NASAAN MAN TAYO:

THE STORIES OF 1.5-GENERATION FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

by

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Abstract

The promise of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act is simple: cultural and racial diversity can be preserved, enhanced, and shared without compromising one's participation in the economic, social, and political spheres of Canadian life. In day-to-day understandings, multiculturalism evokes sentiments of acceptance and belonging, but in the lives of 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants, these sentiments waver, shift, and take nuanced forms due to their complex cultural identity. This thesis explores that tension within a social constructionist framework and uses five semi-structured interviews to uncover how 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants live out this identity not only in relation to multiculturalism but to their parents, the first generation. While this research dedicates time to discussing the implications of these lived experiences for understanding multiculturalism, it ultimately prioritizes showcasing the stories of individuals who as children and adolescents are tasked with braving a new world, from their first day of school to their first trip back and every moment in between.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Nicole Danielle Ibalio. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board on August 14, 2023. Study ID: Pro00129630.

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Finally, to my family: Thank you for being my home wherever I am.

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Chapter 1 | Introduction

Research Topic and Question

When I was younger, I had a conversation with my father about cultural identity. I only really remember the last thing he said: "I'm not Canadian. I'm a Canadian citizen, but I'm Filipino. You're probably Canadian." Though my father meant no harm, I immediately felt a sense of loss. It made me feel like we were different and separate. In my head, it established two categories: Canadians and Filipinos. I thought that because I was "probably Canadian," I could not be Filipino in any way that mattered beyond which box I checked under 'Ethnicity.' So, I took my father's words as a challenge to become "Filipino." But if you ask me about Filipino culture, I talk about nurses and karaoke and Jollibee. I know the most shallow, stereotypical conceptions of Filipino culture yet I felt such urgency in reclaiming it. On the other hand, I know so much about Canadian history and politics. I may not consume maple syrup every morning or play hockey but ask me which national anthem I know the words to or which language I think in.[1] I say none of this bitterly. I am only trying to demonstrate how frustrating my position was. There was this mounting pressure to fit somewhere, and I did not like the idea of fitting somewhere that my father did not. But where my father did fit, I, apparently, did not. I do not know why for so long I thought I could only – or even had to – be one or the other. This is what I grapple with today.

"1.5-generation immigrant" is a category that refers to individuals who are foreign-born but immigrate during infancy, childhood, or adolescence. During their formative years, 1.5-generation immigrants are exposed to strong cultural influences from both home and host country through family and other institutions which influences how they feel they belong in either place. In Canada's immigration system, 1.5-generation immigrants are first-generation immigrants

[1] Given that we are in Canada, it could reasonably be English or French. My point, however, is that it is not Tagalog.

because the determining factor is whether one is foreign-born. However, given that 1.5-generation immigrants come as children, the challenges they face are different than those of their parents/guardians. The responsibility of providing for the family, the job search, house hunting – at the time of immigration, these belong to the first-generation. As a matter of fact, 1.5-generation immigrants will have many common experiences with the second-generation instead because both spend some time growing up in the same context. However, the impact of once living in the home country still separates the 1.5-generation from their second-generation counterparts. Depending on the length of time spent in the home country, 1.5-generation immigrants may have already developed deep connections to the country through language, relationships with others, and schooling. In this way, 1.5-generation experiences are complex. And in terms of belonging, they seem caught between generations that they cannot fully fit into.

The complete subject of this research is the '1.5-generation Filipino immigrant.' I do not use the singular to suggest a monolithic entity, but to emphasize the importance of individuality. (But this will become more evident later.) At the project's inception, the rationale behind studying 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants specifically was purely personal. I did not know if being Filipino had a specific impact on my experiences as a 1.5-generation immigrant; it was simply the most pressing thing on my mind. But finding myself having to justify this research beyond "I just want to," I realized that there are certain circumstances that do make the experience of Filipino immigrants significant for politics and the study of politics. First, Filipinos are a relatively new immigrant population in the sense that their numbers have only recently picked up. In 2016, the Philippines was the most reported place of birth by recent immigrants. Not only that, but as of 2021, over one-third reported arriving only within the previous decade. Second, Filipino women

are overrepresented in Canada's Live-In Caregiver Program.[2] And it would be remiss of me not to mention the stereotype of the Filipino nurse or nanny. With these circumstances in mind, it becomes clear that Filipino immigrants have had less time to establish themselves in Canada, yet there are certain narratives percolating Canada's cultural landscape that impact how Filipino immigrants can engage with the rest of Canada.

All of this happens in the context of an important promise. A promise that cultural and racial diversity can be preserved, enhanced, and shared. A promise of full and equitable participation. The promise of multiculturalism. What this means today will be discussed later on, but we must remember that the 1988 Multiculturalism Act was a response to changing demographics. And while this could have been a reflection of changing hearts, it may also be a reflection of the changing demands of Canada, specifically its labour needs. The picture that emerges from this act is the cultural mosaic and it is a metaphor for Canada's approach to ethnic and cultural diversity. Compared to the cultural "melting pot" where unity is achieved through assimilation, the mosaic accommodates, preserves, and celebrates difference within a broader unified picture. And while first-generation immigrants are able to thrive in this cultural landscape because they are permitted to bring home with them, 1.5-generation immigrants do not always fit neatly into home and host cultural categories. While I can tell you what comes from Canadian culture or Filipino culture, I cannot draw a line in myself to delineate what is Filipino and what is Canadian. So, where are we? Where are we allowed?

Nasaan Man Tayo begins by situating itself in the theoretical framework of social constructionism where the individual finds agency amidst social forces not always within their

[2] Reuben Sarumugam and Bryan Taguba, "SCRAP," in *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility*, eds. Roland Sintos Coloma, Bonnie McElhinny, Ethel Tungohan, John Paul C. Catungal, and Lisa M. Davidson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 95.

control. Next, in a review of literature on multiculturalism and first-generation Filipinos, I provide a social constructionist picture of Canada's current cultural landscape. Then, I discuss the methodology of *Nasaan Man Tayo* and introduce the hearts of the study – the research participants who shared their stories. This is followed by a discussion of shared themes, which are then used to comment on multiculturalism in Canada. What *Nasaan Man Tayo* ultimately wishes to answer is this: How do 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants in Canada understand their cultural identity and sense of belonging and what critique do their experiences make on multiculturalism in Canada?

Theoretical Framework and Thesis Outline

The point of this subchapter is twofold: First, it outlines how *Nasaan Man Tayo* prepares itself to answer the research question – How do 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants in Canada understand their identity and sense of belonging and what critique do their experiences make on multiculturalism? – by situating itself in the framework of social constructionism and second, in outlining the tenets of social constructionism, presents the broader structure of *Nasaan Man Tayo*.

First and foremost, social constructionism challenges the positivist assumption that the world simply and intrinsically *is*.[3] Social constructionism does so by analyzing the historical and cultural moments that have *produced* the world and argues that the epistemic status quo of the world, i.e., our knowledge and ways of thinking about reality, is maintained in resulting social processes.[4] For example, when similar phenomena repeat themselves, we interpret this repetition as a pattern, and the more that this pattern continues, the more we trust it as knowledge of the world; in other words, we routinize and habituate the phenomena we experience.[5] In the context

[3] Vivien Burr, "What Is Social Constructionism?" in *Social Constructionism* (Hove: Routledge, 2015), 2.
[4] Burr, "What Is Social Constructionism," 3.
[5] Tom Andrews, "What Is Social Constructionism?" *Grounded Theory Review* 11, no. 1 (2012): 40.

of Filipinos in Canada, this habituated way of seeing the world exists in the overarching narrative of the Filipino diaspora as Canada's supply of workers, primarily in domestic and care labour industries.

The following will be expanded upon in the second chapter, but I find it important to give concrete examples of how *Nasaan Man Tayo* uses social constructionist principles to establish the context of the research subjects, that is, 1.5-ge12neration Filipino immigrants in Canada. In the 1960s, it became common practice for hospitals in Ontario to contact healthcare professionals in the Philippines for the purpose of inviting them to work in the Canadian healthcare sector.[6] While Filipino migration to Canada was already occurring outside of this context, it was a moment in history when Canada clearly expressed its desire for Filipino immigrants, a desire tied to Filipinos' ability to service a need for the state. And the recruitment of Filipinos as skilled workers continues today, meaning that the link between Filipinos and labour is perpetuated. In fact, Reuben Sarumugam and Bryan Taguba note in their contribution to *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility*, which was published in 2012, that Filipino women comprise "97 percent of workers under the [Live-In Caregiver] program."[7] In the homes of many Canadians, Filipinos establish reputations for themselves as caretakers. And this conception of Filipinos is brought from home experiences and into broader society, which is then bolstered by seeing Filipinos in healthcare.

In a 2010 *Globe and Mail* article, for example, experts were tasked with assessing fictional profiles of prospective immigrants, one being Maricel, a Filipino woman looking to work as a live-in nanny in Montreal.[8] Not only did the Globe article tie Maricel to live-in care work, but also to

[6] Valerie G. Damasco, "The Recruitment of Filipino Healthcare Professionals to Canada in the 1960s," in *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility*, eds. Roland Sintos Coloma, Bonnie McElhinny, Ethel Tungohan, John Paul C. Catungal, and Lisa M. Davidson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 100.
[7] Reuben Sarumugam and Bryan Taguba, "SCRAP," 95.
[8] Jill Mahoney, "Meet Fictional Immigrant Maricel," The Globe and Mail, October 6, 2010, https://theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/meet-fictional-immigrant-maricel/article4328152/.

poverty, having dependents, nursing, and Catholicism. In the North American gaze, Maricel is the archetypal Filipino woman. I argue that this is a common conception of the Filipino in the Canadian conscious. In their analysis of the article, Minelle Mahtani and David Roberts note not only the harm in reinforcing a trope, but also in normalizing the narrative that immigrants exist to supplement the lives of existing (largely white) citizens and that existing citizens should evaluate the merits of immigrants based on this capacity to contribute.[9] In Canada's cultural mosaic, Filipinos exist as this "singular" and "unitary" labour market force in the care sector.[10] That influx of care labourers in the 1960s formed a historical moment that continues to define 'the Filipino immigrant' today.

Social constructionist theory also discusses cultural moments, but more will be said on this in the literature review regarding the language of the cultural mosaic and the impact of first-generation Filipino immigrants. I have briefly mentioned the recruitment of Filipino healthcare workers and the Live-In Caregiver Program as an example of how social constructionist theory works with historical and cultural phenomena.

While historical and cultural moments that produce the world possess a lot of force in the framework of social constructionism, the potential for and expression of human agency is not precluded. Within this framework, Filipino immigrants can position themselves as authors, not of one overarching narrative – which is the tendency of the cultural mosaic model, which will be discussed in more detail in the literature review – but multiple and equally important narratives. Jeffrey Aguinaldo grapples with this in his contribution to *Filipinos in Canada*, stating that "there

[9] Minelle Mahtani and David Roberts, "Contemplating New Spaces in Canadian Studies," in *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility*, eds. Roland Sintos Coloma, Bonnie McElhinny, Ethel Tungohan, John Paul C. Catungal, and Lisa M. Davidson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 418, 419.
[10] Bonnie McElhinny, Lisa M. Davidson, John Paul C. Catungal, Ethel Tungohan and Roland Sintos Coloma. "Spectres of (In)visibility: Filipina/o Labour, Culture, and Youth in Canada," in *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility*, eds. Roland Sintos Coloma, Bonnie McElhinny, Ethel Tungohan, John Paul C. Catungal, and Lisa M. Davidson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 21.

is no one coherent identity that one can claim."[11] Instead, identity exists in a "contested terrain of multiple selves," thereby directly challenging the monolithic conception of 'Filipino.'[12] There are two ways that 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants challenge the existing monolith: (1) They do not share the same perspectives as the first generation, and yet they ipso facto are part of the first generation; (2) They do not fit neatly into Canada's cultural mosaic model (because the space that Filipinos take up in this model are largely defined by the first generation).

Further nuancing how we think about 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants reflects the social constructionist idea that a seemingly coherent category can be broken down. Every individual is the epistemic authority figure of their experience, but they do not have these experiences in isolation from the world and the circumstances around them. The social constructionist framework sets up a relationship between the individual and the world, giving weight not only to how the individual exists in the world, but also produces it; and while the world exerts certain pressures and expectations on individuals, it is in turn changed by both their compliance and resistance. In this framework, 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants express agency in articulating the complexities of their identity and in doing so, allow themselves to take up space in Canada's cultural landscape.

The way that social constructionism operates mirrors the broader structure of the rest of this thesis. I am referring specifically to setting up a relationship between individual agents and the world around them. The remainder of the thesis starts with the latter and ends with the former. In the literature review, I discuss historical and cultural moments that produced and now reproduce the world that 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants inhabit. In the third chapter, I elaborate on my research methods, specifically how I sought to place 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants in

[11] Jeffrey P. Aguinaldo, "The Social Construction of 'Filipina/o Studies': Youth Spaces and Subjectivities," in *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility*, eds. Roland Sintos Coloma, Bonnie McElhinny, Ethel Tungohan, John Paul C. Catungal, and Lisa M. Davidson (University of Toronto, 2012), 404.
[12] Aguinaldo, "The Social Construction of 'Filipina/o Studies': Youth Spaces and Subjectivities," 404.

positions of authority, namely interviews. In the fourth chapter, I answer the first part of the research question – How do 1.5-generation Filipino in Canada understand their identity and sense of belonging? – by highlighting significant moments and themes in the lives of the research participants. In the fifth chapter, Implications for Multiculturalism, I answer the second part of the research question – What critique do their experiences make on multiculturalism? – using themes drawn from the interviews and by revisiting the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988) itself. The literature review names the phenomena that social constructionist theory would pinpoint; the methodology and interview analysis chapters zoom in to individual agents, and the fifth chapter bridges the two. Not only is *Nasaan Man Tayo* premised on a social constructionist understanding of the world, but in its argument, inadvertently validates its propositions.

Chapter 2 | Literature Review

The year 2021 marked fifty years of multiculturalism in Canada. While to many Canadians it is deeply embedded in Canada's history and identity, multiculturalism was adopted as official policy just over one hundred years after Confederation. Thus, as indispensable as it seems to Canadian identity now, multiculturalism has not always been part of the vision that Canada's founders and leaders had for it. This chapter discusses key moments in the history of multiculturalism in Canada: The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963), the push for multiculturalism by Ukrainian Canadians (1960s), and the adoption of the cultural mosaic model (1970s), to determine what its first proponents had envisioned and to evaluate the robustness of this vision in light of the experiences of ethnocultural minority individuals in Canada. Then, this chapter explores contemporary understandings and confusions of multiculturalism today to demonstrate how multiculturalism in Canada becomes an external force for 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants to contend with. Finally, this chapter explores the history of first-generation Filipino immigrants in Canada to reveal how the identity of 'the Filipino in Canada' has been defined thus far and how this identity becomes yet another force for 1.5-generation Filipinos to respond to.

A Brief History on Multiculturalism in Canada

The development of multiculturalism in Canada was set in motion by the 1963 Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism. Prior to the commission, the Quiet Revolution was underway in Quebec. This revolution meant the modernization, secularization, and the rise of francophone nationalism in the province. This nationalism was portrayed by neo-nationalists – nationalists who wanted to sever the link between Catholicsm and French-Canadian nationalism – supporters as an "ideology of socioeconomic change and of individual and collective liberation for the French-Canadan people" from what was seen as an encroaching Anglo-Canada, particularly in

economy.[13] Quebec's secularization spurred interest in education, but French Canadians were quick to find that while they were qualified, linguistic and ethnic factors limited their success in Anglo-dominated institutions, exacerbating the widespread frustration.[14] Quebec's provincial government, under Jean Lesage, took strides to reform Quebec's healthcare system, education system, and civil service and even nationalized hydroelectricity. The government was operating under the philosophy of maîtres chez nous (Translation: masters of our own house.). While Lesage was not a separatist, Quebec's transformation lit a fire in the collective consciousness of French Quebecers that ultimately strengthened nationalist sentiments.

Tension reached a peak with the Donald Gordon affair. In November of 1962, Gordon, who was serving as the president of the Canadian National Railway, was asked by a federal committee why not a single vice-president was francophone. The Canadian National Railway, however, was based in Montreal. Gordon answered that French-Canadians did not have the necessary competencies to be in upper management, angering Quebecers and subsequently setting off a series of public demonstrations in Montreal.[15]

Mounting social tension in Quebec prompted the federal government to respond and thus, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson created the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The federal government's primary concern was "French-Canadian challenges to national unity," with the commission aiming to establish a partnership between Canada's "two

[13] Michael D. Behiels, "The Neo-Nationalist Critique of Nationalism," in *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet Revolution: Liberalism Versus Neo-Nationalism, 1945-1960* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 48.
[14] Donald Cuccioletta and Martin Lubin, "The Quebec Quiet Revolution: A Noisy Evolution," in *Contemporary Quebec: Selected Readings and Commentaries,* ed. Michael D. Behiels and Matthew Hayday (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 189.
[15] G. Laing and Celine Cooper, "Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism," The Canadian Encyclopedia, Historia Canada, July 24, 2019, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/royal-commission-on-bilingualism-and-biculturalism.

founding races" while recognizing the contribution made by "other ethnic groups" to Canada's "cultural enrichment."[16]

The language of the B&B Commission centered English- and French-Canadians while pushing to the periphery those "other" ethnic groups. And while the intention behind the commission was national unity and partnership, recognizing the English and the French as different races set the groups as fundamentally different and separate from each other. They needed to coexist beside each other but coexisting *with* each other in an integrated society was a different story. André Laurendeau, a co-chair of the commission, expressed that Quebec needed to be "predominantly French in order to have a critical mass for a successful, distinct French-speaking society," while Frank Scott, also on the commission, believed that Quebec was "legally and historically a bilingual society" and the rest of Canada should adopt bilingualism as well.[17] The resulting policies took elements from both positions. The B&B recommended that the language of work in Quebec be French, and the federal government created the Official Languages Act in 1969, declaring both English and French as the official languages of Canada.[18] As declared by Pierre Trudeau in 1971, the national conception of multiculturalism was multiculturalism within a bilingual framework.[19]

While it seems like Anglo-Franco tensions only became a problem in the mid-1950s, cultural negotiation and contestation has long been part of Canada's history. Consider the Potlatch ban that lasted from 1885 to 1951. Much like with Anglo-Franco tensions, the federal government was concerned that cultural practices like Potlatch were preventing not the mere integration of

[16] Eve Haque, "Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: A Retrospective," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 46, no. 2 (2014): 122.
[17] Graham Fraser, "The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 50 Years Later," *Canadian Issues* (2013): 15.
[18] Fraser, "The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 50 Years Later," 16.
[19] Haque, "Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: A Retrospective," 121.

Indigenous peoples into Canada, but their assimilation. Thus, the idea of culture has long been perceived as posing a kind of challenge to national unity. What makes the B&B Commission different from the Potlatch ban besides Eurocentrism and colonial attitudes, however, is that it marks a clear moment when the federal government transformed culture into a tool for integration. Culture became something that the federal government could use rather than merely manage. And yet, the scope of legitimate integration was still limited to English and French Canadians. This exclusion sparked the push for a multiculturalism that did not prioritize an Anglo-Franco core.

While the B&B Commission was underway, and Quebec nationalism was garnering support, groups outside of Quebec were becoming critical of the bicultural founding narrative of Canada.[20] Some groups resented that their contributions to Canada were characterized as merely "cultural" and believed that the bicultural formulation of multiculturalism divided Canadians into first- and second-class citizens by entrenching a "critical difference" between the rights of ethnocultural groups and the "founding races."[21] The influx of immigrants resulting from new immigration policy without a preference for immigrants of European origins became another source of critique. These groups were primarily concerned with challenging the B&B Commission in a way that would ensure "symbolic recognition from the state for their contributions in shaping the country."[22] While the nationalist movement in Quebec had grasped civil society and the provincial government alike, the push for multiculturalism by these groups was done without the same level of solidarity from their government. While Alberta Premier Harry Strom, for example, supported a non-bicultural multiculturalism, he and his government were motivated by the idea of

[20] Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Alain-G Gagnon, and Arjun Tremblay, "Reflecting on Multiculturalism at Its Semicentennial: Over the Hill or Just Getting Started?" in *Assessing Multiculturalism in Global Comparative Perspective: A New Politics of Diversity for the 21st Century?*, ed. Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Alain-G Gagnon, and Arjun Tremblay (New York: Routledge, 2022). 6.
[21] Haque, "Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: A Retrospective," 121, 122, 124.
[22] Abu-Laban, Gagnon, and Tremblay, "Reflecting on Multiculturalism at Its Semicentennial: Over the Hill or Just Getting Started," 6.

establishing Alberta as "an equal partner in Confederation" rather than in promoting the recognition of any one group.[23] Not only does this support the idea priorly discussed that government actors were beginning to see culture as a tool to actualize their agendas, but in the arena that is Canada's cultural landscape, civil society was becoming an entity of their own, able to set their *own* agendas. Julia Lalande calls them "the third force," echoing the rhetoric of the French Revolution and reinforcing the notion that state and cultural elites have excluded them from the picture.[24]

Ukrainian Canadians, in particular, were concerned with conserving their own culture and were active in discussing the issue of multiculturalism in their communities. They made their own submissions to hearings of the B&B Commission and their ideas could be understood as demands for "participation, recognition, and equality."[25] These demands largely pertained to the political sphere, with Ukrainian Canadians pushing for greater representation for ethnocultural minorities, even going as far as arguing that these groups were best represented by those in their own "cultural milieus."[26] Their belief in this came from wanting to be represented by someone who understood their dreams and struggles, but also conveys the sense that culture creates tangible cleavages in Canadian society that cannot be mended while cultural diversity exists. Ukrainian Canadians believed that their aspirations "were not accepted as equal to those of the British or French Canadians," and that they as a group were continuously grouped with "new Canadians" and

[23] Abu-Laban, Gagnon, and Tremblay, "Reflecting on Multiculturalism at Its Semicentennial: Over the Hill or Just Getting Started," 6.
[24] Julia Lalande, "The Roots of Multiculturalism-Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the "Third Force"," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 38, no. 1 (2006): 47.
[25] Lalande, "The Roots of Multiculturalism-Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the "Third Force"," 49.
[26] Lalande, "The Roots of Multiculturalism-Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the "Third Force"," 49.

"immigrants," despite having been in Canada for generations.[27] Ukrainian Canadians celebrated the history of previous generations and believed that "the pioneering qualities and the hard work" of these generations put Ukrainians on equal footing with British and French Canadians.[28] As this pioneer narrative circulated Ukrainian circles and beyond, it challenged the understanding that Canada had two founding peoples and prompted calls for a special position for Ukrainians in Canada, much like that of the Quebecois. While these claims were ultimately rejected, a new argument emerged: Special status for any group was unconstitutional and that it was unfair to select only two groups for "survival" while the others were "singled out for eventual assimilation."[29]

The efforts of Ukrainian Canadians reveal the vision that they had for multiculturalism: Maintaining cultural distinction for the purpose of preserving their heritage and being recognized for their contributions to Canada. They wanted to be able to pass their language and customs onto their children and legitimized their presence in Canada by framing themselves as useful and productive. This latter point will become crucial later. The scope of their efforts was far more democratic than those of the Quebecois, essentially leveling Canada's cultural landscape and propping the doors open to new actors. Not only that, but their commitment to cultural distinction laid the groundwork for a new way of understanding multiculturalism: the mosaic.

Though the cultural mosaic model can be thought of as a metaphor for multiculturalism in Canada, history suggests that the federal and provincial governments saw real substance and power in the word. Raymond Breton writes that government intervention in the ethnocultural field was

[27] Lalande, "The Roots of Multiculturalism-Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the "Third Force"," 51.
[28] Lalande, "The Roots of Multiculturalism-Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the "Third Force"," 52.
[29] Lalande, "The Roots of Multiculturalism-Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the "Third Force"," 54.

part of a broader state project regarding national unity. The state sought to "reconstruct the symbolic order of Canadian society," which first required a "definition of collective identity."[30] The mosaic became one such definition because of how it animated the concept of multiculturalism. Whatever Canada's multicultural reality was, the concept of a mosaic not only made it tangible, but amenable to the state's broader aim of national unity.

In fact, Lynn Lemisko and Kurt Clausen contend that the mosaic became part of a "state-sponsored history" that not only animated multiculturalism but literally broadcasted it.[31] At the federal level, Lemisko and Clauson look to material developed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) for use by teachers and students related to their documentary television series that aired from 2000-2001, *Canada: A People's History* (CAPH). While the federal government does not have direct control over CBC programming and content, the federal government provided 90-95% of its funding and mandated via the *Broadcasting Act* of 1991 that CBC provide programming in both English and French that is "predominantly and distinctively Canadian, reflective of regional audiences and of the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada."[32] Lemisko and Clauson argue that through these actions, the government invested in promoting "the cultural mosaic storyline" that depicts Canada as having a "long history of acceptance" and relegates racism, gender, and other inequity issues to the past.[33] Lemisko and Clauson ultimately

[30] Raymond Breton, "The Evolution of the Canadian Multicultural Society: The Significance of Government Intervention," in *Canadian Mosaic: Essays on Multiculturalism*, eds. A.J. Fry and Charles Forceville (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1988), 31.
[31] Lynn Lemisko and Kurt Clausen, "The "National Dream" to Cultural Mosaic: State-Sponsored History in Canadian Education," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, eds. Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters (London: Springer Nature, 2018), 324.
[32] Lemisko and Clausen, "The "National Dream" to Cultural Mosaic: State-Sponsored History in Canadian Education," 325.
[33] Lemisko and Clausen, "The "National Dream" to Cultural Mosaic: State-Sponsored History in Canadian Education," 326.

highlight how the cultural mosaic model was not a surface-level way of understanding multiculturalism, but was an actively promoted project.

Focusing on the CBC's *CAPH* series, Lemisko and Clauson argue that the story of first contact between the Europeans and First Nations anachronizes the mosaic. In depicting North America as a continent of nations prior to the arrival of the Europeans, *CAPH* turned European settlers into mere new additions to a pre-existing mosaic.[34] While it is true that nations were already living on the continent, this portrayal obscures the subsequent colonial violence, exploitation, and displacement of First Nations peoples and also the efforts of Ukrainian Canadians and other ethnocultural groups in their push for multiculturalism. The idea of the mosaic is appropriated into a story of how "Canadian practices of pluralism and equity grew out of the historic challenges faced and resolved as diverse groups learned to live together." Adopting the language of a cultural mosaic distanced the government from their prior bias towards a "two founding nations" narrative and the *CAPH* series laundered Canada's history to perpetuate a story of peace, cooperation, and community. According to this version of history, Canada's multicultural reality – that is, the recognition, protection, and promotion of cultural diversity – did not have to be *constructed* or *worked for*, it simply had to be unveiled.

To further entrench multiculturalism into Canadian history, *CAPH* also explored Confederation and debates about constitutional reform. *CAPH*'s portrayal of these events conveys the notion that "great/important men" in Canadian history have long represented diverse perspectives and have long sought to build consensus among diverse peoples.[35] Confederation and constitutional reform were portrayed through the lens of trial and error. These men were well-

[34] Lemisko and Clausen, "The "National Dream" to Cultural Mosaic: State-Sponsored History in Canadian Education," 328.
[35] Lemisko and Clausen, "The "National Dream" to Cultural Mosaic: State-Sponsored History in Canadian Education," 330.

intentioned and simply trying to hold their young country together. The citizens stumbled and erred as they tried to find ways to live together, but in their heart of hearts, they had always wanted harmony. Yet we know that this is not true. French and English Canadians were prioritized as was their wish and ethnocultural minority groups (among other kind of groups) had to advocate for their own interests and could not rely on the French and English cultural elites to stand beside them.

CAPH's story of multiculturalism is that it has *always been there*, not in the sense that there have always been multiple cultures in Canada (which is true), but in the sense that Canada has always treated other cultures in a welcoming manner. The inclusion and integration of other groups were mere plot points in an effortlessly unfolding Canadian mosaic. It may have taken the leadership of a select few, but we always had it in us to be this way. Macdonald, Mulroney, and others simply unlocked our full potential. The state's intervention in the ethnocultural field is explained by how the very nature of a mosaic solves the state's problems with national unity and claims to cultural distinction. The mosaic preserves ethnocultural differences that together constitute a unified picture. It obscures the cultural conflicts in Canada's history and gives Canadians a unifying sense of pride that their country's cultural landscape is symbolized by something so picturesque. More than a metaphor, the mosaic becomes the paradigm of multiculturalism, ostensibly preferable to other understandings like the cultural melting pot.

However, the idea that the symbolic force of the mosaic has stabilized multiculturalism in Canada is untrue. According to the lived experiences of many Canadians, there is a way that the mosaic model fails to capture Canada's cultural reality, thus putting the integrity of multiculturalism in jeopardy.

Domenic Diamante argues that the mosaic has "no flexibility or capacity for movement" and can potentially "prevent the cultural, spatial, and economic fluidity of ethnic populations."[36] This claim calls into question the idea that multiculturalism serves to promote the participation of ethnocultural groups in Canadian society while protecting their cultural heritage. In this way, while the mosaic is supposed to represent multiculturalism at its best, multiculturalism ultimately falls short of its purpose. Moreover, the fact that multiculturalism has a purpose explains why Diamante understands the mosaic as an ideology, a set of ideas that dictate a vision for society and puts forth certain means – i.e., policy – for achieving it.[37] Therefore, the ideology of the mosaic is self-contradictory in that the means set forth go against the vision proposed.

Another problem with the ideology of the mosaic is that it denies the existence of a "Canadian mainstream social group," or dominant culture.[38] Hybrid cultural categorizations, like 'Anglo-Canadians' or 'Asian-Canadians' are the only kind to exist under this picture and "no one would simply be Canadian."[39] This neglects the role that the state played in constructing how multiculturalism exists in the Canadian conscious. Eva Mackey contends that it is "usually white and most often British settlers" that authorize and define the similarities and differences that make cultural distinction possible. This group is "unmarked, unhyphenated, and hence normative" and are "implicitly constructed as the authentic and *real* Canadian people, while all others are hyphenated and marked as *cultural*."[40] What Diamante and Mackey hint at is the mosaic's presumed democratizing force. When thinking of Canada's mosaic, we do not necessarily think of

[36] Domenic Diamante, "Introduction," in *The Mosaic Myth: The Social Integration of Newcomers to Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2023), 6.
[37] Diamante, "Introduction," 5.
[38] Diamante, "The Ideology of the Mosaic," in *The Mosaic Myth: The Social Integration of Newcomers to Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2023), 50.
[39] Diamante, "The Ideology of the Mosaic," 50.
[40] Eva Mackey, "Becoming Indigenous: Cultural Difference, Land and Narratives of Nationhood," in *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (London: Routledge, 1999), 102.

some individual pieces as being bigger, or taking up more space, than others. Multiculturalism has ostensibly made "other cultures" equal to those of the British and French in terms of acknowledging their contribution to the nation, or at least this is what the Ukrainian Canadians advocated for. The mosaic hides the power of the White majority. They are the ones with the power and authority to recognize the existence of others. In other words, while ethnocultural groups are allotted space in Canada's cultural mosaic, it is the dominant group that delineates this space and places restrictions their mobility. The mosaic model fails to capture this.

This reveals another self-contradiction in the ideology of the mosaic. Framing multiculturalism in terms of a mosaic served the purpose of promoting national unity. Yet, this unity is achieved by concealing the power the dominant culture group. In hiding the presence of this dominant, mainstream, etc. culture group, the group stays above ethnocultural others.

Gloria Nystrom grapples with the influence of Canada's dominant culture group in how she explores being, feeling, and doing Canadian. Nystrom also understands Canada's cultural landscape as a mosaic, noting how we are united by our capacity to contribute to the state.[41] Following patterns in the United States, Nystrom suggests that dominant culture groups reward certain ethnocultural groups for their contributions by designating them as "honorary whites.[42]" In the United States, honorary Whites are perceived to embrace the American dream; they hold fast to the belief that upward mobility is earned through "sacrifice, risk-taking, hard work, and thrift," thereby reinforcing the mindset to contribute.[43] However, in the American context, this designation is only available to certain ethnocultural groups, with a clear prejudice against Black people.[44]

[41] Gloria Nystrom, "Paradoxes of the Canadian Mosaic: "Being, Feeling and Doing Canadian"," *Applied Linguistics Review* (2023): 1
[42] Nystrom, "Paradoxes of the Canadian Mosaic: "Being, Feeling and Doing Canadian"," 11.
[43] Nystrom, "Paradoxes of the Canadian Mosaic: "Being, Feeling and Doing Canadian"," 11.
[44] Nystrom, "Paradoxes of the Canadian Mosaic: "Being, Feeling and Doing Canadian"," 11.

Nystrom argues that the idea of "model minorities" (which is more closely associated with Asian people) are rewarded this status by White Americans and Nystrom believes that echoes of honorary Whiteness ring through Canada insofar as the emphasis on contribution remains central.[45]

The idea of honorary Whiteness restricts and narrows the possibilities of "new identities" for ethnocultural groups.[46] Nystrom's argument presents a challenge to the mosaic model. Perhaps the solution is not to reject the emphasis on contribution, but rather to leave the meaning of contribution open to interpretation. However, the mosaic model, and multiculturalism in general, cannot do this without sacrificing national unity. If Canada forwent defining contribution, it would risk surrendering the possibility of a shared national destiny. Nystrom's claims put the mosaic model in a gridlock.

Nystrom presents several other challenges to multiculturalism in Canada. The title of Nystrom's piece, "Being, Feeling and Doing Canadian," was in reference to the ways that she felt the pressure to act Canadian. Nystrom felt it in her desire to take skiing lessons with the rest of her class and in her hope that the "popular" (and white) girls would attend her birthday party. Nystrom wrote that these pressures alienated her from her Chinese family and that they accused her of wanting to be like the "baakgwai," a pejorative term used by the Cantonese to refer to White people.[47] The struggle that Nystrom experienced with fitting in at her school and remaining someone that her parents could recognize counters the promise that multiculturalism makes: Full participation in Canadian life while preserving cultural heritage.

Nystrom makes one more notable claim. For Nystrom, the dramatic increases in hate crimes towards Asians in North America demonstrates the susceptibility of a unified mosaic to the

[45] Nystrom, "Paradoxes of the Canadian Mosaic: "Being, Feeling and Doing Canadian"," 11.
[46] Nystrom, "Paradoxes of the Canadian Mosaic: "Being, Feeling and Doing Canadian"," 14.
[47] Nystrom, "Paradoxes of the Canadian Mosaic: "Being, Feeling and Doing Canadian"," 9.

caprice of others.[48] Multiculturalism as we understand it is impermanent; as unlikely as it seems, state authorities and broader Canadian society itself may recant their commitment to it. We need only look to the internment of Ukrainian Canadians from 1914 to 1920 and to the interment of Japanese Canadians from 1942 to 1949 as proof. Canada's internment camps challenge the idea that multiculturalism is entrenched in the Canadian conscious. Their existence demonstrates how some Canadians still harbour the fear that ethnocultural groups may not be as committed to Canada. While the federal government has since apologized for these actions, the fact remains: Dominant culture groups hold the power to reject ethnocultural groups and this can mean dire consequences for the latter. After all, the increase in hate crimes towards Asians only occurred in the 2020s.

With all of this in mind, it becomes clear that multiculturalism was borne out of conflict and debate. From the very beginning, Canada's Multiculturalism Act (1988) was designed as a way to address and mediate conflict and disagreement in the cultural sphere. While the definition of multiculturalism remains up for debate, what is clearly established is the robustness and flexibility of Canada's cultural landscape thus far.

The Promise of Multiculturalism

As previously mentioned, it was only in 2021 that Canada celebrated fifty years of multiculturalism, so the policy is fairly young. Canada has welcomed immigrants of all sorts of backgrounds, yet it has done so in phases. Now, it is one of Canada's defining characteristics, a core tenet of its identity. However, this has not always been the case. As multiculturalism has unfolded, new exclusions have been made. Furthermore, beyond the policy, the idea of multiculturalism today – the picture of it – is elusive. What does multiculturalism look like? Is it

[48] Nystrom, "Paradoxes of the Canadian Mosaic: "Being, Feeling and Doing Canadian"," 12.

enough that there can be people of diverse backgrounds sitting in the same rooms? Talking to each other? Disagreeing with each other? And why is it important to us that we can call it a part of our identity? These questions are beyond the scope of *Nasaan Man Tayo*. I only raise them to highlight the irony in understanding multiculturalism as crucial to Canadian identity while we disagree on its meaning.

Ratna Ghosh notes, too, that multiculturalism is "central" to Canada's identity.[49] The policy, a "reversal of assimilation," was intended for social cohesion and justice.[50] And while we cannot imagine what a non-multicultural Canada would look like now, it is important to recognize that this policy was a response to immigration policies that increased ethnic and cultural diversity. And even immigration policies were conservative in transforming Canada's ethnic landscape, with a clear preference for Anglo-Saxons over Southern Europeans.[51] Despite eventually welcoming immigrants from Asia and other continents to support its need for population growth, for skilled labour, and other economic interests, a hierarchy had already been established on the basis of Canada's initial preference for White Anglo-Saxons and immigrants were initially expected to assimilate according to British culture and values.[52] The policy of multiculturalism shifted Canada's image and made it more attractive to potential immigrants of other backgrounds.

Yet despite its significance, multiculturalism in Canada is not unshakeable. In fact, North America was "gripped" with Islamophobia following the 9/11 terrorist attack; religion had become a factor to consider in Canada's culturally diverse landscape, especially because of how the presence of Muslims in Canada was perceived to agitate its traditionally Christian, and specifically

[49] Ratna Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," *Canadian Diversity* 18, no. 1 (2021): 13.
[50] Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," 13.
[51] Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," 13.
[52] Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," 14.

Protestant, history.[53] Ghosh even suggests that a denial of "religious accommodation" in Quebec is a reflection of opposition to multiculturalism.[54] For Ghosh, "diversity implies difference," but that differences are ascribed positive and negative meanings that change over time and space.[55] So, the (positive) diversity that the policy of multiculturalism protects can change. This does not necessarily mean that Canada will regress. In fact, this idea fully preserves multiculturalism's potential for growth.

What is most relevant about Ghosh's article to *Nasaan Man Tayo* is the claim that multiculturalism positions Canada as "an ambivalent site where cultural meaning and representation are not fixed."[56] If we conceive of multiculturalism as something that is contested, in flux, not set, then it certainly has the potential to accommodate for individual people who see their cultural identities in the same way. But Ghosh does not automatically dismiss Canada's history of favouring Canadians with French or British ancestry. Ghosh writes that some "dominant groups have not seen themselves as part of Multicultural Policy," and citing the persistence of a "largely Eurocentric" education curriculum as an area where the policy falls short.[57] Increased attention to the global sphere due to Black Lives Matter and the COVID-19 pandemic have, for Ghosh, opened up a conversation about whether multiculturalism points to cosmopolitanism, which for Ghosh is a focus on "the humanity we share rather than all that divides us."[58] Without a more global sense of identity, we may miss the emerging "complexities" of culture in a globalizing world. But this presents a challenge for Canada. While "cosmopolitanism does not exclude citizenship in one's country," part of knowing who Canada is, i.e., its identity, Canada must know

[53] Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," 14.
[54] Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," 14.
[55] Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," 14.
[56] Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," 15.
[57] Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," 15.
[58] Ghosh, "Diversity and Multicultural Policy in Canada," 15.

what it is not, and this *does* mean exclusion. Where Canada will draw the line is, like Ghosh stated on diversity, subject to time and space.

After fifty years of multiculturalism in Canada, Augie Fleras finds it important to ask what 'multiculturalism' really means, if it is working, and if it has been worthwhile. In answering the first question, Fleras claims that 'multiculturalism' is actually a misnomer.[59] Adopting multiculturalism as a policy does not make Canada more multicultural and diverse. For Fleras, it is about making Canada "more inclusive through minority accommodation and migrant integration."[60] The purpose of multiculturalism was not to transform Canada's cultural landscape. This was established in the Ghosh article. Instead, multiculturalism was intended to "abort the possibility of messy ethnic entanglements" by precluding public "expressions of cultural diversity."[61] Instead, multiculturalism channels ethnic diversity into "harmless outlets" while capitalizing on peoples' ethno-diversity as a "stepping stone to facilitate their integration on terms that work for them."[62] What Fleras means here is that ethno-diversity becomes something that Canada seems to welcome and celebrate, but the way that ethno-diversity is handled is by turning it into something benign, allowing expression while stifling disturbance. For example, the Edmonton Heritage Festival is promoted as "the world's largest three-day multiculturalism celebration."[63] While the festival is a dedicated space for cultural expression, festival participants tailor the cuisine or entertainment that they provide for an audience that they would like to *sell* to. Rather than maintaining the image of Canadian society as one with open arms, cultural festivals

[59] Augie Fleras, "50 Years of Canadian Multiculturalism: A Riddle, A Mystery, An Enigma," *Canadian Diversity* 18, no. 1 (2021): 19.
[60] Fleras, "50 Years of Canadian Multiculturalism: A Riddle, A Mystery, An Enigma," 19.
[61] Fleras, "50 Years of Canadian Multiculturalism: A Riddle, A Mystery, An Enigma," 19.
[62] Fleras, "50 Years of Canadian Multiculturalism: A Riddle, A Mystery, An Enigma," 19.
[63] "About the Edmonton Heritage Festival," Edmonton Heritage Festival, Edmonton Heritage Festival Association, accessed April 30, 2024, https://www.heritagefest.ca/.

turn Canadian society into a consumer or customer of culture. Culture is commodified, wrapped in ribbons, and made benign.

Carrying this idea, Fleras then moves to the question of efficacy. To suggest that it works, one may point to multiculturalism's popularity, or to the fact that Canada "espouses respect for cultural difference" and "endorses principles of inclusion."[64] But perhaps multiculturalism works by legitimizing a "controlled immigration program that works to Canada's advantage," meaning that at its core, there is an instrumental purpose to multiculturalism that keeps immigrants in supporting roles.[65] And on whether it has been worth it, Fleras finds it important to note that many racialized minorities are "inclined to disagree" that multiculturalism has led to a more equitable Canada.[66] What this means for *Nasaan Man Tayo* is that while multiculturalism has been seen as a positive force on Canadian society, there is still discrimination experienced by racialized minorities. Furthermore, because the meaning of multiculturalism is still contested, minorities can interpret it in ways that give them the "legitimacy to call out Canada for not living up to its obligations."[67] However, this protest happens in the wake of profound monocultural social conditions that multiculturalism conceals.[68]

Multiculturalism is very clearly linked to immigration policy. In fact, Ghosh argued that the former was merely a response to the latter. But Fleras has suggested that the deeper purpose behind multiculturalism and immigration policy is to supplement Canada's needs. Hence, there is a modern exclusion to multiculturalism in Canada, albeit one that does not necessarily implicate culture. Elke Winter begins this discussion with naturalization. Winter claims that it is "a society's

[64] Fleras, "50 Years of Canadian Multiculturalism: A Riddle, A Mystery, An Enigma," 19.
[65] Fleras, "50 Years of Canadian Multiculturalism: A Riddle, A Mystery, An Enigma," 19.
[66] Fleras, "50 Years of Canadian Multiculturalism: A Riddle, A Mystery, An Enigma," 19.
[67] Fleras, "50 Years of Canadian Multiculturalism: A Riddle, A Mystery, An Enigma," 20.
[68] Fleras, "50 Years of Canadian Multiculturalism: A Riddle, A Mystery, An Enigma," 19.

most important legal, practical and symbolic expression of inclusion," but that the rules for citizenship are different from multiculturalism. [69] While there are some immigration streams such as family reunification and asylum that are "noneconomic," Canada's naturalization regime operates according to "market-driven logic" that facilitates "quick and easy access to citizenship for the highly skilled."[70] What Winter means by "market-driven logic" is that Canadian society has a demand for a good or service that can be supplied by highly skilled immigrants.

While the points system clearly privileges a certain class position, this is not the tension most relevant to *Nasaan Man Tayo*. Instead, it is the idea that, unlike noneconomic immigration streams, Canada's point system implicitly articulates "Canada's vision of meritocratic immigration onto citizenship," where 'merit' equates to how well an immigrant can be what Canada needs.[71] For many 1.5-generation and second-generation immigrants, this is the immigration stream that their parents accessed. What relationship does it set up in their minds between themselves and Canada? 1.5-generation immigrants were accepted as part of a package deal. We came to this country on the backs of our parents, our parents who were sought out by Canada for its own needs. Canada did not want my parents *per se*. Canada wanted my parents' degrees and their labour. And this sets up an important segue to a discussion on the first generation. First-generation Filipinos have often found themselves in Canada as labourers, but in sectors of the workforce that are typically devalued, specifically care labour.

The link between first-generation Filipino immigrants and care labour delineates the place of Filipino immigrants in Canada's cultural mosaic. Though it is not an official policy, it is a visual that clarifies what Canadian multiculturalism strives for. According to Howard Palmer, the mosaic

[69] Elke Winter, "Multiculturalism @50: Diversity & Inclusion Only for the Highly Skilled?" *Canadian Diversity* 18, no. 1 (2021): 34.
[70] Winter, "Multiculturalism @50: Diversity & Inclusion Only for the Highly Skilled?" 34, 35.
[71] Winter, "Multiculturalism @50: Diversity & Inclusion Only for the Highly Skilled?" 35.

"postulated the preservation" of certain aspects of culture and communal life of immigrants "within the context of Canadian citizenship and political and economic integration into Canadian society."[72] Unlike the United States' 'melting pot,' where the expectation is that the nation's population "fuse" to make a new people, a cultural mosaic allows people of diverse backgrounds to maintain a degree of (relatively benign) difference between them, yet the broader picture is one of a beautiful unity.[73] Though these models ignore the historical similarities between Canada and the United States regarding immigration policy and attitude towards new (and ethnically diverse) immigrants, the mosaic and melting pot models capture the tension that 1.5-generation immigrants create in Canada's cultural landscape. It is beyond the scope of *Nasaan Man Tayo* to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of either model nor will it ultimately prescribe one or the other to the 1.5-generation cause, if there is such a thing. Instead, we return to McElhinny's article, "Spectres of (In)visibility: Filipina/o Labour, Culture, and Youth in Canada." As stated in the theoretical framework subchapter, in the mosaic, Filipinos exist as a "single, unitary" tile of the nurse, caretaker, and economic contributor. However, with the 1.5-generation, who grows up with influences from both Filipino and Canadian culture, this model simply does not work. The identity prescribed by the Filipino tile may find itself clashing with the identity they develop in Canada. While the mosaic is meant to preserve a unified whole, the 1.5-generation immigrant may be fractured in the sense that their identity does not readily belong to the category of "immigrant" or "Canadian-born." In a way, their identity reflects the process of the cultural melting pot. Though the model is criticized for its openly assimilationist vision, the picture of blending, and mixing, and the creation of something new does reflect the reality of the 1.5 generation. In the following

[72] Howard Palmer, "Mosaic Versus Melting Pot?: Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States," *International Journal* 31, no. 3 (1976): 490.
[73] Palmer, "Mosaic Versus Melting Pot?: Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States," 488.

discussion, we will complete the picture of the historical and cultural moments that produce the world of the 1.5-generation, more precisely, the "tile" they find themselves squeezed in (and out of). On one end is the multiculturalism that delineates this space and on the other end are the Filipinos who fill it. I now present the stories of the first generation.

The Light and Shadow of the First Generation

Bonnie McElhinny argues that Filipinos in Canada are "haunted" by hypervisibility and, paradoxically, invisibility as well.[74] McElhinny means to say that there is stereotypical way in which Filipinos are viewed – the "victimized nanny," the "selfless nurse" – that renders other images of the Filipino unseen.[75] These "spectral figures," in how they influence Filipino representation and "agentive experiences," have come to "define" the lives of Filipinos in Canada.[76] But in legal and census terms, 'visibility,' specifically 'visible minorities' refer to persons who are non-Indigenous, non-Caucasian or non-white. For McElhinny, this form of visibility perpetuates the idea that Canada is homogenous because some are rendered "perpetual strangers."[77] There are levels to Filipino (hyper-/in-)visibility in Canada. The tendency to see Filipinos as nurses and caregivers plays a role in allowing Canada to overlook them completely. But for McElhinny, the solution does not lie in "White recognition" because it fails to challenge the way that Canada is currently defined.[78] Another element to consider is the relative recency of

[74] Bonnie McElhinny, Lisa M. Davidson, John Paul C. Catungal, Ethel Tungohan and Roland Sintos Coloma. "Spectres of (In)visibility: Filipina/o Labour, Culture, and Youth in Canada," in *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility*, eds. Roland Sintos Coloma, Bonnie McElhinny, Ethel Tungohan, John Paul C. Catungal, and Lisa M. Davidson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 5.
[75] Bonnie McElhinny, Lisa M. Davidson, John Paul C. Catungal, Ethel Tungohan and Roland Sintos Coloma. "Spectres of (In)visibility: Filipina/o Labour, Culture, and Youth in Canada," 5.
[76] Bonnie McElhinny, Lisa M. Davidson, John Paul C. Catungal, Ethel Tungohan and Roland Sintos Coloma. "Spectres of (In)visibility: Filipina/o Labour, Culture, and Youth in Canada," 5.
[77] Bonnie McElhinny, Lisa M. Davidson, John Paul C. Catungal, Ethel Tungohan and Roland Sintos Coloma. "Spectres of (In)visibility: Filipina/o Labour, Culture, and Youth in Canada," 6.
[78] Bonnie McElhinny, Lisa M. Davidson, John Paul C. Catungal, Ethel Tungohan and Roland Sintos Coloma. "Spectres of (In)visibility: Filipina/o Labour, Culture, and Youth in Canada," 8.

Filipino immigration. Unlike other immigrant groups, less than 5 percent of the population arrived prior to 1970, and in 2001 over half had arrived in the previous ten years.[79] Not only have Filipinos in Canada had less time to define their identity in Canada, but due to the historical recruitment of Filipino healthcare professionals to Canada in the 1960s, an identity has been established for them.

Valerie Damasco, in researching her Aunt Lourdes' experiences during the 1960s, makes a case for Canada's imposition of identity onto Filipinos. Lourdes was trained and employed as a midwife in the Philippines and was recruited by Riverdale Hospital in Toronto from the School of Midwifery, Maternity and Children's Hospital in Manila.[80] She was required to provide letters of affidavit support from her supervisors in the Philippines, along with transcripts from elementary school to postsecondary. What Damasco found shocking about the documents her aunt showed her was a letter that Riverdale Hospital sent to their house in the Philippines. Damasco remembers her shock: "A hospital in Toronto sent correspondence to the Philippines during the sixties?"[81] She remembers thinking that the delivery address was "the house of [her] grandparents'" and that it was "[her] home when [she] visited the Philippines each summer."[82] The physicality of the letter, at one point in Canada, then in her grandparents' home, fascinated her. Damasco is a second-generation immigrant, "oblivious" to the history of her family's immigration to Canada, but this made her curious.[83]

Damasco notes that arrangements made for the recruitment of Filipino healthcare workers came before the development of Canada's points system.[84] Though certainly qualified, these

[79] Bonnie McElhinny, Lisa M. Davidson, John Paul C. Catungal, Ethel Tungohan and Roland Sintos Coloma. "Spectres of (In)visibility: Filipina/o Labour, Culture, and Youth in Canada," 8.
[80] Valerie G. Damasco, "The Recruitment of Filipino Healthcare Professionals to Canada in the 1960s," in *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility*, eds. Roland Sintos Coloma, Bonnie McElhinny, Ethel Tungohan, John Paul C. Catungal, and Lisa M. Davidson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 97.
[81] Damasco, "The Recruitment of Filipino Healthcare Professionals to Canada in the 1960s," 99.
[82] Damasco, "The Recruitment of Filipino Healthcare Professionals to Canada in the 1960s," 99.
[83] Damasco, "The Recruitment of Filipino Healthcare Professionals to Canada in the 1960s," 99.
[84] Damasco, "The Recruitment of Filipino Healthcare Professionals to Canada in the 1960s," 100.

healthcare professionals did not come to Canada through a system where ethnicity and culture were not explicit categories. Professionals from the Philippines were sought out on purpose because of the education system established in the Philippines during the U.S. colonial period. Ontario hospitals wanted Philippine healthcare professionals "because they were educated through a North American nursing education system and were trained and versed in North American nursing practices."[85] It "enabled them to efficiently assimilate into the Canadian nursing work culture."[86] Here lies the imposition of identity. Though the assumption made by Ontario hospitals was not entirely unfounded and their reasoning was fair, their primary consideration was about professional compatibility. The other ways in which these professionals would have to blend with Canadian culture were not considered because Canada's priority was acquiring labour. It would be remiss not to note that all of this happened before multiculturalism was adopted. I have already discussed through Elke Winter's piece what impact this may have on succeeding generations and their relationship to Canada. But from another point of view, Canada has viewed the Filipino, particularly the Filipino woman, as a laborer. And Canada has an interesting way of framing this.

Statistics Canada released a report in June 2023 on Filipino Canadians. In a section about Filipino labour, the report stated that "Filipino Canadians are among the hardest working people in Canada," with "the highest labour force participation rate among all Canadians and well above the national average."[87] Hard working. Filipino Canadians are hard working. It would be foolish to fall into a victim mentality here. This is not the point that I am making. In fact, I am trying to say something that is quite the opposite. In the midst of this history, *Nasaan Man Tayo* finds opportunity, against the backdrop of a multicultural landscape that still shifts and grows, to

[85] Damasco, "The Recruitment of Filipino Healthcare Professionals to Canada in the 1960s," 107.
[86] Damasco, "The Recruitment of Filipino Healthcare Professionals to Canada in the 1960s," 107.
[87] Statistics Canada, "Filipino Canadian Proud with a Strong Sense of Belonging," StatsCAN Plus (Statistics Canada, June 19, 2023), https://www.statcan.gc.ca/o1/en/plus/3883-filipino-canadian-proud-strong-sense-belonging.

continue the story, to take it in new directions. This discussion is an acknowledgement of what directions have been laid out on behalf of the 1.5-generation. They may be the paths we take. They may not be. Now we stand at a fork in the road.

When Damasco became more curious about her family history after learning about her aunt's past, she captured an experience that I continue to have today. Whenever my parents tell me about their journey, one in which I was a mere passenger, I always want to know more. Learning more about my parents' lives started the chain reaction of which this thesis is part. The title of this subchapter is The Light and Shadow of the First Generation. Being in someone's shadow is a familiar concept. How do we live up to the dreams and accomplishments of our parents? How do we honor their sacrifices? How do I show you that your decision was worth it? As daunting as all of this may be, the 1.5-generation also stands in the light of our parents. They are an example of how to live, a north star to follow.

Davidson begins by listing the issues that arise from Canada's Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP): the perpetuation of "feminized labour migration" and the "deprofessionalization of educated Filipinos," along with the "emotional consequences of maternal absence" and the "rupture in mother-child relations."[88] But in some cases, Filipino Canadian families employ their own family members through the LCP and this brings with it "an opportunity to reunify with family while improving their middle-class standing."[89] For Davidson, "hope" emerges in "everyday domestic practices" as demonstrated by family reunification through labour migration.[90] Rather than defaulting to a story of victimhood, challenges and hardship are reframed through a lens of

[88] Lisa M. Davidson, "(Res)sentiment and Practices of Hope: The Labours of Filipina Live-In Caregivers in Filipino Canadian Families," in *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility*, eds. Roland Sintos Coloma, Bonnie McElhinny, Ethel Tungohan, John Paul C. Catungal, and Lisa M. Davidson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 142.
[89] Lisa M. Davidson, "(Res)sentiment and Practices of Hope: The Labours of Filipina Live-In Caregivers in Filipino Canadian Families," 143.
[90] Lisa M. Davidson, "(Res)sentiment and Practices of Hope: The Labours of Filipina Live-In Caregivers in Filipino Canadian Families," 143.

hope, revealing the agency behind it all. Hope here is not "simply about utopian visions and dreams" that put an end to all struggles, but rather a driving force that motivates individuals to "rationalize, strategize, and take action."[91] Eliza, a women who migrated to Canada under the LCP in 1997 and interviewed by Davidson, frames her decision to migrate to Vancouver through "her commitment to improve the socio-economic welfare" of her family.[92] Instead of focusing on the external pressures that influenced her to migrate, Eliza chooses to focus on her goals, her hopes, and this allows her agency to enter the story.

The agency demonstrated by the first generation is a light for the 1.5-generation as much as it is a shadow. The magnitude of what the first generation has done, the magnitude of what they have *overcome* is not something that can be easily ignored. Many of the first generation have built good lives in Canada. And as intimidating as it may be for it to be our turn, the first generation has dealt us good cards.

[91] Lisa M. Davidson, "(Res)sentiment and Practices of Hope: The Labours of Filipina Live-In Caregivers in Filipino Canadian Families," 146.
[92] Lisa M. Davidson, "(Res)sentiment and Practices of Hope: The Labours of Filipina Live-In Caregivers in Filipino Canadian Families," 149.

Chapter 3 | Research Methods

In the following chapter, I explain how I further sought to answer the first part of the research question – How do 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants in Canada understand their identity and sense of belonging? The literature review began the process by outlining some of the external forces that 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants interact with in Canada (e.g., multiculturalism) and in the world more generally (e.g., the first generation). What remains is how 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants understand themselves in light of those established external forces. A qualitative method of semi-structured interviews was used to fulfill social constructionist conceptions of individual agency by placing 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants in positions of epistemic authority, that is, in positions where their stories and life experiences are considered true, legitimate, and insightful knowledge.

Research Design

Needing ethics approval for this study necessitated making decisions about the design of the study early in the timeline of writing this thesis. What I prioritized was designing the study in a way that struck a balance between by role as a researcher asking a specific question and preserving the epistemic authority of the research participants.

I did this by providing starting points for the interviews, the poem specifically, to orient research participants around relevant ideas and concepts like identity, belonging, etc. The research question, not directly stated in the recruitment message but indirectly indicated, also served to situating the thinking of the research participants within a certain context. I chose to explore the experiences of 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants in *Canada*, despite my interviews taking place in Edmonton, with a majority of the research participants identifying the Edmonton Metropolitan Region as the first place in Canada that they lived. One research participant identified Toronto as

their first place in Canada and another Vancouver, but the sample is not representative of 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants across Canada. The wording was intentional because of how it situated the research participant to consider identity at a national level without imposing this as a requirement they had to meet during the interview.

I use 'Canada' rather than 'Edmonton' because it was the Canadian government that accepted my family's immigration application. I knew Canada before I knew Edmonton. Moreover, I say 'Philippines' rather than 'Quezon City' because I know my home country in a very general way, and I lack connections to the locality that make me feel like I can call myself someone from Quezon City. 'Canada' and 'Philippines' reflect the in-between position of someone saying 'goodbye' to one thing and 'hello' to another. In my mind, these broader labels reflect unfamiliarity in one context and estrangement in another. Having conducted the interviews, I can confidently say that that these broader conceptions of identity resonate with the 1.5-generation.

I understand that this seems to suggest a tension between placing research participants in positions of epistemic authority while seemingly attempting to influence the nature of their answers. To a certain extent, this is true. I wanted their answers to be oriented around ideas of identity, split-ness, and in-between-ness. But in the actual interviews, it became clear that the research participants did not need any prompting or guidance in order for their answers to touch on concepts of identity, belonging, etc.

With the poem prompt, for example, research participants had the option to view it in advance and time was promised in the actual interview for reading it as well. As a result of the first interview, the poem came in at the end of the conversation when I had originally imagined it serving the role of a conversation starter. Given the semi-structured nature of the interviews, this

did not affect *Nasaan Man Tayo*'s ethics-approved status. But rich stories and experiences were shared before the poem played any significant role, and this was especially true for research participants who chose not to read the poem before the interview. Moreover, because it entered the conversation as the closing topic, comments on the poem were significantly less rich and so it has taken a more minor role than initially imagined. This is in no way a loss or a detriment to *Nasaan Man Tayo*'s objectives.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted over structured interviews to give research participants the latitude to lead the conversation and provide details that they judge as important. The interviews were *originally* structured as follows: Research participants were to be greeted, then given an overview of the research project by reviewing the consent form, then given the opportunity to ask questions before starting, then audio recording would begin, opening questions asked, and the poem prompt presented. In actuality, the interviews remained relatively true to this structure with one deviation. In the first interview, after the opening questions were asked, I asked the research participant if he had chosen to read the poem in advance. And though he did, he expressed a dislike for the poet, Rupi Kaur. If he had disliked the poem, I could have asked if there was a specific reason why, but because this was not the case, I simply chose to defer the use of the prompt to accommodate for what this research participant wished to discuss instead.

Had this impromptu change not occurred, the prompt would have interfered with the path laid out by the opening questions: How old are you currently? How old were you when you moved to Canada? Who came with you when you moved? What do you remember about that time? With these questions, research participants were situated in the present moment, then drawn back to where their journey as immigrants began. The questions encouraged a chronological retelling of their stories. Had these questions been followed by the prompt, the chronological retelling would

have been interrupted; the prompt would have led research participants directly to big moments, and there is no telling what nuance would have been missed.

Ethics Approval

On August 14, 2023, *Nasaan Man Tayo* received ethics approval from Research Ethics Board 1, an independent ethics board administered by the University of Alberta. The study ID is Pro00129630. The following study materials were given approval: a recruitment message, a prompt, which was a short poem titled *immigrant* by Rupi Kaur, and an interview guide.[93] Research participants signed consent forms before they were interviewed, and they were allowed to revise or redact parts of their transcript and even withdraw from the study completely within a set timeframe.

Recruitment Process

The research participants knew beforehand, as per the recruitment message, that they would be asked to discuss their experiences as a 1.5-generation Filipino immigrant in Canada. There were several inclusion criteria that research participants were required to meet, and these criteria was presented in the recruitment message: individuals of legal age, ethnically Filipino, Philippine-born, and moved to Canada between the ages of zero to seventeen.[94]

The recruitment message was posted to the University of Alberta Undergraduate Student Digest and to the Instagram account of the University of Alberta Philippine Students' Association as a story that expired after twenty-four hours.[95]

[93] These materials can be found in Appendices A, B, and C, respectively.
[94] For the full recruitment message, see Appendix A.
[95] For the full recruitment message, see Appendix A.

Communication between prospective research participants and the principal investigator (myself) occurred via email. When a prospective interviewee expressed interest, they were sent an electronic copy of *Nasaan Man Tayo*'s consent form, which contained information on the study. If they were still interested, a date would be set for the interview.

Research participants retained a physical copy of the consent form, which included the contact details of the principal investigator, and they were allowed to contact the principal investigator with any questions or concerns regarding their participation at any point after the interview.

Research Participants' Characteristics

A total of five participants were recruited, ranging from ages eighteen to twenty-seven. The research participants moved to Canada between the ages of five and fifteen.

It was not part of the interview for research participants to declare where in the Philippines they were from, but those who lived in other places besides Edmonton did report that. The three major cities mentioned were Edmonton, Toronto, and Vancouver. Research participants who did not live in Edmonton initially reported that they did not reside in those areas for longer than they have resided in Edmonton.

Each research participant indicated that they immigrated to Canada with some or all of their immediate family. Two research participants' fathers were already living and working in Canada at the time of their immigration.

Interview Procedure

The interviews were conducted in the Fall of 2023, each approximately one hour long. They were held in various locations in Edmonton, AB, with most happening on the north campus of the University of Alberta.

Once a research participants arrived at the interview site, they were greeted by the principal investigator, and the consent form was reviewed. The research participant would then sign a physical copy of the consent form, and this copy was retained by the principal investigator. They were given a copy for their own records. Then, when the research participant was ready, the principal investigator began audio recording and relayed the opening questions, prompting a chronological retelling of their experiences. Probing and requests for elaboration were reserved for topics that seemed significant to the research participant. Referring to the interview guide, this meant frequent use of an emotion to describe their feelings, or a certain person being present in the stories they shared.[96] I found that some research participants repeated certain phrases or rhetoric related to performing, such as "little things" and "putting on a show," and I asked research participants to elaborate on these as well.

As the interviews progressed, each began to take the shape of a conversation akin to one between friends. Though I did not maintain close contact with the research participants following the interviews, for the hour that we were together, we found a trust and comfort that were rooted in our shared experience. We all came from somewhere else and found ourselves here. In some of the interviews, I was hearing them say out loud things I had only ever said in my mind. Some research participants commented that the interviews felt like therapy. Others commented that outside of these interviews, they had never really spoken about their experiences as 1.5-generation

[96] For the full interview guide, see Appendix C.

immigrants. The trust between myself and the research participants did not run deep in relation to time. It was impromptu, tentative, and tenuous. But the weight of our shared experience was enough to feel like they could sit across from me and be understood. This was one of the benefits of being an "insider," while conducting these interviews. Not only was I ethnically Filipino, but I belong to the same immigrant category of "1.5-generation." While I will not make a monolith of the experiences of 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants, there are experiences we share because of how these categories interact with the broader social world. Some of these experiences, including alienation from family and stereotyping, will be discussed further in the fourth chapter. As a result of my being an insider, research participants could more readily label me as trustworthy and could safely assume that I meant to harm to the community.

As indicated in the research design, the influence of the first research participant's dislike of the poem prompt carried across the remaining interviews. Nearing the end of the interview, the principal investigator would introduce the poem and ask the research participant to choose a line that resonated with them. Given that this would occur at the end of the interview, there was little engagement with the poem. The first research participant declined to comment on the poem and given time constraints, the poem was not introduced in one of the interviews. Only three research participants chose a line from the interview, but this in no way negatively impacted the data collection of the interviews.

At the end of the interview, the research participants was thanked, outstanding questions were addressed, and they were informed of when they could expect their transcript. Following the interview, audio recordings were transcribed, and catalogued in accordance with a unique randomly generated number assigned to each participant. Transcripts were sent to research

participants for approval. Once transcripts were approved, they became part of the data set and catalogued using the same number assigned to the research participant.

Data Analysis

Nasaan Man Tayo presents this data according to narrative-based approach, where I highlight key moments in the stories of the research participants. These key moments are identified based on the time and detail research participants give to them. The narrative-based approach preserves the nuance of each research participant's story and allows them to remain in a position of epistemic authority. Under this approach, three key moments or events from each research participants' interview are relayed chronologically, but also in a way that closely follows how the research participant recalled them. This means sacrificing a degree of organization and cohesion in order to preserve feelings of uncertainty, oscillation, or frustration that research participants were experiencing in real time. This chapter answers the first part of the research question – How do 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants understand their cultural identity and sense of belonging?

Discussion

From this, I identify one overarching theme that links each research participant and use that theme to discuss the implications of multiculturalism in Canada, which is the second part of the research question – What critique do their experiences make on multiculturalism in Canada?

Chapter 4 | The Stories of 1.5-Generation Filipino Immigrants

Priscilla

So, it was always like my struggle – oh my gosh, so dramatic – but it was always like I was never white enough to feel white, and I was never Filipino enough for these Filipinos too.

They Told Me I Sound White

Attending school in the host country is an experience that the 1.5-generation shares with the second generation. The difference is that while the second generation only experiences the school system of the host country, some 1.5-generation immigrants experience the school system of their home country too. This was the case for Priscilla, who moved to Canada when she was twelve years old.

In the Philippines, Priscilla's batch was the last year that did not go through the K-12 school system; instead, high school graduates were typically sixteen. So, though she was technically already in her second year of high school, she was only in eighth grade in Canada. Yet returning to eighth grade was no concern for Priscilla. It was what she would be leaving. She had already formed friend groups in the Philippines, so leaving them was "really hard." And while there are so many Filipinos in Sherwood Park now, at the time, there was not a lot of ethnic diversity. Priscilla attended a small junior high where there were only twelve people in her grade. It was difficult for her because the other students had been together since nursery, so "you're really just the outsider." She was the only person of colour in her class and saw two or three other Filipinos "max[imum]." Priscilla remembered that "it was a very predominantly white space and navigating through that at such a young age was really hard because I've never been an outsider." In the Philippines, "you look like everyone, you sound like everybody, and you kind of share the same experiences and

outlook in life." So, the shift really "took a toll" on her self-esteem and even her "own voice" because "it was really hard to be in a white space and not be white."

Priscilla went to a school in the Philippines where the language of instruction was English, so when she came to Canada she was already a fluent speaker. When she transferred to her school in Sherwood Park, her homeroom teacher mistook her for another transfer from Calgary. When Priscilla clarified that she was from the Philippines, they responded "We didn't expect that because you speak such good English." And Priscilla remembered thinking "Oh my God, they told me I sound white." And that made her feel "so good." In fact, Priscilla stated that she "tried so hard to whitewash [her]self" by wearing the clothes and makeup that were trending at the time just to fit in with the other students.

Then, Priscilla recalled a group of Filipinos at her high school that were in -2 level classes and ESL together. Priscilla would have been in ESL with them, but because the school administration could understand her English, they changed their mind. At this point, Priscilla noted that "not only was [she] not white enough, [she] was also not Filipino enough" either.

She remembered having one Filipino friend with which she shared the experience of being whitewashed. I asked her to elaborate on her experience with that word and she said that if you called her whitewashed in high school, she "would have taken that as a compliment" because it was either "you were a whitewash or you were a fob." F.O.B., or 'fresh off the boat,' is a derogatory term for immigrants who have not assimilated into mainstream culture, either in speech, dress, or mannerisms. 'Whitewashed' is a term that describes immigrants or people of colour who have assimilated too much into mainstream culture, usually a term used by other people of colour, again a derogatory term. For Priscilla, "it was almost a crown that [she] wore proudly every single day of high school." She thought to herself, "Oh my God, yes, I'm one step closer to being white."

Things began to change when Priscilla started attending university because then she started seeing more Filipinos and other Asians. Her Filipino friend in high school did not understand Priscilla's references to Filipino pop culture, or her sense of humour, but in university, Priscilla's Filipino friends knew what *charot* meant, and would high five her when they laughed. For Priscilla, it was those "small things that really made a difference." While the transition from high school to university is daunting in and of itself, Priscilla's identity as a 1.5-generation Filipino immigrant played a role in shaping this identity. For her entire life she saw herself as an extrovert, but when she came to Canada, and more specifically Sherwood Park, she would silence herself because "it was really hard to penetrate that white space." And while she did not find her voice in 400-person lectures, Priscilla found it in the little things that she found in university. It was about feeling comfortable enough to speak around people because they looked like her and spoke like her. It was little things like reclaiming her appearance from the makeup and dress that was popular amongst her white girl friends. Looking back at her school experience, it was these little things that also left her feeling excluded. Recalling her first day of school, Priscilla said that she looked at her friends and "they were so much taller than me, and their hair was blonde, and their eyes were blue" and she thought to herself "Oh my God, I don't look like them." And at the time, "it didn't matter" but looking back, it did because she constructed her appearance and identity around theirs. Hair colour. Makeup. Clothing. So insignificant now, but it was "the subtlety of everything" that drove how she saw herself.

Feeling Foreign

The first time Priscilla returned to the Philippines was in 2018, with a second return shortly after in 2019. When I asked her about how it felt coming back, she remarked that there were already so many things that were new to her, "but then it also just felt like coming home." But it was

obvious that Priscilla had mixed feelings about returning. She even said that in 2018, she "really hated it." While her parents stayed in Canada, it was her sister and their cousins that accompanied her. She remembered two weeks in calling her mom crying and saying that she wanted to go back home and that was the first time she ever thought of Canada as home.

Before her first time back, she saw herself as "just here in Canada." But while she was in the Philippines, she missed her bed, and Sherwood Park, and Canada. And her parents, of course. But that phone call changed how she saw the Philippines. Priscilla said that it was "the first time it ever felt like I was a visitor to my own home. [...] I felt foreign in the place that I was born and spent 12 years of my life in." She remembered paying for something at a mall and handing the cashiers a loonie. Something as small that became a striking moment for her. She felt embarrassed and disconnected from the Philippines for the first time ever in her life. It was not while she spent years and years away that she felt disconnected, but rather when she came back. There was an incredible poignancy in beginning the story of her return by saying that it felt like coming home, and then talking about all the ways it stopped feeling like that when she got there. It was obvious that her relationship with the Philippines had become complicated.

The context of her life in Canada impacted her experience in the Philippines as well. When she returned in 2019, she was already in her second year of university and more "adjusted" with her identity. That was when she started questioning why she felt the way that she did. The second time around, she was more "appreciative" of her being Filipino. It was at this point she remembered something from her first time back. She and her sister were out shopping and they were insistent on speaking English. In Priscilla's mind, they were "so obviously trying to make it seem like [they were] not Filipino." Language became an important part of Priscilla's experience as well. In 2019, she spoke the language as a way to express her "love" for being Filipino.

What to take away from this part of Priscilla's story is the ways that we are tied to places. During her first time back, she felt disconnected not just because of her new habits, but also because the Philippines had changed while she was away. However, there were ways that she could keep connection alive, and that meant coming to her own identity while she was in Canada, and speaking Tagalog when she could.

Rose-Coloured Glasses

Earlier in the interview, Priscilla was talking about how seeing more Filipinos and other Asians in university helped her reclaim her identity. But when we moved to a discussion on stereotypes, we found further tension. While this part of the conversation started with me asking about Filipino stereotypes, Priscilla quickly shifted the topic to East Asian stereotypes about being studious, mathematically inclined, and aspiring to Ivy League schools. In her words, "that conversation has never included Southeast Asians. [...] Whenever people think about Filipinos, they always think about nursing, or healthcare aides, or caregivers."

And what was particularly important for Priscilla to talk about was how Filipinos perpetuate these stereotypes themselves. It is not necessarily problematic that we continue to become nurses or healthcare aides, but rather that we choose to be known by these stereotypes to appeal to the expectations of others. It was at this point that Priscilla brought up Jo Koy.

He is an American comedian whose mother is Filipino. One of his recurring jokes is about how his mother pushed him to become a nurse and he suggested that this is something that Filipino mothers generally share. They push their children towards stable careers like nursing irrespective of their children's dreams.[97] One thing that Priscilla found particularly hurtful was how he imitated his mother's accent because this is a common way that "Filipinos in the diaspora" made fun of

[97] Netflix Is A Joke, "Jo Koy on Filipino Moms," YouTube, May 29, 2021, video, 2:44, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=siSRQ057_pE.

"mainland" or "F.O.B." Filipinos.[98] According to Priscilla, "it perpetuates such a harmful narrative within the community." But Jo Koy became an icon for the Filipino community because his Filipino ancestry gave them representation in the North American context. Through him, we could be seen, even if the picture was not ideal.

At this point in the conversation, I shared with Priscilla that I found Jo Koy funny at one point because I could relate. Priscilla had a similar feeling. Her mother, unlike her father, spoke English without a Filipino accent and when people would ask about her parents, she would always talk about her mother. According to Priscilla, her parents have an idealized view of Canadians, one that may in fact be a stereotype. Priscilla says, "my parents have this sort of notion about Canada and white people especially that they're just so great. They're nice, so nice, polite." And she genuinely worries that her parents face microaggressions without knowing it because of how they have idealized Canadians. It mirrored how Priscilla thought of Canada when she was younger. "I saw Canada [through] rose-coloured glasses. [...] Now I'm 24 and I see Canada as it is. And it's great, but it's not the best thing in the world."

In fact, this idealized view of Canada, this view that permeates the immigrant narrative of dreaming for better, is not something Priscilla can relate to. Her life in the Philippines is "100 times better" than her life in Canada. She describes herself as a "privileged kid," living with three *yayas*, and drivers at their disposal. Priscilla says, "I don't relate to that story of the Filipino OFW[99], the resilience." Even her friends could not understand why Priscilla ever moved. In fact, Priscilla saw the move "more as a vacation" than anything; "I thought we would always come back to the Philippines. I mean, I don't blame my parents but moving to Canada wasn't really part of the plan."

[98] F.O.B., or fresh-off-the-boat, refers to a newly landed immigrant and usually carries a tone of derision.
[99] O.F.W., or overseas foreign worker.

Priscilla does indeed see herself going back. When I asked her where home is, she responded, "If you asked me this five years ago, I would 100% say Canada with no question, no hesitation. But then I think about 50-year-old-me and where I would be, and I don't think Canada. I think I'm back in the Philippines. I think I'm back home." This is not the first time Priscilla has thought about this. In a conversation with her cousins, they asked each other where they would die and this somehow translated to home. As for her relationship to Canada, Priscilla feels that "it's just where [she's] going to work."

Dustin

But I wasn't living with my family and so they facetimed me alone. It was my grandparents and my cousins. And it was just so hard to let them know what I'm doing. It just feels like a different person. You know me from like 12 years ago. Who do they remember? Who am I now? Who do they think I am?

Memories Here and There

In Dustin's interview, it became very apparent that memory played a large role in how he would be able to articulate his story. This may seem obvious, but it demonstrates something important about 1.5-generation immigrants. Their immigration experience happens when they are young, or at the very least, young*er*. The role that memory plays in Dustin's story is markedly less chronological, and rather recalls moments where there is something pronounced in what Dustin was remembering. However, even though Dustin was only able to tell his story in shorter pieces, they are connected by the fact that they made an impression on his memory and that must count for something.

He was 15 when he moved to Canada, and he came with his parents and younger sister. At the time of this interview, he was 27. His "first real memory" of coming here was that the air was more "crisp." He remembered walking out of the Vancouver airport, and when the sliding doors opened, it was just that. The air. It was cold and "such a big shift" from the hot and humid Philippine air. Dustin recounted two things that gave him culture shock, both in the school setting. The first was that students did not wear uniforms. The second was that they talked back to their teachers. These seem like such small details, and yet they highlighted how different life was here for Dustin.

Even though he would not call them culture shock moments now, there are still things about Canadian culture that feel off. In Filipino culture, it is proper to address people who are older than you or in positions of authority by a title. In more informal settings, a *tito* or *tita* often suffices. But in a past relationship of his, Dustin recalled meeting his then-girlfriend's parents and how difficult it was to call them by just their first names. For him, "that felt so rude" because he was not going to call his mother by her first name.[100]

These bits and pieces of Dustin's memories, though seemingly mundane, demonstrate something incredible. In a time of change and uncertainty, it was little things like the air, uniforms, and interaction that he remembered. These little moments, seemingly disconnected, are what make a story. And this is how the rest of Dustin's part in *Nasaan Man Tayo* will proceed.

Far and Familiar

Following his mention of uniforms, Dustin began recalling school in the Philippines. Being in the same class and having the same timetable as his classmates meant that he formed "a lot more bonds back then" and because he knew the language, he was able to communicate effectively. But this was in stark contrast to his school days in Vancouver. Not only was he witnessing unfamiliar forms of interaction between students and teachers, but his conversational English just "wasn't as good." He remembered feeling a kind of anxiety about it, but that the feeling was "hard to express." Overall, Dustin described it as a tough time: "I don't think I made real friends there. I don't think I really made connections or anything there." He remembered how his parents wanted him to come home immediately after school, so going over to a friend's house or hanging out after class were

[100] Informal titles in Filipino culture are often decided by age or generation in a family. If someone older than you is around your parents' age, you would address them as *tito* or *tita*. But if they were close to your age, *kuya* or *ate* were what you used. However, if the person around your age, but they were your parents' cousin or friend (i.e., in the same generation as your parents), then you would use *tito* or *tita.*

not options Dustin had. When he moved to Edmonton, Dustin transferred to a high school where all the friends he made were Filipino. According to Dustin, “it was something familiar.”

As he got older, it held less and less weight for Dustin that his friends were Filipino. In fact, most of Dustin’s friends today are not. But even so, he still considers meeting Filipinos here as “a welcome surprise.” He recalled a date he went on with a Filipina who moved to Canada at the same age he did. While they were talking, Dustin realized that their experiences were so similar. For him, it was “validating” and “cool” because “it’s not an experience that a lot of people share.” In another instance, Dustin recalled meeting a second-generation Filipino immigrant through standup comedy. They were both Filipino and they were comparing material in case they had any similar jokes. It then came up that Dustin was born in the Philippines, and the second-generation friend became curious about Dustin’s life there, which Dustin was quite struck by. So, while Dustin is able to socialize and make connections without culture and ethnicity playing as big of a role, it pops up now and again in ways that left deep impressions in Dustin’s mind.

While he was able to make friends here, staying in contact with people back home was also something on Dustin’s mind. While social media eased his worries about that, a new tension emerged. He quickly realized that talking over the phone is just not the same. Dustin recalled a recent videocall with his grandparents and cousins. According to him, “it was just so hard to let them know what I’m doing. I just feel like a different person from twelve years ago. Who do they remember? Who am I now? Who do they think I am?” It was during this same call that Dustin realized just how far from home he was. He remembered thinking, “What am I supposed to say?” to the people he had once been so close too. The closeness he shared with his grandmother and with his cousins changed immensely. Now their interactions come in the form of annual birthday messages and Dustin even went as far as saying that he felt he had lost sense of what family means.

The day before he moved, he remembered his grandmother comforting him while he cried. But on the day of the move, it did not feel like he would not be seeing them for a long time. According to Dustin, "it felt like I was just travelling to someplace like a vacation or I'm just going over to a different house. I still haven't divorced myself from that thought." Until now, Dustin still feels like he is "in reach." But for him, this feeling was a "delusion" that that his mind indulged in, so that he would not have to think about it.

What They Want from Me

Despite the fact that going back to the Philippines feels like an illusion for Dustin, he has found little ways to bring the Philippines here. His standup comedy, for example. Early on, he tried not to do "Filipino stuff" because he did not want to be "just a caricature up there." But slowly, he started having more of it in his sets. In Dustin's own words, "I've definitely articulated what some of my experiences are, what the culture is, but never in a direct way. That's just a personal thing."

At the time of the interview, Dustin was working as a head chef. Though it was a German-Austrian restaurant, he brought Filipino flavours to the menu. He remembered it being fun because, in his words, "it felt like I was bringing the culture to people who didn't know about it." In fact, this was the same reason he started incorporating Filipino culture into his standup. According to Dustin, "I'm more willing to write stuff about Filipinos because I think people want to hear it and people want to experience it through me."

And while this brought him joy, introducing Filipino culture to other people's lives was also something like a burden. He recalled a film directed by Wes Anderson, *The French Dispatch*. He was explaining a scene where an immigrant chef was being interviewed by a journalist and the chef was just saying that he did not want to be a disappointment and that it feels like he is always seeking something missing, missing something left behind. After this Dustin said, "I feel like that.

I feel like ever since coming here, there's this identity that I need to be proper and to not disappoint people because I'm tied to being a Filipino, and if I do something wrong it's a bad representation [of] everybody there." He continued, "I feel like if I do something wrong, then it mars the entire country. That feeling of disappointment is big to me."

Dustin moved when he was only fifteen. And between then and now, he had come to feel like he was carrying a country on his back. In his words, "I think it's a bit of a complex for sure. Moving here doesn't feel like home. You feel like you're a visitor and you're like, 'I'll try to make not as much noise.' It wasn't a responsibility, but more so about how do I exist without rocking the boat?" Not only did these reflections indicate that Dustin's identity as an immigrant made him feel the need to tiptoe here, but further suggest that to afford acceptance, immigrants must construct their identities in ways that are digestible to the broader public. For example, Dustin began to incorporate Filipino identity into his comedy because he believed it was what other people wanted from him. Yet he was also aware that he had to portray his Filipino identity in a way that was mindful of his consumer. His identity became something to be bought and sold.

Mary

Honestly, I feel guilty for saying this, but I think for me, when I picture home, I picture Edmonton.

My Mom

If I had to guess Mary said most often in her interview, it would be the phrase "my mom." It was clear from the very beginning that her mother played a significant role in shaping her identity and life in Canada. Mary's relationship with her mother is deeply interwoven with her story. While she was twenty-four years old at the time of this interview, Mary was only nine when she immigrated. It astounded her that she had been here for more than half of her life. When Mary was a child, her mother married a Canadian citizen, which prompted their move to Canada. While her mother's papers were easier to prepare, Mary being the biological child of another man, and having his last name instead of her stepfather's made things "messier." Her mother told her that her health records being particularly difficult to get in order because of something they were seeing in Mary's lungs. They needed to do further testing and her mother was so frustrated that her friends suggested that she bribe whoever was doing the testing. All of a sudden, Mary's tests were fine.

When Mary found out the news that they were leaving, it was "kind of a shock" because while she had been hearing that they were planning to leave, it took about three years for their permanent residence application to get approved. In Mary's words, "It didn't feel real that we were actually coming." She was anxious about leaving with her mother because, at the time, they did not get along well. She was sad to leave her grandmother and her uncle because they were her "safe space." But Mary did get along with her mother's new husband, recalling the times she would accompany her mother to the internet café so they could talk while she played computer games.

Mary believed that because she was her mother's only child, and a daughter at that, she was "just really super protective." Her father's presence became a welcome relief.

Mary and her parents arrived in Canada in March. And while her father said it would be okay because it was spring, it just happened to be a year when winter was enjoying an extended stay. This was the start of one of Mary's most vivid memories of her early days here: the snow. Recalling her first day of school, Mary felt intimidated because she "could not understand how people could walk through the snow" during recess. According to Mary, "it was weird that I would walk out and then my foot would just sink. And that was a weird sensation." She wondered how the other kids got so far so fast and when she got home, she promptly told her father that she needed snowpants.[101]

And while her father was the one to cushion their transition to Canada, Mary's mother's influence was clear in how she preserved Filipino traditions and customs in their home, especially around holidays. One thing that did not change for Mary was the "energy" around Christmas time. Since she gained new family from her father's side and because of the friends her mother made, she "still felt that community" that she was accustomed to in the Philippines. However, she noted that her grandmother's religiosity made Christmas more church-centered in the Philippines, whereas in Canada, it was more commercialized. Moreover, around Christmastime, she remembered that her mother and her mother's friends would have potlucks, and this is a practice that she carried on with her own friends. Where Mary saw the biggest cultural difference was around New Year's. In the Philippines, it is easy to obtain fireworks. In fact, "anybody in the neighborhood could essentially put on their own little display."[102] Mary remembered that she would see the Chinese zodiac of the year being broadcasted on the news, along with the colour of

[101] This is not entirely relevant to Mary's mother, but I found the story incredibly endearing. You had to be there.
[102] Having spent New Year's Eve in the Philippines at the end of 2023, I can confirm. It is quite fun.

the year, and being told to wear polka dots.[103] There is another custom of preparing twelve fruits, one for every month to ensure a fruitful year that Mary's family still does here. In Mary's own words, "With my mom being more superstitious, there were a lot of things that we took away from the Philippines and kept with us too. Because of my mom." For her, the lead-up to New Year's is less exciting here because certain superstitions and customs are kept within the home, rather than being wider, more communal practices. The "energy" is different.

For holidays like Halloween and Thanksgiving that are not celebrated in the Philippines, Mary's attitude was one of indifference. It was more strange for her that people did not celebrate All Saints' Day (November 1), and she considered Thanksgiving an "added holiday." She remembered dressing up for Halloween because "you want to get involved because you don't want to get FOMO." And when talking about Thanksgiving with her family in the Philippines, it is difficult to explain because, according to Mary, "we don't actually know what it is. It's just a day off. It's a long weekend get-together."

She was only nine when she moved to Canada, so she was able to experience dressing up for Halloween, probably multiple times. And her family would even prepare the traditional Thanksgiving meal of turkey. But she, to this day, is simply less invested. It is striking that while Mary's father likely grew up celebrating Halloween and Thanksgiving, it was the holidays that her mother put more energy into that Mary was more attached to.

What's Your Plan?

There were other ways that her mother shaped Mary's life here as well, specifically regarding her career path. When the topic of stereotypes came up, Mary recalled how she had to "fight" her mother about becoming a nurse. Her mother's reasoning was that it was stable, but

[103] Polka dots for prosperity.

Mary found it "annoying" that her mother's only recognized a few jobs as valid careers. For her mother, Mary was wasting her time pursuing an undergraduate degree in science because she could not see the job at the end of it. Interestingly, this occurrence seemed generational, with Mary noting how her mother argued with her grandmother for the same reason: making the decision to enter a non-nursing degree. In her family, decisions regarding higher education were always oriented around finding a job, but this was also cultural. In Mary's words, "I also think it's just a lot of Filipinos in general. They take up nursing because it's your way out of the Philippines. They go to Dubai and then from Dubai, they go into either the U.S. or Canada or London."

As Mary was nearing the end of undergrad, her mother's pressure mounted. She would constantly ask, "What's your plan? What are you going to do now?" Mary's mother also pursued science in post-secondary, so Mary understood that her mother's concern was coming partly from personal experience of the hardship that comes with job hunting. And while her mother took up teaching, Mary was simply unsure of what would come next. In fact, that was one of the reasons why she "jumped straight into a second degree." And while she enjoys the program that she is currently in, she does wish that she had given her first degree "a chance." It was "that pressure to constantly have a plan" that frustrated Mary deeply. And she connected this to Filipino culture more broadly. For her, it felt like "if you're not taking up the traditional path, [your parents] become your biggest critics, your biggest hurdle. They will not believe in you until you've succeeded and essentially proved them wrong. But then at the end of it, they take credit and say that you got there because they pushed you."

Though I was there to hear Mary's story, I eventually found myself hearing her mother's. When she was twenty-one years old, she had already finished her first degree and working to complete her teaching units. She was living in a city away from her parents and had to financially

support herself while sending money to her parents because her father was ill. She was working, in school for her teaching units, and even had to tutor on the side. She would sleep on the bus. Mary contrasted this to her own life and was frustrated by the fact that her mother diminished her struggles because they were not the struggles that her mother had experienced at that age. Despite Mary's resentment, she ultimately understood in her mother's actions. Mary talked about a "path" that Filipino parents encourage their children to follow. Your twenties are for laying "the foundation of your life. You have to set yourself up, so you have a good safety net." Then, you can pursue personal enjoyment and leisure because "you'll always have a good foundation." While Mary wished her mother was more supportive, she found herself espousing the same beliefs to her boyfriend. She described her boyfriend as wanting to "enjoy his money while he's young" and save once he is ready for a family, but Mary was raised to always save, even a little bit, for a "rainy day." It was part of the foundation that her mother encouraged her to build. In her words, "Yes, it sucks, the amount of pressure that they give you. But it's not without reason. They want you to succeed and they want you to have a good foundation and, in my opinion, it is a good foundation."

In Mary's life, the influence of first-generation Filipino culture was manifest in her mother. After coming to Canada, she found herself feeling disconnected from the ways of life that her mother was raising her to have. But it was interesting that while Mary and her mother's relationship was strained for a time, Mary always ultimately defended her mother. She understood that her mother's values were generational and societal. They were raised by similar people; in fact, Mary's grandmother was stricter with Mary's mother than Mary's mother was with her. Mary counted herself lucky because at least her mother was someone she could always talk to because her mother could relate.

Betraying Your Culture

The last question I asked Mary was, "Where is home?" Her answer: "Honestly, I feel guilty for saying this, but I think for me, when I picture home, I picture Edmonton." When I asked her why she felt guilty, she said that it made her feel like she was "leaving [the Philippines] behind." Her exact words were, "It feels like you're betraying your culture saying home is Edmonton instead of home is Philippines. I feel like I'm a tourist in the Philippines. I couldn't navigate Philippines if you had a gun to my head."

In a way, Mary hinted at her answer before I even asked the question. One of the first things we discussed in the interview was about knowing a place. Not just knowing addresses and physical attributes like landmarks but knowing in the sense of being familiar. Mary even said, "if you ask me to take you around [the Philippines], I wouldn't know it. I couldn't be a guide because I feel like I know Edmonton and Alberta way more than I know my home in the Philippines." She talked about knowing places here to visit, the best restaurants, "local knowledge" that tied her to Edmonton. And yet, she still used the phrase "my home in the Philippines." While she felt like more of a tourist in the Philippines, she would not be in the touristy areas; in fact, she has never been to the parts of the Philippines that tourists commonly go to. Instead, she visits her home in the province. Her home. As a tourist. There is tension in how Mary understands home. It is complicated, difficult to articulate. But she exercises agency in defining a new home for herself and accepts the way that her identity has changed. In fact, Mary's reflections on home suggest that home can exist in multitudes. While this can complicate our understanding and attachment to each home we have, there is something to be celebrated in the fact that Mary has even one place to call home. In her words, "All my friends are here. And all my memories, the significant ones are here. My biggest milestones are here.... That's something to think about. The guilt that comes with saying that."

Paul

And so, I had spent these five years thinking and fantasizing, 'Oh, I can't wait to go back to my old house and see what it's like and then lay down on that grass again.' And I never got there.

The Underdog

Paul was thirteen years old when he immigrated to Canada with his mother, father, sister, and grandmother. We started the interview by talking about the days leading up to his flight and he recalled the day that he and his mother went to his school to rescind his enrollment. Even though it was months before his flight, Paul described it as a "major memory" because of the things that were running through his mind. He remembered seeing his friends and thinking, "this is probably the last time you're going to see me for a bit." He remembered wondering if they would forget about him and if he would get to see them again. However, that day was so rushed that Paul "didn't really know what was going on." But the months after that went by incredibly slowly.

School in the Philippines started in April and Paul had unenrolled in March, so he was out of school while the rest of his peers started eighth grade. But his flight was not until July, so it was five months being at home, "just sitting around, kind of just waiting." He moved out of his parents' apartment to live with his Lola and keep her company while the adults worked. For Paul, "it was a big transition not doing anything for a while and seeking everyone else move forward." In those months of waiting, his anticipation mounted. He remembered thinking things like, "I have to stay focused. I have to keep track of everything. Don't mess this up." And on the night of his flight, "there was a sense of loss, but a much larger sense of hope and a much larger sense of security." He and his family had a sense that things would be okay.

Paul arrived in July, meaning that we would not start school for another two months. For those seven months, he was "isolated, sad, and alone," which contrasted with the hope and security

that he and his family had shared. But this contrast made sense in the context of the months that followed rescinding his enrollment. While he enjoyed having his grandmother as a companion, he was also a twelve-year-old boy wondering if he would see his friends again. While his extended family was excited for him, the adults probably more aware of what doors immigrating would open for them, Paul was just a child with friends, and a life.

He was incredibly self-aware about what he was doing during this time, describing "lots of stagnation, lots of waiting" pre-flight and then post flight, "lots of action, lots of doing" to make up for that quiescence. But it was less about learning curriculum material because, as luck would have it, Paul had already learned much of Alberta's eighth grade curriculum in the Philippines. He took this as an opportunity to join different extracurriculars: "I sang, I did arts, I did theatre, I did sports, lots of different things" to counter the restlessness. He launched himself into life here and made it a point to make the best of it. This optimism and effort did not go unrewarded, and it helped Paul make life good for himself. He was grateful to find a "big Filipino diaspora community" in Edmonton and he was able to make friends very quickly with Filipinos and non-Filipinos because they had similar experiences, Filipino and non-Filipinos.

But then he said that this diaspora community was not what he expected. He had been anticipating "more struggle," "bracing" himself for things like bullying and racism, worried that he would be one of the few Asian people in his classroom. Interestingly enough, when he saw faces like his own, he felt a "weird mix of disappointment, but also security." The security came from the fact that, in Paul's words, "I was so ready to be the underdog." In fact, that "underdog narrative" and the idea of "always fighting to get to the top" permeated the last few years of being here. That mindset was what enabled him to keep going. But it was almost disappointing that perhaps he would not face all the battles he was preparing himself for. There was so much stillness

in his life before he moved and it seems like even if they would have been struggles, Paul was happy for a chance to be moving again.

At the same time, Paul recognized that there were struggles he was not anticipating for himself that affected his life all the same. Seeing his parents "job hunt and look for apartments and do those late nights" for their family, seeing how they took their family from living with his aunt to moving into a small apartment of their own was "really meaningful." For Paul, it established a foundation of humility and reinforced the idea that if he worked hard enough, he would find a place of his own here, just as his parents had shown him.

The contrast between the negative and positive emotions Paul was feeling reappeared, along the same lines as before, with the negative emotions being associated with his individual experience, and the positive emotions being associated with the fact that he was not alone; he and his family were in this together.

The Education-to-Labour Complex

When the discussion moved to the topic of stereotypes, Paul began by sharing that he comes from a long line of engineers, noting that he, on the other hand, wanted to become an ecologist. And one of the primary motivators behind their move was education. Moving was always a matter of accessing "better opportunities." For Paul, that meant "I get more options than nursing and engineering." By moving, he no longer had to compete in the Philippine labour market, where the most common professional job streams are engineering and nursing. But he understood why so many people did it. He called it "the education-to-labour complex," where one orients their post-secondary education choices around the goal of being able to work overseas to support their family. The United States and Saudi Arabia were two common destinations that Paul identified.

At the same time, he recognized while he got to "dodge" that system, his parents did not, at least not entirely. They became electrical engineers, and his grandparents were engineers as well. But he considered it his parents' "greatest gift" to him that he had more freedom regarding his education, and this was inextricably tied to their decision to immigrate. So, Canada became the place where he encountered Filipino stereotypes and at the same time, the place where he could challenge them.

Paul also suggested that because of this education-to-labour complex, Filipino stereotypes were somewhat out-of-sync with Asian stereotypes more generally. The influence of "the model minority" myth permeates Asian stereotypes, but Paul felt that this did not extend to Filipinos. Paul was hesitant to use this term, but for lack of a better word, East Asians have this "gigantic kind of pedestal," associated with high academic performance and career success. And Paul felt that his identity was subsumed by that, even though he felt that it excluded him. In his own words, "with Asian and non-Asian relationships, I feel like I have to perform more because I'm an immigrant."

But Filipino-Filipino dynamics also played a role in Paul's relationship to stereotypes. He said that "hanging out around other Filipinos, [there's] this kind of imposter syndrome." He would think things like, 'Am I being Filipino enough? Am I representing enough? Am I speaking the language enough? Are my mannerisms Filipino enough?'" And the measure of "Filipino-enough" was the stereotypes. But Paul did not see this as a story of falling victim to stereotyping. He turned it into an opportunity by leaning into it. His love of singing and karaoke skill served him well in choir and musical theatre. He went through the stereotypes to go beyond them. But while these stereotypes preserved a somewhat shallow connection between him and Filipino culture, he still

felt "both whitewashed and not," expressing a need to know more about his culture and lineage rather than relying on the stereotypes.

From Rusted Roofs

Before we talked about ideas of home, Paul was describing his relationship with the word 'whitewashed' and this discussion serves as an important preface. It was difficult for him to articulate exactly what he felt because he did not "feel white," but he understood conceptually what 'whitewashed' meant and somewhat identified with it. Back in the Philippines, Paul was a strong English speaker and was teased for giving people nosebleeds, having an accent, and being *inglesero*.[104] But once he moved, he encountered Filipinos who were even bigger *ingleseros*, and who never had to "wait through a flood after missing class" or "sit through typhoons and earthquakes." "Formative experiences," Paul called them. And because he was able to witness the contrast, he felt that he was "in this place between full native Filipino and a kind of whitewashed Filipino." He called himself a "relative outsider" with how he was more entrenched in the culture than his peers, but less with his older cousins, for example, who moved to Canada at an older age. Curiously, Paul did not choose to call himself a "relative insider," and it was at this point that we began talking about home.

What I found fascinating about our conversation was how Paul used physical spaces to mark significant moments in his story. One thing Paul noticed about Edmonton was that the city was "very planned." In his words, "There were cul-de-sacs. There were roads.[105] There were paved sidewalks." The topography was "a very big shock" because "back home everything is so rocky

[104] 'Nosebleed' is an expression used in the Philippines when a conversation becomes hard to continue because the conversation is being conducted in English. An *inglesero* is someone who habitually speaks English, usually with a disapproving undertone.

[105] Paul's hand gestures suggested that this was in reference to Edmonton's grid plan, but there are also some less-developed areas in the Philippines that function as roads but without pavement markings, traffic signs, etc.

and cracked and you're always at an incline. But then here everything is flat." And even though this was different from what he was used to, Paul found opportunities in this as well.

A few months after he and his family arrived, he got his first longboard, something that would be hard to find in the Philippines. In his words, "being able to skate made me feel like I'm getting the ropes of this place. I'm absorbing the culture and the physicality of the prairies." Paul remembered thinking that Edmonton looked like "a movie set because everything was so pristine and so clean looking." Back home, "it was rusted metal roofs and concrete walls" while here, "it's all drywall and shingles." To be able to live in that space, to be able to *move* in that space, to do even something recreational like longboarding, meant everything.

In fact, it was in these day-to-day activities that Paul realized that Philippines "isn't home anymore." For the years that he had been away, he still felt that Philippines was home, and he embraced "being this fish out of water and being that underdog" because he saw the opportunity in it. But when he visited the Philippines last summer, he missed Edmonton and he only realized how much Edmonton had grown on him when he had to leave it. But while he was away from Edmonton, he realized something else. It was in the distance between him and the "day-to-day culture, the language, the places" that Paul realized how "disconnected" he had become with the Philippines, and this made him "extremely sad." And this too he connected with a space – his childhood house. It was struck down by a typhoon in 2021 and there was an issue with rebuilding it, so they never did. But Paul had spent the last five years thinking, "I can't wait to go back to my old house and lay down on that grass again to see what it's like." But that never came true for him. And now, he feels that "that idealized version of home and that physical version of home just belong to the past now."

Today, Paul calls this place – Edmonton – 'home.' And it is not because this is his birthplace or because he knows the culture. In his words, 'home' is "a place I know I can sleep well in and I know people I can reach out to" and where "I can walk outside and not worry about if I'm speaking the right language." In fact, with such a large immigrant population, Paul went as far as saying that the whole experience of being an immigrant is "baked into being Canadian." And though he did not say it, I took this to mean that Paul saw himself as a Canadian. He defined Canadian-ness according to his own life story, a powerful display of agency.

John

When I'm here, I'm Canadian and when I'm in the Philippines, I'm Filipino. I've been living with that kind of identity for so long.

I Don't Really Speak Tagalog Anymore

John moved to Canada when he was just five years old. He came with his mother and two sisters, while his father had already worked in Canada for some time. They first moved to Toronto, but because he was very young, he would often confuse his early years in Edmonton for the time he spent in Toronto. What he knows for certain is that they lived in someone's basement and moved to Edmonton shortly after to be with relatives who were already there.

Though his parents informed him that he had attended school in the Philippines for a short time, John did not remember anything of it. Instead, we talked about attending school in Canada. Despite having already attended school in the Philippines, according to his age, he was required to enter kindergarten. John described the experience as "terrifying" because he did not speak any English. In his own words, "I remember crying a lot because I couldn't understand anything. And they'd always have to call either my older sister or my parents to come back." John's older sister learned English while attending school in the Philippines, making her an impromptu interpreter and translator for him. However, she could not be present at all times, leaving John to have to navigate school alone.

His grasp of English improved by watching television shows and while he was still learning English, he became curious about "what the culture is here." Thus, John began actively observing the behaviour of his classmates. Gestures play an important role in Filipino culture, and John thought that the same would be true of Canadian culture. He recalled one winter where they were outside for recess and when the bell rang, he tried to mimic something that he saw some other

children doing. There was a student holding the door for others to enter, and John noticed the children in front of him taking snow and putting it the student's face as they walked inside. John interpreted this to be a gesture of thanks but did not quite understand why this was so. As he watched other children press snow on the student's face, he vividly remembered thinking, "Should I do it too?" At the same time, the gesture seemed strange, but in his own defence, he was "still trying to learn Canadian culture" and one thing he did know was that Canadians love snow. He concluded, "Maybe they really love the snow," hence making it a gesture of thanks, and copied the other children. However, the student holding the door reported him for doing that. John recalled, "He just told on me. I was the only one that got in trouble because I was the immigrant kid. I didn't know how to speak English, so when they asked the [other] kids, they just blamed me."

While for the most part, his classmates were kind to him, others were not. He recalled, "There were times where, even though I didn't understand what they were saying, I could tell that they were teasing me." His experience demonstrates how contested belonging and rejection take shape in the everyday, specifically in language. There were never any physical altercations – John even chose to describe his experience with bullying as mild – but the way that other students would treat him served as reminders that John was different, an 'Other.' On the topic of friendships, he recalled not having an established friend group and would spend time with "kind of whoever." In his words, "I didn't want to interact with them. I was afraid to interact with people because I couldn't speak [English]. I just remember being by myself most of the time." However, John did not want this to be interpreted as a sad story. He was introverted, so he did not feel lonely or upset by the fact that he did not have a friend group. He chose to recount these experiences as

characteristic of his early days in school. He recalled, with warmth, having his own "corner" on the carpet and found comfort in being alone.

While unrelated to language, John recalled another school experience that further highlighted his 'Otherness.' John used to be "embarrassed" to bring Filipino food for lunch and would ask his parents to buy him Lunchables.[106] He said, "I would always choose the Lunchables over the adobo because it was the thing, it was the trend." Moreover, this trend was obviously not set by John, but by the other students. From these stories, it was clear that John made conscious decisions about how he would act based on what he observed from other children. However, and most importantly, he *consistently* chose to follow what they were doing. He recognized patterns that he interpreted as Canadian ways of living – other children pressing snow into a student's face, lunch choices – and conformed to them.

Even so, his decision to conform to what others around him were doing meant going against the ways of living, eating, acting, and speaking that he was accustomed to. Though John could still speak fluently, he stated early on that he "didn't really speak Tagalog anymore." John linked this with his English proficiency: "As I got more proficient at English, my Tagalog did decline for a bit, and I did lose that native sound of my voice." When he would speak Tagalog in front of his relatives, they would make fun of him and "kind of bully" him for not having his accent anymore. In Johns words, they teased him for "not sounding like it anymore." John did not have to clarify what "it" was for both of us to know. He did not sound like a Filipino anymore. And while his parents did tease him about it, it was mainly his relatives that affected him. Now, he only speaks unless he really has to or, interestingly enough, for comedic purposes.

[106] Lunchables are processed store-bought packs of crackers, meat, and cheese.

John's Tagalog proficiency eventually recovered when he went back to the Philippines. Hearing the accent again and more often gave John the opportunity to mimic it, much like he did as a child trying to learn Canadian culture. While John was there, he "strictly only spoke Tagalog." His cousins, however, were learning English at the time, so he spoke English to help them, and they spoke Tagalog to help him. When we consider how his sister translated for him in his early years, we can clearly see reflections of John's early life in a new – and, in a way, old – context.

By and large, John experienced alienation from those around him due to language barriers. And while he is capable of speaking both languages, the prevalence of English in his daily life and his reluctance to speak Tagalog both serve as reminders of where he was from and where he is now. John has not kept in contact with his extended family, but he will greet them if they are on the phone with his parents. In his words, "It's a little awkward because I don't really know what to say. And yet, I still miss them. I think it also has to do with the fact that I can't communicate well." There is a tension in how speaking Tagalog is both the link to his family and one of the things that made him feel farther from them. John has learned to live with it: "This is just the norm for me. I look at other Filipino families and see how close-knit they are, but this is just how it is."

Known for Something, Anything

When we began discussing stereotypes, John said something interesting. With the word Filipino, a certain image comes to mind, but for him, "It's more stereotypical than it [actually] is." I began listing the common ones and after I mentioned karaoke, John said that he was proud of that stereotype: "I don't think I ever let the stereotypes affect me in a negative way. I think the stereotypes were a way for me to be known." While he maintained a positive attitude about stereotypes, there was an undertone of resignation: "I feel like I've been so exposed to [them] that it's a normal thing for me now. It just kind of *is*. I don't think there's really anything we could do."

There is tension between wanting to be known and not having control over what you are known for.

In his early days in Canada, John internalized the stereotyping as a response to the lack of knowledge about Filipinos: “I was always using the stereotypes to make people like me.” When he started school, people thought he was strange, difficult to understand. The stereotypes were something that his peers could understand about him. No one can blame him for preferring that over being ostracized. John, indeed, tied this experience to his early days of alienation: “I was always obsessed with how people perceived me, which is why a lot of that stuff I did in junior high and high school weren’t really me. Most of it was for show.” So, John embraced the stereotype of the singing, guitar-playing Filipino. It was what people already accepted. In his words, “The whole reason why I picked up all these instruments is because of wanting to be known for something. For anything. Even now I think it really does still affect my personality.”

And while his experience with alienation and conforming to the stereotypes still affects him and his personality, John decided to explore his identity and find what was authentic to him. After high school, he stopped “making it about the people” because he realized something. Using the stereotypes meant that the relationships he had with these people were based on things that were superficial. This is how he described it: “I’m nothing to them and, honestly, they’re nothing to me either because all of these connections were based on things that I did because I was trying to make them like me.” He linked his identity crisis to his experience of being left out as a child: “It all goes back to everything I did growing up. All that stuff just to fit in.”

John’s experience with stereotypes is marked by both agency and resignation. It shows how factors external to him exerted pressure on how be behaved. Yet John was not living passively.

It was a conscious decision to conform to the stereotypes, a decision that came from the hope of being known. And eventually, after seeing how the stereotypes failed him, he chose to forge a new path for himself. The identity crisis led him to explore new interests and find something about himself that was real.

Culture Shallowed

Wanting to be accepted by his peers was the primary driving force behind John's conformity to Filipino stereotypes. This, however, was not the only pressure he was facing. His own family had their own standards and expectations. They never said it directly, but in essence, "you need to represent yourself well here because we're in different territory. We need to behave." Initially, John internalized these expectations and came to have "a very negative perception of Filipinos in Canada." For example, if he saw a group of Filipinos at the mall that were being loud, he would feel annoyed and embarrassed. On the other hand, he said that if he saw the same scene at a mall in the Philippines, he would think "I'm home." He knew that his relatives' expectations came from the idea that they had to live quietly in Canada in order to stay out of trouble. So, expressions of culture were kept in the privacy of their home. And while his relatives wanted to be integrated into Canadian culture, but also keep their Filipino culture as well, John felt differently: "It's not really my life. I just want to be me." Here, John indicated that he ultimately rejected the struggle to find some sort of balance between the two cultures.

When I asked about his relationship to Canadian culture, John said the following: "I know how to act it, but I don't necessarily feel any connections to the Canadian culture." Interestingly, John's conception of Canadian culture was rooted in stereotypes as well: hockey, maple syrup, etc. He framed it in the language of a performance: "I don't personally resonate with any of it and it's just more that I've done this show." John understood his identity in Canadian culture as playing a

role, pretending even. He was not himself in Canadian culture, but a scripted version. Interestingly, John's relationship with Filipino culture unfolded in the same way; having to reduce himself to shallow performances of Filipino culture and Canadian culture soured the opportunity to genuinely adopt either of them. He never got to explore what it would be like to live authentically in either culture, so he chose to define his identity beyond them. He even rejected the idea of identifying as a Filipino-Canadian because he could not find a way to connect the two in a meaningful way: "When I'm here, I'm Canadian and when I'm in the Philippines, I'm Filipino. Because I'm always trying to act a certain way, it's not the best. I think it was much easier for me to disregard the whole concept altogether and just be myself." John even went so far as to say that the concept of 'Filipino-Canadian' was "harmful" to him because it limited how he was able to live.

The Canadian context, in encouraging stereotypical notions of Filipinos, has contributed to John's sense of alienation. He described Filipino culture in Canada as just "a glimpse, a scratch on the surface. It's very shallow." For John, Filipino culture could only be found in its truest form back in the Philippines because it was unencumbered by the expectations of another, more dominant culture. He mentioned his family's plans to return to the Philippines: "What I'm looking forward to is just sitting down at this big dinner table with my family and just sharing a meal. Them talking really loud. That's it. And I think for me, that's what Filipino culture is in its essence, that sense of community."

Chapter 5 | Implications for Multiculturalism in Canada

In this chapter, I identify a single, overarching theme from the interviews and discuss its implications for understanding multiculturalism in Canada in order to answer the second part of the research question – what critique do [the experiences of 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants] make on multiculturalism in Canada? There were many common threads between the research participants, including the role of family and stereotypes, but the theme that I highlight is 'contested belonging.' Contested belonging challenges the promise of multiculturalism because there is a disconnect between the image of multiculturalism and individual experience of cultural identity preservation, a disconnect that is explained by the structure of multiculturalism itself.

The contested belonging that individuals feel derives from Canada's tendency to idealize its multicultural reality. Canada today presents multiculturalism as an entrenched, indispensable, and highly valued part of its identity, with a selective memory of the times when this was not the case. Throughout Canada's history, the federal government recognized cultural differences as a threat to national unity and adopted multiculturalism to both wield and neutralize the power of culture. In the resulting cultural landscape, which is captured by the image of a mosaic, culture is superficialized and circumscribed into tropes and stereotypes. Cultures were packaged in a way that made them presentable and appealing to the White-Anglo majority. Canada welcomes immigrants of different creeds and colours because those immigrants are coming to enrich Canada in a way that Canada decides.

Immigrants are sold the story that Canada welcomes them with open arms and that home will be easy to find because they can bring everything with them. In reality, those open arms come with strings attached, strings that tie you to Westernized understandings of your culture and contribution. And all of a sudden, faced with the pressure to conform to these understandings, home becomes hard to find.

The Poem

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the poem was used in three of the five interviews as a prompt for discussion. While it took a secondary role overall, it is important to discuss the lines selected by the research participants who did choose to talk about the poem as they point to the experience of contested belonging.

"Split between two lands"

Mary selected her line in the context of wanting the good things of Canada and the good things about the Philippines and attempting to hybridize them. She was torn between the culture her mother raised her in and the culture that she witnessed on her father's side of the family, and even in her boyfriend's family. It seemed for a long time that she could not strike a balance. And even though she was ultimately happy with her life, she still felt guilty that she had let go of the Philippines as much as she did. Contested belonging is present in how she negotiated her cultural identity, feeling that trade-offs were necessary for inclusion.

"Never finding home again"

Paul selected his line because he was reminded of how he felt at twelve years old. At that time, he wondered if he was sentencing himself to a life of constant flux, of always having to navigate being Filipino, of being in the diaspora. He knew that nothing would replace the life he had in the Philippines, but he had to go on regardless. While he was afraid he would never find home again, he decided that rather than finding home, he must make it. The idea that one must *make* a place home conveys an effort that makes his belonging contested. Paul contests his own belonging in asserting (i) that there is a sense of home that he knows he will not find in Canada and (ii) that for Canada to be home, it takes an effort that he did not need in the Philippines.

“Become the bridge between two countries”

John selected this line in the context of the expectations he was facing. He felt pressure to conform to these expectations. And while he knew that they came from his family, he thought that his ability to meet them would reflect well on the Philippines as a whole. This cannot be severed from the fact that John thought that people in Canada held shallow, stereotypical conceptions of Filipinos. It became his responsibility to change that, which meant strategically conforming to the stereotypes for a long time. His belonging to Canada was premised on the condition that he would conform and while his cultural Otherness was more prominent, he was rejected and ostracized. It was only in acting in the way that his culture was understood by Canadians was he able to participate in Canadian life.

The Interviews

Priscilla glorified the idea of being whitewashed because for her it was a ticket to acceptance. This, however, meant alienating herself from the other Filipino students at her school. She was either whitewashed or she was a fob. She had to negotiate her identity, make it palatable for one audience at the expense of the other. Her identity was a compromise that gave her the latitude to exist in a predominantly White space.

Dustin found himself becoming someone that his family back home no longer knew. Yet he said that they became estranged. He felt that he could return to the Philippines, sit with his grandmother, and talk as if he never left. In reality, Dustin was coping with the loss of home and entertaining two realities in his mind to do so. He was unwilling to concede that he had changed to the point of being unrecognizable to his family back home, and at the same time he felt like a completely different person. He could not make sense of his own belonging.

Mary felt guilty about calling Edmonton ‘home’ because she thought she was betraying her culture. Finding home was a zero-sum game that she had to play. In her mind, she was giving

up the Philippines. While during her childhood, she saw how her mother preserved Filipino traditions and customs, she never came to the conclusion that she could have both. On the contrary, she accepted that she could not.

Paul was initially wary about what was waiting for him in Canada. He braced himself for rejection and was mentally preparing to do whatever it took to make the most of his new life. He countered his wariness with optimism and enthusiasm. With effort, he could earn his belonging. Yet while he took advantage of the opportunities to participate in Canadian life, it was returning to his childhood home that he dreamed about. And when it was no longer possible to go back, he relegated it to the past.

John never connected with Canadian culture. For him, it was just another part to play. From a young age, he found himself having to navigate a cultural landscape that hindered his ability to maintain meaningful connections with his home country. Instead, his culture was reduced to stereotypes that then bought him his acceptance.

So What?

The question of "So what?" has followed me throughout the thesis writing process. Why do these experiences matter in the discipline of political science? For the longest time, it was incredibly difficult to articulate what seemed so obvious in my mind. I was taught that I could belong in Canada and simultaneously feel connected to my cultural roots. Yet I feel severed from both. And I could never blame my parents for not teaching me Tagalog or for not exposing me to more Filipino culture because their goal was to secure us *here*. It was more important that I learned English and that I learned the Canadian ways of life, so that I could succeed *here*, and make friends *here*, and belong *here*. On the other hand, how could I blame Canada? The Canada that I know has

been good to me and good to my family. The Canada that I know is diverse and accepting. The Canada that I know is a fantasy.

I have already alluded to how multiculturalism in Canada moulds culture according to Westernized understandings and how conforming to these Westernized become conditions of belonging. Therefore, to answer the question, my research matters because it demonstrates how multiculturalism is an overpromise for the 1.5-generation. In general, 1.5-generation immigrants were young when they arrived in Canada. It was not their responsibility to obtain professional credential recognition or find a place to house their families. Often, they we were worried about making friends and fitting in at school. They were also of an age where they were incredibly vulnerable to peer pressure. Multiculturalism suggested that immigrants could keep their cultural heritage, that Canada would protect it and promote it, and yet to be here, they had to live how Filipinos in Canada were expected to live. They inherited a destiny. They learned English and they bought snowpants. But they also sacrificed our first language and left their grandparents and cousins behind, and some of them do not know how to talk to them anymore. They searched for something they were told we could find. They searched for the feeling of *home*. They were *promised* it. They must settle for wherever we are now.

Chapter 6 | Conclusion

Nasaan Man Tayo asks the following: How do 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants in Canada understand their cultural identity and sense of belonging and what critique do their experiences make on multiculturalism in Canada? Within the framework of social constructionism, *Nasaan Man Tayo* explored the history of multiculturalism in Canada and found that Canada's cultural landscape has long been an arena for cultural negotiation and contestation. Multiculturalism as manifest in the metaphor of the mosaic hinders genuine expression of cultural identity by delineating a place for Filipinos in Canada through the Western gaze. While this picture of the Filipino in Canada may resonate with some Filipinos, particularly members of the first generation, it becomes a stifling and limiting force for the 1.5-generation. This is the context in which the research participants lived and from which they told their stories.

Through five semi-structured interviews, *Nasaan Man Tayo* found that 1.5-generation Filipino immigrants in Canada understand themselves as split between Canada and the Philippines. Within themselves, they see the Filipino values and customs that their parents taught them, but also the Canadian ways of life that come so naturally to them. They see their belonging to either place as a zero-sum game where to belong to one is to lose the other. And because this counters the promise of multiculturalism, their experiences suggest that Canada's understanding of multiculturalism is a fantasy sold to both Canadians and new immigrants alike.

Limitations

It must be noted that *Nasaan Man Tayo* has a limited sample size. It seeks to comment on multiculturalism in Canada, yet its data is limited to five residents of a single city. With this in mind, the generalizability of the interviews stands as a key limitation.

Moreover, the scope of *Nasaan Man Tayo* is limited to the experience of culture in English Canada. While the second chapter explores the contributions of French Canadians to the

development of multiculturalism, none of the research participants reported living in Quebec or a Francophone community, nor attending a Francophone school. Moreover, Quebec has adopted an intercultural model, which *Nasaan Man Tayo* does not explore in relation to the question of cultural identity and belonging.

Further Research Possibilities

I am personally excited by the idea of exploring the cultural similarities and differences between the 1.5-generation and the second generation. I moved to Canada when I was three years old, so my experiences are likely more similar to the second generation than someone who moved when they were fifteen. What makes me different from a second-generation immigrant, however, is my – albeit brief – connection to the *land*. Perhaps there is something about having a physical connection to one's home country that changes how it is understood. To speak on this point further, before I began writing this thesis, I was speaking with a friend of mine who is a second-generation immigrant. Though she is ethnically Filipino, I distinctly remember her telling me that she identifies as Canadian. In what sense she meant this – cultural or national – I am not sure. It was interesting, nonetheless.

Moreover, *Nasaan Man Tayo* may also contribute to comparative research on the experience of 1.5-generation immigrants across different ethnic groups. Depending on its findings, this research may reveal a persisting racial bias that Canadian society holds towards immigrants. In other words, if immigrants of non-European background or immigrants of colour consistently report lower levels of belonging, higher levels of dissonant cultural identity, this may suggest that multiculturalism fails to address a form of racism.

This kind of research could also reveal how an ethnic group's historical relationship with the government of Canada has long-lasting impacts on subsequent generations of said ethnic

group. *Nasaan Man Tayo* explored how the Filipino in Canada is tightly linked to the care industry and how this impacted the 1.5-generation. Further research could explore whether historical moments like the Komagata Maru Incident of 1914 – when passengers aboard a chartered ship from India were prohibited by Canadian authorities from disembarking at the Port of Vancouver – or the internment of Japanese Canadians and Ukrainian Canadians, become defining memories within an ethnic group's collective conscious and how these memories impact later generations.

Finally, *Nasaan Man Tayo* raises a new question regarding Canadian identity, specifically in terms of how Canadian society understands multiculturalism. If the mosaic model/metaphor inhibits genuine cultural expression and interaction yet Canadians are still committed to the idea of cultural harmony, then how should Canadians understand multiculturalism moving forward? This research would require further exploration of the centrality of the mosaic metaphor (which was beyond the scope of *Nasaan Man Tayo*) in the Canadian conscious and alternate visions of multiculturalism. This research is pertinent to the current moment considering populist sentiments (which include undertones of xenophobia) that are gaining global momentum.

To My Audience

When I was in POL S 399, we read an article about undocumented immigrants in the United States. Our instructor, Dr. Rob Aitken, asked us who we thought the article was written for. I answered that the article was written for the very undocumented immigrants that participated in the research. In my mind, writing the article for them almost made the claim that they were *not* undocumented because they could at the very least find themselves in the pages of the article. I know I was equivocating, but in the same way, I wrote this thesis for us. Let me explain.

When I think of the Philippines, I see myself in Mirador Park in Baguio. I'm walking through the foliage when all of a sudden, the trees break to reveal the entire city sprawled out in

front of me. I can still see it all. The red roofs clustered between the trees. A place that could have been mine (and sometimes I feel like it was *supposed* to be), but it's out of reach for me.

When I think of Canada, I think of one particular afternoon in high school. I had just gotten off the bus and I was walking to my house when I remembered something that my English teacher had said about how peaceful it was to just stand still while it was softly snowing. Obviously, I remembered this because it was, in that very moment, softly snowing. So, I stood at the corner of my street and looked at the snow that was everywhere and all around me. But when I reached out to touch it, it was cold to me.

If both places are unfamiliar to me in one way or another, at the very least I could find my place in the pages of this thesis. I hope the same for you. And if not this thesis, somewhere. Anywhere, as long as it's yours. That's really all I mean.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment Message

Participants needed for a study on the 1.5-generation Filipino immigrant experience in Canada

- *Who:* Individuals of legal age who are ethnically Filipino, were born in the Philippines, and moved to Canada between the ages of 0-17
- *What:* A 1-hour long interview about your experiences as a 1.5-generation Filipino immigrant in Canada

For more information, please contact Nicole Ibalio at nicoleda@ualberta.ca. Thank you for your consideration.
UofA Ethics ID: Pro00129630

Appendix B: Prompt

they have no idea what it's like
to lose home at the risk of
never finding home again
to have your entire life
split between two lands and
become the bridge between two countries

immigrant - rupi kaur

[107]

[107] Rupi Kaur (@rupikaur_), "being an immigrant is a funny little thing....," *Instagram*, January 7, 2019, https://www.instagram.com/p/BsW2ks7HN2s/?hl=en.

Appendix C: Interview Guide

Title of the Study: *Nasaan Man Tayo*: The Stories of 1.5-Generation Filipino Immigrants

Introduction:

- Greeting
- Overview of the research project
- What to expect in the interview
- Address any questions
- Test audio recorder

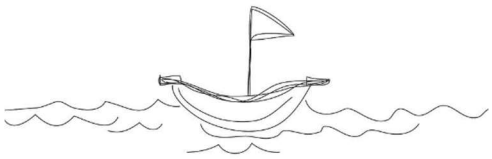
The interview:

- Turn on audio recorder.
- Opening questions:

  How old are you currently?
  How old were you when you moved to Canada?
  Who came with you when you moved?
  What do you remember about that time?
- Present the poem prompt:

they have no idea what it's like
to lose home at the risk of
never finding home again
to have your entire life
split between two lands and
become the bridge between two countries

immigrant - rupi kaur



[108]

- Prompt question:

  What are your thoughts on the poem?
- Tailored to the response of the research participant, I will follow with probing questions and/or requests for elaboration.

Probing and requesting elaboration:

Probing and requests for elaboration are reserved for things that seem significant to the research participant. For example, they may often use *x* emotion to describe their feelings. So, I may ask them to elaborate on *x* emotion and why it seems to come up so often for them. Perhaps there is a certain person present in many of the stories they share. So, I may ask the research

[108] Rupi Kaur (@rupikaur_), "being an immigrant is a funny little thing....," *Instagram*, January 7, 2019, https://www.instagram.com/p/BsW2ks7HN2s/?hl=en.

participant if and how that person has played a significant role in their journey. Probing and requests for elaboration allow research participants to give more detail to their answers and gives the researcher the opportunity to clarify whether their interpretation of the participant's response is accurate.

Examples:

- *You said _____. Can you tell me more about that?* (Clarification question)
- *You said that you feel _____* (insert emotion). *Why do you feel that way about* x?
- *This seems very significant for you. Can you elaborate?*
- *You mention _____* (insert name) *often. Have they played an important role in your experiences?*

Conclusion:

- Thank participant
- Answer outstanding questions
- Remind them of mental health supports, if needed
- Confirm contact information
- Inform them of next steps such as when they can expect their transcript, general project timelines, when transcript will become part of the data set, deadline to withdraw completely from study, etc.