Filipino Immigration and Integration into the K-12 School System and the Host Community

by

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Abstract

The foreign-born population continues to grow in Canada and in 2011 they represented 20.6% of the population (Statistics Canada, 2013). In particular, Manitoba is seeing an influx of immigrants from the Philippines and with them they bring their children who must seek ways of making Canada their new home. When immigrants move they go through the process of acculturation to renegotiate their new identities in their new society. There are four acculturation orientations that one can follow: integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization. Of the four, integration has been the most successful orientation for immigrants because they can maintain facets of their native culture, while adding facets of the host society’s culture. This multiple-case study examined the resettlement experiences of four Filipino youth and set out to understand the personal and contextual factors that helped them integrate. In the end, the personal factors that helped with their identity renegotiation and subsequent integration were their age at migration, gender, social capital, and their attitudes towards learning. The contextual factors that helped were educational policies, perceived community attitudes towards immigrants, and their country of origin.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Chow (2007) and Walsh (2008) suggest that history has shown that people around the world have always migrated due to certain “push and pull factors,” depending on one’s “dissatisfaction with prevailing life circumstances” or a “sense of optimism that a move would result in more desirable conditions and appealing opportunities” (Chow, 2007, p. 511). Push factors present themselves when one’s native land may be in some state of turmoil, whether it be environmental disasters or political problems. Pull factors, on the other hand, are indicated when a host country presents favourable opportunities for one to relocate, such as business prospects, better employment, or superior educational opportunities. Walsh (2008) further adds that with progress in trade, commerce, and technology, and as disputes over land, culture, and religion persist, people will continue to be mobile. Recent OECD (2014) statistics puts the number of permanent immigrants, in 2013, at 4 million people. When people move, they not only bring with them their physical selves, but also their ideas, values, culture, and language. The following study set out to examine the push and pull factors that have attracted Filipinos to immigrate to Canada, and what has helped them become a vibrant community through their settlement process in the Canadian cultural landscape.

One popular destination for people on the move is Canada (Ghosh & Pyrce, 1999; Reitz, 2012; Walsh, 2008). This is because of the country’s positive attitude towards immigrants; it considers them key contributors to the nation’s economic viability, and Canadians accept the idea of a multicultural society that comes with a diverse population (Reitz, 2012). However, during the relocation process, problems do arise for immigrants as they settle into Canada. Many Canadian studies have shown that many immigrants coming to Canada face problems ranging
from economic hardship, language barrier, racism, and generational conflicts (Amiot, de la Sablonniere, Deborah, & Smith, 2007; Chan, 2009; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Dyson, 2005; Fortin, 2002; Houle & Schellenberg, 2010; Levine-Rasky, 2006; Magro, 2009; Ogbu, 1982). Specifically, some immigrants need more than one job to pay their living expenses, and may rely on their children to translate (Chan, 2009; Fortin, 2002; Magro, 2009). As well, many parents have found it difficult to raise their children with the cultural values of their homeland while their children acquire the values of their new country (Li, 2010; Li, 2009; Li, 2004). However, the degree of difficulty that each immigrant encounters from his/her resettlement varies, depending on access to health care, employment, housing, and social capital, such as friendly neighbours, attachment to local organizations, and religious groups (Houle & Schellenberg, 2010). This study sought to understand the difficulties immigrant minors have faced, with special attention to identity negotiation, and the factors that have either supported or hindered their resettlement.

Filipino Immigration – Setting the Context

This study focused on one particular cultural group that has continued to establish themselves in Manitoba’s society – the Filipino community. Filipino immigration into Canada is not a new phenomenon; the earliest known immigrants from the Philippines can be traced back as early as 1931 (Dalayoan, Enverga-Magsino, & Bailon, 2008). To understand the history of Filipino immigration Dalayoan, et al. (2008) collected the accounts of some of the earliest Filipino immigrants who came into the province of Manitoba and published a historical narrative of their experiences in a book entitled The First Filipino Immigrants in Manitoba (1959-1975). In this book, the authors shared the first- and second-hand accounts of early immigrants to Manitoba, and discussed the waves of Filipino migration, the push and pull factors that led
immigrants to move to Manitoba, the lived experiences of settlement, established Filipinos in the community, and the successes and challenges in the early days of migration.

**Waves of Early Filipino Immigration to Manitoba**

From 1959 to 1965, the first waves of Filipino immigrants came to Canada via the United States; many of them were professionals who worked in the medical field as doctors, nurses, technologists, and teachers (Dalayoan, Enverga-Magsino, & Bailon, 2008). According to the authors, the influx of professionals coming into the province was due to Canada’s growing population at the time, and the fact that their services were needed to meet the growing demands of the general population.

Soon after, the need for professionals coming into Manitoba slowed, which ushered in the next wave of Filipino immigrants – the garment workers, including, “sewers, cutters, sewing machine repairmen, and other workers” (Dalayoan, Enverga-Magsino, & Bailon, 2008, p. 28). The authors stated that there was a huge push for modernization of technology in the province and, for its economic prosperity, the garment and construction industries were established, and recruitment from the Philippines, Italy, Korea, and Vietnam brought in cheap labour. Throughout these years, many mitigating factors allowed access for more Filipinos to come and establish life in Canada. Over time, many were eventually able to sponsor their families from the Philippines, paving the way for the emerging Filipino community in Manitoba.

**Push Factors Faced by Early Filipino Immigrants**

The earliest Filipinos came to Canada via the United States, rather than through direct entrance from the Philippines. Many of these individuals had left their home because of the “political and economic condition in the Philippines, along with a desire for adventure.” Many were able to emigrate one of three ways: the host country had a specific need for their
professional skills, or Canadian employers had sponsored them for a job, or their families abroad had sponsored them (Dalayoan, Enverga-Magsino, & Bailon, 2008, p. 36).

Because of the political unrest and economic instability in the early 1970’s, which ushered in the rule of Ferdinand Marcos, thousands more Filipinos were encouraged to leave for other countries, including Canada (Dalayoan, Enverga-Magsino, & Bailon, 2008). Many believed that moving to Canada would provide them the political and economic stability that was no longer guaranteed in their home country.

**Challenges During the Early Settlement**

In the early days, housing was not a big issue for many new immigrants; in fact, many of them were able to settle close to their places of employment, such as William Avenue and other places in the West End of Winnipeg. Also, many independent workers chose to live with roommates in apartments or rented houses (Dalayoan, Enverga-Magsino, & Bailon, 2008). The authors stated that the immigrants who did come later had the assistance of many established Filipinos, social and community workers, and various community organizations, such as the International Centre.

Another challenge that many immigrants faced after arriving was adjusting to Winnipeg’s cold climate; however, because many of these people worked in factories that manufactured winter clothing, they were able to purchase warm gear at a discounted price (Dalayoan, Enverga-Magsino, & Bailon, 2008). Transportation proved to be another obstacle for Filipino immigrants, since many did not know how to use the transit system or could afford a down payment on a car. Another important issue many immigrants faced was that of not having their credentials recognized in Canada, so many had to take a job for which they were overqualified. Many had to go back to school to upgrade their credentials. One big problem cited by many new immigrants
was that prospective employers tended to look for workers with “Canadian experience” in the workforce.

In their book, the authors discussed the fact that many of the early immigrants came from middle-class families and were accustomed to having domestic workers. They soon realized that this was not a possibility in Canada, and so had to learn to take care of a home themselves. Also, both husband and wife had to get jobs in order to give them financial security and to be able to afford and maintain a house. Eventually, to assist with childcare, many families opted to sponsor their extended families and parents to provide assistance and to help ease childcare. The authors further explained that many who had to leave their significant others in the Philippines found new partners. A big shift was also seen in the role of women. Once women began to earn money, many had “started to become assertive … and started to demand fairness in the division of household chores” (Dalayoan, Enverga-Magsino, & Bailon, 2008, p. 60).

The challenges Dalayoan et al. (2008) stated were in the past, and many of these challenges are still experienced by current immigrants (Carter, Pandey, & Townsend, 2010; Carter, Polevychok, Osborne, Adeler, & Friesen, 2009; Houle & Schellenberg, 2010; Lewis, 2010). This study adds another dimension to the literature by examining how these challenges affect the integration of the children of immigrants.

**Supports During Early Settlement**

Filipino pioneers that helped establish the Filipino community in Manitoba did not have an easy time during their initial resettlement. Dalayoan et al. (2008) have noted the strong faith in religion of many Filipinos and their attendance at church allowed them to meet other immigrants. Here, many found life-long friends which allowed them to form the social and cultural gatherings within the greater community, which further established the Filipino culture in Manitoba. Owing
to all of the shared experiences of resettlement, many Filipino associations were established; these continue to be a presence in Manitoba and advocate for the community to ensure that Filipinos are part of the multicultural mosaic in society.

**Migration to Canada and Manitoba in Today’s World**

Reitz (2012) suggested that migration to Canada is well supported by this country’s selective immigration policies, whereby immigrants are seen to support the Canadian economy “by adding size, new ideas, creative potential, international awareness and linkages critical in a global economy” (p. 525). Currently, there are three ways that people from other parts of the world can immigrate to Canada – as an economic candidate, family reunification, or on humanitarian grounds. Economic candidates enter Canada by choice to search for employment and are subject to a point system during the immigration process; they must prove that they are employable and can adjust to life in Canada (Aydemir, 2011; Ghosh & Pyrce, 1999; Reitz, 2012). In the reunification category, a family member who currently lives in Canada can sponsor other family members. Lastly, people who have been displaced due to civil unrest or who face persecution in their home country may be given the opportunity to apply for refugee status and settle in Canada under humanitarian grounds. Through these three immigration categories, the face of Canadian society continues to diversify.

Within the past couple of years, Canadians have seen a rapid change in immigration policies. Alboim & Cohl (2012) have pointed out that more foreigners are entering Canada under the economic class. Under this class there are five subclasses that an immigrant may apply through to attain permanent residency: Federal Skilled Worker Program, Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), Immigrant Investors Program, Entrepreneur Program, and the Canadian Experience Class. Under the family reunification class there are two subclasses: sponsorship of
spouses, and the parent and grandparent sponsorship program. Lastly, under the humanitarian class there are three subclasses: government-assisted refugee program, privately sponsored refugees, and refugee claimants. Alboim & Cohl (2012) have pointed out that the federal government has made it more difficult for foreigners to settle in Canada because under each subclass there are many requirements that potential immigrants must meet, such as mandatory language testing, caps under each subclass, and higher net worth required from potential investors. In addition to permanent residency, foreigners may also apply for temporary residency in Canada under various programs such as the Temporary Workers Program and as an international student. However, numbers have shown that more people have been admitted as temporary workers, rather than as permanent residents (Alboim & Cohl, 2012).

Another change to the immigration policy is the more stringent rules and regulations governing who can become a citizen in Canada. Residents who want to become citizens must now prove that they meet level 4 of the Canadian Language Benchmark, pass the citizenship test with an overall score of 75%, and not all foreign-born children will automatically become citizens (Alboim & Cohl, 2012; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014). These changes will have lasting implications for the Canadian population and the diversity we see in Canada can diminish.

A report published by Statistics Canada (2013) stated that 20.6% of Canadians are foreign-born. It is projected that by 2031 three in ten Canadians will be part of a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 2010). The largest growing immigrant population in Canada is from Asia, where they accounted for 56.9% of total immigrants who moved to Canada between 2006 – 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2013). The Philippines was the leading country of birth for recent
immigrants, “in 2011, around 152,300 newcomers were born in the Philippines, 13.1% of all newcomers” (Statistics Canada, 2013, p. 8).

Canada’s ‘mass immigration’ policy, as described by Reitz (2012), welcomes 200,000 to 250,000 immigrants annually. Through a negotiated agreement between the federal and provincial governments, dubbed the Provincial Nominee Programs (PNP), many provinces have been able to influence how many people they welcome into Canada. The PNP allowed the provinces to “boost economic and industrial growth based on local needs and priorities” (Reitz, 2012, p. 530). Immigrants welcomed under these programs have employable skills needed in the province in which they settle, and by “2011 immigrants admitted under PNPs numbered 38,402, representing 15 per cent of all immigrants” (Reitz, 2012, p. 530). It should be noted that this program has been modified and the federal government has added a cap on the number of people who can enter through this program.

One particular region that is seeing an influx of immigrants is Manitoba, a result of recent changes to immigration schemes that the province had negotiated with the government of Canada. A recent Manitoba Department of Labour and Immigration publication entitled “Manitoba immigration facts – 2013 statistical report,” addressed the growing immigrant population of the province and how immigrants play a part in the province’s economic growth plan. In 2013 alone, there were 13,100 immigrants who entered Manitoba, and, between 2011 – 2013, 42,376 immigrants have settled in the province (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2013).

When looking at the immigration trends of Manitoba, the numbers of immigrants who settled here peaked in 2011 at 15,963, but has slowly declined over the years. This decline has been attributed to “the federal government’s nomination limit to the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP), federal processing delays and because some MPNP brought smaller
families” (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2013, p. 6). Many immigrants who enter Manitoba come from the Asia and Pacific region, with the Philippines being the number one source country, followed by India, China, Nigeria, and Eritrea (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2013).

**Resettlement Realities in 21st Century Canada**

Do current Filipino immigrant fare better than earlier groups of Filipino newcomers? Kelly et al. (2009) carried out a study to understand the realities that Filipino immigrants face as they try to establish their new lives and search for employment in Toronto. Through their study, the authors concluded that many Filipino immigrants were “deprofessionalized” and were found to be in jobs for which they were over-qualified, or employed at the lower pay scale in their chosen profession. This is similar to the situation that many earlier immigrants also faced. One interesting fact that the authors discovered was that “the incidence of downward mobility was actually higher for those entering via the skilled worker program” (Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, & Esguerra, 2009, p. 12). Yet, the purpose of some immigration policies, such as the Provincial Nominee Program, was to ensure that these applicants have the skills to be employed in Canada. Therefore, with the “deprofessionalization” of Filipino immigrants, coupled with the stringent requirements to attain permanent residency and the higher number of temporary foreigner worker visas issued, Canada’s view of immigrants is not to necessarily add to the country’s cultural diversity. Rather, many qualified foreigners are welcomed to work in positions that Canadians do not want, and when their work is complete they have no choice but to return to their home countries.

The study further examined what the cause of the immigrants’ downward mobility was. The first factor Kelly et al. (2009) suggested had to do with the fact that, as Filipinos initially
arrived in Canada, they had to find a “survival job.” This work was probably not in their chosen field, nor did it correspond to previous experience. New Filipino immigrants, the authors stated, have a sense of urgency to earn money as quickly as possible in order to help support their families back home, an undeniable fact since “10 percent of the country’s GNP is derived from remittances from overseas” (p. 14). As well, many immigrants either borrowed the money required to apply for immigration, or drained their life savings. They had to, therefore, earn money quickly in order to repay these obligations or refill their savings. At the same time, they had to finance their living expenses in Canada.

A second reason for the downward mobility experienced by these newcomers to Canada was related to the program through which the immigrants applied. One such program that the authors cited is the Live-In Caregiver program, where females applied to be caregivers to Canadian families. The authors’ study showed all of the participants “had no less than a high school education, while 3 [of the study participants] (4 percent) had vocational diplomas upon entry to Canada, and 58 [of the study participants] (79 percent) had a college degree at the bachelor’s level or higher” (Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, & Esguerra, 2009, p. 22). As well, the conditions under this particular entry visa had very stringent restrictions that forbade any retraining and the immigrants had to remain with their original employer for two years, which did not allow them to work in their own profession for years. In the end, the authors noted that many did not reenter the professions for which they had trained; rather when they were given permanent residency in Canada, many chose to stay as caregivers or in other low-paying, low-status jobs.

A third cause for the downward mobility can be traced to an unclear understanding of an immigrant’s professional credentials. The authors attributed the high incidence of not recognizing
prior credentials was due to the ignorance of the professions’ governing associations. Many do not take the time to research the rigor of training and education that the immigrants received from the Philippines, and automatically assumed that they were not at par with the training and education they would have received in Canada (Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, & Esguerra, 2009).

A fourth explanation is related to the culture of work and the perceived stereotypes of Filipinos. Some of the participants in the study felt that they were taken advantage of in the workplace by having their employers expect more from them because their “cultural practices includes taking on all tasks required of them, regardless of their job description, not being assertive in relation to authority figures, and not being boastful of their achievements and abilities” (Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, & Esguerra, 2009, p. 29). Many study participants felt that there was a general expectation that Filipino immigrants occupy only certain positions in various employment sectors, positions that were generally at the lower level.

With such a bleak outlook for some Filipino immigrants, why do they continue to move to Canada? Kelly et al. (2009), stated that many Filipinos have learned how to rationalize the realities that they face in relocating. Many participants have chalked up their realities as part of the Canadian immigrant reality, and the jobs that they have have put them in a better financial situation than having stayed in the Philippines, or these sacrifices that they have made will allow their children to have a better future.

**Filipino Diaspora – The Invisible Migrants**

McElhinny et al. (2012) and Ty (2012) have suggested that the rich history of Filipino diaspora has affected the world’s view of Filipinos. They suggested that many Filipinos have been pigeonholed into certain jobs and many negative stereotypes are associated with them, such as they work hard for very little money. In the 21st century, as witnessed by Dalayoan et al.
(2008) and Kelly et al. (2009), very few Filipino immigrants come as professionals or they are “deprofessionalized,” when they enter Canada. “Large numbers of Filipinos around the world work as affective labourers – in healthcare services, in child and elderly care, in service sectors, and in the entertainment industry” (Ty, 2012, p. 52). Thus, Filipino immigrants will do the jobs the “other” people do not want.

In fact, “prevalent conversations in Canadian media, academic, and politicized public spheres tend to represent and account for Filipina/os living in Canada within the tropes of victimized nanny, selfless nurse, and problematic gangster youth” (McElhinny, Davidson, Catungal, Tungohan, & Coloma, 2012, p. 5). There is also very little literature “about Filipino Canadians topping the list as politicians, lawyers, entertainers, artists, engineers, doctors, dentists, architects, academics, even though [they] are there in those fields” (Ty, 2012, p. 55). The biased media portrayal of Filipinos have caused them to become invisible; “invisible because numerous kinds of people, problems, and achievements are ignored, and hypervisible because only the stereotypes are deemed relevant and significant for public circulation” (McElhinny, Davidson, Catungal, Tungohan, & Coloma, 2012, p. 5). There is a need to change the image of Filipinos, starting with changing the perceptions of who they are. If the dialogue about Filipinos does not change, then they will continue to be invisible and marginalized. This study collected stories, specifically from Filipinos to validate the first-generation’s sacrifices to ensure that their children become successful and can integrate into Canadian society, in hopes of giving them the power to change the dialogue about Filipino immigrants.

The Children of Immigrants

One specific population that needs particular attention is the children of new immigrants. As pointed out by Kelly et al. (2009), many parents have given up a lot and sacrificed their
previous lives to ensure that their children have a better future. Thus, it is imperative to understand what factors will ensure that the sense of downward mobility will not continue, and for the rest of the Canadian population to understand that racialized minorities are part of our social structure and cultural mosaic, rather than people who have been brought over to fulfill an economic mandate (Coloma, 2013; Cui, 2011; Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, & Esguerra, 2009; Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, & Esguerra, 2009).

These children faced numerous stressors during the immigration process. Most of them might not have had the choice to move to a new country; rather, their displacement was a decision that was made for them. As these minors moved from one setting to another, their lives are forever changed and they need to find a way to make sense of their new world and how they fit into the host society. Ogbu (1982) has dubbed this sense of confusion as cultural discontinuities, where the immigrant students come with their own sets of ideas and values, which often clash with the host society’s complex ideas and values.

Some examples of these clashes between the old world ideas and the new world ideas can be seen in the intergenerational conflicts between the immigrant students and parental expectations, language barriers, and peer relations (Chan, 2009; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Dyson, 2005; Empleo, 2006; Ko & Perreira, 2010; Li, 2010; Li, 2009). Because of these clashes, students might lose their sense of identity (Ko & Perreira, 2010).

The notion of identity is about understanding who one is and how one fits into the world. However, for many immigrant students, this becomes complex, multi-layered, and sometimes confusing because of the changes to their immediate world. A sense of cultural identity takes time to develop through daily interactions such as grocery shopping, attending cultural events with other people, and being exposed to various settings such as community picnics, and schools...
However, when students leave their country of origin, the once familiar surroundings and social structures change, which can cause a sense of disequilibrium for the immigrant students. Due to these changes, the immigrant students must try to make sense of the cultural differences that they are encountering, resulting in cultural discontinuities (Ogbu, 1982).

At the pre-migration stage, students who have immigrated by choice and are not refugees have strong social supports within their local community, family, and friends (Ko & Perreira, 2010). Through these connections, students will have developed their own value systems, language, and cultural traditions. However, during the post-migration process, the students come to several crossroads; they begin to doubt everything they once believed to be true because they feel different from the Canadian-born students (Chan, 2009; Li, 2010; Ogbu, 1982). The language they have grown up with had helped many of these students find a way to communicate with the others around them, forging the strong social support. However, in their new world, many minority students must learn a new language to express who they are and to communicate within the new social structure found at school (Chan, 2009). Another challenge that these students face is coming to terms with the differences between the values learned from their new peers and the expectations of their own parents. The students changed their behaviours to fit in with their peers and school environment yet, when they went home, they had change their behaviours to meet parental expectations (Chan, 2009; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Empleo, 2006; Ko & Perreira, 2010). Lastly, another source of discomfort for immigrant students are the stereotypes that have been constructed by people around them, which they discovered when interacting with their peers and teachers (Chan, 2009; Ko & Perreira, 2010).

Many immigrants manage to reestablish who they are and create a new identity within their new surroundings through the process of acculturation. Studies have shown that there are
four major acculturation orientations that immigrants utilize in their resettlement – integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1992; Berry, 1997; Berry, 2001; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009; Gibson, 1998; Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004; Simich, Maiter, & Ochocka, 2009; Walters, Phythian, & Anisef, 2007). Each acculturation orientation is concerned with the relationship between the individual or small group and their surrounding community. Immigrants who orient themselves through integration maintain their own culture while also adopting key features of the new, local culture (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009). Through assimilation, immigrants give up every aspect of who they are and take on all the features of the host society (Berry, 1992; Berry, 2001; Walters, Phythian, & Anisef, 2007). Separation occurs when the immigrants and the host society are distinct from each other and they do not adopt any of the new culture (Berry, 1992; Berry, 2001; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009). Marginalization occurs when immigrants are completely excluded, and the host community does not accept the immigrant culture (Berry, 1992; Berry, 2001; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009). The success of resettlement has a direct correlation to the acculturation orientation the immigrants’ experience. According to Berry (1992), Berry (2001), Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt (2009), Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam (2004), and Walters, Phythian, & Anisef (2007), integration has been shown to be the most successful acculturation orientation for many immigrants, which may not necessarily be the perspective of the immigrants themselves, allowing them to manage their “old world” identities with the “new world” expectations. With the feeling of cultural acceptance and the adoption of the new culture, immigrants develop a sense of biculturalism, which allows them to understand who they are in relation to the world around them and minimizes their feelings of cultural discontinuities. This research examined Filipino youth immigrants’ perceptions of cultural
discontinuities, the challenges they faced at the school and community levels, and how they were able to overcome these barriers during their resettlement in Canada.

In Canada, the symbiosis of different cultures has been dubbed multiculturalism; the idea of multiculturalism is to achieve a mutual respect of each other’s cultures, languages and traditions, as explained by Levine-Rasky (2006). In fact, Levine-Rasky (2006) had cited other authors, such as Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka, who have suggested Canadian multiculturalism is working, and is one of the greatest policies to come from the federal government. As a result of multiculturalism, it is believed that immigrants integrated into the Canadian society because individual differences are respected and identities are easily reformed.

However, as Levine-Rasky (2006) began to identify incidents in Canadian history, and in Canadian mindsets that proved otherwise, multiculturalism may not actually be working. She explained that, while many Canadians are aware of different cultures, they think that multiculturalism is more about tolerating these other cultures rather than respecting them. In order for integration to occur, both immigrants and the host community must have mutual respect, as stated by Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt (2009). However, if the host community is only tolerating the others, then inequality will continue to persist and integration will not be realized, where this “inequitably stems from denial of identity for ethnocultural groups” (Levine-Rasky, 2006, p. 89). One reason she provided was that many citizens of the host society look at the foreigners as competition for jobs. Alas, the integration of foreigners was not exactly as equitable as we have been led to believe. Instead, Canada’s rules and regulations, and the attitudes and behaviours of the local citizens, such as looking at immigrants as competition and being leery about their culture can act as a deterrent to successful integration. Thus, many new immigrants are left to feel unwelcome due to systematic problems of discrimination and
racism that they may face (Coloma, 2013; Cui, 2011; Kayaalp, 2014; Shin, 2015; Varma-Joshi, Baker, & Tanaka, 2004).

One institution that can prove to be a vehicle by which students can learn about Canadian ideals and values is the school system (Dyson, 2005). Although it should be acknowledged that schools could also be places where students may experience racism (Cui, 2011; Kayaalp, 2014; Shin, 2015; Varma-Joshi, Baker, & Tanaka, 2004). Through daily interaction with their Canadian peers, the immigrant students are able to grasp aspects of the English language and the cultural norms of the host society (Kalekin-Fishman, 2004; O’Sullivan-Lago & De Abreu, 2010; Wilkinson, 2002). But, cultural discontinuity can still occur, due to the many changes in the students’ lives, and the consolidation of new information they need to handle; this only adds to the stressors already being experienced, such as parental expectations, language barrier, academic demands, and peer relationships, that they face in their new society. However, if the schools are equipped to deal with a diverse population, then the integration of immigrant students into their new environment can be successful.

According to O’Sullivan-Lago and De Abreu (2010), schools are able to help with cultural discontinuity by providing “cultural contact zones.” These zones will allow students to understand who they are in relation to the world around them, and help with identity-formation. These “cultural contact zones” can been seen in the forms of in-school, out-of-school, or whole-school newcomer programs, the strategic hiring of visible minority staff, changing instructional design, and/or better assessment tools to inform schools of the best program for the students (Short, 2002). However, with each program there are many factors that need to be taken into consideration to ensure that it is effective and meets the needs of the students. In Xu, et al. (2007), the authors concluded that, regardless of the programs in place, other factors such as
complicated school policies and conflict in educational values almost ensure that immigrant students will continue to experience learning difficulties. After studying refugee students, Kanu (2008) noted that many external factors (such as economic and psychosocial issues) affected student learning. Thus, there is still need to examine further what has worked and what has not worked for immigrant students as they integrate into the Canadian society.

The Intersection of Identity and Integration

As many researchers have pointed out, integration is the best form of acculturation for new immigrants (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009; Gibson, 1998; Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004; Simich, Maiter, & Ochocka, 2009; Walters, Phythian, & Anisef, 2007) because it has allowed them to understand who they are in relation to the world around them. They do not have the sense that they have to give up the values, traditions, and culture they once had and hopefully continue to maintain. Also, Padilla and Perez (2003) have concluded that external factors, such as social cognition, social identity, and social stigma, play a role as immigrants acculturate into their new society. Therefore, this study looked at the internal and external factors of the immigrant students’ lives to see what has helped them become part of society.

If the provincial government of Manitoba correlates its economic prosperity to its growing immigrant population (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2013), then it must ensure that these immigrants integrate into the host society. For the most part, schools have been given the responsibility of integrating the immigrant students, as we have seen laid out in the provincial government’s document on ethnoculture equity (Manitoba Education, 2006). However, since schools still have not been able to meet holistically the needs of their students, and since cultural discontinuities persist, immigrant students have a greater likelihood
of choosing a different mode of acculturation; they may not necessarily become part of the general society, and Manitoba could become a more fractured society. Thus, further studies must look at how a strong sense of identity enables academic success leading to successful integration.

**Statement of the Problem**

According to a report by Manitoba Labour and Immigration (2013), and projections by Statistics Canada (2010), the fastest growing population in Canada is Southeast Asians. In particular, Manitoba is seeing an influx of immigrants from the Philippines. As a result of this growing population, the following research explored the perceptions and experiences of Filipino immigrants during their settlement process, with special attention to how the new immigrants negotiate their new identity. If integration can help newcomers keep facets of their cultural heritage while adding facets of the new society’s culture (and schools may be the venue that can help students renegotiate their new identities), then this research specifically looked at what home and school factors Filipino immigrants have found to either hinder or promote their identity renegotiation as they integrate into the Canadian society.

This research was guided by the following questions:

1) What do Filipinos experience before, during, and after resettlement in Canada, with particular attention to the cultural discontinuities that they may encounter?

2) What successes and challenges, both at home and at school, have Filipino immigrants faced during the resettlement process and to what extent have they been able to overcome such challenges and/or what has helped make their resettlement successful?

3) What are the participants’ perceptions and experiences of their integration into the school system, with particular attention to how they negotiate their new identity?
4) What aspects of the K-12 school system have Filipino immigrants found to be beneficial in their identity negotiation, specifically the relational and pedagogical aspects that they encounter in the new environment?

5) a. What personal and contextual factors do the participants perceive have helped them integrate into the Canadian society?

   b. What personal and contextual factors do the participants perceive have hindered their integration into the Canadian society?

**Significance of Research**

As report after report put forth by Statistics Canada (2010; 2013) states, the face of Canada has changed, is changing, and will continue to change; therefore Canada must continue to find ways of welcoming the newcomers and of making them an integral part of society. Houle & Schellenberg’s (2010) report on immigrants’ assessments of their new lives in Canada, found that while many immigrants were able to integrate successfully into their new society, others could not. Thus, the purpose of this study is to shed light on the factors that enable Filipino youth to integrate or prevent them from integrating into the Canadian society, with a view to better inform educational policy and practice of the inclusion of new immigrants.

To investigate the factors that lead to successful integration into Canada, this research looked at the personal stories of Filipino immigrants to discover why some students find it easier to become part of the new society, while others find it more difficult. Using their own stories of resettlement empowers these students by giving them a voice. Meece & Kurtz-Costes (2001) note that much of the past research has focused on using “whites as the norm against which others are compared, we should conduct more studies that focus on ethnic minority children, and thereby develop a database of normative development in minority development” (p. 4). Thus, these
stories can help inform future research of what racialized groups experience during migration, which can then be compared to other minority groups. By comparing these stories it can give a more accurate picture of one’s adjustment to a new society.

Immigrants’ stories can be used to educate Canadians about the experience of giving up everything familiar to come to a new country to start afresh. To ensure that relevant stories are collected, the participants chosen for this study included recent immigrants who had been in Canada between one to five years, who had experienced the public school system, and were contributing members to the Canadian society through employment and/or attaining educational training.

**Generation 1.5 versus the Second Generation**

Through all of the population movement, various terms have been applied to categorize the various generations who have settled in foreign countries. Generally speaking, the first generation are the foreign-born nationals who immigrated, the second generation are the children of immigrant parents, while the children who have moved with their parents from their native home are categorized as generation 1.5 (Crul & Schneider, 2010).

Crul & Schneider (2010) reported on the results of The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES) study, which focused on the lives of second generation Turks, Moroccans, and former Yugoslavians in eight European countries. In their article, the authors looked at various contexts that have assisted the second generation integrate into their respective communities. They discussed the differences between the integration contexts of various countries, and how these differences helped the immigrants become part of mainstream society. The authors suggested that, with the influx of the diversity of cultures being found in European cities, the idea of what is ‘mainstream’ has been redefined: “it is a relatively new phenomenon
that the formerly clearly defined ethnic majority group is becoming a minority group like the other ethnic group” (Crul & Schneider, 2010, p. 1255). Many of the second generation now have social circles that go beyond their ethnic group, and sometimes these other networks that they associate with or belong to are in positions of power and can influence the idea of what is ‘mainstream.’

Secondly, Crul & Schneider (2010) put forth a comparative integration context theory that examined the level of participation and sense of belonging of the second generation, and used this theory to examine how well integrated the various ethnic groups are in their respective communities. They concluded that the level of participation and belonging depended on the integration context, such as “institutional arrangements in education, the labour market, housing, religion and legislation” (Crul & Schneider, 2010, p. 1262). Although these varied from country to country, they were the major factors that contributed to the active participation and sense of belonging for many of the second-generation study participants. Immigration and resettlement are complex topics because there are many factors that need to be considered when studying racialized groups. While the TIES study provided some information about the resettlement of some second-generation groups, there are other factors that need to be considered when looking at second-generation Canadians.

For this study, I focused on generation 1.5, the generation that had moved with their parents and are now immersed in the integration context described by Crul & Schneider (2010). I have chosen to focus on this generation because Canada continues to experience an influx of foreign-born nationals and their families (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2013), and their children are going through the migration experience. As a teacher, it is the children of immigrants who I work with and see how their schooling and resettlement
experiences are crucial to their acculturation into the Canadian society. “The first-generation youth, unlike the second-generation youth, have the added challenges of trying to be included and accepted by their teachers and peers” (Kayaalp, 2014, p. 659). Understanding children’s resettlement is imperative to ensuring their future participation and sense of belonging to the Canadian society. Crul & Schneider (2010) have also pointed out that the second generation does not go through the migration experience and does not need to adapt to a new society. In addition to overcoming “cultural and social differences, including linguistic, economic and emotional challenges,” the first-generation students must also face issues of “teachers’ racism, including the biased curriculum, the imposition of the dominant habitus, popular discourses on stereotyping and prejudices” (Kayaalp, 2014, pp. 659-660).

**Personal Experiences**

The choice of focusing my research on the Filipino community is one that is very personal. Furthermore, understanding the experiences of settlement and identity renegotiation of Filipino students has always piqued my curiosity. My mother was part of the wave of Filipino garment workers in the mid-1970s; I recall her telling some of the same stories that Dalayaoan et al. (2008) have collected in their book. Although I was born in Winnipeg, my family did experience many of the same challenges that the immigrants had also faced. Eventually, we were able to deal with those challenges and I was able to finish school and university, become a teacher, and pursue graduate studies.

I currently work in a school that has a high population of Filipino immigrants and I get the opportunity to watch them during their settlement process in Canada. Throughout my years of observing these students, I have seen some who successfully integrate and embrace the school culture. Others continue to have difficulty fitting in or understanding Canadian society. Worse, I
have seen some students who completely moved away from their Filipino heritage; their only ties
to their own culture is the colour of their skin. Seeing this, I wanted to understand what personal
(e.g. their home life) and contextual (e.g. the education system) factors have made them
understand what it means to be a Filipino-Canadian.

Kelly et al. (2009) have pointed out that Filipino immigrants have chosen to accept their
downward mobility for the sake of their children. This is a fact that I have seen over and over
again, for example, the mother of one of my students was a dentist in the Philippines, but could
only find employment at a fast-food chain in Winnipeg. She wanted to ensure that her daughters
would have better opportunities in Canada. When immigrant students enter our school system,
teachers are one of the most influential people with whom they will interact and establish
professional relationships (Cummins, 2009; Cummins, Chow, & Schecter, 2006; Kayaalp, 2014).
“This constellation of relationships suggests that an image of the society that students will
graduate into and the kinds of contribution they can make to that society is embedded implicitly
in the interactions between educators and students” (Cummins, Chow, & Schecter, 2006, p. 304).
Thus, it is our duty as teachers to understand how our relationships and interactions with our
immigrant students have an impact on how they can help shape Canadian society.

Also, as a teacher, I see first-hand the inadequacy of the school system when working
with new immigrants. Many policies, assessment tools, and teaching strategies are introduced
without considering what our new immigrant students need, hence many policies continue to
perpetuate the inherent discrimination in our education system (Cui, 2011; Kanu, 2009; Kayaalp,
2014; Shin, 2015; Varma-Joshi, Baker, & Tanaka, 2004). Worse yet, many teachers do not
understand the needs and the process of resettlement of migrant students, due their lack of
personal experience of immigration and/or scant experiences of working with immigrant
students. Instead, many teachers do not acknowledge the influences of the students’ cultural heritage and expect them to fit into the status quo (Cummins, 2009; Cummins, et al., 2005; Cummins, Mirza, & Stille, 2012; Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera, & Cummins, 2014). Through this study, I hoped to give a voice to a burgeoning ethnic community, rarely studied, to ascertain what they need and what has worked for them to ensure that they are academically and eventually professionally successful. Also, the information gathered can be used to help teachers and schools meet the needs of their diverse student population. By becoming aware of the stories and experiences of the participants, perhaps all stakeholders can acknowledge the systemic discrimination and challenge the system to make our education system more inclusive of all cultures and respect the diversity in our classrooms.

**Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework that guided this research was Bronfenbrenner’s model of ecological systems. This developmental theory is based on four ecological zones that rely on proximal processes that aid in human development, and it is through these processes that either competence or dysfunction is created for the participant (Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000). Since this research project is concerned with the changing environment and identity renegotiations of immigrant students, the ecological systems provides a well-laid out model that looks at the internal factors and external forces influencing human development.

A visual model of the theory, as seen in Figure 1.1, is usually depicted as a set of structures nestled into each other, where the innermost shell is the individual. The next layer is the microsystem, followed by the mesosystem, exosystem, and lastly, the macrosystem. Shaffer, Wood, & Willoughby (2002), explained the elements of the different systems. The microsystem is concerned with the immediate surroundings of the individual. Through the interactions with the
elements of the microsystem, such as family, individuals learn to develop and behave in a certain way. The mesosystem consists of the connections between the different microsystems, such as family, school, and peers. The exosystem comprises the systems that are beyond the control of the individual, but still have an influence on the individual’s behavioural development. The macrosystem is the overarching ideologies that are present in the individual’s surroundings. The individual has very little control over the facets in this system, yet the interactions between the different ecological systems will determine what life experiences the person can have and, at the same time, affects his/her development.

For this study, the microsystem that was examined was composed of the individual’s home life and family relationships. The mesosystem looked at the following: interactions between the individual’s home, immediate family and school; interactions between the individual-teacher-parents; and interactions between the individual and peers; as well as peer relations outside of the school setting. The exosystem examined the influence of the familial social network, including extended family members, family friends, and neighbours, services available to the individual provided through the community and the school board, and lastly, mass media. The macrosystem for this study consisted of Canadian ideologies, values, laws, and customs, as they pertain to immigrants.

Using the ecological systems theory allowed my research to examine how new immigrants interact with the various influences in their environment and how these interactions helped shape their new identities. Through these interactions of the different systems, perhaps, it may become easier to understand which processes correlate to successful integration for Filipino immigrants.
Figure 1.1: Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems model
Chapter 2: Literature Review

The following chapter examines literature that focuses on the phenomena of immigration, resettlement, immigrant students’ schooling experiences, and the correlation between integration and academic achievement. Studies regarding immigration experiences and immigrant students will be examined first, followed by studies that explain the process of acculturation. Next, literature that assesses the realities of the immigrant students as they enter the school system and the current state of educational policy regarding minority studies will be outlined. Lastly, this chapter will discuss some of the factors and essential elements needed to ensure immigrant students’ academic achievement and successful integration.

There is little information to be found when conducting a literature search for studies pertaining to the Filipino community in Canada, a sentiment echoed by Pratt (2010), who further comments that there is a “similar academic silence about the large Filipino community in the United States” (p. 344). There are, however, many studies that have looked at the experiences of immigrant students of various cultures as they move from their “old world” to their “new world.” On one hand, some students feel a sense of excitement for new adventures, while others experience feelings of distress as they look for ways to navigate their new lives in unfamiliar territory (Chan, 2009; Li, 2010; Li, 2009; Ko & Perreira, 2010). However, as they settle into their new world, many of these students manage to acculturate and become active members of the host society (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2009; Krahn & Taylor, 2005; Samuel, Krugly-Smolska, & Warren, 2001). The education system has usually been the agency most helpful in assisting students in their transition from their former lives to their new lives, because it creates a microcosm of society which allows immigrant students to interact with the host society’s culture as seen
through the attitudes and behaviours of the other children (Dyson, 2005; Ming-Sum, 1997; O'Sullivan-Lago & De Abreu, 2010; Wilkinson, 2002). It is assumed, with such a daunting task, that teachers and the school system have the necessary skills and knowledge to deal with the changing population. However, studies show the contrary.

Schools do not adequately meet the needs of immigrant students because of many factors, such as the lack of adequate teacher training, and teachers’ preconceived notions of immigrant students, as well as faults in the education system itself (Desrochers, 2006; Empleo, 2006; Garmon, 2004; Goodwin, 2002; Kalekin-Fishman, 2004; Ricucci, 2008; Tyler, Boykin, & Walton, 2006; Xu, Connelly, He, & Phillion, 2007).

To understand the acculturation process of immigrant students, many factors of their lives must be considered, from their immediate world to the overarching ideas, values, and culture of their host society. Thus, the following literature review will focus on the context that shapes the immigrant students’ acculturation process as they navigate through immigration and their settlement experiences.

**Canadian Immigration and the Idea of Multiculturalism**

According to Houle & Schellenberg (2010), Canada’s immigration policy has three overarching objectives: “to reunite families, to fulfill the country’s international obligations and humanitarian tradition with respect to refugees, and to foster a strong viable economy in all regions of Canada” (p. 16), with the economic category being the focus of the current government (Alboim & Cohl, 2012). Taking these objectives into consideration, people wanting to enter Canada are classified into different immigration categories and are subsequently granted residency in Canada. Once here, many of these newcomers are expected to become part of Canada’s multicultural mosaic and to add to its economic viability (Reitz, 2012), even though
they must now meet more stringent requirements to settle and obtain Canadian citizenship (Alboim & Cohl, 2012). As Houle & Schellenberg (2010) point out, much past research has determined immigrant resettlement is deemed successful by looking at the newcomer’s feasibility to obtain employment, their upward economic mobility, and the ability to earn an income above the poverty line.

**The Myth of Multiculturalism in Canada**

With the increasing immigrant population, the Canadian landscape continues to experience a cultural shift, and the face of who is Canadian cannot be pinpointed to specific characteristics, such as skin colour, language, or a common set of values, behaviors, and ideas. We are a multicultural society. The difficulty of defining what it means to be Canadian or who is Canadian became the genesis of the idea of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism was accepted because people noted that there are “no contradictions between maintaining one’s ethnic identity and being Canadian,” thus the “Government of Canada announced that it would support and encourage various cultures and ethnic groups to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for all” (Jedwab, 2008, p. 25).

According to Shin (2014), “the discourse of multiculturalism, however, is based on the notion of Canada as a nation of European settlers, consisting of English Canada and French Canada. Such ideological construction contributes to marginalizing non-Anglophone/Francophone immigrants as well as aboriginal people and the bilingualism or multilingualism they possess” (p. 77). Cui (2011) also suggested “multicultural policy is criticized for only offering symbolic recognition of different cultures and celebrating cultural diversity at a superficial level, often characterized as ‘DDD’ (that is, ‘Dance, Dress and Dining’).”
Thus, this suggests that Canada’s idea of multiculturalism is not as inclusive as we believe and it is rhetoric to make it appear that we value diversity.

In 2010, Statistics Canada published a report outlining their projections on the changing face of Canadians. Within the report, the researchers have concluded that we will see a steady growth of the foreign-born population all the way to 2031, with three in ten Canadians belonging to a visible minority group. With the burgeoning minority population, Jedwab (2008) brought up the argument that many immigrants will not have a sense of belonging to Canada. Instead, they will feel a sense of attachment only to their ethnic culture while living in a foreign country, which reinforces Shin’s (2014) argument that the idea of multiculturalism marginalizes people who are non-White.

In particular, the Asian population has felt the sense of not belonging in Canada because of the systemic racism and discrimination that they continue to face (Coloma, 2013). Many Asians are seen only to be valuable to Canada when they can add to Canada’s economic viability (Coloma, 2013; Cui, 2011; Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, & Esguerra, 2009). Otherwise, immigrants are treated “as foreigners and competitors, rather than as Canadian citizens and contributors to nation building” (Cui, 2011, p. 133).

To further add to the marginalization of immigrants, the current Canadian government has made regulations as to who can become Canadian citizens more stringent, such as the need for a higher passing grade on the citizenship test, and the requirement to be more proficient in English or French (Alboim & Cohl, 2012). Today’s society must find a way to ensure that all immigrants, regardless of where they are from, feel at home in Canada, thus ensuring we stay prosperous, and truly embody the idea of multiculturalism.
Life Satisfaction of Immigrants

With the resettlement of immigrants to Canada, one is left to wonder if they are satisfied with their decision to move and reestablish their lives in a foreign land. Houle & Schellenberg (2010) conducted a well-being survey to determine if immigrants were satisfied with their lives in Canada. The longitudinal study was conducted in three phases: the first time participants responded was after six months of living in Canada, then two years later, and finally they were asked about their lives again four years after settlement. Three main areas of satisfaction were considered: their immigration and settlement experiences, their social capital, and their material well-being. Overall, the authors were able to conclude that many of the immigrants were happy with their lives in Canada, since three quarters of the participants claimed that they were satisfied in their new country.

In Manitoba, Carter et al.’s (2009) study determined that many of the principal applicants through the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program showed a “reasonably high level of satisfaction with their experience under the PNP and their settlement and integration in the Province” (p. 81). On the other hand, the study showed that the spouses of the principal applicants faced greater barriers to their integration and “close to forty percent also felt that they had experienced discrimination or racism, generally in the work place” (Carter, Polevychok, Osborne, Adeler, & Friesen, 2009, p. 106). Further, Carter et al. (2009) stated that many of the spouses gave mixed reviews about their view of the Manitoba school system. While the majority of the spouses felt that schools were providing a safe environment for the children, and were preparing their children for post-secondary studies, many voiced concerns about their children facing discrimination at school. However, Houle & Schellenberg (2010) and Carter et al.’s (2009) studies looked at the immigration and settlement experiences and perceptions of adults.
Thus, this study was set up to look at the well-being of foreign-born minors as they settle into the Canadian society.

**Life satisfaction of immigrant children.** In another study conducted by Chow (2007), he specifically studied the life satisfaction of immigrant students from Hong Kong. Chow (2007) correlated life satisfaction with the students’ sense of belonging to Canada, and concluded that the students’ life satisfaction is tied into their lived experiences during resettlement. The results of his study showed that the variables, which accounted for positive life satisfaction were: cultural and political reasons for immigration, the age at immigration, if a father was present, academic experiences, and whether the students made Canadian friends (Chow, 2007). On the other hand, the two variables that led to a negative life satisfaction were tied to the students’ experience of making friends with Canadians, and encountering racism. Thus, by taking these variables outlined by Chow (2007), future research can examine the lived experiences of other immigrant students from other countries to determine if they have settled in well and are satisfied with their lives in Canada.

In Dyson’s (2005) study, she examined the lives of Chinese children (aged 8 to 13) whose families have immigrated to Canada and compared their lives to their Canadian counterparts. The students were asked questions about what they like to do and not do, their aspirations, their social experiences of being included, how they were treated by their peers, and their perceptions of discrimination. The results from the study showed that the life satisfaction of the Chinese immigrants and their non-immigrant counterparts were fairly similar, and both groups “perceive themselves as leading a relatively enjoyable life and feel that they are accepted at school and within the community” (Dyson, 2005, pp. 62-63). Dyson (2005) attributes this positive outlook to the changing behaviour of the immigrant students as they are exposed to the host society’s
culture. Further, Dyson (2005) suggested “schools, homes, and communities may help to facilitate the smooth transition of immigrant children from one culture to another” (p. 64).

Another study conducted by Burton and Phipps (2010) examined the life satisfaction of immigrant parents and children through the data found in the Canada Community Health Survey (CCHS). Their study showed that many immigrant parents and children reported lower levels of life satisfaction than their Canadian-born counterparts. Burton and Phipps (2010) attributed the incidences of lower life satisfaction to two factors – lower-income levels and a lack of belonging to the community. The authors note that the income factor was a greater influence on the life satisfaction of the immigrant parents, whereas the sense of belonging was more influential on the immigrant children.

The Immigrant Student

Students and Migration

To understand fully what students undergo during immigration, one must understand what type of stress individuals endure in moving from their native home to a foreign community. In almost all cases, children are not given the option to stay in their native country; rather their parents, for various reasons, are the ones who make the decision to move. Thus, studies have shown that children, as well as their parents, experience immigration-stress (Ko & Perreira, 2010). Part of the stress that children face is the bidirectional process that children will encounter during migration as they are exposed to their host society (Dyson, 2005). Lalonde & Giguère (2008) categorized the stressors into two main categories: interpersonal conflicts and intrapersonal conflicts. Interpersonal conflicts occur when immigrant students encounter conflicts with others around them, which can include their parents and/or peers. Intrapersonal conflicts occur when immigrant students experience clashes between their “old” culture and the culture of
their host society within themselves. However, these sets of conflicts only occur when “the two
cultural identities of bicultural individuals are simultaneously salient to the individual, when
these identities evoke two sets of norms that are incompatible and when the individual feels some
commitment to each set of norms” and when situations require the “individual to follow only one
of the two sets of norms” (Lalonde & Giguère, 2008, p. 58).

In their study of Latino immigrants, Ko and Perreira (2010) considered Sluzki’s five
stages of migration. The first stage children will go through is the preparatory stage, when the
decision is first made to move to another country. In the second stage, the act of migrating
happens and children physically changing homes. In certain cases, the mode of transportation
influences the level of stress the children will encounter, such as whether being smuggled into the
new country, which comes with high levels of stress, or whether the children fly with their
parents to their new homes, which produces minimal stress (Ko & Perreira, 2010). The third
stage of migration is the honeymoon period during which children begin their contact with the
new culture, either through human contact in the community or through the institutions, such as
schools. The fourth stage of migration is also called the settlement stage during which the
children start to go through the “psychological stresses of acculturation” (Ko & Perreira, 2010, p.
468) as they start to see changes in their own culture. Lastly, the fifth stage, known as the
transgenerational stage, occurs when the second generation of family members is born in the new
country and the family is left to negotiate the cultural differences between the foreign-born
family members and those of the new generation. Through all of these changes, immigrant
students will experience both interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts.

Further, Ko and Perreira’s (2010) study examined 283 first-generation Latino immigrant
youth aged 12 to 19. Their data was collected through a two-hour survey that involved questions
on the topic of mental health, family, migration experiences, and acculturation experiences. Through their data collection, the authors were able to look at the stressors that youth encounter during premigration, migration and post-migration. Their study has shown that the stressors involved in the premigration phase were the feeling of separation from parents and living in tough economic conditions. During the migration phase, the stressors included leaving extended family and the act of travelling to their new country. In the post-migration phase, the stressors the children encountered include facing disappointment, conflicting values, fitting in to a new language and cultural system, confronting stereotypes and discrimination, and living in the shadows. Many of the sources of stressors for the children are due to managing the cultural differences between their traditional cultures and their new cultures. Parents are also shown to cause a lot of undue stress for their children because of the difficulties they themselves are going through during their resettlement, and their attempts to instill and maintain their traditional culture and values in their children (Ko & Perreira, 2010; Li, 2009; Zadeh, Geva & Rogers, 2008). Also, with the different language and sign systems of the new home country, many of the students face the additional stress of trying to learn the language and fit in with their new peers.

Ko and Perreira’s (2010) study looked at the experiences of one salient group changing the cultural landscape of the United States. The children who participated in the study were Latino children who immigrated to the United States, where many of their parents worked in the service sector and who did not have a high school degree. Thus, the stressors faced and reported by the children in the study could be heightened because of their economic situation. To understand fully the stress of immigration, further studies of children from various ethnic backgrounds and economic status need to be examined, with a consideration of the parents’ level of education.
Four changes during resettlement. Ming-Sum (1997) presents four themes in the changes that immigrant children experience which can cause stress during their resettlement. These four areas of changes include: change of space and time, change of role and relationship, change of networks and media, and change of status and identity. Change in space and time include the difference in the new social and cultural environment that immigrants must now face. Change of role and relationship include the changing roles and relationships immigrant children have with their parents. Change of networks and media refers to the changes in new peer relations for the students and the media refers to the language of which they can communicate and express their ideas. Change of status and identity refers to the feeling of being “new” in school and having to reestablish one’s status among their new peers and change in identity refers to defining who they are in relation to the world around them.

With all of these changes that immigrant children may face, migration can be difficult. However, if support comes from families and schools, as pointed out by Dyson (2005) and Ming-Sum (1997), then the stressors of immigration and the changes one experiences can be minimized and can facilitate a smooth transition to life in Canada.

Filipino immigration stressors. Even with the limited amount of literature on the immigration experiences of Filipinos, Pratt (2010) was able to summarize some of the stress that Filipino youth experience when they move to Canada. The families that she worked with came to Canada through the Live-in-Caregiver program, where the youths’ mothers came to Canada independently as caregivers, and after having sustained employment for a period of time, the mothers were able to sponsor their families to join them in Canada. Through her study, Pratt was able to see that some of the stresses the children faced included “family conflict, distance from their mothers, and the pain of leaving primary caregivers in the Philippines” (Pratt, 2010, p. 347).
Some of the children in her study said that many of them felt neglected by their fathers in the Philippines while their mothers were away earning money in Canada. Also, many of the children talked about being reunited with their mothers after several years of separation (one participant had not seen his mother for thirteen years) and the difficulties of trying to reestablish that maternal connection. Since the absence of their mothers, for many of the children in the study, another relative had filled in the void, such as grandparents or aunts. The children spoke of the difficulties of leaving their caregivers to be reunited with a parent with whom they have no attachment.

When the children arrived in Canada and were reunited with their mothers, many of them faced the similar situation, where their mothers had to work multiple jobs to earn a decent income and again they are left on their own. Also, many of them felt the “obligation to get paid employment at a young age” (Pratt, 2010, p. 349), which affects their academic goals and successful futures in Canada.

Pratt’s (2010) study provides insight into the difficulties that some Filipino immigrants face during their migration. However, there are many limitations to this study. More studies of Filipino immigrants who came to Canada through the various immigration schemes put forth by the Government of Canada are needed to paint a clearer picture of this population’s migration experiences.

**Loss of Identity and Cultural Discontinuities**

To integrate into the host society, many of these students will have to find a way to balance the conflicting pressures of the two worlds in which they live. In other words, many of the immigrant students must find a way to create their own identity, one that combines some of the “old world” values with the demands of the “new world” society. As children move from
non-traditional source countries to Canada, they face many changes to their understanding of living and surviving. After having been raised with a set of cultural norms, values, and traditions, many of these children are forced to move to a foreign land and learn the new ideas, language, and behaviours of the host country. One of the many changes that these students will go through is a reevaluation of their identity. The children must find ways of renegotiating their identities whereby they add facets of the new culture to their native culture, without having to give up their cultural heritage, to help them navigate their way around the new society.

Conflicting stories. Chan (2009) studied Ai Mei, a student from China who had settled in Canada, and examined the conflicting stories that Ai Mei went through in the process of her identity formation. Through Ai Mei’s school experiences, she encountered conflicting stories, a term used by Chan (2009) to describe the internal and external conflicts her participant faced during her resettlement, because of the differing values between her parents and her Canadian peers.

One conflicting story that Ai Mei experienced was the home language versus the school language. In this case, Ai Mei was expected to use her mother tongue when speaking at home; however, she chose to speak to her sister in English. Additionally, students’ views of their mother tongue changes and, in some cases, students believe that their mother tongue can hinder their acceptance by their English-speaking classmates (Chan, 2009).

A second conflicting story occurs between parent values and peer values. Tensions may arise between parents and children as immigrant children start to integrate into the host society. One source for identity formation for new immigrants is through their interactions with their peers. As Ai Mei started to acculturate to the Canadian society, she started to exhibit behaviours
resembling that of Canadian-born children. However, her mother showed displeasure with such changes and considered her actions disrespectful.

Lastly, another conflicting story cited by Chan (2009) is the difference between teacher expectations and parent expectations. Many immigrants who settle in Canada must take menial jobs to help with resettlement. In some cases, the children are expected to contribute to the family income either directly (work part-time) or indirectly (maintain the house while the parents are at work). Often, in such cases, children are exhausted when they go to school, or they come to school with incomplete homework. Teachers expect students to put all of their effort in their schooling and believe that children should not be exposed to the daily realities of the workforce while they are in school. With this conflict, problems could arise for immigrant parents. In this case, Chan (2009) described how Ai Mei was expected to put in such long hours at her family’s restaurant, and that she was going to school unprepared and was always exhausted. As a result, the teacher had called the Children’s Aid Society to investigate possible allegations of negligence.

**Inter-cultural group conflict.** Another study that looked at the experiences of identity negotiation and cultural discontinuity is found in Goldstein’s (2003) study of high school students and their use of Cantonese in school, to help them during their resettlement in Canada. Throughout her study, Goldstein (2003) explains the pros and the cons of using one’s heritage language. On one hand it provides the students the access to cultural and social resources that can help them succeed at an academic level while, on the other hand, using Cantonese can cause tensions between other students and teachers, thus causing conflict for these students.

Goldstein (2003) argues that the use of Cantonese is what allowed the immigrant high school students to increase their peer social capital to help them advance academically. Many of
the students she observed and interviewed in the study used Cantonese to help each other understand the concepts being taught in class; also they used each other to navigate the daily realities of school life beyond the academic concepts being taught. The dilemma for these students came when and where they had to use English: “Although the use of Cantonese was associated with the buildup of peer social capital, the use of English was associated with endangering it” (Goldstein, 2003, p. 256), since many of their Cantonese-speaking peers saw the use of speaking English as “showing-off” and not part of their social circle. Yet, the students understood that the use of English was important for advancement in the wider society.

As immigrant and minority students try to adjust to their new surroundings, they are met with conflicting stories that affect their identity negotiation. This hinders both their integration into Canadian society and their academic success. Chan (2009) pointed out that the conflicting stories of the immigrant students with their teachers, with their peers, and with their parents’ expectations “intersect on a school landscape” (p. 120). Thus, further research will be obliged to look at these conflicting stories to determine how students can renegotiate their identity without losing who they once were.

**Students and cultural discontinuities.** Students start to feel the stressors of acculturation during the fourth stage of immigration, as pointed out in Ko and Perreira (2010), when they enter the school system. Part of their stress at this time is due to cultural discontinuities. Ogbu’s (1982) article on cultural discontinuities focuses on the reasons why some minorities succeed and why some fail in the education system. Ogbu (1982) described three forms of discontinuities that minority children experience as they go through the school system. One he called “universal discontinuities,” which all children will face because of the different cultures found between the child’s home and the culture of the school. Ogbu (1982) further
explained that “universal discontinuity also appears to take place in the areas of language and thought” (p. 292), such as the transition a child will make from the “oral culture of the home to the literate culture of the school” (p. 293).

Ogbu (1982) considered two other discontinuities that explain the differences in minority children’s success in school: primary cultural discontinuities and secondary cultural discontinuities. “Primary cultural discontinuities” refer to the discontinuities immigrants face when they enter a Western-type of school where the students are not familiar with the cultural norms of that school. In most cases, the immigrant students have not yet acquired the tacit knowledge and they do not know how to act or behave in their new surroundings. “Secondary discontinuities” refers to the “response to a contact situation, especially a contact situation involving stratified domination” (Ogbu, 1982, p. 298). In other words, when ethnic students mix with other cultures, a definite divide is seen amongst the groups of students wherein one group is more dominant than another group, which Ogbu (1982) called “castelike stratification.”

Through the use of interviews and reflective essay writing of twelve recent Chinese immigrants, Li (2009) revealed the feelings associated with resettlement and acculturation. After eight months of data collection, Li (2009) showed that one of the greatest conflicts new immigrants face when trying to adapt to their new home was due to the expectations put onto them by their parents, leading to universal discontinuities, as pointed out by Ogbu (1982), when they enter the school system. The study indicated that, typically, parents wish to maintain the traditional values, which causes undue stress on the acculturation process of the students, especially when they encounter Western culture found at school. Some of the stressors pointed out by Li (2009) include high academic expectations and authoritarian discipline. At home, students were required to exhibit respect to their parents by not talking back but at school, they
were expected to speak up and express themselves. One example, shared by Li (2009), is Brian. While he initially was a shy student, he became a more confident adolescent, and he was able to express himself after spending some time in the school system. Also, schools can play a role in supporting the home environment of students by encouraging parents to maintain aspects of their cultural heritage and language (Schmidt, 2014).

**Intergenerational Issues**

The parents of immigrant children play a delicate role in shaping and influencing the resettlement of the child. On one hand, some studies have shown that immigrant parents can put undue pressure on their children (Beiser, et al., 2011; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Li, 2010). However, other studies have shown that, with enough pressure, parents can be vital to their child’s resettlement (Li, 2004; Hamilton, Marshall, Rummens, Fenta, & Simich, 2011). Regardless of which way parents influence the immigrant student, they are a presence in the lives of their children and understanding what way they can best help their children is vital to ensuring that immigrant students are able to integrate into society.

In one study, Li (2009) followed the lives of twelve recent Chinese immigrants to gain an understanding of their home and school experiences. In her study, Li (2009) confirmed many of the internal and external struggles that the students were facing, whereby many followed their strict family values, and struggled with their peers and teachers at school. Through the stories she collected, she gained insight into the hardships the students encountered when dealing with their immigrant parents. Some students told stories of the hardships, such as economic and social stratification their parents endured as they struggled to settle in Canada. As a result of their observations, many of the students found it necessary to keep problems to themselves, felt
indebted to their family’s sacrifices, or took on adult responsibilities at a young age to help out their families.

Costigan and Dokis (2006) looked at the differences in acculturation between the parents and children in a Chinese community, and the impact a high level of cultural orientation had on the adjustment of the children. In their study, they found that there was a correlation between the parents’ cultural orientation, such as the level of importance fathers and mother placed on their Chinese culture, language, and values, and the adjustment of the students into their new world. In particular, they found that if their mothers had a high orientation to the Chinese culture, the students felt disconnected from their mothers and did not get the support they needed. Also, they found that when fathers placed high importance on Chinese values, then the children again felt disconnected. A higher level of conflict arose, along with high incidences of depression.

**Positive parental support.** There are positive qualities to having the right kind of strong parental support. With parental support, children acquire the necessary social and cultural capital to allow social reproduction, thus allowing them to succeed in their new society (Abada & Tenkorang, 2009; Fortin, 2002; Yosso, 2005). In their study, Abada & Tenkorang (2009) looked at the determinants of educational accomplishment of immigrant children, and they found that the parents’ educational attainment had strong correlations with their children’s own educational achievement. The authors attributed this positive correlation to the fact that many of these families had stronger family structures, a sense of ethnic identification and also financial stability, allowing the students to integrate more easily. Also, study after study has shown that the high expectations that immigrant parents place on their children to succeed have generally had a positive impact on how well they do in school, allowing for their upward mobility and successful
Acculturation

After undergoing one major life event – immigration – many students must also face another when they move to their new homes. After the loss of identity that many of them feel because of the differences in language, values, and cultural norms, immigrants must then manage to find a way to settle into their new lives. This process of reformation and finding a way to live their lives is the process of acculturation.

Process of Acculturation

There is a growing body of literature that examines the theory of acculturation wherein new immigrants find ways of adapting to their newfound host communities (Berry, 1992; Berry, 1997; Berry, 2001; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009; Li J., 2009; Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004; Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers, 2008). These studies have presented four different orientations of acculturation – integration, where one adopts the culture of the society and still manages to keep one’s culture; assimilation, where an individual drops any attachment to his/her culture and completely adopts the host society’s culture; separation, where one continues to live in the host society but does not adopt any of the host society’s culture; and marginalization, where one does not adopt the culture of the host society and also drops their cultural heritage.

Group-level and individual-level factors affecting acculturation. Berry (1997) added to the body of research on acculturation by suggesting that there are two levels of factors that influence the mode of acculturation newcomers undergo. On one level, there are group-level factors that affect one’s acculturation. Factors at this level are at the macro level, and include...
aspects such as country of origin, country of settlement, immigration policies, and dominant ideologies and attitudes in the host society. On another level are the individual-level factors that include age, gender, level of education, economic status, cultural distance from the host society, and the reasons for moving. Berry (1997) noted that both levels play a role in an individual’s acculturation. However, he made a distinction between the two levels. He claimed that group-level factors are universal to all immigrants, whereas individual-level factors are unique to an individual; therefore, they have more control over these factors.

**Additive versus subtractive modes of acculturation.** Cultural discontinuities are still prevalent in schools today. As seen in Li’s (2009) study, immigrant students are left, sometimes with guidance, to balance their traditional culture and the new culture found in school. In Gibson’s (1998) study, she examines various ways students have managed to try and fit into the Western style of schooling. To provide a well-rounded view of what new immigrants go through in trying to acculturate, she studied the acculturation process of students from various backgrounds, including students from the West Indies, India, and Mexico as they try to fit into American schools. In her study, Gibson (1998) pointed out that students have learned to acculturate by modifying their traditional culture when they interact with different cultures. She was able to conclude that there are two paths to acculturation – additive acculturation and subtractive acculturation. With additive acculturation students add tools from the new culture and language to their existing culture. Subtractive acculturation is one where students replace their traditional language and culture with the dominant English culture.

Through her study, Gibson noticed that students who had no choice but to lose facets of their own culture, only to have them replaced with facets of the dominant culture, tended to have more problems in the school system. On the other hand, the students who were able to bridge
their two cultures have found more success in school. One such example of a negative effect of assimilation can be seen whereby minority students, who were born in the US and have adopted the American English culture, have tended to score far less on test score than did their foreign-born counterparts (Gibson, 1998).

Gibson (1998) concluded her study by stating that children who retain their parents’ culture and language were able to use their bicultural competence as a buffer in the cultural discontinuities that they experienced. To add to the body of literature on acculturation, Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam (2004) conducted a study to see how acculturation affects the mental health of young immigrants. The authors explained that the process of acculturation is one that has been shown to protect students from the stressors of moving and settling into a new community. Through integration, an additive form of acculturation, new immigrants are able to find a balance between managing their old and new cultures to help them during contact with their host community. The subtractive modes of acculturation are seen through the separation, assimilation, and marginalization profiles. Through the separation profile, immigrants continue to maintain their traditional culture and reject their host community’s culture. For instance, they decline to learn the basics of the local language, and instead continue to communicate mainly in their native tongue. Through the assimilation profile of acculturation, immigrants choose to abandon their traditional culture and adopt the culture of their new host community. Lastly, through marginalization, immigrants feel as if they have lost their traditional culture and cannot seem to accept features of their new host culture (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009; Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004).

Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam’s (2004) one-year longitudinal study examined 160 immigrant students and their acculturation processes, examining the effect of each profile on their mental
health. The results showed that students who integrated into their new community demonstrated strong self-esteem and had strong social supports, which positively affected their mental health. This corroborates Gibson’s (1998) study which demonstrated that students who maintained their ethnic identity and had a close relationship with their parents, like the students in Li’s study, tended to fare better acculturating during their process of resettlement.

Many of these studies have placed the onus on the individual to renegotiate their identities. However, the external factors, such as the host community, incidences of racism, and familial situations need to be taken into consideration when looking at acculturation. Also, the effects of each acculturation orientation on the general population should be examined to evaluate its effectiveness on changing their attitudes about cultural diversity, thus affecting the resettlement of newcomers.

**Biculturalism.** Once students have been able to integrate into their new society, they manage to find a way to balance their “old world” values and “new world” ideas, and are able to easily shift between each of the cultures depending on the context (LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Mac & Alderson, 2009; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2012). In essence, the students have become bicultural. Nguyen & Benet-Martinez (2012) conducted a meta-analysis to determine if there was a positive correlation between being bicultural and the adjustment process one goes through during resettlement. Through their analysis, they were able to conclude that those individuals who were bicultural were able to adjust positively to their new societies, especially if the process of acculturation was bidirectional, meaning the host society was also willing to change and accept the influences of the racialized groups. The authors attributed this positive adjustment to the fact that the individuals had two cultures from which they could draw from when dealing with various people and different situations. This sentiment was also echoed
by LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton (1993) in their earlier study on the psychological impact of biculturalism. The authors cited previous studies which argued that being bicultural put one at a disadvantage because originally, it was believed that when one did not know with which culture to associate, one could not form an identity, causing psychological stress. Instead, LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton (1993), suggested the idea of bicultural competence that develops after one encounters another culture, encourages psychological well-being and the development of self-identity. They argue that, with bicultural competence, one is able to develop a “sense of self-sufficiency and ego strength,” and that cultural identity is formed because the individual becomes aware of the “sense of self in relation to a culture of origin and who one is within and without that cultural context” (LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993, p. 402).

Therefore, knowing the benefits of being bicultural, how does one develop intercultural competence? Mac & Alderson (2009) interviewed Chinese adult immigrants who moved to Canada when they were children and asked them about their experiences while growing up in a new society. Through their study, the authors concluded six thematic clusters that the participants experienced which enabled them to develop a bicultural identity. These six clusters are: adjusting to a different culture, family relations, language, environment, friendships, and self-identity. Adjusting to a different culture meant that the participants had to find a way to balance their Chinese culture with the Western culture. The relationship with their families changed during the migration process where some became closer because of the support they needed, while others experienced more tension in the family unit. Language was the greatest challenge for the participants, because they had to learn English in order to function in Canada. Adjusting to their new environment, including the weather, the cities, their house, the population, the vast space, and their school system, which was the least difficult for the participants. Having friends,
regardless of the friends’ cultural background, ameliorated their self-confidence and their ability to adapt to life in Canada. Through their integration process, many of the participants had a hard time finding out who they were and how they fit into their new culture. Some felt that while trying to form their new identity, they did not fit into their Chinese and Canadian communities. After experiencing these six thematic clusters, several moderating and aggravating variables enabled them to balance their two cultures and become part of their host society (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009).

**Acculturation and Families**

Regardless of the stress put on the children by their parents, studies have shown that a strong sense of family allows children to cope with their changing world as they acculturate (Ko & Perreira, 2010; Li, 2009; Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers, 2008). With the backing of their families, children are able to develop mechanisms that help them adjust to their new settings. In Ko and Perreira’s (2010) study, many students indicated that stress from their families came in the form of high expectations their parents placed on them to succeed in school. Some of the values that caused conflict between parents and students included: prioritizing family responsibilities and goals, showing respect to their parents and elders, finding time to spend with their families, wearing acceptable clothing and meeting a parent-established curfew. Female students indicated that a lack of personal freedom caused conflict and added another level of stress (Ko & Perreira, 2010). Yet many of them pointed out that they understood that this stress was due to their parents’ desire for them to succeed in school, thus positively impacting their future in the new country.

However, as students learned to acculturate and find ways of balancing cultures, one important aspect that needs to occur in order for the students to find success in their new homes is
for their parents to also go through their own process of acculturation. Zadeh, Geva, and Rogers’ (2008) have been able to find conclusive evidence that immigrant parents’ interaction with their new environment has been able to broaden their way of thinking.

As parents go through the process of resettlement, they face stressors as well, potentially including a language barrier, a sense of losing authority over their children, financial stability, and a conflict of values with their children (Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers, 2008; Kanu, 2008; Gibson, 1998; Li, 2009; Ko & Perreira, 2010). Many of the parents in Li’s study had placed a great deal of pressure on their children to excel in school, incorporating such measures as corporal punishment to ensure that their children complied with their demands. Parents understood that their children needed to find ways of fitting into the new school system, yet, they were not willing to sacrifice the loss of their own culture (Gibson, 1998). However, as time progressed and the parents were able to interact with their host communities, they were able to add to their views.

Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers (2008) conducted a comparative study with Iranian parents and Iranian-Canadian parents and their views of what counts as academic success. Through qualitative data gathered through interviews, the authors noticed a difference between the two groups. Results showed that the Iranian parents in the study defined academic success through their children’s marks, and they attributed such success to the amount of effort their children put into their schoolwork. Specifically, the Iranian-Canadian mothers in the study defined academic success through the academic learning, such as developing creativity in schools, and they attributed their children’s success to family support.

Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers (2008) credited such differences in beliefs to the “cultural and environmental differences between the two countries” (p. 60). Since many of the Iranian-Canadian mothers believed that children are given more independence in Canada and are exposed
to more societal influences, such as drugs, that are beyond their control, they have to change their parenting styles or they may risk losing their authority over their children. Thus, “acculturation clearly leads to changes in people’s belief systems” (Zadeh et al., 2008, p. 61). Useful evidence has been found in Zadeh et al.’s (2008) study. However, this topic is beyond the scope of this study.

**Acculturation and Host Communities**

Acculturation has a bidirectional effect; the host community not only affects the students, but the students also have an impact on their host community. However, Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt (2009) have noted that there are host communities that have a favourable mode of acculturation, thus allowing for the successful resettlement of new immigrants. In this study, Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt (2009) examined 540 undergraduate students at an American university to determine which mode of acculturation the immigrant students, the European students, and the African-American students preferred. Through the use of various questionnaires, such as the Host Community Acculturation Scale and the Immigrant Acculturation Scale, they were able to gather results from the answers to their research questions, and were able to conclude the preferred modes of acculturation.

Their study showed that the host communities, European and African-Americans, along with the immigrant communities, Asian and Hispanic immigrants, endorsed the individualist and integrationist modes of acculturation. The least favoured modes of acculturation by the European and African-Americans were marginalization and segregation, whereas the Asian and Hispanic immigrants least endorsed the marginalization and assimilation modes of acculturation. The authors concluded that, through the strong endorsement of individualism and integrationism by the four groups, all community members, including host and immigrant cultures, understand the
need to respect each other’s differences. Also, the results showed that the host community accepted the idea of “cultural pluralism, rejection of the social dominance ideology, sustained contacts with out-group members” (p. 461). Thus, it can be concluded that this host community accepted the fact that their community was changing and different cultures were being introduced into the community through their acceptance of integration.

Their study delved further into the experiences of immigrants who supported the less favourable modes of acculturation. Immigrants who endorsed separatism for example, were most likely to encounter conflict during their interactions with the dominant cultures. Also, for the European and African-American students who endorsed assimilation, segregation and exclusion had conflicted encounters with the new immigrants. The authors’ data showed that such endorsements from their host community occurred because they have had little contact with Hispanic and Asian immigrants.

Several limitations are found in Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt’s (2009) article. The setting of their study was an American university that promotes cultural tolerance, a limitation that they themselves point out. Thus, many students’ views on accepting cultural pluralism would already be skewed because of the philosophy of their school. Another limitation in the study, again pointed out by the authors, is seen in the economic status of the immigrant students. Many of the immigrant students came from affluent families that could afford to send them to university. Thus, the host community would easily accept them because they were not seen as an inferior group. To understand further the host communities’ grasp of acculturation and cultural pluralism, a study would need to be undertaken in a broader environment with a population make up of different age groups and economic backgrounds.
Padilla & Perez (2003) have reexamined past frameworks and have pointed out some of their limitations. The authors have recognized that immigrants go through a process of acculturation and indeed do find ways of fitting into their new lives. However, they suggested that past literature is limited because it has not examined the motivation for acculturation. Past studies claim that the process is uniform, regardless of the immigrant’s country of origin, and have relied heavily on the perceptions and practices of the individual. Rather, the authors claimed that external factors of the immigrants’ life must also be taken into account, such as, social cognition, social identity, and social stigma. Therefore, this research incorporated these three factors, through the use of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems model, to understand better the successful integration of the participants.

**The Immigrant Student and the School System**

By correlating Manitoba’s economic growth with the growth of its immigrant population, it is suggested that the provincial government expects the newcomers who settle into Manitoba will become full participants in society by adding to the cultural mosaic and the workforce. Studies have shown that the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program has been successful in seeing immigrants find employment, high retention rates, where many immigrants have decided to stay and make Manitoba their home, and over time the lives of the immigrants lead to positive trajectories (Carter, Pandey, & Townsend, 2010; Carter, Polevychok, Osborne, Adeler, & Friesen, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Pandey & Townsend, 2013). However, these same studies have shown that resettlement and integration is not perfect. There are many obstacles, including economic disparities compared to their Canadian-counterparts, finding affordable housing, and finding employment in their chosen fields, that they must overcome to reap the benefits of their decision to leave their home countries. Immigrants who move to Canada, whether by their own
choice or for necessity, have generally come here to better their lives; thus, many will have a different opinion as to the value of education. Many immigrant students see education as an equalizer in their lives so they can fully function into the mainstream host society (Magro, 2009; Onchwari, Onchwari, & Keengwe, 2008).

However, the school system can also prove to be one of the greatest barriers that the newcomers must overcome. Teachers and schools are not well-equipped to deal with these new students or to find ways to integrate them into our school system because many teachers do not understand the needs of a culturally diverse group (Garmon, 2005). If students cannot fully integrate and learn the local culture through the school system, then many immigrants are not realizing their full potential and cannot add to Manitoba’s prosperity. Additionally, schools must recognize the importance and influence the immigrant students’ prior knowledge, experiences, culture and heritage language has on their resettlement experiences and academic success (Cummins, 2005; Cummins, 2009; Cummins, 2007; Cummins, et al., 2005; Cummins, Mirza, & Stille, 2012; Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera, & Cummins, 2014). Thus, educators and policy makers must be informed about the barriers in the school system that immigrants face, and the needs and factors that can lead to the academic success of immigrant students.

Immigrant Students’ Schooling Experiences

Li (2009) and Goldstein’s (2003) research demonstrated immigrant students still feel a sense of cultural discontinuities when they arrive in school. Li’s (2009) study looked at the experiences that Chinese immigrants go through as they try to settle into their host community and the challenges they face as they encounter cross-cultural experiences. As newcomers continue to come into Canada, they are forced to adopt new ways of thinking, yet they continue to carry traditional ideas and values, enabling biculturalism.
The students in Li’s (2009) study faced primary cultural discontinuities when they experienced the difference in the teaching style of the teachers. For example, in China the students expected a lot of homework but they noticed that in Canada less homework was given. With such differences in teaching styles and expectations from China and Canada, the students tended to appreciate their new learning environment.

The students in Li’s (2009) study also experienced secondary cultural discontinuities when they entered the school system and interacted with other students. The students in the study reported racial/ethnic lines divided the groups of students in their schools. Also, as in Ogbu’s (1982) description of secondary cultural discontinuities, caste-like systems are common when dealing with immigrants. In this case, the students were divided into groups such as “’Banana’ group (Yellow face with White mind, a label for westernized Chinese), CBC group (Canadian-born Chinese), FOB group (Fresh-off-boat, a label for new immigrants)” (Li, 2009, p. 493). In the end the students become marginalized, and the schools further marginalized them by separating them from other people in their host community through pullout remedial language classes.

Li’s (2009) study suffered from the time frame used. She had only eight months to collect data, which may have resulted in an inability to understand the full effect of relocation. To fully resettle in a new country can take generations; thus, a longitudinal study will need to be considered to fully understand the effects of resettlement and of schooling.

On the other hand, the division between students in Goldstein’s (2003) article was seen amongst the Chinese students themselves. In this case, the students used Cantonese to help each other and develop their own social community. Yet if they incorporated aspects of their new culture, namely the use of English, between their peers, then they were seen as braggarts and
could be ousted from their own social circle. Using both languages can result with an internal conflict for the students due to the systemic discrimination and racism still found in schools (Cummins, Mirza, & Stille, 2012; Cui, 2011; Kayaalp, 2014; Shin, 2015; Varma-Joshi, Baker, & Tanaka, 2004). On one hand, the students need to maintain their cultural language to have access to the social capital found with their peers (Goldstein, 2003). Yet, on the other hand, our school system does not recognize the value of the students’ heritage languages (Cummins, et al., 2005; Cummins, Chow, & Schecter, 2006; Cummins, 2009; Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera, & Cummins, 2014), which leads them to believe that speaking English is “a sign of Canadian membership and linked to various privileges and power in social interactions at school and other public institutions” (Cui, 2011, p. 139).

**Manitoba’s Department of Education and Literacy’s Response**

The Department of Education and Literacy recognizes the changing diversity of the school population. As a result, many documents have been published and many discussions have taken place that address the students’ needs and what the school system can do to allow for their integration in our society.

To show that they understand the changing diversity, the department has set out a policy statement seen in “Multicultural education: A policy for the 1990’s” (Multicultural education: A policy for the 1990s, 1990). The policy has three mandates: education for full participation in society, education for cultural and linguistic development, and education for intercultural understanding. The policy notes twelve objectives meant to foster, develop, and provide cultural and linguistic opportunities for all. The policy lists several initiatives from four stakeholders, the Department of Education, school divisions, postsecondary institutions, and ethnocultural
communities, allowing for the implementation of the multicultural education policy (Multicultural education: A policy for the 1990s, 1990).

To update the current policy on multicultural education, as it has been more than two decades-and-a-half since the initial policy was put in place, the most recent publication put out by the department, “Belonging, learning, and growing: Kindergarten to grade 12 action plan for ethnocultural equity” (Manitoba Education, 2006), outlines the department’s next steps. The document outlines the consultation process the Department has undergone to determine how the general population and student populations are changing and the experiences of teachers, schools, and students as newcomers try to integrate into the Manitoban society.

The end of the document discusses the emerging themes the Department has found that need to be addressed to ensure equitable education for all students and also to meet the needs of the changing diversity of the student population. The five major themes cited are: 1) build capacity to meet the needs of diverse learners; 2) engage parents, students, and educators; 3) provide resources for building inclusive schools and classrooms; 4) renew policies and create new guidelines; and 5) enhance the workforce diversity (Manitoba Education, 2006).

The theme of building capacity to meet the needs of diverse learners is concerned with plans that implement the EAL program to help with the acquisition of English. In addition, this theme discusses the initiatives of providing support to schools and divisions to help them plan safe and inclusive schools and integrate anti-bias/anti-racism programs. Lastly, this theme is also concerned with having the department collect data based on educational indicators that demonstrate the needs of all learners are being met (Manitoba Education, 2006).

The second theme of engaging parents, students, and educators looks at initiatives that provide information campaigns to educate citizens of the “need and possibilities for creating a
more inclusive and equitable school system” (Manitoba Education, 2006, p. 25) and also to inform citizens about the value of learning another language.

The third theme of providing resources to build inclusive schools and classrooms addresses the initiatives of developing and renewing indigenous and heritage language programs and curricula. Another initiative would see the Department increase the amount of diversity and equity content on the World Wide Web. Lastly, under this theme the Department will strive to provide support documents to teachers that contain Manitoba-specific information so they can meet the needs of their students (Manitoba Education, 2006).

The fourth theme of renewing policies and creating new guidelines deals with renewing the existing policy on multicultural education, developing a position statement setting out the core beliefs of the Department of Education on educating newcomers, and setting out guidelines for funding international languages (Manitoba Education, 2006).

The last theme of enhancing workforce diversity deals with the issue of building a diverse workforce within the department and provides for training for existing staff in diversity and equity. In addition, this theme considers increasing the diversity of teacher candidates in teacher education programs at the university-level and recognizing the teaching credentials of new immigrants who have trained in a foreign country. The department has also stated that they will use internship programs to promote teaching as a desirable profession. Lastly, under this theme, in-service teachers will be provided with professional development opportunities related to diversity and equity (Manitoba Education, 2006).

The Department of Education has recognized the changing diversity of the student population, but government bodies are slow to implement many of their own initiatives. The two documents outlined above show the slow moving process of the Department, where there is a
sixteen-year gap between the two documents, and the most current document is already almost a decade old. While the document “Belonging, learning, and growing: Kindergarten to grade 12 action plan for ethnocultural equity” (Manitoba Education, 2006) outlines many worthwhile initiatives than can improve the education of immigrant students, many of these initiatives have not come into fruition. One example is seen with the “Curriculum Framework for English as an Additional Language (EAL) and Literacy, Academics, and Language (LAL) Programming” (Manitoba Education, 2011), this document was first started in 2004 to meet the first theme of providing EAL support to newcomers. However, to this day, it has gone through many drafts and has not been released as an official document and has remained in its latest draft form since 2011.

Another example is seen in the little will in trying to change the diversity in the teaching workforce. Cho (2010) and Schmidt & Block’s (2010) studies have shown that many school divisions are reluctant to hire internationally educated teachers (IET), and many of these teachers still face racism amongst their peers. Also, Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli (2009) and the Canadian Teachers' Federation (2006) have stated the difficulty of trying to gauge the number of visible minorities in the teaching workforce because there is no system to keep track of current figures. However, there have been some improvements, although minimal, from the Department, such as a new website on diversity education and a new document for teachers on supporting refugee and war-affected students.

**Teachers**

Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt (2009) suggested that the most successful profile of acculturation is integration, and through integration many host communities are more open to accepting new immigrants, and schools are the place where cultural contact zones can occur to help students integrate. Then why are schools not able to help students integrate, and perhaps
Further alienate them in their new host community? Part of the problem lies with the teachers and their inadequate knowledge of immigrants (Gibson, 1998; Goodwin, 2002; Kanu, 2008; McDermott & Varenne, 1995; Mevorach, 2008; Zhao, 2001).

**Teacher training or lack thereof.** With the growing diversity in the classroom, one would assume that new teacher candidates would be trained to deal with the growing diversity in the classroom. Yet many teachers are not. Goodwin (2002) cited the lack of literature that addresses how teachers can deal with the growing immigrant population that is seen schools. Furthermore, “no article spoke practically or concretely – in terms of strategies, skills, appropriate content knowledge for teachers- about how teachers should be prepared to teach immigrant children in particular” (Goodwin, 2002, p. 160). Further, Cummins (2012) suggested that many teachers in Canada have had very little training to “equip them to teach effectively in contexts where linguistic and cultural diversity is the norm” (p. 27). Thus, immigrant children will continue to experience cultural discontinuities at the hands of their ill-equipped teachers.

Another discovery is that in-service teachers do not adapt their teaching practice in light of the changing demographics found in their classrooms (Kanu, 2008). In her study, Kanu (2008) examined African refugee students and the barriers they faced in attaining academic success in Manitoba schools. Empirical data was collected through focus groups, observations at school, and interviews with 40 high school students. With the data collected Kanu (2008) concluded that many of the students felt most frustrated with the inadequate assessment of their prior knowledge, and attributed being placed into the wrong grade level to this assessment error. The teachers’ inability to respond to the needs of their students, due to their lack of cultural understanding, has led the students to feel frustrated. Thus, if such feelings of annoyance continue for the students and the teachers cannot respond appropriately, “the stage is set for
feelings of rejection, inadequacy, frustration, and dropping out even when dropping out is not intended” (Kanu, 2008, p. 935). Therefore, teacher educators and educational policy-makers must find a way to educate teachers to ensure that they do not become a barrier in their students’ acculturation process.

Goodwin (2002) and Kanu’s (2008) articles continued further by discussing some of the areas where teachers are lacking training to meet the needs of the immigrant students. Both authors have stated that teachers need to have strategies to differentiate instruction for immigrant students. Differentiating instruction must be based on culturally-grounded teaching that allows teachers to find various ways of tapping into the previous knowledge of the immigrant students. As well, teachers need to have a basic understanding of second-language learning to ensure that students are being educated appropriately to acquire their second language. Teachers will need to understand the family histories of their immigrant students to ensure that they are able to appropriately acculturate to their new surroundings. And lastly, teachers should be pre-disposed to caring about the successful integration and academic achievement of their immigrant students.

Teacher attitudes and beliefs. McDermott & Varenne (1995) and Zhao (2001) claimed that teachers’ attitudes towards culturally-different students can be a factor that may hinder the development of immigrant students. When students come from different countries and enter a Western classroom, they are entering a realm that already has an established culture, with its own set of beliefs, values, and traditions. Yet, students rarely have the same culture and understanding of the complexities of the way of life, and attitudes and beliefs of many of the students in their new classroom, and, thus, they may act or behave differently from the rest of the group. Additionally, “people also use established cultural norms to define those who do not work on the ‘right’ things, for the ‘right’ reason, or in the ‘right’ way” (McDermott & Varenne, 1995, p. 332),
and teachers may see the immigrant students’ behaviour as abnormal since it is not considered “right” according to our Western cultural conventions. Thus, according to Zhao (2001), in the Western world “the difficulty the child had has something to do with inner traits; they consider errors, difficulties as something inside the students, and therefore possible precursors of ultimate failure” (p. 34), and we consider them to be disabled as they will never live up to our cultural standards. Or “there is a tendency to blame the people in the minority groups for not having enough culture to have an easier and more recognizable life” (McDermott & Varenne, 1995, p. 336) in order for teachers to be able to help them.

Mevorach (2008) published a study that looked at the way teachers perceived immigrant families. The theoretical framework that she encompassed in her study looked at the teachers’ espoused mental models and how these models affected the way they perceived, and thus interacted with immigrant students and families. The three metacategories that were studied were “a) dimensions that enable the material to enter the child’s mind, b) the child’s mind, and c) ways in which the child represents the implementation of his knowledge” (Mevorach, 2008, p. 148). The study looked at 18 preschool teachers, all from the mainstream cultural backgrounds, and how they interacted with 5- to 6-year old children in the classroom, who had come from both the mainstream and Ethiopian families.

Through the examination of the teachers’ espoused mental models, gathered through interviews, Mevorach (2008) was able to conclude that the Israeli teachers treated their Ethiopian students differently from the mainstream students. Also, through the information collected, Mevorach was able to conclude that in addition to the espoused mental models, there was a fourth: culture. She further broke down “culture” into four categories: cultural characteristics, personal characteristics, cultural environment, and integrating in school. Thus, as the teachers
feel that they are cultural agents it becomes difficult for them to understand how to support the children’s learning because they feel that they inadequately understand the cultural home life of their immigrant students. With such views of immigrant students, the teachers believed that the Ethiopian students in the study were inferior to their mainstream counterparts, leading to the sustained cultural discontinuities that are seen in schools today.

In Canada, the notion of the “hidden curriculum” is evident, and due to discriminatory educational policies, teachers have carried out a one-sided curriculum that does not give credence to the strengths the come with the diversity found in classrooms (Cummins, Mirza, & Stille, 2012; Cui, 2011; Kayaalp, 2014). Cui (2011) referred to the “hidden curriculum” as the “tacit way that students learn school norms and values as well as their places in school and social hierarches” (p. 135). Through the teachers’ language, behaviours, and attitudes towards their students they can assert their dominance over them, ensuring that they carry out the “hidden curriculum.” With this power over their students, the students are made to believe that the teachers’ language is the “legitimate language” and their “symbolic capital represents the sole authority in the classroom” (Kayaalp, 2014, p. 661), resulting in “ambivalence and even shame in relation to their linguistic and cultural heritage” (Cummins, 2005, p. 590). Thus, students are given the message that they have to change who they are to fit into the mold that is reflective of the dominant group. “Acting and speaking like the dominant group are the keys for inclusion in school” (Kayaalp, 2014, p. 665).

With such beliefs found in teachers, immigrant students will continue to face an uphill battle in their acculturation. As Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam (2004), Li (2009), Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt (2009) and Gibson’s (1998) studies have shown, when students are able to integrate by finding a balance between their traditional culture and that of their new culture, they
find more success in their resettlement. However, when teachers have no understanding of the culture their immigrant students bring into their classroom, the teachers themselves become a barrier to the successful acculturation of their students.

**Diversity in the teaching workforce.** Through many of his studies, Cummins (e.g. Cummins, et al. (2005), Cummins (2005), Cummins, Mirza, & Stille (2012), and Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera, & Cummins (2014)) has been an advocate for recognizing the cultural heritage and native language of immigrant students as an asset in the school system and for advancing their academic achievement. One way to achieve this is to have a diverse teaching workforce. Cho (2010), Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli (2009), and Schmidt (2014) have suggested many benefits to having a diverse workforce that reflects the community that it serves. Through her study, Schmidt (2014) was able to observe some of the benefits of having some teachers who can speak the language of the racialized minorities found in schools. Some of these benefits included: the fostering of supportive learning environments where the students heritage language was used as an asset in their learning, inclusive pedagogical practices that met the needs of the students, parents felt comfortable communicating with the teachers and the school, and a sense of pride because they were encouraged to continue to communicate with their families in their heritage language.

However, maintaining and fostering a diverse workforce has proven to be a difficult task. Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli (2009) had set out to see the diversity of the Canadian teacher workforce. Through their study, they mentioned the difficulty of obtaining statistical data on the racialized teaching workforce and had to use various sources to come up with credible data. With the figures that they were able to come up with, they concluded that the number of teachers of “colour have not kept pace with the phenomenal growth in the number of citizens of colour, and
by extension, the number of students of colour” (Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli, 2009, p. 596). The authors attributed the lack of teacher diversity to two major issues: “inequitable schooling practices that limit the number of students willing and able to enter the teaching force, and discriminatory licensing and hiring practices that exclude those who have already completed their teacher education programs” (Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli, 2009, p. 609).

To further add to their argument of discriminatory licensing and hiring practices, Cho (2010), and Schmidt & Block (2010) have looked at the experiences of immigrant teacher candidates (ITC), and internationally trained teachers (IET). Cho’s (2010) study showed that ITCs faced a lot of discrimination in the school system because they were “questioned repeatedly about their suitability to teach in elementary and secondary school given their non-Anglo Canadian accents and their perceived lack of ‘Canadian’ knowledge” (p. 18). Schmidt (2010) looked at the hiring policies of Winnipeg school divisions and their employment equity policies and the Department of Education’s policy on ethnic diversity. Through her study she concluded that there was no consistency between the divisions with their employment equity policies, where some did not have any policies to one division having a comprehensive policy regarding the employment of normally marginalized groups. Schmidt (2010) commented on the Department of Education’s Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity, she stated that the document recognized the need for diversity in the teaching workforce, but “implementation and school division buy-in are potentially problematic” (p. 18). Therefore, even though we have a group of trained and qualified teachers who reflect the diversity in our schools, these policies continue to serve as useless initiatives and are a smokescreen to systematic discrimination. These studies show we recognize the need for a diverse workforce, but there is still a lot of distrust of foreigners, especially if they do not reflect the ideas, values, and knowledge of the dominant group.
Lack of Essential Knowledge

Tacit knowledge is also important in assisting new immigrant students to assist with integration into their new society. The English language can be taught and learned and, often, students who come to Canada have had some exposure to the English language. However, some may still have difficulty upon their arrival in Canada. In her article, Ilieva (2001) recounted a personal story of her resettlement where she questioned her prior knowledge of English and of Canada:

Countless incidents of this type in my everyday dealings with people led me to believe that there was something wrong with either me or my knowledge of English and of Canada. I was frustrated. I felt disappointed and deceived by an educational system that had led me to expect that knowledge about a language and culture received in a language classroom or from a variety of written texts allowed one to live effectively in a community of that language and culture (p. 3).

Tacit knowledge is “what you need to know to adapt to an environment that is not explicitly taught and that frequently is not even verbalized” (Sternberg, 1998, p. 706). In other words, tacit knowledge is the information that guides our behaviours and is learned by living and observing the behaviours and language nuances of a society. Everybody comes equipped with tacit knowledge, including the immigrants who settle in Canada. However, a problem arises when cultures intersect. The host culture expects immigrants to already know the host society’s tacit knowledge and denies immigrants certain benefits because of their lack of the local tacit knowledge (Sternberg, 1998).
Acquisition of tacit knowledge. As essential as it is, tacit knowledge is difficult to learn and “it cannot be directly taught, only indirectly” (Sternberg, 1998, p. 716) because it is learned through a process that is experience-based. The process of learning tacit knowledge goes through three stages: selective encoding, selective combination, and selective comparison. Without tacit knowledge, Sternberg (1998) claimed that “acculturation can never be complete or even nearly complete” and thus “helping immigrants to learn the tacit knowledge of our culture would be the single most important step we could take to make their lives easier, more enjoyable, and more rewarding” (p. 716). The next question that needs to be asked is, “do schools provide opportunities for students to learn about tacit knowledge?” In addition, do teachers understand how they can adapt their teaching to guide students through the three stages of acquiring tacit knowledge?

Cultural discontinuities persist and successful integration of immigrant students continues to be a challenge. Therefore, it will be left to future research to evaluate if current policies are taking effect in helping immigrant students in their identity formation and integration or are policies and teachers continuing to perpetuate the “hidden curriculum.” However, rather than evaluating such effectiveness through data sources affecting the immigrant students, the collection of resettlement stories provides information as to what personal and external factors have been beneficial to their integration. Hence, this research collected personal experiences directly from Manitoba’s growing population of Filipino students, who are meant to be the beneficiaries of the policies put forth by the provincial government.

Academic Achievement and Integration

Regardless of the reasons why immigrant students resettle in Canada, Samuel, Krugly-Smolska, & Warren’s (2001) study stated that many immigrant students had higher career
aspirations than their Canadian counterparts, which they assumed can be due to the Canadian students' suppositions that job access is easier for them. Thus, with such attitudes in mind, many of the immigrant students move on to postsecondary education, making them vital to Canada’s society. Their study concluded that if students can overcome feelings of racial discrimination, one of the barriers they may face, then they can attain high academic achievement.

Once there is an understanding of the barriers immigrant students face in achieving academic success, it becomes necessary to understand the needs and factors that will foster academic achievement among immigrant students. Understanding the factors that allow for academic achievement is important information for teacher and policy-makers to help guide them when planning programs for newcomers.

**Enabling Factors for Successful Resettlement**

There are numerous studies that look at the factors that lead to academic success for immigrant and refugee students (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2009; Hebert, Xiaohong, & Kowch, 2004; Meece & Kurtz-Costes, 2001; Portes & Hao, 2004; Samuel, Krugly-Smolska, & Warren, 2001; Wilkinson, 2002). However, there is no conclusive evidence that suggests definite factors will equate to positive academic achievement of immigrant students because each student will undergo unique immigration experiences that are beyond their control. Rather, it is more important to understand the key factors that can help the students with their transition into a new country, which can positively affect their academic achievements.

**Ethnicity and successful resettlement.** Ethnicity is one of the key factors cited in literature that can guide students in their transition into their new homeland, thus affecting their academic success (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2009; Portes & Hao, 2004; Meece & Kurtz-Costes, 2001; Wilkinson, 2002). Ethnicity plays a big factor in resettlement because of all the inherent
cultural capital that it brings. In Abada et al.’s (2009) work, they were able to see that, regardless of parental educational attainment, if a culture placed a high value on education, then the students were more likely to do well in school. Abada et al. (2009) continued the argument by stating that some ethnic groups who are favourably received by the host society “regardless of their levels of human or social capital can be assured that their children will be on their path towards successful adaptation to the extent that they are able to exceed their parents’ levels of education” (p. 23). Also, when an ethnic community places value on education and academic achievement, their children will most likely have high educational aspiration and self-esteem, two areas that have a great effect on their academic achievement (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2009; Portes & Hao, 2004; Luciak, 2004).

**More time in host country equates to successful resettlement.** The second key factor that guides students in their transition into their new homeland is the amount of time they have spent in the host society (Wilkinson, 2002). Learning the tacit knowledge of a new culture and society takes time (Sternberg, 1998). Through varied experiences and observations in real-world contexts, immigrant students can more easily integrate into their new society. In addition, when students settle into the country at a younger age, they are able to take advantage of the services offered to them in both the community and in the school. Wilkinson (2002) has noted that as older students come into Canada, they will have a more difficult time integrating, because services may no longer be available to them. For example, in some jurisdictions, public school is only available until the age of 19, or they may not have access to schools for as long duration as needed, so secondary schooling may not be as accessible.

**Location, location, location.** The third key factor to helping students achieve academic success is seen in their area of settlement. There are areas where host societies welcome some
cultural groups more readily than others (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2009; Wilkinson, 2002). Wilkinson (2002) has suggested that immigrants who have settled in larger urban areas will find it easier to integrate into the new society and find academic success because of all the services that are available to them. She noted that urban areas would more likely have “language instruction and culturally specific services for newcomers” (Wilkinson, 2002, p. 189).

The influence of parental mental health. The last key factor in helping students achieve academic success is based on their parents’ health, specifically their mental health. One of the key struggles that many families encounter when they come to Canada is the fact that their educational qualifications are not recognized and thus they must take on menial jobs (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2009; Chan, 2009; Wilkinson, 2002). The main reason immigrants relocate is to find opportunities for themselves and their children. However, feelings of failure can result if the host country does not recognize the parents’ qualifications (Chan, 2009; Hebert, Xiaohong, & Kowch, 2004; Kanu, 2008; Magro, 2009; Magro, 2009; Magro, 2009). Without a job, the socioeconomic status of the family is affected, which then affects the educational achievement of the children.

Essential Elements for Successful Resettlement

Educators and policy-makers can greatly influence the immigrant students’ academic achievement by meeting their educational needs. Literature has outlined the two major needs that will greatly influence the academic achievement of immigrant students – social capital, and a responsive education system (Kalekin-Fishman, 2004; Kanu, 2008; Magro, 2009; Onchwari, Onchwari, & Keengwe, 2008; Ricucci, 2008; Schleifer & Ngo, 2005).

It’s all in who you know. The social capital of immigrant students is the networks that can be relied upon to assist them in adjusting to their new surroundings. Their parents are
their first source for social capital. However, students cannot always rely on their parents to help guide them in the new homeland because the adults may be going through similar experiences as they acculturate into their new society. Rather, a more important source for social capital is the networks of friends and acquaintances that the students will encounter in their schools.

Through their social networks, students are able to make three types of links to their new society that allow for successful integration – bonding links, bridging links, and linking relations. Bonding links are the links that students will make with others at a close proximity, “which imply lesser diversity of information and of personal characteristics” (Hebert, Xiaohong, & Kowch, 2004, p. 233). Bridging links refer to acquaintances that the students will become familiar with and having the greater distance between them that allow for “greater access to information and to diverse people” (Hebert, Xiaohong, & Kowch, 2004, p. 233). Lastly, linking relations refers to the links the students have with others between ethnic and cultural groups that will help support them in their integration. Hebert et al. (2004) explained that the last two forms of links have been shown to be the most important forms of social capital that students will need to successfully integrate and “enhance autonomy and access to a range of resources” (p. 233).

Thus, schools must act as the conduit between the immigrant families and the new host society by finding ways of opening the lines of communication between the immigrant parents and the education system and in bringing about bridging links and linking relations.

A responsive education system. With the varying needs of immigrant students, the school system must be responsive and be ready to adapt to their requirements. Having a responsive education system requires schools to act as a socializing tool and continues to have the “delicate role of accompanying the minor along his/her path of integration in the host society” (Ricucci, 2008). “Supportive educational measures can foster the integration process of
immigrants and strengthen their belief that education offers a way to get ahead in society. However, if schools do not provide them with adequate learning opportunities, or if they experience unequal treatment on the job market as well, or if they experience discrimination for longer periods of time, their investment in education might decrease” (Luciak, 2004, p. 365).

Thus, to ensure sustained investment in education by immigrants, schools must become responsive in many ways to meet the needs of the growing diversity of students, including having a system that looks at correct grade placement (Kanu, 2008; Wilkinson, 2002), understanding the importance of diversity by students and teachers (Cummins, Mirza, & Stille, 2012; Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera, & Cummins, 2014; Onchwari, Onchwari, & Keengwe, 2008), and funding programs that are not necessarily politically driven (Schleifer & Ngo, 2005).

**Effective assessment of prior learning.** Some form of assessment is necessary to gauge the prior knowledge of immigrant students to ensure that they are receiving the appropriate education program to meet their needs and are placed in their correct grade level. Information must be provided to the teacher indicating a student’s prior knowledge to allow the student to receive an equitable education. Students who felt that their grade placement was correct were more likely to go onto postsecondary education, whereas the students who felt that their grade placement was too high were met with problems in school, causing them not to pursue postsecondary education or drop out of school altogether (Wilkinson, 2002). A similar sentiment was echoed by the war-affected youth in Kanu’s (2008) study.

Teachers will need better training to understand the changing diversity of their students and to learn how to respond to the different values and cultures they bring (Cummins, 2005; Cummins, 2009; Cummins, Mirza, & Stille, 2012; Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera, & Cummins, 2014). The best way for teachers to understand what the immigrant students’ needs are based on
authentic cross-cultural exchanges that are sustained for long periods of time (Garmon, 2004; Goodwin, 2002; Kanu, 2009).
Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter addresses the conceptual framework that guided the research process. I begin by talking about qualitative inquiry, and explain why I have chosen to use this type of research design. Lastly, in this chapter I provide a description of the research methods, including the study participants, data collection, ethics, researcher’s positioning, credibility and reliability, and data analysis.

Conceptual Framework

The framework that guided my study is that of qualitative inquiry, with special attention to a multiple case study approach to understand the phenomenon of immigration and identity renegotiation of immigrants settling in Manitoba.

According to Creswell (2007), one reason researchers choose to undertake qualitative research is that there is a need to have a complex understanding of the issue being studied. Through the use of qualitative inquiry, researchers can go directly to the source of the issue being studied – the people who are directly affected. By asking study participants about their experiences, researchers are able to study the contexts under which the participants address issues that are affecting them (Creswell, 2007). Using a qualitative approach to study the Filipino community provided me the opportunity to work more in-depth with people who have gone through the immigration and resettlement processes. Their stories allowed me to collect valuable information that gave direct insight into what has helped or hindered their identity renegotiation as they made Canada their home. More importantly, by collecting their stories, my research was meant to provide a deeper understanding of the participants’ experiences and interpretations, in terms of the personal and contextual factors that have allowed them to make the transition from
living in the Philippines to living in Canada. If these factors can be identified, they can be used to inform other people and agencies who service the needs and help in the reception and settlement of new immigrants.

Creswell (2007) outlined nine characteristics of qualitative research that sets it apart from quantitative research. First, qualitative research takes place in a natural setting, allowing researchers to have direct contact with their participants, rather than coming into a lab and be subjected to different testing instruments. Second, with qualitative research, the researcher is the person who collects the data through various methods that he/she has laid out. Third, data can be collected through various methods (such as interviews, observations, and examination of documents), rather than one, providing the researcher an opportunity to look at recurring themes from various data sources. Fourth, through inductive data analysis, the researcher is able to look at the data before him/her to find common themes, and to build on those themes. Fifth, during research, the researcher tries to make sense of what the participants are going through and the participants understanding of the issue. Sixth, during the process of inquiry, the researcher must constantly redevelop the research plan to ensure that he/she can obtain the necessary information from the participants, making the research process emergent. Seventh, researchers can use a lens to help them understand various concepts. Eighth, qualitative research allows for many interpretations from the researchers, the reader, and the participants. Lastly, qualitative research utilizes a holistic approach that permits the researcher to look at the emerging data and conceptualize a big picture to understand the issue being studied.

Immigration and resettlement experiences vary from person-to-person because many personal and contextual factors influence those experiences. With this study, the lived
experiences of Filipino immigrants was analyzed to paint a big picture as to what they need or not need to ensure a smooth transition from their lives in the Philippines to living in Canada.

The use of the Case Study Approach to Understand a Phenomenon

Stake (2006) suggested the “qualitative case study was developed to study the experience of real cases operating in real situations” as it tries to “capture the experience of that activity” (p. 3). In this case, the experience that this research tried to capture was the identity renegotiation of Filipino immigrants as they went through the resettlement process of making Canada their new home. With multiple case studies, the researcher examines single cases within a bounded system that share similarities to understand a quintain. Stake (2006) defines a quintain as “an object or phenomenon or condition to be studied – a target, but not a bull’s eye” and researchers study “what is similar and different about the cases in order to understand the quintain better” (p. 6). Thus, this research also has aspects of the phenomenological approach to understanding the quintain.

Phenomenology stemmed from Husserl and his search for internal stability (Sanchez, 2007). Further, the phenomenological method is a way for one to “bridge the divide separating the infinite, ‘the universal,’ from the finite, ‘thinking’” (Sanchez, 2007, p. 379). The method is based upon one’s perceptual intuition and understanding of a phenomena. In other words, to understand truly what is happening around us is to live through the experience and make meaning about what is happening. “Husserl emphasizes that these sources and these beginnings can be found only through intuition and the practice of reduction and epoche” (Sanchez, 2007, p. 379) and “to go through the reduction is thus to perform the return to consciousness, to suspend the validity of [one’s] beliefs, to focus on experience just as it is experienced, and in this way, to justify [one’s] beliefs” (Sanchez, 2007, p. 381).
Osborne (1990) states that the phenomenological approach provides data that “stays closer to the meaning of human experience” (p. 79). Also, the philosophical foundation of phenomenology is based on Husserl’s notion of intentionality: humans are always conscious of the world around them, which means that one’s perception of reality is based on his/her understanding and experience of his/her environment, and “person and world constitute an interdependent unity” (Osborne, 1990, p. 80). According to Creswell (2007) the phenomenological approach allows the researcher to describe the meaning of lived experiences of several individuals of the concept or phenomena being studied. Further, Willis (2007) explains that this approach allows us to distinguish between the real things and our perceptions of the phenomena in question.

The essence of my research was to capture the lived experiences of immigrants from the time of migration to their resettlement experiences in Canada, and to understand how these lived experiences have impacted their identity renegotiation. While the experiences that immigrants faced vary widely from person-to-person, there was the prospect of being able to identify some common characteristics of the stories collected. To understand fully the stories of Filipino immigrants, the data source that provided rich information was from their own stories and their own interpretation of their experiences of resettlement.

Each immigrant must go through the process, but how long each person experiences any stage of that process varies from individual to individual because of the different contexts and situations they encounter upon their entry. The concept of identity renegotiation after migration is unique for each immigrant, based on their interpretation of the world around them, even though all of the individuals are settling into the same reality (in this case, Winnipeg). Several individuals and their interpretation of their lived experiences provided the information needed to
answer the research question. At the end of the study, the lived experiences of several Filipino immigrants were examined to understand what personal and contextual factors have helped or hindered their identity renegotiation during their resettlement.

The multiple case study approach is appropriate for this study because “one purpose of a multi-case study is to illuminate some of these many contexts, especially the problematic ones” (Stake, 2006, p. 12). This research has tried to understand the lived experiences of the participants within the context of their own realities through the use of self-reports, which allowed them to express their interpretation of their experiences. Hence, with their own interpretations there is the need for some aspects of the phenomenological approach for this study.

**Research Methods**

**Data Collection Procedures**

To ensure that the data collected was relevant to the research question, I followed the seven data collection activities, as outlined by Creswell (2007): 1) locate a site/individual, 2) gain access and establish rapport, 3) purposeful sampling, 4) collect data, 5) record information, 6) resolve field issues, and 7) store data.

The first step was to locate a site where I was able to recruit individuals who became the study participants. To ensure that the participants have experienced the phenomenon of immigration and resettlement, I went directly to the Filipino community to find participants. Within the Filipino community there are different types of organizations, from sporting clubs, to cultural groups. Each community group has members who have experienced the phenomenon being studied. The groups approached included: the Manitoba Association of Filipino Teachers, Inc. (MAFTI), Manitoba Filipino Business Council Inc., Aksyon Ng Ating Kabataan (ANAK)
Inc., the Philippine Heritage Council of Manitoba, Winnipeg Athletic Association for Youth (WAAY), and the Philippine-Canadian Centre of Manitoba (PCCM).

To gain access and establish rapport with the organizations and the potential participants, the research first received approval from the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board (Appendix F). Within the ethics application, I outlined several key features to ensure that trust between the researcher and the participants are established. These features included: approaching the individuals to ask them to volunteer their time for the study; explaining to the participants that they may leave the study at any time; clarifying the purpose and procedures of the study and the time commitment needed; and ensuring the participants that their confidentiality will be maintained during and after the study.

To guarantee that the data collected provided the necessary information to answer the research question, this study used criterion sampling. A set of criteria (described in the next section) was established to guarantee that a possible participant had experienced the phenomenon being studied, thereby ensuring the information provided captured the essence of their lived experiences.

Data collection occurred through semi-structured interviews and the use of personal documents such as letters and photographs. The use of semi-structured interviews allowed me to have a set of questions prepared to ask the study participants, yet allowed me to change questions to probe more deeply into certain topics. Each interview lasted about an hour. In the end, with one interview and a follow-up email, I had limited opportunity to delve deeply into the phenomenon. To ensure that all information was properly collected, all interviews were audio recorded with a digital device. Photographs and letters that depict the lives of the participants from personal collections was an option that could be used at the discretion of the participants. If
pictures were shared, they were only used for illustrative purposes to provide an understanding of the context for which they were taken. In the end, none of the participants used photographs or letters. A follow-up email happened when the transcripts were sent to the participants and they clarified some of their answers.

The interview information was recorded on an Interview Protocol that can be found in Appendix A. The interview protocol was set up to coincide with Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems model. The first set of questions posed were meant to allow the researcher and the interviewee to become acquainted and helped situate the individual for the researcher and understand who is at the centre of the ecological systems model. The second set of questions dealt with the individual’s microsystem and the questions were concerned with the family of the subject and were meant to provide insight into the interaction between the individual and his/her family. The third set of questions dealt with the individual’s mesosystem and examined the interaction between the individual, his/her family, and the school system. When the researcher looked at the interactions between the individual, his/her family, and the school system, clues were provided to what the individual had found useful for him/her as he she was settling in Canada. The fourth set of questions dealt with the subject’s exosystem and looked at the interaction between the individual and their world outside of the school system, which includes friends, extended family, community organizations, and family friends. The last set of questions dealt with the world around the individual and their perceptions of life in Canada and its laws and regulations, and what they have seen about the life of other immigrants in Canada.

The interview protocol was divided into three columns to help facilitate note-taking during the interview. The first column contained the questions that were posed to the participant. The second column allowed the researcher to write down the responses that may have needed
further discussion. The third column was an extra column that allowed the researcher to write down reflections and notes that came up during the interview.

The field issues I encountered were gaining access to a site, and recruiting adequate participants. Each field issue was assessed on a case-by-case basis. However, I was able to overcome the issue of gaining access to a site by making personal appearances to organizations to recruit individuals, and making a presentation to the organization’s “gate-keeper” first, in order to explain the purpose and scope of the study. It took a long time to find the four individuals to be part of the study; however, a “gate-keeper” of a local Filipino organization put me in contact with several students who agreed to be part of the study. In this case, the “gate-keeper” was a local community organizer who worked with youth in the Filipino community.

All field data, in the form of field notes and audio recording, was stored in a filing cabinet; the only person who had access to them was the principal researcher. All data will be stored for five years, after which time electronic data will be deleted from any hard drives and all written notes will be shredded.

**Research Participants**

For this study, four participants were recruited from the Filipino community or locally-based organizations. To ensure that the data being collected from the participants was both current and relevant to the question being asked, participants had to meet certain criteria.

Participants were required to have emigrated from the Philippines and met the residency requirement of one to five years. This criterion was added to ensure that the participant had gone through several stages of acculturation as he/she establishes life in the host society, allowing the participant to reflect on some of his/her experiences of migration. Any residency period less than one year might not have provided a broad enough scope of migration experiences upon
which to reflect. In addition, any residency period over five years may be too long from the initial migration experience and some details might be forgotten or skewed.

Participants needed to be between the ages of 16 – 20. Choosing participants within this age range ensured that they have had an opportunity to experience the public education system here and in the Philippines. Having the participant experience both education systems allows for rich data that might provide some comparisons between the education systems, giving a better understanding of what features of their former and new education systems the participants have found to be beneficial for their learning and for their identity renegotiation.

Ethics

I ensured that all participants were informed of the research questions, what was expected from them, and were assured of their anonymity. There were no intended personal benefits or risks involved in participating in this study.

It was expected that all participants would give free and informed consent to take part in this study. An information letter and consent form was provided that outlined what the research was studying to all participants. All participants were required to sign the forms stating that they had agreed to be part of the study. Also, both letters stated that participants could withdraw from the study at any time. If a participant was under the age of 18, parental consent was required, and the participant also had to sign a letter of assent. In the end, all of the participants were over the age of 18 and parental consent was not required.

To maintain the confidentially of all participants involved, pseudonyms were used in the write-up of the study. Any information gathered was only made accessible to the principal researcher and stored in a secure filing cabinet and password-protected computer.
**Researcher’s Positioning**

Several factors motivated me to investigate the proposed research question. Being a member of the Filipino community, I have grown up seeing the challenges and successes that many new immigrants face when they move to Manitoba. However, some Canadians have an incorrect perception of immigrants and, indeed, the act of immigration itself. Therefore, I wanted to explore the experiences of immigrants as they uprooted their lives to search for the “immigrant dream” of living, working, and raising a family in Canada. By delving into their stories, I hoped to shed light on what personal and contextual factors our society has in place to help immigrants become an integral part of our society, and to understand what barriers they faced and how they overcame these barriers to ensure successful integration.

Being a public school teacher has also allowed me to observe first-hand the struggles that immigrant students face, both at home and at school, as they endeavour to fit into their new surroundings. As I discovered when visited by former students that, while many of them did find their new identities and managed to settle successful, others continued to struggle.

As the researcher, I approached the community organizations, research sites, and study participants myself. Once study participants had been selected and all necessary forms have been signed and consent given, I personally collected the data and conducted the interviews.

Also, as the researcher, I had to adhere to the principle of bracketing myself from the participants’ situations. Creswell (2007) defines bracketing is the situation wherein the researcher must “set aside their experiences, as much as possible, to take a fresh perspective toward the phenomenon under examination” (p. 59-60). I did not anticipate any difficulties in bracketing myself from the study, as I had not had the opportunity to go through the process of immigration to Canada. However, when the participants addressed the topic of schooling and
Canadian culture and settlement, I refrained from talking about my experiences and observations as a teacher of the education system and of Canadian society.

**Credibility and Reliability**

The idea of credibility and reliability in qualitative research speaks to the idea of trustworthiness, and how persuasive the researcher is in his/her interpretation of the information collected (Creswell, 2007). Stake (2006) also suggests that researchers look at data and make impressions and assumptions from the data collected. There is a need, however, to have “assurance that most of the meaning gained by a reader from their interpretations is the meaning they intended to convey,” thus “these assurances is called ‘triangulation’” (p. 33). In order to ensure that one’s work passes tests of validity, certain measures of triangulation has to be followed to ensure that the information is credible and reliable. According to Creswell (2007) this confirms that the researcher has done his/her job in looking for consistent thematic patterns with the information collected. Peer reviews, member checking, and clarifying researcher bias were operationalized to confirm the credibility and reliability of the information collected.

Creswell (2007) defined peers reviews as debriefing sessions between the researcher and a peer who acts as a “devil’s advocate,” and asks the researcher questions about the study to ensure the researcher is honest, and also asks questions about the investigator’s methods and interpretations. Stake (2006) suggested that member checking is critical for researchers. Member checking occurs when the researcher takes the information back to the participant and has him/her look over the data “so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the account” (Creswell, 2007, p. 208). As the researcher, I laid out any biases, experiences, prejudices that I had on the topic being examined, which may have skewed my interpretation of the data. In this case, my bias came in the form of insider knowledge. Growing up in the Filipino community,
there are certain cultural nuances that I understand and have experienced that can only be gained through close contact with other Filipinos. Also, being a teacher and I have background knowledge of the school system and have taught newcomers so I have some previous observations about the resettlement process and how immigrant students fare when they enter the school system.

In qualitative research, credibility refers to “the stability of responses to multiple coders of data sets” (Creswell, 2007, p. 210). Operationalizing measures of credibility provided an external check of the coding process. The measures of credibility that were used in this study included the use of a tape-recorder, transcripts of interviews, and researcher’s detailed notes and reflections. The use of a tape-recorder guaranteed that all information, including subtle nuances in speech patterns is recorded. All interviews were transcribed to help with coding, and member checking was used for clarification and elaboration. A column was available on the interview protocol to write detailed researcher notes, which provided insights and ideas during the data collection process.

**Data Analysis**

The data analysis procedures for this study followed Stake’s (2006) approach to multi-case study analysis and interpretation, with aspects of Creswell’s (2007) approach. The first step involved reviewing the research questions to ensure that they would collect the data required. Second, significant statements in the transcripts were gathered, and the prominence of each theme, and expected utility for developing each theme, was pulled out and noted. The themes from the significant statements were looked for to help understand the *quintain*, in this case the experiences of migration and resettlement, and how they renegotiated their new identities, as they applied to each of the participants. Third, the data was further examined and each of the
statements made by the participants, as they related to each theme, was analyzed to see if the statements proved to be of value in developing the emerging themes, allowing for the horizontalization of data. Next, a description of the experience of immigration and identity renegotiation was examined, providing a structural description. Lastly, the structural and textural descriptions were further examined to provide an essence of the phenomenon, which allowed assertions to be made about the participants’ experiences and perspectives.
Chapter 4: Summary of Findings

This study focuses on the lived-experiences of four Filipino youths who have immigrated to Canada. The following chapter showcases vignettes of each participant, the researcher’s observations, and a description of the experiences of the youths as they moved from pre-migration to their current situation as they resettle in Canada. The data was examined by first looking at the individuals, and then at the individuals’ relationships with their families and their peers; specifically, at the individuals’ family, home, and school (the microsystem). Next to be observed is the interaction between the individuals’ family, school, and peers, and their interactions with peers outside of school and the impact these interactions have had on the individual (mesosystem). After follows the influence of their familial social networks (exosystem) and, lastly, the effect that Canadian ideologies have had on the immigrant participants (macrosystem). Some of the themes that have emerged during the interviews and at the analysis stage include the changes in the family dynamics, the influence Canadian friends had on the subjects resettlement, adjustment to life in Canada, the struggles endured and supports received during their time in the public school system, their understanding of the reason for moving to Canada, and the importance of social connections in Canada.

The Individual

Four participants were chosen for this research. All four participants had varied life experiences and had been living in Canada between one and five years. However, all four have had the experience of settling in Canada. The following section offers a portrait of each participant.
Participant #1

Maria was an 18-year old female high school student. She had been in Canada for four years. At the time of the interview, she was living with her mother, her mother’s partner, and her uncle. Her mother was the first person to move to Canada, and during that time Maria was living in the Philippines with her mother’s previous girlfriend. She described her life back in the Philippines as “really rough” because she “rebelled a lot” and found herself with a “bad crowd.” Eventually, her mother returned to the Philippines and the paperwork was approved to sponsor Maria to come and live in Canada.

Maria saw the move as an opportunity to get away from her edgy life in the Philippines. The move allowed her to restart her life away from the influences of alcohol, and spend time with her mother. When she found out that she was moving to Canada, she initially thought that her life would be lonely. She talked about thinking that it would be “cold” to live in Canada. In the end, she joked that life in Canada was “cold and hot.” Maria also described life in Canada as being boring because she felt she had a lot of down time between going to school and her part-time job.

During the interview she shared the fact that the mother she lives with now is not her biological mother; she was adopted when she was an infant. She explained that she was the result of an affair between her biological mother and father, and her mother had decided that she could not care for a child. At the same time, her adoptive mother wanted to be a parent. However, as a lesbian, many adoption agencies would not consider her as a possible parent. Through the help of a nun, who ended up becoming Maria’s godmother, the two women were able to connect and arrange the adoption. To this day, Maria cherishes the relationship she has with her godmother because of the influence this woman has had on her life.
Her life changed when she moved to Canada with her mother. When first moving to Canada, a sponsor family helped them settle in Winnipeg and who provided them with a place to live. She explained that her life calmed down once she moved to Canada, and she and her mother moved into their own home. She continued with her schooling in two different high schools and was finishing up her last math class to ensure that she graduated from high school. At the same time, she worked part-time job in the retail sector.

**Researcher’s Observations**

I had met Maria through a contact within the Filipino community. I interviewed her at the home that she shared with her mother, her mother’s partner, and her uncle. The house was a small bungalow. The house was in order and tastefully decorated; it had a lot of the Filipino-style artwork around their house. Maria was very articulate in her answers and her level of English was quite advanced. During the interview, she would pepper her responses with questions about the study, and was interested in knowing more about what I was trying to accomplish with my research.

When I arrived I was not familiar with her home situation. However, when I asked her questions about her life and her experiences of moving to Canada, she was very forthcoming about her personal and academic struggles. She told me that she wanted to share the story of her biological mother and how she met her adoptive mother. Maria seemed like a typical teenager. She talked about spending time with her boyfriend, and trying to juggle working part-time and trying to graduate from high school. During the interview, she did not appear uncomfortable talking about the tense relationship she had with her mother’s ex-partner (with whom she lived when her mother was in Canada) or about the family situation that shapes her life now.
Participant #2

Chris was a 20-year old male student who had been in Canada for 2.5 years. He had graduated from high school and at the time of the research was pursuing his postsecondary studies; he would like to become a mechanical engineer. He immigrated to Canada with his family through the provincial nominee program. His parents both have full-time jobs, with his mother having two jobs. He lives with his parents and three sisters. Chris is the third child in the family. His oldest sister had graduated from university in the Philippines but is currently pursuing her engineering degree at a local university. The second oldest is also pursuing a postsecondary degree in psychology. His youngest sister is still in elementary school.

Of the four participants, Chris was the most enthusiastic about moving to Canada. He looked at it as an opportunity to find a job so he would be able to afford “stuff.” However, when asked about life in the Philippines, Chris said that his “life in the Philippines [was] almost perfect.” Chris described his life in the Philippines as being a comfortable one, where his family was able to send him and his siblings to a private school. His father had worked for a company in Saudi Arabia for 17 years before they moved to Canada. He explained that one of the biggest factors that influenced his family’s to move to Canada was to keep the family intact because, just before the move, his oldest sister was pursuing a job lead in Australia. He felt that he had left many friends behind, as well as the independence that he was given in the Philippines.

A typical day in their household is similar to that of any working household. Chris helps out his family by having a part-time job and doing household chores. He spoke of playing basketball and video games with his close circle of friends in his free time. His parents expect him to finish his engineering degree and find suitable employment so that he can help his family, “since [he is] the only guy” in the family.
Researcher’s Observations

I met Chris through a contact in the Filipino community. I conducted the interview at his school. Originally, we had started the interview in a quiet study room at the school, but then we moved to another room so we could talk a bit louder. After we relocated, Chris had many questions to ask about the study and about who I was. He wanted to know about my family, where I worked, and about my university studies.

He shared numerous stories about his move, and indicated that he was adjusting well to life in Canada. For somebody who had been in the country for only 2.5 years, his language skills were quite advanced, although he did have difficulties with some English expressions. Chris exhibited a pronounced accent when he spoke.

Participant #3

Nathan was an 18-year old male student who, at the time of the study, was pursuing his postsecondary degree. He had been in Canada for 3 years. He was living with his mother and father, an older brother and sister, and another younger sister. His parents had moved to Canada because his mother’s contract with her employer had ended. Currently, Nathan plans to be a mechanical engineer. He attended two different high schools in Canada. Family members had helped his family settle in Winnipeg. During his free time he liked to study and hang out with his friends and his girlfriend.

Researcher’s Observations

Nathan is Chris’ friend. Nathan was very quiet during the interview and presented as very timid during the interview; possibly he was just insecure about his proficiency in English. However, it appeared that his English skills were sufficient to answer my questions. He did understand my questions, but also had some difficulty in expressing some of his thoughts
idiomatically. There were times when Nathan did ask to have a question repeated or rephrased so he could understand the gist. I had suggested that the interview could have been conducted in Tagalog, but he opted to continue in English. Nathan’s answers were short and to the point and, at times, I did have to ask supplementary questions to probe further to find out what he was trying to say.

**Participant #4**

Bea was an 18-year old female postsecondary student who had been in Canada for 5 years. She moved to Canada with her mother and her older brother. Her father had passed away when she was younger. The family came to Canada when a friend of her father contacted her mother and told her about the possibility of immigrating to Canada. She is pursuing a degree in criminal justice at one of the local universities.

Before coming to Canada, Bea described her life before she came to Canada as having everything she needed. She talked about enjoying her life in the Philippines because she and her brother were raised by a nanny and went to a private school. Her mother was an overseas worker in Saudi Arabia, and would send money home to pay the salaries of the nanny and the housekeepers. The move to Canada meant that the family would be together, rather than her being in the Middle East and her children back in the Philippines.

Bea was the most apprehensive, between the four participants, about moving to Canada. She did not know what to expect and stated that she was not too sure about giving everything up in the Philippines because they had a “good life.” She believed that moving to Canada meant that she would be going to a place where her family did not know anybody and they would have to start from scratch. She spoke about thinking that her mother was doing something evil by making the family move to Canada. However, her mom explained to her that moving would provide her
and her brother more opportunities when they grow up. Bea had expected that life would be boring in Canada.

Since coming to Canada, she has discovered the opportunities available to her. She did very well in high school and managed to earn several academic awards, one of which guarantees funding for her undergraduate degree. She holds down a part-time job to help her mother, and to take her mind off her academic career.

**Researcher’s Observations**

I met Bea through another contact in the Filipino community. When we first met, she was very polite, and used expressions in the Tagalog language one used to show respect towards an elder. I started asking questions and it did not take her long to share personal insights. When she answered questions, she did not hesitate to pepper her responses with stories and anecdotes about her life in the Philippines and in Canada. Her level of English was the most proficient of all the participants. Her interview lasted the longest, and during the 2.5 hours, I was able to glean much about her life and how she has adjusted to life in Canada.

**Summary of the Individuals**

The centre focus of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems model is the individual. For this study, four individuals who were all born in the Philippines who moved to Canada as children highlighted some of their experiences of moving and settling into Canada. The stories that they told paint a picture of who they are; this information becomes a valuable mechanism for understanding the personal factors that assist new immigrants settle into their different lives. Until told by their parents that they would be moving to Canada, all four individual had had established lives in the Philippines. Before leaving the Philippines, they all had anticipated that there would be changes to their lives and that many sacrifices would have to be made by
everyone in their respective families. The four individuals also understood that the ultimate goal of moving to Canada was for their betterment, rather than for what was best for their parents. After having spent some time in Canada, and starting to establish themselves here, all four participants could discuss their aspirations and future career goals, knowing that they would have such opportunities available to them in Canada.

**The Microsystem**

The microsystem consists of the individuals’ home lives and their interactions with their peers, and family members. The home lives of the participants varied from a single-parent home to the “nuclear family.” Maria was adopted and lives with her mother, her mother’s partner, and her uncle. However, during the early years, her grandmother, and her mother’s former partner had raised her. Also worth mentioning is the influence that her godmother has had on her upbringing; someone with whom she continues to have a relationship and whom she considers a close confidant. Chris lives in a nuclear family setting with his mother, father, and three sisters. When he talked about their typical day at home, it seemed like the family all worked together to get each other up and out of the house to get to their respective destinations of work and school. Nathan, as well, lives in the nuclear family setting with his mother, father, two sisters, and brother. Bea lives in a single-parent home, with her mother and brother, her father having previously passed away. Some of the themes that emerged from the answers regarding their microsystem include the change in family dynamics, familial discontinuities, and the impact of making Canadian friends.

**Family dynamics**

One area that showed a complete change from pre-migration to post-migration was the variation in their respective family dynamics. None of the four participants had input when it was
decided to move to Canada. Instead, their parents decided to emigrate for employment opportunities, with the belief that moving to Canada would provide their children with better educational opportunities. With better educational opportunities they believed that this would pave the way for better career prospects for their children. Also, for the majority of the participants, it was believed that moving to Canada would allow their parents to spend more time with them. The parents’ main focus for moving to Canada was for their children. However, once they arrived in Canada, with their children still being the main focus, the idea of family also changed. In an effort to continue to provide for their family and ensure their children are given the opportunity to flourish in the new society, many of the parents sacrificed their valuable family time to find work, or worked longer hours and, in the end, this changed the way the families were structured. This change saw that the parents were no longer around to parent as much and their children were left on their own. At times, since the children were the ones who were in school learning the language, they ended up becoming their parents’ keepers in helping them navigate their way in Canada. Thus, the traditional family hierarchy is changed, where the parents were in the position of power, to where they are all on more equal ground.

Maria explained that when she was growing up she lived the early years of her childhood with her grandmother out in the countryside of the Philippines where she was surrounded with many different animals. Later, she relocated to the city with her mother and her mother’s partner. Then, her mother had moved to Canada for two years, and it was during this time that Maria, then 12 years old, “rebelled a lot” and maintained “life was difficult.” To help ease the tension at home, her mother had moved back to the Philippines for a year. However, Maria found it quite different having her mother around. She shared stories of her coming home drunk and going home late at night and fighting with her mothers.
In Chris and Bea’s cases, each had a parent who had been living in the Middle East, employed as a foreign worker and sending remittances to the family back in the Philippines. This was a sacrifice that many families had to make to provide their children with the lifestyles that they were trying to uphold. For instance, both Chris and Bea attended private, exclusive schools in the Philippines. Bea was raised by a “yaya,” a Tagalog word of endearment for one’s nanny. Also, in Chris’ case, his sister was ready to leave for Australia, which breaks the family apart further. However, with the move to Canada, his sister turned down the job and emigrated with the family.

Nathan did not really share much about his life in the Philippines. He talked about his mother’s job there, but did not offer any other information about his previous life; he simply stated that his life was “okay in the Philippines.” His mother had been working for an electronics company in the Philippines, but was forced to retire due to the company’s mandatory retirement age; therefore his family made the move to Canada for employment reasons. He also talked about the close relationships that he had with his family and friends when he lived in the Philippines.

Familial discontinuities. Ironically, more time with family was one of the reasons to move to Canada. However, once they arrived, the participants realized that they rarely got a chance to spend time with their parents. When asked about her relationship with her mother, Maria stated that the two of them “aren’t really close.” When asked about her typical day at home, she answered by saying that “I would wake up, nobody’s home. I would leave the house to go to school, I would come back and nobody would be home. I go to work and then when I come back everybody’s asleep.” She said that when they are home, “I barely ever see them
because I’m usually in my room, she’s usually in her room, my uncle’s in his room. All of us are just in front of our computers but, during the summertime, sometimes we go on trips.”

Chris talked about his parents working long hours with varied shiftwork schedules. “We very rarely see each other because my parents, my mom has two jobs and then my dad, his job is kind of, it’s not a fixed time … he’s usually working 12 hours a day.” However, they have set up some time one day a week to spend some family time together, “usually every Sunday … we don’t do anything every Sunday, so at least we have family gathering once a week. I guess that’s part of Filipino culture, every Sunday we go to church, right? And we go lunch outside.”

Nathan stated that his parents have not really been able to support him with his schoolwork; rather, they just encourage him to do well in school. Nathan said that the biggest difference he noticed with his new life in Canada was the relationship he had with his family. He talked about being able to spend more time with his family when they lived in the Philippines, but once they arrived here, he stated, “they got busier.” When asked about his typical day at home, he talked about not seeing his parents a lot because they were at work, and the only person that he sees on a regular basis is his older brother.

Bea also talked about spending little time with her mother. She described her mother as the sole breadwinner for the family. When she gets home from work, all she wants to do is rest and so does not have much time to spend with her children. Bea described how she and her brother have had to learn to do chores around the house, because in the Philippines the housekeepers were the ones who were charged with these tasks. Bea did mention that, since she started going to university, she and her mother were having more conversations about school, what she was learning and all of the different things that she is up to in her life.
These experiences paint the picture of what life is like for many immigrants. There are many sacrifices that the families made to become part of the Canadian life. Living in Canada and trying to maintain the same lifestyle that they had in the Philippines has proven to come at a cost for these adults. For many of these families, coming to Canada and establishing a new life was a dream they had. However, there seems to be some misinformation on the parents’ side about the realities of living in Canada. The pursuit of the opportunities that Canada offer their children, results in a loss of quality time with their families, a change in parental authority, and also requires the children to become or act like adults to help their families once they arrive. Chris best summed up life in Canada when he said, “Here, you need time. You need to work, time is gold here. You have job, you have school,” suggesting he understands that there is not much for anything else besides work and school for the new families.

**Making Canadian Friends**

With the change in environment came the change in social circles for both their parents and for themselves. These social circles proved to be crucial for the participants’ resettlement and for the resettlement of their parents. Their parents’ links in the host community enabled the families to bridge their lives over to Canada by providing them with some of their initial necessities, such as housing and finding employment. For the participants, the friendships that they forged in school have been necessary to help them with their resettlement in Canada.

Maria gave credit to her friends for making her feel comfortable in school. When she first started school, her classmates were mainly Caucasian. One of the girls there helped her around school and “she helped [her] get better in English.” Maria continues to maintain a friendship with this particular girl even after moving to the new school. She described two other friends with whom she has kept in contact, who continue to make her feel comfortable in school and with life
in general. With these friends she described typical teenage behaviour, where they get together and talk about school and life, and going to football games. They also talk about what they want to do in the future, and in times of failures they comfort each other. Another one of her friends did not graduate either, and Maria said that this friend comforted her by telling her that everything would be okay and that they would both graduate the following year.

Chris, on the other hand, had made friends in school who, he said, helped him settle and succeed in school because they organized study groups. He described many of his friends as also being immigrants, a fact that he embraced because he said that they were all able to “understand each other” while they were “all adopting the culture” in Canada. His decision to go to the local college, rather than university, was based on an agreement he had with a friend in high school; the two of them are in the same program and planned to be in the same courses.

In school, Nathan relied on his friends to help him learn about life in Canada. They were the ones who helped him understand about his new life. He also relied on his friends to get together for study groups, which he said helped him deal with the stresses of going to school. When he gets together with friends, they do regular teenager activities like go out to eat and play videogames or basketball. He gave a lot of credit to the friends he made in the community for helping him feel more comfortable in Canada. He said that when he first moved to Canada, he was stressed with life here and he was missing his friends in the Philippines; his friends here helped him settle and not miss his old friends as much.

Bea stated that she did not enjoy starting high school because she did not have any friends, but when she did meet some peers she became more comfortable in school. She also gave credit to her friends for making her feel comfortable living in Canada. She shared one story about a group project that they had to do in class and getting together at one of their houses,
which eventually led to them doing activities outside of the school. Through the scholarship that she received, she was also able to meet others with whom she did not go to school, which furthered her social network. This group was comprised of the scholarship recipients; they would get together to help out with the foundation’s functions and, in this way, they were able to keep in touch and talk about their university and life experiences.

The microsystem examines the interactions between the individual and their interactions with family, and school life. There was a large difference between their pre-migration and post-migration lives. One of the original intents of moving to Canada, for many of these families was to bring all of them together and search for “the better life.” However, the realities of living in Canada have proven to make it difficult for the families to be close. Instead, many of the parents are too busy with their work schedules, in order to maintain their families’ lives in Canada. In turn, with these busy schedules, the children have had to grow up and help their parents run the household by also looking for part-time jobs or doing more chores around the house. However, the children harbor no resentment because they understand that their parents’ long work hours is for their benefit. In turn, with the absence of the parental figure, many of these children have turned to friendships with their peers to help them navigate life in Canada, and these bonds are a very strong part of the participants’ support system.

The Mesosystem

The next layer of influence on the lives of new immigrants is their interactions with the individual’s home, immediate family and school, between the individual-teacher-parents, and interactions between the individual and peers. It is also concerned with peer relations outside of the school setting. The participants shared stories of their journey to “becoming Canadian” and the impact that has had on their lives since moving to Canada. The accounts of the experiences in
the school system gave valuable insight as to what it really feels to be a stranger in a new place, and the impact on one’s acculturation in Canada.

**Struggles and Successes to Becoming “Canadian”**

The participants had been in Canada between 2.5 years to 5 years and the differing lengths of time in Canada illustrates the varying degrees of how well integrated they are in their host society. Through their answers and their stories, the participants have shown that their initial fears of moving to Canada were set aside and that they have come to accept their new life.

Maria’s life has settled down since moving to Canada with her mother. She said that she stopped drinking. She has adopted the Canadian lifestyle of a teenager. When I was over at her house, she had introduced me to her boyfriend, with whom she spends her free time cooking and playing online games. She continues to go to high school and still plans on studying veterinary sciences, and “won’t settle for anything less.” She still keeps in contact with some of her aunts and uncles in the Philippines, but is not bothered with the distance between them. She continues to keep in regular contact with her godmother, who had taken care of her while she was in the Philippines. The two of them talk at least once a month. When asked about the difference between her life in the Philippines and her life in Canada, she stated that she did more in the Philippines than in Canada. She talked about being an avid reader while living in the Philippines, but that she had slowly given that up to do more gaming. Maria described life in Canada as being boring because she did not have a lot to do. She felt that, in Canada, one had to actually arrange any get-togethers with friends and family, whereas in the Philippines, she simply walked into her friend’s house and was welcome any time of day. However, she did say that she finds life in Canada is a lot safer and cleaner than life in the Philippines.
Chris talked about finding it hard to adjust to life here because of the different nationalities, the language, and the financial struggles that his family went through when they first arrived. He said that “here in Canada, we basically start from zero,” compared to what his family was accustomed to in the Philippines. In order to assist his family during their early days in Canada, he delayed beginning school, and went to work instead, giving his pay cheques to his parents. He continued to work until he started school in the fall.

Chris’ life has also settled down now that he has spent some time in Canada. He leads a life like a typical Canadian teenager, where most of his time is spent between his family, friends, and school. He finished high school and carried on with his postsecondary studies. He talked about his original struggles of learning how to express himself in English but he was able to overcome those struggles and managed to obtain his high school diploma. During his spare time he spends time with his friends either playing basketball or playing Play Station. When asked about what he thinks about life in Canada, he described it as being boring. He did not take his studies seriously when living the Philippines, but since he is bored here, he amuses himself by studying and doing homework. Since moving, he had come to recognize how precious time is here since his life consists of work and school. However, he talked about being content with his life here because he has seen that the quality of life in Canada is better than in the Philippines. He spoke about the abject poverty that he saw living in the Philippines compared to the level of poverty in Canada.

Nathan took the move to Canada as an opportunity to focus on his studies, in hopes of leading him to a job that will make him successful. Nathan talked about noticing the change in his relationship with his family; he said that “they got busier” once they moved to Canada. In the beginning he did keep in touch with his friends from the Philippines because he felt homesick.
However, he has since lost contact with many of them. His family has also lost contact with the relatives who helped his family settle into Canada. He would like to spend more time with his girlfriend, but much of his time is spent doing homework. When he is with his friends, they tend to “hang out and go eat out.” He expected that life would be better in Canada than in the Philippines. Nathan did say that his life was getting better in Canada, and that he was getting used to life here, but he claims “it’s not yet perfect.”

Bea has adjusted well to life in Canada. Originally, she thought life would be boring here, but since arriving has taken advantage of the many opportunities available to her. She graduated from high school and is pursuing a postsecondary degree in criminal justice. In her spare time, Bea likes to play her guitar and spend time with her friends. Between going to school and having a part-time job, she does not have much time for anything else. She did disclose that she felt lonely living in Canada because she does not have any relatives here. Many of her relatives are still in the Philippines; her family still has contact with her uncle because her mother maintains a residence in the Philippines. The biggest adjustment that she made once she moved to Canada was, along with her brother, quickly becoming self-sufficient. Her mother had to show them how to cook and clean and take care of themselves. She continues to use social media to keep in contact with her former friends in the Philippines. Bea stated that she enjoys life in Canada because of the higher standard of living here than in the Philippines, and the different opportunities a Western education can afford her.

**School System Experiences**

*First impressions and trying to fit in as the “new kid.”* The participants had varied degrees of apprehension about going to school in Canada. In the Philippines, the participants attended school on a regular basis and did not have any interrupted years of schooling. All four
participants have had mainly positive experiences in the schools that they have and are attending. When asked about what they expected from their schooling in Canada, they all had similar answers of having no expectations, and really did not know what they should be looking for from their schools.

When Maria had first come to Canada, she started in a small school and found that it was easy to fit in. Due to its small size, there were few cliques. She recounted the story of feeling scared on her first day and having to take the bus to get to the school. Her mother spoke to the bus driver and asked him to stop in front of the school and ensure that Maria got off safely. When she got to school, she could not find the classrooms and, in her confusion, had entered the class late. She talked about walking in the room and seeing the students running around and the teacher was trying to calm the students down and get them to their seats. Maria was shocked by these actions and said that in the Philippines these students would have received the strap for their behaviour. Maria initially thought that going to school would be harder, but realized that it was easier, which proved to be detrimental to her later in high school.

Chris, too, was nervous about going to school in Canada. After taking some time off when he first arrived before going back to school, he was ready to go back and complete his high school years. He started in the fall and was not too motivated to go to school. Instead, he would have preferred to work and start earning money. He blamed this lack of motivation on his fear of knowing nobody and not having friends. The first shock that Chris experienced was the language barrier, and said that his biggest struggle was getting over the fact that all of his classes were in English.

Nathan did not enjoy his first day of school. He missed all of his friends and family back home and did not know how he would fit in at the school and, like Chris, he had the fear of not
knowing anybody and not finding any friends. Nathan recounted the feelings of his first day by saying, “I feel like I was dumb, like I didn’t know anything.” Since all of the language of communication around him was in English, he did not know how he would be able to understand and communicate with his teachers and the other students. He, as well, had the impression that going to school in Canada would be more difficult, but it slowly became easier for him.

When Bea first arrived in school, her mother had registered her for high school, but the school would not accept her because she was age-appropriate for grade 8, even though there was only a couple of months left in the school year. She also explained that she felt that everything that was being taught was a review for her and that she had learned a lot of the content as far back as two school years previous. Bea talked about feeling intimidated about going to school and thought that she would be bullied, like the characters in the American movies she had watched. In the beginning, she had a hard time making friends and would go home for lunch because she felt awkward staying at school and not knowing anybody.

**Struggles in the school system.** The participants all went through the same struggles in the school system. One problem they all shared was the feeling of isolation and loneliness. The second problem encountered was the language barrier. These students had some exposure to the English language from their schools in the Philippines. However, the level of English sophistication was higher in the Canadian school system. Maria talked about finding it difficult to communicate in English, and Chris talked about finding it hard to express himself in English, and Nathan felt that he was dumb and stupid going to school in Canada.

However, after having spent some time in the school system, all four participants have said that English was no longer a problem for them and did not cite that English was still a factor that hindered them. All of the interviews were conducted in English and they were given the
option of answering any of the questions in Tagalog. None of them chose to do the interview in that language other than sharing certain words and phrases that carried a nuance that could only be described in Tagalog. The struggles with friendships and social circles were quickly assuaged once they spent some time in school. They all talked about the friends that they have made and have kept since arriving in Canada.

The struggles that many of the students experienced were not unusual for any high school and postsecondary students. When asked about these struggles, they all seemed to agree that the many projects, papers, and lack of time to finish homework were the biggest issues, and also balancing the time with work, school, and friends. Maria continued to struggle with her math and she took the class several times in an attempt to pass the subject in order to get into her postsecondary program. She described her long days of going to school early, getting home, and then going to work. Maria also talked about how easy she is finding school in Canada, which has made her lose motivation and caused her to take a lackadaisical approach to her studies. Chris and Nathan talked about continuing to find the time to do their homework and running into problems when they were caught skipping classes. Bea talked about going into university and having to find new friends and establish connections in a whole new setting because she does not have much time to keep in touch with her friends.

**Relational supports in the school system.** By all accounts these students have adjusted well to life in Canada, and they have attributed their successful resettlement in school to their teachers. They did not specifically give any credit to the school for assistance in settling into their new lives. When asked if there was anything special that their teachers did to help them learn, none of the participants mentioned any teaching methods or specific content delivered in
the classroom. Rather, they commented on the relationships and openness they had with their teachers.

Maria said the teachers would always offer help when she needed it. She described her teachers in Canada as being nicer than their counterparts in the Philippines as they did not yell or scream at the students. Teachers in the Philippines, she said, would threaten the students, or make them stand in front of the class and embarrass them. Another person Maria also gave credit to was her boyfriend, who helped her with school, and also with her integration into the Canadian culture.

Chris described his teacher as being helpful; especially the Filipino teacher who, he explained, was sympathetic to his situation and showed she understood what he was going through. To assist him, his teacher gave him preferential seating, and rearranged her seating plan so that he would be next to another Filipino student, who was able to translate for him. This, in turn, he said made him feel more comfortable about going to school. Chris also gave credit to a class that he had to take with other minority-language students, in which they could improve their English language skills. Another person that helped Chris was an educational assistant to whom he turned to when he was having trouble in certain subjects. He told me, “Sometimes I asked her if she can do me a tutor with some stuff and she will help me and she will teach me and I just say I’m having trouble in math or physics.”

Nathan credited his friends and teachers in helping him feel comfortable at school. When asked for specifics, he talked about things his advisor had done to assist him in school and also to settle in outside of school. For example, his advisor had partnered him with a classmate fluent in both English and Tagalog. This partner helped him “know more about school and introduced [him] to some Filipino guys.” Because he had established a trust in this advisor, Nathan was able
to share his feelings of being stressed and missing his friends from the Philippines. With that information his advisor was able to give him advice about “some things to start [his] new life here in Canada.” For example, Nathan had shared with him that he liked to cycle and play basketball, so his advisor told him about some places in the community where he could meet other people to play basketball. From there, Nathan said that he made more friends and it “helped [him] get used to [his] new life” and this also helped him “lessen [his] thinking and [missing his] life back in [his] country.” During the end of his high school days, Nathan talked about frequently seeing his guidance counselor who gave him advice and guidance for his postsecondary options.

Bea had great success in school, and she attributes much of that success to her teachers. She described her teachers here as being “casual” and felt that she could talk with them on a personal level. She said that her teachers took an interest in her learning. They helped guide her to certain programs that encouraged her to do well and made her feel like she was part of the school environment. Bea talked about a teacher who took the time to ask her about her interests and gave her compliments about how well she was picking up the content in the classroom. There was another teacher who encouraged her to publish a story she had written in the school magazine and to join other extracurricular activities. In the end, she felt like her efforts were recognized when she was recommended by the teachers at her school to receive an academic scholarship that guaranteed full funding of her undergraduate degree.

“We moved here for your future.” All of the participants shared their future aspirations during their interviews. They each had the goal of attaining a professional type of career; this can be tied in to the high academic expectations their parents have placed on them. All of the parents have high expectations of their children to do well and get excellent grades. However, when
asked about what kind of help their parents were able to provide, none said that their parents could assist them academically.

Maria’s mother expected her to receive high grades from her private school in the Philippines, and continued to expect her to do well in Canada. Maria understood that she needed to excel in her courses in order to get into the program that she was interested in pursuing. She disclosed that her mother could not help with homework, as she did not understand Maria’s schoolwork. Also, Maria and her mother do not discuss her academic life, as they are not “that close.” However, when she decided that she would not be going directly into university after high school, preferring rather to first work in order to buy a car, her mother discouraged the idea and told her that going to university would be the only option for her.

Chris had said that his parents expected him to do well and be the one to help support his family, since he is the only son. His parents expect him to get high grades, but when asked how they assisted him to attain those grades, he could not answer, but said that he was “pushed to study.” He began his postsecondary schooling at a local college rather than go to university to earn his engineering degree, a decision his parents did not originally support. However, when they found out that his credits would transfer over and he would be able to apply his courses to his engineering degree, they had no issues with him starting in a technical college.

Nathan said that his parents expect him to get high grades, however, like Chris, his parents have not been able to help him academically. Instead, they showed their support by “encouraging [him] to study.” When he completes his degree, his parents expect him to help out the family. At the time of the interview, Nathan was taking courses at the technical college, as well as a course on Saturdays at a high school.
Like the other participants, Bea’s mother expected her to do well in school and come home with high grades, but does not help her with her homework. However, Bea did say that her mother asked her about what she is learning in school and has shown more interest in her schooling. Bea also talked about her future career aspirations with her mother and explained that her mother did not necessarily push her into one profession or another. Her mother has supported her decision about becoming a lawyer, but has dissuaded her from becoming a police officer.

The mesosystem examined the interactions between home and school life and its influence on the individual. Through the interactions the study participants had with their families and their schools, there were some changes to their lives once they moved to Canada. One of the changes noted was the different family dynamics that the students experienced. Back in the Philippines, the students lived lives where they were children and had little responsibilities to their families. However, once they came to Canada, some of them soon realized that they had to grow up and help their families, either by getting a job to help their financial situation, or by helping to maintain the house so their parents can work longer hours. Thus, the participants noticed a change in their relationship with their parents. Some of them were once close and spent time together, and now find that they rarely see their parents or they were not as close to their parents as their families had originally hoped. To help counter some of their changes to their home lives, two important relationships were forged to help their with their transitions: the relationships with their teachers and most importantly, the new friends that they met once they settled into their schools. Through these connections, the participants credited a lot of their academic success because it helped them navigate their way around the school system and taught them about what life is like in Canada.
The Exosystem

The exosystem examines the influence of the familial social network, including extended family members, family friends, and neighbours, services available to the individual provided through the community, and the school board and, lastly, mass media. Having gone through the immigration process and move to Canada, the participants could discuss the people who helped them, and talk about some of the struggles they encountered moving to a foreign land. All four families had had a contact in Winnipeg who helped them find housing, secure employment, and assisted them in settling in their school, as well as teaching them about life in Canada.

Local Support Systems

When Maria first moved to Canada, it was just her and her mother, which she said forced them to work together since it was only the two of them. When they first arrived, they were living with a sponsor family who helped provide them with housing. They lived with them for six months, but Maria did not enjoy living with the family because of the small children. She confessed that she is not fond of children, but the children were fond of her and they were interested in getting to know her. However, she spent as little time with them as possible and would spend most of the day at her friends’ houses. When asked about her mother’s friends, she talked about her mother’s acquaintances and how they would go out partying. There was one friend whom her mother continued to keep in touch with, while the others have drifted away and her mother had lost contact with them.

Christ talked about his family here that helped his family settle in Canada. He spoke of living with them in the beginning and how his aunt had helped his parents find employment and their first apartment in Canada. According to Chris, they rarely see each other now; it is only during the holiday season they get together. When asked about his parents’ friends, he talked
only about his parents’ co-workers and did not mention anything about his family having a social life outside of the workplace or in the community.

Nathan’s family had distant relatives who helped them settle in Canada. They provided them with housing, helped his parents find employment and helped him with his schooling. However, they no longer have contact with them, aside from the regular holiday get-togethers. When asked about his parents’ friends, like the others, he is only familiar with his parents’ co-workers.

Bea’s father’s friend originally supported her family during their initial resettlement in Canada. Eventually, her mother met a co-worker who helped them find an apartment and assisted in adjusting to the culture in Canada. Her mother’s co-worker also had a son close to Bea’s age who helped her settle into school. Bea’s mother took advantage of the free classes offered to immigrant and received retraining. She also took advantage of the seminars offered by the government. She described her mother’s friends as being her co-workers, and said that her mother does not do much outside of the house, but she does go to Pilates classes.

The important people who have influenced the participants’ lives and their parents’ lives, during their initial settlement, have been their extended family members and family friends. However, as the families have stayed here longer, they seem to have lost contact or have drifted further apart from their initial contacts. Getting the participants to answer questions about their familial social circles was very difficult and they provided minimal answers. Due to the fact that these participants spent very little time with their parents, their answers were very short; they did not have a lot of details regarding their families’ friends. Evidently, the amount of time their parents spent working has caused their parents to also lose their social networks. Besides co-workers the participants were hard pressed to name their parents’ friends and seemed taken
aback when asked this question. Further studies are needed to look at the impact the loss of family friends have on the parents and on the family as they settle in Canada.

**The Macrosystem**

The macrosystem examines Canadian ideologies, values, laws, and customs as they pertain to immigrants. Moving to a foreign land means giving up the comforts of home and what one would consider a typical way of life. Perhaps one of the biggest influences on our daily lives are those things that individuals do not necessarily have any control over – the laws, culture, and ideologies of the country. Although this system can have a huge impact on newcomers’ lives once they move to Canada, most of the study participants were not cognizant of the influence this had on their lives, thus the data for this section is limited.

**Western Media**

Besides the stories from their family members and friends already living here, all four participants acknowledged that their first exposure to Canadian life was through the American media. When asked about what was on their mind when they were moving here and going to school here, all of them had the same reactions. They were fearful of being bullied in their schools. They claimed that this fear came from watching American movies in the Philippines and seeing all of those bullies in the movies. However, once they came to Canada, that feeling quickly subsided when the others looked at them in awe and showed their curiosity towards them. Little did they realize the effect that something they had watched, had influenced and had put a little bit of fear into their lives as they were preparing to move to a new country.
Canadian Social Safety Net

When the participants were asked to compare their previous lives in the Philippines to their lives in Winnipeg, they had two observations of note – the level of poverty and the feeling of safety in Canada. All four talked about the level of safety they now feel now that they live in Canada. Most of the participants talked about gaining more independence. Bea talked about being able to stay out longer with her friends here than in the Philippines. The parents were okay with their children going out and meeting new friends.

Chris talked specifically about the difference in the level of poverty that he observed between Canada and the Philippines; he noted that while poverty exists in both countries it seemed to be more extreme in the Philippines. While this is just one observation, more time in Canada, and further experiences of living in Canada, will enhance the students’ understanding of Canada’s social safety net.

Canadian Politeness

Bea noticed some subtle differences between the Canadian and Filipino cultures. She mentioned that in the Filipino culture people tend to be very “judgmental” and critical, and hostile towards each other. However, she did not observe this being the case among Canadians. Also, she noted that Canadians are always saying “sorry” and are very polite to one another. She also gave the example of seeing someone giving up their seat for an elderly person on the bus, something she rarely saw happen in the Philippines.

Canadian Views of Immigrants

When the participants were asked about how they believe Canadians and Filipino-Canadians view new immigrants, (keeping in mind their limited amount of time in Canada) Bea and Maria observed that Canadians tend to see new immigrants as foreign, and do not really
know how they fit in the new society. However, when asked to elaborate about the idea of being seen as a foreigner and what it meant to her settlement, Maria said that it worked in her favour, because she seemed like a novelty to her new Canadian friends and, in fact, many of her predominantly Caucasian classmates wanted to be friends with her and get to know her. Bea had the same experiences; many of her new classmates were impressed with her level of English and she was able to make friends at school.

One interesting observation Maria shared was the segregation of the different cultures at her school cafeteria. She elaborated, saying that the divide was even seen amongst the Filipino communities in the school; the newer immigrants sat together, and the ones who have been here longer or were born here did not tend to associate with them. She speculated that this happened because they “find them [the newcomers] really annoying and because they’re loud and don’t speak English.” Both Maria and Bea have noted that this does not really bode well for the resettlement of new immigrants because it limits their social networks, and were aware that their level of English proficiency and understanding the Canadian culture will not develop as fast if the newcomers continued to mingle only with other newcomers.

When asked what would be helpful for new immigrants Bea, Maria, and Nathan spoke of the idea of some kind of centre; one that would assist new immigrants with language skills and cultural adaptation, but would also be an opportunity to meet other new immigrants to share experiences of life in Canada.

The macrosystem encompasses the overarching ideas of the host society. However, these ideas are not directly seen by the individuals, yet have a major influence on their lives in their new society. The influence of western media in the Philippines has led to some misconceptions about life in Canada; many of these misconceptions were quickly changed when the newcomers
encountered others in their schools. During their time in Canada, the study participants made positive observations and noticed the feeling of safety, the lower level of poverty, and the polite attitude that is seen in Canada. Interestingly, some of the participants noticed the acceptance of immigrants in Canadian society, yet there is some shunning of immigrants from people of the same ethnic group.
Chapter 5: Discussion

Filipino immigrants have been settling into the Manitoba landscape from as early as 1931 (Dalayoan, Enverga-Magsino, & Bailon, 2008), and as Manitoba Labour and Immigration (2013) has demonstrated, Filipino immigration continues to grow in Manitoba, continuously affecting the cultural landscape of the province. This research was established to help educators, and others who affect the lives of new Filipino immigrants to Manitoba, understand what these people experience as they move from their home country and the challenges they face as they settle into their newly-adopted country. More importantly, the goal of this research was to understand what has helped these new immigrants to integrate into our society. This chapter examines the experiences of the study’s participants as they went through the stages of migration, the challenges they faced when they first arrived, their subsequent confusion of cultural identity, their experiences of the Manitoba public school system, and the personal and contextual factors that have helped them find their place in Canada. This chapter also provides a discussion and critical analysis, through the theoretical framework, by looking at their experiences by contrasting this information with findings from other studies as outlined in the literature review. The information provided gives knowledge that is specific to the Filipino community during their resettlement in Manitoba and what the school system has done to help this growing ethnic community.

Immigration Experiences

The act of migration and resettlement is not as simple as packing one’s bags, saying goodbye to one’s family members, and establishing oneself in the new country. Rather, there are many personal and contextual factors that must be considered during this process. There are many obstacles to be faced before one can fully call the “new land,” one’s new home. To
understand fully the process, one must consider Sluzki’s five stages of migration: the preparatory stage, the act of migration, the honeymoon period, the settlement stage, and the transgenerational stage (Ko & Perreira, 2010). Each immigrant will go through these stages at various times and for varying lengths of time during their move; however, during one of the stages the new immigrants will experience a loss of identity as they become exposed to their host society (Dyson, 2005). The following section will examine the immigration experiences of the study participants to understand the stressors that they experienced as they settled in Canada.

“

We’re moving to Canada” – Preparatory Stage

The parents of all four study participants had made the conscious decision to move to Canada. As minors, the study participants had no option about the move. Therefore, their own reactions to being forced to immigrate varied from acceptance to hesitation about leaving their comforts of home for something foreign to them. At the preparatory stage, Ko & Perreira (2010), suggest that the two stressors that immigrants will encounter are the separation from their parents, and their economic hardships that they currently face in their home country. However, I suggest that another source of stressors that these participants experienced at this stage included the preconceptions they had about their new homeland, meaning that they had some misinformation about what life in Canada would be like and thus as they tried to anticipate these misconceptions, they were more guarded during their resettlement.

María, Chris, and Bea had a parent who had been separated from them while they were living in the Philippines. Maria was the one who had gone through a lot of stress and lashed out because her mother was not available while she was growing up. She talked about life being difficult during her mother’s initial move to Canada while she was living with her mother’s former partner back in the Philippines.
Chris and Bea had similar experiences with a parent’s living overseas while they were in the Philippines. Instead of having a parent living in another country as a stressor, the two participants saw this as a benefit because it afforded them a lifestyle to which they had become accustomed. Chris still had a mother who cared for him and his siblings while they were in the Philippines, and with the remittances that his father was sending back home they were able to have an “almost perfect life.” In the Philippines, he attended a private school, and his older sisters were even able to pursue degrees at the university level. Bea, on the other hand, did not have another family member watching her brother and herself while her mother was in Saudi Arabia. Instead, they had hired help tending them. However, Bea did not mind having her mother overseas while she was living in the Philippines. She understood the tradeoff of having her mother away. She talked about her *yaya*, who would take care of her with whom she had close ties, the other domestic help who would clean the house and make sure they were well taken care of, and the private school she was able to attend. She, too, talked about how “perfect” her life was back in the Philippines.

The family’s financial situation can also be a source of stress for the children before they move to a new country. However, this stressor did not affect these participants, as their families had employment and were provided with a comfortable lifestyle while living in the Philippines, which is contrary to Ko & Perreira’s (2010) statement. The families’ financial situations did not become a stressor for the participants until they moved to Canada. Some possible reasons why this did not affect the students until they come to Canada is likely due to the gainful employment of their parents in the Philippines, but also Canada’s immigration policies. Depending on which immigration program the families applied through and were eventually granted immigrant status, their parents soon realized that they could not gain the same level of employment and income
that they hoped for because of the phenomena of “deprofessionalization” that many immigrants experience when they arrive in Canada (Kelly, Astorga-Garcia & Esguerra, 2009).

An additional source of stress for the participants was their preconceived ideas about their new home country before they left for Canada. Much of their information about Canada came from watching American movies, and from the relatives who were already living in Canada. All four participants thought they would get bullied once they started school in Canada because they thought that they would be seen as different from the other children. Maria thought that life would be lonely in Canada because she would not know anybody here, and Nathan was already missing his friends in the Philippines. Bea did not want to move because she was used to her life in the Philippines and did not want to go through any changes as she was starting to establish herself as a “person.” Chris was the most excited to come to Canada, and did not feel much stress about his anticipated move, because he was excited to be able to earn money.

Although the study that Pratt (2010) conducted only examined the lives of children whose families moved to Canada through the live-in caregiver program, many of the stressors that she discussed also applied to these participants. For Pratt (2010), stressors included conflict with family, a feeling of abandonment, having to reestablish a maternal connection, and being separated from their primary caregiver back in the Philippines. There did not seem to be as much family conflict with the four participants. However, the feeling of abandonment and having to reestablish a maternal connection after separation was evident with Maria and Bea. Maria shared that she does not really talk with her mother in Canada and that the two of them are “not really that close.” After becoming accustomed to having her mother away, Bea had to find a way to reestablish a connection with her mother once they moved to Canada. However, she was more proactive about establishing that connection with her parent than Maria. Also, since their
mothers tended to be away for long periods of time, the two female participants were raised by surrogate maternal figures; Maria became close to her godmother, and a nanny raised Bea. When it came time to move, Maria found it hard to be separated from her godmother and continues to have contact with her via the Internet; Bea had grown close to her nanny and also found it hard to say “bye” to her as well. Many studies (Beiser, et al. 2011; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Li, 2010) have focused on the intergenerational conflicts that can occur between immigrant parents and their children, that is, finding a balance between traditional values and the values of their new society in Canada. However, they fail to discuss the parental relationships before migration. Thus, the situation that Bea and Maria faced with their mothers’ not being present in their daily lives before migration warrants further exploration. Any further studies need to examine how being raised by surrogate maternal figures can exacerbate any intergenerational conflicts when they subsequently reestablish their relationships with their biological mothers, which can negatively effect their integration into the new society.

**Welcome aboard – Migration Phase**

The next stage of migration is the act of moving to the new country. The pressures that are involved with this phase include leaving one’s extended family, as well as the act of travelling. In the Filipino culture, the definition of the family goes beyond what Canadians would consider the immediate family; rather, the word encompasses grandparents, parents, siblings, aunts and uncles, and cousins. Thus, for many of the participants, when it was time for them to move they had to say goodbye to a large family base.

Of the four participants, Maria was the only one who continues to keep in regular contact with her previous caregiver in the Philippines. She said that she contacts her godmother at least
once a month. The other three mainly missed their friends from back home. Bea talked about missing her yaya and the close social circle she had in the Philippines.

In Ko & Perreira’s (2010) study, the participants included Mexican children who were smuggled through different channels into the United States, which provided different stressors for the children. Canada’s immigration policies and its view of multiculturalism (Houle & Schellenberg, 2010; Jedwab, 2008; Levine-Rasky, 2006; Reitz, 2012), and having pre-established networks in Canada, helped alleviate this stressor on the participants. In distinction to Ko & Perreira’s (2010) study participants, the act of traveling did not cause any undue stress on this study’s participants as they all flew with their families. They were all aware of the move and were anticipating the move to Canada.

**Welcome to Canada - Honeymoon Period**

The honeymoon period is the time between leaving one’s home country and being introduced to the realities of the new society (Ko & Perreira, 2010). This is usually a time for awe and amazement for the immigrants as they experience their new surroundings before the day-to-day reality of trying to fit into their new life sets in. The four participants did not leave the Philippines with unrealistic ideas of what their new lives would be like. Two of the factors that helped soften their arrival and their naiveté of what it means to live in Canada were their access to social capital, and Canada’s views on multiculturalism. Hebert et al. (2004) talked about the importance of social capital and being able to access it, as it provides necessary information to the individual. In this case, the social capital of the students was in the form of their contacts that were already here in Canada, and they already had realistic ideas about life in Canada. According to Reitz (2012) and Manitoba Labour and Immigration (2013), immigrants have always been welcomed in Canada and have been expected to be part of the country’s economic success.
Because of this acceptance, there are already many well-established ethnic groups in Canada as witnessed by Statistics Canada (2013). Thus, with established ethnic communities in place, new immigrants have greater access to others with whom they can communicate, increasing their social capital.

The participants’ first encounters with life in Canada came from the participants’ extended relatives or from family friends who had talked about life here. Their first introduction with an institution that would allow them to experience life in Canada occurred when they entered school. Maria shared her experience of having to learn how to use the public transit system to get to school and being afraid of missing her stop. Once she got to school, she talked about how wild the students seemed while they were jumping and walking around the room while the teacher was trying to maintain control. Shortly after, she started to meet friends at the school who talked to her and made her feel settled in. Chris’ introduction to the Canadian way of life was through the workforce. Since he arrived later in the school year, he opted to start school in the fall, and got a job to help his family out. When he did start school, he was apprehensive about starting, not because he thought he would have difficulty with the courses, but because he would not know anyone. Nathan described feeling “dumb” and not “knowing anything” when he first started school. Bea’s family friend had a son who showed her around the first days of school and helped her feel settled.

These stages of migration have varying lengths, depending on the personal and contextual factors of the immigrant. Because they had some prior knowledge of life in Canada, the participants experienced a short honeymoon period before the realities of resettlement took hold. For these students, the social capital of their families provided them access to the
information they needed to survive in their new environment. All four described feelings of apprehension when meeting new people and trying to communicate in English.

Making Canada Home – Settlement Stage

Once the excitement of the new home has worn off, the realities of resettlement occurs at this stage. Ko & Perreira (2010) stated that this is when the children start to go through the “psychological stresses of acculturation” (p. 468), and the supports around the new immigrants become crucial to ensuring that they feel part of their new society. Immigrants will experience four changes, both personally and contextually, that will cause the most amount of stress. These four changes include: change of space and time, change of role and relationship, change of networks and media, and change of status and identity (Ming-Sum, 1997).

Change of space and time. This change refers to the change in one’s social and cultural environment (Ming-Sum, 1997). For the participants, the change in their social environment began when they started school having no personal connections to any other students. Such changes to one’s social environment can lead to primary and secondary cultural discontinuities (Ogbu, 1982) causing a sense of confusion of one’s identity.

Indeed, Maria’s social environment changed when she entered school and did not know anybody. Some other students later befriended her and she was able to escape to some of their houses when she did not want to be at home. Another change in her social surrounding came when she went from living with one other adult while in the Philippines, to living in their sponsors’ home and being expected to babysit and entertain the younger children. Chris and Bea’s social environment changed in Canada because a parent who had been living overseas, was now living with them on a full-time basis.
Chris, Nathan, and Bea specifically talked about the changes in their cultural environment when they realized how many different cultures there are in Canada. Bea particularly talked about how polite people are in Canada compared to the Philippines, and talked about how people in the Philippines were very critical of others. In Canada people tended to mind their own business and let people carry on with their own lives. One marked observation from Maria, Chris, and Nathan was the amount of spare time they had in Canada, and talked about feeling bored living here. Maria turned from reading books and going out with her friends to staying at home, playing online games, or watching movies. Chris talked about staying home more and only going out on Fridays to play basketball. As a result, he was at home studying more and catching up on homework. Nathan talked about staying home more and tended to just spend time with his girlfriend. On the other hand, when she talked about her life in Canada, Bea talked about how much quieter her life was in the beginning. However, now that she is a university student she has lots of activities on the go, and is kept busy either with her friends or her university work.

The change in space and time was a huge adjustment period for the study participants. They were all accustomed to one way of life in the Philippines, and they were familiar with all of the people around them but, when they arrived in Canada, they had to establish new connections with new people. Also, another change that many of them felt was the pace of life in Canada. In the Philippines they were always busy, but in Canada they were more likely to feel bored.

**Change of role and relationship.** When new immigrants arrive in a foreign country, the relationships they had with their parents tend to change, as they were expected to become translators and spokespersons for their families (Ko & Perreira, 2010). Since the participants were the ones studying in a Canadian school and had a higher level of English proficiency than
their parents, they were expected to explain and act as translators. However, the degree that each participant helped their family varied, depending on the number of siblings there are in the family.

Maria experienced a profound change in her role and in her relationship with her mother. Initially, when she moved to Canada she spent more time with her parent and understood that they had to work together because it was just the two of them. Eventually, as they started to settle in Canada, she became older and more accustomed to her life here. As well, as more people moved into their household, Maria and her mother drifted apart and now she “barely sees her” mother. However, Maria does continue to act as a translator for her mother.

In the Philippines, Chris felt that he had more independence and was able to do anything he wanted. However, when he came to Canada, his parents considered him as another breadwinner; and he looked for a job when he first arrived. He continues to hold a part-time job to help his family. Being the only male child, his parents have told him that it is part of his responsibility to help support his family, a responsibility that he does not take lightly and he does what he can to help out. When asked about his typical day at home, he stated that he and his father were usually the ones who wake up first and, when his father left for work, it was his responsibility to wake up his sisters and get them ready for school.

Nathan did not have a parent living overseas; rather, he lived with his mother and father and siblings. Now that they live in Canada, Nathan observed that his relationship with his parents has changed, and that he rarely sees them. Instead, the person he sees at home on a regular basis is his older brother.

As in the cases of Maria and Chris, moving to Canada meant that Bea would be spending more time with her mother because she would no longer be overseas. Bea knew that living with
her mother on a fulltime basis would change the relationship between the two of them and that their relationship would have to be rebuilt since her mother had mainly been absent during her formative years. Bea talked about missing some life lessons, like making and maintaining friendships and how do deal with social problems, as a result of her mother living abroad. However, as they started to settle in, she began to bond with her mother and she even noted that her mother had started to take an interest in her life by asking her questions about school and what her interests were. When she talked about her relationship with her mother, and her brother, it seemed as if she was the one who made the effort to talk to them and to have discussions about life in general, and not just about what needed to be done around the house. Bea was the one who encouraged her mother to go out and pursue some classes to upgrade her skills. She described her brother as somebody who was quiet and kept to himself and did not really do much around the house. But slowly as she talked to him and got to know him and reestablish a relationship with him, he started becoming more a part of the family by helping do chores around the house.

The study participants are now being exposed to different values and different expectations from their parents. These different values can cause them to become confused about who they are and what exactly their role is in their family structure on one hand. On the other, they may have to directly or indirectly help their family’s economic situation and/or act as their parents’ keeper in the new country, a new identity.

**Change in networks and media.** The changes in networks and media refer to the changes in peer relations and to the language in which they communicate in to express their ideas (Goldstein, 2003; Ko & Perreira, 2010; Li, 2009). Evidently, these participants did go through changes in their peer relationships where they had to reestablish new peer networks. However, it is the reestablishment of new peer networks that can cause undue stress on the new immigrants.
Also, since they came from the Philippines, their first language was Tagalog, and their level of English proficiency varied from how much English they learned in the Philippines and the amount of time they have been living in Canada.

From the interviews conducted, it seemed that Maria had a personality that made it easy for her to meet new friends. She managed to establish peer connections with her classmates quickly, many of whom she continues to have contact with even though she has changed schools. Chris talked about making friends in the second-language class that he attended while in high school. These friends were also new Filipino immigrants, and together they were able to get through the changes to their lives and reach an understanding of what life is like in Canada. Nathan had the hardest time meeting new people, partially because of his shy nature. Through the help of one of his teachers, he was able to find a group of boys that played basketball and was able to connect with them and become friends. Bea had a difficult time establishing new connections with her peers when she first started in school. Many of the other Filipino students would approach her, but she felt like she was the outsider because many of them had already established their social circles. She talked about living close enough to the school that she could go home for lunch instead of eating in the cafeteria.

Chris and Nathan were the two participants who had talked about their language barriers when they arrived in Canada, whereas Maria and Bea seemed more confident in their English language skills when they arrived. Chris talked about having trouble communicating in English initially, and feared asking for help because he could not speak English. Nathan talked about feeling dumb when he arrived since everything was in English and he felt lost when he started school. Bea was so confident in her English language skills that she pursued French when she started school and even talked about excelling in the class.
**Change in status and identity.** A change in status and identity comes in the form of being the “new” student at school and redefining one’s relation to the world around them. (Ko & Perreira, 2010). For the participants, this was one of the biggest challenges they had to face during their settlement phases. These four had to leave the Philippines in their early teenage years, where they had established friendships and roles in their own communities. Once they arrived in Canada and met new people, they had to find a way to become part of the new crowd. In most cases, they had to find a way to break into already established social circles in their new schools.

Regardless of their English proficiency and who they knew when they came to Canada, all four participants had to go through the feeling of being the “new student.” Maria described her shock when viewing the behaviour of the Canadian students in the first classroom she entered. She realized that she was the new student and that she did not agree with the disrespectful actions of the others, and that this might have made it difficult for her to find new friends. However, when the new students approached her, she warmed up to them quickly and established quick bonds with some of them. She took it as a compliment when the students were interested in her as a new student. She was not selective in the type of friends that she had; she described some of them as being “weird” and “crazy” but still carried on amicable relations with them that continue to this day. When Chris started to establish his social circle, he began with a group of people who were in the same situation as he and, together as new immigrants, they were all on equal footing as they tried to figure out the school system. Nathan had a harder time trying to find friends in the school setting; rather, he went out into the community to find friends. He found a group of Filipino basketball players who made him feel like he was like everyone else and not the “new kid.” Bea had a hard time finding friends when she first started school, and felt
like she was of a lower status than the other students. She understood that the other Filipino students came and talked to her because of their cultural similarities, but never felt part of the group since she knew that they already had “an established group of friends.” She did not know how to break into their social circle. Instead, she befriended more Caucasian students as acquaintances; she claimed that they “became my friends, but more for, like, projects. They were nice but I never really had that one friend.”

The sense of who they were and where they belonged in their new surroundings varied for each of the participants. Having had a rough time in the Philippines before coming to Canada, Maria seemed to understand that moving here meant a different life for her; therefore, she was more open to adopting a different identity. Her drinking had stopped when she came here and she became more focused on her goal of going into veterinary sciences. Through his parents’ words, Chris knew that his identity in this new place would be as a breadwinner for the family, and to help his sisters’ transition to their new life. Nathan had a harder time figuring out his new identity in Canada, and still continues to develop his understanding of where he belongs in his current surroundings. Bea quickly realized that she was the smart one in her cohort because of the encouragement of her teachers. After having a hard time forming friendships in the beginning, Bea went full-tilt joining various clubs around the school, helping her realize what kind of a person she was and how she fit into her new surroundings.

The settlement stage is crucial for new immigrants and this can be the crux of being a Filipino-Canadian or being a Filipino living in Canada. Chow (2007) suggests that immigrant students’ life satisfaction was related to the lived experiences in their new country. Thus, the bulk of this research focused on this stage and is further discussed in the following sections.
Transgenerational Stage

One of the true measures of how well immigrants have settled into their new country can be seen at the transgenerational stage. At this stage in their settlement, they have already established families in the new society (Ko & Perreira, 2010). The next part to evaluating the acculturation of the four participants would be to see them at this stage in their settlement.

Changes Lead to Challenges

After examining the immigration experiences of the participants, these changes continued to be challenges to them as they make Canada their home. Some of the challenges that they encountered included their loss of identity, cultural discontinuities, and intergenerational conflicts. To examine one’s loss of identity, Chan (2009) talked about three types of conflicting stories that new immigrants encounter which causes confusion when identifying who they are in their new home – home language versus school language, parent values versus peer values, and teacher expectations versus parental expectations. Further sources of confusion for the participants occurred when they entered school and encountered the two forms of cultural discontinuities – primary and secondary (Ogbu, 1982). Primary cultural discontinuities refer the confusion that students will encounter when they are not familiar with the cultural norms of the school, and secondary cultural discontinuities refer to the racial divide that occurs in schools when the different cultures interact and a dominant culture becomes evident (Ogbu, 1982). Lastly, their families uprooted these children in order to give them better opportunities, which caused some intergenerational conflicts, such as the students’ priorities given to their studies or their families or their friends, or between the parents and the children.
Conflicting stories

Home language versus school language. The mother tongue of the four participants is Tagalog. The children were educated in the language, and continue to be fluent in it. The amount of usage of Tagalog in their homes varied for each participant; some spoke the language exclusively while others spoke both English and Tagalog. None of the participants talked about being told to stop speaking Tagalog and to only speak English.

The language experiences of these four participants are in line with Goldstein’s (2003) findings of using the heritage language. In her study, Goldstein (2003) noted that the use of one’s heritage language allowed the student to increase his/her peer social capital, which helped him/her advance academically. The usage of Tagalog for these students to increase their social capital varied depending on the length of time they have been living in Canada. However, as Goldstein (2003) also pointed out, the use of both languages can also cause rifts amongst the students who speak the same language.

Chris and Nathan had used the Tagalog language to help them make friends when they first arrived. Chris was introduced to other Filipino immigrants who would become his social group through an English-as-an-additional language class. Nathan met Filipino teenagers at a drop-in centre where they played basketball. In this instance, Tagalog helped them bridge their feelings of loneliness and homesickness because they were able to converse in their native tongue. They had both been in Canada for less than three years and, therefore, still had fairly noticeable Filipino accents and did not always know all the nuances of the English language. They were not always aware of the English equivalent words for certain Tagalog expressions, showing that they still relied on their native language to convey meaning.
On the other hand, because Bea and Maria had both been in Canada a bit longer their views of the use of Tagalog varied slightly. Maria’s attitude of not relying on Tagalog can be due to the fact that she started school in a predominantly Caucasian institution and she had to learn the language more quickly than the others. Bea came to Canada with a better understanding of the English language, and was comfortable expressing herself in her second language. Since these two participants had a good understanding of the English language, during their interviews they discussed their views of the students who spoke Tagalog at school.

When Maria’s family had moved out on their own, she had transferred to a different high school which had a high Filipino population, and she mentioned the shock she encountered when she heard Tagalog being spoken. She said that she felt “really awkward to speak Tagalog” and she considered it “a little rude” because there were people around who would not understand them. Further, she felt that she could not share these views of speaking Tagalog at school, “I can’t really tell anyone because they’ll just think I’m being a little snobby.” Yet, when posed the question about which group she belonged to, between the ones who spoke Tagalog at school and the ones who spoke English, she explained that she associated with both groups, showing that she understood speaking Tagalog allowed her to have access to a wider social network.

Bea went to a high school that had a high Filipino population and there were students who were always speaking Tagalog, but in her view she did not know why these students did not branch out and make friends with other children who did not speak Tagalog. She understood that speaking English was essential to being successful in high school and did not understand how they would improve their English skills if they did not speak English with native speakers. The views shared by the two participants show the divide amongst the same cultural group in the
same setting. It should be noted that they did not have negative views of being able to speak Tagalog; rather, they were conscious about the time and the place to use their native language.

These four participants did not have conflicting stories of home language versus school language to the extent as described by Chan (2009), where the students were conflicted about bouncing between both languages. None of the four participants felt that they had to give up their native language, nor did they feel ashamed of speaking Tagalog. However, the extent to which one used and relied on Tagalog varied amongst the participants, depending on the amount of time they have been living in Canada.

**Parent values versus peer values.** According to Ming-Sum (1997) one of the changes that the students will have to go through are changes in the roles and relationships they will have with their parents. This shift has shown to cause stress on the children as they resettle because of a difference in values. On one hand, the parents have set high expectations for their children to do well in school and for them to help out the family in the new society (Beiser, et al., 2001; Chan, 2009; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Ko & Perreira, 2010; Li, 2009; Li, 2010; Zadeh, Geva & Rogers, 2008). Yet, on the other hand, the students need to form crucial relationships with their peers to help them mitigate the stress of resettlement and to understand the ways of life in their new country (Chan, 2009; Goldstein, 2003; Li, 2010; Hebert, Xiaohong & Kowch, 2004). Thus, it becomes a delicate balancing act for the students to figure out how to manage what happens with their friends and what happens at home. In this study, the four participants did not show any conflicts between parent values and their peer values.

When Maria established a connection with her peers, her life changed for the better. She stopped drinking and attended school on a regular basis. Her peers had even tutored her in the subject areas she was failing. Chris and Nathan attributed some of their academic success to their
peer study groups. The friends that Chris invited into his social circle had a positive influence on his life, because it was with them that he planned out the course of his postsecondary career. Nathan’s social circle got him out of feeling homesick, and they reintroduced him to his enjoyment of playing basketball. Bea chose to establish peer relations with academically successful people, and they were also the ones who helped her become less shy. They continually invited her to social gatherings outside of the school realm. When all four were asked about what their parents thought about their friends, their answers were similar: meaning that their parents trusted them to choose the right friends and did not interfere with their social relationships with their peers.

Several factors could account for the lack of conflict between the two sets of values. For example, Chris, Nathan, and Bea thought that their parents trusted them, and understood that they had friends who would not lead them astray. Secondly, some of the participants had friends who were of the same cultural background, which gave the parents a sense of familiarity. And, as well, all the parents involved were very involved with multiple jobs and varied shift work, in addition to dealing with their own resettlement processes. The parents could not really be choosy about who their children were friends with. And finally, the students who participated in this study realized that their families had sacrificed a lot in order to immigrate and, therefore, it was instilled in the children that this move was for their benefit, which made them carefully consider the company they kept.

**Teacher expectations versus parental expectations.** Teachers are also important adult figures in the lives of these students. As minors, the four study participants were under the guidance of their parents outside of the school. However, at school the teachers were responsible for ensuring that the students were learning the prescribed curricula and guiding their academic
success. However, there are situations when the expectations of the teachers clash with those of the parents (Chan, 2009; Gibson, 1998; Li, 2009; Li, 2010; Ogbu, 1982). Many teachers expect their students to put in all of their energies into their schoolwork, forgetting that these same students often must deal with adult matters, such as economic, cultural, and language issues. However, many immigrant parents rely on their children to help out the family in their resettlement (Chan, 2009; Li, 2009; Li, 2010). Also, there are some immigrant parents who are adamant that their children not lose aspects of their culture and language; yet many teachers have different expectations of behaviour from their pupils, a factor which causes conflict for immigrant students (Gibson, 1998; Li, 2009; Li, 2010; Ogbu, 1982). However, there were very minimal conflicting stories between teacher expectations and parental expectations for the participants.

When their families first moved to Canada, it was financially difficult to establish themselves. However, over time the adults were able to secure employment and the families moved out of the houses that had hosted their initial stay and moved out on their own. Chris was the only participant who was expected to assist his family financially by getting a job rather than start school right away. Once all of the participants were in school, their education became a top priority for their families. Maria, Chris, and Bea continued to maintain part-time jobs as a way to have access to cash, but this was not a requirement. The parents of these students, along with their teachers, expected them to make education a priority and do well in their studies. This conflict is a non-issue for the children due to the way Filipinos view education. From my own experiences and observations as a Filipino and as a teacher, Filipinos understand the value of an education and have the utmost respect for educators. They tend to leave the education of their children in the hands of teachers.
Cultural Discontinuities

Besides going through changes and conflicting stories in the community, immigrant children also experience changes in the school setting (Ogbu, 1982), as the school is the venue where they are introduced to the cultural norms of their host society (Chan, 2009). These changes include primary cultural discontinuities and secondary cultural discontinuities (Ogbu, 1982).

The four participants did not report strong experiences of primary discontinuities when they started school in Manitoba. None of the four participants experienced any interrupted schooling. All four had been going to school in the Philippines (where three of the four went to private, exclusive schools), and as the Philippine school system is based on the American system, it is not surprising that primary cultural discontinuities did not seriously affect the four participants. However, the teaching style in Manitoba was one form of primary cultural discontinuity that they did experience. Maria, Bea and Nathan had expected school to be more difficult once they got to Manitoba. However, they found it rather easy. They discovered that their teachers did not have the same kind of expectations as did their teachers in the Philippines. Because she found school to be easier here, Maria lost motivation and failed some of her classes. Bea had mentioned that the teachers here seemed to want to get to know the lives of their students and went beyond just teaching them the subject. Chris observed that he had difficulties when he first started school because everything was taught in English.

However, all four did encounter secondary cultural discontinuities. Considering the many cultures found in Canada, it is not surprising that “caste like stratification” (Ogbu, 1982) will occur in highly multicultural school settings. The four of them did not specifically say that one ethnic group dominated the others; instead it appeared that the stratifications existed amongst the
same cultural group. Li (2009) described the three groups within the Chinese students: the Banana group, the CBC group, and the FOB group. The Banana group consisted of Westernized Chinese students, the CBC were Chinese students who were born in Canada, and the FOB were the new immigrants who had just arrived. At a school with a predominant Asian student population that Maria attended, she talked about the new Filipino immigrants constantly speaking Tagalog and how she thought that they were really loud and rude in the hallways. Bea had similar experiences at her high school, and chose to become friends with the Caucasian students because she believed that the Filipino students spoke too much Tagalog amongst themselves, she wondered how they would learn English if they did not branch out and befriend people from other cultures. On the other hand, Chris and Nathan embraced their Tagalog-speaking peers. Despite being in a second language class with other cultures, Chris became friends with other newly-arrived Filipino students and continues to be friends with them. Through his friendship with other Filipinos, Nathan was able to get over his feelings of being homesick.

**Intergenerational Conflict**

During the act of migration and resettlement, the parents play a crucial role in the resettlement of their children. Parents can negatively influence immigrant children’s resettlement if these children must watch their parents endure economic hardships and social stratification (Li, 2010). On the other hand, with strong parental support, immigrant children have access to a wealth of social and cultural capital (Abada & Tenkorang, 2009; Fortin, 2002; Yosso, 2005), and with the high expectations for them to do well in school; they tend to be academically successful (Hamilton, Marshall, Rummens, Fenta, & Simich, 2011; Krahn & Taylor, 2005; Li, 2010; Li, 2004).
Chris and Bea are the two participants who talked about the economic hardships that their families had gone through when they first arrived in Canada. Because Chris remembers his previous life in the Philippines as being “perfect” before he had to find a job to help support his family in Canada, he understood the hardships and sacrifices his family made during the initial stages of their resettlement. Bea also discussed the long hours her mother worked and the sacrifices she made to ensure her children had access to the opportunities that Canada could offer them. Chris considers the burden to be on him to do well in school and get a good job, because his parents had instilled in him the belief that, as the only male sibling, he was responsible for the others. Bea ensured that she did well in school; she understood that receiving the scholarship aided her mother, who would not feel the burden of financing Bea’s postsecondary education. In fact, Bea even talked about maintaining a part-time job so that she did not have to rely on her mother to support her financially.

When asked about their parents’ academic expectations, all four had similar answers of high expectations of them doing well in school. All four participants knew that their parents had high expectations of them, and none of them had any issues with it. Maria said that her mother had expected high marks from her while she was attending the private school in the Philippines, but she is expected to do well here too. However, they do not really discuss it. Chris and Nathan’s parents expect them to get “high grades” and to finish postsecondary school so they can give back to their families. Bea explained that she felt that her mom was indifferent about her education, “she didn’t really care much about it, that’s how I feel that she doesn’t care much about my education like, I guess because maybe she would always assume that I’m always doing the best.”
Becoming Filipino-Canadian

After going through the major life event of moving from familiar surroundings to a new country with a vastly different way of life, including a new language and a new culture, immigrants will encounter conflicts and challenges as they work to adjust to their new surroundings. However, over time most immigrants manage to become part of their host society by a process called acculturation. Studies have shown that there are four acculturation orientations – integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 2001; Berry, 1992; Berry, 1997; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009; Li, 2009; Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004; Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers, 2008). Due to their immigration experiences, challenges, and conflicting stories, the four participants have begun their own process of acculturation. The adoption of their new host society’s way of life occurs through two environments – the school system and their own families. The following section will examine the experiences of the four participants on their path to acculturation.

Learning to be Canadian at School

Many immigrant minors are first introduced to the culture, values, and ways of life of their new society through the school system (Ko & Perreira, 2010). Furthermore, schools can play a vital role assisting the new immigrant find ways of feeling at home and helping them adjusting to life at school (Chan, 2009). The factors that played a crucial role for the study participants were the school setting, the peer relations they established, and their teachers.

Initial school experiences. All four students went to different high schools and they all had varying initial impressions of starting school in Canada. Li (2009) and Goldstein (2003) discussed the immigrant students’ initial feelings of cultural discontinuities upon beginning school. The students would not necessarily understand the ‘ways of doing things’ at their new
school, and which language to use when interacting with others from the same cultural group. However, generally speaking, all four participants had had positive experiences starting school, notwithstanding the initial fear of being the ‘new kid.’ They cited some examples of the school policies, extracurricular activities, and the initial reception programs that their respective schools had in place for new immigrants as factors that made settling into school easier.

All four participants had talked about their initial fears of being bullied when they entered a Canadian school. However, after having spent time in their respective schools, they realized that bullying was not as big an issue as they had thought. Maria had said, “there’s no bullying, I thought there’d be bullying like in those typical high school movies, there’s like the popular crowd and they’d bully people, but they don’t.” Or, when Chris was asked about his initial fears of going to school he said, “too nervous, especially with what you see in the movies … oh bullies, bullies, bullies, right? And then you don’t know people there. Will they bully me? It’s kind of scary and nervous.” Bea was the only one who had talked about feeling bullied, “I also experienced bullying and that’s normal and but, not actually, well, … but yeah so that’s not all of them are like that though yeah I did experience it, that’s just minimal for me it’s just part of, I guess, high school.” However, she did not attribute any troubles with bullying during her time at school. Thus, the school policies that deal with building a safe and welcoming community seemed to have worked for these new immigrants.

The extracurricular programs proved to be the venue that allowed Bea to build relationships with her peers that helped her make friends and build her self-confidence. She talked about being part of the badminton team that helped her find friends, “badminton…I didn’t know anyone when I joined, I hoped to find more friends and I did, yeah it helped and it was just like another activity I could do that’s not educational and that could help me, like, know myself’
better and know my school more.” She also attributed her boost in self confidence when she joined the magazine club at her high school, “so when they were talking about my work and they were talking about the short story they liked it, and they were like ‘oh yeah that should be in the book’ and secretly I was like, oh, really, wow, so now I’m a published author.”

The initial reception programs that were in place at their schools also helped Chris and Nathan. Chris had mentioned that one of his teachers recognized that he was having difficulty with his language skills and he referred him to the counselor. This counselor helped him get into the EALP group at his school that allowed him to work with other students to improve his English language and helped him to understand that there were other students who were having the same difficulties. When Nathan started at his high school, a teacher had set him up with a mentor who helped him navigate his early days at the school, “he [the teacher] picked a Filipino guy that is used to speak in both English and Filipino language. That person was the one who helped me get to know more about school and introduced me to some Filipino guys.”

**The role of the teacher.** Many studies (Goodwin, 2002; Kanu, 2008; McDermott & Varenne, 1995; Mevorach, 2008; Zhao, 2001) have been critical of teachers and their methods of dealing with new immigrants’ integration into the school system, such as lack of teacher training to teach newcomers, teachers being inflexible to the adapting to the needs of their students, not recognizing the prior knowledge of the students, or having preconceived notions about their minority students. However, the four participants spoke highly of their teachers who, they said, helped them settle into their new schools, as well as their new communities. In fact, they all maintained that their teachers assisted them more than any programs in their schools.

Goodwin (2002) and Kanu’s (2008) respective studies have illustrated a lack of teacher training and knowledge with respect to teaching immigrant students or adapting to their needs.
Though this may be true of some teachers in the profession, the students participating in this study did not complain about feeling frustrated with their teachers not meeting their needs in the classroom. Maria and Bea’s only complaint was that the school subjects were too easy. Maria talked about losing motivation to do well in school because she considered the work too simple. Although she continued to struggle and fail in math, she attributed her difficulties to her lack of math skills and not necessarily to her math teachers. Bea had mentioned that when she first moved to Canada, she was initially registered for grade 9, but she was age-appropriate for grade 8, so she completed the rest of the year in that grade. Furthermore, the work being covered in this class was easy because she had learned the concepts when she was in grade 6. However, she did not see this as a hindrance because she was able to adjust to life and make the friends whom she continued to see in high school.

There is probably some validity in Goodwin (2002) and Kanu’s (2008) claims that teachers are inadequately trained to meet the needs of immigrant students. However, the teachers in the participants’ schools offered extra help for these students. Whether or not the teachers knew exactly how to help them, they established a sense of trust with the new students. All four of the participants therefore felt comfortable enough to discuss their difficulties with their teachers. Further, if the teachers were aware of various programs and resources for the students, they ensured that the students could gain access to any assistance they required.

McDermott & Varenne (1995) and Zhao (2001) claimed that, when students from other countries enter the school system, they are entering an environment with an established culture. When these new students enter that culture and behave differently, teachers tend believe that the students are making errors and thus having difficulties in the new system because teachers expect the new students to behave like the others. Mevorach (2008) talked about the teachers espoused
mental models and how these models affected how they believed students learn, and how the students demonstrated their knowledge. Through their espoused mental models, the teachers treated their minority students differently from the mainstream students. From the stories shared by these participants, it was evident that their teachers were aware of the cultural differences between the students, and the teachers recognized their own lack of knowledge of these differences but, rather than see this as a negative, the teachers used this recognition of the students differences to get them the supports they needed.

The four participants talked about the positive attitude their teachers had when they first arrived in their new schools. This was something that they were not accustomed to in the Philippines. Maria said that her teachers here were nicer: “they’re nicer because they don’t yell, they don’t scream, and they don’t threaten you. ‘Cause in the Philippines they would, like, I guess, they would threaten you that they would make you stand in front of everyone, embarrass you.”

When asked about his views about his experiences at school, Chris said, “I like it there because people there are really helpful because before that I didn’t think they would help but at the end they really helped me especially I’m in grade 12.” He gave a specific example of a teacher who recognized his difficulty, “At [school] they had this one teacher, she’s Filipino too, she’s teaching physics, too, and then she knows that I’m getting … having difficulty at school and I have one classmate at school, what do you call this … we have a seating arrangement, she changed the seating arrangement, we’re like, every lab we’re partners.” He gave a further example of another adult he was able to turn to for help, “there’s one teacher, she’s assistant teacher, she helped me a lot because sometimes I asked her if she can do me a tutor with some
stuff and she will help me and she will teach me and I just say I’m having trouble in math or physics.”

Nathan said that his teachers were great supports for him. “They were the ones who helped me. They’re the ones who helped me when I was stressed.” One teacher in particular had taken the time to chat with him and ask him about how he was feeling about the move to Canada and, through that conversation, his teacher was able to help him find friends inside and outside of school to help him get over missing his friends back home.

Bea gave a lot of credit to her teachers as she settled into life in Canada:

“So what I really like about high school are my teachers because they’re all nice to me, they were all accommodating, they were all interested in me… they’re all nice and then, like, they’re all helpful and all that and it was really surprising because in the Philippines it was really strict and structured and everything but you can get to be friends with them but it’s just the idea it’s in a private school and you can just be like, here it’s all casual and you can be ‘hey how are you doing’, like, just like, in the hallways. You know, it’s kind of embarrassing because the other students are like ‘wow, you are friends with the teachers’ but then it’s so what, you know.”

When she was experiencing difficulty in one of her classes, she knew she could confide in her teacher who would assist her.

“I was really kind of struggling in her class, so, just because she …a lot of people said she was a hard teacher and I started to talk to her about my test and I was really struggling and I couldn’t get the concepts and then she helped me and she told me she was really encouraging me a lot because I told her really I wanted to get a 90
and then my final grade was 89… but then she said that I did really great in my final exam, so close it just fell short of getting a 90, but she knew that I really struggled but I tried to become better and she saw that through my test and I kept asking about things that also like I got this wrong you know maybe what did I do wrong maybe I should, like, I didn’t understand it that well and then she was really helpful … she’s very thoughtful that she knew what I was trying to accomplish and even though it wasn’t what I expected I was still really happy because like I, my grades flew up.”

Her teachers had got to know her and her family situation so well that they were able to assist her beyond her with a scholarship to help with her postsecondary education.

“My teachers were the ones who nominated for it so I guess they knew that I only had my mom as a single-parent but they also, I guess, I felt that a lot of them I had really good relationships with and they realized that I’m a candidate and it’s funny because when they were searching for candidates my teacher told me this because I asked her how they selected the scholarship winner they would have a committee of teachers in the school and they would nominate students and I was the first one, like, I was the first, I was on top of the list.”

Despite what past studies have shown (Gibson, 1998; Goodwin, 2002; Kanu, 2008; McDermott & Varenne, 1995; Mevorach, 2008; Zhao, 2001) these four participants have had fairly successful experiences with their teachers. Their teachers appeared to have a different attitude when dealing with their minority students. Rather than making the students try to change and fit into a preconceived mold of student behaviour and inundate them with information they believe the students should know, their teachers took the time to get to know them and to understand their daily realities. Perhaps this shift can be attributed to some of the ideas being
promoted by the Manitoba Department of Education in dealing with the diversity in the schools. Certain themes outlined in the “Belonging, learning, and growing: Kindergarten to grade 12 action plan for ethnocultural equity” (Manitoba Education, 2006) had been demonstrated by their teachers, specifically that of building the capacity to meet the needs of diverse learners, engagement of parents, students, and educators, and enhancing the diversity in the workforce.

**Learning essential knowledge.** Schools play a vital role for immigrant students because they gain the essential knowledge needed to survive in their new surroundings; specifically, the tacit knowledge of their community. This knowledge allows one to understand how to adapt to the new environment, and illustrates the acceptable behaviours and language nuances. However, it is knowledge that cannot be directly taught (Sternberg, 1998), one must experience the new culture to acquire it. Through their friendship bonds with their peers at school and in their communities, the four participants were able to learn what it meant to live in Canada.

Through the friendships they made in their respective high schools, the four participants were exposed to life outside of the academic realm, helping them to understand what life as a teenager in Canada feels like. Maria talked about going to football games with one friend, and ultimately becoming cheerleaders. Chad and Nathan had friends that they met while playing basketball. Chad spoke of the study groups with his friends and playing video games. Nathan discussed going out to eat with his friends when they were all together. Unlike Maria and Bea, the boys’ exposures to other experiences with their friends were more contained within their group and they rarely branched out of their familiar surroundings and with other people. Bea made friends at school. They were the ones who encouraged her to go out and watch movies at the movie theatre, or they would invite her over to their houses for a project, where socializing would sidetrack them.
The bonds that they formed with their peers were important for the participants because they exposed them to experiences not necessarily learned in the classroom. Tacit knowledge cannot be taught; instead the knowledge and behaviours are learned through experiences (Sternberg, 1998). Clearly, their friends exposed them to life as a teenager in Canada, which transferred to their behaviours inside the classroom.

**Interaction with families**

The children of immigrants are not the only ones who must go through a process of acculturation; the immigrant parents themselves must experience their own process as they settle in the new country (Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers, 2008). It is imperative that the parents understand the Canadian ways of life too because, without this understanding, they will put stress upon their children, and possibly hinder their resettlement. However, if parents are able to go through their own process of acculturation and come to understand and accept the difference between their home country and their new country, their belief systems can change, minimizing the conflicts they may have had with their children (Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers, 2008).

The high expectations of their parents, differing views on family responsibilities and goals, showing respect to their elders, spending time with their families, wearing acceptable clothing, and meeting parents’ curfews (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Ko & Perreira, 2010) are some of the struggles that children have with their parents. For the most part, the four participants did not suggest that they were experiencing conflict with their parents. However, over time as they spend more time and adopt Canadian values, conflicts with their parents may arise. All the children knew that their parents had high expectations but this was not an issue for any of them. The children understood that they were expected to do well in school as well as take care of their families. Through my insider knowledge, showing respect for elders is an aspect that is ingrained
in the minds of Filipino children from a very young age, so this was not out of the ordinary for them. As well, there was no mention of clothing issues. As for the idea of a curfew, as all four talked about being given more independence once they had moved to Canada. The only major problem seemed to be the amount of time they spent as a family. All four spoke of their parents being too busy working to spend much time together. Thus, in this case, the parents’ process of acculturation was not affecting the participants’ process of acculturation.

It should be noted that this study only focused on the experiences and observations of the children of immigrants. Any further study should take into account the acculturation experiences of the parents and that data should be compared to the acculturation experiences of their children.

**I am Filipino-Canadian**

As it stands, the four participants are still in the process of settling in Canada, and their acculturation will continue to evolve as they spend more time in their new society. However, the various circumstances the new immigrants’ experiences determine which acculturation orientation they will undergo, be it assimilation, integration, marginalization or separation (Berry, 2001; Berry, 1992; Berry, 1997; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009; Li, 2009; Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004; Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers, 2008).

Integration is the most successful form of acculturation in terms of making new immigrants feel part of their new community. Through integration, new immigrants will be able to use facets of their native culture and their new culture to help them navigate their new lives; in essence, they have become bicultural (LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Mac & Alderson, 2009; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2012). Gibson (1998) suggested that there were two paths of acculturation – additive and subtractive acculturation – which dictates the acculturation orientation a new immigrant will experience. Through additive acculturation, new immigrants
are able to add facets of their new culture to their native culture, which is seen through integration. Subtractive acculturation occurs when the new immigrants drop part of their native culture to fit into the new host society, which is seen through assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Thus, if new immigrants are to integrate into their new host society and become bicultural, every effort should be made to ensure that they go through the additive path of acculturation.

The following section will examine the personal and contextual factors that have helped the following participants in their integration into the Canadian society. The personal factors that have affected the integration of the four participants include age at migration, gender, social capital, and their attitudes towards learning. The contextual factors that helped the study participants integrate into their new lives are the educational policies, perceived community attitudes towards immigrants, and their country of origin. Through these various factors, the participants were able to become bicultural and use facets of their ‘old’ culture and ‘new’ culture to navigate their way around in Canada.

**Personal factors to ensure integration**

These four participants left the Philippines during their teenage years, which meant that they had enough time to experience their native culture in the Philippines before coming into contact with the Canadian culture. Because they were able to experience the Filipino culture, there is no doubt in their minds what their native culture is, and what it means to be Filipino; some second generation children have to discover this indirectly. During the teenage years, the four participants relied on their parents, especially during their move to Canada. Thus, there was little intergenerational conflict between the parents and the participants. Their conflicting stories were not as pronounced as Ai Mei in Chan’s (2009) study.
Gender definitely played a role in the settlement of the four participants. The data suggests that the two males had different ideas about what the move meant to their families than did the two females. When the males were asked why their families moved to Canada and what their parents expected from them now that they live in Canada, it was evident that they knew that they were expected to give back to their families by doing well in school and financially supporting their families in the long term. However, the females’ priorities about moving to Canada had a social tone; they seemed more concerned about establishing friendships and social circles; there was no mention of giving back to their families. The females appeared to be more focused on the short-term priorities.

Social capital refers to the individual’s networks, which can be accessed to assist them to become more autonomous (Hebert, Xiaohong, & Kowch, 2004). The participants cited their friends and their teachers, more than their parents and their contacts in Canada, as the main social bonds that helped them settle into life in Canada. Maria had friends to whom she was able to turn to in times of difficulty at home and at school. Chris relied on the teachers and educational assistants to help him when he was having difficulty in his physics class. Nathan relied on his mentor to show him around school and introduce him to other people at school. Bea relied on her teachers and friends to boost her self-confidence. Also, these friendships helped them experience life in Canada, which increased their tacit knowledge of the way to behave in their new society.

Their attitudes towards learning played another significant role in their integration. The more motivated the students was about learning, the easier it was for them to establish the networks that built their social capital. When the students realized that they were struggling in
certain subject areas in school, rather than accept the failure, they all accessed a contact to help them learn and understand the difficult concepts.

**Contextual factors to successful integration**

Multicultural education in Manitoba is guided by the themes outlined in the Department of Education’s document entitled “Belonging, learning, and growing: Kindergarten to grade 12 action plan for ethnocultural equity” (Manitoba Education, 2006). These themes outlined in the document are useful for schools to strive to implement, and teachers and administrators should be aware of the ideas in the document. However, this document is not implemented in all schools. Further investigations need to look at how various schools are ensuring that these themes are being implemented.

Jedwab (2008) took the idea of immigration and looked at how it was perceived by Canadians, and the conclusion was, since the government supported the idea of multiculturalism, it would seem that other Canadians tend to accept other cultures. However, many studies show evidence of racism does continue to exist and minority students continue to feel excluded from the dominant group (Coloma, 2013; Cui, 2011; Kayaalp, 2014; Ray & Preston, 2013; Shin, 2015; Varma-Joshi, Baker, & Tanaka, 2004). The fact that there were no incidences of racism cited by the four participants could be related to their limited length of time spent in Canada, language issues, and the fact that the researcher is a teacher. With the limited length of time spent in Canada, the participants have not had much exposure to various experiences. They have not had the chance to experience finding professional employment, or dealing with major conflict with people of the dominant culture, recognizing Canadians views of visible minorities, or viewing the negative stereotypes of visible minorities in the media (Coloma, 2013; Cui, 2011). As their social networks continue to expand and they have to interact with other people beyond their
school friends, family friends, and coworkers, the participants have a greater likelihood of becoming aware of the racism that exists in Canada. Also, with their limited time in Canada, their language skills are still developing and they could have experienced incidents of racism but might not have recognized it because of the extent of their English-language skills. When asked about their experiences in school, the participants talked about positive experiences. However, there are issues in the school setting as pointed out by Cui (2011), Kayaalp (2014), Shin (2015), and Varma-Joshi, M., Baker, C.J., & Tanaka, C. (2004) where racism continues to exist. Due to the fact that I am a teacher may have skewed their view of their school experience and focussed only the positive interactions they had during their schooling experience. Yet, there was evidence of some form of social exclusion as theorized by Maria and Bea. Maria talked about the different factions within the same cultural group at one of her high schools, and Bea had felt excluded from the other students at the junior high school she attended.

Lastly, their country of origin played an important role in the students’ acculturation because of the history of the Philippines. The country has been occupied by various Western powers, most recently by Americans. Thus, with this influence, certain aspects of Canadian culture were familiar to the participants. All of the participants had some exposure to the English language, their school system was based on the American school system, and the idea of respect towards authority which is paramount in the Filipino culture, translated well for the participants when they entered the Canadian school system. Also, with the history of Filipino immigration to Manitoba, there was already an established Filipino community that gave a sense of comfort and familiarity for the participants. When they arrived it was not difficult for them to find other people who spoke their language. They also found that many of their traditional food
was readily available because there was a demand for Filipino food from the local Philippine community.

**Filipino and Canadian culture - Biculturalism.** According to LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton (1993), Mac & Alderson (2009), and Nguyen & Benet-Martinez (2012) having students become bicultural allows them to use facets of their original culture and newly acquired culture to help them navigate their way in their new surroundings. Mac and Alderson (2009) suggested there are six thematic clusters that immigrants must experience in order to establish a bicultural identity: adjusting to a different culture, family relations, language, environment, friendship, and self-identity. When the four participants arrived in Canada, they had to learn how life in Canada and the Philippines differed. Many of their experiences in adjusting to life were seen through their experiences of conflicting stories during the settlement stage. Family relations were a salient theme that the participants brought up during their interviews. Many talked about the lack of time spent together as a family since arriving in Canada. However, the trade-off was the greater independence they were given since immigrating. Coming from a Tagalog-speaking country to an English-speaking country caused some stress for the participants. However, through school programs and peer relations, the four participants learned and continue to learn English, allowing them to express themselves while not being expected to abandon their native tongue. With our harsh winters, they all had to adapt to the cold weather and to being indoors during the cold months. Friendships turned out to be the most important relationships for the students; their initial fears of being picked on were quelled when they realized how accepting Canadians are towards other cultures. Coming to Canada during their formative teenage years may have worked to their benefit, as all of them have had the experience of knowing their Filipino heritage while continuing to develop their understanding of what it means to be a
Filipino-Canadian. Although the participants went through their own conflicting stories and cultural discontinuities, many personal and contextual factors ensured that they would integrate into the Canadian society.
Chapter 6: Conclusion

In conclusion, this multiple case study research examined the lives of four Filipino immigrants as they transitioned from living in the Philippines to moving and settling in Manitoba. The four study participants lived different lives, had various reasons for moving to Manitoba and had different resettlement experiences. However, all four of them shared the goal of finding success and chasing after the opportunities that Canada can offer newcomers. This study set out to collect those experiences and lived stories to understand the factors that may encourage or hinder the settlement of newcomers to Manitoba.

The stories were collected through face-to-face interviews and follow-up emails to provide a snapshot of what it felt like to move from a place of familiarity to one of not knowing what to expect. The purpose of this study was to inform teachers, educational leaders, and educational policy makers about a growing population that is entering and transforming our schools, our teaching practices and our society. Although only four participants gave a snapshot of resettlement experiences to Manitoba, their stories provided some information about what it means to be a newcomer and what can help and hinder an immigrant’s resettlement in Manitoba.

Implications for Practice

Even though I am Filipino, as well as a teacher, I did not completely understand what the change in environment meant for immigrant children moving to Canada. The four participants did not express feelings of not belonging to their new society. Rather, they talked about the necessity of moving to Canada, and of their future aspirations about their new lives here. At the epicenter of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems model is the individual. The development of the individual is affected by his/her various interactions with the many elements surrounding his/her immediate world, such as their parents, peers, school systems, and overarching ideologies.
in their new environment, the development of the individual is affected. The stories shared by the students and the descriptions of the interactions with the different elements in the different layers of the ecological systems showed that the journey from Filipino immigrant to Filipino-Canadian required a great deal of support. The following are recommendations in terms of relational support, structural support, psychological support, teacher education, and school/divisional support to ensure the interactions the individual has with the various elements of the ecological systems help them develop a healthy understanding of what it means to be part of the Canadian society.

**Relational Support**

The three groups of people who have been most influential on the lives of the individual study participants are their families, their peers, and their teachers. These people have been able to provide them with the necessary social capital that helped them settle in and understand what their new lives in their new country will entail.

Strong familial relationships for the students can cause stress for them during their resettlement, but can also provide them with the necessary supports to thrive in their new settings. Findings show that the parents made the conscious decision for their families to move here for their children’s sake and to provide them with opportunities that were not necessarily available to them if they had stayed in the Philippines. Therefore, it is important that when schools are dealing with the education of new immigrants, parents are informed about how our school system works. It is also important that the expectations from both parents and students be laid out to ensure all parties are on the same page. Also, teachers must understand the realities that immigrant parents face during their resettlement. Teachers may not be able to have the same expectations of immigrant parents that they have with other parents, as both groups have
different views, ideas, and experiences, therefore they have different expectations from their children and the school. For example, immigrant parents may not be able to support their children during school functions because they could be busy with work or feel that they do not have the language skills to communicate with teachers and other adults. The students in this study cited that they rarely see their parents because they are too busy with their work obligations and, while some of the participants are not happy with it, it is something they have come to accept. Teachers need to understand that immigrant parents do care about their children’s education and are doing their best to be of support, but may be limited in their capacity, either through language barriers or economic reasons, to be visible in the school environment. Therefore, if teachers are going to bridge the school life and the home life of immigrant students and to tap into the positive aspects of familial support, there is a need for a network that teachers should have access to which enables them to work with the parents. Community liaison officers and translators are networks that should to available to teachers. These liaison officers and translators can act as the conduit between the teachers and the parents to inform them of the Canadian school system and how their children are settling in and performing academically. Also, they can provide teachers with insights about family situations, the prior learning and schooling experiences of the child, enabling the teacher to adequately program for the immigrant student.

One key theme that has emerged from the data is the importance of friendships. It was through these friendships that these students were able to navigate their way through the school system and the new world around them, which positively affected their identity renegotiation and development in their new settings. Hence, schools must provide opportunities for new students to get to know and have those positive interactions with other students. Friendships in the
classroom are one way to encourage this, but the learning of the immigrant student starts to occur once they become familiar with their surroundings and feel comfortable with the “newness” of everything and everyone. Thus, instances where organic friendships and interactions are encouraged are necessary in school. The teachers and the school can easily support these interactions with other peers through the formation of mentorship programs, where the program would match the students with newcomer students to show them the “business of school.”

Students can also be introduced to other people and to activities that happen after school to help them get to know about their new surroundings. Another suggestion, which was shared by Chris, is to have an international centre at the school. Through this centre the students would be able to interact with others who are also new to the school and to the country, and together they develop a mutual understanding that they are not alone and they can work together to understand their new situation. Through this centre, the schools could also efficiently provide the students with resources they may access beyond the school system which could, in turn, help out their families.

Through the stories of the participants, it seems that best way for teachers to help their new immigrant students is to foster strong professional relationships that are built on trust. The four participants did not talk about the content being taught in class or the pedagogical approaches to teaching minority students. Rather, they talked about how their teachers took the time to get to know them and tried to understand what they were going through as they settled in Canada. Although their teachers may not necessarily be familiar with the Filipino culture, they understood that their students needed extra support, and this encouraged the students to trust them. Once this sense of trust was established, the students felt comfortable opening up to their teachers about any academic and personal difficulties they were experiencing. In turn, learning the academic concepts became easier for the students, and it was evident with these four
participants as the three of the study participants have gone onto post-secondary education and have aspirations of professional careers. To build that sense of trust, teachers will need cultural proficiency professional development. Through cultural proficiency training, teachers can learn about the process of resettlement and what the newcomers are experiencing, allowing them to realize that lack of understanding English is not the only obstacle their students face when they arrive at the school. More importantly, any form of cultural proficiency training should allow the teachers to reflect on their views and teaching practices of minority students.

**Structural Support**

When immigrants move to a new country, there is an understanding that there is going to be a change to their familiar lives, and one of those changes will be a difference in the way they live their daily lives, which is dictated by the structure and systems already in place in their new society. The local community and schools can provide the structural supports that affect the interaction of all the elements of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems model which, in turn, affect the development of the individual. For example, the established ethnic community can provide services or outreach programs to help newcomers. Schools can have certain newcomer programs that allow minority students to acquire the skills they need when they first arrive in Canada, or they can educate the current students to the benefits of cultural diversity.

In 2010 and 2013, Statistics Canada conducted studies to understand the changing demographics of Canadian society, and they have concluded that the immigrant population will continue to grow. In Manitoba, the Filipino community has been changing the landscape in Manitoba for quite sometime now, as pointed out by Dalayoan et al. (2008). Thus, the Filipino people have been able to establish themselves in the local community, making it easier for new immigrants from the Philippines to settle in Manitoba. As well, with established roots and
visibility in the community, the wider population has accepted the Filipino culture. When new families from the Philippines arrive in Manitoba, they can buy the necessary ingredients for the food to which they are accustomed, they have access to a community of people who speak their language and can help them learn about life in Canada, making them feel at home. Also, the established community can provide them with guidance about their settlement because they were the “new immigrants” at one point in their lives. The scope of this study only looked at the Filipino population, but it is worth noting what the Filipino community did to establish itself, which can transfer to other minority groups that decide to make Manitoba their new home.

Schools and school divisions can be more proactive with their initial reception programs and work harder to understand the needs of the new students. Creating social bonds with other peers had been crucial for the study participants. Thus, such programs and supports should be in place that will foster some sort of social gathering, be it an international centre for all new immigrants to meet other new immigrants and access services, as mentioned earlier, a school sanctioned mentorship program, or a quasi-segregated language class. Although, Goldstein (2003) and Ogbu (1982) have suggested that factions between cultural groups can occur through pullout remedial classes, all four participants suggested that some sort of group gathering be available to new immigrants to help them understand the new culture and learn necessary skills. Further research needs to be conducted and tested in this area to understand the best way to structure such a program to meet the needs of minority language students.

Schools may also be the system by which immigrant parents can learn how to integrate into the Canadian society. When asked about their parents’ friends and the lives of their parents in Canada, the common response was their parents did not have much free time because they were always working. Because of this, integrating into the Canadian society for the parents can
be quite difficult. However, cultural groups, community groups, and government agencies can work with the schools to provide out-reach programs to the parents, allowing both children and parents to spend more time together while they learn about life in Canada.

Ghosh & Pyerce (1999), Reitz (2012), and Walsh (2008), have pointed about that Canada is a popular destination for immigrants, largely for economic opportunities but also for the different cultures that is seen here. However, the participants’ parents faced huge obstacles when trying to find employment. We see the “deprofessionalization” of immigrants (Kelly, Astorga-Garcia & Esguerra, 2009), meaning Canada welcomes people of different cultures, but when they try to gain access to the economic opportunities, the government is not quite ready to share the wealth (Coloma, 2013; Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, & Esguerra, 2009; Pratt, 2010). This prevents immigrants from finding viable employment that helps them support their families, and so they must take on several menial jobs just to make ends meet. This leads to less time left to spend with their children, as the four observed when talking about their families, which caused some of the families to drift apart. This is an issue that needs further investigation because it can indirectly affect the individuals in their development and settlement in the new country. On one hand, their interactions with their parents are necessarily for their positive development but, on the other hand, their parents have to prioritize work to ensure their children can continue to go to school, and to financially survive in their new world.

Psychological Support

Moving to Canada is not easy, as there are many feelings associated with going through such a change, like feeling homesick, feeling out of place, and maybe even feelings of regret. Making a new country feel like home depends on many factors; for example, the ability to find employment, upward economic mobility, and earning an income above the poverty line (Houle
& Schellenberg, 2010). Other factors include the cultural and political reasons for moving, the age of migration, family status, academic experiences, making Canadian friends, and experiences of perceived discrimination (Chow, 2007; Dyson, 2005). Therefore, supports need to be in place to help immigrants deal with the psychological effects of moving from a familiar place to a new place.

When minors immigrate, in most cases, they are moving with a mother and/or father and other siblings. However, very little is done to help their parents with the transition. Instead, many of them, as pointed out by the study participants, rely on their children to help them navigate their way through the new society. Yet, it is necessary for the parents to also change their views and way of life to understand the changes in their children’s attitudes and behaviours, as the children will adopt facets of the local culture. As Zadeh, Geva, & Rogers (2008), pointed out, parents must experience their own acculturation process to understand what their families’ new lives will entail, thus relieving the stress of resettlement off their children. Hence, out-reach programs need to be offered for the immigrant parents that will help them in understanding their new lives, rather than just providing them with language and skills training. Although some services do exist to cater to the needs of new immigrants in Canada, they will need to be expanded, funded, and further studied to see if their services are effectively meeting all the needs of immigrants.

Ogbu (1982) pointed out that children experience cultural discontinuities but, within their own cultural groups, there are feelings of being different, and the use of their own language can help or also hinder their integration into the school system (Goldstein, 2003), causing a sense of social stigma. Schools need to understand that this is a possibility and to be cognizant of such divisions in their own student population. Thus, administrators must find ways of responding and
educating the other students about the positive effects of cultural diversity. Schools can adopt inclusive policies that celebrate cultural diversity, which in turn can change the attitudes and behaviours of all their students.

Feelings of homesickness and missing their friends and families back in the Philippines were the initial psychological distress felt by these students. Thanks to technology, these students have been able to communicate with their loved ones back in the Philippines. However, access to such technology may not always be readily available. Many families must start afresh with limited resources and may not have access to a computer or the Internet. Therefore, helping students gain access to such technology may help them get over the separation.

As the students spent more time in Canada, and started to adopt the Canadian lifestyle, the next common psychological distress they felt was boredom. Many of the participants talked about going to school or heading to work and not being able to become familiar with other environments. They therefore tended to stay at home, where they usually spent time with siblings and did not experience the other services or leisure activities that their new home has to offer. Boredom was also felt at school because some of the participants thought that the curricular content was too easy or that it was just a review for them, which caused one of the students to lose motivation. Therefore, further research needs to look at teaching strategies that motivates and engages immigrant students. Also, schools need to do a better job at understanding the level of student understanding and engagement to ensure that they continue to be motivated to learn, sentiments that have also been echoed in Kanu’s (2008; 2009) research. There are many leisure activities available to people living in Winnipeg, but better outreach to ethnic communities might be needed to inform them of such services, or they may need to be put in contact with local community associations to show them how they can become involved.
Teacher Education

The document “Belonging, learning, and growing: Kindergarten to grade 12 action plan for ethnocultural equity” (Manitoba Education, 2006) outlines many initiatives of the Department of Education, such as providing teachers with cultural resources and second language teaching, as well as push for a more diversified teaching workforce. While such initiatives and training are worthwhile, it takes time and financial resources to implement all of these well-founded ideas. From the experiences discussed by the four participants, it seems evident that some of these initiatives have been implemented with some degree of success. Thus, such initiatives should continue to be fostered for long-term goals. However, what seems to be more important, in the short term, is that teachers understand that they do not need to be experts in the field of teaching immigrant students. Rather, they should be familiar with the help and supports that are available to them and to their students. Teachers also need to be more reflective of their teaching practices to better understand the needs of their students and if they are meeting the needs of their students. Many of these students talked about their teachers guiding them to counselors who were able to get them into a program, or to a contact who could help them both academically and personally.

Teachers must also understand that the changes immigrant students go through when moving from one country to another does not happen over night. It can take up to a generation before one can fully feel part of their community. Adjusting to one’s new surroundings takes time. The priorities of the school and the families and the students can differ greatly. Teachers have to find the delicate balance between ensuring that the students learn the content and understanding that there may be conflicting stories that are interfering with the learning of the students. Therefore, professional development in the areas of second language acquisition, and
inclusive teaching practices, to complement their training in cultural proficiency, is necessary for teachers to ensure that the immigrant students learn the content, adjust to the classroom culture, and become familiar with school language.

**Future Policy Considerations**

Cummins (2012) has suggested that identity is often absent from discussions in educational policy, yet it plays a role in the education and the learning of students. Thus, future educational policies relating to newcomers need to take into account the value that children’s heritage culture and language play in their learning, and integration. Furthermore, any policies relating to the recognition of the students’ culture and language should be one that fosters a shift in institutional attitudes, where the established group recognizes that race matters, as suggested by Shin (2015). A change in attitude and behaviours should not only be found with the newcomers but also with the groups of people already established in the receiving schools.

Furthermore, as stated by Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli (2009) and the Canadian Teachers' Federation (2006), there is a need for a better tracking system of the diversity in the teaching workforce. Statistics Canada (2010; 2013) has shown that the face of Canada is continuing to change as more immigrants move here, and many studies have shown having a diverse teaching workforce can support the needs of the changing diversity (Cho, 2010; Cummins, 2005; Cummins, Chow, & Schecter, 2006; Cummins, Mirza, & Stille, 2012; Kayaalp, 2014; Schmidt, 2014). However, there is no mechanism in place to ensure that the diversity found in the teaching workforce is reflective of the diversity of the students in the schools. Without such data, this initiative as seen in “Belonging, learning, and growing: Kindergarten to grade 12 action plan for ethnocultural equity” (Manitoba Education, 2006) is nothing but a political decoy to make it seem like the Department is trying to effect change.
Summary and Future Research

Carter, Pandey, & Townsend (2010), Carter, et al. (2009), Chow (2007), Houle & Schellenberg (2010), Lewis (2010), and Pandey & Townsend (2013) set out to study the life satisfaction of immigrants to Canada and, for the most part, they were able to conclude that immigrants who settle in Canada tend to be content with the move. However, they were able to isolate the factors that led to immigrant satisfaction. This study took a more specific look at the life satisfaction of Filipino minors, the so-called generation 1.5, who moved to Manitoba and had to renegotiate new identities during their resettlement.

By examining the lived experiences of the four participants I was able to gain an understanding of what immigrants face when they move to Canada. Before the participants left the Philippines, there was a mixture of emotions between the four of them, some felt excited and had a sense of optimism, while others were nervous and apprehensive about what was waiting for them on the other side of the ocean. Once here, they started to feel a sense of homesickness and boredom because they were feeling isolated and alone.

Some of the successes the four participants experienced when they moved to Canada included having had the opportunity to advance academically and pursue post-secondary education. They were also able to adapt to their new lives and were able to establish friendships with other people in their local community. Although they did face some challenges during their resettlement, such as language issues, financial setbacks, a change in lifestyle, and change in family support. The four participants were able to learn English at school and through their interactions with their friends, while maintaining their Filipino language. To overcome their financial setbacks, for some, their parents had to take on multiple jobs in order to support them.
and their siblings. Some of the participants even had a part time job to help support their families.

Many of the participants reported a change in their lifestyle once they moved to Canada. They realized that time was valuable here and that they needed to work to be able to afford to live here. Also, many of them had to learn how to do some of the domestic tasks that their hired help did for them when they were living in the Philippines. Due to their parents long work hours and multiple jobs, they soon realized that their parents would not be around and so their family dynamics went through a big shift. To address the absence of their parents, the participants turned to their friends to provide them with personal and academic support.

Initially, when the participants entered the school system they were apprehensive about bullies and being accepted by their peers, one even spoke of feeling “dumb.” However, over time, their relationships with their teachers and friends started to help them understand life in Canada. In turn, their interactions with friends and teachers helped them integrate into their new world and started to benefit from the opportunities that their parents were seeking when they left the Philippines. As it turns out, the positive relationships that newcomers formed with the people in their new surroundings was paramount to ensuring that integration occurred for immigrant students. In the beginning, the support that they received from their families was necessary to help them access social capital which can provide them information of their new home country. However, as they spent more time in the new country, the bonds they formed with their peers was considered more beneficial to their integration as they were the ones who helped them develop their social and language skills.

Within the school system, one mentioned a school program that helped him feel welcome, and an informal mentorship encouraged by the teachers were some aspects that made
them feel safe and helped with their integration. Also, the students found that the professional relationships with their teachers were valuable for their academic and personal success in their new lives. Lastly, the extra-curricular activities available to all of the students allowed them to explore their interests and provided them with a venue to foster and maintain organic friendships with their peers, in turn, this helped create strong social bonds and increased their social capital.

The personal factors that helped their integration were gender, social capital and attitudes towards school. The male participants understood the move to Canada meant that they had the responsibility to find good jobs and give back to their families. On the other hand, the females were more concerned about establishing their social circles. All four participants relied on their social capital, such as their friends, teachers, family members, and extended family members to help them advance academically and to settle in and learn about life in Canada. Also, their attitudes towards school and the desire to be successful allowed them to form social bonds and acquire social capital. It was also clear to the students that they needed to be educated to advance and attain a successful career in Canada.

Some of the personal factors that hindered their integration were their misinterpretation of schools in Canada through the American movies they watched, and their separation from their friends and family back in the Philippines. However, over time they were able to realize that the media had skewed their views of schools. Through their newly formed relationships and the use of technology, they were able to overcome their feelings of separation from the people in the Philippines.

The contextual factors that helped their integration were some of the inclusive educational policies, perceived community attitudes towards immigrants, and their country of origin. The Department of Education has recognized the changing diversity in the school system
and this has put in place some supports and policies in place to help teachers meet their students’ needs, although these policies have not been fully realized across all divisions. The four participants have not been in Canada long enough, and thus they have not reported any incidences of racism against them or new immigrants. Since the four participants were from the Philippines, the influence of Western culture has made their transition to Canada easier. Also, with the well-established Filipino community in Winnipeg, the four participants had access to people who spoke their language and understood their culture.

With such limited research on the Filipino community in Manitoba, this research was able to gather some data on this growing community to understand their lives. However, to further understand the lives of new Filipino minors, further studies need to be undertaken. Any further research should include a longitudinal study that examines the lives of new immigrants through all the stages of immigration, from pre-migration to the transgenerational stage, and further examine the stressors that they experience during each stage and understand what services and supports are available as they go through each stage of settlement. Also, other studies can look at the implications of what happens to immigrants if they do not integrate and go through another acculturation orientation. Another aspect that also merits some research would be to look at what the established Filipino community has done or could do to help further integrate Filipinos and other newcomers, providing an understanding of what impact the Filipino community has had on the local community.
References


Li, J. (2010). 'My home and my school': Examining immigrant adolescent narratives from the critical sociocultural perspective. Race, Ethnicity & Education, 13 (1), 119-137.


Appendix A
Interview Protocol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time of Interview:</th>
<th>Date:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place:</td>
<td>Interviewer:</td>
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<td>Interviewee:</td>
<td>Position of Interviewee:</td>
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Description of research:

Using Uri Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems model as a theoretical framework, this study will look at the personal and contextual factors that have helped Filipino immigrants integrate into the school system and the Canadian society as they reform their identity from being a Filipino to being a Filipino-Canadian.

Questions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual:</th>
<th>Responses:</th>
<th>Researcher notes/ reflections:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Tell me about yourself.</td>
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<tr>
<td>a. How would you describe yourself?</td>
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<td>b. What do you like to do in your free time?</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. What kind of career would you like when you are</td>
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</table>
2) Tell me about your family.
   a. Who do you live with?
   b. How long have you lived in Canada?
   c. What do you like to do with your family?
   d. What does a typical day look like in your household?
   e. Describe your life with your family before you moved to Canada?
   f. Tell me about your life in Canada after you arrived?
   g. What kind of expectations do your parents expect from you, now that you go to a Canadian school? How has it changed from when you lived in the Philippines?
   h. How have your parents finished school?

_Microsystem:_
helped as you settled in Canada?

i. How have you helped your parents as they settled into Canada?

**Mesosystem:**

3) Tell me about your life at school.

a. How long have you been at your school?

b. What grade are you in?

c. Do you remember your first day of school? What was it like?

d. How do you feel about your school? Your teachers?

e. Before coming to Canada, what did you think of going to school in Canada? Has that changed? How has it changed?

f. Before coming to Canada, how did you feel
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<td>a.</td>
<td>about going to school? How has that changed?</td>
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<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>What do you expect from the school you attend?</td>
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<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>Have your parents supported your education? If so, how?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>What are your parents’ academic expectations? How have they supported this?</td>
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<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td>What have you done to ensure you have kept up with their expectations?</td>
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<tr>
<td>k.</td>
<td>What were some difficulties that you experienced or are still experiencing at school?</td>
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<td>l.</td>
<td>What helped you feel comfortable at school?</td>
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<td>m.</td>
<td>What is the most important thing for you at school? Friends? Grades?</td>
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<td>n.</td>
<td>What is your favourite subject? Why?</td>
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<tr>
<td>q.</td>
<td>What is something that your teacher has done to help make you feel better at school? What has the school done? Your friends? Your parents?</td>
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<td>p.</td>
<td>What do you like about your school? Your teacher?</td>
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<td>r.</td>
<td>Describe your friends at school.</td>
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<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>What do you like to do with your friends?</td>
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<td>t.</td>
<td>How do your parents feel about your friends?</td>
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<tr>
<td>u.</td>
<td>Has anything gotten better since you first arrived at the school? Explain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>Has anything gotten worse since your first arrived at the school? Explain.</td>
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</table>
| w. | When things get difficult at school, what is usually
the reason? How do you deal with these difficulties

**Exosystem:**

4) Tell me about your life outside of school.
   a. What do you do during your spare time?
   b. Are you involved with any community organizations?
   c. Aside from your friends at school, who else do you keep in touch with? How would you describe this friendship?
   d. When you and your family first arrived in Canada, did anybody help you as you were settling in? How did they help you?
   e. Who would you describe as your parents’ friends?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f. Have your parents’ friends helped in anyway as you and your family settled in Canada?</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. Do you have any extended family members?</td>
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<td>h. Do you keep in regular contact with them?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. How important is it for you to see and keep contact with your extended family? Why?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Have extended family and friends helped you settle into your new life? How?</td>
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<tr>
<td>k. Before you came here, how did you think life would be like in Canada? What made you think this?</td>
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<tr>
<td>l. Now that you live in Canada, what do you think about life in</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Canada? What changed your mind?

m. Describe for me a typical weekend?

n. Do you still keep in touch with your friends from the Philippines?

o. How has keeping in touch with them help you, now that you are living in Canada?

**Macrosystem:**

5) Tell me what you think about Canada.

a. What did you expect when you found out you were moving to Canada?

b. Why did your family choose to move to Canada?

c. How do you think Canadians view immigrants? Filipino immigrants?

d. How do you think
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Filipino Canadians view Filipino immigrants?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e. What’s the biggest difference you notice about living in Canada from living in the Philippines?</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. After being in Canada, when you think about the Philippines, what do you think about?</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. What difficulties, do you think, new immigrants will face when they go to school here?</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. What do you think has worked well at school for new immigrants?</td>
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<tr>
<td>i. What could be better for new immigrants?</td>
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</table>
Dear Potential Participant:

My name is Eric Sagenes and I am a graduate student in the Department of Administration, Foundations and Psychology in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. I am conducting a research study as part of my graduate studies. The title of my study is *Filipino Immigration and Integration into the Manitoba K-12 School System and the Host Community*. I am requesting your voluntary participation in the study to help us understand the experiences and needs of Filipino immigrants in the school system and the local community.

There has been a steady flow of Filipino immigration into Manitoba, however not everybody, like teachers and community members, who work with Filipino immigrants understand what it is like to be an immigrant in Manitoba and what they need to become part of the local community. This study will look at what Filipino youth, aged 16-20, have experienced and how they feel about these experiences of moving and living in Manitoba. The experiences of the Filipino youth will be collected through interviews and personal documents. The information from the study will be used to inform professionals in the education field about what has helped and not helped immigrants, as they become part of the local community. The information collected will be presented in my master’s thesis.

This research will seek to answer the following questions:

- What do Filipinos experience before, during, and after resettlement in Canada?
• What successes and challenges, both at home and at school have Filipino immigrants faced during the resettlement process and how have they been able to overcome such challenges and/or what has helped make their resettlement successful?
• What are the participants’ observations and experiences of the public school system that has helped them understand what it means to be a Filipino living in Canada?
• Who and what teaching practices in the school system has helped Filipinos find success in understanding what life is like being a Filipino living in Canada?
• According to Filipino immigrants, what features about who they are and their background has helped or has not helped them become part of the Canadian society?

To become a participant in this study, I am looking for someone who is between the ages of 16-20, has lived in Winnipeg between 1 to 5 years, is currently or has been a student in a public school, has permission from a parent to be part of the study (if you are under 18 years old), and can find the time to do two interviews.

During the five-month study, data will be collected through interviews, and personal documents. The sharing of personal documents, such as letters, emails, journals and photographs is not necessary, it is your choice to share them or not. If you choose to share them, please understand that I will not be collecting them and that they will only be used to help me understand your feelings and experiences of moving to Canada and how your life was before you moved to Canada. I will not be showing any of your writing or photographs in the study, they will only be mentioned in the thesis. The expected time commitment will be two interview sessions, where each interview will run between 1.5 to 2 hours, and it will be audiotaped, and approximately one hour to read over the interview transcripts and provide feedback. If you decide to become part of this study and are under the age of 18, read and sign the letter of assent, then please read and discuss this letter, and the consent letter, with your parent/legal guardian. Also, you and your parents will need to sign the attached consent form, again only if you are under the age of 18. If you are over the age of 18, then I only need your signature on the consent form.

Please understand that it is not mandatory for you to participate in this study. However, if you choose to do so, you will be free to raise questions or concerns with me at any time throughout the study and you may withdraw, without penalty, at any time if you choose.

Thank you for your consideration. Please contact me at umsagene@cc.umanitoba.ca if you have any questions or concerns. If there is any part of this letter that you would like clarified in Tagalog, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Eric Sagenes
Graduate Student
Department of Administration, Foundations, and Psychology
Faculty of Education
University of Manitoba
Appendix C

Research Project Title: Filipino Immigration and Integration into the Manitoba K-12 School System and the Host Community

Researcher: Eric Sagenes
Research Supervisor: Dr. Nathalie Piquemal, Room 282, Education Building, Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2, Email: piquemal@cc.umanitoba.ca, (204) 474-7032

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

My name is Eric Sagenes and I am a graduate student in the Department of Administration, Foundations and Psychology in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. I am conducting a research study as part of my graduate studies. The title of my study is Filipino Immigration and Integration into the Manitoba K-12 School System and the Host Community. I am requesting your voluntary participation in the study, to help inform educational policymakers of the experiences and needs of Filipino immigrants, as they become part of the Manitoba public school system and the local community. The purpose of this research is to understand the experiences of Filipino immigrants, between the ages of 16-20, as they migrate to Canada and settle into their new communities and the public school system. In particular, I am looking to answer the following questions:

- What do Filipinos experience before, during, and after resettlement in Canada?
- What successes and challenges, both at home and at school have Filipino immigrants faced during the resettlement process and how have they been able to overcome such challenges and/or what has helped make their resettlement successful?
- What are the participants’ observations and experiences of the public school system that has helped them understand what it means to be a Filipino living in Canada?
- Who and what teaching practices in the school system has helped Filipinos find success in understanding what life is like being a Filipino living in Canada?
- According to Filipino immigrants, what features about who they are and their background has helped or has not helped them become part of the Canadian society?
To become a participant in this study, I am looking for someone who is between the ages of 16-20, has lived in Winnipeg between 1 to 5 years, is currently or has been a student in a public school, has permission from a parent to be part of the study (if you are under 18 years old), and can find the time to do two interviews.

As a participant in this study, you will be required to participate in two interview sessions that would be 1.5 to 2 hours in length, which will be audiotaped, and any personal documents, such as photographs, letters, emails, and journals that you are willing to share. The sharing of personal documents is not necessary, it is your choice to share them or not. If you choose to share them, please understand that I will not be collecting them and that they will only be used to help me understand your feelings and experiences of moving to Canada and how your life was before you moved to Canada. I will not be showing any of your writing or photographs in the study, they will only be mentioned in the thesis. Any data collected will be analyzed to understand personal migration experiences of Filipino youth.

To help protect your anonymity, you will be asked to read over the interview transcript to edit out any information that would lead to your identification or information that you feel is too sensitive. I will be the only person who will have access to the information collected. Your real name and others involved during the course of the study will not be used. The information provided will be used as data for a graduate thesis, and may be presented in journals or conferences/symposiums. Direct quotes from the data will be used during the presentation, but again, your real name will not be used. There are no anticipated benefits to participation. All data collected will be destroyed within 5 years.

A copy of the summary of findings will be sent to you, via email or hard copy.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board (ENREB). If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant’s Signature __________________________ Date __________________

Parent / Legal Guardian Signature __________________________ Date __________________
(required ONLY if you are under 18 years old)

Relation to Participant _________________________________

Researcher’s Signature _________________________________ Date ___________________

Please indicate below how you would like to receive your summary of the findings. Please provide an email address if you would like to receive it electronically.

______ I prefer to receive the summary of findings in **electronic format**.

   My email address is __________________________________________

______ I prefer to receive the summary of findings in **hard-copy format**.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me at umsagene@cc.umanitoba.ca.

Sincerely,

Eric Sagenes
Graduate Student
Department of Administration, Foundations, and Psychology
Faculty of Education
University of Manitoba
Appendix D

LETTER TO ORGANIZATIONS

Research Project Title: Filipino Immigration and Integration into the Manitoba K-12 School System and the Host Community
Researcher: Eric Sagenes
Research Supervisor: Dr. Nathalie Piquemal, Room 282, Education Building, Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2, Email: piquemal@cc.umanitoba.ca, (204) 474-7032

Dear (name of organization will be interested),

My name is Eric Sagenes. I am a supervised graduate student in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. I am conducting a study to look at the perceptions and experiences of Filipino youth, between the ages of 16-20, of their immigration to Manitoba and their experiences with the Manitoba K-12 school system. As an organization that provides services to the Filipino community, I am requesting your help in locating possible participants in my study.

The purpose of the project is to examine the factors that has helped and not helped Filipino immigrants become part of school system and the local community. I am looking for several potential participants. To be considered a participant in the study, he/she should be between the ages of 16 to 20, has parental permission to be part of the study (if he/she is a minor), has lived in Winnipeg between 1 to 5 years, and is attending or has attended a public school. The participants will be required to participate in one-on-one interviews. The time commitment required from a participant would be two interview sessions, where each interview could run about 1.5 to 2 hours, during the five-month study. All of the data collected will be used to understand migration experiences of Filipino youth, and it will also be used to inform my master’s thesis.
There is no obligation to participate, and the participants may withdraw from the study at any time. If you know of anybody who would be interested in this study, please forward this letter, along with the attached information letter and consent form to any interested parties who can contact me directly. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at umsagene@cc.umanitoba.ca.

Sincerely,

Eric Sagenes
Graduate Student
Department of Administration, Foundations, and Psychology
Faculty of Education
University of Manitoba
Appendix E

LETTER OF ASSENT

Research Project Title: Filipino Immigration and Integration into the Manitoba K-12 School System and the Host Community
Researcher: Eric Sagenes
Research Supervisor: Dr. Nathalie Piquemal, Room 282, Education Building, Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2, Email: piquemal@cc.umanitoba.ca, (204) 474-7032

Dear (Potential Participant name inserted),

My name is Eric Sagenes. I am a researcher and a student at the University of Manitoba. Thank you for taking the time to look over my study and discuss your possible participation with your parents. However, as a minor I will require your parents’ permission for you to be part of the study. I would also like to make sure that you would like to be part of the study. Again, please understand that being part of the study is voluntary and you can leave the study at any point in time, even if the study isn’t finished.

If you do become part of the study, I am asking you to meet with me for two interviews, where each interview would be between 1.5 to 2 hours long. You can also use personal documents, such as letters, emails, journals, and photographs, but it is not mandatory. I will not collect any of your personal documents or include your writing or photos in my thesis, I will only talk about them, and use them to understand what your life was like before, during and after moving to Canada. Also, when we are finished with the interviews, you will have a chance to look over what we have talked about and clarify any information collected. Please understand that any information that you share during the interview will only be between you and I, and nicknames will be used in the study when talking about you and your experiences so you cannot be identified.

At any point in time, you can ask me any questions or tell me about your concerns. You can contact me at umsagene@cc.umanitoba.ca. Please sign below, letting me know that you would like to become a participant in my study. Once you have signed below, please go over the
consent form with your parents and I will need your signature and your parents’ signature on that letter.

Sincerely,

Eric Sagenes
Graduate Student
Department of Administration, Foundations, and Psychology
Faculty of Education
University of Manitoba

_____ Yes, I _____________________, would like to be part of this study.

_____ No, I do not want to be part of this study.

Signature: _____________________________________ Date: ________________________
Appendix F

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

April 23, 2013

TO: Eric Sagenes  (Advisor N. Piquemal)
Principal Investigator

FROM: Stan Straw, Chair
Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board (ENREB)

Re: Protocol #E2013:028
"Filipino Immigration and Integration into the K-12 School System and the Host Community"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, the auditor requires that you submit a copy of this Approval Certificate to the Office of Research Services, fax 261-0325 - please include the name of the funding agency and your UM Project number. This must be faxed before your account can be accessed.

- If you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba Ethics of Research Involving Humans.