foreign labour export policies impact all Philippine citizens in that it encourages migration for the purpose of sending remittances. As Tyner (1999) indicated:

> By the early 1970s…the Philippine government wished…to take advantage of changing global employment opportunities. Internally, labor export was expected to reduce levels of unemployment and underemployment (especially of the educated, professional surplus population), to improve the stock of human capital as workers returned with skills acquired from abroad, and to promote Philippine development and alleviate the balance of payment problems through mandatory remittances. (p. 679)

While parents of all genders were encouraged to migrate for economic reasons and send remittances back to the Philippines, labour was gendered in that migrant workers needed to

adhere to constructed gendered stereotypes whereby "males" needed to fulfill "masculine" positions, while, "sexual and racial preferences [were] aligned so that women, especially the lighter skinned, English-speaking women from the Philippines, were perceived as the ideal domestic workers" (Tyner, 1999, pp. 680-681). This preference for skin colour demonstrates how intracolourism plays a role in how economic exploitation is played out. Intracolourism emerged from colonization and gave meaning to the variation in physical appearance among Filipinos. As Pierce (2005) argued, "Spain introduced colorism; preferential treatment was clearly associated with lighter skin color. Centuries of this education primed the Filipino for vulnerability to internalize American rules of race" (p. 33). Thus, women who have met these standards are constructed as privileged as they were "Westernized enough" to help the Philippines with its economic development.

In 2011, Derek remembered experiencing family separation in multiple ways: 1) his parents separated and decided to end their marriage and 2) he experienced separation from his mother as she started to work in various global locations before migrating to Canada in 2014 through the L/CP:

> *Researcher*: So, you talked about your dad…and how he left the Philippines because he needed to help with the finances. In 2014, your mom went to Canada. Do you understand why she had to go to Canada?

> *Derek*: For the same reason, Miss. She's also gone to other places.

> *Researcher*: Yeah, what places?

> *Derek*: I don't really remember, Miss, cause I was still a kid at that time. I don't really remember.

> *Researcher*: But you knew she went before…

> *Derek*:   Yes Miss, I know before she came to Canada, she went to Hong Kong. That's what I only remember.

While Derek did not remember the exact details of when and where his mother left, except for when she went to Hong Kong, Derek's agency lies within the fact that he knows why his parents had to migrate to various parts of the world: for economic reasons. Hall (1996) defined agency and the subjectification process through the "imaginary" and narratives, such as memories, which do not negate the social and political realities of the L/CP. Derek's understanding, or memory, of global migration demonstrates how speaking about the, "loss and trauma" of family separation and reunification is a way to disrupt, "the smoothing over of state violence" (Pratt, 2012, p. 71). Pratt argued that the L/CP is a form of state violence because the,

> Canadian government's decision to admit Filipino women under the L/CP as individual workers rather than as immigrant with families is an arbitrary act of sovereign power that defines these women as less than citizen and temporarily strips them of their full personhood, including familial relations. The trauma children experience when their mother's leave them for years at a time is one effect of this. (p. 70)

Hoang and Yeoh (2015) understood the agency of left-behind Vietnamese children through three interconnected aspects of global labour migration, "migration decision making, transnational communication and children's imaginings of migration and place":

> The children in our study were keenly aware of the wider socio-economic constraints that condition their lives and those of their migrant parents, as well as of the transnational social field in which they were partaking. What appeared to adults as passivity and dependence were, in fact, children's active and conscious engagement in meaning making of (and day-to-day negotiations with) the social and economic configurations of transnational labour migration and family relationships. (p. 193)

I argue that Derek's agency was negotiated in terms of how he was making sense of his family relationships. For example, he saw his grandfather as a surrogate parent as a result of family separation and reunification enacted through the L/CP:

Derek: My grandpa who already raised us is already dead, Miss.

Researcher: So that was tough too, hard?

Derek: Yes, because he was really supportive of us and everything…everything he supported us, he always supported us in everything, Miss. He prepare[d] our…lunch, he woke up early in the morning to cook our breakfast, it was like he was our mother and father.

Researcher: So he's like your parent?

Derek: Yeah.

Researcher: Ok, so, yeah, so there's lots of memories there, right, of your grandpa?

Derek: Five years or 6 [of memories of him looking after us] ?

Hoang and Yeoh (2015) argued that children are usually excluded from the decision to migrate abroad. Though Derek and I did not discuss the details of whether or not he was included in the decision making process to migrate for work, he recalled either being informed somehow by someone or through his own observations that both his mother and father had migrated to another country due to economic reasons. This contrasts with Hoang and Yeoh's (2015) finding that, "most of the parents we interviewed felt no need to discuss their plan with their children because they believed children could not comprehend the

complicated issues involved and doing so would only create unnecessary trouble" (p. 186). This observation did not resonate with Derek who appeared to understand the reasons for his parents migrating, which clearly impacted on how he came to re-negotiate and understand the terms of his relationship with his grandfather who became his main caretaker for the last 5 or 6 years of his life. His relationship of transnational migration within his own family is complicated by the palpable grief that was clearly evident in his memory of his grandfather and what he meant to him as a significant and nurturing parental figure during those formative years when his parents were absent. What is significant here and what struck me was the grief that emerged in Derek's response in relation to his sharing about the role and death of his grandfather. It is this affective element of the relational dynamic that I insert into a critical sociological analysis of transnational migration that marks my research and how I deal with their narratives as a distinctive contribution to the field.

Voicu (2014) argued that home, "is not a place that one leaves behind, but a geographical point of reference, a sense of place that serves as an anchor" (p. 25). Agency and identity play out in this geographical "point of reference" in that questions emerged during the youth's global migration trajectories such as: "what becomes the sense of home? Is home merely a place to depart from, or can we see travel as leading us to think about how homes must be cultivated through movement?" (Voicu, 2014, p. 25). Derek's global migration experience becomes an attempt to answer these questions when he utilizes his agency to make sense of where "home" is as a transnational Filipino student in Toronto urban schools:

> When I first came, I was like, this is Canada! But when time passes, it's like you miss your home, you want to go back to your home because you miss your cousins, the places, the environment here and there is different cause I grew up there and I am only new here. So it's still my home, even though I'm here, it's like that. So maybe this is already my home because I'm already here but I still consider [the] Philippines as my home. (Derek)

Mohapatra (2006) explored the diasporic identities in M.G's Vassanji's novels, which Derek

also related to his sense of home as shown in Figure 6 below. Vassanji is a novelist who writes about diasporic characters who constantly transform when migrating to different and multiples spaces and sites either by choice or by forced migration. Mohapatra explained that,

> Vassanji is caught between the homes "there" and "here"…What emerges from the context of the ambiguity of home in Vassanji's novels is a set of broader issues: how through personal experience the notions of "here" and "there" are conceived of and reconfigured in a new idiom; how the problematic of home is explored with the tension between a homing desire on the one hand and critiquing discourses of fixed origins on the other; how momentous histories of nation-states are deconstructed through private experiences, memories, and strategies; how communities formed across and in between borders of fixed origins on the other; how notions of freedom, moral choices and ethical responsibilities under alien linguistic and cultural circumstances and also new social relations are formulated afresh as well exercised…they all seem to revolve around the diasporic subject's engagement with issues of origin and identity. (p. 3)
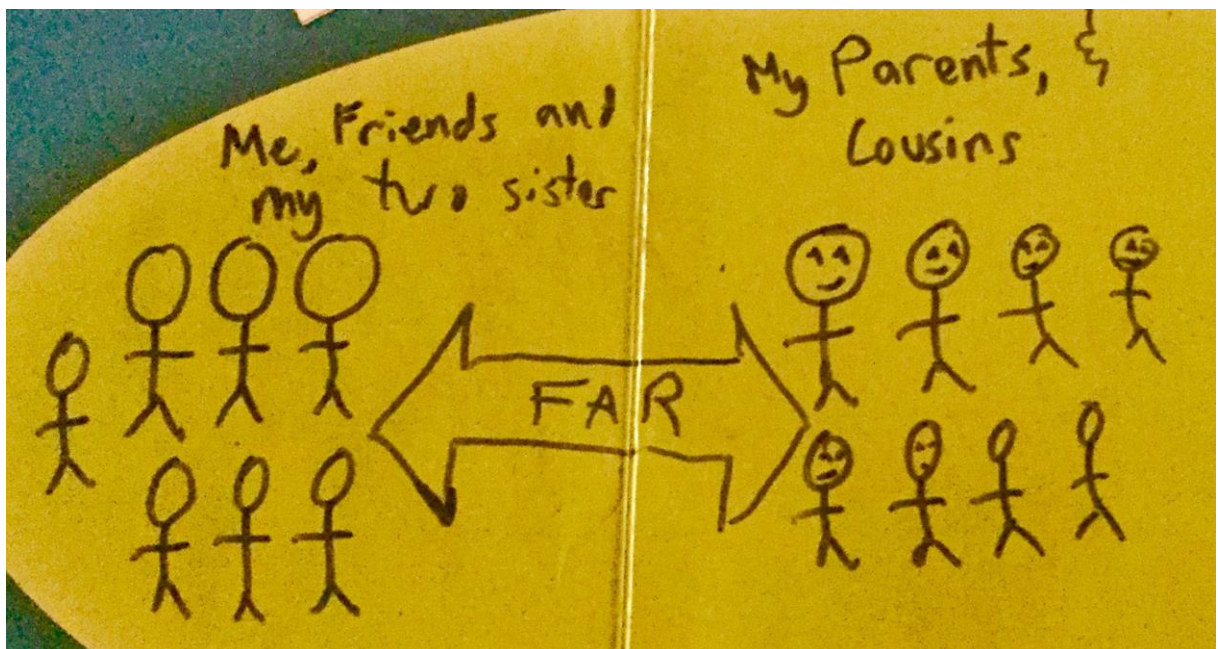
Figure 6: Derek's Visual Representation of being Between "Here" and "There"

Derek's visual representation above reflects his diasporic engagement between being "here" and "there." He depicted an imagination of his transnational home; he is "far" geographically from loved ones and physically located within the nation-state of Canada, yet "home" is in the Philippines where he left his loved ones behind. Nevertheless, he still remained connected through the notion of diaspora. Diaspora may be understood as, "first and foremost a subjective condition marked by the contingencies of long histories of displacements and genealogies of dispossession…they emerge in turning, turning back upon those markers of self—homeland, memory, loss" (Cho, 2007, p.11). Derek demonstrated his utilization of agency that makes his identity: "homeland, memory, and loss" in that he questions the meaning of home, which is filled with memories of his grandfather and the grief that emerged from his death during his migration experience. Hoang and Yeoh (2015) maintained that children's agency emerges through their "subjective accounts of their thoughts, feelings, and acts about their parents' migration" (p. 193). I further conceptualize Hoang and Yeoh's notion of agency through the postcolonial theoretical frameworks of identity and belonging. Identity and belonging are contingent upon disrupting colonial representations of culture and looks at ways to:

> Intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, peoples…these contingencies are often the grounds of historical necessity for elaborating empowering strategies of emancipation…and contingency as the signifying time of counter-hegemonic strategies is not a celebration of cultural identity and its differences…As political groups from different directions, refuse to homogenize their oppression, but make of it a common cause. (Hoang & Yeoh, 2015, p. 64)

Derek's narrative and negotiation of where he "belongs" and where "home" is demonstrates how he used agency to make sense of his place-belongingness (see Antonsich, 2010) as a

transnational student in Toronto urban schools. This current study provides deeper understanding(s) of how the colonial history of the Philippines has impacted the policies of the L/CP and the lives of transnational Filipina/o/x families, particularly in how Derek engaged in agency through his memories of home, his global migration experience and through the loss of his grandfather.

Identity and belonging reflect the complex relations with people and social, political, cultural spaces, and the underlying situated power relations that are entangled with the, "social, imagined, and sensual-material relations that are constantly re-articulated and re-negotiated by actors in their day-to-day practices" (Youkhana, 2015, p.10). These processes entail challenging, re-negotiating and re-articulating essentialist ideas of culture in embodied practices (Joseph, 2013). Antonsich (2010) argued that, "one's personal, intimate feeling of belonging to a place should always come to terms with discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion at play in that very place and which inexorably conditions one's sense of place-belongingness" (p. 649). Additionally, culture is utilized as socio-historical space(s) for Filipina/o/x youth to make sense of their place-belongingness in Toronto urban schools. As Bhabha (1994) argued:

> Culture as a strategy of survival is both transnational and translational. It is transnational because contemporary postcolonial discourses are rooted in specific histories of cultural displacement…culture is translational because such spatial histories of displacement…make the question of how culture signifies, or what is signified by *culture,* a rather complex issue. (p. 172)

As Filipina/ox youth engage in political agency, and by "political" I mean engaging the memories and emotions of global migration which have been impacted by family separation and reunification through the L/CP, they go through a subjectification process (see Hall, 1996). Filipina/o/x utilize their political agency through making meaning of culturally-specific symbols such as, "literature, art, music ritual, life, death" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 172). The youth engage in specific, "productions of meanings…[that] circulate as signs within specific

contextual locations and social systems of values" (p. 172), which transform colonial influences on culture. Bhabha (1994) also argued that:

> The transnational dimension of cultural transformation—migration, diaspora, displacement, relocation—makes the process of cultural translation a complex form of signification. The natural(ized), unifiying discourse of 'nation,' 'peoples,' or authentic 'folk' tradition, those embedded myths of culture's particularity, cannot be readily referenced. The great, though unsettling, advantage of this position is that it makes you increasingly aware of the construction of culture and the invention of tradition. (p.172)

Thus, deconstructing culture through engagement with signs such as art, emotions, and memories may be viewed as space(s) in which to engage in decolonization and processes of place-belonging in Toronto urban schools. While not arguing that Filipina/o/x youth, such as Juanito, Angelica, and Derek are individual agents, they are subjects who engage their identity and belonging/place-belonging in relation to global migration through L/CP policies. The transnational migration and the specific conditions of family separation that it gives rise to impacts the emotional and embodied lives of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools.

Studying the embodied and emotional transnational experiences of Filipina/o/x youth provides a more dynamic, complex, and nuanced perspective of their lives. Dunn (2010) argued that:

> Adopting an embodied approach to the study of transnationalism…[is] powerful…When the scale of analysis is upon migrants rather than migration flows, and upon transnationals rather than upon transnationalism, a much more complicated and realistic picture emerges. Transnationals are simultaneously mobile and emplaced. And the extent of choice and compulsion (of both mobility and sedentariness) is uneven across racialised axes, birthplace, gender, and disability. At the embodied scale the affective and emotional geographies of transnationalism are more palpable.

> Importantly, an embodied analysis of transnationalism reveals the ever-present valency of place. (p. 1)

The youths' embodied experience of transnational migration adds powerful examples of the complexities of global migration particularly, especially with the added layers of uneven "racialised axes, birthplace, gender, and disability" (Dunn, 2010, p. 1). Colonialism has given rise to people leaving postcolonial nations such as the Philippines to migrate to the Western world (Bankoff & Weekly, 2002; Constantino & Constantino, 1975). This pattern occurs particularly among vulnerable women who work within transnational spaces and who, "frequently receive low pay and suffer long hours, high pressure, employment insecurity, and sexual harassment (Jaggar, 2009, p. 35). As Dunn (2010) highlighted, the analytic focus needs to be not just on the forces of globalization and transnational migration—the conditions that give rise to the Caregiver program in the case of my research—but the local manifestations and lived experiences of such conditions. It is the centering of the Filipina/o/x subject and their own accounts of the impact of such conditions that require some attention and analysis. The emotional and embodied aspects of transnational migration impact Filipina/o/x youths' sense of identity belonging in Toronto urban schools.

Emotion is an embodied experience emerging from transnational migration and family separation and reunification through the L/CP. Dunn (2010) referred to transnationalism as "the movements, communications, and other exchanges between people from emigration sources and their family, friends, and other acquaintances in destination locations" (p. 2). Embodied transnationalism acknowledges that people's transnational migrations are political acts due to the "configuration of space and social norms" (Dunn, 2010, p. 4). Filipina/o/x youth navigate the cultural and social norms of family separation and reunification through their experience in Toronto urban schools as transnational students. Understanding such experiences is central to supporting these youth in schools, especially given their embodied transnational experiences through the L/CP as a diasporic community. Cho (2007), for example, argued that:

> Diaspora must be understood as a *condition of subjectivity* and not as object of

analysis. Thus, [the] primary aim is not to define diaspora, but to argue strenuously for an understanding of diaspora as first and foremost a subjective condition marked by the contingencies of long histories of displacements and genealogies of dispossession. Diaspora is not divorced from the histories of colonialism and imperialism, nor is it unmarked by race and the processes of racialization. (p. 14)

One of the ways in which to support transnational students is to understand their "conditions of subjectivity" and their embodied transnational experiences within the "socio-spatial" (see Antonsich, 2010) context of Toronto urban schools.

Marsha, 17, appeared shy during our interview and answered questions with very short sentences or with a "yes" or "no." This relates to Pratt's (2010) experiences when interviewing left-behind Filipina/o/x youth through the L/CP in Vancouver when they did not express themselves in a detailed manner. Having this in mind, I gave Marsha, as well as the other participants, a chance to draw or write their experiences if it seemed too difficult for them to talk about them. I also created a space for the youth to talk in Tagalog as I fully comprehend the language. Marsha chose to speak in English and illustrated her global migration experiences in art form. Although Marsha had very few words to say and the interview lasted only 30 minutes, I identified a powerful expression of emotion in her embodied experience of family reunification:

> *Researcher*:   How was it like to see [your mom] again when…you came to Canada, how was it like when you saw her again? How did you feel?
>
> *Marsha*:   It's like my mom…I hug her…I miss her….I miss her.

She repeated "I miss her" twice and the affection and love for her mother was visible on her face as she smiled in reflecting back on that moment of physical contact after some years of separation.
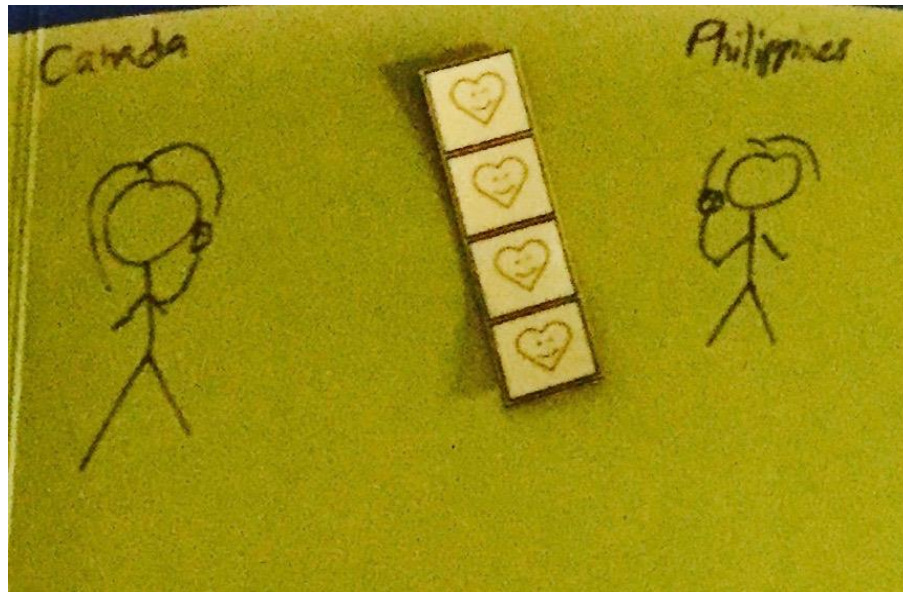
Figure 7: Marsha's Memory of Communication During Family Separation

On her storyboard she drew two stick figures talking on the phone. One stick figure was located in Canada and the other in the Philippines, and between them she had used a magnet containing four hearts. This representation depicting Marsha's affective state of mind as it relate to her relationship with her mother is consistent with Falicov's (2007) view, who argued that transnationalism allows for the extension of one's heart, which is reflected in Marsha's drawing depicting four hearts within transnational space. Identity and the politics of belonging are a complex process that reflect the social and power relations in spaces which are entangled with the, "social, imagined, and sensual-material relations that are constantly re-articulated and re-negotiated by actors in their day-to-day practices" (Youkhana, 2015, p. 10). Marsha's drawing and affective statement "I miss her" demonstrated the "imagined and sensual-materiality" of transnational migration through the L/CP as she appeared to re-live the moment of hugging her mother during reunification. Her experience of the entanglement of social, political, and cultural spaces was embodied through the moment she hugged her

mother. It was also reflected in her artwork where she made sense of her identity and belonging as entangled in the transnational spaces of the Philippines and Canada. She drew two "homes" and labelled them Canada and Philippines, which Espiritu (2003) described as "home-making" or making sense of home within transnational spaces. In making sense of home, Marsha engaged in storytelling through art, as Espiritu (2003) explained:

> It is from such narrative positions that the postcolonial prerogative seeks to affirm and and extend a new collaborative dimension, both within the margins of the nation-space and across boundaries between nations and peoples…[Bhabha] attempt[s] to represent a certain defeat, or even an impossibility, of the 'West' in its authorization of the 'idea' of colonization. Driven by the subaltern history of the margins of modernity…[Bhabha has] tried…to revise the unknown, to rename the postmodern from the position of the postcolonial. (p. 175)

Marsha's Vidaview Storyboard represents how she made sense of home-making through agency, "since diasporic identities get constantly ruptured together…and get mutated…as well as reconstituted in the translocal spaces, the ordinary notions of "home" which are imagined over and over again in different ways across borders and boundaries become ambiguous" (Mohapatra, 2006, p.1). In this ambiguity emerges the "creative production of *diasporic hybridity* take[ing] the form of a delicate double-matter: denial and appropriation as such in the name of perennial 'homelessness' and at the same time engaging in the polemical politics of representation" (Voicu, 2014, p. 9). The "politics of representation" relates to Fraser's (2005) notion of representational justice in transnational feminism as "many transnational feminists reject the state-territorial frame...the result is a new appreciation of the role of transnational forces in maintaining gender injustice" (p. 304). The gender injustice of the L/CP has impacted Marsha's understanding of "home." I recorded the following field note entry after my interview with Marsha:

> Marsha seemed shy and maybe guarded. Her settlement worker said that she was shy about her English-speaking skill, that's why I opened up space for her to either

draw/write or talk in Tagalog. She didn't speak much and her drawings at first glance seemed simple. However, when relating to the readings on emotional transnationalism and Pratt's work, I take a different stance and think her work exhibits complexity. She just came to Canada in 2016 and why should I expect her to trust me with all the intimate details of her life? I respect her choice and I am aware that I am conducting the interview in English and acknowledge the privilege I have as a researcher. Her non-verbal expression spoke volumes to how communication doesn't always have to be about words, but they are just as effective or even more so in getting the point across. (October 13, 2016)

After long periods of separation, showing affection for and missing mom were common feelings and behaviours among the youth upon the initial moment of reunification. Another effect of reunification after long-term separation was the distance within the parent-teen relationship. Cara, a 15 year old Filipina who recently reunified with her mother in 2016, shared her experiences at the beginning stages of reunification. She stated: "I feel like she's a stranger", though after some time, she mentioned that her mother started to feel like her "mom" again. This affective aspect in response to family separation and reunification relates to Pratt's (2012) statement regarding the fact that transnational families are not passive recipients of global migration processes.

However, sometimes the distance within the parent-child relationship does not diminish over time, and the youth still remains close to the caregiver who raised them. Edna is a 17 year old Filipina who reunited with her mother in 2015. While Edna did not say so much in words regarding her estranged relationship with her mother, she indicated that upon reunification she was "very happy that my family [is] complete now." Despite this affective acknowledgement, her storyboard depicted something quite different. While the closeness remained, what was represented in her family picture was the physical closeness with her father who was her main caregiver while growing up in the Philippines, and a significant gap in space between them and her mother.

Figure 8: Edna's Embodied Experience of Transnational Migration through the L/CP.

Falicov (2005) argued that:

> Transnationalism may also incur terrible costs. Such is the case when, because of the possibility of maintaining relationships at long distance, poor immigrants separate from their families, lured by the promise of an eventual better economic future for all. This sacrifice may have grave consequences, such as parents and children who reunite after years of separation, only to find themselves to be strangers to each other. (p. 401)

Falicov's argument resonates in both Cara's and Edna's experiences of having distant relationships with their mothers. While Cara was able to work through the relationship with her mother after a few weeks, Edna still currently experiences an estranged relationship with her mother after 1 year of reunification. In my field notes after Edna's interview, I wrote:

> It is interesting that Edna could not find the words to say that her relationship with her mother still remains distant after 1 year of reunification while her drawing depicts the distance between them. I realize that she could have had a mix of emotions when reunifying with her mother, of course, maybe she really did feel happy to see her mother at that moment, and true, her family is "complete," but does that moment really make up for 9 years of family separation? (November 1, 2016)

Antonsich (2010) maintained that belonging included that feeling of "at home" within a place which he referred to as "place-belongingness." Toronto urban schools may be viewed as the socio-spatial location to engage in the processes of "place-belonging" among Filipina/o/x diasporic youth. In this educational space of "transnational and translational dimensions" (see Bhabha, 1994) of Toronto urban schools:

> Diaspora brings together communities which are not quite nation, not quite race, not quite religion, not quite homesickness, yet they still have something to do with nation, race, religion, longings for homes which may not exist. There are collectivities and communities which extend across geographical spaces and historical experiences. There are a vast numbers of people who exist in one place and yet feel intimately related to another. (Cho, 2007, p. 13)

It appears that Edna is in the process of engaging in place-belongingness as she shifts between feeling happy that her family is together again and excluding her mother from the close relationship she shares with her father. Her visual depiction of family reunification differs as she indicated "distance" between herself and her mother. Chloe explicated the significant losses of her life: when her mother left her to work in Toronto, when her parents separated, and when she left her grandparents, her main caregivers, behind. Upon family reunification, there were tears and signs of affection between Chloe and her mother. However, Chloe

expressed that her mother distrusts her:
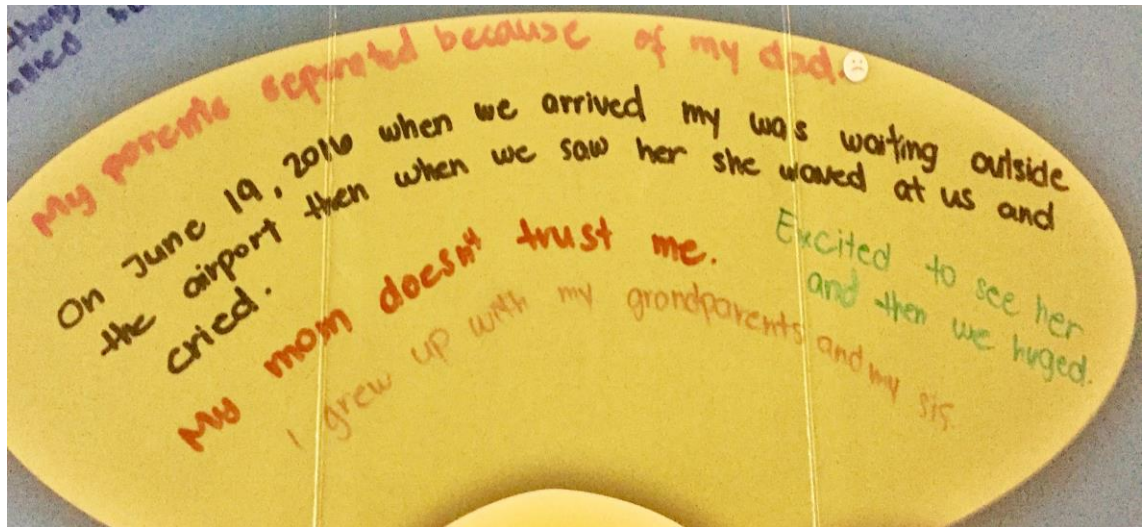
Figure 9: Chloe's Experience with Family Separation and Reunification

Both Ricardo, a 16 year old who just reunified with his mother in 2016, and Rita, a 17 year old who reunified with her mother last year in 2015 experienced similar affect upon the moment of family reunification. Ricardo shared, "When I saw my mom, I cried!" However, he also shared that his relationship with his mother is distant because he did not grow up with her as they were separated for 10 years:

> *Ricardo*:   We talk but we're not going to do sweetness.
>
> *Researcher*:   Oh, it's like distant a little bit?
>
> *Ricardo*:   Distance, because when I do sweetness, [it's] awkward.

So while the relationship with his mother is not fraught with conflict, Ricardo implies that the lack of closeness, or "sweetness" is awkward due to 10 years of family separation.

For Rita, it was more of a shock when she reunified with her mother as it became a reality after 7 years of waiting for this moment: "I was surprised when I knew that she's going home,

right? Because it's a very long time before she went home and I was shocked when she's already in front of me. I just wanted to hug her."

Rita and Ricardo's experiences show how they make sense of their identity and belonging/place-belonging in Toronto urban schools right after they had experienced family reunification. Rita shared her experiences during those first days at her Toronto urban school:

> I came here last April so it's hard for me to accept that I'm going to stay because at first, what I know is, that it's just a vacation, so I didn't inform my friends, and even my father, he's still in the Philippines and he was surprised when I told him that I'm going to stay here. And it's kind of hard to adjust because I have no friends here. And, yeah, the way I like have to speak in English, it's just my second language. (Rita)

de Leon (2014) argued initial moments of family reunification after long periods of separation may cause, "complicated feelings of betrayal and frustration cause children…to experience greater difficulty reconciling with their migrant parents. It is important to note that these responses to immediate family reunification are not unique or isolated" (p. 149). Ricardo shared that while he was "crying" during family reunification, his relationship with his parents is "distant":

Researcher:	How was it like to see your mom? How long were you separated for?
Ricardo:	10 years.
Researcher:	10 years?! And how was it like when you saw her again?
Ricardo:	When I saw my mom, I cried.
Researcher:	What do you hope for your family, do you hope to have better relationships with them?
Ricardo:	Better relationship[s] so I can tell my feelings to them, but now I don't want to talk to them because I'm shy.

de Leon (2014) touched upon the importance of memory and intimacy upon the immediate years following family reunification through the L/CP and proposed that through pinay activism, Filipina mothers and their adult daughters were able to reconcile. Pinay peminism

(feminism) a term coined by de Jesús (2005), "aims to resist the marginalization of scholarship by feminist theorist of colour…as defined by white liberal feminism. It further aims to resist the marginalization of Filipina voices" (p. 142). Moreover, the purpose of de Leon's (2014) study is to explore:

> Filipina mother-daughter relationships…[and]…begin to ask important question about what it means to grapple with gendered, sexualized, classed and racialized stereotypes, and their generational impact on mothers and adult daughters over time, particularly in terms of how they navigate post-reunification tensions and attempts to re-build intimacy. (p. 142)

de Leon's (2014) findings of the loss of intimacy and feelings of betrayal and frustration among separated youth seem to resonate with the relationships that Rita and Ricardo share with their mothers. To varying degrees, there is some sort of distance/tensions among these recently reunified youth. However, my study adds to de Leon's (2014) findings in that I explore the experiences of recently reunified youth and how this has impacted them, particularly with regard to reflecting on the emotional dynamics at play as a foundational basis for understanding the supports that are needed for Filipina/o/x youth in urban schools in Toronto. While de Leon's (2014) focus was solely on Filipinas, I engaged in postcolonial and transnational feminism to understand how Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their gendered, sexualized, classed and racialized identities alongside religion/spirituality. Moreover, de Leon (2014) argued that community activism:

> Accomplishes…a symbolic connection to the familiar, to 'home,' to the land from which they were torn. These organizations and the relationships nurtured therein thus serve as strategic sites of empowerment, belonging, and healing…The formation and preservation of Filipino community activist organizations…allowed them to thrive in supportive environments surrounded by other Filipinos who have similarly coped with the pain and frustration associated with long-term family separation. Their involvement enabled them to build lasting bonds of friendship with other Filipino migrant families but most importantly, nurtured possibilities of post-reunification

reconciliation between themselves and their mothers. (p. 9)

Building upon de Leon's (2014) focus on the importance of community support among transnational families, my study considers the relevance of school-community partnerships. Gaining such knowledge about the empowering role of community organizations such as the Newcomer Support Centre (NSC) and the Services for a Diverse Community (SDC) in educational systems is important as educators play a significant role in facilitating the ways in which transnational Filipina/o/x youth engage in home-making and place-belonging in Toronto urban schools. This is an aspect of investigation that differs from de Leon (2014) as this knowledge may translate into pedagogy, everyday social relations, and political practices within the school system and classroom. This spatial context facilitates the agency of Filipina/o/x youth:

> These contingencies are often the grounds of historical necessity for elaborating empowering strategies of emancipation…to reconstitute the discourse of cultural difference demands not simply a change of cultural contents and symbols…it requires…the rearticulation of the 'sign' in which cultural identities may be inscribed. (Bhabha, 1994, p.171)

In drawing on postcolonial and transnational feminist literature, my study provides further insights into the affective dynamics at the heart of how the youth are making sense of their identities and belonging as Filipina/o/x subjects.

Prior to reunification, some of the participants were aware that their mothers were leaving to work in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, and other global spaces before coming to Toronto to work as a caregiver. However, some of the youth were not notified of when and why their mothers had left them behind as Bryan, who was separated from his mother for 13 years, indicated:

> *Bryan*:   She left while we were sleeping or she would think I was sleeping…So I opened my eyes and saw her crying.

> *Researcher*:   You saw her crying?

> *Bryan*:   And I didn't want to say anything because I thought I was in trouble so then she left, and I thought it was a dream so I slept again, but when I woke up, mom was gone, but it didn't really affect me too much because I thought she was just gonna come back… But, like after a year passed, I found out that she wasn't coming back, and I just kept it to myself. I never asked where she was. I never cried when she left because a part of me knew that she was doing it for us.

While Bryan was able to understand rationally that his had mother left to work as a migrant worker for the family, he learned how to become an adult as a child:

> I learned parenting from a very young age. I learned how to be responsible, how to live with myself, how to do jobs, simple stuff, but like, the meaning of family, the meaning of having questions, like, why did my mom leave me? (Bryan)

Affect becomes more apparent further on in Bryan's interview as he questioned the structures that influenced his mother leaving him when he was two. Earlier on, he shared that he held back tears, and understood that his mother was leaving because she needed to support the family economically. However, Bryan questioned the idea of family. de Leon (2014), for example, indicate that, "in order to survive, children…learned to mature quickly as they tended to take on greater familial responsibility" (p. 150). Perhaps Bryan's inability to cry was his way of surviving the loss of not having his mother around while growing up, but this sign demonstrates how he utilized agency that is contingent upon the L/CP policies of family separation. As Bhabha (1994) argued:

> The contingency of the subject as agent is articulated in a double dimension, a dramatic action. The signified is distanced; the resulting time lag opens up the space between the lexical and the grammatical, between the enunciation and enounced, in-

between the anchoring of signifiers. Then, suddenly, this in-between spatial

dimension, this distancing, converts itself in the temporality of the 'throw' the

iteratively (re)turns the subject as a moment of conclusion and control: a historically

or contextually specific subject. (p. 186)

Alicia, an 18 year old Filipina who reunified with her mother in 2015 after 8 years, was aware

beforehand of her mother leaving, and stated, "I was like a mama's girl before she, like, I was

always clinging to my mother before she left. That year I was like basically crying everyday

because I was so heartbroken that she [left]." Alicia seemed quite expressive and willing to

share her experience of family separation and reunification:

I had an idea she was going to Canada, like, she was leaving. And before that I wanted

her to go because I was like, I loved the idea because if she goes to Canada, then I'm

gonna be able to go there too, and I will experience living the life, but she actually,

when she was actually in the airport, she was about to leave, I was crying cause I like I

didn't want the idea, I didn't like the idea that I was going to be alone, cause she was

like my best friend, my mom, my best friend, I was going to be alone. Basically, I had

no friends, so when she left, basically, most of my friends were gone. I didn't have

anyone to talk to, so I was alone. I couldn't talk to my dad back then because we were

not close, like, I guess it's like because when I was born he was not there…we didn't

have a like an actual connection, so this was like 2 years, we weren't really connecting

those two years. So I didn't have any personal stories to actually connect [to] my

dad…so that was really hard. (Alicia)

The affective dynamic of family separation speaks to a profound sense of abandonment, grief,

and loss. As de Leon (2014) pointed out:

Some find it far more difficult to cope with the challenges of family separation many

years after reunification. Clinical depression and suicide are more serious examples of

what can happen to youth who have experienced long-term separation from their

migrant parents. (p. 152)

Pratt (2012) argued that family separation is a traumatic experience when mothers are parenting from afar and across vast geographical distances:

Separation of mothers from children is profoundly disruptive, and it is just the beginning of a chain of dislocations that are genuinely traumatic. Genuinely traumatic…Like all temporary migrant programs, the Canadian government's decision to admit Filipino women under the LCP as individual workers rather than as immigrants with families is an arbitrary act of sovereign power that defines these women as less than citizens and temporarily strips them of their full personhood, including family relations. The trauma children experience when their mothers leave them for years at a time is one effect of this. (p. 71)

While the youth generally did not express such clinical concerns during the interviews, Alicia's "heartbreak" speaks to experiencing loss and the "traumatic" effects of family separation due to the L/CP. After a year of family reunification, Alicia's mother, Tara, stated that Alicia, "is still adjusting" as a newcomer. Despite these losses, Alicia drew cultural symbols of a home and the Philippine flag on the left side of her Vidaview Storyboard (VSB), which may be interpreted as "signs" of how she makes sense of her place-belonging in Toronto urban schools, utilizing her agency. Such symbolism and signification reflect Bhabha's (1994) perspective on the political significance of representation:

The process of reinscription and negotiation—the insertion of intervention of something that takes on new meaning—happens in the break in-between the sign, deprived of subjectivity, in the realm of the intersubjective. Through this time-lag— the temporal break in representation—emerges the process of agency both as a historical development as the narrative agency of historical discourse. (p. 191)

Falicov (2005) argued that emotional aspects associated with the experiences of transnational

migration are an important consideration in moving to an understanding about the impact of such forms of globalization. Under these conditions of separation, contact via social media, rather than physically through daily interaction, can create an extended heart across geographical space: "because lives and relations are linked across borders, transnationalism offers an attractive, and at times deceiving, imagined possibility of living with two hearts rather than with one divided heart" (p. 339). However, Pratt (2012) had a different take on children who have been separated from their mothers due to the L/CP as "transnational mothering cannot transcend distance…[and] communication is often infrequent, and inevitably fragmented and stripped of the sensuality of day-to-day, face-to-face, embodied contact" (p. 70). The students' responses seem to resonate with Pratt's (2012) argument as they described how they kept in contact with their mothers via Skype, Viber, and other forms of social media. Anthony, a 19 year old Filipino, shared: "I was pretty happy to see my mom because it's not really a good thing that you haven't seen your mother, parent, for a long time, but we did Skype." Throughout the interview, he seemed very expressive and his artwork was just as detailed. In his VSB, he depicted his mother as "superwoman" who is supporting 4 children here in Canada, while his father is in the Philippines. When I had asked why his mom had to work in Toronto, he responded:

> *Anthony*: My thought was my mom went abroad because we were very poor at that time. And since we were four siblings, [my] father and mother actually realized that they couldn't manage…so what happened was my mom planned [to go] abroad to Hong Kong. And my father didn't [want my mom to go to Hong Kong], but he had no choice because no one was going to [financially] take care of the kids, and my mother went to Hong Kong to work as a domestic helper and a babysitter. [Now in Canada], she's more like freelancing whatever the job is available that suits her abilities she's working, while my dad takes care of us four [in the Philippines and] he cannot handle or manage it because we are four and he's also working as a fireman and has be at the dormitory just in case there's fire—in the Philippines it's pretty

common. He also asked my mother about hiring a babysitter but my mom said we cannot afford a babysitter at all…dad was having a hard time finding a babysitter for us four but he found one and it went well so that's the reason why my mom is working abroad because for our food, for our education.

Researcher: How was it like to see your mom again in 2015?

Anthony: When I was smaller I expected my mom to be taller and bigger because parents usually are bigger than their children but nothing has changed with mom but she was shorter.

Researcher: Or maybe you grew?

Anthony's storytelling appeared to be "fragmented" (see Pratt, 2010). For instance, he shared that they could not afford a babysitter, but then they ended up getting a babysitter. I did not explore whether or not the babysitter whom his dad found was paid or not, and if this person received remittances from Anthony's mother. Also, I did not press for exact details of events as I was mainly concerned about how it was like to experience family separation and reunification because of the, "distance from their mothers, the pain of leaving primary caregivers in the Philippines: these are difficult stories to tell and involve revealing intimate details, not just of themselves, but about family members within the private spaces of the home" (Pratt, 2010, p. 347). Consequently, separated youth often tell contradictory and disorganized stories: "Speaking within their circumstances of attenuated agency in a distracted fragmentary style of narrative, they invite us to listen differently…Repetition across fragments offers a means to build a more coherent community narrative" (Pratt, 2010, p. 349). Pratt did not originally come from this perspective, however, after three years since the original individual interviews, she began to notice that the "fragments" made sense within the context of community. While Pratt (2010) viewed these stories as "disorganized fragments", I view them as complex pieces that are constituted within Anthony's story of family separation

and reunification. Mohapatra (2006) for example, claimed:

> These…ideas haunt the diasporic subject as a riddle, but how [he] explores the riddle
> and what treatment [he] makes of these…ideas differ from person to person. In
> fact…we cannot overlook the relationship positioning…it provides us with a line of
> inquiry to pursue in order to understand the specific historical circumstances and
> regimes of power under which [he] is made diasporic in the first place. (p. 3)

For Anthony, it appears that the relationship positioning is important. While he was partially
joking that his mother "shrank," it speaks to the 10 years of family separation and how she
has become unrecognizable to him upon reunification. Interestingly, Anthony represented her
as a "superwoman," signifying her strength and resilience through his perspective. This
contrasts Pratt's (2010) findings that, "few separated youths could perform a heroic narrative
and their stories came less easily and in a more disjointed form" (p. 347). While Anthony's
verbal narrative appears to confirm Pratt's idea of "disorganized fragments," his storyboard
contradicts Pratt (2010) as his mother becomes a superhero to him. Thus, this coincides with
Pratt's (2012) argument that families of the L/CP are not victims of difficult global
circumstances.

Figure 10: Anthony's Depiction of his Mother as "Superwoman"

On his storyboard, David, a 16 year old Filipino boy who recently experienced family reunification in 2016 over a period of 12 years, poetically engaged his family separation and reunification experience and described how he kept in contact with his mother during the separation period. Madison (2012) indicated that in poetics, "words are not in isolation from movement, sound, and sensory dimension that enrich their substance. Words are placed on a page in poetic form to include the performative dimension of a speaker" (p. 239). As David also recalled leaving his loved ones behind in the Philippines and subsequently crying as result, he "performed" through the "senses" in the most palpable manner, the feelings of loss, grief, and abandonment.

Throughout the interview he was in tears, and it was clear that the separation had impacted him deeply. I checked in with him throughout the interview to see if it was ok to continue. He reported that he was ok to go on with this interview as his tears were part of the expression of his sadness as a consequence of being separated from his mother:

> We kept contact by using social media, and as time goes by, it's like I'm drifting away from my mom and [getting] closer to my grandparents. When I saw my mom go back (voice trembling) it was like she was just not there. I didn't really feel anything, I only felt one thing, because I wouldn't be able to see my grandparents anymore (crying). Everyone back home thinks it's easy to be away from your loved ones, and now I know how my mom felt when she left us. (David)
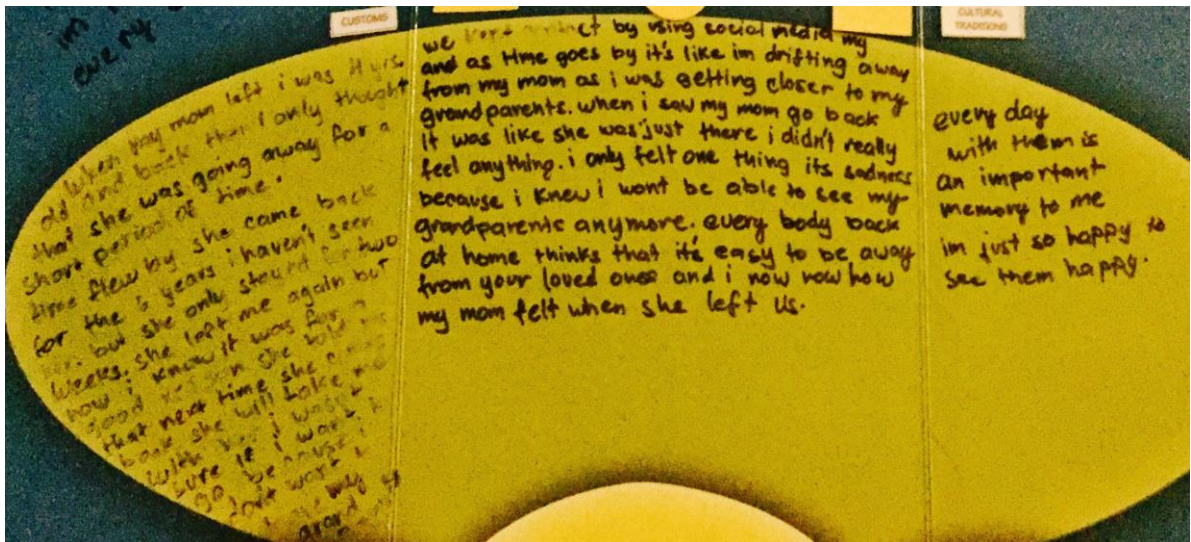
Figure 11: David's Poetic Expression

David's poetic expression of his migration experience was by no means "thin" or "fragmentary" (See Pratt, 2010), and his narrative speaks to the difficulty of leaving his caregivers in the Philippines upon reunification with his mother in Canada. Madison (2012) argued that poetics:

> Joins content and form as embodied reportage, as verbal art, as performance in print, or as oral history performance. The concern here is the mutual importance of *how* something is said along with *what* is said or with the telling and the told. The narrative event and narrated event coalesce in a poetic rendering and linguistic layering of feeling, rhythm, tone, pitch, intonation, and volume. (p. 34)

In David's narrative performance, he shows how he feels through writing and through tears. Furthermore, his narrative, "presents to us one moment *of* history, and how that moment *in* history is *remembered* through a *particular* subjectivity" (emphasis in original) (Madison, 2012, p. 35). Furthermore, in remembering history through David's particular subjectivity, his

narrative speaks to migration forces of diasporic communities:

> They are forced to migrate and re-migrate to places both imaginary and real. The imaginary locations also undercut the fixity and factuality of real places, rendering the entire topography, cross-currents of history and myth, the narrator negotiates communal and individual identities…[David] explores the past, constructs genealogies and traces the complex formations of the sites of subjectivity through ruptures, dispersal and mutation. (Mohapatra, 2006, p. 10)

Thus, David's poetic expression contrasts with the experiences of Filipina/o/x youth in Pratt's (2010) study:

> Here are good reasons why so few separated youths could perform a heroic narrative and their stories came less easily and in a more disjointed form than those of either their mothers or second-generation youth activists. Family conflict, distance from their mothers, and the pain of leaving primary caregivers in the Philippines: these are difficult stories to tell and involve revealing intimate details, not just of themselves, but about family members within the private spaces of the home. (p. 347)

David was able to perform an intimate and revealing narrative with thorough detail and affect as shown through his tears and poetic expression. After David's interview, I wrote the following in my field notes:

> David's interview really made the literature come alive for me. I know that everyone shows emotions differently, but as witness to his tears, I was vulnerable at that moment because I mostly let him lead the interview by answering the questions in whichever way he felt most effective. He was also vulnerable, but also brave and comfortable enough to share tears with me as I am pretty much as stranger and we have only known each other for a few months. While David did not talk much, his written expression was extremely powerful and his tears were a testament to the emotional impact of leaving behind his grandparents who had been his caregivers for

the last 12 years when his mother was not around. (December 1, 2016)

David's emotional expression differed from Ivy's, a 16 year old Filipina who reunified with her mother in 2015. Ivy did not express pain when leaving caregivers in the Philippines behind as they were the ones who misused the remittances that were to be used for her daily needs:

> *Researcher*:   When you were in the Philippines and your mom left to Saudia Arabia, were the rest of your family in the Philippines?
>
> *Ivy*:   At first, it was just the three of us, without my dad because my dad was also in Saudi and later on when my parents found out that, like when our guardian, [who is] our cousin and…found out they were stealing the money that our parents were trying to give us that's when my dad decided to go back to the Philippines and then take care of us.
>
> *Researcher*:   So you weren't given the money that was supposed to be given to you and how did you find out? Like, what happened?
>
> *Ivy*:   Cause when my mom was trying to update the expenses, whenever she sends us money to the Philippines and asks for expenses, it's like it's been just a week and then my cousin is like saying that oh we don't have any more money, something like that.

Remittances are one source of income for transnational families. Casteñeda and Buck (2011) argued that:

> Remittances usually refer to the money and resources that migrants send to their place of origin. Yet remittances are also an indicator of the strength and extent of the social relations between the migrants and the family members left behind…to remit means to stay attached to family and community; in this way migrants can expect loyalty and continued membership in their families and communities of origin. (p. 97)

Ivy's parents entrusted Ivy's cousin to become her guardian and to take care of the household finances and childcare. However, the very act of her cousin misusing the money speaks to experiences of family betrayal. Casteñeda and Buck (2011) argued that, "migration shakes up the family social structure. Paternal absence implies changes in gender roles since those left behind make up for the unpaid house work and decision-making the missing parent(s) would have done otherwise" (p. 102). Though migration has changed Ivy's family social structure resulting in her cousin becoming the entrusted guardian, Ivy's dad became present as soon as the trust was broken. In addition, as Casteñeda and Buck (2011) pointed out "remittances as a financial household strategy have implications that expand far beyond the realm of the economic to affect social roles and emotional processes such as affect and gender formation" (p. 102). In this sense, Ivy's experience with family betrayal and remittances may have influenced her feelings of being blessed when she reunified with her mother, an experience which has been traumatic for some, if not most, reunified children through the L/CP (see de Leon, 2014; Pratt, 2010, 2012). An example of these social and emotional formations according to Casteñeda and Buck (2011) is that, "remitting fathers affect the model of masculinity that remittance receiving sons will tend to reproduce" (p. 102). In my study, some of the students did mention that they experienced family separation and reunification with their fathers, however, the study also identified how their mothers were also a source of sending remittances, particularly through the L/CP. In contrast to transmitting "masculinity" to their sons, the mothers, especially single mothers, expressed that they did not want their children to become "like them." This point will be discussed in greater detail later in this dissertation.

For Ivy, reunifying with her mother and father was a positive experience overall as she indicated that she felt, "blessed."
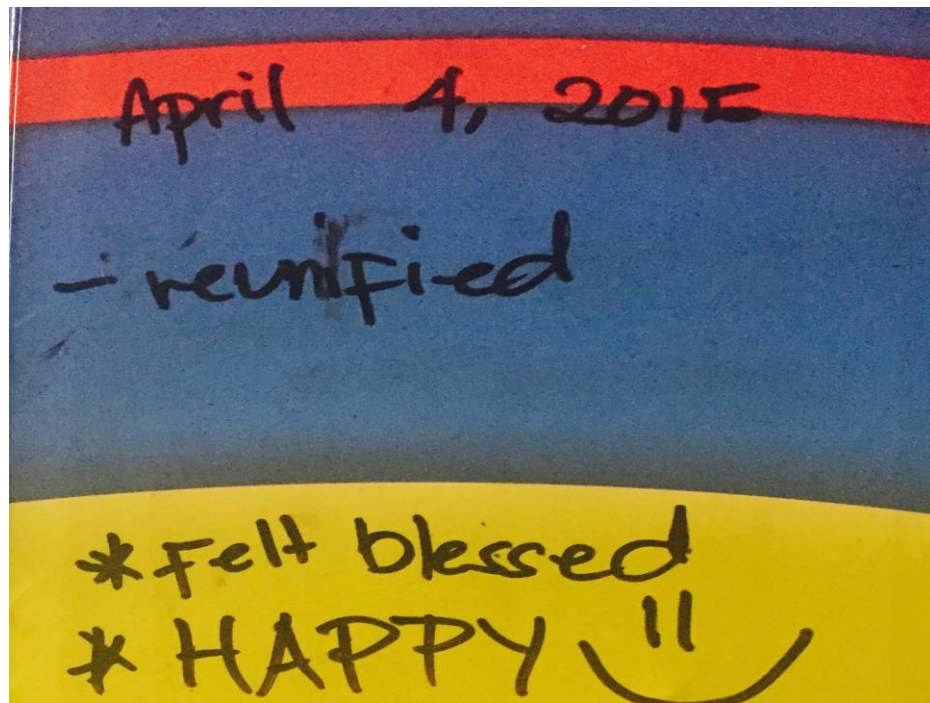
Figure 12: Ivy's Memory of Feeling "Happy" and "Blessed" upon the Moment of Reunification

Researcher: How was it like to see your mom again?

Ivy: I feel blessed.

Researcher: Because you didn't see her for a while, right?

Ivy: Mh hmm.

Researcher: How about the successes of your family?

Ivy: You see how each part of the family does their work so that's what makes it successful for example, we got a car, and we help each other in terms of expenses and stuff like that…for health, let's say mental health, like when you feel down, they'll be there to listen to you, stuff like that.

Researcher:	So lots of support, so how about some failures?
Ivy:	When you fail, they're still there to support you and [if] you do any mistakes, they're by your side to guide you.
Researcher:	And you have the money symbol?
Ivy:	For me, I have a job now, so I don't rely on my parent's anymore, so things that could help, instead of giving the money to me, they could just spend it more on our food.

Contrary to Pratt's (2010) and de Leon's (2014) work that focused on trauma and feelings of loss, Ivy's story depicts some productive learning and positive outcomes. While it is possible that Ivy chose not to explicate the "traumatic" parts of family separation and reunification, her experience shows that opportunities also arise during the reunification period.

5.2 Conclusion

This chapter explicated the embodied experiences of global migration among Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools, particularly their memories of the Philippines and the emotions experienced upon the moment of separation. The literature in migration studies, particularly around transnational family separation and reunification, resonated with the data of this study in terms of the significant emotional impact on separated youth. However, this study identified how Filipina/o/x youth engaged in agency through their memories and the emotional impact of family separation and reunification. They utilized their agency that is contingent upon their memories of global migration and its impact on their educational experiences in Toronto urban schools. The next chapter explicates the impact of the legacy of colonization on the identities of Filipina/o/x youth.

Chapter 6

The "Yellow Zone": The Legacy of Colonization and the Politics of Belonging

6   Introduction

In this chapter I investigate the impact of colonization on the intersectional identities of Filipina/o/x youth. I identify how the youth engage in decolonization, political agency, and subjectification processes through their understandings of how race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and spirituality have impacted their identities. Furthermore, I focus on the politics of belonging and the role Filipina/o/x youth play as agentic subjects in making sense of transnational experiences of migration with respect to the impact on their family life and what this means for their engagement in schooling.

6.1   The Intersectional Identities of Filipina/o/x Youth

> *"*I used to believe that, like, my skin colour is not beautiful because it's in mainstream that people who have fair skin are much [more] beautiful." (Rita)

Rita, a 17 year old transnational Filipina student in grade 12 was reunited with her mother through the Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP) in 2015. She initially seemed reserved in speaking about her experiences though appeared to be more comfortable as the interview continued. When I asked her, "How about skin colour, does that matter to some people?" Rita then spoke about how racism has impacted her, and acknowledged that, "Yeah, [skin colour] really matters cause they call me 'black' in the Philippines, but I got used to it and there is…racism." Rita's "process of subjectification is an ongoing and situated negotiation of self-naming and being named by others that relies on visible and non-visible markers of difference and is implicated in power relations" (Coloma, 2008, p. 20). As Coloma argued, this process of subjectification emerges from a constituted framework that "has to contend with the available socio-historical discourses that regulate positions and meanings" (p. 21). This

section looks at how intersectional, "identities interplay, mutually shape each other, and affect experiences of privilege and oppression." (Coloma, 2008, p. 21). I employ such an intersectional framework to address how race, class, gender, sexuality, religion and spirituality, "intersect and interact with each other, across contexts, [and] affect social identity and lived experiences" (Goodman & Jackson III, 2012, p. 234).

I map the social ontologies of race, class, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and religion that point, "to where sets of relations are situated, manifested in categories and materialized in concrete relations" (Anthias, 2011, p. 6). Specifically, I map how Filipina/o/x youth's agency is situated within colonial history of the Philippines and constituted within the framework of how family separation and reunification through the L/CP has impacted their school experiences. The colourism and racism to which Rita refers above has roots in colonialism. As Pierce (2005) explained: "Spain introduced colorism…colorism and then racism inculcated the notions: 'White is beautiful,' 'White is intelligent,' and 'White is powerful' in the psyches of many brown-hued Filipinos, thus inferiorizing the Filipino" (p. 33). Thus, racial identities have been constructed through a discourse of inferiorization and white superiority. For example Hall (1996) argued that:

> We need to understand [identities] as produced in specific historical and institutional sites with specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion…above all…identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. (p. 4)

Colourism and racism thus become a marker of difference, inclusion, and exclusion within the politics of belonging, which "involves not only construction of boundaries but also the inclusion or exclusion of particular people, social categories and groupings within these boundaries by those who have the power to do this" (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 18). These markers and boundaries within the politics of belonging are sometimes physical, "but always symbolic [and] separate the world population in 'us' and 'them'" (p. 20). Through their

experiences of colourism, the youth engage in agency that is constituted through making sense of the politics of their belonging as a consequence of their implication in the L/CP program:

> The politics of belonging involve not only the maintenance and reproduction of boundaries of the community of belonging by the hegemonic political powers (within and outside the community), but also their contestation, challenge and resistance by other political agents. It is important to recognize, however, that such political agents would struggle both from the promotion of their specific position on the construction of collectivities and their boundaries as well as using these ideologies and positions in order to promote their own power positions within and outside the collectivities. (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 20)

Thus, political agency in relation to identity is understood as:

> By politics, I mean the significance in modern forms of political movement of the signifier 'identity,' it's pivotal relationships to a politics of location—but also the manifest difficulties and instabilities which have characteristically affected all forms of 'identity politics. By 'agency'…it seems to be in the attempt to rearticulate the relationship between subjects and discursive practices that the question of identity recurs. (Hall, 1996, p. 2)

This political agency may be seen in Anthias' (2011) conceptualization around 'social categories as categories of discursive practice in the making of boundaries and hierarchies', as "they have different historical and ontological bases, but they all involve boundary-making and hierarchy-making processes...they have dynamic influence both as representations and as identity claims and attributions but in fluid and situated ways with a time and space context" (p. 7). In concrete social relations, "social relations of hierarchy and inequality are embodied in concrete social relations" (p. 9).

Rather than analyzing the data through McCall's (2005) "anti-categorical" approach, which is the rejection of categories, I examined the data through *intercategorical complexity*, an approach that, "interrogates the boundary-making and boundary-defining process itself" (p. 1773), "which requires that scholars provisionally adopt existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequality among multiple and conflicting dimensions" (p. 1773). The intercategorical complexity takes aspects of the anti-categorical and intracategorical (see chapter 1), and "acknowledges the stable and even durable relationships that social categories represent at any given point in time, though it maintains a critical stance toward categories" (p. 1774). Utilizing McCall's (2005) intercategorical complexity approach, I acknowledge, "that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups [and I take] those relationships as the centre of analysis" (p. 1785). Therefore, I engage in a discussion of how social inequities and inequalities are embodied in the youth's educational experience, specifically through family separation and reunification through the L/CP. Through an intercategorical complexity lens, I connect these discussions to how the youth negotiate their identities through the constructs of race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and spirituality, which are constituted within Toronto urban schools. Pratt (2010) argued that:

> Family separation and subsequent migration and reunification in Canada have been found to be disruptive to children's education, a poignant and troubling finding because so many mothers begin their migration stories from expressions of hope for their children's futures. In Vancouver high schools, we have found dropout rates to be high and grades low for those who speak Tagalog at home, relative to a selection of other language groups. In interviews, school officials have pointed to the LCP as a decisive factor. (p. 346)

Acknowledging the impact of family separation and reunification on the school experiences of Filipina/o/x students is central to understanding how educators can best support these students in their learning, mental health, and well-being in schools. Eric indicated that as a transnational student he experienced racism within his Toronto urban school:

Researcher:	Ok, um, so what are your thoughts about how people of different racial backgrounds are treated in your school…do you think racism is happening in schools…?
Eric:	Yeah, maybe. Sometimes they throw comments.
Researcher:	At you or at [other] people?
Eric:	Um, at us.
Researcher:	Like newcomers?
Eric:	Yeah, newcomers.
Researcher:	How about outside in society? Do you think it happens? Has it happened to you? [Have you] experienced racism? Discrimination?
Eric:	No, it didn't happen to me.
Researcher:	No, more so in the school?
Eric:	In school.

While Eric's experience of his intersubjective relationship, "the actions and practices that take place in relation to others" (Anthias, 2011, p. 213), with his peers occurred within the school building, it could be argued that racism flows through institutions such as Toronto urban schools and into society and policies on an organizational level. Thus, as Anthias (2011) argued, there needs to be an analytic focus,

on institutional and other organisational forms—for example, family structures and networks, educational systems, political and legal systems, the state apparatus, and the system of policy and surveillance—for instance, how is sexuality, biological reproduction or population categories constructed, organized, and represented within institutional frameworks and in terms of the allocation of resources? (p. 213)

Schools may be seen as a representational space of society where racism does indeed take place. In society, however, racism within society may not be as overt as what Eric had experienced.

According to Anthias (2011), the focus needs to be directed to invisible institutional practices. Anyon (2013) also directed attention to the structural and institutional manifestation of racism by focusing on the political economy of race in the context of urban neighbourhoods. She stated that this required an analysis that needs to be centred on the working condition of people of colour in low-income households:

Such an analysis would document the lack of living-wage and career-advancing jobs, and would explicate policies and practices that segregate poor and low-income people of color in underserved and underfinanced city neighborhoods and fiscally stressed, racially homogenous suburbs…A political economy of race for urban education…is that when the political economy prevents opportunity for decent jobs and wages in urban areas, and thereby maintains families in poverty, it diminishes the capacity of parents to provide rich, stable learning environments for their children. (p. 369)

Thus, the educational system is symbolic and representative of the political economy of race in Toronto urban schools. Representational investigation refers to, "the symbolic and representational means, the images and texts, the documents and information flows around the ontological spaces of social difference and inequality" (Anthias, 2011, p. 213).

I engage with three important points of analysis of Eric's intersectional identity: concrete social location; constitutive social divisions; and grids of difference. In terms of concrete

social location, which Yuval-Davis (2006) described as "constructed along multiple axes of difference" (p. 200), Eric identified the significance of four intersections: sexuality, gender, class, and race. These different social identities constitute each other on "grids of difference". As Cho (2007) pointed out:

> In focusing on the problem of subjectivity and subject formation for diaspora, I am suggesting that diasporas are not just there. They are not simply collection of people, communities of scattered individuals bound by some shared history, race or religion, or however we want to break down the definitions and classifications. Rather, they have a relation to power. They emerge in relation to power. This power is both external to the diasporic subject and internally formative. (p. 15)

Eric's identification as a gay Filipino male who enjoys "girly-things" is an example of how power relations are present within race, sexuality, and gender constructs. In grade 1, he was aware of his sexuality and gendered identity, which he understood as reflected or marked by certain defining practices and experiences. For example, he stated: "I like[d] playing with girls and I don't know why…And I like to play with Barbie things and girly things like that." We explored multiple axes of difference, and he first identified his experiences with sexuality:

Researcher: So you identify as boy and gay. In the Philippines, what was your experience like growing up?

Eric: It's very hard because you would be bullied a lot, especially in elementary grade, I've been bullied a lot but in high school…[I] just…ignore[d] the bullying.

Researcher: So it was difficult?

Eric: Yeah, it was difficult [to] be there, but here [in Canada] we just [enjoy] it.

Researcher: Here in Canada…do you find it easier…to [be and say that] you are gay?

Eric: Yeah, it's very welcoming.

Eric's experience of bullying for identifying as being "gay" resonated with the discrimination and oppressive perceptions of the LGBTQ community in the Philippines. Ivy, for example, shared that, "usually in the Philippines, when they see gay people or lesbian people, they start to get disgusted or whatever, but in here, I just see people like do whatever." Rita also indicated, "I think in the Philippines, they're being judged because more people in the Philippines are based on their religion and like here, they have more freedom." Here, Rita pointed out the intersection of religion and sexuality. As Rachel identified as a spiritual and religious Christian, she voiced how she made sense of others' sexuality, which was influenced by her strict Christian religious beliefs:

> Growing up, there were only guys and girls, but I had friends and family members who were like gay or lesbians…so I'm kind of like, ok, they're there. I just treat them like normal people and at the time, I really didn't think about LGBT or whatever, all of the terms. I just see a person…I wasn't allowed to express those thoughts because of strict religious beliefs. I don't mind like ok, if you want to do that, fine, like I don't like it, but I am not going to tell you not to do it…Yeah cause, I can say my opinion, that's how I grew up, and that's what religion is telling me, that's what I kinda want to stick with, but I'm not gonna go up to your face and be like oh you're a sinner you're gonna go to hell…yeah, I feel like those Christians who like say that like queer people, trans people are like not people, I'm like, are you dumb? (Rachel)

Religion, mainly Catholicism, was the legacy that colonialism left behind, "the Philippines is also the only predominantly Christian country in Asia, a legacy from Roman Catholic Spanish and Protestant American colonizers" (Daly, 2005, p. 228). Additionally, "the prevailing Catholicism of much Filipina/American culture renders expression of female sexuality—

particularly sexuality outside prescribed Catholic, heterosexist, homophobic norms—taboo, resulting in guilt, confusion, and fear" (de Jesús, 2005, p. 9), a notion which also extends to all genders. In negotiating the intersections between religion, gender, and sexuality, there is a space for embracing a spiritual identity, which differs from merely subscribing to a religious tradition:

> The Catholic theological, verbal, and spiritual idiom has made at home deep within me; maddening as it is sometimes, in its obstinacies and inconsistencies, I respect tradition even as I contest it, disagree with it, and subject it to critique. Faith and theology aside, Catholicism's cultural significance and its ties to who I am as a Filipina are thick as blood itself. My experience cannot be encapsulated in a single sticking point and is greater than one sole controversy. (Bundang, 2005, p. 67)

Whether the youth identified as spiritual, religious, or both they were operating from "the limits" (see Hall, 1996) of the constructs of gender, spirituality, and religion, which are constituted within the framework of colonialism and decolonization. As the youth identified as Filipina/o/x, they described religion and/or spirituality as being very important to them:

Researcher: Your values, what are [some] important values?

Philip: Godliness.

Researcher: So maybe your spirituality, religion, maybe? What is your religion?

Philip: Catholic.

Researcher: So [being] Catholic is very important to you, going to church and things like that?

Philip: Yes, I go to church but not always.

> *Researcher:* But for you, being spiritual is important?

> *Philip:* Yes, of course Miss.

This is the space where their agency is utilized to make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools, as Hall (1996) stated:

> Observe something distinctive about the deconstructive critique to which many of these essentialist concepts have been subjected. Unlike those forms of critique which aim to supplant inadequate concepts with 'truer' ones, or which aspire to the production of positive knowledge, the deconstructive approach puts key concepts under 'erasure'…but since they have not been superseded dialectically, and there are no other, entirely different concepts with which to replace them, there is nothing to do but to continue to think with them…Derrida has described this approach as thinking at the limit, as thinking in the interval. (p. 1)

Decolonization processes may also take place within these spaces of "limits" as it is contingent upon the legacy of colonialism, "through the processes of decolonization, you come to realize that the aspects of your identity that you had long taken for granted are actually tied to global discourses of colonial imperialism" (Pierce, 2005, p. 3).

The next axis of difference I want to examine is the construct of class, particularly in relation to family separation and reunification due to the L/CP and colonization. For instance, Shahjahan (2016), drew from Grosfoguel (2008) and argued that decolonization centred, "the geopolitical, economic processes highlighted by world-systems theorists, but extends the latter by centering race and highlighting the interconnections between racialized ideological strategies, capitalist accumulation processes, and the inter-state system of the core-periphery relations at a world scale" (Shahjahan, 2016, p. 696). Moreover, he looked at Quijano's (2008) work on a decolonization frameworks in that it, "centres the *coloniality of power—a global hegemonic power…*that recoded and reconfigured race and labor, space, and peoples

according to the needs of capital and for the benefit of white European peoples" (emphasis in original) (p. 696).

Class and gender intersect within the global city, such as Toronto, impacting the school experiences of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools, as Sassen (2008a) indicated that the professional household:

> Should be reconceptualized as part of the strategic "infrastructure" of global cities and that the low-wage domestic workers are in fact strategic infrastructure maintenance workers. I argue that the social systems represented by these households cannot be understood fully simply in terms of patriarchy…nor can this household be explained simply in terms of the return of serving classes…Finally, we cannot limit the anlysis to the poor working conditions, exploitation, and multiple vulnerabilities of these household workers…hence, my positing that they are actually maintaining a strategic infrastructure—their workplace is the global corporate economy. (p. 488)

Unanimously, all the youth understood that their mothers left them to meet their family's economic needs. Therefore, class plays a role within the lives of these particular students. Eric understood that his mother had to work outside of the Philippines due to economic reasons: "my understanding is that she needs to…sustain our finances…because we are very poor back home, that's why." Rodrigo explained that while his mother had a job in the Philippines, it was not sufficient to raise children and maintain a household. Consequently, his mother moved to Hong Kong and to Canada as a migrant domestic worker:

> *Rodrigo:*   Since my mom had my sister, we couldn't afford anything cause her job was not that good, she was a midwife, and her everyday payment was 200 pesos, I don't know how much it is here, like a few bucks, like 5 bucks a day…so it was really small and she said that she couldn't afford it because my dad doesn't have a permanent job…When I was in grade 4, she was planning to move to Hong Kong.

> *Researcher:*   Ah, so she went to Hong Kong first?

> *Rodrigo:*   She moved to Hong Kong.

Marcelino also depicted how family separation and reunification began with his mother's migration from the Philippines to Hong Kong.

Figure 13: Marcelino's Understanding of His Mother's Global Migration Experience

Sassen's (2008a) perspective of how low wage workers, such as domestic workers, maintain the global corporate infrastructure continues to affect the youth as they barely see their mothers who work multiple jobs to meet economic needs:

> *Researcher:*   So when you moved to Toronto, was it hard for you and your family financially?

> *Eric:*   Yeah maybe, like the first month was very hard.

> *Researcher:*   Yeah? Um, how about now?

> *Eric:*   There's a lot of expenses.

> *Researcher:*   Your mom is working many jobs, how many does she have?

> *Eric:*   I think she has three jobs.

> *Researcher:*   She has three jobs?!

> *Eric:*   Yeah.

Through an intercategorial complexity approach, I analyzed the categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, religion and spirituality with the,

> observation that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups, as imperfect and ever changing as they are, and takes those relationships as the centre of analysis. The main task of the categorical approach is to explicate those relationships, and doing so requires the provisional use of categories (McCall, 2005, p. 1785).

I draw on both McCall's (2011) intercategorical approach and Anthias' (2011) intersectional approach using the concepts of social ontologies; social categories as categories of discursive practice in the making of boundaries and hierarchies; and concrete social relations. The social ontologies, or the, "conceptions about different realms in the world or ways the world is organised. These act like maps, pointing to where sets of relations are situated, manifested in categories and materialised in concrete relations" (Anthias, 2011, p. 6). I map the social ontologies of Filipina/o/x youth who have experienced family separation and reunification

through the L/CP and the impact of these global migration experiences on their schooling in Toronto urban high schools through the concern with representation:

> At the heart of the meaning process in culture, then, are two related 'systems of representation.' The first enables us to give meaning to the world by constructing a set of correspondences or a chain of equivalences between things-people, objects, events, abstract ideas, etc.-and our system of concepts, our conceptual maps. The second depends on constructing a set of correspondences between our conceptual map and a set of signs, arranged or organized into various languages which stand for or represent those concepts. The relation between 'things,' concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language. The process which links these three elements together is what we call 'representation.' (Hall, 1997, p. 19)

The study was also analyzed through Anthias' (2011) 'social categories as categories of discursive practice in the making of boundaries and hierarchies', which is how, "the social categories of gender, ethnicity, 'race' and class construct particular criteria by which people are ordered into categories but the categorising of people should not be elided with particular population categories/groupings as they related to social life" (p. 7). With regard to Filipina/o/x youth, they have been constructed and represented by society as the Other. Hall (1996) explicated this further through experiences of blacks to signify:

> Popular representations of racial 'difference' during slavery tended to cluster around two main themes: First was subordinate status and 'innate laziness' of blacks— 'naturally' born to, and fitted only for, servitude, but, at the same time, stubbornly unwilling to labour in ways appropriate to their nature and profitable for their masters. Second was their innate 'primitivism,' simplicity and lack of culture, which made them genetically incapable of 'civilized' refinements. Whites took inordinate amusement from the slaves' efforts to imitate the manners and customs of so-called 'civilized' white folks. (p. 244)

These signifying practices represent the politics of belonging in that they involve, "not only constructions of boundaries but also the inclusion or exclusion of particular people, social categories and groupings within these boundaries by those who have the power to do this" (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 18). With the particular experiences of family separation and reunification through the L/CP impacting the school experiences of Filipina/o/x youth, it is important to understand that, "politics involves the exercise of power and [that] different hegemonic political projects of belonging represent different symbolic power orders" (p. 19). This can be understood through the use of Anthias' (2011) intersectional analysis.

Anthias' (2011) 'concrete social relations' referred to how, "the social relations of hierarchy and inequality are embodied in concrete social relations" (p. 9). Eric's embodied experiences in Toronto urban schools demonstrates how Filipina/o/x youth's global migration situated (Burawoy, 2000; Haraway, 1988) within a particular locality, such as within the L/CP, and that identities are lodged in contingency (see Hall, 1996). Moreover, decolonization in this sense may be defined as, "central to the practice of democracy…outside free market…individual agency and state governance…self-reflective collective practice in the transformation of the self, reconceptualization of identity, and political mobilization [are] necessary element[s] of the practice of decolonization" (Mohanty, 2003, p.8).

Though not all of the youth shared that they were personally shamed for having darker skin, some of the youth identified concerns of anti-Black racism within their families and communities. Thus, skin colour is linked to prejudice, discrimination, and oppressive ideas stemming from the roots of colonialism (see Pierce, 2005). While the youth themselves did not necessarily agree with these ideas, Alicia, an 18 year old Filipina who has close friendships with other Black transnational students at her school, challenged and negotiated these socially produced ideologies:

> There was something that most people tell me and sometimes my mom right now, in the present, my mom kind of goes into…like how people with dark skin can be considered "bad" I guess? Like, cause you know how back home, like, they consider

the idea of a Black person as bad, I don't know why, it's probably because of the colour, like Black, white, stuff like that, so my mom probably has issues with Black people cause of how they act. Like, sometimes I hear stories from her about how Black people are "violent." And I don't think that. (Alicia)

Here, Alicia negotiated colonial ideas that have been passed down from generation to generation, but is able to challenge them in a way such that these ideas are not internalized and reproduced. She was able to point out the connection between skin colour and racism and decide for herself that she does not agree with the oppressive ideology that "Black people are bad." Though not thoroughly discussed, her thoughts on "blackness" and "whiteness" resonate with Rita's experiences of having darker skin colour and not being deemed as "beautiful" by others in the Philippines. Rita had an experiential, personal encounter with "colonial imperialism" through marginalization due to possessing dark skin; Alicia's personal experience with racism was on an intersubjective level as it was not directed toward her as an individual but on the level of concrete social relations and systemic oppression on the basis of race (see Anthias, 2011).

The following is a reflection I had written in my field notes after Alicia's interview on November 3, 2016, as I compared it to Rita's interview:

Both Rita and Alicia have experienced racism, and both have challenged these ideas in their own way. I definitely think this how they use their agency to make sense of their identity and belonging here in Canada. As I reflect upon the ideas that have roots in colonialism in my own family and those around me, I don't have to think very hard because it is in my face. It seems "normal" to think that someone who has darker skin is "ugly." It's automatic. Just like it is automatic to think that someone with fair skin is "beautiful." Anyone who has brown skin and a flat nose isn't seen for their beauty and they are shamed for who they are. We seem to spread the message and encourage the lightening of someone's skin colour up with bleach and like magic, your "Filipino-ness" goes away, and then you'll surely be free from oppression. Alicia's experience

with anti-black racism is just as "normal" as I have heard these sentiments before. If it's not fear of the Black community, it's shaming them for their skin colour. It seems like these ideas are rarely challenged with the majority of people in our communities, however, it is youth like Rita and Alicia who do challenge these oppressive ideas and say "enough!" This is exemplified in their everyday practice of thinking that they are beautiful despite having dark skin and having close friends who are Black even though their parents think that they are "violent". (October 26, 2017)

Analysis through an organizational level, which "focuses on institutional and other organizational forms…[and how]…categories [are] constructed, organized, and represented within institutional frameworks and in terms of the allocation of resources" (Anthias, 2011, p. 213). Thus, I investigated how global migration through the L/CP has impacted the school experiences of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools. Organizations, such as schools, are local representations of systemic oppression, and "many transnational feminists reject the state-territorial frame...the result is a new appreciation of the role of transnational forces in maintaining gender injustice" (Fraser, 2005, p. 304). I extend Fraser's argument to how globalization maintains racial injustice as Angelica experienced the politics of belonging at her school, and demonstrated that educational systems are indeed racialized and racist spaces:

> I didn't know anything, my first day was a mess, like, yeah I didn't know anything, I was shocked when the bell rang cause I didn't know what was happening, why is everyone standing? Where they going?... I even experienced crying in the washroom…Like during lunch, like I always feel like I'm alone cause I don't know it's different cause I was shocked with the diversity. I was expecting, like I'm not racist, but I was expecting like America is White people, like I don't know…I didn't know that Canada will be so diverse…Cause, if you go to the Philippines and you say Americans, they're gonna expect like White people. (Angelica)

The expectation of seeing White people in the West speaks to global power relations and the domination of Whiteness that stems from colonization and the privileging of Whiteness on a

global level (see Pierce, 2005). Angelica's experience with diversity speaks to the privileging of Whiteness in that it is expected to be everywhere on a global level and that others who are not White may be be seen as Other. Said (1979) explicated how the Other is constructed by the West as exotic:

> Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point. Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. (p. 11)

Angelica's statement reflects the domination and authority over the Orient in that it misrepresents the West as being a White majority despite the diversity that exists in Toronto urban schools:

> Here in Toronto, yeah, like I remember during my first days here at [school], um, some of the Filipinos that have been here for a while, they're kind of bullies and some of the other cultures, they call us like FOBS [Fresh off the Boat]. There's a part in the cafe where all of the new Filipinos sit, I don't know cause all of the new Filipinos are really not used to speaking in English so everyone is going to come together cause all of them speak Tagalog, right? And some of the Black people are going to be like "FOBS" (Angelica)

Moreover, Eric reported similar concerns around comments being thrown in the cafeteria where newcomer Filipina/o/x students congregate and speak with each other in Tagalog. Eric's and Angelica's experiences of racism within the school is connected to Espiritu's (2003) research that found that second-generation Filipina/o/x youth used the term FOB to discriminate between themselves and newcomer Filipina/o/x youth in San Diego, California:

All-Filipino and cross-racial friendships emerged in part out of shared experiences within the racial economy of the United States. Although personal affinities drew young people together, it was their family's' racial and economic subordination that landed them in the same neighborhoods and schools. But the narratives also indicate that shared experiences with subordination do not always produce meaningful friendships and alliances…Some Filipinos adopt anti-black and anti-Latino racism in an effort to secure ethnic inclusion for themselves. For their part, U.S.-born Filipinos, African Americans, and Mexican Americans taunt Dario, Nicholas, Mary, and Cecilia in part because they have internalized the anti-Asian and anti-immigrant rhetoric and practices that characterize so much of the culture and social structure in the United States. (p.142-143)

In terms of representation, the term FOB symbolizes a marker of difference in that newcomer youth have been excluded. Extending beyond Espiritu's (2003) work, Angelica's and Eric's experience within the racialized and racist experiences of schooling is a manifestation of "multiple intersecting inequalities" (Anthias, 2011, p. 3). Angelica's and Eric's experiences of racism and social exclusion are examples of how, "social division interrelate in terms of the production of social relations, and in terms of people's lives" (p. 4). Given the context of migration through the L/CP, which exists in Canada rather than in San Diego, California, Angelica's and Eric's experiences of racism in Toronto urban schools are partial, "knowledges among very different—and power-differentiated communities" (Haraway, 1988, p. 580). Espiritu's (2003) study did not look at the impact of family separation and reunification through the L/CP on the school experiences of Filipina/o/x youth.

6.2 Conclusion

This chapter investigated the intersectional identities of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools through an intersectional analysis that is informed by a postcolonial feminist analytic focus on identity and belonging. This section identified the ways in which the youth engaged with political agency, decolonization, and subjectification processes through their understandings of how race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and spirituality has impacted

their transnational identities in Toronto urban schools. The next chapter examines how community partnerships, such as educational systems and community services engage in transnational feminist praxis in the "Blue Zone" of the Vidaview Storyboard (VSB).

Chapter 7

The Blue Zone: Feminist Praxis as Relationally Constituted

7   Introduction

This chapter examines Filipina/o/x students' perspectives of how school-community partnerships have been important for the youth's agency as these are significant spaces in which to embody transnational feminist praxis. This chapter also triangulates Angelica's, a Filipina youth, school experiences with other mothers, including Natalia's, her own mother's, as well as community leaders. Moreover, these data were triangulated with the youth's focus group, which took the form of a group art project, as a way to provide a crystallized representation of Filipina/o/x youths' transnational sense of identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

7.1 The Significance of Community Support

> **"**When I learned about the Aboriginal people, I realized we should take action, cause, you know, if we keep on being silent…we shouldn't expect change" (Angelica).

This section provides an analysis of the impact of the Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP) on the school experiences of Filipina/o/x youth through transnational feminist praxis. Angelica is a 17 year old Filipina who described herself as "shy" and not being able to speak "English well." I had a different perspective in that she seemed outgoing, expressive, and engaging, and she spoke fluent English during our interview. She appeared to be a student leader among the newcomers who arrived this year in 2016. She arrived in Toronto in 2015 to reunify with her mother, Natalia. I chose to start this section with her interview as it demonstrates how institutions, such as educational systems and social services can engage in transnational feminist praxis to help facilitate solidarity among marginalized groups. In the particular school Angelica attends, the students are encouraged to learn about the colonial histories of Indigenous Peoples and trips are made to visit Elders within these communities so they can learn from them and their cultures. This is important, because the majority of the student body

has transnational roots in various countries of Africa as well as in Iraq, Syria, and the Philippines.

Angelica shared that she appreciated learning about the situation of Indigenous peoples in school; otherwise, she indicated that she "would not have cared" about social justice. Voicing the need to "help" Indigenous peoples is twofold in that it acknowledged the necessity for solidarity between migrants and Indigenous peoples. This sentiment is reiterated by Lawrence and Amadhy (2009) who spoke to the relations between Black migrants and Indigenous peoples in Canada:

> The strength of the historic connections between Black and Native people has been weakened by exclusionary racial classification, by anti-Black racism among Native people and a profound ignorance on the part of many contemporary Black people about Indigenous presence, nevertheless, it appears that there will be growing movements of Black-Native people across both Canada and the United States to reclaim indigeneity—not only to lost African roots but to contemporary Native realities in Canada. (p. 126)

Lawrence and Amadhy's (2009) argument is applicable to Angelica's experiences of schooling in Toronto, because prior to learning about Indigenous peoples, she was largely unware of their realities in Canada. Her response "helps" to demonstrate the need for solidarity among migrants and Indigenous peoples.

Transnational feminist praxis engages in this type of solidarity between different activist groups without disregarding the particularities of each social movement. Transnational feminist praxis can be described as:

> An intersectional set of understandings, tools, and practices that can: (a) attend to racialized, classed, masculinized, and heteronormative logics and practices of globalization and capitalist patriarchies, and the multiple ways in which they (re)structure colonial and neocolonial relations of domination and subordination; (b)

grapple with the complex and contradictory ways in which these processes both inform and are shaped by a range of subjectivities and understandings of individual and collective agency; and (c) Interweave critiques, actions, and self-reflexivity so as to resist a priori predictions of what might constitute feminist politics in a given place and time. (Nagar & Swarr, 2010, p. 5)

Utilizing a transnational feminist praxis not only builds solidarity among various yet unique social movements, but it may also be used as a decolonization tool within social services organizations and educational systems such as the Newcomer Support Centre (NSC), the Services for a Diverse Community (SDC), and in Toronto urban schools. Alicia's experience with learning about Indigenous peoples through a decolonized perspective was an eye-opening event for her. Additionally, partnerships between The NSC (Newcomer Support Centre) and SDC (Services for a Diverse Community) and Toronto urban schools offer these opportunities in both social services and in curriculum. Community services, such as the after school programs for newcomer students and community programs for their parents, attempt to educate about Indigenous history that is not from a Eurocentric lens, and engage with key members of those communities. There is school engagement with Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs). These are examples of how institutions serving the social and educational needs of Filipina/o/x youth may engage in transnational feminist praxis.

As a Filipina community leader who identifies as a lesbian, Darlene assists newcomer Filipina mothers in how to relate to their children, especially if they "come out," or if they themselves wanted to "come out." She stated that:

It would be good to do stuff on sex education too, in the context of a highly Catholic culture, that's respectful, right? Or family traditions or family values, everyone has a sexuality, everyone has questions, how might parents be supported, in their own kind of way, because I think there's a lot of services for queer youth, and there's less services for culturally-specific queer youth, but what about the parents? The parents kind of want to have their own supports. When I came out, my mom thought I would

be the only gay Filipino in the world and because she didn't know any other parents. Right? So a safe place for them to kind of ask support, meet folks, dispel some myths, and something intergenerational. (Darlene)

Having community leaders like Darlene may help transnational Filipina/o/x youth, particularly those who are gender and sexual minorities, with their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Though Eric finds that Canada is very "welcoming" of his gay identity, Darlene's point of supporting newcomer migrant parents to support their children's sexuality and gendered identities may facilitate the process of youth utilizing their agency to make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. This idea may also extend to social services and educational systems to support educators, parents, and the Filipina/o/x community at large because Eric shared that while people in Canada are mostly welcoming of his sexual identity, he may not be accepted by other "Filipinos" in Toronto:

Researcher: So you identify as boy and gay. In the Philippines, what was your experience growing up?

Eric: Yeah, it was very hard because you would be bullied a lot, especially in elementary grade, I've been bullied a lot but in high school, not really, we're just gonna ignore the bullying.

Researcher: So it was difficult?

Eric: Yes, it was difficult back there.

Researcher: How about here in Canada?

Eric: Yeah it's welcoming…but like around other Filipinos [in Canada], maybe not.

Eric's embodied experiences and intersectional identity speaks to what role social services and educational systems can play in facilitating transnational youths' agency, so that they can make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. Darlene's role in working with family separation and reunification in an intimate manner embodies transnational feminist practice, as her practices are political acts that are contingent upon building solidarity (see Mohanty, 2003). The act of supporting newcomer mothers can be seen as educational. Mohanty argued that education is a site in which "feminist activist teachers must…also learn from their students. The differences and borders of each of our identities connect us to each other, more than they sever" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 250-251). Thus, social services and educational systems may create safe spaces of opportunity to learn from transnational students. In turn, the leaders of these institutions may provide the space to build solidarity without "obliterating difference" (Hall, 1996, p. 3) to address the social and education needs of Filipina/o/x youth.

Angelica's sentiment is hopeful as educational systems inform students about the colonial histories that impact Indigenous communities here in Canada today. However, according to Rachel, history classes were "one-sided" and she expressed disappointment with the curriculum. Rachel is an 18 year old Filipina who came to Toronto in 2015 and attends a school in a different school board from Angelica. She expressed her frustration with not learning about Indigenous people in the curriculum:

> They shouldn't limit what we can learn, you know?...In history, it was all about war….It was only about what Canada played in the war….And so you don't really get the other side of the story…So you think Canada is this, but what if they're wrong? What if there's another story involved?…I mean you're in Canada but you shouldn't just focus on Canada cause I don't know, here, when I found out about Indigenous people, I kind of hated Canada for a while, because I'm like what?! And I thought you guys were so friendly and kind!!! (Rachel)

Rachel's expression of "hatred" and exclusion of Indigenous lives from the curriculum may be indicative of how Indigenous voices and lives are excluded within mainstream society. This "hatred" may also help to explore "subversive possibilities" and an "un-doing [of] existing educational policies and practices that exclude and marginalise migrant children and other minority groups" (Zembylas, 2012, p.173). Here I connect power relations, emotion, and the ways in which "discourses about migrants and their families [reveal] the structures of feeling that are created by educational policies and practices to maintain particular forms of relationality that contribute to the formation of certain inclusions/exclusions" (p.172). Zembylas (2012) pointed out the implications for educational research, policy, and practice, and argued that the emotional economies of migrants and minority groups may have an impact on educational institutions as emotions speak to who is included/excluded when defining one's identity and belonging. A systemic investigation of emotion in educational systems could ask questions such as: "Who is allowed to feel and express enthusiasm (or contempt) for particular individuals and groups? Which emotional rules are dominant and why? To what extent can alternative "emotion discourses" or systems coexist in particular educational settings?" Thus, Zembylas (2012) suggested that policy makers and educators "can benefit from interrogating the normative politics of emotions about migrants and other minority groups and constantly questioning how particular emotion discourses and practices are embodied in the day-to-day routines of schools and higher education institutions" (p. 173).

Juanito, 16, shared that when he first moved to Canada in 2012 that "I want[ed] teachers to help me adjust." He shared that because he felt a lack of teacher support and experienced a huge amount of stress, both from school and his personal life, that he dropped-out, but has now returned to school. I wonder if educators in schools had been able to at least understand the affective and social conditions of his status as a newcomer as a basis for building productive pedagogical relations of care and support, whether his situation at school would have been different. Zembylas (2012) argued that a "renewed affective network of relations" (p. 173) would shape the ways in which inclusion rather than exclusion practices would help prevent the marginalization of students:

> Educators need opportunities to engage in critical emotional praxis, that is, critical praxis informed by emotion that resists unjust systems and practices as well as emotion that helps create a more fair and just world in our classrooms and our everyday lives. Therefore, [this is] an important agenda for teacher development and teacher education in that educators should be structurally and emotionally supported in their struggles to cope with the social, cultural and political structures in their work. (p. 174)

While many of the youth participants described their teachers as very kind and helpful, others like Juanito did not feel that they were "welcoming." Chloe, 16, who recently came to Canada through the L/CP in 2016 mentioned that at first teachers were helpful, but toward the end of her interview, revealed a different story. She shared that she felt that one of her teachers "favoured Canadian-born students" and felt ignored in the classroom. Though many of the youth participants mentioned that they thought that their teachers were welcoming, a missing piece in the overall story was the teacher's understanding of their global migration trajectories, particularly through family separation and reunification through the L/CP. While it is not the job of the educator be a counsellor/therapist, being informed about the emotional, social, and economic impact of family separation and reunification through the L/CP would be helpful as it impacts the students' educational experiences, particularly with regards to how they make sense of their identity and belonging, which is constituted in terms of negotiating and navigating relations of race, class, gender, sexuality, religion and spirituality in Toronto urban schools. Zembylas (2012) argued that investigating emotions is the transaction "between macro-political aspects and the micro-politics of local realities" (p.175). Moreover, Rachel's feelings of "hatred" and the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from the curriculum speak to the power relations within educational systems. Listening to students' perspectives and emotions could help improve pedagogy and curriculum, particularly with regards to forging relevant connections and building productive and nurturing relationships with Filipina/o/x students (Zembylas, 2012). This addresses two aspects: concerns about the politics of belonging, and the need for transnational feminist praxis within educational systems.

Yuval-Davis (2011) argued that Indigenous politics of belonging referred to the, "global movements of Indigenous people, or of 'first nations' have grown out of resistance movements…of various European Settler Societies…all have suffered discrimination, inferiorization, displacement and dispossession to varying degrees" (p. 103). Lawrence and Dua (2005) argued that migrants are complicit within settler colonialism, to which Mahtini and Roberts (2012) questioned the social positioning of Filipina/o/x in terms of the:

> Ongoing colonialism of Canada as a white settler society. What might be Filipina/o Canadians' role in dismantling ongoing racial violence in the lives of Aboriginal peoples in Canada? How can Filipina/o Canadians, given their complex transnational role and relationships with other colonizing societies, such as Spain and the United States, understand their relationships with Canadian First Nations? How might this complicate the types of activism and thinking around social justice that would likely form the basis of a way forward or next step with this analysis? How can Filipina/o Canadians integrate understandings of the Canadian state as a white settler nation into their conceptions of identity? (p. 425)

In addition, how would these concerns be applicable to newcomer Filipina/o/x youth who have been impacted by family separation and reunification through the L/CP, also given their own experiences of racism and other forms of oppression? Thus, educational systems may be institutions where these questions can be addressed through a "collaborative praxis," which "is marginalized in dominant institutional space[s]" and which can lead "to imagin[ing] how such praxis can become a rich source of methodological *and* theoretical interventions and agendas that can begin the process of identifying and re/claiming those spaces" (Nagar & Swarr, 2010, p. 3).

When I asked the youth if having a Filipina/o/x teacher would help with the cultural adjustment in Toronto, the answers were nuanced as some agreed that this would be helpful

while others disagreed. Contrary to Kelly's (2014) findings that Filipina/o/x youth would like more Filipina/o/x teachers as role models, some argued that this was not necessary:

> *Researcher:* If you had a Filipina or Filipino teacher as a role model, would that be helpful for you?
>
> *Edna:* In here?
>
> *Researcher:* Yeah if you had a Filipino teacher…does it matter?
>
> *Edna:* I don't think it matters.
>
> *Researcher:* As long as they help you adjust?
>
> *Edna:* Yeah.

Angelica also agreed that having a Filipina/o/x teacher as a role model is unnecessary and shared her perspective:

> *Angelica:* An excellent teacher would be the one who would be strict but know[s] her limits, and [an] excellent teacher…should know what she is doing.
>
> *Researcher:* Would [it] make a difference if you had a Filipina or Filipino teacher, or does it matter if they're good? So does race matter in terms of being a good teacher? What do you think?
>
> *Angelica:* No, not really. Well, cause, it really depends on how she or he delivers the lessons because teachers, you know, have different kinds of styles and way of teaching.

However, the participants also confirmed Kelly's (2014) research in that the some of the youth preferred to have Filipina/o/x teachers as a role model, particularly in relating to them on a cultural level and connecting through language:

> *Researcher:* So what are your thoughts about having a Filipina or Filipino teacher as a role model? Like, does [it] matter if the teacher is Filipino?
>
> *Eric:* I think it matters.

> *Researcher:*　It would help with your adjustment?
>
> *Eric:*　Yeah, adjustment.

Cara's perspective also resonated with Eric's:

> *Researcher:*　What are your thoughts about having a Filipina or Filipino teacher as a role model?
>
> *Cara:*　Yeah it can help me a lot cause I rarely speak English so she can help me adjust to the language.

Interestingly, the parents did not think that having a Filipina/o/x teacher would make a difference, except for one, Angelica's mother, Natalia, who indicated that, "Yes, Filipina teachers know how to make their students fear them and do their work. Being too strict is bad, but it does help." Natalia's perspective implies that using "fear" is an effective strategy that 'Canadian' educators may not possess in relation to their Filipina/o/x counterparts. The American colonist education system in the Philippines was a site of subjugation:

> The most effective means of subjugating a people is to capture their minds. Military victory does not necessarily signify conquest…The molding of men's minds is the best means of conquest. Education, therefore, serves as weapon in wars of colonial conquest…The primary reason for the rapid introduction, on a large scale, of the American public school system in the Philippines was the conviction of the military leaders that no measure could so quickly promote the pacification of the islands as education. (Constantino, 1966, p. 2)

This sort of imperialist domination caused fear among those subjugated to colonial rule, introducing hierarchies within the American education system (see Fanon, 1986):

> Under previous colonial regimes, education saw to it that the Filipino mind was subservient to that of the master. The foreign overlords were esteemed. We were not

taught to view them objectively, seeing their virtues as well as their faults. This led out citizens to form a distorted opinion of the foreign masters and also of themselves (Constantino, 1966, p. 16).

This fear tactic also seems to play out in Eric's mother, Emilia's, statement, "I prefer [a] Canadian teacher because I want to improve my [child's] English." For Emilia, speaking English seems to be a marker of success for Eric, and it is intertwined with her own hopes and dreams for her child's future. Implicit in Emilia's statement is the internalization of the superiority of Western culture, specifically with regard to language, as Constantino (1966) argued:

> The first and perhaps the master stroke in the plan to use education as an instrument of colonial policy was the decision to use English as the medium of instruction. English became the wedge that separated the Filipinos from their past and later to separate educated Filipinos from the masses of their countrymen. English introduced the Filipinos to a strange, new world. With American textbooks, Filipinos started learning not only a new language but also a new way of life, alien to their traditions and yet a caricature of their model. This was the beginning of their education. At the same time, it was the beginning of their mis-education, for they learned no longer as Filipinos but as colonials. (p. 5)

Evelyn, a mother who came through the L/CP, thinks that having a Filipina/o/x 1:1 tutor may be helpful in terms of the language and cultural adjustment, but believes that her children do not necessarily need to have a Filipina/o/x teacher.

 All the community leaders agreed that having a Filipina/o/x teacher would make a significant difference, particularly in terms of cultural representation of teachers within the school system, though their answers were more nuanced. For example, Carla shared that just because someone is Filipino does not necessarily mean that they can relate to newcomer Filipina/o/x youth but that representation matters:

> To me, it doesn't matter where you're born. In just matters…how committed are you to learning about these students? And we all come with our own biases and our own social location, but if you can think you can fix a classroom by just playing basketball after school, that's a major problem for me. I have yet to meet a social worker that could speak Tagalog at all in schools, and the only Filipino teachers I've met who could speak Tagalog were mechanics. (Carla)

This speaks to how identities are intersectional and mutually constitutive (Yuval-Davis, 2006):

> While people can identify exclusively with one identity category…their concrete social location is constructed along multiple axes of difference…the intersecting social divisions cannot be analysed as items that are added up but, rather, as constituting each other. Although discourses…have their own ontological bases that cannot be reduced to each other, there is no separate concrete meaning of any social division. To be a woman is different if you are middle-class or working-class, a member of the hegemonic majority or a racialized minority, living in the city or in the country, young or old, straight or gay. (p. 200)

Darlene stated that having Filipina/o/x teachers represented in school systems may, also help to create "opportunities for us to create a dialogue and [bridge] differences." Curious, I asked, "So that could also apply to teachers who are not Filipino then, too?" to which Darlene replied, "Yeah, definitely, teachers need constant evaluations from the people that they are teaching, yes, otherwise, [teaching] become[s] disconnected."

Thus, the representation of Filipina/o/x educators in the school system is important in order to challenge, "reductionist notions of racial and gender affiliation…[and to] make available an alternative social imaginary…beyond heteronormative constraints and the persistence of colonialism" (Martino & Rezai-Rashti, 2012, p. 243). While not discounting the politics of

representation among minority teachers in the educational system, Martino and Rezai-Rashti outlined what mattered most to the youth and their educational experiences in their study:

> The students provide explicit details and information about what they consider to really matter in their assessment of their teachers. They highlight pedagogical dimensions related to teachers' capacity or willingness to (i) relate and provide a supportive classroom environment; (ii) allow for flexibility in the delivery of the curriculum; (iii) treat students fairly and with respect; (iv) connect the curriculum to student interests and everyday lives; (v) provide extra support and to scaffold learning; (vi) build pedagogical relationship with students that resonate with their idea of the meaning of friendship; (vii) explain difficult concepts and content; (viii) make learning fun; and (ix) avoid expressing anger and the tendency to yell or shout. (p. 237)

Kelly (2014) argued that, "the lack of role models in the larger community, especially for young boys, is a related problem. Representations and racialization of Filipino identity within wider Canadian society, and the nonrecognition of that identity in school curricula, also play a role (p. 1). In my study, the boys and girls equally disagreed and agreed about the importance of having Filipina/o/x role models as teachers.

Furthering the argument of collaboration and equity, a Filipina community leader in the educational system in Toronto, Sherry, shared that leaders and students alike were going through their own identity and belonging process. Sherry is a social worker by training, and possesses a thorough understanding of anti-oppressive and decolonization processes. As a second-generation Filipina-Canadian, she positioned herself in relation to newcomer Filipina/o/x youth as we, myself included, have multiple transnational identities:

> To acknowledge that…we are still learning more about ourselves in this context and by learning with them and feeling some of the things that they're doing, we then get to learn deeper about ourselves, so for the young people that come here, you know, for

the students, it's good that more of these opportunities to learn with other cultures is happening, but how do we facilitate? What do they understand about identity in this context, right, coming to Canada as an immigrant, and how do we support developing that identity for them because that's a hard one, and that goes again to that piece of being reflected in who is your support system, in your communities, and in your education system, because you are still developing an identity, you don't have people to reflect back to you something strong and positive. And how are you supposed to feel about yourself? How are you supposed to know you can move forward and achieve things when that's not being reflected to you? So, I think that plays hand in hand. (Sherry)

Sherry drew attention to the role that educational systems, community leaders, and social services play in Filipina/o/x youth's transnational identities, and highlighted their capacity to help facilitate the youths' agency. She implied that the reflexivity of the community leader is an important piece of this process, which relates to Nagar and Swarr's (2010) conceptualization of transnational feminist praxis, particularly in how they view, "collaboration as an intellectual and political tool…that [interweaves] theories and practices of knowledge production through collaborative dialogues [which] provides a way to radically rethink existing approaches to subalternity, voice, authorship, and representation" (p. 2).

In terms of contesting racialized representations, Hall (1997) identified three strategies. The first strategy was, "reversing the stereotypes" through an"integrationist strategy": "Blacks could gain entry to the mainstream—but only at the cost of adapting to the white image of them and assimilating white norms of style, looks and behaviour" (p. 270). The second strategy, "positive and negative images," "attempt[s] to substitute a range of 'positive' images of black people, black life, and culture for the 'negative' imagery which continues to dominate popular representation" (p. 272). Lastly, the third strategy is "through the eye of representation," a counter-strategy that:

Locates itself *within* the complexities and ambivalences of representation itself, and tries to *contest it from within*. It is more concerned with the *forms* of racial representation than with introducing new *content*. It accepts and works with the shifting, unstable character of meaning, and enters, as it were, into a struggle over representation, while acknowledging that, since meaning can never be finally fixed, there can never be any real victories. (emphasis in original) (Hall, 1996, p. 274)

Given that the answers were varied and nuanced surrounding the concern of Filipina/o/x role models in the school system demonstrates the "complexities and ambivalences of representation itself" (Hall, 1996, p. 274). In his last point, Hall (1996) talked about the *politics of representation*, that "the body [is] the principal site of its representational strategies [as it has been] caught up in the complexities of power and subordination within representation" (p. 274).

Natalia and Angelica may have had a "successful" reunification story, which contradicts the findings of studies (Caro, 2008; Pratt, 2010, 2012; Kelly, 2014) that indicated that newcomer Filipina/o/x youth who migrated through Canada's L/CP typically experience low-academic achievement, join gangs, engage in illicit drug-use, and possess high drop-out rates in education, though Pratt (2012) acknowledged that these transnational families were not necessarily victims of global migration forces and that relationships may improve after reunification. During the workshops for Filipino parents, which I wrote about in the section on fieldwork, some parents who have experienced family separation and reunification indicated their child/ren isolated themselves from others, got caught for having drugs in their possession, had difficulties attending class with guidance counselors having to recommend therapy/counseling for their child/ren. What helped Angelica feel supported was having access to the school settlement workers during lunch hour and after-school, which demonstrates that agency is relationally constituted (see Hörschelmann & El Refaie, 2014):

So settlement workers, they're the best!...They're the ones who like give me the opportunities to have the information, the resources, cause when I came here, um, I

didn't meet ate[9] [Catherine] right away, no one told me there was such a thing as [a] settlement worker. (Angelica)

Natalia, Angelica's mother, also pointed out how helpful the school settlement workers had been for Angelica and her brother:

I must say that ever since they came to Canada, they have changed for the better. They became more hardworking, confident, and athletic unlike when they were in the Philippines…Back then, they were too shy when it comes to presenting [them]selves. Now, both of them [have] a passion for leadership, which is why I am thankful for the settlement workers who helped my kids. They were the ones who brought out the best in my kids. (Natalia)

7.2 Role of Community Involvement

The Filipino youth in this study experienced discrimination and racism inside and outside of the school walls. If they did not have a personal experience with these forms of oppression, then they had been witness to others experiencing social exclusion on the basis of their race, and I have explicated how transnational feminist praxis may be utilized as a tool within education systems and in social services. Overall, the students expressed that they have benefitted from these services and partnerships on a significant level. However, there are still incidents of discrimination and racism that these systems can learn from in order to ensure that transnational students are safe and feel welcome. In linking the school experiences of recently reunified youth through the L/CP, Caro (2008) stated that in terms of community involvement, this specific group of newcomer youths greatly benefitted from connecting with community activist organizations:

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[9] *Ate* means "older sister" in Tagalog, the Philippine's national language.

Their lives significantly changed as a result of their being involved in Filipino community organization…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. (p. 87)

Therefore, the school-community partnership is an excellent step toward meeting the educational and social needs of transnational students. Addressing the culturally-specific needs of Filipina/o/x students helps to situate the experiences of transnational youth who come through the L/CP as, "situated knowledges are about communities, not about isolated individuals. The only way to find a larger vision is to be somewhere in particular" (Haraway, 1988, p. 590). Angelica suggested the following for improving the school experiences of Filipina/o/x youth newcomers and all transnational students:

Researcher: So what do you wish to see…to have a better school experience?

Angelica: Maybe more programs for newcomers cause people need to be more open-minded that it's not easy for newcomers to adjust and it's kind of tough if everyone else sees themselves as superior to others because they've been here a while.

Researcher: So maybe some education for not [only] the newcomers but for the ones who have been here, like the Canadian students, like understanding for, and welcoming of, newcomers, right? So that's what you would like to see more? Not necessarily from the teachers but from your peers?

Angelica: Yeah.

Angelica's suggestion for improving the school experiences for transnational students may be beneficial for all students, not just those who have recently arrived. Her observation of others who see themselves as "superior" connects with Fanon's (1986) argument that colonialism created hierarchies:

> However painful it may be for me to accept this conclusion, I am obliged to state it: For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white. Before beginning the case, I have to say certain things. The analysis that I am undertaking is psychological. In spite of this it is apparent to me that the effective disalienation of the black man entails an immediate recognition of social and economic realities. If there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process:…primarily, economic…subsequently, the internalization…or, better, the epidermalization…of this inferiority. (pp. 12-13)

Angelica's suggestion also implies the need for space to address the difficulties that newcomer youth face, which transnational feminist praxis proposes through a strategic and deliberate collaboration among institutions and community members to reclaim these marginal spaces (see Nagar & Swarr, 2010). Community agencies, such as the SDC, seem to achieve this "strategic and deliberate" collaboration among institutions through its location at the school, making services for students accessible. The NSC also made after-school programs accessible to students by travelling to the schools, though having the site on school property would have increased accessibility for students. Nevertheless, both the SDC and the NSC epitomized an ethic of relationality and support for newcomer students and attempted to address their social and educational needs. Additionally, these spaces could help students with understanding their role as im/migrants and citizens in relation to Indigenous peoples in Canada through decolonization, which is "the desire to change the course of history and assert self-determination, accompanied by a need to nonetheless reckon with the historical legacies of colonialism" (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 2-3).

7.3 Angelica's Experiences of Schooling: A Triangulated Perspective

In this section, I provide a more triangulated focus on family separation and reunification in terms of examining its impact on the experiences of Filipina/o/x students in urban schools in Toronto. I focus on one student, Angelica, and the perspectives of community leaders and parents, particularly on Natalia's, Angelica's mother:

> Unfortunately, since I am always working at the factory, I never had the time to attend their parent's meeting at school. I know that they want me to show up but I just can't because I would rather miss the meeting than lose the money that we could use for our daily needs…Even if I don't attend the meetings, I still know what's going on. They also inform me about my child's lates and absents. This is how I monitor my kids. We don't have this in the Philippines which is why I like this system here. (Natalia)

Angelica, 17 years old, and her mother, Natalia, reunified in 2015 after 7 years of separation. I attended to Natalia's statement above because it speaks to how busy single mothers are as a result of having to meet the economic needs of their recently reunified family. This section analyzes data through the lens of a transnational feminist framework in order to understand how the dynamics of social constructs such as race, class, gender continually play out within transnational families.

Natalia's social location as a low-income single mother has impacted Angelica's educational experiences. Natalia is expected to perform the duties of a parent and attend Angelica's school meetings, as described above. Implicit in Natalia's interview is the notion that Angelica's school expects that Natalia has the luxury to leave her work to attend meetings and still have enough economic means to survive. However, in order to meet the survival needs of her family, Natalia needs to work long hours at the factory. Evident is Natalia's gendered vulnerability as a transnational and racialized woman in Toronto, as Jaggar (2009) argued:

> Women frequently receive low pay and suffer long hours, high pressure, employment insecurity…In addition to the feminization of the global labo[u]r force, other transnational gendered disparities include lower rates of political participation by women. (p. 35)

Evelyn is a former caregiver and a client of the SDC. While her children are not part of the study, she agreed to participate in order to share the reasons for why she joined the L/CP. A single parent who was an educator in the Philippines, Evelyn indicated that she works full-time in a low-income position and part-time at a cleaning job. She shared that she wanted her sons to value education, because if they did not, they would become "like her":

Evelyn:	Sometimes I'm bringing them in my job…[My cleaning job] because I have my part-time in the office, like cleaning in the office.
Researcher:	You have two jobs?
Evelyn:	Yes, I have two jobs.
Researcher:	Wow.
Evelyn:	Even for an hour, I am bringing them. And I am showing them if you don't study, this is your world. This is how hard your work is, so if you study and you pick the right course for you, you study well, you have a nice job, and you're not going to be like me.
Researcher:	So you work full-time as a PSW (Personal Support Worker) and then part-time cleaning?
Evelyn:	PSW, full-time, and cleaning, part-time.

Due to the feminization of labour, Evelyn's and Natalia's workplaces are filled with gendered vulnerabilities (see Jaggar, 2009). Such a concept frames the impact of Natalia's global migration experiences on Angelica's educational experiences in Toronto urban schools.

Migrant women like Natalia and Evelyn experience gendered vulnerabilities as highlighted by Jaggar (2009) below:

> One part of this cycle is the global domestic work industry, in which millions of women cross borders and oceans to seek employment as maids and nannies in private homes. Transnational developments generate both the demand for this labo[u]r and its supply. The supply is stimulated by the scarcity of good jobs for both men and women in poor countries and by many poor countries' consequent reliance on remittances from citizens working abroad. (p. 41)

Viviana is another client of the SDC and a mother who reunified with her family through the L/CP. She agreed to participate in the study, though her children are not part of the study. She described her experience with continually sending remittances back to the Philippines, "The money here is much [more] helpful to send back home. I still have my parents who [are still] waiting for help and I still have siblings who [go] to school." Viviana supports her two children ages 11 and 12 who here are in Canada as well as her parents and siblings in the Philippines through remittances. Sassen (2016) pointed out the global forces that influence the sending of remittances, like Viviana has been since she worked as a caregiver in the L/CP and before reunifying with her children. Sassen pointed out that global regimes, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), are financial institutions that have imposed Structural Adjustment Programs and have lent money so poor countries like the Philippines can "develop." Now, these countries owe these institutions back for the borrowed money. Sassen argued that even before this debt, and "before the economic crisis of the mid-1990s, the debt of poor countries in the South had grown from US $67 billion in 1980 to US $1.4 trillion in 1992" (Sassen, 2016, p. 208). As Jaggar (2009) pointed out, these poor countries, such as the Philippines, rely on migrant workers like Natalia, Viviana, and Evelyn to remit their low-waged earnings to help them get out of foreign debt.

Angelica, as an insightful 17 year old Filipina who understands that her mother Natalia had to work in Toronto, stated that she had left her and her brother behind, "for our education, for a

better future, that's what she kept on telling us." Natalia, also responded to the research questions via pen and paper through the same method as Eric (see previous section), and shared that "I came to Canada for a better life, a better future for my children and a better environment. My dream for my children's success is to achieve the profession that they want and to be successful." As Natalia works long hours at the factory and is unable to attend school meetings, as documented above, it is also extremely difficult for parents like Natalia to travel and make it to a one-hour interview as this may mean losing income. The school settlement workers and I took this into consideration and agreed that sending the documents home would put less pressure on them to travel and parents could answer the questions on their own time. The very act of Natalia responding to the paper interview demonstrated her care for Angelica's education and well-being as she acknowledged Angelica's educational accomplishments:

> My eldest child [Angelica] [sees] how hard life in Canada is which is why she is motivated to study well and have a good job. Despite…having 2 jobs, she still manages to do good at school. Just recently, she received 3 academic awards for being the outstanding student in her Biology and Family Studies class. She also received an honour role award. My son look[s] up to her even though he doesn't admit it…now, he is more eager to do well in school since he want to be like [his] "ate." This is the main reason [for] letting your kids know how tough life is. It motivates them to do better. (Natalia)

Thus, community-school partnerships play a significant role in the schooling experiences of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools.

7.4 Group Art Project

When all the interviews were conducted with the youth, parents, and community leaders, I met the youth for a group art project. I analyzed the group art project in light of all the themes that emerged from all the interviews for crystallization. The group art project took place on three occasions in February 2017, as the students live in different areas of Toronto, and it was

difficult to meet with all of them at once; I met them at the SDC and the NSC. The first two groups were from SDC and the third was from the NSC.

Figure 14: Group Art Project (Whole project)

Each group brought its own dynamic, and I recorded my thoughts, reflections, and observations in my field notes:

> The first group art session consisted of about 10 participants and the school settlement worker and I asked the participants if they could ask their mothers to also participate in the study, and if possible to bring the envelopes home. I observed that the youth looked down or away or seemed disinterested but some students still took the envelopes with the Letter of Information and Consent Form while some did not take an envelope. I felt awkward asking them to ask their mothers to participate as I wondered if it would be difficult for them to do so. (February, 2017)

Figure 15: Group Art Project (Section 1)

It has been argued that left-behind children have been traumatized by family separation and even upon reunification, the relationships remain distant and strained (de Leon, 2014; Pratt, 2010, 2012). This information also emerged through my observations, conversations with youth, and through data collection, particularly through the Vidaview Storyboard, as illustrated in the previous chapters. After this observation, I also wondered how the parents would respond to their children asking them to participate in the study. Castañeda and Buck (2011) argued that migrant parents also experience their own trauma of separation and parenting within distant geographical spaces:

> Migrants are not only affected by political and social realities, but also by psychological ones…migrants must cope with the new distance from loved ones, and overcome the trauma of migration, while simultaneously finding a job and place to live, remitting, negotiating with a strange language and culture, and parenting from afar. The traumas encountered by migrant parents may result in fewer emotional resources made available to parent their children from afar. (p. 89)
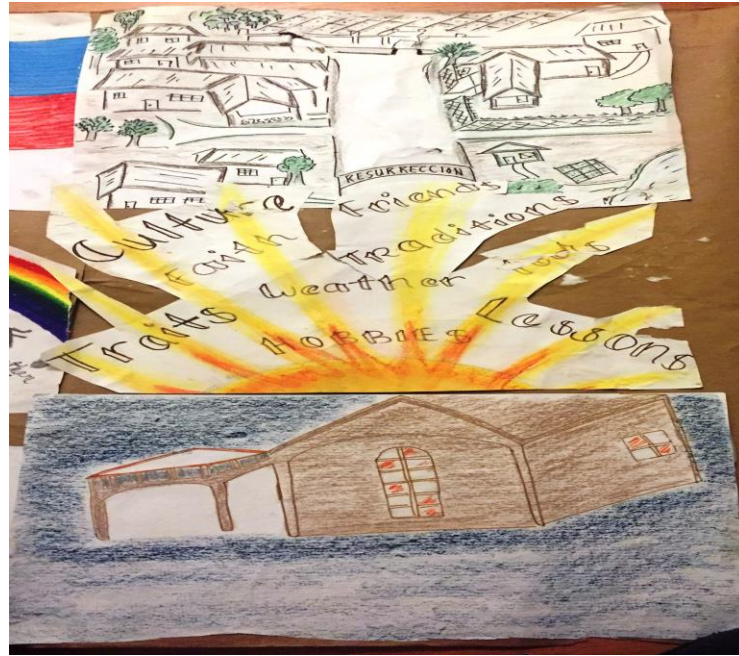
Figure 16: Group Art Project (Section 2)

In my data analysis, I shared my difficulties in recruiting parents due to their economic situation. However, I had not thought so much about their emotional resources, which is interesting because when I was working full-time as a child and family psychotherapist, emotion was a significant factor in therapy. Nevertheless, I facilitated the group art project with the youth's agency in mind as the youth's individual responses are contingent upon "character, maturity, life experience, past responses to traumas and the quality of parenting received" (Castañeda & Buck, p. 89). I also recognized that the youth's agency is also contingent upon how I, as a community leader, helped to facilitate the process. Here are my field notes with regards to the Group Art Project dated February 8, 2017:

> I continued with the group art project by first have a group discussion about what they learned about themselves in the individual interviews, but there was silence. I then said "for me, food seemed to be an important part of the sessions." There was some nodding and seemingly relieving laughter and shy giggles after I said that. Then I asked how it was like to reunify with their mothers. One student answered "We got used to being without her so being distant with her is normal." I then asked who are

they missing in the Philippines? They mentioned grandparents, extended family members. I kept the conversation short as it seemed like talking in the group may have been uncomfortable for them or something that they are not used to. They dispersed to their tables and then drew or wrote symbols or meaningful memories on a piece of paper for their individual part of the group art project. They seemed more comfortable and engaged with this process mostly in silence. At the end of the project, they showed symbols such as fiestas within their regions, crosses to symbolize their faith, flags such as the Philippines and Canada, airplanes to symbolize their migration experiences, and hearts to represent what is important to them.
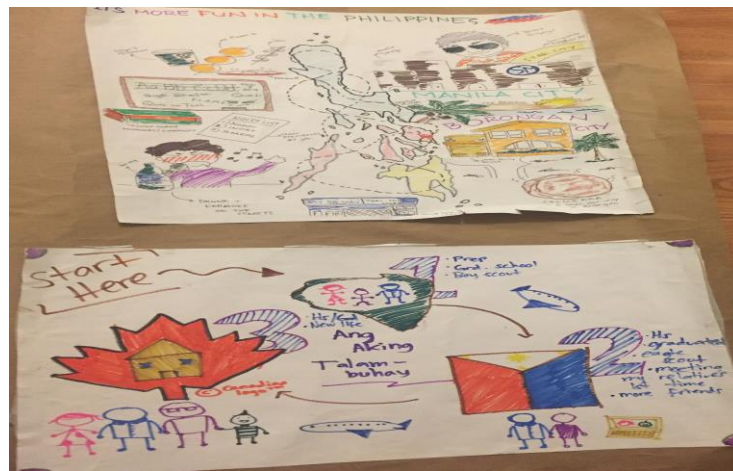
Figure 17: Group Art Project (Section 3)

The next group art project seemed more relaxed as there were only three students who participated. It may have to do with the fact that the two newcomer students did not experience family separation and reunification through the L/CP. All three students seemed willing to ask their parents to participate in the study. Given that the first group was silent for the most part, I thought that may happen again with this group. However, I was wrong. The students spoke and laughed about their first experiences coming the school and one Filipina students shared how she thought one of the students in the focus group was "Guyanese." It may also have to do with the fact that these three students have been in Toronto for over a year, while the first group was fairly new to Toronto, mostly under 6 months. The students in the second group were also close friends who spoke about teachers and talked about being

newcomers as the "past" rather than something that they are currently dealing with. They drew pictures of political figures, family, and favourite memories in the Philippines. These students also had friends of various racial backgrounds, however, the students in the first group tended to only have Filipina/o/x friends. Nevertheless, the students of both groups "missed the Philippines."

These memories of missing the Philippines is a "process of intense discovery and disorientation…it is such a memory of the history of race and racism, and the question of cultural identity" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 63).

Figure 18: Group Art Project (Section 4)

The third group also consisted of three boys who are close friends at the SDC. They attend the same school and have been in Toronto for over a year. They spoke of romantic relationships left behind in the Philippines and having a complete "heart" after family reunification.

Leaving behind relationships through global migration can be heartbreaking, "remembering is never a quiet act of introspection or retrospection. It is painful remembering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present" (Bhabha, p. 63).
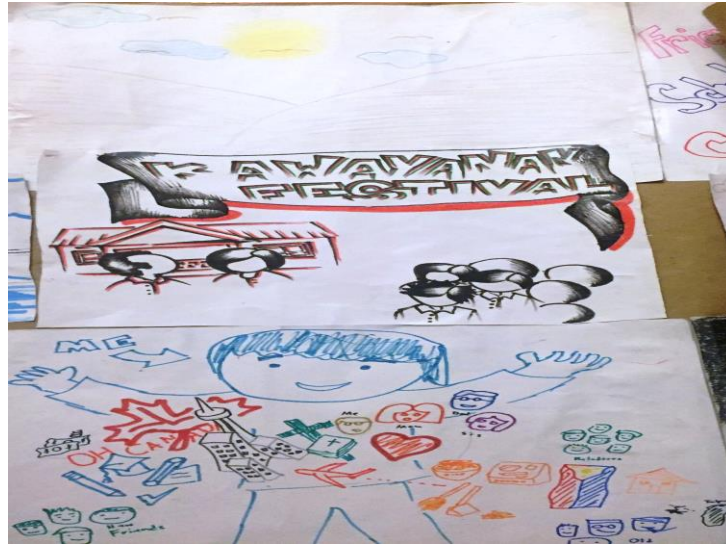
Figure 19: Group Art Project (Section 5)

For all of the students in the group art project, the Philippines is an important part of their memories and family is an important part of their migration trajectory. Many of the students value community and described missing "fiestas," events that kept their communities lively.

Figure 20: Group Art Project (Section 6)

These art works embody the complexity of the youths' lives as they have "pieces" of themselves here and in the Philippines as well as other places in the world. Memories and emotions serve as a connection to their loved ones left behind in the Philippines, and I am a witness to this process of how they make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

These art works are images that represent the youth's diasporic and postcolonial experiences, as Bhabha (1994) argued that:

> Postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order. Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourses of 'minorities;' within the geopolitical divisions of East and West, North and South. They intervene in those ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, peoples. (p. 171)

Figure 21: Group Art Project (Section 7)

I viewed the Group Art Project as a cultural performance. Even the youth who did not experience family separation and reunification were witnesses to their peers who have gone through the L/CP through the group project. Johnson (2013) argued that performance is, "a lens for examining culture, particularly the communication practices of subaltern groups—the power of symbols and imagination in both consolidating and contesting oppression and how cultural creativity and human agency are both inscribed and incited by domination" (p. 7). Thus, the symbols of flags, reuniting with family members, food, fiestas, religion, and other symbols of imagination are the ways in which they engage in agency to make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

7.5   Conclusion

In this chapter, I attempted to provide a cultural representation of transnational youth's experiences of global migration through the L/CP. The SDC and the NSC were the sites in which transnational feminist praxis took place through school-community partnerships. Additionally, I investigated Angelica's school experiences through transnational feminism by undertaking a more focused triangulated analysis. I deepened the analysis to include the perspectives of Angelica's mother, Natalia, other parents, and community leaders to provide a fuller picture of how to meet the social and educational needs of Filipina/o/x youth. Moreover, these data were crystallized with the youth's group art project representing how they engaged with agency to make sense of their transnational identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

The data generated from the group art workshop further helped to crystallize the analysis through a system of representation of culture, which focuses on, "a process, a set of *practices* [which are] concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings…between members of a society or group" (Hall, 1996, p. 2). A crystallized representation integrated (see Ellingson, 2011) oral history and memory methods, as well as critical arts-based inquiry to understand the participants' intersectional identities and (the politics of) belonging in Toronto urban schools. This provided further insight into their agency under transnational conditions of family separation and reunification. Thus, "critical arts-based inquiry…is both a mode of

inquiry and a methodology for performing social activism" (Finley, 2011, p. 436). Paying attention to the youth's emotions and visual representations of those affective responses in conjunction with a triangulated account of community leaders and the parents themselves revealed a lot, sometimes more than words, and conveyed a very powerful message: "Family separation and reunification hurts me, my family, and my community. What are you going do about it?"

Chapter 8
Summary and Conclusion

8   Introduction

This study investigated how Canada's Live-in/Caregiver Program (L/CP) has impacted the school experiences and the intersectional identities of transnational Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban high schools. It attempted to gain a deeper understanding(s) of how Filipina/o/x youth utilize agency to engage with constructs such as race, class, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and religion as newcomers who have experienced family separation and reunification through the L/CP. The results were thematically organized using the colour-coded 'zones' from the Vidaview Storyboard (VSB) (Vidaview Information Systems Ltd., 2012): Green, Yellow, and Blue. In the Green Zone, which is concerned about "families and close relations," Filipina/o/x youth voiced how the experience of family separation and reunification was an emotional experience that impacted their family relationships with parents, particularly their mothers, as well as the family they left-behind in the Philippines. I utilized the theoretical frameworks of identity and belonging as informed by Hall (1996) and Antonsich (2010) to argue that the youth's memories, imagination, and emotions are forms of political agency that facilitate the process of place-belonging. This form of agency is lodged in 'contingency' as it is understood in terms of the embodied experiences of family separation and reunification through L/CP policies.

In the Yellow Zone, which indicates a "representation of identity and identity constructions" I investigated transnational identities using an intersectional analysis of race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and spirituality. In this zone, I focused on the legacy of colonialism and its impact on Filipina/o/x transnational students and connected it to the politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011) and postcolonial feminism, particularly with regard to decolonization processes (de Leon, 2015; Pierce, 2005, Shajahan, 2016). The Blue Zone, which represents "community," examined the importance of community partnerships and educational systems as the Filipina/o/x youths' agency and subjectification processes are

contingent upon this support (See Hall, 1996). Angelica's experiences of schooling were investigated in more depth. Her mother's, Natalia's, experience through the L/CP and her current work as a factory worker demonstrated "gendered vulnerabilities" (Jaggar, 2009), and the "international transfer of caretaking" (Parreñas, 2005), which has been transferred from Natalia to Angelica. As Natalia joined the workforce, their home became in a household "without a wife" (Sassen, 2008a).

In many respects, my study extended and supported current literature on migration studies in interdisciplinary studies and their relevance for the field of education. Variations of skin colour, hierarchies among newcomers and second-generation Filipina/o/x or those students of colour who have been in Toronto longer, and anti-black racism emerged from the conversations with the youth as providing significant insight into the racialized context of identity and belonging that some of my participants had to navigate. Their interviews confirmed the impact of "intracolourism" and the psychological and social effects of inferiority due to having darker skin tones, and they illuminated one of the effects of colonialism that affect Filipina/o/x newcomer youth today (de Leon, 2012; Espiritu, 2003; Fanon, 1986; Pierce, 2006).

Family separation and reunification through the L/CP had undoubtedly been "traumatic" for all of the youth in the sense that they had experienced multiple losses i.e., separating from their mothers for most of their lives, leaving their loved ones behind in the Philippines, experiencing strained family relationships, and not seeing their mothers even when reunified because she is most likely a single mother working multiple jobs (Pratt, 2010, 2012). All of the mothers had left the Philippines to support their families economically through remittances (see Sassen, 2008a) and for better educational and career opportunities. Approximately half of the Filipina/o/x youth and community leaders supported the idea of having a Filipina/o/x teacher as a role model. For the community leaders, their concern was the lack of cultural representation in the educational system. For the youth, they wanted a teacher who would be able to speak the same language as them and to help them culturally adjust in order to navigate the school system in Toronto (see Kelly, 2014).

Interestingly, the rest of the Filipina/o/x youth reported that having a Filipina/o/x teacher would not be necessary and having a "nice," "welcoming," and "good" teacher who can teach well would help them with cultural adjustment (See Martino & Rezai-Rashti, 2012). Most of the Filipina mothers shared the same sentiment except for one who prefers her daughter to have a "strict Filipino teacher." While the community leaders all agreed that having a Filipina/o/x role model would be beneficial, they claimed that it depended on how much this teacher is able to connect the students to their culture and that partnerships with other organizations is vital in achieving this goal and to forge such pedagogical relationships in urban schools. However, the community leaders agreed that such pedagogical relationships can be fostered by non-Filipina/o/x teachers as well, and that knowledge and understanding of Filipina/o/x students' specific cultural backgrounds, intersectional identities, and experiences of transnational migration are a key factor.

One area that significantly challenged the notion that recently reunified Filipina/o/x youth experienced high drop-out rates and low school performance (Caro, 2008; Pratt, 2010, 2012; Kelly, 2014) was my question around what their future hopes, dreams, and aspirations were. While I acknowledge that I did not have access to their school reports, nor was it part of my investigation to ask their teachers how they are performing academically, all of the students had career aspirations to graduate in professional careers, such as in engineering, medicine (nursing, medical school), and social work, and had hopes to attend college and/or university. These aspirations were in stark contrast to Kelly's (2014) research findings, which found that Filipina/o/x youth showed low interest in attending post-secondary institutions. Anecdotally, the youth shared that they were not failing in school and were trying their very best to get into university and/or college. The only evidence that supports the notion that the Filipina/o/x were "failing" in school was a statement shared in a meeting that I had attended with the school settlement workers and the guidance counsellors at a Toronto urban school. The guidance counsellor claimed that, "Filipino kids are so nice and quiet that we don't realize when they fall through the cracks." While she acknowledged that she was stereotyping, she pointed out their academic performance was "low," and was careful to highlight more

systemic forces at play in the construction of Filipina/o/x students, which prevented them from receiving the educational support they needed.

Another community leader communicated that in her experience, many of the Filipina/o/x youth did not want to go on to postsecondary schooling, because they only see Filipina/o/x people in blue collar jobs such as caretaking and, hence, do not aspire to become professionals, a view which was not supported by my research. In terms of school drop-outs, only one boy said that he dropped-out in grade 10, and this was a consequence of being so stressed out with a relationship break-up, adjusting to Canada, and pressures from family. Nevertheless, he demonstrated a degree of agency by re-enrolling in school with the hopes of graduating from high-school and attending a post-secondary institution. Regardless if the youth are failing or not in school, the Filipina/o/x high school students whom I had interviewed seemed eager to achieve high levels of achievement and voiced their desire to graduate and enter into professional fields.

As the purpose of this study was to shed light on how the L/CP has impacted the identities of Filipina/o/x youth through decolonization and transnational praxis, utilizing identity and belonging, postcolonial, intersectional, and transnational feminist theories facilitated the process of engaging, "in struggle, to reveal and undermine what is most invisible and insidious in prevailing practices" (Ball, 1995, p. 267). In current social practices, colonialism and globalization have impacted the L/CP's policy of family separation and reunification, which in turn influences Filipina/o/x youths' embodied experiences of migration within Toronto urban schools. My theoretical framework provided me with analytic tools and frameworks to engage in a critical analysis of the ways in which Filipina women in particular, hold vulnerable space within globalization due to race, class, and gender, specifically within the L/CP. This focus on Filipina/o/x women with the context of the L/CP in turn, provided deeper analysis into the intersectional identities of Filipina/o/x youth as embedded in transnational experiences of globalization and migration.

8.1 Advocacy Implications

The youth in my study reported many emotions when reflecting on their experiences of family separation and reunification. My research highlights that it is the youth's emotions and embodied experiences of transnational migration that need to be the driving force of policy and pedagogical change in educational systems (see my engagement with Zembylas, 2012 regarding this matter in chapter 7). For policy makers, educational systems, and social services to understand the impact of family separation and reunification on the youth, I drew on Zembylas (2012) who recommended that educators and educational policies pay attention to emotion that is at the heart of the dynamics between micro and macro level dimensions of local realities as it speaks to who gets included/excluded in the classroom:

> [An] investigation of emotions that is grounded in the transactions between macro-political aspects and the micro-politics of local realities. Therefore, exploring the connections between certain emotions about migrants in society and educational institutions, on the one hand, and hegemonic social structures and power relations, on the other, allows us to better understand the formation of emotional economies in educational institutions, their effects and the openings to subvert them. Examining which educational policies and practices generate particular emotional economies and emotion norms constitutes another interesting area of investigation (p. 175).

Moreover, given that many of the parents of the youth participants who participated in my study are single mothers, such as Natalia (Angelica's mother), my research has further highlighted the need for educational policy to address income supports for economically disadvantaged families:

> The more highly resourced the family, the better the educational environment typically available to children, and the stronger their educational achievement. A policy of income supports for poor families could, in this sense, be understood as a crucial educational policy. If educators were to include in the panoply of policies they promote a set of strategies to provide income supports for poor and low-income

families, and if such policies were passed and implemented in our cities, urban students could be provided with more highly resourced early learning environments. (Anyon, 2013, p. 376)

Moreover, my research has revealed that school-community partnerships are an important aspect from which to build productive alliances and spaces for supporting educators in urban schools to build pedagogical relationships with their students that are founded on a deep understanding of their out-of-school experiences of transnational migration and cultural backgrounds as Filipina/o/x subjects.

However, based on my observations and conversations with community leaders, it is clear that social services need the financial support to sustain such programs and partnerships. Indeed my research found that such programs and partnerships were very beneficial for the youth in that they created nurturing and supportive spaces for them to meet not only with other Filipina/o/x students who experienced family separation and reunification but with other diverse transnational students. In addition, the community leaders served as a means by which to build access points for these students in terms of providing supportive and nurturing spaces of belonging and understanding. One of the important findings of my research was that the support Filipina/o/x youth received from community agencies was vital in helping them to adjust as newcomers and that there is much for us to learn and apply in terms of thinking through how such school-community partnerships can be fostered and, moreover, sustained, economically speaking. My study concurs with Falicov (2007) who noted the importance of partnerships and collaborative efforts to meet the needs of transnational communities:

Community programs may have therapeutic effects in themselves, be a help to the therapy goals, or be an alternative to therapy. It is important for family practitioners to search community programs, learn what they have to teach, and offer our ecological, relational, cultural, and sociopolitical thinking to them. (p. 166)

Beyond learning about programs and building partnerships, such as school-social service partnerships, collaborations may be the space(s) in which to engage transnational feminist praxis to meet the educational and social needs of Filipina/o/x transnational youth. Falicov (2007) draws from the work of Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001) and argues:

> Sociopolitical or social justice approaches focus on resisting oppression by combating the effects of power differences and differential access to resources based on gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and minority status. Exposure to racism and discrimination is part of the everyday life of many immigrants. These experiences affect physical and mental health and relationships within the family or with institutions, and often negatively form and transform identities for immigrants and their children. (p.166)

For policy makers, it is important to become aware of the delays and barriers that occur prior to family reunification due to large amount of paperwork and administration fees, which community leaders had consistently reiterated in the interviews. Many migrant advocacy groups have recommended permanent residency upon arrival so as to avoid prolonged family separation and reunification and policy protection for migrant workers. Migrant workers themselves are part of organizations and advocate for the rights of other migrant workers in the Temporary Foreign Workers Program, a program the L/CP is a part of:

> [Migrant work] is an opportunity to get employment, it's an opportunity to support your family, but the conditions are really difficult and you have to be strong-willed to survive it," Allahdua said. "Status upon arrival is [the] only demand we have. It's the only remedy that will bring about equality and fairness to these workers. (CBC/Radio-Canada, 2016)

Status upon arrival would also minimize the emotional impact of family separation and reunification as experienced by the Filipina/o/x youth in this study. The youth expressed hurt and anger and strained relationships with their mothers as well as the difficulties in repairing these as their mothers usually work long hours in precarious low-wage jobs. Additionally, some of these parents are single-mothers working multiple jobs. Partnerships are also recommended to improve migration policy:

> Exploring alliances with other groups also become crucial. After all, the evolution of migrant care worker policy in Canada shows that…organizations need to be persistent as well as creative in their responses to state abuse. The formation of partnerships at this stage may create the impetus to create stronger measures against migrant worker abuse and to provide live-in caregivers and other migrant workers access to citizenship. (Tungohan, 2012, p. 177)

For social services and educators, further professional support and development of programs and training around the specific experiences of youth who experienced family separation and reunification would be beneficial for transnational families. Community consultation with the Filipina/o/x families as well as other transnational communities may help to facilitate this process as their voices need to be central to the collaborative projects within these partnerships. This knowledge needs to be continually disseminated to policy makers, social services, and educational policies. For policy makers in the government level, recommendations for funding would assist in sustaining such vital collaborative programs for transnational youth.

Methodologically, my research also reveals the utility of employing other means for data collection to supplement or as an alternative to traditional methods to verbal interviews, particularly with participants whose experiences may be difficult to talk about, such as the youth who have experienced family separation and reunification through the L/CP (see Pratt, 2010). In this respect, I recommend critical arts-based inquiry, particularly given its capacity to allow more for subjects to express the affective dimensions of their embodied experiences

of belonging and to create spaces for the researcher to explore such aspects of experience through visual representation made available through art forms (see Finley, 2011).

Another important aspect that requires some further investigation has to do with the need to explore the question of religion and spirituality in its capacity to generate further insights into how religion/spirituality and agency intersect and impact transnational students such as Filipina/o/x youth in terms of how they make sense of their own identity and belonging in urban schools such as in Toronto. As part of her decolonization process, Anzaldúa (1999) engaged in the impact of colonialism on her identity through her spirituality and through the concept of borderlands. Investigating with the concepts of borderlands, the sacred, and spiritual (Dillard & Okapaloka, 2011) seem to be lacking in the studies on family separation and reunification through the L/CP. I argue these aspects are important because the youth in my study identified the significance of their religious/spiritual identities and their global migration experiences. Engaging in agency through their religious/spiritual identities has not been studied among Filipina/o/x youth who have experienced family separation and reunification through the L/CP. In addition, investigating the intersection between religion/spirituality and sexuality may help facilitate deeper understandings of youth agency, which is contingent upon the policies of family separation and reunification of the L/CP. This study engaged in an intersectional analysis that attempted to deepen understandings of the lives of Filipina/o/x youth given the legacy of colonialism and racialization that impacts their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools.

8.2 Facilitating Youth Agency: Limitations of the Study, Praxis, and Next Steps

The main limitation of my study was the inability to collect data from educators and guidance counsellors due to time constraints. Gathering information from these data sources would have further crystallized the findings and elicited deeper understandings of how to address the social and educational needs of Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools. This dissertation identified the ways which to begin to understand the impact of family separation and

reunification on Filipina/o/x youth in Toronto urban schools and make recommendations for policy and practice.

In terms of crystallization, the experiences of Filipina/o/x youth have been represented through both verbal and artistic expression. Though some of youth may not have been as verbally expressive about their experiences, their voices were still heard. Even my own engagement with a non-verbal body map was powerful beyond words in that I reflected upon my positionality and my privilege and vulnerabilities in the field. Synthesizing my theoretical framework, fieldwork and field notes, the literature, and participants' data was a complex, difficult, yet creative and passionate process that revealed that educational and social services have the privilege and responsibility to meet the social and educational needs of Filipina/o/x youth. In order to understand what these needs are, safe spaces are needed for Filipina/o/x youth's voices to be heard and accessed, so they do not simply slip between the institutional cracks of invisibility. Moreover, as my research has revealed, such pedagogical spaces have been fostered and created by community agencies and community service providers who have played a major role in helping Filipina/o/x youth make sense of their identity and belonging in Toronto urban schools. There is indeed much that educators/schools can learn from investing in a commitment to building such partnerships, particularly in terms of the vital role of community organizations and services in supporting educators to create productive pedagogical and nurturing relationships with Filipina/o/x students. As my research has shown, such pedagogical relations need to be founded on a willingness to learn more about the youth outside of their school experiences, particularly with regard to the impact of transnational migration, through a decolonizing, feminist, and intersectional lens.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questions

Appendix 1: Youth interview questions

Green Zone:

1. What was your understanding of why your parent/guardian(s) had to work in Toronto?

2. What was your experience like when you first moved to Toronto from the Philippines?

3. When you were in the Philippines, how did you imagine Toronto to be like?

4. How did you remain in contact with your parent/guardian(s) when they were in Canada and you were in the Philippines? How was it like to see them again when you first reunited?

Yellow Zone:

5. What kinds of cultural traditions did/do you value? What are the important events that you attend(ed), if any?

6. If you identify as an Indigenous person, describe some of your traditions, experiences, and practices

7. If you identify with a religious and/or spiritual belief, what are your practices and how are they important to you?

8. How do your parent(s)/guardian(s), friends, and other people you know, expect males and females to behave and act? What do you think about these beliefs and practices?

9. What are your ideas about how skin colour matters to Filipina/o/xs both in the Philippines and in Toronto? How have you been affected by these ideas?

10. If you identify as a non-heterosexual or 'queer' or some other definition that you use to describe your sexuality, what was your experience like growing up? What is your experience like here in Toronto?

11. What was it like for you and your family once you moved to Toronto? How was it different from your life in Toronto? Was it difficult economically for the family?

Blue Zone:

12. What are some of your important and special memories of people, places, events, things, etc., before leaving the Philippines and first moving to Canada? What are some memorabilia that you have taken with you to Toronto, and/or what do you do to keep connected to the memories, people, places, events, etc. in the Philippines?

13. What were your school experiences like in the Philippines? What was your experience of adjusting to your school in Toronto?

14. How were your teachers and classmates helpful during the adjustment to a new school in Toronto? What did you appreciate and what did you wish to see so that you could have had a better educational experience?

15. What was your idea of an excellent teacher in the Philippines? Have your teachers in Toronto demonstrated any of these qualities?

16. What are your thoughts of having a Filipina/o/x teacher as a role model in Toronto?

17. What are your thoughts about how people of different racial backgrounds and Indigenous peoples and tribes are treated in your schools, both in Toronto and in the Philippines, and in the wider communities, both in Toronto and in the Philippines?

Appendix 2: Parent interview questions

1. What were your main reasons for moving to Toronto as a caregiver?

2. What are your hopes, expectations, and dreams for your child's success?

3. What is your experience like with your child's school? How is your relationship like with the educators and administrators?

4. What are some of the things that you like about your child's school?

5. What are some of the things that you would like your child's school to improve on?

6. Do you think it would make a difference if your child's teacher is Filipina/o/x? If so, how will this help your child? If not, why?

7. In your opinion, has your child been successful in school?

8. How has your child's school been helpful in his/her adjustment to Canada?

Appendix 3: Community leader interview questions

1. What are the main concerns that you see among Filipina/o/x youth and their parents/guardians/mothers?

2. How would you describe the school success rate among Filipina/o/x youth in your programs?

3. From your experience, how have schools been helpful in Filipina/o/x youths' adjustment to Toronto?

4. What are some of the improvements you would like to see in educational system?

5. What are some of the concerns that parents/guardians/mothers and Filipina/o/x youth have discussed about school?

6. Do you think that it would benefit Filipina/o/x youth to have more Filipina/o/x teachers as role models? Why? If so, how do you think that this will improve student success rates?

7. How do your programs help Filipina/o/x students adjust to Toronto and to their school?

Appendix B: Youths' Vidaview Storyboards
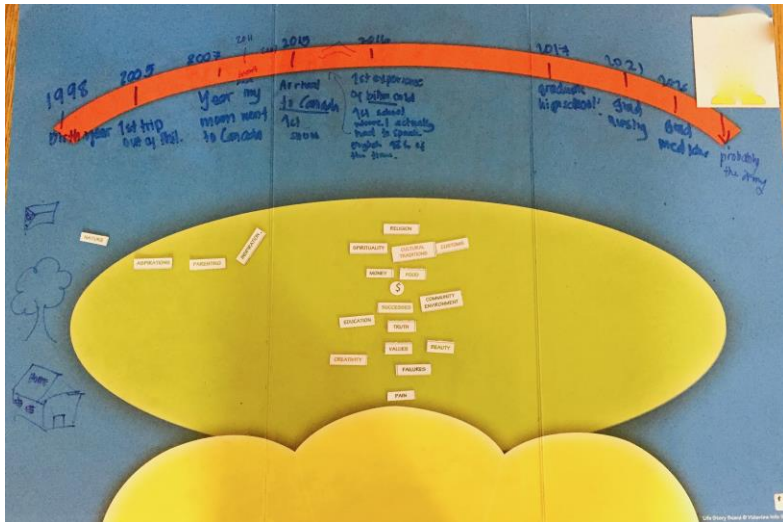
Appendix 4: Alicia's Vidaview Storyboard
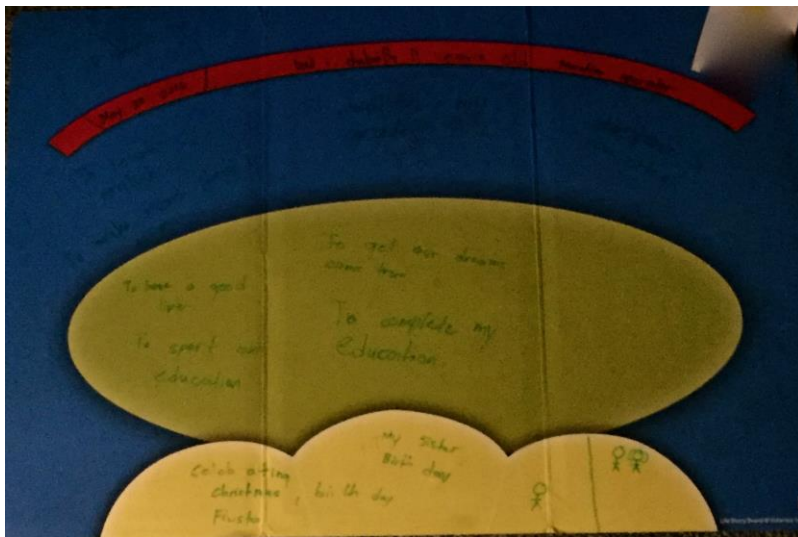
Appendix 5: Angelica's Vidaview Storyboard
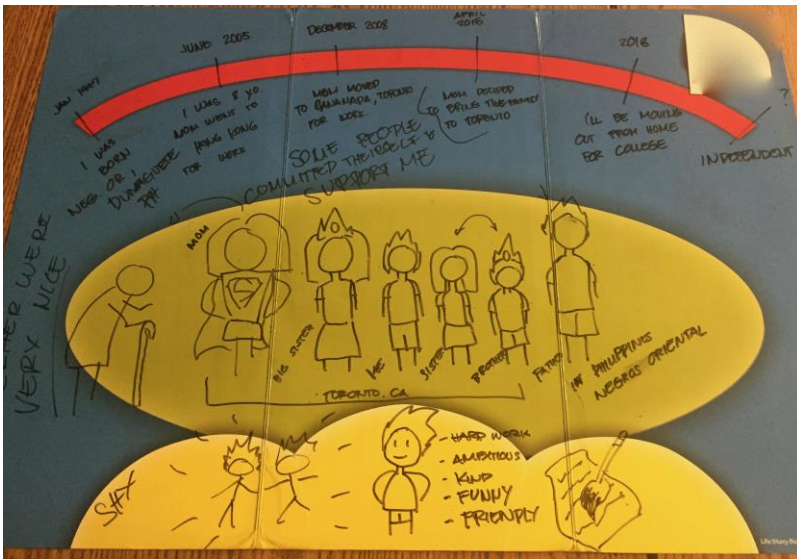
Appendix 6: Anthony's Vidaview Storyboard
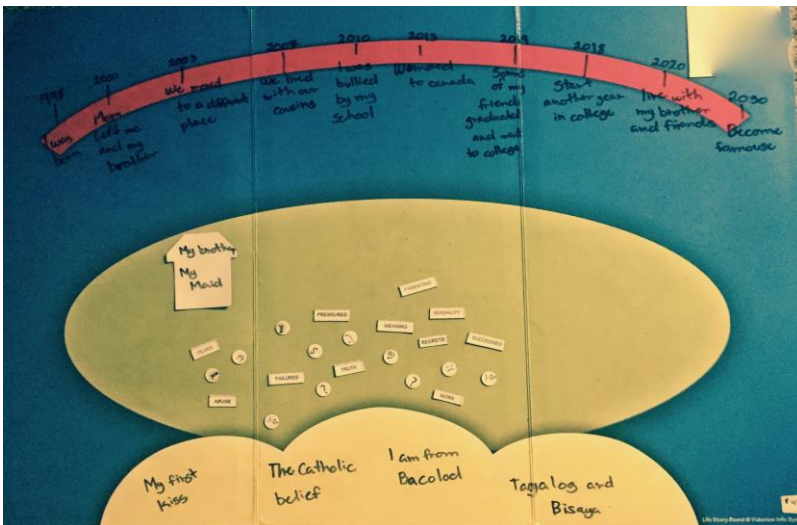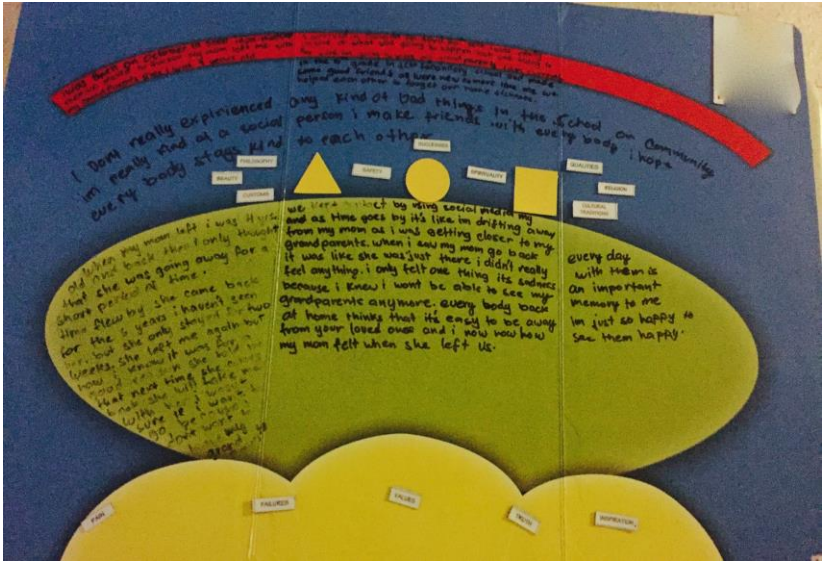

Appendix 7: Bryan's Vidaview Storyboard
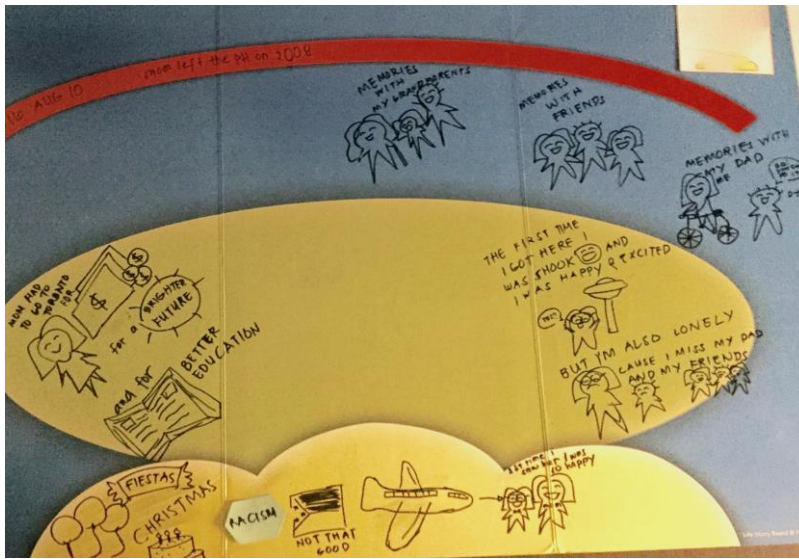
Appendix 8: Cara's Vidaview Storyboard
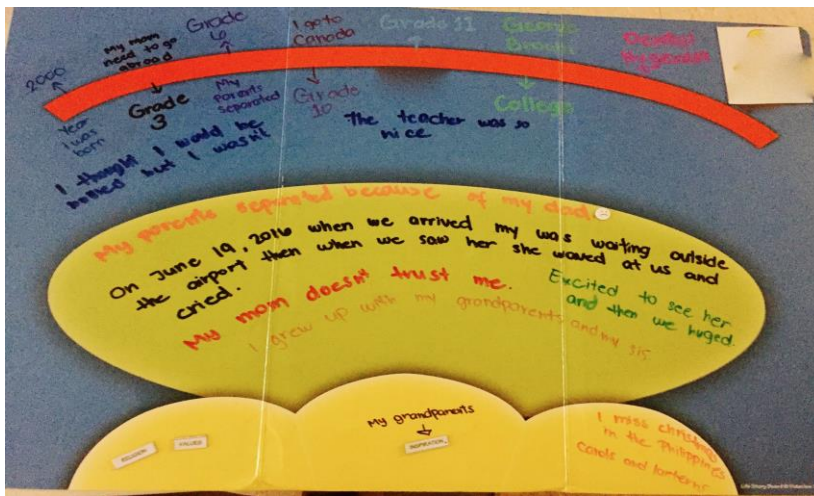
Appendix 9: **Chloe's Vidaview Storyboard**

Appendix 10: David's Vidaview Storyboard
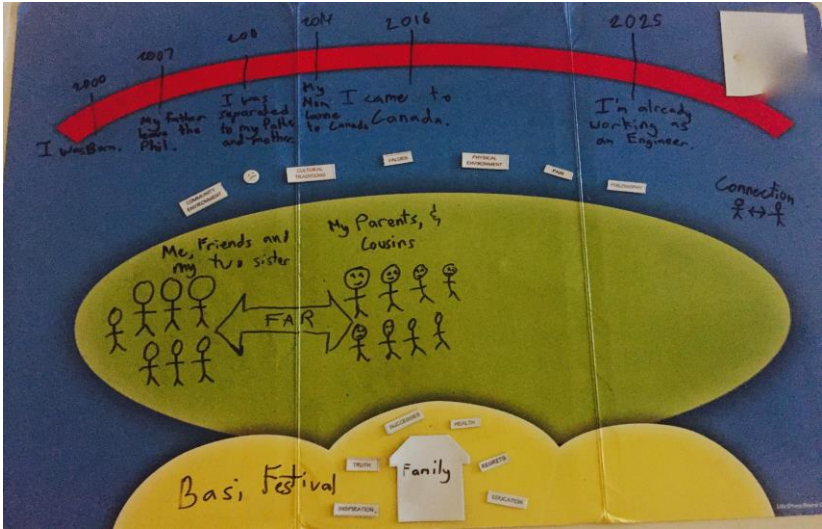
Appendix 11: Derek's Vidaview Storyboard

Appendix 12: Edna's Vidaview Storyboard
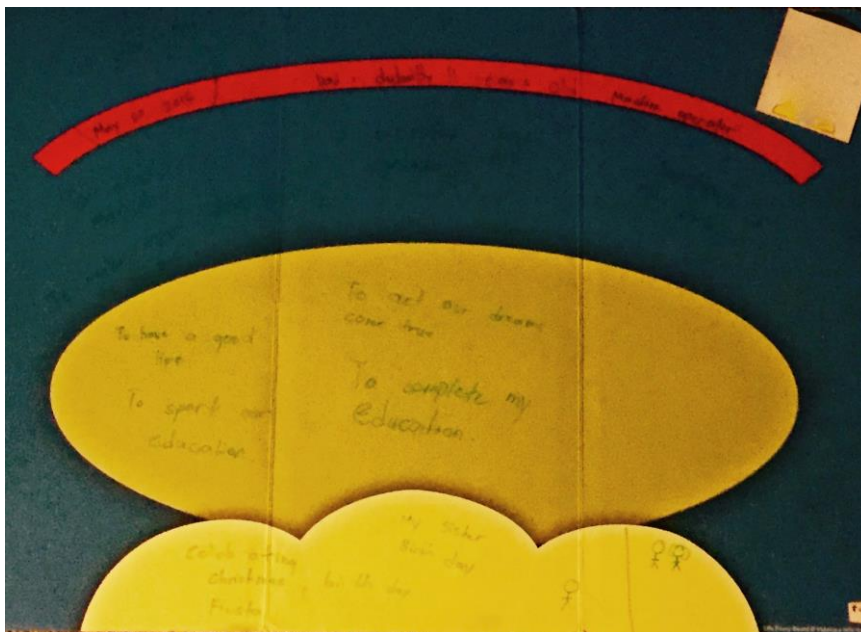
Appendix 13: Edgardo's Vidaview Storyboard

Appendix 14: Eric's Vidaview Storyboard
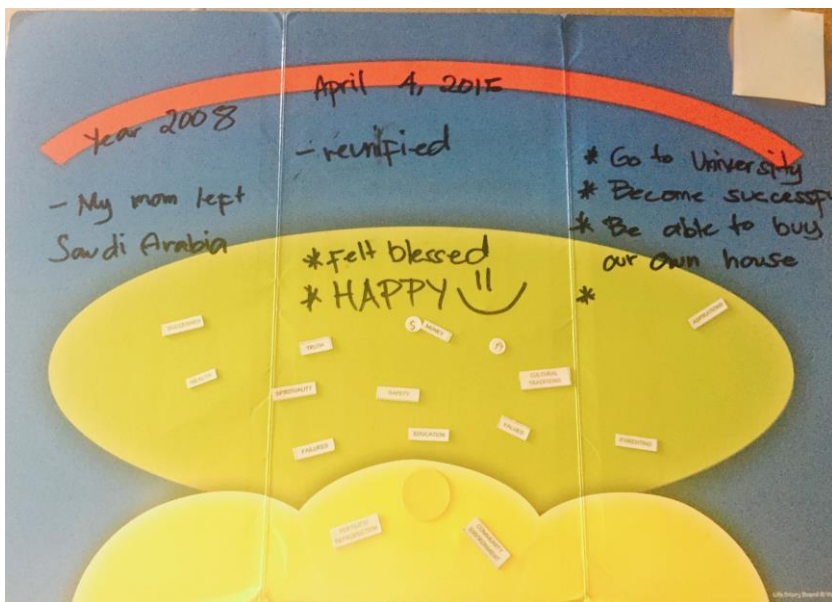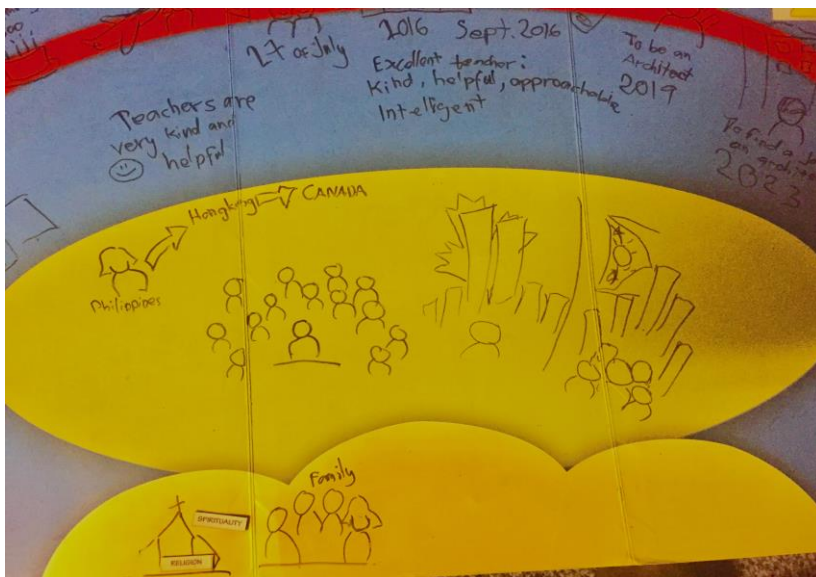

Appendix 15: Ivy's Vidaview Storyboard
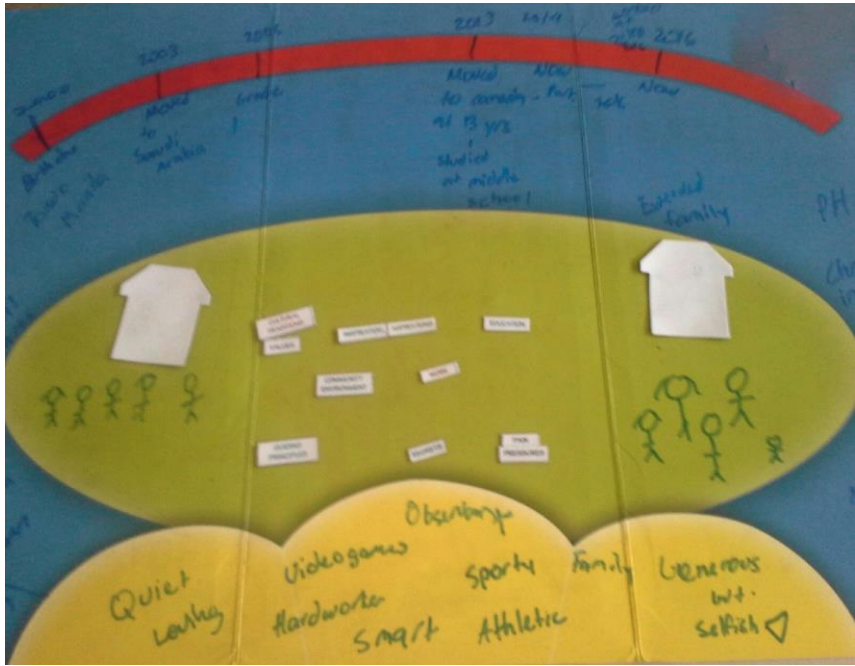
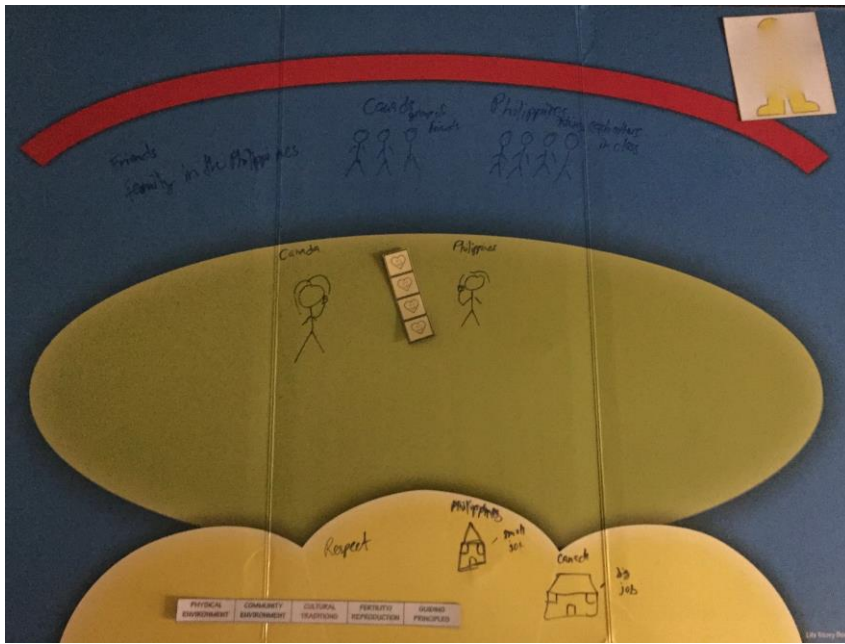**Appendix 16: Jason's Vidaview Storyboard**
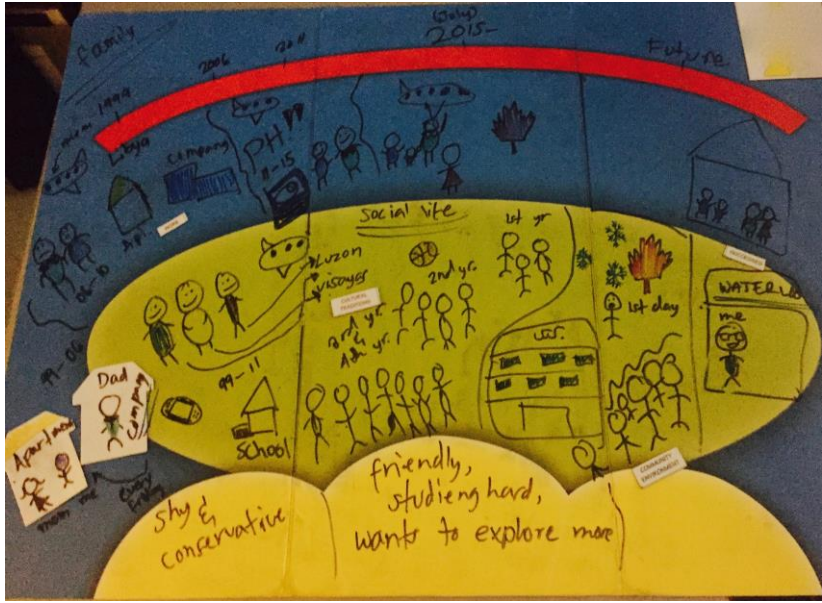
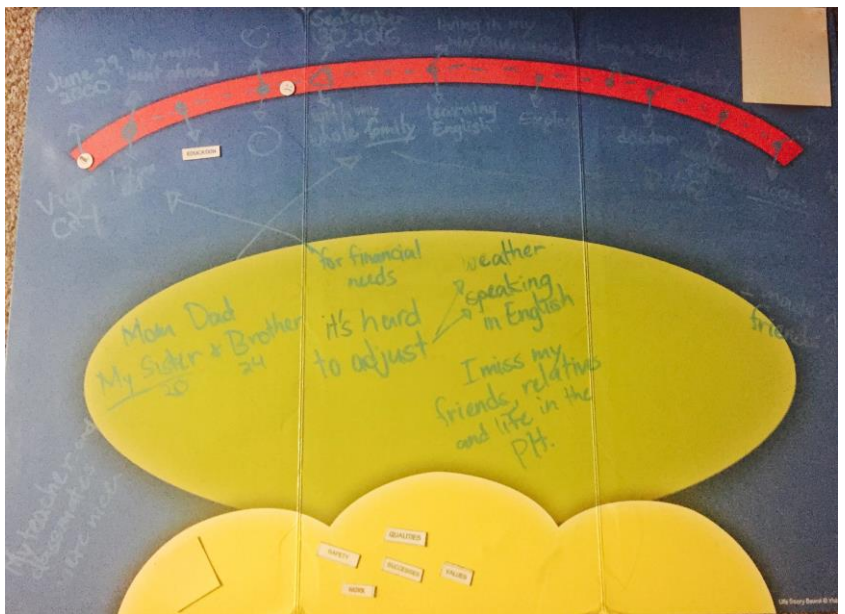**Appendix 17: Joshua's Vidaview Storyboard**
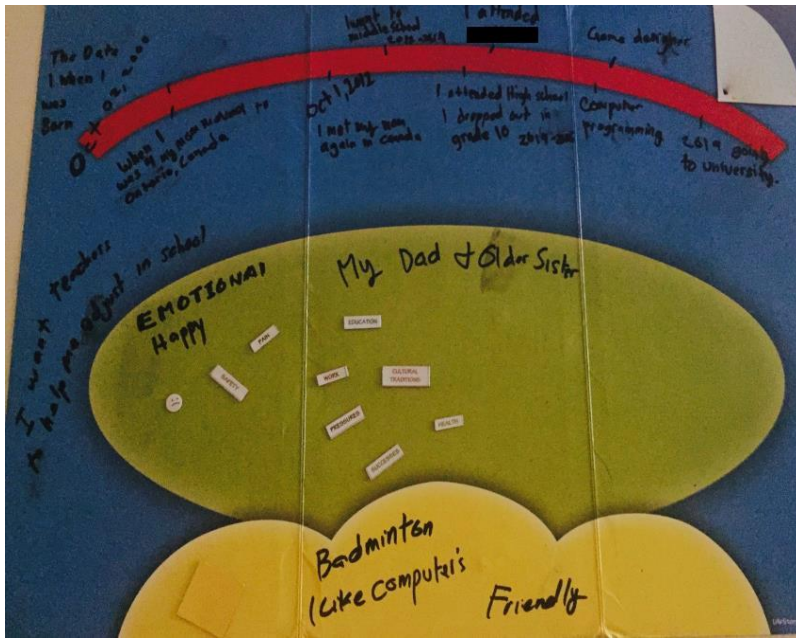
Appendix 18: Juanito's Vidaview Storyboard

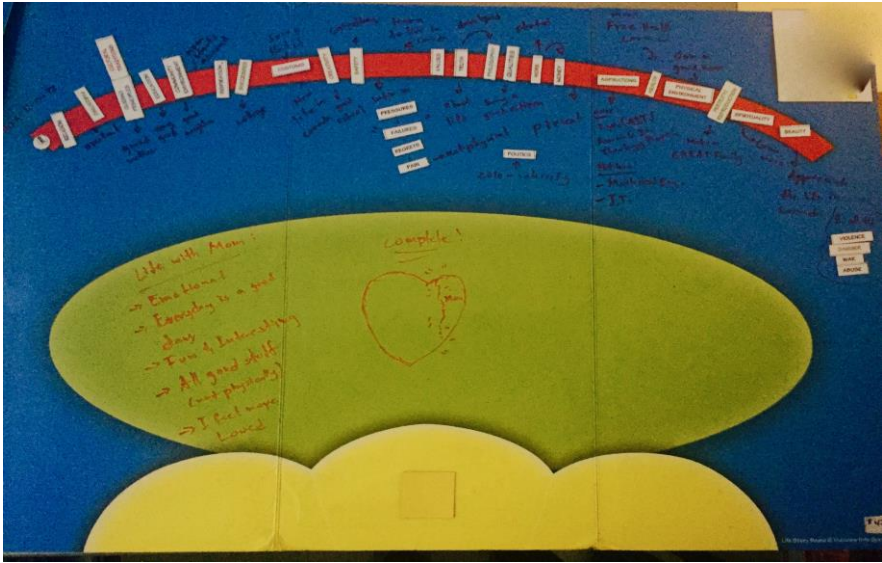**Appendix 19: Marcelino's Vidaview Storyboard**

Appendix 20: Marsha's Vidaview Storyboard
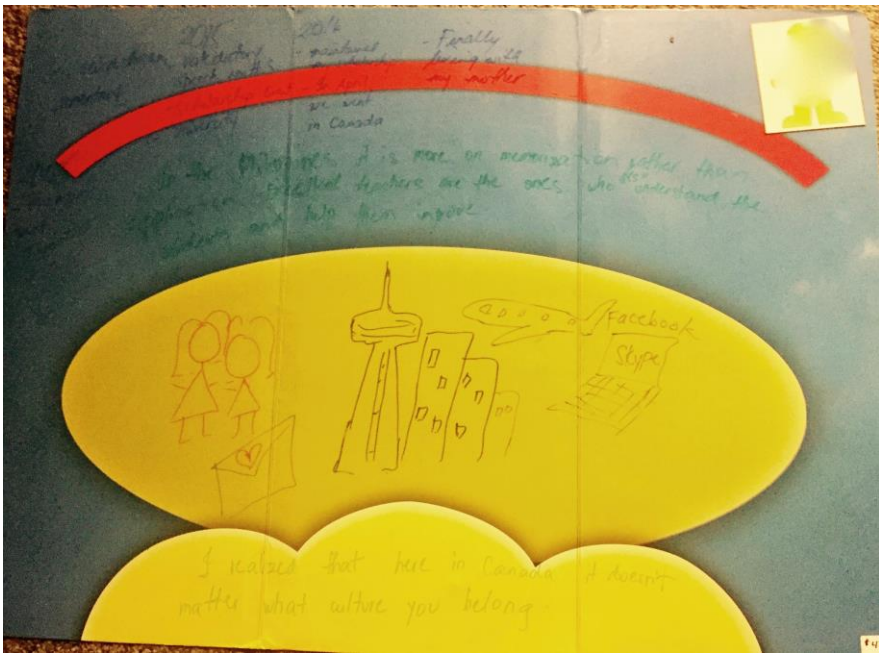

Appendix 21: Philip's Vidaview Storyboard

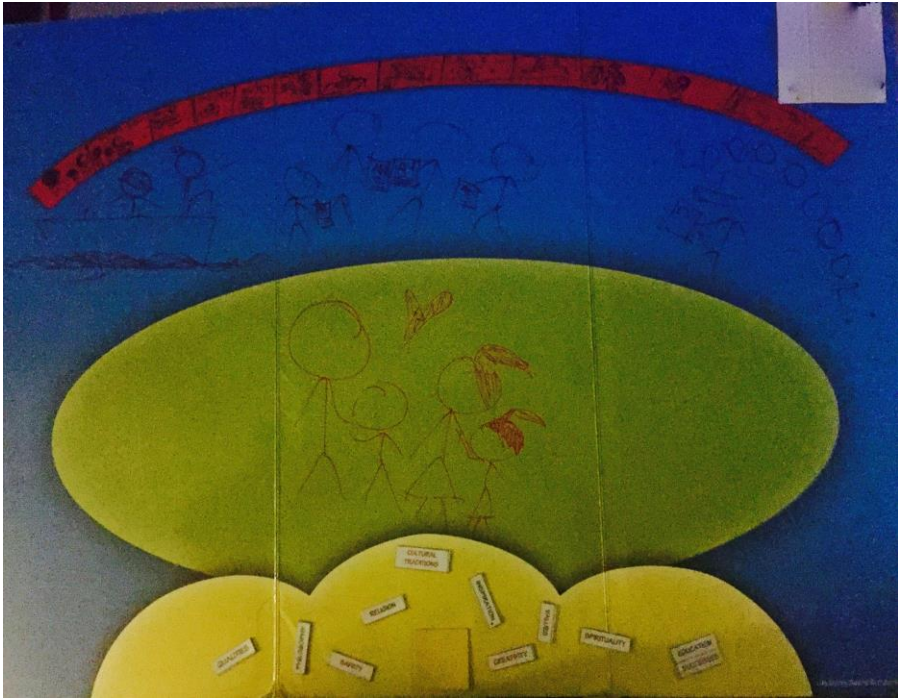**Appendix 22: Rachel's Vidaview Storyboard**

Appendix 23: Ricardo's Vidaview Storyboard

Appendix 24: Rita's Vidaview Storyboard

Appendix 25: Rodrigo's Vidaview Storyboard

Appendix C: NMREB Approval Form

Western Research

Research Ethics

Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board
NMREB Full Board Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓
Department & Institution: Education\Faculty of Education,Western University

NMREB File Number: ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓
Study Title: Investigating Filipina/o youths' transnational identities in Toronto urban schools.

NMREB Initial Approval Date: March 16, 2016
NMREB Expiry Date: March 16, 2017

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Other	Confidentiality Agreement	2015/11/02
Recruitment Items	Recruitment Poster-Clean	2016/01/12
Other	Photographic Release-Clean	2016/01/22
Western University Protocol	Received March 9, 2016	
Letter of Information & Consent	Community	2016/01/12
Letter of Information & Consent	Parents	2016/01/12
Letter of Information & Consent	Student	2016/01/12

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

Appendix 26: Initial NMREB Approval

Appendix D: Letters of Information and Consent Forms

Western Education **Investigating Filipina/o/x Youths' Transnational Identities in Toronto Urban Schools**

LETTER OF INFORMATION—Community Leaders and Educators

Introduction

My name is Jessica Ticar and I am a Ph.D. Candidate at the Faculty of Education at Western University. I am conducting research on how Filipina/o/x youths' global migration experiences through Canada's Caregiver Program have impacted their educational experiences and transnational identities in Toronto Urban Schools. There will be a total of 40 participants, 20 Filipina/o/x students (10 boys and 10 girls), 10 Filipina/o/x parent/guardians, and 10 community leaders,

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to talk about Filipina/o/x youth's social and educational experiences and gather information to identify needs for improvement and what is currently working for Filipina/o/x students.

Participation

If you agree to participate you will be asked to do an individual interview or a focus group, depending on your availability and/or preference, for about 1 hour. The study's results will be made available you.

With your permission, your interviews will be audio/video recorded and you can still participate if you choose not to have your interviews video/audio recorded. Participation is voluntary and you may refuse to answer questions or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you opt out of the study, the information gathered during your participation will be included in study unless you decide to remove that information as well.

There will be a potential translator available if needed.

To compensate for your time, you will be provided TTC tokens, refreshments (food and beverages), and $10 Tim Horton gift certificates. You will receive two tokens for your one hour interview. During your one hour interview, you will receive refreshments and a $10 Tim Horton's certificate in appreciation for your time.

Confidentiality

The information you provide will be kept confidential. The data collected will only be used for research, and your real name or any identifying information will not be used in publications and/or presentations. A pseudonym will be used to replace your real name to protect your identity. The data will be kept in a locked cabinet for 5 years.

While we do our best to protect your information there is no guarantee that we will be able to do so. If data is collected during the project, which may be required to report by law, we have a duty to report.

Risks & Benefits

There are no known risks to participating in this study.

The possible benefits to you may be that Filipina/o youths' social and educational needs will be met. The possible benefits to society may be that future transnational students will have their social and educational needs met.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Investigating Filipina/o/x Youths' Transnational Identities in Toronto Urban Schools

CONSENT FORM-Parent/Guardian/Community Leaders/Educators

I have read the Letter of Information and have had the nature of the study explained to me, including voluntary participation and confidentiality and its limitations.

I agree to participate.

All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to be audio / video-recorded in this research

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

I consent to the use of personal, identifiable quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

I consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

I agree to have my name used in the dissemination of this research

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

I agree to participate in this study

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

Participant's name (Print): _____

Participant's Signature : _____

Date: _____

Was the participant assisted during the consent process?

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

If **YES**, please check the relevant box and complete the signature space below:

☐ The person signing below acted as a translator for the participant during the consent process and attests that the study as set out in this form was accurately translated and has had any questions answered.

| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Print Name of Translator | Signature | Date *(DD-MMM-YYYY)* |

_____

Language

Appendix 27: Letter of Information & Consent form—Community Leaders and Educators

Investigating Filipina/o/x Youths' Transnational Identities in Toronto Urban Schools

LETTER OF INFORMATION—Parents

Introduction

My name is Jessica Ticar and I am a Ph.D. Candidate at the Faculty of Education at Western University. I am conducting research on how Filipina/o/x youths' global migration experiences through Canada's Caregiver Program have impacted their educational experiences and transnational identities in Toronto Urban Schools. There will be a total of 40 participants, 20 Filipina/o/x students (10 boys and 10 girls), 10 Filipina/o/x parent/guardians, and 10 community leaders.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to talk about your children's social and educational experiences and gather information to identify needs for improvement and what is currently working for you and your child/children.

Participation

If you agree to participate you will be asked to do one individual interview or one focus group for about 1 hour, depending on your availability and/or preference.

With your permission, your interviews will be audio/video recorded and you can still participate if you choose not to have your interviews video/audio recorded.

Participation is voluntary and you may refuse to answer questions or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you opt out of the study, the information gathered during your participation will be included in study unless you decide to remove that information as well.

There will be a potential translator available if needed.

To compensate for your time, you will be provided TTC tokens, refreshments (food and beverages), and $10 Tim Horton gift certificates. You will receive two tokens for your one hour individual or focus interview. During your one hour interview, you will receive refreshments and a $10 Tim Horton's certificate in appreciation for your time.

Confidentiality

The information you provide will be kept confidential. The data collected will only be used for research, and your real name or any identifying information will not be used in publications and/or presentations. A pseudonym will be used to replace your real name to protect your identity. The data will be kept in a locked cabinet for 5 years. However, you may choose to consent having your child's art pieces to be used in publications and/or presentations, and these will not have any identifying information.

While we do our best to protect your information there is no guarantee that we will be able to do so. If data is collected during the project, which may be required to report by law, we have a duty to report.

Risks & Benefits

While I will try my best to create a safe space and reduce harm as much as possible, the possible risks and harms to you include emotional upset or distress. If emotional upset or distress comes up during the study, here is a list of local resources for support:

The possible benefits to you may be that recommendations will be made to policy makers, schools systems, and social services to attempt to address your social and educational needs   The possible benefits to society may be that future transnational

students will have recommendations made to policy makers, schools systems, and social services to attempt to address their social and educational needs.

Questions

If you have questions about this research study, please contact **Jessica Ticar**

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Western Education

Investigating Filipina/o/x Youths' Transnational Identities in Toronto Urban Schools

CONSENT FORM-Parent/Guardian/Community Leaders/Educators

I have read the Letter of Information and have had the nature of the study explained to me, including voluntary participation and confidentiality and its limitations.

I agree to participate.

All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
I agree to be audio / video-recorded in this research

☐ YES ☐ NO

I consent to the use of personal, identifiable quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research

☐ YES ☐ NO

I consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research

☐ YES ☐ NO

I agree to have my name used in the dissemination of this research

☐ YES ☐ NO

I agree to participate in this study

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

Participant's name (Print): _____

Participant's Signature : _____

Date: _____

Was the participant assisted during the consent process?

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

If **YES**, please check the relevant box and complete the signature space below:

☐ The person signing below acted as a translator for the participant during the consent process and attests that the study as set out in this form was accurately translated and has had any questions answered.

_____	_____	_____
Print Name of Translator	Signature	Date *(DD-MMM-YYYY)*

_____

Language

Appendix 28: Letter of Information & Consent Form—Parents

Investigating Filipina/o Youths' Transnational Identities in Toronto Urban Schools

LETTER OF INFORMATION—Students

Introduction

My name is Jessica Ticar and I am a Ph.D. Candidate at the Faculty of Education at Western University. I am conducting research on how Filipina/o youths' global migration experiences through Canada's Caregiver Program, or for other economic reasons, have impacted their educational experiences and transnational identities in Toronto Urban Schools. There will be a total of 40 participants, 20 Filipina/o students (10 boys and 10 girls), 10 Filipina/o parent/guardians, and 10 community leaders

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to talk about your social and educational experiences and gather information to identify needs for improvement and what is currently working for you.

Participation

If you agree to participate you will be asked to do two arts-based projects:

- A one-hour individual interview through a storyboard
- A two hour group art project

The study's results will be made available you

With your permission, your interviews will be audio/video recorded and you can still participate if you choose not to have your interviews video/audio recorded. Participation is voluntary and you may refuse to answer questions or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you opt out of the study, the information gathered during your participation will be included in study unless you decide to remove that information as well.

There will be a potential translator available if needed.

To compensate for your time, you will be provided TTC tokens, refreshments (food and beverages), and $10 Tim Horton gift certificates. You will receive two tokens for your one hour interview. During your one hour interview, you will receive refreshments and a $10 Tim Horton's certificate in appreciation for your time. For the two-hour group art project, you will receive an additional two tokens, food, and a $10 Tim Horton's gift certificate. Also, you will receive a total of 3 community service hours (1 for the individual interview and 2 for the group art project).

Confidentiality

The information you provide will be kept confidential. The data collected will only be used for research, and your real name or any identifying information will not be used in publications and/or presentations. A pseudonym will be used to replace your real name to protect your identity. The data will be kept in a locked cabinet for 5 years. However, you may choose to consent having your art pieces to be used in publications and/or presentations, and these will not have any identifying information.

While we do our best to protect your information there is no guarantee that we will be able to do so. If data is collected during the project, which may be required to report by law, we have a duty to report.

Risks & Benefits

While I will try my best to create a safe space and reduce harm as much as possible, the possible risks and harms to you include emotional upset or distress. If emotional upset or distress comes up during the study, here is a list of local resources for support:

The possible benefits to you may be that recommendations will be made to policy makers, schools systems, and social services to attempt to address your social and educational needs   The possible benefits to society may be that future transnational students will have recommendations made to policy makers, schools systems, and social services to attempt to address their social and educational needs.

Questions

If you have questions about this research study, please contact **Jessica Ticar**

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Investigating Filipina/o Youths' Transnational Identities in Toronto Urban Schools

CONSENT FORM-Students

I have read the Letter of Information and have had the nature of the study explained to me, including voluntary participation and confidentiality and its limitations.

I agree to participate.

All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to be audio / video-recorded in this research

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

I consent to the use of personal, identifiable quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

I consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

I agree to have my name used in the dissemination of this research

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

I agree to participate in this study

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

Participant's name (Print): _____

Participant's Signature : _____

Date: _____

Parent / Legal Guardian / Substitute Decision Maker (Print): (If under the age of 16)

_____

Parent / Legal Guardian / Substitute Decision Maker (Sign):

_____

Parent / Legal Guardian / Substitute Decision Maker (Date):

_____

Was the participant assisted during the consent process?

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

If **YES**, please check the relevant box and complete the signature space below:

☐ The person signing below acted as a translator for the participant during the consent process and attests that the study as set out in this form was accurately translated and has had any questions answered.

Print Name of Translator	Signature	Date *(DD-MMM-YYYY)*

Language

Appendix 29: Letter of Information & Consent Form—Students/Youth

Western Education

Investigating Filipina/o Youths' Transnational Identities in Toronto Urban Schools

**PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR
RESEARCH IN FILIPINA AND FILIPINO YOUTHS' SCHOOL
EXPERIENCES**

I am looking for participants to take part in a study of the school experiences of Filipina and Filipino, Filipina/o, high schools students who meet the following criteria:

-Filipina/o youth in high school, ages 14–19 who have come to Toronto through Canada's Caregiver Program, or newcomer youth who have experienced global migration
-Filipina/o parents/guardians who have worked in Canada's Caregiver Program
-Filipina/o community leaders

If you are interested and agree to participate you would be asked:

-About your individual and collective identities as Filipina/o youth
-About your experiences with school. Filipina/o parents/guardians and community leaders will be asked about their ideas about how Filipina/o youth are doing in school and their ideas about the educational system in Toronto.

Your participation would involve **1** session
each session will be about **60** minutes long.
After these sessions are finished, Filipina/o youth will meet again for **1** session. This session will last **2** hours.

In appreciation for your time, Jessica Ticar will provide the support needed for programs such as helping with the facilitation of program and workshop activities. All participants will be provided with TTC tokens, refreshments (food and beverages), and $10 Tim Horton gift certificates to compensate for their time. Also, students will receive a total of 3 community service hours (1 for the individual interview and 2 for the group art project)

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study, please contact:

Jessica Ticar

Appendix 30: Recruitment Poster/Flyer

Curriculum Vitae

Name: Jessica Ellen Ticar

Post-secondary Education and Degrees:

York University
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
2001–2006   B.A. Socio-cultural Anthropology

The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2007–2009 M.Ed. Counselling Psychology

The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2013–2017 Ph.D. Education

Honours and Awards:

Inclusive Education Research Award
Canadian Research Centre on Inclusive Education
Faculty of Education, The University of Western Ontario
London, ON
2015

Ontario Graduate Scholarship
Faculty of Education, The University of Western Ontario
London, ON
2016–2017

Related Work Experience

Research Assistant
Dr. Wayne Martino and Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti
Accountability and the Impact of Standardized Testing on Equity Education and the Achievement of Minority Students in Canadian and Australian Schools
The University of Western Ontario
London, ON
2014–2015

Teaching Assistant
Dr. Wayne Martino
Investigating Urban Schools: A Case Study Approach
The University of Western Ontario
London, ON
2016–2017

Professional Memberships	Registered Psychotherapist (Inactive) College of Registered Psychotherapists of Ontario Registration Number: 001337 2015–present Professional Member and Canadian Certified Counsellor Canadian Counselling and Psychotherapy Association Member Number: 1348 2008 – 2017 (June)

Publications:

Ticar, J. (2015). Filipina/o youths' transnational identities: Cultural performance and methodology. *Western Research Forum Publication.* London, ON: Western University.

Brown, J., Rodger, S., Fraehlich, C., Christensen, T., Champagne, M., Gerrits, J., & Ticar, J. (2009). *School Experiences of Aboriginal Youth in the Inner City*. Funded by the Canadian Council on Learning.

Reports:

Ticar, J. (2015). Multiple experiences of Filipino young adults: Identity, community and social justice. *Asia Research Brief,* 14. Toronto, ON: York Centre for Asian Research, York University.