Negotiation of 1.5 and Second Generation Filipino Canadian Identity: Language, Ethnic Identity, and Internalized Racial Oppression

Kim Lynette Abella

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Abstract

This master's thesis analyzes the identity formation of 1.5 and second generation Filipinos in Canada. Semi-structured interviews have been conducted to look at how this demographic defines, understands, and how closely they connect to, their hybrid transnational Filipino Canadian identities while navigating Canadian society as racialized minorities. In total, 12 initial participants completed a single semi-structured interview, 11 participants completed a follow-up interview, and 1 participant completed a second follow-up interview. Findings reveal that language and internalization of racial oppression are salient factors in the ambivalent connections in the negotiation of Filipino identity.

Keywords: Filipino Canadian, ethnic identity, transnationalism, heritage language retention, internalized racial oppression, internalized racism

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my family: To my parents and Allyssa whose belief in my abilities, potential, and perseverance never wavered. They are my pillars who strengthen me and remind me of my purpose. To my family in the Philippines with whom I was able to recently reconnect during a pivotal moment of my life, especially to my maternal grandparents, Lola Fe and Lolo Eddie, and my paternal grandparents, Lolo Moises and to my Lola Rosita who sadly passed away in 2022 before we could meet again. And to my loved ones who have always supported me: your encouragement means more than you know. I wrote this for you. Every word I have written and every moment I have spent on this project—all of it is for you.

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1. Introduction

This project examines the internalization of racial oppression of young adult Filipinos while growing up in Canada and its relationship to language retention. Through Filipino children of immigrants' experiences of racialization, their perception of their Filipino heritage while growing up in Canada, and the negotiation of their hybrid transnational identities as Filipino Canadian, this study analyzes how these experiences affect their connection to Filipino culture and their relationships with coethnics. The goal of this research project is to examine the factors that may influence children of immigrants' ambivalent connection to or disconnection from their ethnic identity.

In a CBC news article, columnist Yasmeen Awadh, a mixed-raced Kuwaiti and Filipino Canadian living in Toronto, shared her experiences navigating her multiple identities (Awadh, 2023). Despite initially acquiring Arabic as her first language, her primary language shifted in favour of Tagalog after migrating to the Philippines and shifted again to English after migrating to Canada. Feeling most connected to her Canadian, Filipino, and Kuwaiti identities respectively, she refers to them as a "pie chart" of her cultural makeup (para.7). She feels the most disconnected from her Kuwaiti heritage largely due to being unable to speak Arabic (despite being born in Kuwait) while encountering disappointed and confused reactions from other Kuwaitis. Emphasizing the struggles as a multiracial individual, Awadh faces constant external pressures to either be "more Kuwaiti" or "more Filipino". Awadh shares the feelings of safety that accompany attempting to learn languages other than Arabic, which partially stems from the shame of not maintaining her heritage language. In the journey of negotiating her identities, Awadh commits to practicing self-acceptance, stating that "it's OK to be an uneven pie chart…because I've created my own mosaic of which I am proud" (para.16). Awadh's experiences of an ethnic minority in Canada are not unique and illustrate the struggle of claiming authenticity of ethnic heritage identity through language. Her proclamation of self-acceptance is an assertion of her hybrid identities that must be articulated and rearticulated based on her own perception of what it means to be Kuwaiti and Filipino

Canadian. Awadh's anecdote exemplifies the negotiation of Filipino Canadian identity that is explored in this thesis.

It is important to understand that ethnic identity is an ongoing process that is constantly changing. Therefore, how one feels about their ethnic identity at one point may differ from another due to a variety of factors in life changes. This project will examine a small but important slice of this life course in the coming of age of young adults at a time when identity formation is arguably the most salient. The purpose of this research is to provide a better understanding about the identity of later-generation young adult Filipino Canadians, a group that has growing representation yet much research is situated in the US diaspora. For Filipino Americans, establishing a distinctive and visible identity within the United States has been a challenge, especially given the lack of visibility as a "minority within a minority" (Oreiro, 2014, p.2). Although scholars investigating Filipino American identity operate in a vastly different context, parallel experiences can emerge, such as an invisibilization of Filipino Canadians. This is addressed by McElhinny et al. (2012), who state that Filipinos are structured by particular hypervisible images of the "victimized nanny", the "selfless nurse" and the "problematic gangster youth" which result in Filipino stereotypes (p.5). They explain:

> Filipina/o communities are therefore put into the paradoxical position of being invisible *and* hypervisible: invisible because numerous kinds of people, problems, and achievements are ignored, and hypervisible because only the stereotypes are deemed relevant and significant for public circulation. (p.5)

The goal of Coloma et al.'s (2012) work is then to interrogate the processes of (in)visibilization and hypervisibilization of Filipina/o/x Canadians through various social institutions. Part of Filipino Canadian identity is the mediation between spaces and the construction of identity in relation to these spaces, which involve notions, memories, and imaginations of a homeland for those living in diaspora that establish a sense of belonging or home in a homeland while maintaining an identity outside of this 'home' (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2019). However, it is essential to be critical of the idea that those who live in diaspora must identify with a homeland as *home*. It then necessitates the examination of the "processes and practices of

dwelling and mobility that unsettle not only fixed assumptions about place, but also about identity, ethnicity, culture, and community" (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2019, p.267).

This study utilizes semi-structured qualitative interviews from 12 participants to investigate Filipino Canadian identity and subjectivity by answering the following research question: how do Filipino Canadian young adults negotiate their ethnic identity? Within these negotiations, participants reflect on their perception of what it means to be Filipino in Canada as well as addressing feelings of liminality and authenticity of their ethnic identity. To further clarify this research question, the subsequent question examines the motivations that facilitate the proximity to or disconnection from Filipino identity: What factors and expectations influence the level of connectedness of these Filipino Canadians? These will be analyzed through language and internalized racial oppression (IRO) in familial and community contexts.

This thesis argues that heritage language is the most salient factor that obstructs the authenticity of one's claim to Filipino identity and therefore belonging among coethnics as a result of internal pressure and external pressure from family, community, and Canadian society (such as through racialization, assimilation, and factors influencing social class). In addition, IRO plays another significant role in the ambivalent connections to heritage by influencing the perception of Filipinos and Filipino culture through experiences of racism and the history of colonialism and imperialism of the Philippines. It is essential to recognize that an integral part that emerged in the ongoing negotiations of Filipino identity is the agency that is present in contending with the ambivalent feelings and the social forces that shape these negotiations.

2. Background

A. Context of Filipino Migration in Canada

This section outlines an abridged migration history of Filipino immigrants to Canada, contemporary information about the ethnic group as significant racial minorities in the Canadian context, some historical context of Spanish colonization, and the linguistic landscape of the Philippines. This is to provide context for the relevant demographic for the current study in order to situate Filipino Canadians' relationships to their heritage, their language use, migration, gender roles, colonization, and social class.

Although the migration history of Filipinos is relatively recent in comparison to other groups, the Philippines has been regularly among the top ten countries of immigrants to Canada since the early 1970s (Chen, 1990). It became the place of origin with the largest number of immigrants and temporary workers combined in Canada for the first time in 2008 (Jimenez, 2008) until 2020, when the Caregiver Program (LPC) ended (Malek, 2021). Of this group, the majority are women migrating as live-in domestic workers through the Caregiver Program (previously known as the Live-in Caregiver Program) and as a result of satisfying the requirements of this program, these workers are qualified to obtain permanent residency and sponsor family members to unite in Canada (Farrales, 2017; Kelly, 2006; Kelly et al., 2011; Pratt & UKPC, 2008). There has been increasing interest in the experiences of Filipino women in labour migration since the 1980s due to their high visibility as migrant workers and immigrants (Bonifacio, 2013). Many Filipino migrants are highly educated, having university educations (and sometimes came from wealthy backgrounds), more frequently awarded degrees than other groups (Kelly et al., 2012); and in 1972, were amply employed in professional roles in Canada, although the number of those in professional occupations considerably decreased by 2001 (del Rio Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Marshall, 2014).

Filipinos contribute greatly to the healthcare sector, representing 11% of all workers as nurse aides, orderlies, and patient service associates compared to 3% of Filipino workers in all other professions (Statistics Canada, 2023a). 20% of Filipino Canadians who were employed in January 2021 worked in the

healthcare and social assistance industry compared to 14% of total workers at that time (Statistics Canada, 2023a). Due to the high representation of Filipino Canadians in the healthcare and caregiving industries, narratives concerning these occupations in relation to Filipinos in Canada easily overshadow the nuanced experiences of Filipino Canadians. Ty (2012) asks "what are the assumptions and preconceptions that come into play as we and others 'recognize' Filipino Canadians?" (p.47) as recognition shapes Filipino Canadian subjectivities. Additionally, as a highly researched area of Filipino Canadian literature, although it is necessary to address the precarity of the gendered and racialized dynamic of Filipinas as healthcare providers and caregivers, it is equally as important to avoid a victimizing narrative that undermines the agency of this demographic (Bonifacio, 2013; Coloma et al., 2012; Malek, 2021).

Filipinos comprise the fourth largest visible minority group in Canada of 957,355 according to the 2021 census and is projected to expand beyond 2 million by 2041 (Statistics Canada, 2022a). In Canada's three largest metropolitan areas, second generation Filipinos make up 11,030 of 39,020 in Montreal, 36,285 of 141,230 in Vancouver, and 72,060 of 272,470 in Toronto based on both single and multiple ethnic or cultural origin responses on the 2021 census (Statistics Canada, 2022a). Under three quarters (72.6%) of Filipinos immigrated to Canada within the last two decades as of 2021 while almost a quarter (24.7%) of Filipinos were born in Canada. Over half of all Filipinos in Canada (58.4%) speak Tagalog as their mother tongue either by itself or alongside other languages compared to 44.1% who speak English as their mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2022b). Defined by Statistics Canada (2023b), "a mother tongue refers to the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the person at the time data was collected", though it applies to the second language learned if the individual has not retained knowledge of the first language. One can have multiple mother tongues if they learned multiple languages simultaneously during childhood and have maintained their understanding, although "mother tongue" can apply to the language most often spoken at home prior to beginning school. For knowledge of non-official languages (the ability to converse in a language other than English or French), the number of Philippine language speakers include Tagalog (737,565), Ilocano (61,680), Cebuano (33,045),

Hiligaynon (16,385), Bisaya (10,990), Pampangan (10,555), Waray-Waray (4,520), Pangasinan (4,455), Bikol (4260), Kankanaey (1,950), and Kinaray-a (860) (Statistics Canada, 2023b). While most Filipinos reported their ethnic or cultural origin as Filipino, some identified as Southeast Asian whose country of birth is the Philippines (3.9%) (Statistics Canada, 2022b).

B. Periods of Filipino Migration to Canada

There are three significant periods of Filipino migration to Canada discernible by changes in Canadian immigration policies. Although the first period spans the early twentieth century (1904-1945), Filipino immigration can be traced back as early as 1890 through the United States northwards to Canada, most prevalently along the North American West Coast (Malek, 2021), due to the presence of American ports of entry (Chen, 1998). The United States became a popular destination overall resulting from American occupation of the Philippines beginning in 1898 (del Rio Laquian & Laquian, 2008). According to the 1921 Census of Canada, the first documented Filipinos in Canada arrived in 1921 in British Columbia, prior to which there is difficulty in establishing any certain previous immigration due to the lack of a distinct categorization for Filipinos, classified instead, as "various" (Marshall, 2014, p.13). Marshall argues that comparatively to the migration patterns of other Asian groups in North America, it is plausible to assume that Filipinos followed a similar trajectory. Early Filipino migrants contributed to various industries such as fishing, canning, and forestry, and their presence was highlighted as a result of attempts by Canadian immigration policies to stifle immigration from Asia, affecting Asian women particularly in order to regulate migration of Asian men with their families or to minimize placing down roots, becoming permanent inhabitants rather than remaining temporary migrants (Malek, 2021).

Substantial Filipino migration to Canada began after the Second World War in the 1950s (Aranas, 1983; Bonifacio, 2013; Chen, 1998; del Rio Laquian & Laquian, 2008). This was a product of doctors and nurses migrating from the United States as a result of some remaining in Canada after fulfilling the requirement of the US Exchange Visitors program to renew their visas from outside the country. Throughout the 1950s until the early 1970s, the admittance of Filipino immigrants into Canada increased

exponentially, clustering in large cities in Ontario (Toronto), British Columbia (Vancouver), and Manitoba (Winnipeg). Of these migrants, most were between the ages of 20-39, suggesting that most Filipino immigrants were of ages to participate in the labour force and women outnumbered men, which Chen (1998) partially attributes to the demand of nurses, which was the largest occupational demographic entering Canada. This is due to the link between occupational selectivity and sex selectivity, of which more women migrated because more women were nurses (Chen, 1998).

Bonifacio (2013) makes the important note that women in migration studies, up until the 1970s, have been framed as passive followers of the path forged by male migrants, dismissing their active role and the gendered dynamic of migration itself. The demand for certain skills is structured by gender norms, exemplified by contemporary Filipino migration: "Filipino domestic workers are highly sought after in Greece, Hong Kong, Italy, and Singapore; live-in caregivers in Canada; nurses in the United States; and engineers in Saudi Arabia" (p.8). Chen (1998) states that other immigrant groups show patterns of primarily male over female migrants which Filipino migrants have not followed. Instead, even from very early migration, women outnumbered men "from young nurses, to elderly mothers and grandmothers, and, more recently, female domestics", which suggests that "the Filipino immigrant experience challenges the notion of the 'pioneering male'" and supports the "pioneering female" (p.52).

Canada's restriction of racial minority immigrants through various policies hindered Philippine immigration to Canada but later improved in the mid-twentieth century, marking its second period (1946 to mid-1960s). This was a result of the growing Filipino population in Canada, the Philippines and Canada becoming political allies and trading partners, the increase of demand in various industries, and Canada's more involved international role (Malek, 2021). Canada's immigration policies underwent three significant changes through the Immigration Acts of 1952, 1976, and 2002, incrementally increasing immigration opportunities despite ongoing opposition (del Rio Laquian & Laquian, 2008). Initially, policies held a White, Eurocentric bias prior to 1962 by basing selection criteria on country of origin, nationality, and the ability to financially sustain themselves until obtaining employment. However,

following 1962, Canada introduced a non-discriminatory policy as well as a points-based system in 1967 based on educational and occupational requirements. Those who garner over 50 points (out of 100) are considered independent immigrants while other designations include sponsored dependents and nominated relatives of independent immigrants (Chen, 1998). Criteria of the Points System considers "educational attainment, professional development, and language ability of applicants", resulting in annual growth of migrants and the formation of communities, which were "characterized by a desire to integrate into Canadian society while maintaining their Filipino cultural heritage" (Malek, 2021, p.12). This development allowed migrants more opportunities to enter Canada and resulted in the rise in popularity of temporary foreign worker programs, focusing on the recruitment of racial minorities in low-skilled and low-waged roles, such as seasonal farm work or live-in care work. Filipino temporary foreign workers then became "well-educated", "underemployed", and "vulnerable migrants" who could only apply to become permanent citizens after a period of two years (Marshall, 2014, p.14). For women providing domestic labour, this produced exploitative and precarious working and living conditions. There was also incentive by President Marcos in the 1970s for Filipinos to contribute to the Philippine economy by working abroad (Marshall, 2014).

Immigration to Canada further increased as migrants entered the country as permanent residents and sponsored their families. However, aside from family class (i.e. those sponsored by Canadian citizens or permanent residents), economic immigrants (independent/skilled workers), refugees, temporary residents (i.e. foreign workers, foreign students, and humanitarian and compassionate case immigrants), and other immigrants all contribute to the increase of Filipinos in Canada (del Rio Laquian & Laquian, 2008). Filipinos were only recognized independently from homogenized groups of immigrants (only distinguished from British immigrants) by Statistics Canada beginning in 1965 when 1,467 Filipinos had migrated to Canada, majority coming from the United States due to the 1965 US Immigration and Nationality Act forcing their resettlement (Aranas, 1983; del Rio Laquian & Laquian, 2008). They were mainly employed in professional occupations (i.e. "nurses, medical and dental technicians, physicians,

and surgeons" in the health industry) in 1968 and later grew in clerical and manufacturing in 1971 (Chen, 1998, p.10).

During the most recent period of Filipino migration, spanning from the late twentieth century to the early twenty-first century (1967-2015), Filipino migrants contributed largely to the reunification of families notably as working through the Caregiver Program (Viola, 2011). Filipinas were and continue to be overrepresented in healthcare (but not as doctors) and in domestic service, making up nine times more than groups of other ethnic origins (Hiebert, 1999). Ontario received the most number of Filipino migrants with 13,849 arriving in 1973 (Betsayda, 2010), consistently being the most popular destination (a preference of 49-55%) while Manitoba was the most popular destination of the Prairie provinces. Migration to British Columbia remained steady while migration to the other prairie provinces (i.e. Alberta and Saskatchewan) gradually increased and Quebec, although popular in the late 1960s, declined presumably due to linguistic barriers (Chen, 1998).

The shift away from basing criteria on point of origin and race reduced barriers for certain migrants, though this is not to say that all racial discrimination was eliminated for historically racially marginalized immigrants. For Filipino migrants, a persisting barrier is the non-recognition of foreign credentials, leading to their deprofessionalization (Malek, 2021). However, Filipinos benefitted from the influences of American education systems and the incorporation of English as an instructional language in the Philippines, as it allowed higher proficiency in one of Canada's official languages (Malek, 2021), which was especially true in comparison to immigrants of other nationalities who did not possess the same English language skills. Due to the linguistic proficiency in English and cultural integration of Filipinos, there has not been a development of Filipino enclaves in cities with concentrated Filipino populations, contrasting this more essential need for other minority groups (Kelly, 2006). Additionally, E. San Juan Jr. claims that Filipinos are "ideal self-regulated subjects" due to their assimilation via the English language as well as the "internalizing of a decorum of submission", due to belief that this submission "at minimum guaranteed survival" (Ty, 2004, p.xiii). Despite these advantages, Filipino

migrants are still subject to a system that disadvantage racial minorities and the contemporary effects of American imperialism continue to simultaneously influence transnational and diaspora Filipinos as well as those residing in the Philippines. Of these disadvantages, Marshall (2014) states that Filipino migrants endured discrimination based on skin colour and physical features, which was influenced by the projection of the idea onto Filipino migrants that they were seizing employment of dominant society. McElhinny et al. (2012) challenge Chen's determination that Filipino Canadians have historically been able to smoothly integrate into Canadian society by suggesting that: (a) immigration policies that allowed Filipinos to work in occupations similar to their acquired skills and expertise may have correlated with higher reports of satisfaction; or (b), respondents underreported or downplayed instances of discrimination in order to instead emphasize the contribution potential of Filipinos to Canadian society.

del Rio Laquian and Laquian (2008) state that Canada has been an attractive immigrant destination to Filipinos due to the stark differences between the two nations. This includes Canada's technological advancement, lower mortality rate, longer life expectancy, and designation as the fifth most livable country by the UN (especially when considering the state of the Philippines' economy since the 1960s). Cited reasons for migrating involve anticipated employment opportunities and upward mobility for their children, leisurely travel, and the connection to relatives and friends in Canada. These are accompanied by unfavourable factors such as discontentment with employment and social conditions in the Philippines (del Rio Laquian & Laquian, 2008; McElhinny et al., 2012). Overall, the sociopolitical and economic conditions of the Philippines, alongside the changes in Canada's immigration policies are key factors in the migration of Filipinos to Canada.

This chapter accounts for a brief overview of Filipino migration to Canada, although it is to be noted that this overview does not intend to cover the intricacies of the many accounts of the migration experience of this ethnic group, as the purpose of this chapter is to contextualize the background of the target demographic of this study. The following chapter will expand on the experiences of Filipino Canadians especially concentrating on the children of Filipino immigrants (the first generation).

C. Historical Racial Oppression

Asians living in diasporas share the experience of navigating their host societies as minorities while reconciling their ancestral histories of colonialism. For the Philippines, colonization is so embedded that even the names of the country and its people are colonial in etymology. *Filipino* derives from the term *Filipinas* (*Philippines* being its Anglicized form), which was named after King Philip II in 1543 (Quimpo, 2000). Despite numerous attempts to rename the nation with decolonizing intention, no consensus for change has been reached. Opposing and ambivalent feelings against the colonial names associated with the Philippines and its people is more common than previously thought, especially among Muslim Filipinos, highlighting the influence of the predominant Christian population (Quimpo, 2000). However, a critique against changing the name of the country is that disavowing the name "Philippines" will not change its entwinement with King Philip II nor Spanish colonialism. It is emblematic of its long history of struggle and perseverance by its people in the labour of nation-building and an attempt at its erasure implies a place for shame for the name. Quimpo quoting columnist Richard Malay declared that "there is no real stigma to the name Philippines any more than there is to America, named after the Italian Amerigo Vespucci" (p.5). Malay's point illuminates the disproportionate standard held against colonized lands such as the Philippines (dismissing the agency of its indigenous peoples throughout the country's history) juxtaposed with the separation of colonial history and etymology from America.

However, this is only one perspective in the larger argument of decolonization. Melinda Luisa de Jesús's Peminist (Pinay feminist) critical theory and Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales's *Pinayism* work together to centre Pinay knowledge, which is "rooted in the experiences and perspectives of Pinays", although it "more accurately indexes a way of being in the world" (Sarmiento, 2018, p.89). While Filipino is the standard term for a citizen of the Philippines, Pinay is the feminine term, similar to Filipina, but derives from Tagalog. Bonifacio (2013) states that Filipina/o are associated with Spanish colonialism and "*Pinay* evokes a grounded voice of women's experiences as a base on which to construct alternative modalities of engagement", as Filipino women have been extensively defined by narratives of

victimization by contemporary globalization (p.11). The objective of Peminist theorizing is to deconstruct systems of oppression including decolonization and it is crucial not to discount the significance of their work. This will be expanded upon in the discussion and conclusions (chapter 7).

There is a commonality to recognize among diaspora Asians (and Asians) through a shared history of racial oppression. Although various colonizing powers occupied and colonized different Asian countries, such as Great Britain colonizing India and Singapore, France with Vietnam and Indochina, and Spain with the Philippines, they share a history of the inculcation of domineering European superiority between the 1500s until halfway through the twentieth century (Millan & Alvarez, 2014). The conclusion can be made that "internalized oppression for certain Asian ethnic groups began with the experience of colonialism" (p.167). This painful and traumatic history embedded in the ancestral narratives for many diaspora Asians is passed down intergenerationally then compounded with the experiences of racism that emerge as minorities existing in homogenous or heterogenous countries of people who do not share this history. The dehumanization of Asians in America was then utilized to justify the interpersonal and institutional oppression and violence of racism by implementing the idea that being "less human" entails that the oppressed, dehumanized group could not be entitled to the same rights as the oppressor (Millan & Alvarez, 2014, p.168).

D. Languages and Dialects in the Philippines.

The two national languages of the Philippines are English and Filipino, which is colloquially referred to by Filipinos as Tagalog, although Filipino and Tagalog are used interchangeably. Regional languages are "mandated as auxiliary languages in the regions that they are spoken", as the Philippines includes many individual languages (Dreisbach & Demeterio III, 2020, p.220). However, Tagalog's (Filipino's) positioning in relation to other languages of the country places it in an "internal hegemonic role" (Lising, 2022, p.551). The term Tagalog has been used throughout this study and during participant interviews. It is important, however, to unpack Filipino as the national language of the Philippines. Tagalog is a regional language that came to prominence as a result of Manila's position of importance in

the duration of Spanish imperialism (Llamzon, 1968). It is a widely believed misconception even by native Filipino speakers that Tagalog is the national language as opposed to Filipino (Grabish, 2018). Although Tagalog and Filipino are used interchangeably in the Canadian census, Dreisbach and Demeterio III (2020) argue that they are separate languages. Despite Filipino foundationally consisting of the Manila regional language Tagalog, it also consists of other Filipino languages (Malek, 2021). Quimpo (2000) claims, however, that Filipino's significant basis on Tagalog overshadows the nation's non-Tagalog languages, most especially the languages and dialects of the Muslim ethnic groups present in the Philippines.

The term 'Filipino' refers to both the people of the Philippines as well as the national language and Tagalog similarly refers to the people or the language of the Tagalog region (therefore not all Filipinos are Tagalogs). Although Filipino is the recognized term for the national language of the Philippines, it is uncommon for speakers to refer to the language that they speak as 'Filipino' (Totanes, 2012). Due to the wide misconception that Tagalog is the national language, some Filipino language speakers and educators strive to deconstruct Tagalog as its colloquial name (Grabish, 2018). For the sake of clarity throughout this study, however, 'Filipino' will refer to the people of the Philippines and their descendants (such as those living in diasporas) and 'Tagalog' will refer to the standardized language that is an amalgam of several Filipino languages.

There exist several language families containing distinct languages and further subsequent dialects. For example, Tagalog is one language that encompasses various dialects in Luzon whereas Visayan is classified as a language family (Hammarström et al., 2018) consisting of the languages Cebuano (colloquially known as Bisaya), Hiligaynon, Masbateño, Romblomanon, Surigaonon, Bul-anon (Boholanon), Waray, etc. (Dreisbach & Demeterio III, 2020) and each language consists of several regional dialects. Approximately 90% of the population in the Philippines spoke one of the eight languages among eleven languages and 87 dialects in the 1980s, which included Tagalog, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Bicolano, Waray-Waray, Pampangan, and Pangasinan (Dolan, 1991). However, the evolution

of sociolinguistic work on Philippine languages shows that the ethnolinguistic diversity of the Philippines now encompasses 183 distinct languages that are currently in use (Dreisbach & Demeterio III, 2020). Understanding that languages aside from Tagalog are *languages* rather than dialects is necessary as they are distinct from each other and are not subdivisions of the national language, Filipino (Yuvallos, 2022). To view all other non-Tagalog languages as dialects is to position them below Tagalog and contributes to the diminishing of their recognition as their own vernaculars.

Sociolinguist Jeconiah Dreisbach (2020b) has stated that the recognition of Philippine languages as languages instead of dialects by linguists and language experts is the result of decades of work. They are credited under the annual reference publication *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, which documents the current living languages in the world. They are also internationally recognized as part of languages and language families under ISO 639, Codes for the Representation of Names of Languages (Dreisbach, 2020a; International Organization for Standardization, 2017). Understanding the linguistic landscape of the Philippines helps to inform the relation of Filipino Canadians to their Philippine heritage language in the context of Tagalog/Filipino as the lingua franca of the Philippines.

3. Literature review and Theoretical Framework

This section will outline the recent literature regarding ethnic identity and its development among the second generation, internalized racism (IR) and racial oppression (IRO), and factors that have led to connection to or disconnection from ethnic identity, such as family forms, gendered dynamics, and migration. This section will also cover the language retention of ethnic minorities and the factors that hinder its transfer from their migrant parents.

A. Filipino Canadian Identity

This section will address previous works on Filipino Canadian identity and the issues that this demographic faces regarding (in)visibility and framing of Filipinos in Canada, educational attainment of Filipino Canadian children of immigrants, and experiences of racialization and internalization of racial oppression which are all rooted in the history of migration integral to the relationship between the Canadian diaspora and the Philippine homeland. While there is robust literature on second generation Asian American and Filipino American subjectivity, there is also a growing Canadian literature on second-generation immigrants, specifically Filipino children of immigrants, and it is important to examine the processes and identity formation of Filipino Canadians.

Although this section reviews literature on Filipino Canadians, it will also draw from works focusing on other Filipino diasporas (namely the American diaspora) and other Asian Canadians. del Rio Laquian and Laquian (2008) draw parallels between 'Fil-Ams' (Filipino Americans) and 'Fil-Cans' (Filipino Canadians), their experiences of childhood characterized by their immigrant parents refraining from teaching them about their homeland and an insistence for them to communicate in English while concentrating on upward social mobility via adapting to the dominant society and avoiding conflict. Of course, some parents insisted that their children maintain a connection with their ethnic heritage rather than pushing for full assimilation. There also emerged shared experiences of discrimination particularly from coethnics and other minority groups and those of mixed backgrounds (*mestizo*; half White, half

Filipino) felt a compounded liminality due to not being fully Filipino or another ancestry. Over 60% (19 of 30) of second generation Filipino Americans felt that knowledge of Filipino culture was limited, partially by parents not transmitting family history to their children but also by a lack of inclusion of Filipino content in American education curricula and that they wanted to increase their understanding of their cultural history and heritage (Ferrera, 2017). Additionally, two thirds more closely identified with an American lifestyle than a Filipino one while all participants shared the personal importance to have knowledge of Filipino culture and history (Ferrera, 2017). Despite these similarities, it is important not to presume that Fil-Ams and Fil-Cans live the same lives, as the social contexts in which they are brought up differ vastly. Filipino Canadian studies are differentiated from its American counterpart based on a comparatively shorter history of migration and as a result, literature in Canada is narrower and relatively more recent, spanning over fewer generations compared to the US (McElhinny et al., 2012).

The term Asian American is insufficient to describe the cultural variation between the various ethnicities that fall under the label (Gong et al., 2003). The experiences of Filipino Americans are moulded and homogenized into the general experiences of Asian Americans and the dominant society's way of thinking, overlooking the nuances of Filipino American subjectivity (Enriquez, 1993). Likewise for Asian Canadians, it is important to examine the nuances of Filipino experiences including the invisibilization of the group among Asians in Canada. Darvin (2016) categorizes Filipino migrant subjectivity as the passive and "'invisible' visible minority", "the ideal yet docile worker", and "the co-opted migrant" (p.7) through which they are framed as hardworking pillars that fulfill the demands for caregivers as ideal immigrants. Filipinos are viewed as not only marginalized by systems of racial oppression, but additionally overlooked in comparison to other minority groups. Darvin emphasizes that this is not necessarily due to their population size, but their representation in the caregiving industry (see Coloma et al., 2012). The language describing Filipinos in Canada positions them as Others separated from Canadians through phrases such as "Canadian people love Filipinos" (Darvin, 2016, p.11) emphasizing the value of Filipinos to the state as well as the increase in population and significance

despite their experiences of invisibilization and othering. The designation of 'visible minority' is often conflated with immigrant status, which "renders racialized groups as outside the nation" (i.e. as perpetual foreigners) and the concept of visibility itself is contentious due to its normalization of White hegemony through the hypervisibilization and homogenization of people of colour (McElhinny et al., 2012, p.6).

Darvin and Norton (2014) and Darvin (2017) analyzed how social class positioning and possessing social, economic, cultural, and linguistic capital affect the learning outcomes of transnational students. Darvin and Norton's model of investment involves the relationship between the identity of a language learner and their motivation to learn a language in order to gain social and economic benefits in return of investment (Gearing & Roger, 2018; Norton, 2013). It addresses the identification of legitimate speakers, the recognition of linguistic capital, and the positionality of a language learner in a context using their linguistic resources (Darvin, 2017). These studies examine the variation of attitudes towards English of migrant Filipino adolescents in Vancouver based on social class through their experiences with migration and the utilization of their linguistic capital to position themselves as legitimate English language speakers. Findings revealed that these attitudes were structured by the power dynamic between speakers in the context of English as a lingua franca. Using a model of investment (Norton, 1995; 2013), which "recognizes how the skills, knowledge, and resources speakers possess are valued differently in diverse contexts" (p.296), Darvin compared two adolescent speakers of different socioeconomic backgrounds, Ayrton (of a wealthier background) and John (of a lower class). Ayrton shared his ability to be more easily accepted into his Canadian identity while John continued to be perceived as and feel like a stranger. Therefore, Ayrton could more easily claim legitimacy as Canadian and develop confidence in his English-speaking skills (believing that he does not need to alter his speech despite having noticeable difference from his peers) and his ownership of the language by referring to the language as "*my* English" (p.303). Ayrton notably took pride when his wealthy private school classmates were surprised to learn that Ayrton is Filipino, shocked that he does not "look like someone who's from the Philippines" (p.303) (suggesting that he does not appear to originate from a developing country) juxtaposed with the working-

class Filipinos in service occupations at their private high school. Meanwhile, John viewed English as foreign to him and Tagalog as integral to his personal identity therefore not possessing confidence in his English skills nor claiming ownership like Ayrton. John recognized that English affords social mobility while Tagalog provided very little, realizing only while in Canada that he possesses an accent that is not valued outside of the Philippines. Darvin states:

> language operates through modes of inclusion and exclusion. In any situation where two interlocutors are face to face, the language they choose to communicate with one another, the contexts in which they are able to speak and be listened to, and the conditions that shape their legitimacy as speakers are all circumscribed by power. (p.289)

Therefore, the power relationships that exist and the social and linguistic resources that they possess shape not only the speakers' usage of language but their identities in relation to language, seen through the (lack of) ownership over the English language as well as the acceptance into Canadian identity from both Ayrton and John.

As opposed to some previous work that claims that subsequent generations have weaker transnational connections than their migrant parents (Lee, 2008; Tiilikainen, 2017), Kelly's (2015) work on second generation Filipino Canadians argues that the relationship between these children of immigrants and their homeland, the Philippines, is integral to the formation of a hybridized identity and are different forms of transnationalism than the previous generation. The distinctiveness of Filipino Canadian identity (from Filipino American identity) requires addressing "the mode of incorporation of first-generation immigrants, along with the ways in which the second generation is raised, the resources available to them, and their experiences of racialization" (p.285). Part of these considerations include the relatively recent immigration history and trajectory as well as the immigrant demographics highly influenced by the Caregiver program.

Representation of co-ethnic role models is important for racial minorities, yet there is a limited number of these models in positions of power in various sectors available for Filipino Canadian youth (Mendoza, 2012). The resulting stereotypes tethered to caregiving especially influence the opportunities and sense of belonging in Canadian society. The economic outcomes and social mobility of the first

generation follow more distinct patterns than the second generation, who are more likely to reproduce the working-class status of their parents after migrating and experiencing deprofessionalization. This is especially true for Filipino male youth, despite the high levels of education of their parents, which can be partially explained by a lack of Filipino male role models (Kelly, 2015; Kelly, 2014; Sato & Este, 2017). Family circumstances as a result of deprofessionalization and underemployment affect the financial resources available for their children to attend university (or to select long, expensive programs), or children choose to support their families by finding employment early and often do not continue their education in post-secondary.

Examining the integration and outcomes of Filipino youth in Vancouver, BC, Farrales (2017) combines transnational labour migration and academic sites to understand the pattern of hindered mobility among Filipino youth despite the high education levels of their immigrant parents. Rather than an individualized failing, Farrales attributes this pattern to migration processes alongside the allocation of Filipino immigrant youth to English as a second language (ESL) classes that construct these students as an Other by separating them from regular classes based on evaluations of their English language skills. However, Filipino youths revealed resilience and adaptability to their social and academic environments despite being at risk for economic exclusion and social isolation in comparison to other Asian Canadian peers (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2012).

Filipino Canadians may hold limitations towards their own potential and imagined futures in Canadian society based on the overrepresentation of Filipinos as lower class, unskilled workers. This is exemplified in the apathy towards attaining success, questioning the point in exerting effort “because all Filipinos just end up as cleaners anyway” (Kelly, 2015, p.291). Occupations (accomplishments in the labour market) can serve as an integral part of identity and often are incorporated in personal introductions due to the Philippine belief that “the value of one’s work can be a source of pride for the family” (Bonifacio, 2013, p.99). However, although pride may be one emotional outcome, when there is a stigma attached to the unskilled service work to which Filipinos are often relegated as a result of

deprofessionalization, feelings of shame may arise. Despite nothing being inherently shameful in these occupations, they may be perceived negatively both by others as well as Filipinos themselves.

Although socioeconomic factors are significant facets that influence connection to Filipino identity, there is a lack of a deeper understanding and identification with Filipinoness (evident in the surface level positive attributes, such as familial connections and food (Espiritu, 1994; Kelly, 2015; Wolf, 1997)) that are pillars of support in understanding the self and one's personal, ancestral, and cultural history. This was also true for Somali Canadians who felt that blood relations were insufficient connections to sustain an affective sense of belonging but this meaningful identification with heritage could be helped through homeland visits (Tiilikainen, 2017). This points to how crucial cultural portals are to ethnic identity, which provide immersive experiences through visits to the Philippines, Filipinos as part of social circles, and social participating in organizations, events, or classes that promote engagement with the culture and language (Ferrera, 2017). Therefore, Kelly concludes that an important factor to address feelings of shame and the stigma of Filipinoness is to normalize positive associations with Filipinoness and the homeland and fostering a connection to this identity.

Technological advancements and media facilitate the transnational connections between diasporas and the homeland through phone calls, text messages, social media, and Filipino entertainment networks that provide Philippine media (e.g. films, teleseryes (Philippine television dramas), variety shows, and current events news programming) for Filipino diasporas (Kelly, 2015; McElhinny et al., 2012; Malek, 2021). However, indirect digital connections may feel stilted and insubstantial to develop meaningful relationships with extended relatives nor an affective sense of belonging with their heritage (Tiilikainen, 2017). Abundant portrayals in teleseryes that emphasizes the socioeconomic differences as well as the privilege that accompanies having a lighter complexion, leading to Filipino Americans to believe that these portrayals are inaccurately concealing the poverty that they believe to be a significant part of the Philippines (Gutierrez, 2019). This contributes to the shaping of perceptions of the homeland to second generation diaspora Filipinos and their own experiences with colourism. Through Filipino

television channels available in Canada, displays of skin whitening (among other things) that "[valorize] whiteness" contribute to the feelings of inferiority in Filipino Canadian youth regarding skin tone (Kelly, 2015, p.294). While some members of the second generation may view these images as markers of colonialism, Filipino migrant parents may be less readily critical of colourism via skin whitening due to its normalization and lack of resources to engage with decolonizing modes of thinking (Kelly, 2015).

de Leon's (2012) chapter on intraracial colourism among Filipino/a Canadian youth reveals the ways that social meaning is superimposed onto "skins" and the linkages between space, class, and skin colour (p.383). The spatial understandings of skin colour were illustrated by the associations of the light-skinned participants in Mississauga with affluence while the darker-skinned participants of Scarborough were labelled as "ghetto" or the "wrong side of the tracks" (implying the existence of a correct side, which would be Mississauga) (p.389). Scarborough was also framed by gender: participants identifying as dark-skinned asserted their dominance and hypermasculinity through comparatively labelling Mississauga as "soft and effeminate" (p.389) while emphasizing their own heterosexuality (which was undiscussed by their female counterparts). Those who self-identified as "light-skinned" and were associated with Mississauga (higher socioeconomic status) were positioned more closely to Whiteness and white privilege. The focus group discussions illuminated the constantly shifting spaces and their associations with skin and skin colour.

Religion is a significant aspect of Filipino heritage primarily due to the Philippines' history of Spanish colonization and the implementation of Roman Catholicism. For second generation Filipino Americans, involvement in Christian church communities supports their connection to their ethnic and religious identities (Malek, 2021). Religion plays an active role in migration and settlement of Filipino Canadians, facilitating easier acceptance into Christian Canadian society as many Filipino migrants were predominantly Catholic or Protestant compared to other Asian ethnic groups (Marshall, 2014). It is important to note, however, that although religion allows a connection to one's heritage, it may also be a source of conflict or tension with its integration in the culture as well as its presence in family dynamics

and gender roles. Bonifacio (2013) notes that Pinayism is key in the work of Philippine feminist scholars in understanding gender oppression undergirded by religion. She argues that religion is the blueprint for gender roles that place women in the home (therefore creating male-dominated spaces outside the home) as well as structures the images of a "good woman" in the home and in society (p.36).

There is a vast queer Filipinx-Canadian literature (including but not limited to works by Jodinand Aguillon, Jo SiMalaya Alcampo, Patrick Alcedo, John Paul Catungal, Roland Sintos Coloma, Robert Diaz, May Farrales, Sean Kua, Marissa Largo, Casey Mecija, Fritz Luther Pino, JB Ramos, Patrick Salvani) that cannot be covered in the scope of this paper, though it is necessary to recognize its important role in interrogating the dynamics of gender, sexuality, and queerness in family (which is most prominent in this paper in relation to gender norms as facilitators of intergenerational conflict) that are not readily apparent. Many of these scholars explore queerness beyond identitarian categories via a broad range of avenues that critique social structures and center the voices of queer, racialized, and gender minorities. This intersects with colonialism, religion, and patriarchy that structure family.

As this thesis examines the negotiation of Filipino Canadian identity, cultural and ethnic identity are integral factors to address. The literatures on ethnic and cultural identities are broad and the following includes works that address the fluidity of identity, the incongruence of multiple identities, and their entanglement with other social structures. Linking ethnic identity, racialization, and skin colour, Sundar (2008) examined how South Asian-Canadian young adults navigate their identities depending on their social environments. These youths' identities were malleable, dynamic, multi-faceted, and were formed by their interactions with others in their environment. The perceptions of themselves were viewed through race (as "brown", referring to skin colour), gender, and nationality. Sundar's findings align with de Leon's (2012) that identity is structured by different social categories and are shaped dependent on location.

Race and skin colour (brownness) among Sundar's (2008) South Asian participants allowed a unifying identity across religious and cultural backgrounds as well became salient as a highly visible

differentiator for others, especially in juxtaposition to whiteness. Brownness however is not as impactful in the daily lives of these youth and therefore it is the interaction with (white) others that illuminate their racial difference through skin complexion. Likewise, de Leon's respondents self-identified as either light-skinned or dark-skinned, influenced by social class. The study showed that beauty and attractiveness were reliant on skin complexion and were perceived as both fixed and shifting (in that darker-skinned individuals could aspire to Whiteness through avoiding the sun).

Gender emerged as well as an important factor for female participants as they navigated between "modern ('white') and traditional ('South Asian') gender roles" as well as their perception as a "good woman" as South Asians and Canadians that allowed the merging of positive aspects of both cultures (Sundar, 2008, p.260). They recognize the intergenerational progression of independence and opportunities afforded to them that were not present for their mothers at their age through the ongoing resistance of South Asian women. An example given is the taboo of dating or interacting with men which slackened due to its normalization among North Americans. Instead of a "culture clash" (p.261), their bi-cultural experiences broadened their gendered restrictions.

In terms of nationality, participants perceive themselves as simultaneously Canadian and South Asian (opting for a panethnic identity), asserting a hybridized transnational identity. The panethnic label establishes a unifying identity due to the differences among different ethnic South Asian groups being less salient to the second generation compared to the first. Participants felt "more Canadian when abroad, and more South Asian while here in Canada", dependent on the degree to which they could blend into their environment, establishing a geographic relation with national identity (Sundar, 2008, p.262). Despite strongly identifying as Canadian, participants also equated Canadian to Whiteness and European ancestry and therefore different from South Asians, who in this context are framed as not "real Canadians" (p.263). Thus, these second generation youth utilize a hyphenated identity label to manage their simultaneous conflicting feelings of belonging and alienation (due to never completely belonging to either nationality).

For some participants, cognizance of their South Asian heritage emerged later in life as there was little attention on their ethnicity until transitioning to environments with other South Asians (i.e. through entering high school or university), generating interest in the culture and connections with their ethnic community. Participants traversed different spaces of identity through assessing their environment and determining whether to "brown it up" (accentuate South Asian characteristics) or "bring the brown down" (p.265) (minimize characteristics to fit their idea of Canadian) depending on the demand of the situation and their own goals.

Examining the transnational identities of second generation Somali Canadian youth, Tiilikainen (2017) found that participation in family practices, such as visiting their homeland, sending remittances, and maintaining communication with relatives encompassed a large part of their transnational connections although the study further explores the complexity of the negotiation of their belonging. Although homeland visits helped foster heritage identity for some by creating emotional attachment and nostalgia for their country, other second generation Somali Canadians did not intend on (re)visiting based on their perception of the country as underdeveloped and unsafe and they did not have strong connections to family or felt disconnected and too different as Canadians. Some barriers to homeland visits included the long distance and financial difficulty to travel as well as the unstable political climate, deterring the development of strong cultural ties with the homeland and their Somali heritage. An inability to speak any Somali languages exacerbated this effect.

Stroink and Lalonde (2009) conducted two studies on the desirability as an in-group member and identity in bi-cultural conflict of East Asian Canadian undergraduate students. They found that the higher the two different cultures appeared to differ, the less likely participants were to identify with either culture. This was also related to their sense of belonging in both groups due to their perception of their likability and acceptance by in-group members. Sundar (2008) and Stroink and Lalonde's (2009) studies show that the identification of Asian Canadian ethnic minorities are dependent on their environment and feelings of belonging in their multiple, hybridized identities (bi-culturalism). Second generation

Canadians are often caught between two different (possibly contradictory) cultural systems in which they encounter western values and values of their heritage inculcated through societal processes such as through peers and media compared to parents and members of the heritage group (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009). According to Ferrera (2017), "*biculturalism*, or a multicultural, *integrative* model is the optimal strategy of cultural adaptation" (p.238). Encountering these differing systems results in the development of bi-cultural identity, which is shaped through one's environment over time.

While navigating these differing cultures simultaneously, second generation Canadians may experience bi-cultural conflict: having to choose between their heritage and the dominant group, often feeling pressured to conform to the cultural values and expectations of the latter. Tuan (1999) investigates the liminal positioning of Asian Americans by examining who can be considered a real American or a real Asian. Their interactions with non-Asians resulted in questioning the level to which they have been Americanized by facing presumptions that Asian Americans must be closer to their heritage than to American culture. Meanwhile, interactions with Asia-born migrants question their authenticity of Asianness by juxtaposing themselves with US-born Asian Americans to highlight them as too American, or a diluted and insufficient version of themselves (Tuan, 1999). Although immigrants face expectations to assimilate into the dominant culture and language, these "opportunities for integration are controlled by the dominant culture group that does not want to jeopardize its dominant status quo" (Shulyakovskaya 2019, p.83). Using arguments from Lowe (1996), Alba (1990), and Blumer (1958), Tuan concludes that Asian Americans are continually excluded from America's defining racial and cultural criteria that ultimately requires European heritage, therefore allowing White Americans perpetual legitimacy to claim authentic American identity. These experiences of unbelonging on either side lead to the laborious grappling with cultural and ethnic authenticity and the legitimacy to claim either identity. Tuan notes, however, that Asian Americans do not passively accept the labels projected onto them. Rather, they actively resist these categorizations while navigating and forging their own identities.

However, bi-culturalism does not necessarily have to result in conflict or compromising one's sense of cultural identity by distancing from one in order to adapt to the other (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009; Lee, 2002). Instead, individuals may shift between both groups without mixing the two (LaFramboise et al., 1993) or blending both identities together (Birman, 1994) and therefore creating a new merged identity (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009), also referred to as bi-cultural competence (LaFramboise et al., 1993). While Stroink and Lalonde's studies demonstrated lower levels of identification with either culture, Sundar's female participants were more able to mediate their South Asian and Canadian identities to their benefit. The fluidity and multi-faceted characteristic of identity allow individuals to utilize the presentation of their identities to fit the demands of their environments. The effective blend of both heritage and dominant norms allows a strengthened bi-cultural identification or bi-cultural competence (Sundar, 2008). In the current study, an overarching sentiment that clouds Filipino identity is the ambiguity of where Filipino identity fits as well as the conflict that arises between identities. Bi-cultural conflict illustrates the ambivalent and liminal feelings of minority groups towards their ethnic identities, in which language plays a central role.

B. Filipino Values, Attitudes, and Concepts

Many of the values, attitudes, and concepts present in the literature possess an ineluctable connection to oneness and collectivism, which manifest in different social institutions (such as the family). Filipino values can similarly be connected to "selflessness and relatedness" (Lee Guy, 2005 as cited in Bonifacio 2013, p.187). They are important to address in order to understand the experiences of Filipino Canadians, as they come into contact with the values and attitudes of the dominant Canadian society in which Filipino Canadians grow up.

Tsismis, or gossip, operates within the group functionally to disseminate information while navigating familial and community relations. *Tsismis* is integral to Filipino culture and is utilized to avoid confrontation and straining (often) familial relationships by addressing issues indirectly among the

community, allowing the subject of *tsismis* to rectify their behaviour without creating or worsening conflict that may threaten the cohesion of the family (Cimmarusti, 1996). This cohesion is highly dependent on respect that is structured by hierarchies of age, class, status, and position, both in the family and in broader society (Bonifacio, 2013), meaning that respect is reserved for elders, parents, and older relatives in the context of family.

Although the function of defusing situations provides a positive outcome, *tsismis* can simultaneously cause detrimental effects. Associated with saving face, Chan and Litam (2021) refer to the Filipino concept of *hiya* (which they define as shame resulting from the fear of losing face) and *amor propio* (defined by the authors as self-esteem related to social acceptance but literally translated from Latin to self-love) that work in tandem to position a Filipino and possibly their family in vulnerability for *tsismis*. The loss of *amor propio* and therefore face, also risks the individual's and the family's social positioning and acceptance by their community (Gong et al., 2003), as occupying this vulnerable position in the spotlight of *tsismis* is viewed as disgraceful and shameful. Note that the concepts discussed in this paragraph (*tsismis, hiya, saving face,* and *amor propio)* are *not* considered "Filipino values" but are commonly encountered within Filipino culture. This will be further elaborated later to address the fallacy of the theory of ambivalence relative to values.

Some Filipino values include *loób*, which literally translates to "inside" but when referring to an individual, denotes a reciprocal, "relational will" to one's *kapwa,* meaning "other" or "other person" that can be defined as "together with the person", "shared self", or "shared identity" (Reyes, 2015, p.149). David et al. (2017) utilizes Enriquez's (1998) translation as "fellow being" and describes the concept as "one's unity, connection, or oneness with other people—regardless of 'blood' connection, social status, wealth, level of education, place of origin, or other factors typically used to separate or distinguish people. *Kapwa* is recognizing that one has a shared inner self with others, and that one is not and should not be separated from others" (p.48). In summary, it is the self indiscernible from others (Enriquez, 2010 as cited Chan & Litam, 2021). According to Reyes, the two are inseparable and can be easily misunderstood by

superimposing a modern or western lens, such as understanding *loób* as a binary of the subjective inner person and the objective outer world. Instead, *loób*, one's will, must be examined in perpetual relation to another, often other people (*kapwa*). *Loób* manifests through quotidian interaction and relationships; how one treats others determines their *loób* (Reyes, 2015). According to Enriquez (1998, as cited in David et al., 2017), *kapwa* is a broader notion that encompasses *loób*, *pakikisama*, and *hiya* and sits at the heart of Filipino values.

Filipino values revolve around collectivism, guiding individuals to benefit and satisfy other members of their community, a concept known as *pakikisama,* defined by Bautista (1998) as dedicating oneself to fulfilling the wishes of the group to which one belongs, sometimes to the detriment of the individual (Nadal, 2021 as cited in Chan and Litam, 2021). It is a concept that intends to maintain harmonious interpersonal relations (Bonifacio, 2013). Hosoda (2013) uses the term *kababayan* (*kabayan* singular) to describe the relations between Filipinos and although similar to *kapwa*, it is used in a diasporic context, fostering a strengthened sense of Filipino identity transnationally. Aligning with *kapwa*, Candido (2000) argues that the fundamental values of Filipinos link to family relations, filial piety, and ties to the broader heritage community (see Advincula & Ricco, 1998; Agbayani-Siewert & Revilla, 1995; Buduhan & Oandason, 1981; Cimmarusti, 1996; Marcelino, 1990; Robles-Cariño, 1996). These values are seen as integral to Filipino identity and that concerns exist for the continuation of these values among future generations in the Canadian diaspora (Malek, 2021). This is partially due to the expectation on Filipino Canadians to uphold some values, such as *paggalang* (meaning respect), creating tension between generations due to a difference in interpretation and its insistent inculcation on younger generations. However, despite these conflicts, these values are viewed as positive contributions to Canadian society (Malek, 2021). All these different concepts converge to emphasize the importance of the collective in Filipino culture.

Considering all these concepts, Jiolito (2022) cautions the assertion of Filipino values as ambivalent. Ambivalence among Filipino values has been constantly reiterated in the literature especially

since the mid-twentieth century yet makes the important distinction that what are referred to as 'Filipino values' are in actuality not *values*. Through critiquing the works of Gorospe (1994), Licuanan (1994), and Quito (1994), Jiolito adamantly claims that theories of ambivalence are incorrectly applied to Filipino values. This refers to both the psychological and sociological uses of the terms, of which the former foundationally rests on Bleuler's psychological definition of simultaneous and contradictory affective and cognitive processes while the latter refers to Merton's (1976) explication of the social structures which engender the social conditions that result in ambivalence based on "conflicting normative expectations emanating from socially defined statuses and roles" (Jiolito, 2022, p.132). These authors with whom Jiolito disagrees argue that Filipino values can be viewed as ambivalent due to the use of a value by an actor for either positive or negative goals and intentions. Gorospe answers the question of whether Filipino values are "good" or "bad" by stating, "the truth is that Filipino values are ambivalent in the sense that they have a potential for good or evil, a help or hindrance to personal and national development, depending on how they are understood, practiced or lived" (Jiolito, 2022, p.136). It is necessary to recognize, however, that the ambivalence lies with the (mis)use of the values by the *actor* rather than the values themselves. Therefore, Jiolito argues that Gorospe does not recognize that individuals utilize "Filipino values" as a scapegoat for their own behaviours and attitudes that vituperates these values in the process instead of placing the responsibility on the social actor. Gorospe however does focus on what he refers to as the hypocrisy and "moral depravity of Filipinos" (p.138) rather than on Christian morality when regarding religious values, to which Jiolito calls attention in order to highlight the inconsistencies of Gorospe's application of accountability. Gorospe's language referring to Filipinos exemplifies the denigration of his own people as moral sinners in relation to the simultaneous uplifting of Christian colonialism to a faultless pedestal. This framing acts in further support of internalized colonial oppression manifesting as colonial debt.

An example of this ambivalence of Filipino values for the concept *pakikisama* (group loyalty) is that it can be viewed positively as promoting "[absence] of dissent" but also negatively to "condone evil

for group peace" or "harmony" (Jiolito, 2022, p.134). Another error lies in regarding negative attitudes and behaviours as Filipino values, such as *saving face* (positively as the "freedom from responsibility, guilt, or embarrassment" compared to negatively as avoiding responsibility) or even regarding *colonial mentality* as a part of Filipino character (p.134). Distinguishing *values* from undesirable traits (which Jiolito denounces as rightfully categorized as negative characteristics) is essential in order to avoid conflating said traits with Filipino character. The widespread acceptance of negative interpretations of traits and normalization of this view of ambivalence is destructive and anti-Filipino by vitiating the understanding of Filipino values (Jiolito, 2022). However, due to the conflation of various concepts and attitudes by various scholars as 'Filipino values', it is difficult to discern what can be considered a value and what cannot.

While this thesis examines internalized racism, internalized racial oppression, and colonial mentality, it would be a mistake to claim that any of these concepts are integral to Filipino individuals or Filipino culture themselves as opposed to resulting behaviours and attitudes in response to existing within overarching structures of colonialism, white supremacy, and racism (that intersect with other oppressive systems such as patriarchy, classism, and misogyny) that are globally embedded and experienced relationally and transnationally. What Jiolito describes as an "anti-Filipino" (p.139) mindset reflects its employment as self-denigration of Filipinos and contributes to the impact of IRO by attributing negative traits inherently to Filipinos themselves.

It is especially important to acknowledge Jiolito's defense of Filipino values in this study in which the ambivalent connections of participants in this study to their Filipino identity are heavily influenced by the physical and cultural separation of diaspora Filipinos from Filipino values and cultural concepts. For example, although consolidated in this section with values, the concept of *tsismis* itself is not a value, it is a practice that is governed by social rules and serves an important function in Filipino culture and society (Cimmarusti, 1996). As a result, the application of a western lens and

misunderstanding these values by attributing negative attitudes and behaviours to inherent qualities of Filipinos *as* Filipino values further reinforces the reaction to distance themselves from their heritage.

It is essential to address that the indigenous Filipino terms mentioned in this section (including *hiya, kapwa, utang na loób, pakikisama* and some non-indigenous terms such as *amor proprio* (Lasquety-Reyes, 2016) by extension) have a history of "colonial interpretations" by scholars foreign to the Philippines without a deep understanding of the language and culture that do not accurately reflect the original concepts and have influenced the understanding of these concepts (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, p.54). This explains the existence of multiple and sometimes conflicting definitions and interpretations of these concepts. This paper utilizes these terms only as contextual descriptions to consider some of the cultural elements that may influence the experiences of diaspora Filipinos. One may argue that these elements are experienced by later generations only indirectly or partially through their encounters primarily with the first generation (such as their parents). Without sufficient expertise in *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (Filipino Psychology) and by citing various sources that include foreign scholars, the application of a Western lens is unavoidable. Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino argue that "'Filipino Values', together with other colonial interpretations offered by the foreign scholars, have been transmitted from one generation to another, thus perpetuating a distorted, if not false, picture of the Filipino" (p.54). Therefore, this paper cannot claim to utilize these concepts from an indigenous Filipino understanding. However, their role in the shaping of diaspora Filipinos also cannot be completely ignored.

C. Language Retention

This section will outline the factors that negatively impact the ability of speakers to retain their heritage language. Past research shows that maintaining one's heritage language is beneficial to the speaker if they are also able to acquire the dominant language (bilingualism) (Tse, 1998). Additionally, greater heritage language proficiency increases positive interactions and stronger relationships with other heritage language speakers as well as allow a more secure sense of self and pride in one's cultural heritage, a lack of aversion to coethnic heritage language speakers, and "greater understanding and

knowledge of cultural values, ethics, and manners" (Cho, 2000, p.369). Although ethnic minorities' maintenance of their heritage language come with many benefits, language retention is difficult to develop due to the imposing strength of the dominant language of the environment in which ethnic minorities are raised (Cho, 2000).

Despite the common misconception that immigrants are likely to favour maintaining their heritage language over acquiring the English language, the reality is the opposite, in which immigrants are actually more likely to undergo language shift, resulting in a lack of developing the heritage language (Tse, 1998; Hinton, 1999). This decline in heritage language and shift towards English occurs among the second generation (Lee, 2002). Acknowledging the significance of language within cultural identity, Lee points to debates of its inseparability from cultural identity while simultaneously recognizing that some scholars argue that the loss of heritage language ability does not automatically mean the loss of cultural identity.

Filipino Canadians experience disconnection regarding heritage language retention. Almost 90% of 572 respondents reported that during high school, their most frequently spoken language at home was English (Kelly, 2015). In 2007, there were ten times the number of attendees in Tamil heritage language courses compared to Tagalog courses in Toronto despite there being 50% more Filipinos than Tamils, which was related to the degree of interest and commitment of parents (*The Philippine Reporter*, 2007 as cited in Kelly, 2015). However, there has been a growing interest in Filipino languages over time. In 2015, Filipino Vancouverites campaigned for the inclusion of Tagalog as an added curriculum in BC public schools (Smith, 2015), in 2022, there has been a push to diversify the language options including Tagalog in BC for students (Culbert, 2022) and now the first high school Filipino language and culture class in BC will be available in Vancouver in the upcoming academic year, an accomplishment in the making since the 1990s, according to UBC professor and National Pilipino Canadian Cultural Centre (NPC3) president, Leonora Angeles (CBC News, 2023). In other locations, an upcoming Filipino bilingual program in Winnipeg will begin in September 2023 (Rosen, 2022) and Filipino Albertans have

also advocated for more Filipino language classes in school (Evano, 2022) which Filipino language and culture teachers in Alberta state are important for familial and heritage connections (Frew, 2022).

In 2011, Tagalog was determined to be the fastest growing language in Canada, which has now decreased to fifth in the country but is still in the top position provincially in Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Papasin, 2022). However, some important details to consider are that there are more languages than Tagalog spoken by Filipinos in Canada. According to Mable Elmore, a Filipino Canadian lawmaker, this decrease in reported use of Tagalog accentuates the urgency for the implementation of Tagalog by the Vancouver School Board. Filipino Canadian parents express their disappointment that their Canadian born children have been unable to retain their heritage language and hope that the availability of Tagalog classes will allow their children to learn Tagalog (Papasin, 2022). However, despite the availability of Filipino language use in school curricula, a significant factor of language retention depends on language use at home taught by parents (Baylon, 2021).

Existing literature on heritage language retention examines the various social factors that lead to children of immigrants failing to maintain or to acquire the languages of their parents as opposed to an individualized failing to successfully transfer this knowledge on either the part of the child or the parent. The ability of youth to retain their heritage language is heavily impacted by their environment and whether this environment supports the maintenance of their parents' languages (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009). This is especially true when entering school, at which youth are exposed to the dominant language in the classroom through learning educational content and socializing with their peers during a majority of their time compared to the time spent at home. Decisions regarding language use at home are influenced by migrant parents' language beliefs that have been socially and educationally shaped by their home country, which differs vastly from the context of the host country (Lising, 2022; Piller & Gerber, 2018). Due to the lack of diaspora Filipinos retaining heritage language in later generations (Ferrera, 2017; Garrido, 2011), Lising (2022) stresses the importance of examining the negotiation of heritage languages in the private family sphere and the development of language ideologies. The social network of youth,

including their parents, and their attitudes and values, are especially influential on one's ethnic identity development. This is due to the affirmation of one's ethnic background being important to one's self-perception and belonging as a member of their ethnic group. Parents in Filipino American families who did not plan a home structure for language transmission to their children found a lack of Tagalog use at home and the unintentional domination of English in the household (Lising, 2022). This partially manifested due to finding English more comfortable to use instead of Tagalog as children or grandchildren would respond in English. DeCapua and Wintergerst conclude that despite the intentions of the parents, the ubiquity of the dominant language works against these efforts, leading to a decline in proficiency of the heritage language.

Immigrant parents of Chinese American youth, as a larger part of "voluntary migrants" (p.110) played an important role in the attitudes of their children towards maintaining their Chinese heritage language (Zhu et al., 2020). Parents voluntarily immigrated and had a more positive attitude towards assimilating into American culture partially through gaining proficiency of the dominant language (English, in this case) to align with their goals of ensuring an upwardly mobile, financially successful future for themselves and their children (Jeon, 2010; Zhu et al., 2020). However, they would maintain their Chinese language skills based on their cultural and familial ties to China, influenced by their already existing advanced proficiency in Chinese, therefore incentivizing its maintenance. Meanwhile, they held the attitudes of prioritizing their children's schoolwork in English over their children's Chinese language acquisition due to the advantage of accessing opportunities available to those who are upwardly mobile, such as higher academic achievement and socioeconomic status (Zhu et al., 2020).

Sometimes, immigrant parents' attitude towards language use is not the deciding factor for the language in which they communicate with their children. For some of Zhu et al.'s (2020) respondents, their language use depended on the level of its convenience—the exhaustion and limited amount of energy leftover from running a fulltime family business led to one respondent to default to allowing her children to respond to her use of Mandarin and Hokkien with English despite stating that she is aware that

it is important that her children maintain their Chinese heritage language yet she "couldn't stop them" (from speaking English) (p.109). Despite this respondent's efforts, her children would default to English based on the convenience that best functioned for their family's working needs as well as was further facilitated by the ubiquity of English in the children's school and personal lives. The emphasis on the exhaustion of the parents' working demands highlights the pressures placed on the shoulders of working-class immigrants to provide for their families as well as take on the responsibility of the social transfer of their heritage cultural knowledge to the next generation. However, it should be noted that Chinese immigrant parents with a business working-class background have a higher level of involvement and communication with their children on a daily basis compared to immigrant parents associated with a university education and one of the primary reasons for failure of language maintenance is inconsistency (Zhu et al., 2020).

Relating to the demands of one's environment, immigrant parents in Chinese diaspora communities in the Western world aspired for their children to maintain their heritage language and contributed to their learning both within the home and in their community through Chinese language schools (Lee, 2022). However, there was disproportionate support for heritage language learners with dialect backgrounds different from the lingua franca. As Mandarin and Cantonese contend with each other to linguistically dominate many diaspora communities, other Chinese dialects were increasingly pushed to the periphery. Chinese-Canadians who desired a strong sense of belonging (which was associated with exposure to their heritage culture and more frequent use of Chinese with parents) were more likely to feel motivated to learn their heritage language (Chow, 2018).

For Filipino Americans, a similar process is part of the contribution to the high proficiency and preference for the second generation to communicate in English as opposed to the heritage language(s) of their parents. According to the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Studies (CILS) in the United States, in 1995, over 95% of second-generation Filipino Americans preferred to speak in English while almost 90% were unable to sufficiently speak a Filipino language (Garrido, 2011). A preference to communicate

in English, a lack of learning about the Philippines, and highly valuing American norms showcase Filipino Americans' high assimilation and leads to becoming an invisible minority (Garrido, 2011).

Citing the pressure from their immigrant parents to speak English with a native accent, over 75% (23 of 30) of second generation Filipino American Chicagoans reported not being able to fluently speak Tagalog (Ferrera, 2017). A University of Winnipeg student shared that the stigmatization of Tagalog and Ilocano and resulting bullying from both White and Filipino students in school deterred Filipino language learning despite the many opportunities of their use due to the large Filipino community in her area (Baylon, 2021). Some Filipino Americans were motivated to distinguish themselves from other Filipinos who "only speak Tagalog" and "don't interact with Filipino Americans" (Gutierrez, 2019, p.42). One of Gutierrez's respondents was concerned that prolonged exposure to Tagalog was deteriorating his English while influencing his speech to gain a Filipino accent. These fears were incentivized by the value placed on assimilating into American society, which stigmatized associations with markers of Filipinoness such as language and accent. Few works in the literature suggest that some Filipino Americans affirm their nationalism to the Philippines by continuing to use their heritage languages, but overall Filipino immigrants show a proclivity towards integrating into American culture (Aguila, 2015). Other institutional pressures that inhibit heritage language retention include: the socioeconomic value of high English proficiency, the ubiquity of English and simultaneous lack of exposure and opportunity to use the heritage language, and parental beliefs about the effect of heritage language on English language acquirement (Lising, 2022). All these pressures contribute to language shift despite the positive attitude of parents towards heritage language maintenance.

Vancouver immigrant youth navigate their experiences of inclusion and exclusion in relation to language-based discrimination (linguicism) and their identities (Kayaalp, 2016). Using the "accent hierarchy" as a central concept, Kayaalp links ethnic hierarchy to accent discrimination, stratifying racial minority youth under the dominant language (English) by extrapolating from their ethnoracial backgrounds and physical appearance. This determines the cultural (linguistic) capital that these youth

possess (such as their accent and way of speaking) and affects their positioning within the hierarchy in social institutions. Subsequently, these youth are influenced to adjust accordingly to the dominant society and language, submitting to modifying their speech (e.g., through accent reduction programs), which reinforces the disadvantaged perception of their linguistic identities, working to distinguish them as foreigners. Kayaalp recognizes a difference in experiences based on generation: the second generation benefits from acquiring the dominant language and accent (i.e., acquiring the advantageous habitus) while the first generation typically endures discrimination for their heritage language and accent. Their experiences of exclusion and discrimination result from the system working to put them at a disadvantage relative to those with the "right habitus" (p.139). Due to the advantages of acquiring English language proficiency and a "standard Canadian accent" (p.143), second generation minority youth utilized this advantage to separate themselves from the disadvantageous heritage language and accent to maintain or improve their positioning. This however reinforces the system at the cost of their coethnics who maintain their heritage language and accent and may even be accompanied with the consequence of not retaining their heritage language based on their attitudes towards it (i.e., that it is not beneficial and will establish them in a lower position within the linguistic hierarchy).

A study by Tseng (2021) on first- and second-generation Latinos in the US analyzed the impact of community language attitudes, including monolingual norms (that believe bilinguals are indistinguishable from monolinguals in both their spoken languages) on later-generation heritage Spanish speakers. Findings revealed that attitudes of language purity and proficiency fostered avoidance and insecurity of these later-generation speakers towards the heritage language, illustrating the rigid relationship between language and ethnic identity boundaries—that one can be categorically Latino, yet lack of cultural connection or language proficiency results in rejection from in-group members. Therefore, Spanish fluency indicates maintaining an authentic Latino identity, individualizing language retention to a matter of personal choice. Conversely, lack of Spanish proficiency signaled rejection of Latino identity in favour of American assimilation. Those who were more "English-dominant" were

negatively labelled by Spanish speakers as “having something wrong with them” (p.120) or as “deficient Latinos” (p.122), which extended to the parents as a failure of transmitting Spanish to their children. This evaluation led to feelings of shame, often defending themselves by asserting their understanding of the language rather than speaking, though their bilingualism was rejected by in-group Spanish speaking members. Migrant Latinos believed that younger generation Latinos born in the US primarily speak English, sharing fears of future generations losing their language like other white ethnic groups. These attitudes contributed to the language insecurity of later generations: 50% of second generation compared to 17% of first generation Spanish speakers reported insecurity of their Spanish proficiency, viewing themselves as insufficient speakers and indicated a desire to improve their linguistic skills. Participants shared that family members and Latino community members reinforced their negative perception as inadequate speakers, accentuating their difference in accent and pronunciation, described as “playful” (p.126) yet nevertheless contributes to the notion of failed Latino identity. Participants avoided speaking Spanish to evade confrontations about their failed, inadequate Spanish usage (establishing a monolingual norm of language purity). Tseng’s (2021) corroborated Cho’s (2000) findings on Korean Americans that a failure to retain one’s heritage language resulted in strained relationships with coethnics outside of the family and increased avoidance of other heritage language speakers or members of their ethnic group altogether, leading to isolation and exclusion from their ethnic group. Overall, the identities of later-generation speakers were structured around heritage language proficiency.

Jeon’s (2020) study on second generation Korean Americans addressed the shifting attitudes towards heritage language based on the life cycle. The study found that participants were positioned to “constantly think about imagined homeland” with the heritage language (p.557). Their change in attitude from being forced speakers to willing learners and participants was a result of perceiving value in the language as adults and subsequently desired to foster and maintain transnational connections. This (re)connection to heritage was produced as a response to experiences of racism in the US that prevented them from achieving a full sense of belonging as Americans. Evidently, language retention is influenced

by many social and economic factors and language is a salient facet of 'proving' one's ethnic identity to be accepted by other group members.

D. Internalized Racial Oppression

As this thesis primarily examines the role of internalization of racial oppression in the negotiation of Filipino Canadian ethnic identity formation, it is essential to examine the past literature on internalized racism and its related concepts. While there is a large body of work on IR and IRO, there is a dearth of research specifically on these concepts among Asian Americans (Hwang, 2021) but has been growing in recent years (Choi et al., 2017; Huynh, 2022; Hwang, 2021; Millan & Alvarez, 2014; Park et al., 2021; Pyke & Dang, 2003; Pyke, 2010; Yi & Todd, 2021), often in relation to its effects on mental health or academic performance. There are even fewer works on this topic in the Canadian context and for Filipino Canadians in particular. However, some studies do examine ethnic identity and enculturation as mitigating factors in the development of IR (see Benigno, 2017; Bryant, 2009; Cokley, 2002; David & Okazaki, 2006; Ferrera, 2017; Hilaire et al., 2006; Hipolito-Delgado, 2008, 2010, 2016; Zhen-Duan et al., 2018; Williams, 2011). Of the existing literature on IR in the psychological field, almost three quarters (roughly 74%) of the work has been published since 2009, focusing on the general American populace (67%) while the most frequently studied racial demographic was African Americans (41%) (David et al., 2019). Trieu (2019) calls for further exploration of IRO in the field of sociology in order to discover more avenues in challenging this phenomenon. Future research must also work to overlap quotidian individual experiences with transnational colonial history and racialization in order to better understand from where IRO originates, its function, and its consequences (Trieu, 2019).

1.5 and second generation Asian Americans in the US Midwest both experienced and contributed to IRO by reinforcing negative stereotypes of their Asian American upbringing (Trieu & Lee, 2018). One respondent felt compelled to avoid being perceived as an Asian who only associates with other Asians while shutting out White peers. Growing up in wealthy, homogenous environments as the sole minority also affected their desire to be accepted by their peers while also transcending the conceptions of Asian

Americans, feeling content with being labelled whitewashed. Other respondents reported internalizing self-hatred for their heritage, pinpointed as the attribute that caused experiences with bullying. These reports reflect the "reactionary response (defensive othering, disidentification, and disassociation)" to their experiences resulting in IRO based on the negative associations with Asian heritage (p.74). Experiences with racism on various levels resulted in the desire for whiteness, which is conflated with being American as normative. Despite the embeddedness of IRO, its presence is not static nor permanent. Instead, Trieu and Lee argue that exposure to "racial and ethnic history", "ethnic organizations", and "coethnic social ties" (p.78) are the trifecta critical in shifting the perceptions rooted in the self-denigration facilitated by white supremacy towards an uplifting mindset. This is important especially in unlearning racial oppression and emphasizing the agency of racial minorities as social actors. Experiences of the second generation often reflect a tendency to reject or disconnect from their ethnic identity during their early formative years to then reach a point in adulthood when individuals navigate and attempt to reconnect with their identities (Garrido, 2011; Jeon, 2010; Jeon, 2020; Sundar, 2008), illustrating the non-static characteristic of IR/IRO; that unlearning internalized racism and racial oppression influences the reactions of disidentification and disassociation from coethnics over time.

Aligning with Kelly's assertion that the homeland plays an important role in the formation of ethnic identity, Gutierrez (2019) examines the development of second generation Filipino Americans' understanding of the Philippines, their relationships with the first generation, and their disconnect with their Filipino identity. He states that the second generation is "raised within a social context that consistently reinforces the notion that their lives as Filipino Americans are vastly different from those that reside in and originate from the Philippines" (p.27). This involves the various ways through which the understanding of the Philippines is shaped, including "the familial context, transnational connections, media exposure, as well as educational and organizational resources" which establish an image of the Philippines that differentiates it from their social environment in the US. This image involves associations with political corruption, poverty, and crime, illustrated by respondents who shared narratives of poverty

and hardship as part of migration and sacrificing for family. Drawing from Frederik Barth, Gutierrez states that "critical features of ethnicity are borne out of one's social context" (p.29), referring to the creation of ethnic categories by the state, such as the panethnic "Hispanic" or "Asian American" identities and extends this formation to demarcating identity based on generation status, further highlighting the salience of the identification of the second generation.

Second generation Filipino Americans prefer to identify as 'Filipino' rather than panethnic labels such as 'Asian' yet question their legitimacy to utilize the 'Filipino' label due to the constant messaging that their lives in the US differ greatly from those living in the Philippines (Gutierrez, 2019). This was partially motivated by the stigma of the image of the "Filipino", especially in school environments, as "Filipino-Americans" were delineated above the singular "Filipino" based on their portrayals as FOBs (Fresh off the Boat) and more specifically based on one's English language proficiency and Americanization (Gutierrez, 2019, p.32). For the FOB Filipinos, this meant that speaking Tagalog outwardly distinguished them as less American than the Filipino Americans, carrying this stigma via language.

Brazilian Americans showed that these individuals asserted their Brazilian identities while resisting their American identities by refusing to be labelled "Brazilian-American" or broader labels such as "Hispanic" or "Latino" (Halpern et al., 2022). This was due to affirming their identity in their heritage through their familial roots and their Brazilian "blood" (p.145) as opposed to nationality or other state-given identifiers. Using Hall's work on identity, the authors conclude that "their Brazilian identity was determined by recognizing "who I am" and "who I am not," and was *produced* within specific historical, political, and sociocultural contexts (Hall, 2000), particularly in the face of heightened perceived racism and discrimination in the United States" (p.145). This reveals the negotiations between identifying with their heritage country while reconciling with America as their birthplace.

A significant factor in Gutierrez's work is the language barrier which fuels the cultural separation of diaspora Filipinos by having limited proficiency in Tagalog or other provincial languages. This is in addition to the lack of familiarity with everyday life in the Philippines due to their geographic separation and limited contact with those residing in the homeland. Respondents felt unable to claim their Filipino identity (as opposed to the hyphenated Filipino-American identity) due to this limited connection to the homeland, and from family memories, making the claim of Filipino identity increasingly complex. Gutierrez argues that identity is decided and informed by social context, allowing actors agency as opposed to viewing ethnic and racial identity as a binary choice. Previous literature was concerned with the "betrayal" of the first generation to the homeland and Gutierrez focuses instead on the struggle of the second generation to grapple with the implication that they were never considered a member of the Philippines in the first place due to their upbringing, many respondents believing themselves to be either not Filipino enough or not "Good Filipinos" based on their lack of knowledge and inability to relate to those residing in the Philippines (p.43). Ultimately, while they had feelings of alienation, they nonetheless continued to feel connected to the homeland, especially through obligations based on *utang na loób* (indebtedness of gratitude, usually to one's parents but expanded to family in the Philippines).

Aguila (2015) notes that scholars have had difficulty defining Filipinoness, especially for the diaspora in the age of globalization, stating that Filipino identity now may be an enduring resistance of the legacy of colonialism in the increasing technologicalized landscape of the diaspora. Despite the physical disconnections of diaspora Filipinos from the homeland, they are Filipinos, nonetheless, echoing the struggle with ethnic identity that Gutierrez (2019) links to social context. Drawing from Stuart Hall and Edward Said, Aguila reasserts that cultural identity is dynamic and malleable, constantly evolving temporally. To Aguila, "this evolution involves a past that folds into the present and impacts the future in locations around the world" (p.56).

In the Canadian literature, Cui (2015)'s study examining the identity formation of Chinese Canadian students builds upon the Bourdieusian concept of habitus to construct racialized habitus, which

is demonstrated through intergroup exclusion and intragroup distinction. It is structured by and maintains racism individually as well as institutionally and systemically, intending to separate second generation Chinese Canadian youth from associating with Chinese heritage in order to be accepted by Canadian norms. A major factor in the shaping of Chinese Canadian identity is the representation of Chinese Canadian students as a model minority, which contributes to their invisibilization by constructing Chinese social identity as hardworking, passive, and compliant (Cui, 2015). The projection of this social identity results in the negligence of barriers and challenges faced by Asian Americans.

There are several alternative terms for internalized racism, such as "internalized oppression, colonized mentality, racial self-hatred, internalized Whiteness, and internalized White supremacy" (Hwang, 2021, p.598). Colonial mentality has significant contributions from David & Okazaki (2006), who developed the Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS), an empirical measure of Filipino Americans' experiences with colonization, one of the earliest measures of IR for Asian Americans (Hwang, 2021). Some Filipino nationalists critique the "colonial mentality" of Filipinos who place higher value on American culture over Filipino culture (Garrido, 2011, p.186). David and Okazaki note that colonial mentality can be expressed in various ways, including assimilation. However, while colonial mentality denotes an aversion to maintaining a connection to one's heritage culture, this does not automatically equate to assimilation. The Colonial Mentality Model encompasses five factors: "(a) internalized cultural and ethnic inferiority, (b) cultural shame and embarrassment, (c) within-group discrimination, (d) physical characteristics, and (e) colonial debt" (David & Okazaki, 2006, p.248). This model attempts to measure the self-denigration of Filipinos involving the shame towards being Filipino and Filipino culture, an acceptance of the oppression that they experience, and having a discriminatory bias against Filipinos who are perceived as "less American", otherwise known as *intraethnic othering*, a form of lateral violence, which applies the oppressive tools of white supremacy towards another racial group or toward their own (David et al., 2019; Millan & Alvarez, 2014; Pyke & Dang, 2003). Second generation Filipino Americans exhibited indebtedness towards their parents for their sacrifices to migrate to the US as well as

towards the civilization by the colonizers of the Philippines (Ferrera, 2016). This was evident by almost two thirds (19 of 30) participants believing that they should feel grateful and privileged for being able to live in the US. Indebtedness to family as an internalization of parental expectations and sacrifices extended to the point of affecting the mental and emotional well-being of Filipino Americans. Ferrera concluded that Filipino migrants highly value the economic opportunities of American society that allow them to provide for their families which supports the idealization of America, colonial mentality, and colonial debt. Indebtedness and family loyalty are both valued traits but can also be burdensome while repressing the second generation from fostering a connection to Filipino identity and cultural knowledge. One must mediate the conflicting Western and Filipino values and responsibilities that polarize individual desires and family obligation. In addition, first and second generation Filipinos have internalized the "civilizing presence of the colonizer", a notion by bell hooks (2010) known as the "colonization of the mind" (Ferrera, 2016, p.174) through the idealization of Western values and internalizing colonial debt.

David and Okazaki's (2006) study determined that 177 out of 603 participants (29.4%) scored an average of at least 3.5 on one or more subscales while 55 participants (9.1%) scored an average of at least 3.5 on two or more subscales of colonial mentality. The scale ranges from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree* and those who scored at least 3.5 would be considered experiencing a "CM (colonial mentality) manifestation" (p.247). The results showed that in terms of overt manifestations, 21 participants (3.5%) reported contributing to within-group discrimination; 63 participants (10.5%) stated that they perceived White physical traits as more desirable than Filipino physical traits; and 99 participants (16.4%) shared feelings of indebtedness to colonization and past colonizing groups. For covert manifestations, 6 participants (1.0%) responded that they felt "ashamed and embarrassed of their heritage" while 58 participants (9.6%) "reported feelings of "ethnic or cultural inferiority" (p.2.47).

The Filipino Canadian literature that currently exists offer important insights into the identity formation of the second generation, understanding of the sociohistorical context of labour and migration that intersect with family forms, language, and race, class, and gender. The additional sections outlining

the previous work on IRO (and its variations), family dynamic and migration, social mobility, and language retention all work together to inform different aspects of the pushes and pulls of negotiating Filipino Canadian identity.

The work done by Darvin and Norton focuses on language use and identity in Canada as they investigate the segmented spaces that migrant students occupy and the social, linguistic, cultural, and economic capital in their possession within a context of English as a lingua franca. However, their participants speak Tagalog as their mother tongue and navigate uses of English while in Canada. For the current study, although one aspect similarly examines the uses of English and Tagalog or other Philippine languages in Canada, the largest point of conflict related to language relates to the inability to speak or the hesitance to speak Filipino heritage languages based on shame of being perceived as an inauthentic Tagalog speaker or Filipino. The studies on Filipino Americans, other Asian Canadian (or Asian American) ethnic groups or other racial minority groups in North America reveal the intersections between family processes, history of migration, internalization of racial oppression, social mobility, and navigation of multiple cultures that inform the sites of struggle in connecting to one's heritage and being accepted by coethnics.

Acknowledging emotional connections to the Philippines addresses some of the negative associations that some Filipino Canadians may experience towards their heritage based on socioeconomic representations of Filipinos and the Philippines itself as products of the reproduction of their parents' social class (Kelly, 2015). This study considers the social processes that drive the decisions, motivations, and behaviours of Filipino migrants and their children that intend to obtain upward social mobility (through assimilation and losing or being unable to retain their heritage language).

As mentioned, some of the representations of the Philippines are entangled in the prevalence of colourism that coincide with Filipino Canadians' experiences of racialization in Canada, (Kelly, 2015; de Leon, 2012; Gutierrez, 2019). A primary focus of this thesis will examine not only the socioeconomic factors that affect language retention and language use but will also further investigate the disconnection

and ambivalent feelings of Filipino Canadian young adults that are related to the feelings of shame (Kelly, 2015). These sources of ambivalent feelings may stem from negotiating the sometimes conflicting elements of Canadian society (through which Filipino Canadians navigate as racial minorities) and the cultural and intergenerational differences from their heritage as socially reproduced from their parents. This will be done by using literature on IRO that powers the negative perception of Filipinoness as well as the aversion to interacting with coethnics and the possible feelings of disconnection from Filipino identity. This study fills the gap in the literature by providing a recent analysis of bridging all these facets of ethnic identity development to address a constantly shifting contemporary issue.

E. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of this project employs a transnational lens, primarily using the concepts of internalized racial oppression (Pyke, 2010), and emotional transnationalism (Wolf, 1997) to examine the ambivalent (dis)connections of Filipino Canadian identity and their role in heritage language retention. This approach incorporates an analysis that transcends "nation-states, borders and boundaries to capture the interconnected ways that subjectivities are made" (Farrales, 2017, p.209). It considers global processes such as Filipino migration and its ties to the healthcare and caregiving industries and the working class as well as the legacies of Spanish colonialism and American imperialism that have shaped the Philippines and subsequently the Canadian diaspora. It also considers the reproductions of colonialism (i.e., through the instrumentalization of religion) in the intersection of race and gender in family forms and Filipina subjectivity using queer of colour critique. Transnational feminism has previously been used in the Filipino Canadian literature (see Coloma et al., 2012; Kelly, 2012; Pratt, 2012), which Farrales states "has proven to be a productive theoretical and political framework for the Filipino diaspora in Canada" (p.209).

Internalized racism can be described as the predilection for the oppressor and associations with the oppressor, subsequently leading to the desire of emulating the conditions of the dominant culture. This reproduction is a symptom engendered by unaddressed racial trauma that directs this pain towards the self

or community or projects the subordinate position onto another (Freire (1970), Lipsky (1977) as cited in Hwang, 2021). Pyke (2010) defines internalized racism as "the individual inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society about one's racial group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one's race and/or oneself" (p.555) and internalized oppression as "the inculcation of seemingly neutral ideologies that justify and direct racist institutional practice, such as meritocracy" (p.556). Millan and Alvarez (2014) use Freire (1973) to similarly define IRO as the "process by which individuals come to believe and accept the dominant group's stereotypical portrayals of the inferiority of one's group and the superiority of the dominant group" (p.164). This emphasizes the aspect of IRO that instills the belief into racial minorities that they deserve the racism that they endure.

The insidious quality of internalized oppression illustrates Gramsci's notion of ideological hegemony through the process of cultural dominance that does not require direct experience (Pyke, 2010). The lack of direct experience with racial discrimination presents the opportunity to deny the existence of structural racism in favour of validating products of the system of oppression such as meritocracy. In this dichotomy of racial and colonial power, Asian Americans engage in a self-perception of the dominant group through Du Bois's concept of the double consciousness—a viewpoint that echoes the "amused contempt and pity" from the oppressor (Du Bois, 1903 p.3 as cited in Trieu, 2019). It is a powerful rhetoric for those in the subjugated position to internalize and reinforce the worldviews of the oppressor, often occurring inadvertently and consequently further divides communities of colour in a rivalry motivated by the scramble to avoid the position of the most compounded oppression by aligning with the oppressor when in actuality, the originator of said oppression is white supremacy.

The disparagement of one's own race and internalization of white hegemony is an aspect of colorblind racial ideology (CBRI) (Hwang, 2021), which is the idea that race (including colour) is inconsequential, and that racism is non-existent, therefore buttressing the agenda of white supremacy by disregarding the very real material consequences of systemic racism (Keum et al., 2018). Additionally,

engaging in IRO even as reactionary or adaptive responses exacerbate systems of inequality (Trieu, 2019). It is crucial to recognize that it is not the individuals that experience IRO that are at fault for its existence in the first place and that "blaming the victims serves to mystify and protect White racism" (Pyke, 2010, p.560). The actions on the individual level work as part of the structure of racial oppression (Trieu, 2019). As stated, the focus should continue to remain on the oppressor than the oppressed for being caught in an insidious system.

Rimonte's (1997) term *colonial debt* describes the acceptance and normalization of (and identification with) the oppression that they experience, making automatic and subconscious associations between Filipinoness and inferiority simultaneously as American is associated with superiority (Millan & Alvarez, 2014). This normalization occurs through a growing sympathy with the actions of the colonizer as well-intentioned liberation and a necessary consequence for the progression of civilization (David & Okazaki, 2006). Colonial mentality is the result of internalizing the social messaging of inferiority to the dominant group (i.e. White Americans). This social messaging derives from the lengthy history of Spanish colonization and American imperialism. Rimonte (as cited in Ty, 2004) refers to the feelings of one's own inferiority as a "'burden of persistent self-hate' which 'produces an acute, destabilizing, discomfiting self-awareness, akin to that situation in which one feels ashamed, *nahihiya*'" (p.xiii). This shame is coupled with the socioeconomic and political conditions of the Philippines that support the romanticization of the power of other cultures, namely Euro-Americans (Ty, 2004).

Colourism, which will be used as a central concept in the analysis of IRO, is integral to the negotiable identities and the (self-)perceptions of Filipino Canadian subjectivity as its material consequences challenge CBRI rhetoric. According to Herring et al.'s (2004 as cited in de Leon 2012) definition, colourism is "the discriminatory treatment of individuals falling within the same 'racial' group on the basis of skin color" (p.382). Using Shirley Tate to define skin as "a mark of ethnicity, status, identity, [and] self-hood" (p.390), de Leon expands her definition to include clothing as a second skin, that similarly marks bodies, to understand class dynamics. The perception of racialized bodies when

performing race is ever shifting, such as being read as White in one context while read as a person of colour in another (de Leon, 2012). Skin tone is emblematic of socioeconomic standing and in particular, dark skin is associated with the labouring class by having to perform difficult labour in the sun (whereas lighter skin suggests an avoidance of this labour) and therefore whiteness (and the privileges that whiteness affords) can be aspired to through the avoidance of the sun and this labour (de Leon 2012). This avoidance is motivated by a fear of darkness and its impediments from attaining whiteness.

There has been little research examining the relationship between IRO and ostracism based on language, culture, and belonging amongst diverse immigrants. Recognizing internalized oppression forces the confrontation of an uncomfortable issue for both subjects and researchers (Pyke, 2010). The taboo of studying IRO inhibits the recognition of the system that normalizes white privilege, which is perpetuated even by racial minorities (2010). As a result, this strategy to increase one's social position in the racial hierarchy is ultimately detrimental by reinforcing stereotypes that devalue racialized minorities that do not adhere to accepted Canadian norms and standards and over time, keeping the racial hierarchy in place. This will be used to examine the tendency of participants to create distance between themselves and their ethnic identity in the Canadian context.

Language determines inclusion and who we leave behind in our definitions. Understanding that IR manifests in many ways, it is important to study the effects on relationships between Filipinos, how Filipinos form their subjectivity, and how they build bridges in their communities in a diasporic context. Language maintenance (or retention), a term originating from Uriel Weinrich's concept of language shift (switching from the routine use of one language to another) incorporates the term "maintenance" by Joshua Fishman (1964) to create a new concept: the sustained use of a language despite being in an environment geographically and socially dominated by another language (Mesthrie et al., 2000). In Canada, Cummins (1991) refers to heritage language maintenance as the maintenance of all languages excluding the national languages, English and French (Lising, 2022). Language shift describes the process of a heritage language speaker becoming more inclined to utilize the language of the host country for

immigrants over the heritage language, while language maintenance is the persistence of the heritage language despite the social conditions that allow the host country language to dominate.

Identity, as defined by Akerlof and Kranton (2000), is one's perception of the self in relation to social categories, comparatively evaluating oneself in relation to individuals in these categories. Some forms of identity are more flexible than others. In terms of race and ethnicity, there are limitations based on the physical appearance of an individual, of which "those with non-distinguishing physical features may be able to 'pass' as a member of another group. But others will be constrained by their appearance, voice, or accent (p.726)". The ability to pass, as mentioned, allows the benefit of avoiding social differentiation, a motivation for some participants when experiencing racism or exclusion. Using the past literature on language retention that excludes some speakers as inauthentic, often through shaming (Cho, 2000; Tseng, 2021) and the shame that inhibits the use and language maintenance of Filipinos in diaspora (Gutierrez, 2019; Kelly, 2015), this study will examine the effect of language shift and language maintenance on the ethnic identity development and attachment to (through desiring in-group acceptance) or disconnect from Filipino children of immigrants in Canada.

Kelly (2015) furthermore highlights the necessity to employ a transnational lens due to the ever-increasing access to the homeland of children of immigrants' parents. This is due to how "the ancestral homeland can play an important role in the lives of those who live in a transnational social field" (p.283). The homeland is integral in forming a hyphenated identity within the context of being racial minorities in Canada that are tied to emotions, migration, and identity. Filipina/o Canadian studies not only connect to Canadian critical race studies but also intertwine diaspora studies with Philippine studies and the "transnational experiences of Filipinas/os in Canada cannot be completely divorced from the politics and economy of the Philippines" (McElhinny et al., 2012, p.11). Therefore, in order to understand the experiences of the diaspora, it is crucial to examine its relationship with the homeland that shape the hybridized identities of Filipino Canadians rather than understanding "Filipino" and "Canadian" as distinct, separate categories.

Focusing on the social emotion of shame and its role in the construction of identity for the second generation, Kelly (2015) questions whether associations of shame with the homeland would negatively affect the self-perception and identity of Filipino Canadian youth (p.285). Acknowledging this shame, however, may erase feelings of pride in one's heritage or validate the idea that something shameful truly exists when the opposite is true (Kelly, 2015). According to Aguilar (2015), building on work from Kelly and Wolf (1997), "the emotions involved do not pertain to shame in homeland imaginaries, but homeland norms as embodied by parents are seen to bear down on the second generation" (p.303). Additionally, although these feelings of shame may be present, there is insufficient data to determine its longevity and the fluctuating and sometimes incongruous characteristics of emotions especially in relation to the image of the homeland demonstrate how Filipino Canadian youth navigate and process the changing images of the homeland just as their own environment constantly evolves (Aguilar, 2015).

Second-generation Filipino Canadian youths struggle with feelings of discomfort and displacement in Canada due to the decision of their parents to migrate from the Philippines to Canada, often leading to a desire to figuratively build a 'home' in the Philippines in order to satisfy a feeling of belonging that has been denied to them (Pratt, 2003). Feelings of displacement in Canada are exacerbated by exclusion or ambiguity of where Filipinos belong—discourse of exclusion or erasure of Filipinos as Asian in the US is primarily due to the proximity of the Philippines to Latin America as a result of Spanish colonization and due to narrow representations of Asian panethnicity. In the Canadian census, Filipinos are designated as a distinct category as visible minorities and are notably separated from the panethnic categorization of Southeast Asian (McElhinny et al., 2012). There is also the exclusion from Filipinoness while simultaneously excluded from being perceived as fully Canadian due to social differentiation as a racial minority. Ocampo (2014) argues that "U.S. colonialism institutionally and culturally transformed Philippine society to the point that some argue that Americanization begins long before Filipino immigrants step foot onto American soil" (p.298). U.S. imperialism may affect the high

assimilation of diaspora Filipinos based on the influence of American culture in Canada. Pratt (2003), using San Juan (2000), argues that:

> "the 'Americanization' of Filipino culture(s) – including the lives of Filipinos living in the United States – must be read within a context of American imperial expansion: 'Filipinos [living in the United States] cannot concentrate solely on what is happening within the physical borders of this nation-state; this border has tentacles extending to the Philippines, even though the [military] bases are gone'. Canada is not equivalent to the United States, of course, but the forced migration of Filipinos living in Canada must be read within the same history of dislocation, uneven economic development, and political struggle" (p.44).

These national and family histories, context, and memory, all play essential roles in investigating the diaspora. They inform both individual and collective experiences and helps to understand Filipino migrants and the subsequent generations.

Children of Filipino immigrants experience what is named by Wolf (1997) as *emotional transnationalism*, the experience of being caught between various geographical and locational reference points, which may include those of their parents, grandparents, and their own. The urge to reconnect with Filipino culture leads Filipino-Canadian youths to attempt to merge their identity "to rebel against the alienating experiences of racialization" (Pratt 2003 p.44). Canlas (2021) refers to an emergence of nostalgic estrangement as a result of perceiving specific artifacts pinpointed in the pasts of Filipino Americans' grandparents as indicators of cultural authenticity. There is a degree of separation from these artifacts that works in tandem with postcolonial nostalgia that Canlas notes affects the identities of immigrants and their descendants. Memory is an important aspect in piecing together family history to make sense of one's current identity. Pratt (2003) utilizes Marianne Hirsch's (2008) concept of postmemories, originally used in the context of second generation of Holocaust survivors, as a way of understanding the impact of trauma on second-generation Filipinos from migration and family history. Postmemories are "experiences that they 'remember' only as the stories and images with which they grew up, but that are so powerful, so monumental, as to constitute memories in their own right'" (Hirsch, 1999, p.8). Pratt then compares the experiences of children of Filipino migrants who live the struggles of their parents through the telling of their hardships with migration and deskilling. It is not just the presence of

family history through retelling however, but also its absence—those who do not have these stories will seek their family history, which produces a search for family memories "whose purpose is to piece together a coherent family narrative and to reclaim lost status" (Pratt, 2003 p.46). These lost family memories relate to Canlas' use of Svetlana Boym's concept of restorative nostalgia, which "recreates home by representing it with physical replicas and invented narratives and traditions that fix the old world in the present" and "in the case of diasporic and displaced people, the reiteration of customs and traditions and the reproduction of symbols about their culture provide them with an identity that helps them navigate a strange and foreign everyday" (p.227). In addition, Canlas notes that restorative nostalgia is related to authenticity and permanence of the homeland that diasporic communities can forge connections with. A family history of migration and the uncomfortable feelings of unbelonging play a central role in one's understanding of themselves and the process of attempting to (re)connect with their Filipinoness. Wolf emphasizes the importance of family as the central pillar of Filipino culture and therefore the essential starting point of analysis to understand Filipino identity.

The internal struggles that one faces are a hybrid identity attempting to make sense of what it means to be Canadian and Filipino simultaneously. A hybrid identity is the convergence of two perspectives of the world on dual socio-linguistic consciousnesses, voices, accents, and epochs (Bhabha, 1996). It encapsulates the uncertainty of belonging due to being differentiated by others for not adhering to the norm (Simonis, 2012). Identifying as Filipino can be recognized as one's heritage, but Filipino Americans long to discover a deeper meaning and believe they can comfortably identify themselves as truly Filipino only after acquiring knowledge that is necessary to consider oneself authentic often through visits to the homeland (Garrido, 2011). Becoming "authentically" Filipino then hinges on both having enough knowledge as well as participating in culture to claim this identity (Garrido, 2011, p.178). The artifacts in Canlas's (2021) work are imbued with authenticity through nostalgia and memories from the past superimposed onto the present through family history and tradition (by association with family

members such as lolas (grandmothers) and lolos (grandfathers)) as well as geographically through associations with the homeland, thereby shaping “home” for those longing for their homeland.

These concepts of emotional transnationalism, postmemories, restorative nostalgia, and the shame that are entangled in the affective connection to the homeland as part of the construction of diasporic identity will be used in conjunction with the exclusion and rejection from Filipino identity through language retention/maintenance and language shift as a larger part of IRO to address the ambivalent connections of navigating Filipino Canadian identity among young adults who have spent their formative years as racial minorities in Canada.

4. Methodology

This study utilizes the semi-structured interviews and follow-up interviews of 12 participants. Being the most widely used form of interview data collection in qualitative research, its advantages are its flexibility and versatility, allowing changes in structure based on the needs of the study. This technique establishes a reciprocal relationship between the interviewer and the participant, allowing the improvisation of further probing by taking into consideration the responses of the participant (Kallio et al., 2016). Feasibility for the scale of a thesis determined the sample size alongside the benefit of delving deeply into the individual experiences of each participant to obtain a fuller view of the relationship between ethnicity and language, as numerous studies assume ethnicity as an inherent part of a group and prioritize group understandings and experiences of these links over the individual (Jeon, 2010). Drawing on Barker & Galasinski (2001) and Pieterse (1997), Jeon asserts that "the emphasis on individual experiences requires a new conception of ethnicity as a nonstatic and situational notion and as a matter of ever-changing relational positioning" (pp.43-44). Therefore, the richness that emerges from individual stories enhances this study that allows nuances of dynamic ethnic identity.

The implementation of qualitative semi-structured interviews emerged due to the explanatory nature of the study's research questions. Quantitative methods would be unable to adequately grasp the nuances of identity formation and the subjective experiences of each individual. This problematization can be applied to the ivory tower of academia as a whole. While "the academy is one of the very few places that provides a space for imagining opposition, for producing multiple subjectivities that are capable of critical thinking and resistant action against the institution itself", it is also a site of contradiction. Though discourse within the academy can be useful, "it is an institutional structure that is a part of capitalist relations of rule within the nation state as well as internationally" (Mohanty as cited in Dua & Trotz, 2002, p.74). Additionally, a question to consider is: for whom does this research benefit? It is necessary to think about how "interviewing is a process that turns others into subjects so that their words can be appropriated for the benefit of the researcher" and that there is a possibility that despite

good intentions, scholarship can be exploitative (Seidman, 2006, p.13). The many critiques of academia illustrate the necessary balance in understanding both its potential to harm as well as its benefits as a site of knowledge production.

Only interviewing a small number of individuals due to the feasibility of the project rather than exhausting new information leads to missing out on opportunities to include more participants with different experiences. Conducting interviews online allows access to a broader population in various locations, but at the cost of the comfortability of communicating in person, better able to read body language, and added technical difficulty. Due to the small sample size, each participant shared their own unique experiences as Filipino Canadians and do not represent aggregate populations. The experiences of Filipino Canadians vary vastly and have their own nuances, though some overarching patterns among the experiences of the participants of this study may emerge.

In the present study, 12 initial participants completed a single semi-structured interview online through Zoom. 11 of these 12 participants returned to complete a follow-up interview, and 1 of the 11 completed a second and third (final) interview to cover the same topics as all the participants. Interviews ranged from 1-1.5 hours (roughly 35-40 hours total) and were conducted in English, although some Filipino (Tagalog) and French terms and phrases were used. This project utilizes an interview guide informed by the literature and separated into the following themes: (1) ethnic identity, (2) parent relationships, (3) social network, and (4) language.

Questions in the Ethnic Identity section are related to the definition of being Filipino, connectedness to Filipino identity and feelings of insufficiency, experiences with racism and Canadian sense of belonging, representation as Filipino/Asian, and relationships with the first generation and the homeland. Parent relationships looks at difference in values from parents, how migration shapes their identity, and parents' concerns of declining Filipino heritage in their children. Social network looks at social connections to a Filipino community and intraethnic and intraracial relationships. Language

examines language fluency, its effects on perception of self, effects on interactions with other Filipinos, and exploring a reconnection to Filipino identity and culture through language.

The overarching topic of ethnic identity is comprised of the subsets of a) experiences with racism, b) internalized racial oppression, and c) relationships to Filipinos. The "relationships to Filipinos" category includes questions #10 to #12 in Appendix A, which asked about participants' perception of and relationship to coethnics as well as to recount experiences during which they felt they were "not Filipino enough" or "too Canadian" and to describe the impact of situations on their Filipino identity. This section differs from "social network", which includes questions about social connections to coethnics as they have aged and how these connections have shaped their perceptions about themselves.

Questions from the interview guide were not recounted to each participant verbatim, as the interviews are semi-structured. This interviewing method requires knowledge of previous literature and formulate questions based on this work prior to the interviews themselves. This includes work from the previous chapter on Filipino Canadian identity, ethnic, cultural, and transnational identity, heritage language retention, and IRO. In addition, the interview guide is meant to allow exploration by collecting patterns of responses from participants rather than strictly adhering to the guide (Kallio et al., 2016). These themes and questions guide each participant when relevant, allowing the participant freedom over the direction of the conversation.

The guide contains additional questions that are either omitted or included depending on their applicability to the participant. Throughout the interview process, new questions were formulated from the responses of initial interviews to curate a specialized guide for each respondent during secondary interviews. COVID-19 and the recent events of the 2021 Atlanta Spa shootings at the time of interviewing prompted new questions. Comparatively analyzing the accounts of respondents allows the drawing of meaningful conclusions from the similarities and differences between each unique story.

Each interview began with asking the participant how they most strongly identify (using which labels that they prefer) as well as how closely connected they feel to their identity. In subsequent interviews, this question was revisited to rank their connection ordinally. These labels include Filipino, Asian, and Canadian identities, although the question was open for participants to include any other labels that best suited their identity alignment. Following this question, participants were asked whether they have visited the Philippines or have a desire to do so, and if applicable, how these trips influenced them in their perception of their identities. Additionally, they were asked to describe what being "authentically Filipino" means to them and whether this is tied to a level of knowledge of the culture and history of the Philippines. If feelings of disconnection or ambivalence exist, they were then asked whether they have a desire to reconnect with their Filipino identity or what this reconnection has looked like to them.

The following section in the interview guide included questions about their own experiences with racism or witnessing racism towards Filipinos. They were then asked about their perception of Filipino representation both generally and the inclusion of Filipinos in Asian identity. Although the focus is the framing and the frequency of representation of Filipinos and Asians in media, some participants directed their encounters with representation towards other directions (e.g. education, occupation, industries).

A. Recruiting

On September 16, 2018, a group of Asian-Australian students created the private Facebook group Subtle Asian Traits, gaining a large following and as of April 2023, there are almost 2 million members. The group is primarily a space for people who have Asian heritage or familial, companion, or romantic connections to people who identify as Asian in order to share experiences of what it means to be Asian. Over the five years since its inception, the group transpired a form of community building and inter- and intra-group reflection of Asian and diasporic Asian identity, leading to several studies on identity (Koh, 2020; Jung, 2021; Liang et al., 2021; Thai, 2021) and more recently the online community's discussion of shared experiences related to COVID-19 (Abidin & Zeng, 2020, 2021; Jun & Zhang, 2022).

Subsequently, a similar private group, Subtle Filipino Traits, emerged in January 2019, which allows Filipino-identified individuals born in the Philippines or abroad to engage in discourse of Filipino experiences and identity. Since its creation, a pattern of posts conveys a lack of connection to the culture, especially through language. Many members seek advice and resources for Filipino heritage language learning or to share their cultural conflict (especially for diaspora individuals). Several posts discuss struggles with identity and connection to Filipino culture, especially between Filipinos of different generations and between Filipinos in the homeland and diaspora Filipinos. Calls for participants were shared on both Subtle Asian Traits and Subtle Filipino Traits (Appendix B).

Calls for participants were distributed to Filipino community organizations in the Greater Toronto Area (Appendix B) during summer 2020 through email. Some organizations responded with a list of members interested in becoming participants, or members of these organizations reached out themselves. The COVID-19 pandemic impacted the ability to gain access to the desired demographics (i.e. young Filipino Canadians who grew up in Canada whose parents migrated from the Philippines), such as build rapport through in-person networking due to all communication taking place online, as well as the number of opportunities to initially establish contact (i.e. reaching out online resulted in few responses or communication would abruptly cease). The final method of recruitment involved snowball sampling. During the first round of interviews, several respondents expressed eagerness to participate in a project that they believe to be under-researched and often offered suggestions of potential participants in their social networks. A combination of methods of recruitment through community organizations, university associations, and the online social media groups described above proved fruitful in gaining an adequate number of participants for the study. The final sample was recruited from members of Subtle Asian Traits, Subtle Filipino Traits, GTA community organizations, university associations (which are not specifically listed here to protect the confidentiality of participants), or from contacts of participants who had already been interviewed.

Some limitations in this project principally revolve around the sample. Using snowball sampling as a recruitment method involved risks of obtaining participants who are very similar to one another, leading to results that are reflective of participants of a specific background. I recruited through university associations; thus, several participants were university students. I also recruited from Filipino community organizations, which resulted in respondents with established social ties to the Filipino community. Consequently, those who do not engage in formal Filipino organizations or associations may not be adequately represented in the study. Contrastingly, those that were recruited through different methods may have such vastly different experiences that would be difficult to compare with others.

In the time given, there is no intentional exclusion of any members that fall within the target demographic (Filipino young adults who grew up in Canada). The methods of recruitment resulted in a sample consisting of more female identifying than male identifying participants, majority have some post-secondary experience, and several have ties to (formal or informal) Filipino community organizations. Despite the attempts to maximize reach, several individuals and groups or organizations did not respond to direct email requests that invited them to participate in the study. Those who already have interest in their connection to their cultural heritage seemed more likely to respond to requests and calls for participants, as they shared their enthusiasm for the study.

Due to the use of snowball sampling, some participants are acquainted with others within this study. Additionally, as some recruitment occurred on social media, some participants have been part of my personal social network. It can be questioned whether these participants can truly consent as individuals who know me personally, however, these participants reached out to participate in the interview process and showed enthusiasm to be part of the study. In order to protect the confidentiality, no responses were shared between participants and personally identifiable information had been removed from transcripts to prevent linking any responses to specific individuals.

B. Sample

Originally, the intended sample involved only second generation Filipino Canadians and their relationship to the first generation in Canada. The first generation comprises individuals that were not born in Canada. Canadian citizens by birth are also included, who are individuals born outside of Canada to Canadian citizen parents (Statistics Canada, 2011). Recruitment was initially restricted to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and the definition for second generation was amended by considering only individuals who were born to two parents who were born in the Philippines (meaning that interviews would exclude mixed-race individuals). However, based on the variation and availability of responses during recruitment, the sample expanded based on participant interest. The criteria broadened to include the 1.5 generation (those who were born in the Philippines and migrated to Canada during their youth), mixed-race individuals, and those who are not from the GTA. The constraints initially placed on the desired sample aimed for uniformity among respondents in order to examine the variations of a relatively cohesive group, assuming that incorporating too much variation would increase the complexity of the project. The expanded criteria gained the benefit of interviewing a diverse group, which resulted in an array of responses pertaining to experience, identity, and positionality. Though this data is useful, it also increased the breadth of the overall project and allows many future directions.

The final sample is comprised of twelve 1.5 and second generation Filipinos who have spent a significant portion of their adolescence in one of the three major metropolitan cities of Vancouver, Montreal, or Toronto. Some participants have complicated migration histories and some now resided outside of Canada. Seven participants identified as female, four identified as male, and one participant identified as “female presenting but gender questionable”. At the time of the interviews, ages ranged from 20 to 26 years old.

C. Participant Profiles

The following subsections provide a brief description of each of the 12 total participants, using pseudonyms, highlighting each individual's most significant points of negotiation with their Filipino identities. As previously stated, each participant is analyzed as a whole individual rather than as representations of larger communities.

i. Manny. Feeling comfortable using the label "mixed" to describe his biracial heritage (half-white, half-Filipino), Manny, 20 years old, struggles with the complications of his identity partly due to knowledge of the culture and visibly appearing more Filipino. He struggles with colourism and physical expectations of being a mestizo Filipino from others. Growing up in a predominantly white household, Manny feels he did not learn much about his heritage and now actively tries to foster a closer connection to his Filipino identity after diversifying his network through university. He has a Tagalog, Waray, and Cebuano (Bisayan) linguistic heritage from his mother's side, and the multiple languages were difficult to acquire as a child. Although he has some knowledge of terms and phrases in his mother's languages, Manny is only fluent in and primarily uses English to communicate with his family at home.

ii. Tony. Born in the Philippines and immigrating to Vancouver at age ten, Tony, 26 years old, identifies primarily as Canadian, followed by Filipino and then Asian almost at an equivalent level. While he feels most content perceiving himself as Canadian, his main point of disconnection derives from his non-native accent when speaking Tagalog and feeling unable to fully fit in with some first-generation Filipinos who have a stronger connection to the Philippines than him. He grew up in an environment with many Asian Canadians but not many Filipino Canadians. In his interactions with other Filipinos, he is often met with surprise that he is able to speak Tagalog fluently due to presuming he was born and raised in Vancouver. He presumes this assumption is due to him having a native accent when speaking English and a non-native accent when speaking Tagalog.

iii. Valerie. Born and raised in Vancouver, Valerie, 23 years old, communicated in Tagalog with her family until external intervention based on fear of mixing up the language and hindering her ability to speak English interrupted her ability to speak Tagalog. Spending her adolescence minimizing her Filipino identity to fit in, Valerie now focuses on embracing her Filipino identity by unlearning expectations from others especially related to language ability and colourism. She is also navigating the confusion and ambiguity that shrouds her Filipino Canadian and Asian identities.

iv. Robin. Migrating from the Philippines at age six, 1.5 generation participant Robin (21 years old) spent his childhood in a small affluent community in France until age thirteen when his family moved to Toronto. His family maintains a strict dedication to communicating in Tagalog, which helped develop an intrinsic desire to stay connected to his heritage. The main familial conflicts that arise between Robin and his parents revolve around a difference in generational values. He is fluent in French, Tagalog, and English.

v. Joe. Originally from Montreal, Joe (23 years old) relocated to a small Ontario town in high school, which highlighted the differences between high diversity and low diversity environments. He is undergoing a program in the Philippines which has allowed him the opportunity to better understand his family and the differences between his way of life in Canada compared to his experiences living abroad in the Philippines. He believes in the importance of valuing the homeland and viewing it as a space of futurity by being critical of the narrative of emigrating for a better life. Joe's main point of disconnection is his Tagalog speaking skills, which were mainly affected by balancing learning both French and English.

vi. Lydia. Growing up in a white neighbourhood in Toronto where she was born, Lydia, 20 years old attended a heavily Filipino-populated school. She has had ambivalent feelings towards Filipino identity and the expectations of Filipinoness including speaking Tagalog, while having an Ilonggo

heritage and linguistic background. She has some fluency in Ilonggo and minimal understanding of Tagalog due to both parents speaking Ilonggo. While overall content with her relationship to her ethnic identity, Lydia does not feel a necessity to learn more about her heritage in order to feel "more Filipino", establishing her own personal definition of her ethnic identity. Her most prominent point of disconnection, however, comes from interactions with Filipinos who will dictate her level of Filipinoness and decide how she should embody her identity.

vii. Noelle. Born in the Philippines and migrating to Vancouver at age five, Noelle (23 years old) feels overall very secure and supported by her family in her Filipino identity. Her entire family communicates in Tagalog and although Noelle can understand Tagalog, she stopped speaking the language after her family immigrated to Canada. Her speaking ability and vocabulary are limited, and she will respond to her family in English while they speak Tagalog. Her security is partially influenced by having grown up with Filipino peers in relatable situations and she does not pressure herself to know more in order to feel authentically Filipino. Moving temporarily from a diverse city to a small, predominantly white community highlighted instances of exclusion and downplaying her ethnicity to fit in with her peers. Skin complexion representation is important and more relatable for Noelle than ethnic or racial representation, having encountered instances of colourism.

viii. Simone. Although they consider themselves Filipino, Asian, then Canadian, Simone, 22 years old, believes that they behave "more Canadian" than Filipino in their perception. They were born in a wealthy, white neighbourhood in the Toronto area and feels that their experiences with racism partially shaped their disconnection from their Filipino identity. Another part derives from what Simone views as toxic aspects of Filipino culture that intersect with heterosexism, fatphobia, and patriarchy, as well as their level of Tagalog proficiency, which they describe as "passable". A significant concern for Simone is the weight of intergenerational trauma that accompanies reconnecting to their heritage as well as the undertaking of learning their family history and multiple heritage languages and dialects.

ix. Heather. Most closely identifying as Filipino, then Canadian, and then Asian, Heather, 21 years old, is often perceived as Asian but is not initially seen as Filipino. She was born in Toronto and grew up in an affluent and predominantly white environment and was not very closely connected to her Filipino heritage during her adolescent years. She understands but does not speak Tagalog as a result of responding in English to her parents. Heather's Tagalog language ability as well as not attending Catholic school, which she views as a prominent commonality among Filipino Canadians, affect her disconnect from Filipino identity the most. She began reconnecting with her ethnic identity when entering a diverse university environment.

x. Chloe. Migrating to Montreal at age six, Chloe, 25 years old, grew up in a predominantly white neighbourhood in which few people were familiar with Filipinos and would often be ignorant of and confused by her ethnic background. She attributes some of this confusion to her Quebecois accent. Chloe considers herself 1.5 generation and most closely identifies with the label 'Filipino-Canadian". Chloe has retained Tagalog at a proficient level but has trouble fully articulating her exact thoughts and feelings in a way that she is able to express in English. While language is not her main point of conflict with her Filipino identity, she has experienced alienation from other Filipinos resulting from judgemental interactions and expectations projected onto her. Only in recent years, after harmonizing her Filipino identity with her academic passions for social science, she has reached a turning point in connecting to her ethnic identity. While Chloe has come to embrace her Filipino identity more, her conflicting feelings towards Filipinos and Filipino culture remain.

xi. Kaleia. Currently 25 years old at the time of interviewing, Kaleia was born in Toronto and raised in Vancouver and now resides in San Diego. She most closely identifies with being Pacific Islander and then Asian, although she feels that she cannot always identify with being Asian or Southeast Asian. Since the Philippines consists of many Islands, she prefers the Pacific Islander label because it

encapsulates her feelings of not being able to consistently identify herself as Asian. Kaleia understands but does not speak Tagalog due to her parents communicating in their regional language, Ilocano. She has conversational Ilocano proficiency though she speaks with a non-native accent.

xii. Charlotte. Most closely identifying as Asian, Charlotte, 24 years old, considers herself Filipino and Canadian equally following her Asian identity. However, she considered being Filipino her "second identity". Growing up in Montreal, many of her peers were of Asian descent but not many were Filipino. She believes that she is "not 100%" Filipino" because she was not born in the Philippines and her lack of Tagalog speaking skills, although she has conversational proficiency. Charlotte feels most insecure about her non-native accent when speaking Tagalog, reinforced mostly by teasing present in familial interactions.

D. Data Analysis and Interpretations

During the data analysis process, each interview and follow-up interview were transcribed through the software Descript and following the open-coding process, subsequently grouped into themes based on patterns in the participants' responses in the qualitative data analysis tool Taguette. The themes used are listed as the following: "Ethnic Identity", "Asian Identity", "Visiting the Philippines", "Experiences with Racism", "Complexion and Colourism", "Internalized Racial Oppression", "Interactions with Filipinos", "Representation", "Family Dynamic", "Social Network", "Language", and "Religion".

E. Reflexivity

I acknowledge the importance of reflexivity that must play a central role in my work and the positioning of my interviewees. As I explore how the Canadian diaspora defines Filipino identity, I consider how the various positionalities of Filipinos influence what this definition might be as well as *for* and *by* whom this definition is determined. By undertaking this project, I acknowledge that this research may be reproducing knowledge from a Western perspective.

As a second-generation Filipino myself, it is important to recognize the role of my positionality as the researcher in my study. Much of my motivation to conduct this study stems from my own struggles with my identity as Filipino, Canadian, and Asian. Although I share Filipino Canadian identity with my participants, it is necessary to be aware of the potential problems that may arise. A presumption that may affect my work is that having "insider status" would allow me to automatically become close to my participants and to better understand their situation and experiences than a non-Filipino researcher.

Chen (2010) states that "those who live and work 'in the local' are often mired in complex networks of relations that erode critical distance" (p.227). McElhinny et al. (2012) problematize insider status and the assumptions that "identifying as Filipina/o Canadian might not be enough to claim a place in community-based research" (p.20). Thus, some concerns that arose throughout the study included the possibility of beginning to subconsciously believe to some extent that I had greater understanding about the Canadian Filipino diaspora due to my identification as Filipino Canadian and having familiarization with the literature, leading to some participants perceiving me as having more knowledge on the topic of Filipino Canadians than them. My experiences are also influenced by my participation in academia and exposure to theorization of identity formation. I may have had assumptions about the cognizance of my participants to be attuned to the processes that shape their ethnic identity through racialization while growing up in Canada.

Accompanying the perception of my researcher status was that participants would presume that I understood their experiences due to having similar experiences myself, leading to a lack of explaining normalized cultural processes, or attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours in detail. Despite possessing some degree of relatability with participants' experiences, this led to some vague descriptions by participants during interviews that avoided clarifying experiences that may be otherwise unfamiliar to non-Filipinos. During the interviews, it seemed that many participants felt enthusiastic about sharing their experiences with someone who could understand them as someone who shares the Filipino Canadian identity. While this may have resulted in some difficulties, some benefits were that some participants appeared to be at

ease conveying their personal negotiations of their heritage, especially regarding the ambivalent connections with their ethnic identity, language, their own community and coethnics, and family that may have felt uncomfortable to discuss with a researcher who may be unable to relate and understand the negative feelings that they may have. This reflects the taboo characteristic that shrouds IR and IRO that Pyke (2010) argues deter both researchers and respondents from engaging.

Research is not a hierarchical, unidirectional process; participants contribute to the study just as the researcher does. In qualitative research, "the researcher is a central figure who influences, if not actively constructs, the collection, selection, and interpretation of data" and "research is co-constituted, a joint product of the participants, researcher, and their relationship" (Finlay, 2002, p.212). Rather than attempting to eliminate the presence of the researcher, subjectivity becomes an opportunity rather than a problem. This work is meant to be productive for those that this work studies, Filipino Canadians, and the study attempts to carefully balance its constraints with the potential harm done by focusing on the Filipino diaspora in Canada and listening solely to the perspective of Filipino young adults who have been raised in Canada.

F. Ethical Considerations

The proposal for this study has been submitted to an institutional review board and has been categorized as minimal risk, though there are constantly ongoing ethical concerns to take into consideration. As a project on identity formation that asks questions about experiences as a racialized minority in Canada, family history and immigration, and tension with family and other Filipinos, some harm is inevitable, and it the responsibility of the researcher to anticipate and mitigate these risks. Evaluating ethical considerations is an ongoing process, and when deviations arise from the initial proposal, new considerations appear with them. An example is the evolution of interview questions to consider the current social context. As a result of COVID-19, anti-Asian racism has been on the rise that may have profound impact on my participants as Southeast Asians. Although this racism is rooted in Sinophobia based on the projection of blame on China as the "instigator" of the pandemic, there has been

a permeating effect on various Asian ethnicities based on a homogenization of these groups, including East Asians (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Okinawan, Taiwanese, Tibetan) and Southeast Asians (Bruneian, Burmese, Cambodian, Filipino, Hmong, Indonesian, Laotian, Malaysian, Mien, Papua New Guinean, Singaporean, Timorese, Thai, Vietnamese) (Gover et al., 2020). Both in the US and in Canada, there have been growing instances of violence against Asians including Filipinos in recent months (Cabral, 2021; Carty, 2021, Dryden, 2020; Kantor, 2021; Malbon & Somos, 2021, Peterson, 2021; Sisak, 2021; Zia, 2020). The emotional toll that I have personally experienced informed my empathy for my participants. Immediately after the mass shooting in Atlanta (Bryson Taylor & Hauser, 2021; Fausset & Vigdor, 2021) amidst the initial interviews, there was deliberation whether to incorporate this topic into the study as it examines Asian, Canadian, and Filipino identities, torn between the discomfort of avoiding such a heavy topic by continuing with the original questions and fearing probing too far during a very emotionally heightened time. Some questions were amended to address the topic of anti-Asian racism during the second interview after some time had passed since the shooting and the several reports of hate crimes (although several incidents continue to occur) and resources were shared to participants for support on anti-Asian violence and microaggressions as a follow-up to reduce the harm that may have occurred as a result of the interviews.

In relation to the COVID-19 pandemic, due to the health risks posed by meeting in person during the time of interviewing, all interview sessions were conducted over Zoom, consent was obtained through an online survey, and any correspondences occurred through email. Because each participant was interviewed directly by the researcher, information could not be collected anonymously and therefore only confidentiality of information could be protected. After the transcription process, all identifying data was anonymized through the complete redaction of all information that can be linked back to the original participants. Each participant completed and submitted an online consent form (an offline copy with identical content is presented in Appendix C). In order to protect the identities of participants, each

individual has either been given or have chosen their own pseudonym. The following chapter will utilize the synthesized findings from the conducted interviews.

5. Results on Language

Although various aspects of identity occurring in different social spaces emerged during the participant interviews, such as career, values, experiences with racism and colourism in the family, the community, education systems, or religious institutions, the most salient factor common among all participants is language. Overall, participants felt some connection to their Filipino identities, opting to describe themselves as either Filipino or Filipino Canadian. A majority believed that they have felt varying levels of disconnection from their heritage, informed by their visualization of how to enact their Filipinoness. The understanding of participants' Filipino identities are shaped through the family, the broader community, and in experiences of race and racism. Participants experienced inner conflict as they grappled with expectations of their language abilities and knowledge of Filipino culture, opposing intergenerational values, expectations of physical attributes of Filipinos, and IRO. Though each participant held their own personal definitions of embodying a Filipino identity, patterns of family, hospitality, community, and resilience emerged. Participants explored the complexity of Filipino Canadian identity, and many expressed the desire to cultivate their reconnection to their Filipino identities by confronting these internal and external forces of conflict. These negotiations will be explored in the following sections through examining language (specifically language retention) as a site of struggle and a source of ambivalent connection to Filipino identity first within the context of the family followed by the overarching cultural landscape. The second section will examine the other sources of ambivalent connections outside of language in relation to IRO that fosters participants' feelings of disconnection through family dynamic, intraethnic othering, and experiences of racialization to understand the role of IRO in ethnic identity negotiation.

A. Family Influences and expectations

The social institution of the family unit molds a deeply personal relationship to heritage. Cultural transmission in the family is informed by narratives of migration and assimilation, approaches to parenting, and attitudes towards the heritage culture. One of the most salient sites of negotiation for

majority of participants is language, encapsulating the expectations of acquirement, maintenance, and level of fluency within the family context and their relation to successfully performing Filipino identity. Reiterating DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009), the ability of children of immigrants to retain their heritage language largely depends on their environment and the level (or lack) of support for the parents' heritage languages.

Each of the participants have varying levels of proficiency greatly influenced by their familial environment. External attitudes towards language acquisition affected how participants negotiate their own identities and their internal self-perception of their ethnic identity. Many participants held a perceived personal failure to sufficiently perform Filipinoness through inadequate knowledge of the culture and history. However, the most significant factor is the inability to communicate in Tagalog or the Filipino language of their parents. While majority of participants understand Tagalog, many are unable to speak the language or have minimal conversational proficiency. For those who stated that they have adequate fluency, their concerns became about accent and pronunciation, fuelled by feelings of embarrassment and shame, often reinforced by family members. Those with some speaking proficiency shared their frustrations of lacking a diverse vocabulary to fully articulate their thoughts. Many of those who felt that their Filipino language knowledge is inadequate expressed a desire to learn and associate this linguistic acquirement with satisfying the perceived or real expectations of their Filipino identity. Language ability is the most common factor for participants' feelings of disconnection from their Filipino identities, often stemming from their interactions at home and the decisions of their parents regarding passing the language onto their children.

Some participants live in households in which the main language of communication is not Tagalog. This is often due to both parents speaking a different Filipino language and therefore they would communicate primarily in this language and some of these participants do not speak or understand Tagalog. As a result, these participants would encounter situations in which they felt an expectation when interacting with other Filipinos to have the ability to communicate in Tagalog and when failing to do so,

would be compelled to explain their regional and linguistic background. Being expected to justify their lack of Tagalog proficiency led to participants sharing feelings of inadequacy or inauthenticity of their heritage both internally and by perception by other Filipinos. This is an interesting observation due to the importance of regional identity in the Philippines that emphasizes birthplace as well as language and culture and are associated with particular stereotypes of each region (Bonifacio, 2013). In Canada, Bonifacio states that Filipina women show closer ties with those who speak the same dialect and will engage in events and communities of the same province or region as they provide a sense of familiarity in the context of being a minority in Canadian society, suggesting the importance of regional identity in diaspora as well. National and regional identities switch positions in precedence dependent on interactions with coethnics (regional) and non-Filipinos (national) (Bonifacio, 2013). While some participants of the current study reported a lack of representation of their regional identities more generally aside from Filipinos, Lydia, Manny, and Kaleia specifically recount the constant interactions with coethnics that presume their linguistic ability to default to Tagalog. This may be due to Tagalog being the national language and therefore those in the Philippines may have knowledge of both the national language in addition to their regional language or dialect but participants like Kaleia and Lydia are mainly only exposed to their parents' regional language and not Tagalog.

These feelings of inauthenticity are familiar for Manny, whose most complicated site of negotiation regarding his ethnic identity is language. He has an especially complicated relationship to his Filipino identity being biracial and being raised in a household that he describes as "predominantly white and English-speaking", adding to the pressure to prove his Filipinoness to others and perform in a way that allows him to be accepted.

Although he speaks English at home with his parents, Manny grew up exposed to Bisaya (Cebuano) and Waray, although he never understood either language due to the commonplace codeswitching in the region from which his mother originates. This vacillation is due to both languages belonging to the same language family of Visayan and used within the same region. As a result, his

relatives speak either Bisaya, a mix of Bisaya and Waray, or solely Tagalog. Manny also attended a French immersion school, adding another language that took precedence over learning the languages of the maternal side of his family. He believed that the confusion of learning an overwhelming number of languages led his mother to choose not to teach him either language in addition to primarily speaking English at home to accommodate his English-speaking father. Specifically being unable to communicate in Tagalog and therefore participate in conversations affected his self-perception, stating, "that had a great impact on my Filipino identity. I felt like I wasn't a true, authentic Filipino". Considering his circumstances, Manny believed that language ability is heavily reliant on the ways that first generation immigrant parents choose to assimilate and that these decisions have prolonged intergenerational effects despite earnest intentions, illustrated by his only fairly recent journey to reconnect with his Filipino identity.

Retrospectively, Manny realized that these linguistic pressures were also difficult for his mother, who carried the judgement and concern for Manny's upbringing from relatives in the Philippines. She hid her concerns from Manny, though he recalls piecing together context through phone calls between his mother and her relatives, overhearing phrases such as "you should have talked to him in Tagalog more" or "you should have taught him when he was young". However, Manny acknowledges the pressure that his mother faced as an immigrant that reduced her ability to teach Manny about his heritage. Participants acknowledged the priority for working-class immigrants would be to provide for their families and ensure a running household in conjunction with teaching their children their heritage. Manny's anecdote reveals the pressure that extends to his mother of her responsibilities to culturally transmit her heritage languages to her son, illustrating the burden that women carry of maintaining cultural ties (Espiritu, 2001; Tiilikainen, 2017). Additionally, *hiya* invites opportunities of *tsismis* by Manny's relatives to convey to his mother her failed heritage language transmission to Manny, an occurrence that is not uncommon among other heritage language speakers and subsequently motivates the concealment of these problems within the family to avoid losing *amor proprio* and become vulnerable to *tsismis* (Cimmarusti, 1996;

Tseng, 2021; Wolf, 1997). Manny's mother protected Manny from *hiya* and *tsismis* by shielding him from the comments from his relatives and carrying this expectation of linguistic reproduction.

Parents' attitudes towards the necessity of learning Tagalog greatly affected participants' opportunities to acquire the language. Those living in Montreal faced similar struggles to Manny with learning multiple languages by also learning French, which took precedence over learning Tagalog due to the importance of French and English bilingualism in Quebec. A notable consideration is whether individuals lack opportunities for language learning and to what extent does the multicultural and multilingual conditions of Canadian society limit the desire for additional language acquirement (Shulyakovskaya, 2019).

Some participants grew up in an environment in which their parents did not prioritize Tagalog or other Filipino languages and instead emphasized fully assimilating as Canadians. Family members would express that Tagalog is not necessary to learn, placing little value in its role in the development of their children. Chloe feels that her parents believed that it was more important to learn to speak English with a native accent, inculcating into Chloe, "you must integrate to the culture so that you can strive to do well in your life". Regarding learning Tagalog, they questioned, "why is it important? Do you need that at school? Do you need that to succeed? You are going to be speaking English and French, those are the languages that you should know". The child-rearing decisions by Chloe's parents were motivated by a desire to avoid discrimination that their children may face and to guarantee her future success. This reflects the literature on heritage language retention that immigrant parents highly value upward social mobility, taking precedence over maintaining the heritage language.

Immigrant parents work towards upward social mobility, relating to the similar outlook of emphasizing learning the dominant language (English) while feeling apathetic towards the heritage language. Although it may have been a common misconception that immigrants are likely to favour maintaining their heritage language over acquiring the English language, immigrants are actually more likely to undergo language shift, resulting in a lack of developing the heritage language. However,

focusing only on acquiring the dominant language overlooks the fact that bilingualism/multilingualism are in fact more beneficial for children of immigrants socioeconomically in comparison to monolinguals (Tse, 1998).

While some parents were indifferent towards their children's retention of their heritage language, some parents held negative views towards linguistic knowledge transfer. Valerie's family in particular was convinced that learning Tagalog would be a detriment to Valerie by confusing her between two languages. Initially, Valerie communicated in Tagalog when her family newly immigrated to Canada until interventions from other family members and teachers resulted in shifting her into a "more Westernized environment". The belief that holding onto one's heritage language signals an unwillingness to assimilate (Jeon, 2010) and further the differentiation of ethnic minorities (as perpetual foreigners) may influence the decision of immigrant parents like Valerie's. For several participants who were able to retain some Tagalog speaking ability, Philippine teleseryes and films played an important role in maintaining a connection to their Filipino heritage due to their interest in these forms of media. Although she retained some speaking ability, Valerie often felt discouraged to continue practicing due to judgement from others due to "everyone making a big deal about [her] having an accent" and strangers and her family verbalizing their linguistic expectations for Valerie in order to be "Filipino enough". Charlotte had very similar encounters with her parents, her primary concern being that she is embarrassed and felt pressured for not having a "proper" Filipino accent when speaking Tagalog. The intimidation that resulted when communicating in Tagalog even when there is no presence of ridicule manifested as embarrassment and self-consciousness, often deterring her from wanting to speak Tagalog at all. This ridicule manifested only among Charlotte's family but not among other Filipinos.

The judgement that Valerie experienced with her family occurred among many participants as well, which often occurred in a teasing rather than serious manner. The content of these jokes mainly consisted of their accents, mispronunciations, or misuse of words. Joe expressed that his parents would often poke fun at the idea that he is not Filipino and had become "too Westernized". He states, "any

comment that I'm becoming ‘too Canadian’ or that ‘I'm Canadian-Filipino’ was always from family. We make fun of each other in the way that we speak and when they speak English and mispronounce English words, we make fun of them. And when we mispronounced Tagalog words, they make fun of us”. He emphasizes that this behaviour is always in jest, justifying the seemingly innocuous banter by stating that he does not take their comments to heart, and through the reciprocation of their behaviour. This reflects the “playful” banter of migrant parents towards their children in Tseng’s (2021) study on later-generation speakers. Although for Joe and his family this may have been an ordinary and accepted type of interaction, this reciprocation highlights the linguistic hierarchy that elevates English and reinforces the discrimination that English as an additional language (EAL) speakers often experience after immigrating. Joe’s parents in turn reinforce the dismissal of the liminal experiences of the second generation by invalidating Joe’s ethnic authenticity.

In contrast to other participants whose parents valued the acquisition of other languages (such as English or French) aside from their Filipino language, Robin’s parents established an austere dedication to learning and communicating in Tagalog, emphasizing its importance to their culture and family. This dedication to preserving their heritage resulted from being part of the very small racial minority while living in France. He believed that his parents do not have any concerns about Robin becoming to “too Canadian” or “too Westernized” because they are confident in his intrinsic desire to learn and maintain that connection himself. Robin believed that both the importance that his parents placed on retaining this connection and the positive emotions that he associates with the language and Filipino culture has resulted in his secure connection to his Filipino identity. This is similar to a respondent in Jeon’s (2020) study in which a respondent who initially felt forced to learn Korean eventually was inclined to speak it due to perceiving Korean as a necessary component of claiming Korean identity as he eventually desired Korean membership. However, Robin as a young adult now sees his parents’ strict parenting style as an important factor in his language retention and embracing the language and culture rather than a tool to assert his Filipino identity.

Trips to the Philippines highlighted many participants' disconnection by emphasizing their differences in appearance, language, and upbringing. Preconceived ideas pertaining to these differences would be projected onto participants. Though some would attempt to fit in as much as possible, they still experienced a degree of exclusion or separation. Participants stated that they felt distance between them and their relatives who spoke languages in which they were unable to understand or communicate, thus many expressed a desire to learn not only Tagalog but also the particular languages of their parents due to the language barrier between them and their extended relatives. Simone added that they were only considered more Filipino at home in comparison to their peers especially while living in a predominantly White environment. These homeland trips often affected their perception of themselves, inducing the realization that participants are less Filipino than they originally thought. This was not always true, however. For Charlotte, visiting the Philippines for the first time revealed to her a sense of belonging based on the pleasant surprise from relatives that Charlotte was able to converse in Tagalog and her quick acclimatization to the lifestyle. Proficiency of language then is illuminated as part of belonging and group acceptance. Homeland trips are seen as the "quintessential ethnic activity" (Garrido, 2011, p.178) through the search for the meaning of being ethnic by travelling to migrant parents' home country and reveal the problem of ethnic identification that "needs to be worked on in order to be solved" (p.179). This work involves the assumption of an essential identity that already exists. Garrido problematizes the attribution of (racial) ethnicity that is described as a process of either discovering or uncovering an identity that one must already embody, leading to a displacement of racial minorities whose identities are attributed to them (in a way that is not ascribed to White Americans). Therefore, the search for an authentic Filipino connection is not intended for belonging in the homeland but in the host society that positions them as Filipino and not White (Garrido, 2011). This reflects the significance of homeland trips as cultural portals that allow engagement with Filipino heritage and the consciousness of forging Filipino ethnic identities that are critical of preconceived stigmatization of Filipinoness that are produced through colonial mentality (Ferrera, 2017).

Some participants expressed the desire to gain knowledge about their culture and family history through visiting the Philippines. The aspiration to gain cultural knowledge is deeply important for Simone, who longs for a connection with their family and family history, feeling the weight of unpacking intergenerational trauma that accompanies confronting the process of reconnecting with one's heritage. In Awadh's (2023) anecdote, she mentions that she felt safer to venture into learning other languages such as Mandarin rather than her heritage language, Arabic, which she no longer can speak. Some participants in the current study shared similar sentiments of feeling more able to explore interests in language learning and other cultures and Simone's experiences best illustrate this notion of safety. Although they feel some desire to learn more about their own culture (primarily through learning Tagalog), this attempt at reconnection comes with the weight of addressing family and migration trauma, addressing negative and ambivalent feelings towards their own heritage, and the shame of lacking what they have externally and internally been pressured to "already know". This exemplifies the feelings of shame and failure in embodying their Filipino identity and a deterrent from beginning to attempt to reconnect. Learning other languages and cultures do not carry the same heaviness and therefore feel safe.

Simone feels a sense of responsibility to learn not only Tagalog but also the many dialects of their family. They share that the arduous undertaking of learning about their own heritage leads to feelings of guilt and urgency due to the passage of time reducing the likelihood of accomplishing these goals, stating:

> I feel like if I were to understand the history of where I came from, I would definitely feel more comfortable in my Filipino identity. I couldn't say that I relate to it. I'd still be applying my Western lens, my Canadian lens, but I think I'd have a place to start and the perspectives of those closest to me who were born and came here are not infinitely accessible.

Like many participants, Simone expresses the desire to learn in order to feel more authentically Filipino or to foster a connection to their heritage, associating feelings of guilt for not accomplishing these goals. However, participants acknowledge that discovering this information requires the effort of the learner, as the history and culture they would like to learn has not been taught to them in the Canadian education system. Simone's worries are reflective of Pratt's (2003) use of postmemories and restorative nostalgia (Canlas, 2021) in order to piece together family history while feeling the traumas of this history of

migration and struggle through Simone's parents. Especially since Simone shares that their family originates from indigenous Filipino tribes, they feel even further compelled to preserve their ancestral history, culture, and language. Some parents are reticent in discussing their pasts in the Philippines (Kelly, 2015) or, through the reports of participants, they share negative perceptions of Filipinos and the Philippines itself. This silence and negative perception of Filipinoness by migrant parents may be a result of either a lack of pride or shame in the Philippines and Filipino identity (Kelly, 2015) (although this silence may be due to various other reasons) and the internalization of racial oppression that may influence them to look down on their pasts in order to assimilate into Canadian society. Immigrant parents face socioeconomic marginalization that resurface among subsequent generations (Kelly & Maharaj, 2019), illustrating the intergenerational impacts of migration.

Overall, the language acquirement and maintenance of participants were heavily reliant on parents' attitudes toward the language, decisions around child-rearing, as well as behaviour towards participants' efforts to learn. As questioned by Shulyakovskaya (2019), both limited opportunity and desire are barriers to learning one's heritage language, clearly indicated by parental attitudes, prioritization from education systems to teach Canada's national languages with little incentive to retain heritage language, participant attitudes themselves, cultural and familial trauma, and negative, judgemental interactions with coethnics work together to inhibit heritage language learning. Majority of participants felt a lack of linguistic proficiency prevented them from achieving an authentic Filipino identity (Tseng, 2021), revealing their perception of their inability to legitimately claim the language (Darvin, 2017). This claim was also downplayed by many participants who seemed to minimize the rating of their fluency despite their conversational abilities often due to not possessing a very vast knowledge of vocabulary or due to their "Canadian" or "English" (non-native) accent. Although language, especially in the context of family, remains as the main site of negotiation for majority of participants, other aspects within the family dynamic contribute to the complication of their connection to Filipino identity.

B. Navigating the cultural landscape

Outside of familial relations, the identities of participants are shaped externally by the broader heritage community, their Filipino peers, and the ideas of The Filipino that are projected onto them by both Filipinos and non-Filipinos. Again, language provides the most salient and tangible signifier of Filipino identity to many participants, shaped by their experiences with others. The internalization of their negative experiences as racial minorities influences their willingness to associate with their identity and at times induce reluctance to participate in connections with Filipinos. The following will examine these processes in the larger cultural context.

The complicated relationship that majority of participants have with language and their Filipino identity is simultaneously constructed outside of the family. Their interactions with Filipinos are structured by their ability to communicate in Tagalog as well as the authenticity of their accent. Throughout the interviews, participants expressed alienation from other Filipinos based on their inability to fully communicate in Tagalog, feeling expected to speak in Tagalog by other Filipinos during interactions. These expectations to speak Tagalog derive from its standardization as a national language, as participants have higher understanding of their parents' regional languages that they choose to speak in their household over the national language. Therefore, their inability to speak Tagalog is highlighted while their knowledge of regional languages and cultural practices are discounted. Those who have some Tagalog proficiency express insecurity with the authenticity of their accent, which is externally reinforced as negative attention is brought to their non-native accent.

As mentioned, Manny's maternal side of the family speaks a mix of Bisaya (Cebuano) and Waray languages and Kaleia and Lydia's parents speak the languages Ilocano and Ilonggo respectively and communicate in these languages alongside English at home. Echoing Manny's sentiments, Lydia shared that fluency in Tagalog is a particular linguistic expectation of Filipinos due to its standardization as a national language, disregarding those who are from different regions and speak different languages and

dialects. Lydia reveals her frustrations when others project specific expectations of Filipinoness onto her or presume that she is less knowledgeable about Filipino culture due to their regional differences:

> Just because we're both Filipino doesn't mean we grew up necessarily the same…you can't just assume that I'm just going to know what you're talking about. Especially because the Philippines is a bunch of different islands…so they'll say a word and they'll be like, "you don't know what that means?" I'm like, "no, because I don't speak Tagalog…my parents speak this".

This projection results in Lydia needing to repeatedly explain her upbringing and defending her lack of Tagalog proficiency when encountering other Filipinos who project this judgement. Some of her frustrations stem from the fact that she is often already able to fully communicate with these individuals in English but will be pushed to learn the language. These frustrations that Lydia, Manny, and Kaleia share are reflective of the marginalization of Chinese dialects in Lee's (2022) study on Chinese diaspora communities due to the focus on the national language or the lingua franca of the community. It is understandable that not only do participant encounters reveal a language barrier with their Filipino peers and other coethnics, but there is also a push to prioritize Tagalog, possibly preventing other Philippine heritage languages from gaining the support necessary for its transmission. This is reflective of Manny's statement that he was too overwhelmed to learn the combination of languages of his mother's background.

Participants often shared having fears of judgement for speaking Tagalog with a non-native accent that would further isolate them from Filipinos by creating an environment of anxiety and insecurity when speaking Tagalog. Manny expressed frustrations of being unable to connect with the Filipino community in his area in Tagalog, feeling embarrassed and anxious during interactions that reveal his inability to speak his heritage language. He shared that this is a common occurrence when entering a *tindahan* (Filipino convenience store) and recounted his discomfort when speaking to the shopkeepers. Nervous entering a space in which everyone is speaking Tagalog, he stated "I feel like they already see right through me, that I don't speak Tagalog; that I'm not Filipino. Then it gets to a point where I start believing that like, 'oh, I'm not Filipino enough'". He believes that improving his Tagalog speaking ability including his accent is the key factor that will assuage his worries in these situations. These

anxieties in relation to participants' linguistic capital to include them as authentic Tagalog speakers illustrates Cui (2015) and Kayaalp's (2016) work on habitus and accent hierarchy. Their authenticity through speech allows them to or prevents them from gaining access to group membership as a "real Filipino".

Some of these markers of authenticity are non-verbal and to Manny, he reported observing other Filipinos he would encounter and attempt to mimic their behaviour to signal his insider status despite possessing these feelings of inauthenticity. He described his attempts as "faking it until he makes it", encouraging himself to commit to believing he can project in-group status that would eventually lead to his authentic inclusion. Manny's strategy asserts his Filipinoness enough to 'pass' or to evade discovery of his lack of cultural knowledge until he successfully gains this knowledge and can be accepted as a "real Filipino" (Garrido, 2011; Tseng, 2021). Marshall's (2014) work recounts respondents' reports of Filipinos engaging in "wordless greetings to acknowledge other Filipinos" such as "men [lifting] the eyebrow, sharing a special look, or saying 'spss'" while women would "exchange nods, waves, or smiles" (p.16). Manny shared that he would imitate the sounds of what he believed to "sound Filipino", and though audible noises, they are wordless and convey this insider knowledge to those around him. Additionally, Manny emphasizes the subtlety of these sounds—that the very fact that they are unnoticeable to others evidences his legitimacy to claim Filipino status and makes up for his lack of linguistic proficiency or cultural knowledge. This retelling indicates the various verbal and non-verbal aspects of group acceptance.

Manny is not alone in his insecurities about his English accent when speaking Tagalog. Joe would witness Filipinos born and raised in Canada speaking Tagalog with a non-native accent judged for being less Filipino more often than witnessing discrimination towards Filipinos speaking English with non-native accents. However, despite the lack of observances by Joe of such discrimination towards racial minorities, Canadian identity is described as speaking English, not having an accent, or "[speaking] properly with Canadian accents" (Shulyakovskaya, 2019, p.83). Therefore, to be considered Canadian,

one must erase their accent, regardless of their linguistic intelligibility—any perceived difference is a cause for reformation (e.g. through accent reduction classes). This reveals the accent hierarchy that is part of linguicism (Kayaalp, 2016) that position individuals according to their language capital (Darvin, 2017).

As a new immigrant child, Chloe would speak to her Canadian-born friends in Tagalog but because these children did not understand Tagalog, it became difficult for Chloe to express herself. She shared, “there's that shame that builds up as I was growing up and I kept to myself. I just didn't speak to anyone”. Consequently, when she began speaking Tagalog again at a later age, her non-native accent would be pointed out, as if it was inadequate for a Tagalog speaker (especially as one born in the Philippines), further discouraging her and instilling insecurities about her accent. She shares, “I only saw it as a strength when I grew up, when I was in university”. Before the shift in her perspective, she shared that she “never saw it as something that [she] was proud of”. Interactions such as these influence participants to avoid communicating in Tagalog or to attempt to improve their Tagalog until they are able to attain a native accent. Participants also expressed envy towards other second-generation Filipino Canadians who were not only able to retain their Tagalog speaking abilities but also their native accent. This envy emanated from accent being a significant insecurity that destabilizes their perception of their Filipino identity.

According to Tony, language is the most prominent and easily recognizable differentiating factor when interacting with other Filipinos. Although he is fluent in Tagalog, Tony speaks with a non-native accent, to the surprise of other Filipinos with whom he converses. This surprise leads him to question that as someone born in the Philippines if he should still be able to speak with a native accent and whether this accent shift implies a diminishing of his Filipino identity. Associating accent and “sounding Filipino” with the level at which Tony can consider himself Filipino relates to the limiting of exposure to Tagalog out of fear of sounding ‘too Filipino’ Gutierrez’s (2019). Especially due to being born in the Philippines, Tony wonders whether sounding “more Canadian” directly equates to a loss of Filipinoness. Shulyakovskaya (2019) connects the pride that may stem from feeling “more Canadian” (p.81) by being

noticeably different from coethnics by having an English (non-native) accent and discernable speech behaviour while speaking to coethnics or while in the homeland.

Despite pondering these questions, Tony concludes that he is overall indifferent towards these expectations and their subsequent implications. Lydia echoes similar sentiments, resolving that despite enduring scrutiny for "not being Filipino enough" from peers during her adolescence, this pressure alleviated as external expectations became less integral to her self-conceptions of Filipino identity. Though this scrutiny generated feelings of alienation and apathy, it provoked a more open self-concept that transcended language. Lydia stated:

> I really did not care for it because everyone kept trying to push it down my throat, that I was just like, "yeah, I don't care anymore". I don't care if I don't know how to speak it, if I don't really eat the food or if I don't do this, but now, being in university and getting older, it doesn't really matter how much I know, necessarily. Because at the end of the day, it's still in my blood, that's who I am. So, I was like, "no one can take that away from me".

Much like Lydia, many report growth as they better understand their own identities and understand that the measurement of the authenticity of their Filipino identity is not entirely determined by the expectations of others. Lydia's assertion reflects an essentialist claim of Filipino identity based on ethnic ancestry by stating that it is "in her blood" and that it's "who she is", as a response to the construction of ethnic authenticity through cultural knowledge and linguistic ability, evincing the work needed in establishing a connection to the homeland (Garrido, 2011). Other participants also utilized essentialist criteria of identity. Charlotte conversely stated that she cannot consider herself "100% Filipino" because she "was not born there". As Valerie stated, this is an ongoing process of unlearning and allowing a personal negotiation of Filipino Canadian identity. Participants expressed their agency through evaluating the rigid expectations of being Filipino to expand this definition to fit their personal experiences and thoughtful reflections. Their ideas about their culture and identity became less contingent upon language and provided the opportunity to reconsider the criteria that makes them Filipino.

Similar to their experiences within their own family dynamics, on a broader scale participants encountered judgement and blaming of personal failure or a denial of their identities when in situations

that revealed gaps in ability to speak or understand Filipino languages and more specifically Tagalog. Many gained insecurities about their knowledge and accents as well as the authenticity of their identity. Their experiences affected how they could relate to other Filipinos depending on their attitude to their language skills. Participants more broadly experienced judgement outside of a linguistic context as well as encountered common patterns of behaviour among Filipinos that compelled them to maintain distance from their community.

As demonstrated in this section by the plethora of experiences of participants, language plays another important part in this disconnection. As expected, family dynamic greatly influenced the cultural transmission of language, intersecting with various factors, supporting the literature on child-parent relationships and intergenerational cultural conflict (Choi et al., 2020). Of course, as immigrant families, migration and navigating bi-culturalism were central in these conflicts that affect how participants grapple with heritage language maintenance. Although some participants experienced aspects that would cause tension between them and their families, much of the pressures to appear Filipino enough and speak Tagalog or another Philippine language were intrinsically motivated. This is evident from Chloe, who wanted to maintain her Tagalog proficiency despite her parents having apathetic attitudes towards the language and instead highly valuing English proficiency for their children.

The self-imposed pressures to learn Tagalog can be related to Moon and Casares's (2019) findings that children of immigrants who were aware of their parents' sacrifices for them due to migration were more likely to internally motivate themselves to succeed. While this is in the context of socioeconomic standing and academic achievement, it can be expanded to include other parental aspirations such as heritage language transmission. However, some environmental elements, such as school, a multilingual or complex linguistic background, and lack of heritage language speaking peers are barriers for some participants from acquiring the language. The focal point, however, is the ambivalent connections that participants feel to their overall Filipino identity that inhibit their abilities to speak Tagalog. The pressure from family, other coethnics, and even themselves to maintain their heritage

language results in understandable frustration for many participants. According to Tse's (1998) model of ethnic identity development, two factors highly influence ethnic minorities' heritage language acquisition and maintenance: comprehensible input (CI) and club and group membership (CM), in which CI is intelligible, valued feedback that increases the knowledge of the heritage language while CM is the feeling of inclusion in the heritage language community. Language ability is one of the most important methods of gaining group membership, thus fluency becomes desirable. Lacking access to one or both factors greatly impact the ability for children of immigrants to acquire the heritage language (Tse, 1998). Therefore, Tse's model illustrates the importance of group membership in acquiring the heritage language by providing the sufficient resources to retain the language (CI). However, participants share that their group membership as Filipinos is affected by their Tagalog proficiency and accent authenticity, forming a paradox in which heritage language retention and ethnic group membership are dependent on one another.

Though various social and economic factors impact the ability of retaining heritage language that range from parental attitudes, a desire for social mobility, economic success, and the dominance of English or French as the lingua franca in Canadian society, it is also important to address the attitudes of participants. Almost all participants expressed a desire to learn or improve their Tagalog (or other Philippine language) fluency, indicating their positive attitudes towards heritage language retention. Any negative associations with the language stemmed from shaming and judgement by other Filipinos for their inadequacy, a parallel experience for Latinos born in the US (Tseng, 2021). Being unable to access the support necessary to learn or maintain Tagalog from their environments, feeling shame and embarrassment further fostering feelings of alienation and aversion, and negotiating ambivalent feelings towards the language based on negative perceptions and experiences (such as growing up not wanting to speak or sound differently from their English-speaking peers or wanting to avoid discrimination) all work together to place participants in a difficult position and to create an ambivalent relationship with learning their heritage language. However, for many participants like Joe, they would witness or experience more judgement of Filipinos who were unable to speak Tagalog (and with the 'correct' accent) rather than

discrimination against individuals speaking English with a non-native accent and therefore did not feel the inclination to avoid linguistic discrimination. It was instead the judgement during encounters that revealed their lack of Tagalog proficiency that caused the most tension. The internalization of racial oppression that influenced the connectedness to Filipino identity and the perception of Filipino subjectivity in combination with the judgement of ethnic authenticity complicate the navigation of being Filipino Canadian and will be further explored in the following section.

6. Results on Internalized Racial Oppression

As discussed throughout this paper, internalized racial oppression plays a significant role in the disconnection of participants from their Filipino identity. Apart from language, some experiences of participants revealed inner conflict between themselves, their families, and their communities. Many felt that the dynamic of their family was informed by a difference in beliefs and values between them and their parents, which participants linked to an integral part of growing up Filipino in Canada and to Filipinoness, motivating negative associations with Filipino identity. However, some of their reported conflict with their heritage can be explained by patterns of intergenerational dynamics that are also present among other ethnic groups. Some participants felt that some of these differences were difficult to navigate both fulfilling the wishes of their parents and following their own beliefs and values. For some, this involved their educational or professional aspirations while for others, this would be navigating differences in beliefs that involved confronting systems such as homophobia and misogyny, fatphobia, and patriarchy. While these systems of oppression are not part of Filipino values, the prioritization of the collective and indebtedness to family (which involves respecting elders in the family and community) makes confronting these contentious issues difficult.

A. Gender, Tsismis, and Social Class

For many participants, strong ties to family, a sense of belonging within a large group, and upholding hospitality were common qualities ascribed to Filipino culture that often evoked pride as motivators of connection to their heritage. Although a central tenet of Filipino culture included feelings of shared community, participants also expressed their ambivalent feelings towards their heritage and the community of Filipinos with whom they interact.

Simone shared that feelings of comfort stem from inclusion but also simultaneous “suffocation” that can accompany an expected intimacy among *kababayan* (a term referring to fellow Filipinos) that relies on the strength of national identity. This identity, however, is not as strong as those of the first

generation due to subsequent generations lacking a direct connection to the homeland itself (Garrido, 2011; Kelly, 2015; Wolf, 1997). This expectation of intimacy may manifest as "a culture of hospitality that is expressed through "foods", "gathering", "welcoming", and "sharing", according to Simone. They share an anecdote in which a Filipino neighbour passed by during a family event, prompting Simone to invite him to eat a plate of food. Showcasing Simone's feelings, they state "it just seems so natural to invite people to share…and I think that's one of the really, really wonderful aspects of Filipino culture". They were proud of the hospitable characteristic of Filipinos (while recognizing its weaponization as a stereotypical expectation projected onto Filipinos) but also overwhelmed by the lack of privacy that a close community engenders. They continue stating, "we're taught to be welcoming. We're taught to be hospitable; sometimes overly so, and sometimes in very problematic ways, but it's something that I think I'm somewhat proud of—although critical of". Even in the recounting of this interaction, Simone is cognizant of the ways that these seemingly defining and intrinsic qualities of Filipino culture can involve problematic facets, thus revealing the animosity can also coincide with these positive feelings. Simone is careful not to paint these facets in a romanticized, unproblematic way.

Some participants share that their negative experiences with Filipinos have led them to develop a stigma towards their community, explicitly stating that they isolate themselves or otherwise possess a dislike for Filipinos, often attributing perceived inherent characteristics to the culture and community. Some of these negative experiences often occur during encounters with relatives but also extending to the Filipinos with whom they interact in their community. This may be attributed to a White, Western lens that positions the Philippines and Filipino culture as characterized by its negative associations and Filipino culture as not as progressive as Canadian society thus not affording the same opportunities for change that is afforded to Western culture. Therefore, these negative experiences and associations are perceived as an integral aspect of Filipinoness despite the presence of these same things (albeit manifesting in different ways) in Western culture.

For many participants who self-identify as female or non-binary, misogynistic, cisheteropatriarchal gender dynamics that have been normalized within Filipino culture were a point of conflict or tension, especially among family, that intertwined with intergenerational conflict. Participants attributed many familial conflicts as an inherent part of Filipino culture while growing up with which they expressed their frustrations that associated a lack of open-mindedness, restriction of freedoms, and unfairly placing familial expectations on Filipina daughters. As acknowledged by Simone, alongside other systems of oppression, misogyny is the root of these gendered conflicts and although they may appear intrinsic to Filipino culture, contributing to the resentment that some participants feel towards what they view as part of being Filipino.

Recognizing obedience and filial piety as desired traits among Filipinos, Noelle acknowledges the pressure to fulfill these expectations when their perspectives of tradition and family values clash. Expectations to prioritize family disproportionately affected woman-identifying participants. Perceived by other Filipinos as a "good daughter" and praised by her mother for always listening to her, Noelle states that "when you do as you're told, you're perceived as a really good child and it's like you're not making any conflict with your parents". She avoids conflicts with her parents based on differing beliefs in order to preserve her parents' intelligent, kind, and obedient image of her, supporting previous literature that Filipina Americans experience pressure to prioritize family while confronting their own personal goals and desires (Espiritu, 2001).

Kaleia upholds a similar image of being the responsible and independent *Manang* (older sister in Ilocano). She would maintain the gendered expectations of her family while growing up by being expected to have the knowledge and discipline to perform domestic duties and care for her younger brother while both her parents worked full time, causing conflict between her and her parents because she felt that she was missing out on her childhood. Espiritu (2001) states that women and daughters carry the burden of cultural representation "because womanhood is idealized as the repository of tradition" and "the norms that regulate women's behaviors become a means of determining and defining group status"

(p.421). Similarly, they carry the responsibility to maintain communication and transnational relationships with extended relatives, acting as a "bridge" (Tiilikainen, 2017, p.66) for their children to their homeland. The expectation of Kaleia to uphold the image of a "good Manang" supports this representation and the role of Filipino women in the household economy.

Gendered expectations of household division of labour are inculcated into children from their parents' attitudes and practices in relation to housework (Evertsson, 2006). With the influences of Spanish and American colonization, Bonifacio (2013) states that "women's roles are marked with inferiority and subordination" (p.35). As previously mentioned, religion plays a significant role in the structuring of the "good woman" (necessitating criteria for a "bad woman") in both the home and society, emphasizing the domestic placement of women and girls (p.36). Despite men and women both highly valuing family, the responsibility falls on women to preserve familial ties and cultural traditions through their invisible and unpaid domestic labour (Espiritu, 2001). This means that women must then prioritize family as wives and daughters, illustrating the disproportionate amount of domestic responsibility placed on Kaleia as the eldest daughter of the family, suggesting the compounded significance of birth order alongside gender in the division of labour of households (Brannen, 1995; Punch, 2001). This disproportionate division of labour of housework also increases with larger families (Menta & Lepinteur, 2021).

Some gender norms manifested through beliefs influenced by religion and the value of female chastity. For Noelle, her parents revealed that their rationale for not allowing her to engage in some activities was due to her gender, telling Noelle "You can't do that because you're a girl. *Nakakahiya*", meaning that, in this context, it is shameful or embarrassing. However, she notes that the "shameful" act is often something normalized in Western cultures, giving the example of staying over at a male friend's or significant other's house. While her parents disapprove, she argues that these things are often not deemed inappropriate in Western cultures, supporting that the conflict that arises between participants and their parents are a result of different environments. This is reflective of Espiritu's (2001) work that Filipina daughters are held to a different moral standard that differentiates them from their Canadian

(read: White) peers. While Filipinos have been differentiated from Americans based on the closeness of Filipino families, (White) Americans have been perceived as "lacking in strong family ties and collective identity, less willing to do the work of family and cultural maintenance, and less willing to abide by patriarchal norms in husband/wife relations" (Espiritu 2001, pp. 441-442). The reinforcement of these gendered roles and expectations by family members (especially mothers) suggests the internalization of gendered oppression intersecting with race as they transmit gendered beliefs about Filipina women in relation to family and relationships to their daughters.

Participants displayed cognizance of their unlearning their associations of intergenerational conflict and gender dynamic as inherently part of Filipinoness by distinguishing these sources of conflict as products of systems of oppression that are present outside of their experiences as Filipinos. The conflicting worldviews between participants and their parents were recognized by participants as a product of their experiences as an ethnic minority which vastly differed from their parents' experiences as an ethnic majority during their childhood and adolescent years. Noelle elaborated on the difference of social contexts, stating that her mother's small community in the Philippines easily fostered social stigma due to the presence of commonplace gossip, leading to the eventual unwanted circulation of information.

Other participants shared similar experiences to Noelle involving strictness with significant others, such as staying over at a partner's place overnight, cohabiting with a partner, and engaging in premarital sex. Participants shared that they felt these restrictions on their actions were unfair in comparison to their peers, who did not have the same limitations because these topics were normalized among them. This illustrates the disproportionate gendered expectations and restrictions placed on Filipina daughters (Choi et al., 2020; Espiritu, 2001; Wolf, 1997). Heather shared that as a result, she hides her behaviours and does not feel comfortable being open with her parents the way that her peers share their personal lives concerning these issues with their own parents. Lydia felt generally coddled by her mother from perceived dangers, describing these restrictions and lack of independence as embarrassing due to being in her twenties and designates this behaviour as "Filipino parenting". The

direct comparison to their Canadian (and often White) peers who did not experience the same family and relationship expectations led participants to associate restriction of freedom, especially for women, with Filipinoness while growing up. Their frustrations were perceived to be with Filipino culture rather than with misogyny and cisheteropatriarchy (evident through descriptions such as "Filipino parenting") that manifests variably according to different contexts.

Noelle however acknowledged these differences in values as a result of upbringing and cultural context, she stood firm that a difference in values does not diminish her Filipinoness:

> it's understandable why she has those values. But I don't think me not sharing those values makes me less Filipino because it's just times are changing…I feel like back then it was a lot more like they were concerned about how other people would perceive them if they were to go over to, say a partner's house, but here, nobody bats an eye. So, yeah. I don't associate that with being less Filipino…because in reality people have been doing it in the Philippines, they just hid it, let's be real.

Noelle's recognition of the fluidity and the ever-evolving characteristic of being Filipino allows her the flexibility to be accepting of her own personal changes and deviation from the previously established expectations of Filipino subjectivity. She highlights an important point that this evolution occurs not only for those living in diasporas, highlighting the agency of Filipinos in the homeland to forge their own identities as well. Canada is established as a part of the West, or the New World, characterized by the building of Canadian society by immigrants and settlers (Kymlicka, 2003). Canada is therefore differentiated from the Old World (Europe) and its traditions. Although Kymlicka refers to Europe as the Old World, Noelle recognizes the framing of Canada as the progressive West in opposition to tradition, which is associated the Homeland, the Philippines, a connection made by Canlas (2021) through the superimposition of the old world onto the present through the restorative nostalgia that locates the homeland in the past. This relates to IRO by perceiving Canada as a more progressive society, positioned above the Philippines due to its perception as stuck in conservative ideologies. However, Noelle notes that this dichotomy does not allow for a dynamic view of the homeland and employs a Western, White hegemonic lens of both locales. The idea that "times are changing" in both Canada and the Philippines reveals that these traditional views and expectations are not tied to one geography or the other but rather

emerge as a product of gender dynamics and patriarchy through the historical oppression of women through patriarchy (Bonifacio, 2013).

These perspectives, such as having concern for how one is perceived for engaging in taboo behaviour, are a result of the influences of larger social systems as opposed to inherently part of Filipinos and Filipino culture, as recognized earlier by Simone. The restrictions on Filipina daughters that Lydia and Noelle describe are products informed by patriarchy and misogyny. Historically, Asian women have been "racialized as sexually immoral" as a part of reinforcing and legitimizing their subordination (Espiritu, 2001, p.425). Respondents compared the liberation of Americans at a young age to the value of Filipinas to remain virgins until marriage, which Espiritu concludes reveals the construction of the "ideal Filipina" partially through the perception of white women. They are dichotomized as antitheses of each other as a reclamation of the hypersexualized framing of Filipinas to be instead framed as "chaste", "family-oriented", and "feminine" (p.427). This understanding of Filipinas as a differentiation from White women mistakenly implies that heteronormative misogyny that prioritizes the conjugal family is tied to "old-fashioned Filipino beliefs", which Lydia similarly described Filipino culture by labelling it "old school", attributing these values to Filipinoness rather than to the systems of oppression that truly drive them. Lydia does recognize however, that there is "a whole new generation of Filipino Canadians or Filipino Americans that have a very different outlook on life than the people that raised them" who are "changing the outlook on what it is to be Filipino and the culture of it", which echoes Noelle's perception of change among youth and further illuminates the role of intergenerational conflict.

Focusing on Lydia as the target of the "perceived dangers" by her mother is an act of protection but executed through needing to modify Lydia's behaviour and exposure (restricting her freedoms) to a world which does pose very real threats for women and women of colour especially. Failing to enforce the same standards to Filipino sons however place an unfair burden on daughters to manage the dangers they may be subjected to while their male counterparts are unaffected. This is also true in relation to wanting to protect Filipina daughters' reputations of chastity or professionalism and despite the lesser

extent of its stigma in Canadian culture in Noelle's experience, misogyny and patriarchy are still present. Unlike Sundar's (2008) South Asian participants, who were able to positively mediate between both South Asian and Canadian cultures, participants in this study considered gender dynamic in family as a source of conflict, demonstrating bi-cultural clash (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009). These examples of tension within family dynamic illustrate the intergenerational cultural conflict and dissonance that contribute to the ambivalent feelings of participants towards their heritage.

As discussed in the Language section, many participants felt judgement from peers or strangers for lacking linguistic proficiency. This judgement includes various other factors, however. The normalization of *tsismis,* or gossip, among Filipino communities is a reoccurring concept that reinforces negative feelings toward Filipinos and Filipino culture as well as amplified avoidance of situations in which tsismis was present. Simone shared that they feel "insecure about [their] Filipinoness around other Filipinos" due to aspects of the culture that appear intrinsic, leading them to distance themselves to avoid discomfort from confronting these things.

Simone shares a similar outlook as their parents toward Filipinos, which involves feelings of distrust and frustration partly due to the normalization of tsismis. They describe their mother's behaviour as "hesitant or cautious around other Filipinos" and concludes that their parents "just don't trust other Filipinos". Simone adds, "I hate to admit it, but to some extent I also don't—in that I can't trust anyone with a secret, really". This hesitation stems from the resulting rumours that circulate from tsismis that can be harmful in a tightknit community. For Simone especially, who identifies as queer and is gender nonconforming, they are in a position of vulnerability due to not being explicitly out to their family, therefore substantiating some of their increased caution. However, Simone shared their internal conflict and feelings of guilt associated with this dislike by stating that they "feel so bad" and "hate to admit" to these feelings of resentment and distrust. Simone attributes some of these feelings to the collectivity of Asian cultures, including Filipino culture:

> I think one thing is oneness of course, and then because communities in Asia tend to be larger, families tend to be larger… That concept of "what would others think" I think really permeates Asian culture, all throughout it, just in different ways for sure. There's always given more, I guess, social priority to the whole, as opposed to the collective of individuals.

This description showcases the ambivalent feelings towards shared community, especially highlighting the guilt associated with negative feelings for Simone's own community and heritage. It also is an example of the potency of familism (the cultural value that "emphasizes family unity and loyalty, prioritizes the family over individual needs, and expects support and commitment to and from the family" (Choi et al., 2021, p.438)) among Filipino families and the intergenerational cultural dissonance that occurs as a result of the intergenerational conflict between family members (Choi et al., 2018, 2020, 2021). However, according to Simone's response, these conflicts arise with other coethnics in their social network as well. This is not unique to the 1.5 and second generations. Participants shared that although tsismis is commonly present, Filipinos in their social circles disclose that they, too, dislike tsismis and encourage the avoidance of Filipinos because of it. This is true for Tony, who describes Filipinas as "*tsismosas*" (gossipers) and is warned by Filipino women to refrain from becoming friends with Filipinos in order to avoid becoming entangled in tsismis. This reveals that much of Tony's impression of Filipinos is shaped by those around him. He attributes the concept of tsismis as something integral to the culture and people, preferring to avoid Filipinas in the space of dating.

However, Simone recognizes that many of these negative feelings towards Filipino culture are internalized and perceived rather than inherent to the culture and they are cognizant of the unlearning that these associations require. The various axes that reinforce these feelings are a collection of overlapping systemic problems that have been associated with Filipino identity through Simone's experiences. Though these factors are products of structural oppression, such as homophobia, misogyny, fatphobia, and patriarchy, they appear engrained and naturalized among Simone's community, superimposed onto understandings of Filipinoness. As a result of these negative associations with Filipinos and Filipino culture, Simone felt inclined to isolate themselves from other Filipinos. The conflicting feelings of their identity however stem from the guilt from avoiding other Filipinos while also recognizing that belonging

to a larger collective evokes both positive and negative feelings. This is part of Jiolito's (2022) argument that what can be perceived as "Filipino values" or "Filipino characteristics" is in part the actions of individuals that are present in the group as opposed to inherently part of the group. Despite disidentification and separation from the group as a reactionary and adaptive response to negative experiences (some due to racial discrimination), these responses support IRO by lambasting coethnics (Trieu, 2018, 2019). This is also true for Tony's situation, in which he has adopted the messaging he has received from the Filipino Titas who warn him not to date Filipinas or to become entangled in tsismis. These Titas attribute the negative traits to Filipinos themselves and the added gendered layer targets Filipinas, allowing the lateral violence of reinforcing the stigma around Filipinas, again illustrating the internalization of gender(ed racial) oppression. It is also worth noting that there may be an element of imposing a western lens in relation to tsismis. Tsismis serves a function in Filipino culture in order to address familial and community conflict by discreetly and indirectly to carefully navigate the hierarchy of respect to older family and community members (Cimmarusti, 1996). However, it is imperative to address that despite its ability to defuse situations indirectly, it is evident that participants and other Filipinos (as showcased by the Titas in Tony's anecdote) are negatively affected by tsismis. These experiences are important to validate but also equally important to recognize that tsismis occurs among (and is not exclusive to) a group of people rather than a trait that is inherent to the group, in this case, Filipinos. It is a generalization that furthers the agenda of IRO. That is not to discount the difficulty in separating these experiences and negative feelings that arise as a result from the people itself. There is room here to pinpoint normalized harmful behaviours (such as utilizing tsismis and judgement to make assumptions or scrutinize group members) and work towards fostering support among one another.

Distancing from the judgement that manifests among Filipino communities may also stem from social class. For Chloe, this would be in context of her socioeconomically privileged upbringing that would be used to dismiss her experiences. By feeling pressured to perform Filipinoness in ways that satisfy the expectations of coethnics, Chloe expresses feelings of resentment and anger, sharing that when

she does encounter judgement for the level of Filipino she is, it provides “more reasons not to associate [herself] with Filipinos”. Chloe would often hear that she does not know what it is really like to be Filipino because she grew up in a large city rather than a province, insinuating that she has not experienced the authentic Filipino experience of living a more difficult life without the luxuries that she grew up with. This supports the idea that the authentic homeland is rooted in poverty, struggle, and rurality that diaspora Filipinos aspire to ‘discover’ through homeland trips in the pursuit of authentic identity (Garrido, 2011). Chloe recounted instances of her aversion to Filipinos, which affected her ability to connect with Filipinos while growing up:

> I never really liked Filipinos anyways, growing up because I would be too white for them or I would have to do an accent or like, ‘oh, you don't know struggle’. And the thing is, most of the Filipinos that I know have lived in provinces in the Philippines. So even if I compare my life to them, to the Philippines, where I lived in the city, like, ‘oh, you don't know anything about what it's like to live in a province, what it's like to live in fresh air or what it's like to live with animals’ because we didn't have the same reality. I've always found them snobby growing up or never welcoming on my end. So, I just kept to myself and kept to the people that I know that I can speak with….

This section of the interview shows that Chloe’s aversion heavily stems from judgement from the Filipinos, specifically due to not being Filipino enough, or rather being Filipino in a way that does not satisfy the expectations of those around her. These feelings as a result of exclusion and judgement lead to isolation while maintaining connections to those who could understand and relate to her experiences without projecting judgement.

Some participants shared feelings of being “too privileged” to be able to claim authentic Filipino identity, sometimes externally reinforced in Chloe’s case, for not sharing similar enough experiences with those residing in the Philippines in a specific environment (e.g. being differentiated by those living in rural areas for living a privileged life in an urban city) defined by enduring hardship. This reflects the questioning of legitimacy to claim Filipino identity based on accentuated differences from Filipinos in the homeland (Gutierrez, 2019). Simone shared that they feel guilty for not enduring the struggles and sacrifices that their parents did in the process of migrating to Canada, also illustrating their privilege as a

factor inhibiting their claim on Filipino identity that contribute to feelings of guilt related to migration and family sacrifice and indebtedness (Moon & Casares, 2019, Ferrera, 2016).

As discussed, participants identified experiences that have been normalized as a part of the culture that foster a negative image and feelings associated with the community. Many participants reported distancing themselves from either their own Filipino identity while growing up, or from other Filipinos in their environment who exhibited characteristics that fostered their feelings of alienation such as judgement and tsismis. The experiences of judgement with some coethnics and conflicts with parents illustrate the tensions of intergenerational cultural dissonance alongside a struggle with bi-culturalism that strengthen the aversion that many participants feel towards their heritage. As Jiolito (2021) argues, the values and characteristics of Filipinos themselves become the landing pad for the superimposition of these feelings of alienation. The attribution of these negative characteristics to Filipino culture itself allows the further development of IRO by distinguishing oneself from others to separate themselves from these negative traits. This is not to diminish the very real consequences and strained familial and coethnic relationships that participants must navigate, however. The following discussion examines other factors that further perpetuate this urge to reject or recede from their identity emanate from stereotypes projected onto Filipinos, influencing the opinions and behaviour toward coethnics.

B. Stigmatization of "Filipino" and Intraethnic Othering

The discrimination that people of colour project onto themselves and their own communities are a product of internalizing the racial oppression that they have experienced. Often these internalizations can be weaponized to create a separation from the rest of the oppressed group. As addressed by Gutierrez (2019), second generation Filipino Americans felt inclined to separate themselves from other recent Filipino migrants who appeared to be 'more Filipino' and less Americanized than them. It is important to note the conflation of Americanness with Whiteness and that the stigmatization of ethnicity derives not solely due to Filipino Americans not being white but also due to being Filipino (Garrido, 2011). Participants in the present study followed a similar process of distinguishing themselves from their

Filipino peers. Interestingly, however, there existed a simultaneous desire from participants to be included and recognized as Filipino by others yet hesitance to be associated with stereotypes based on social class and racism more often attached to the first generation.

All participants had heard of the term “fresh off the boat” (FOB), which has been used as a derogatory label to differentiate individuals who have recently immigrated and is associated with stereotypes. As previously mentioned, this is a manifestation of IR and IRO. The use of terms such as “FOB” or “Whitewashed” establish intraethnic distinction as members of the dominant group, Canadians, in this case, while simultaneously othering immigrants that are not Canadian born (Pyke & Dang, 2003). However, neither “FOB” nor “Whitewashed” can be easily discernible as “real objects” despite the existence of definitions for these terms—they instead are “fluid and dynamic ideological concepts” (Pyke, 2010, p.155) that are products of the labeller’s perception of coethnics’ level of acculturation of the dominant culture in relation to their own experiences and perception of themselves.

Many participants shared their own experiences or times they had witnessed the internalized racial oppression directed towards Filipino immigrants based on this label. Some participants would socially exclude themselves from these groups in order to avoid discrimination by association. Heather vocalized the damage that these boundaries create by further marginalizing new immigrants, calling the disassociation from first generation Filipinos unproductive. Heather observed the notable distinction that the term FOB holds two connotations distinguished by class. At her university, wealthy international students are labelled FOB who are instantly recognizable by their affluent class status. However, Filipino students are also labelled FOB, but they are distinguished by their working-class status, being newly immigrated, and having a language barrier by not fully speaking English. This aligns with the overall working-class image associated with Filipinos that affect the perception of Filipinos to participants themselves and those around them. Both connotations however carried the stigma that FOBs keep to their own ethnicity, not intermingling with those outside their group or accepting anyone on the outside into the group. Interestingly, despite working-class representations playing a significant role as a motivating

factor to distance oneself from the “less Canadian other”, associations with wealthier class status resulted in the same intraethnic othering. Heather believed that the reputation projected onto this group reinforces their designation as a foreign Other that deters people outside of the group from approaching based on biases despite the existence of many shared commonalities. Due to this stereotype, participants felt weary of affiliating themselves in groups of only Filipinos that would isolate them from peers outside of this group.

The social circles of many participants during high school were mainly a variety of Asian ethnicities but not Filipino specifically. Interviewees in Tuan’s (1999) study on Asian American liminal identity responded that they felt more able to foster closer relationships with other Asian Americans compared to non-Asian Americans due to being able to have “comfortable interactions” because they had similarities amongst themselves involving “similar upbringing, parental expectations, values, and even experiences with stereotyping and intentional prejudice, discrimination, and marginalization” (p.120) that they felt unable to share with non-Asian Americans. For Joe, this also extended to friends of other ethnoracial backgrounds, as they found parallel experiences among themselves as well. It seemed to be a pattern, however, that despite having many Asian friends, few participants had a significant number of Filipino friends in their social circles.

For some participants in the current study, the establishment of a panethnically diverse yet co-ethnically absent social circle was influenced by wanting to diversify their friends to avoid the tightknit stereotype as well as maintaining distance from Filipino groups that acquired the “FOB” label. This applies to Valerie’s friend group, stating that while there was a Filipino friend group in her school, she did not want to be associated with them because she thought that they were much more Filipino than her and she conversely felt much more Westernized than them. Valerie adopted a polarized mentality that “you're either too Filipino or you're not Filipino enough. There was no in between where you were just enough Filipino”. Not wanting to be “too Filipino”, Valerie altered her appearance and behaviours to distance herself from the FOB label, desiring to be seen as only Canadian based on how others perceived and

spoke about Filipinos at the time. Being rejected by this Filipino group for being too "whitewashed" compounded her feelings of being insufficiently Filipino, knowing that the most significant barrier was her inability to speak Tagalog. Over time, she has worked to become less sensitive to these interactions, citing connection to other Filipinos in similar situations as an avenue of unlearning her previous mindset. She realized that her situation is much more complex than an individual failing, turning her inward criticism towards changing outward perspectives. In a similar situation, Chloe had difficulty connecting to groups labelled FOB despite being able to speak Tagalog. Part of her exclusion in addition to being seen as "too whitewashed" was the perception of Filipinos born in Canada by the first generation as "snobby" or indifferent towards their heritage and upbringing. Despite the tendency to separate herself from Filipino peers due to the stigma of being Filipino, Chloe still valued group membership yet felt excluded on the basis of language, contributing to language as the central factor in the negotiation of her identity. This was true for other participants as well who craved inclusion yet felt reservations about making or maintaining these connections based on their own experiences with racial oppression while growing up in Canada.

IRO can manifest also by utilization of stereotypes by the in-group and the dismissal of their impact. Filipinos in the social networks of participants would make light of stereotypes especially based on difference in accent and pronunciation by their parents. Chloe believed that this behaviour reinforced rather than dismantled stereotypes by allowing the targeting of the vulnerabilities of their peers under the guise of a joke and that mocking the struggles of Filipinos signals to non-Filipinos that it is appropriate to make light of the same things. Simone reiterated that it enables the approval to reproduce this humor without considering the racial power dynamic that exists for an outsider to repeat the same jokes. The use of the term FOB perpetuates the same reinforcement of stereotypes even when expressed by Filipinos themselves. As it becomes more accepted for Filipinos to base their jokes on Filipino stereotypes in a proclaimed safe space, Chloe wondered when these jokes and the stereotypes themselves would end if they were facilitating their normalization.

Some participants encountered Filipinos who advocated for complete rejection of Filipino identity or disassociation by intending to remake the image of being Filipino. Valerie recounted an instance during which another second-generation Filipino falsely presumed that she, like him, felt no desire to connect to her heritage such as wanting to visit the Philippines, eat cultural foods, or to speak the languages. Despite her feelings of disconnection, she recognized that not only are they “on completely different edges of the Filipino scale if there was one", but she felt that “he did not want to be on the scale at all”. Valerie emphasized, "I want to be Filipino. I like who I am and where I am” and could not maintain a connection with someone who feels ashamed and completely rejects their heritage. Although Valerie herself has downplayed her ethnicity in the past, she prefers to maintain connections to those who support her reconnection rather than hinder it. Many of the experiences that the participants have encountered involve inner conflict and isolation, some of which have been resolved through connection with Filipino peers who can understand their situation. The taboo of discussing ethnic disconnection deters participants from discussing their inner conflicts with their Filipino peers. This resolution supports Trieu’s (2019) statement that in order to combat IRO, racial minorities must forge coethnic racial ties and that this dismantling requires the recognition of IR and its taboo (Pyke, 2010).

A third-generation Filipino acquaintance of Robin’s displayed a similar disconnection from his Filipino identity, communicating to Robin that he has no interest in learning about their heritage, instead opting to “redefine or rebuild the image of what a Filipino is”. Connecting to his heritage was not as important to him as “creating new images of the Filipino, towards rebuilding the Filipino image in society” referencing the overrepresentations of working-class images of Filipinos and suggesting that Filipinos did not have representations of wealth, intelligence, and success that he wished for Filipinos to obtain. Despite the images that often represent Filipinos, Robin disagreed and holds a strong positive view of Filipinos for their perseverance, reliability, and hard work. Though he concurred that Filipinos deserve more diverse representations, he believed that his approach in rebuilding the Filipino image through separation of culture is misguided and that his mindset is structured by believing in the existence

of a hierarchy of culture under which Filipinoness falls short. The beliefs that Robin's acquaintance holds about Filipinos showcases the self-denigration of Filipino traits and exemplifies the double-consciousness of taking on the perception of Filipinos through the lens of White supremacy (Trieu, 2019).

Contrasting the worldview of Robin's friend, Joe strives to work towards questioning the narrative that the West is the opposite of the Philippines by emphasizing the value of seeing the future in the homeland. Joe intends to critically analyze the dichotomy of the homeland and the diaspora—the establishment of an accepted narrative of unidirectional movement from a location of perceived deficiency to one of perceived opportunity. This echoes the work of Peminism and Pinayism towards decolonization and understanding the shared transnational struggles between homeland and diaspora, interrogating the framing of Canada as part of the West, the New World, and therefore progressive. Additionally, it aligns with Kelly (2015), who recognizes the negative associations with the Philippines that require reconstruction through affirming and positive understandings of Filipino history and culture. Joe's efforts to challenge the narratives that are most commonly associated with the Philippines addresses the influence of these narratives illustrated in the Filipino American respondents in Gutierrez's (2019) work. Their perception is biased as a result of prevalent imagery and narratives of poverty and political corruption that they come into contact with from abroad. This highlights the importance of representation of Filipinos and the Philippines to deconstruct preconceived ideas that contribute to the stigma of Filipino.

Much of participants' isolation and negative sentiments towards their heritage and other Filipinos are influenced by the perception of immigrant Filipinos through the lens of social class. Alongside class status, immigrant Filipinos are additionally differentiated by their linguistic differences. Despite desiring acceptance from first generation peers, participants were reluctant to interact with newly immigrated Filipinos based on their feelings of inadequacy of their Filipino identity compounded with the internalization of racial oppression. Distancing oneself manifested by either explicitly or subconsciously

attempting to become more similar to their white peers while not feeling closely connected to their Filipino identity. The latter is due to wanting to avoid any further differentiation or racism.

Some participants reported distancing themselves from either their own Filipino identity while growing up, or from other Filipinos in their environment by either explicitly or subconsciously trying to become more similar to their white peers while not feeling closely connected to their Filipino identity, often out of necessity to avoid discrimination. Simone shared that they became a target for regular discrimination and racial bullying in school (inflicted by both faculty and students) as a result of their upbringing in a predominantly white, middle to upper class environment. By not being held accountable for their actions by the school administration, Simone realized that there would be no justice, which motivated them to minimize additional discrimination by becoming more like their peers. These experiences informed Simone's internalized biases against their own culture, stating that they were not proud of being Filipino and tried to "act not Filipino at all". The added differentiation of coming from a working-class family surrounded by middle- and upper-class families further engrained that Simone and their peers could not relate to one another. Simone would be discomfited by the Filipino workers that served their white peers' families, thinking, "oh, I'm related to the help". As has been discussed throughout this section, disidentifying and separating oneself from their ethnic heritage is to distinguish coethnics as "more Filipino" and therefore more likely to become targets of discrimination. This makes aspiring to embody normalized whiteness (i.e. Whitewashed) enticing. Although participants' experiences with racism informs this disidentification, these responses are a symptom that further reinforces the system of oppression in which no subgroup of Filipinos or any ethnic minority group will win (Pyke, 2010; Trieu, 2019).

Conversely, Simone also felt disconnected from other Filipinos who they considered to be "whitewashed Filipinos". Due to the relatively low opportunities to meet other Filipinos, Simone felt difficulty in making connections with ones they did encounter. It was especially difficult to connect with new immigrant Filipinos due to the accumulation of shame and guilt for not being Filipino enough. Such

polarizing experiences resulted in Simone feeling unable to belong with neither their white peers nor their Filipino peers.

Several participants have either been externally labelled or internally perceived themselves as "whitewashed", the former becoming a tool to remind them of not being Filipino enough and the latter accompanied by some feelings of acceptance. This is true for Lydia, who feels unbothered by the label because she recognizes that she "doesn't know the language [and she was not] really always eating the food or consuming some other products of the culture" leading to her to respond to this label with unaffected acceptance. Although Heather similarly felt generally comfortable being categorized as whitewashed, she felt that some older Filipinos who migrated from the Philippines often have expectations for her to be Filipino in a certain way that do not align with who she is in actuality that is part of a wider homogenized perspective of younger generations of Filipinos who were raised in Canada. These expectations led her to feel like an imposter, especially during her high school years when she strived to fit in with her peers and to suit her environment. Other participants shared similar feelings during their adolescence who also downplayed their identity such as Valerie, who strived to achieve a "white girl aesthetic", by "[shifting her] style, the way [she] spoke, and everything towards more westernized popular culture". Like Valerie, participants later became more comfortable beginning to reconnect to their heritage after their surrounding environment diversified, usually due to attending university.

As a result of the discrimination they faced alongside unfulfilled expectations of being Filipino, some participants felt inclined to accept their disconnected identity. For Manny, the overwhelming process of discovering his sense of self further complicated by his mixed ethnic background fuelled his feelings of acceptance while growing up. He stated, "I would just embrace the fact that I live in Canada, I have Canadian citizenship. I'm just Canadian at this point. Only because for me, it was really tough trying to find out who I was even at the same time". He would allow others to assume he is fully Filipino for their convenience to avoid confusion and the explanation of his background, similar to Chloe's

exhaustion of constantly having to explain one's ethnic identity. This conformity leads Manny to feel as if he is being dishonest about his identity. Manny's resigned acceptance illustrated the essentialist justification of identity to which individuals default in the face of the work involved in ethnic identity construction (Garrido, 2011). Despite his Philippine origin of birth, Manny's high assimilation and biracial heritage allow him to claim Canadian identity more easily than engage in the challenge of proving his Filipino identity. Among the participants, he and Tony expressed a preference of identifying as Canadian and although Lydia prefers the label Filipino, she also shared similar sentiments of being resigned to considering herself Canadian (rather than Filipino or Filipino Canadian).

Some participants altered their behaviour to comply with the structural embeddedness of discrimination in institutions. Chloe recognized the influence of structural whiteness in academia, especially when majority of her classmates and faculty are white. She recounted a class when she regularly worked with another Filipino student although neither of them acknowledged their Filipino heritage until they coincidentally met at church. It was only at this moment that they acknowledged and finally began to converse about their Filipino heritage. Due to a lack of diversity, Chloe found herself minimizing herself and her work to avoid standing out as well as comply with the expectations of her white peers and professors. Many events are organized and attended by White colleagues, which Chloe stated becomes difficult to relate to her peers as one of the only people of colour despite being invited. Entering these spaces require POCs to exert more effort to be accepted and to achieve the same number of opportunities. Chloe realized the impact of authentic representation, sharing:

> It's so hard to be creative when your space is just white, when you have to cater to your teacher, when your teacher evaluates you because of subjective beauty, through a subjective lens…I had so much trouble sometimes writing papers when teachers don't see our ideas or value them because you see things in a different lens or you want to try to see things in a different lens, culturally speaking, of course.

This dismissal and silencing encouraged the self-regulation that Chloe has learned to attempt to separate her identity from her work. She found little opportunity to express her heritage in her studies, saddened by the eschewing of diverse perspectives and approaches that could enrich her work. The embeddedness and

covert characteristic of white supremacy in academia allows participants like Chloe to doubt herself, her knowledge, and feel isolated as she is compelled to mould herself to fit the standards of academia that are founded on whiteness. Once again, representation is essential in allowing those pushed to the periphery to thrive, relating back to Joe's efforts to deconstruct our ideas about Filipinos. Chloe's experiences with Whiteness in academia reveal the difficulty of navigating White structures as racial minorities (magnified under different intersections of identity) and points to the lack of role models in senior positions that are crucial for the possibility of successful imagined futures (Kelly, 2015). Many participants in this study illustrate that success is attainable through many avenues, and Chloe stresses that without these models, facing these systems can be isolating and require a level of tenacity that must endure the endless advocacy for the self.

For many participants, their main motivations for minimizing their Filipino identity were due to fitting into homogenized environments and to evade additional discrimination, whether these were explicit instances of violence or to regain opportunities within the structure of systemic racism. Some motivations stemmed from feelings of apathy or intimidation by the overwhelming feelings of confronting Filipino identity. The following section will explore participants' additional experiences with racialization and racism.

C. Racialization and Racism

Participants recounted their various experiences with structures of racism whether through personal encounters or witnessing racism inflicted onto others. Many shared specific moments as well as ongoing patterns of racism that have affected their self-perception, image of Filipinos, and have structured their interactions. It is important to recognize the effects of these encounters with racism on participants, especially to understand the motivations of participants to avoid further discrimination and differentiation and social isolation by their peers by distancing themselves from their Filipinoness.

Participants had varying degrees of experiences with racism though majority initially had difficulty recalling specific instances or were unsure whether some instances could be considered racism. Conversely, some participants shared that they had encountered patterns of explicit discrimination, microaggressions, and recognized engrained structures of oppression. Those who initially stated that they did not encounter any racism were later able to divulge examples after further probing. Participants revealed that these experiences are so commonplace that they are not attuned to their impact as racism, demonstrating its subliminal characteristic that allows its plausible deniability.

Participants in more homogenous environments that were predominantly white more often were exposed to instances of racism and microaggressions than those in highly diverse areas. As a response, participants in this type of environment rejected association with being Filipino in order to avoid further discrimination as well as due to shame for their racial differentiation. Occasionally, a shift in location that involved a change in the level of diversity would illuminate experiences of discrimination by contrast. However, the impact of more subliminal microaggressions would simultaneously become insignificant to participants. For example, the racism that Robin endured when transitioning from the Philippines to France throughout his childhood and then to Canada in his adolescence were influenced by the overrepresentation of low-income workers and ignorance about Filipinos overall as a result of the low level of diversity and affluence in his neighbourhood. Some exposure to racism would occur through witnessing discrimination towards other people of colour rather than experiencing these events themselves and influencing their behaviour to evaluate their peers and act accordingly to fit in.

Majority of experiences with racism often involved others questioning their English language skills or presuming they were unable to speak English. Some microaggressions were more insidious, manifesting as backhanded compliments for their English proficiency when it is their mother tongue. Chloe revealed how engrained these biases are by recounting an anecdote of a city councillor questioning whether she could speak English despite knowing no information about her except her ethnic surname. Additionally, other figures of authority such as teachers, reproduced these microaggressions by

discouraging Valerie's use of Ilocano in school and encouraging a shift into a more Western environment or placing Kaleia, who spoke only English at the time, in ESL classes. These actions revealed that actors that support the structural racism present in education systems and other industries occupy positions of power and influence the experiences of racial minorities.

The questioning of participants' identities intersected with colourism as well. Chloe encountered surprise that she has a darker skin complexion as a Filipino Canadian while being compared to a Philippine-born Filipino with a much lighter skin complexion. These comments communicated to her that she should not belong to a foreign country if she looks Filipino, making her question where she belongs. These observations reveal preconceived ideas about the physical appearance expectations of diaspora Filipinos to be of a lighter complexion while living in Canada. She compares this to her sister, who is lighter and has no Filipino accent, thus her Canadian identity is more easily believed. Participants also experienced exclusion from Asian identity based on darker skin complexions. Valerie noted that her experiences would often be dismissed because in her previous encounters, many people do not consider Filipinos (especially those with darker skin complexions) to be Asian. Drawing from Darvin (2014) and Darvin and Norton's (2017) studies, social class, language, and skin colour interact to position individuals as more or less legitimate claims on Canadian identity.

Several participants acknowledged the exclusion of Filipinos in Asian identity also largely stemmed from the simultaneous overrepresentation of Asian as East Asian and the underrepresentation of South and Southeast Asians. Unlike South Asians, who use a panethnic label as a unifying identity across different languages, cultures, and religions (Sundar, 2008), even if a Southeast Asian label is commonly employed, Filipinos experience exclusion from such a category, evinced by their separate designations in the Canadian census. Kaleia, who does not identify with this designation, stated "when I think of Southeast Asian, I actually…I don't think Filipino, I don't know why". Her uncertainty suggests subliminal rather than intentional social exclusion. While Filipinos are geographically and racially categorized as Asian and Southeast Asian, there exist sentiments that they do not quite fit.

Apart from skin complexion, participants noted that Filipinos often do not fit Asian stereotypes of success and intelligence in academics and industries especially related to STEM, and class status. Instead, participants recognized that Filipino identity is tied to the working class and especially careers in hospitality. Simone states, “there is a definite preconception to Asians that doesn't really include Filipino realities…Filipinos are mostly known for…very specific kinds of labor and associated with the working class”. Majority of racism targeting participants’ Filipino identity weaponized these working-class representations. Heather’s career endeavors would be dismissed by her white peers, teasing that she would eventually become the nanny of their children. Careers in healthcare and caregiving are so deeply engrained as a part of the Filipino image that participants must exhaustively explain their differing circumstances. We can assume that majority of the participants in this study are relatively privileged due to their access to post-secondary education and for some, the ability to travel for school, work, or leisure. Although this sample consists of upwardly mobile young adults, the downward trend of social mobility indicated by different segmented spaces that Filipinos and Filipinos occupy (Kelly, 2015) have a significant impact on participants’ perception of Filipino subjectivity. Although some Filipino Canadians place limitations on their potential futures (Kelly, 2015), many participants in this study advocate for recognition of their accomplishments and endure the underestimations from others based on the working-class stereotypes that represent Filipinos in Canada.

Chloe addresses the labour that people of colour must endure to express to others the nuances and variability of their experiences that are unknown due to ignorance. She understands that this questioning is an ongoing process, stating, “my sense of belonging will always be something that I'll have to work for…and I don't want to keep working for it. I want to be just in a place where no one needs to ask me where I'm from or no one needs to question…the job that I do”. These class-based manifestations of racism also intersect with colourism, as participants noted that these working-class stereotypes more often applied to those with darker complexions, such as strangers mistaking Lydia’s mother as a nanny due to her dark skin tone compared to her children.

In contrast to being excluded from Asian identity, Robin noted that sometimes he would be homogenized by others into Asian stereotypes that did not feel applicable to him. Homogenization contributed to the larger problem of racial misidentification. Majority of participants had at least one encounter in which they would be misidentified as a different Asian ethnicity or another race entirely. Sometimes these presumptions would deliberately employ misidentification to inflict racial violence upon participants. For Simone, this occurred as an attempt to further ostracize them in their predominantly white environment by drawing attention to their lack of whiteness and simultaneously deny their true identity. Charlotte shared that experiences of racism predicated on the assumption of her foreignness and differentiation as a racial minority strengthened her feelings of being caught in between two identities, wanting to be both Filipino enough and Canadian enough.

Participants acknowledged the conditional inclusion and exclusion of Filipinos as Asians leading to confusion of about where Filipinos fit within Asian identity. Simone described Filipino identity to be characterized by ambiguity, confusion, and liminality. They state that there exists a "perceived hierarchy amongst Asians, not necessarily [perpetuated] by Asians, but understood by Asians and non-Asians" and within this hierarchy Filipinos are viewed as less Asian than others. Robin came to the realization that racism is intertwined among people of colour, manifesting in various ways due to the ease at which racism could become malleable to suit the intentions of the oppressor. He and Simone recognized that as a result of the subliminal quality of racism, different communities compare their struggles instead of forming coalitions, sometimes disregarding issues that are in reality interlinked. At the time of interviewing, hate crimes and racism against Asians were at all an all-time high as a result of COVID-19, leading to experiences of racism related to the pandemic for some participants. Several of these instances encompassed racist statements and tropes founded on Sinophobia including the deliberate misidentification of participants as Chinese. Many of these encounters involved the homogenization of Asians and likening Asians en masse to the pandemic.

COVID-related racism also involved a misogynistic dimension that became prominent following the 2021 Atlanta spa shootings. Simone addressed the gendered dynamic of racial fetishization and exoticism projected onto Asian women exacerbated by COVID-19 as a response to a friend who attempted to defend a fetish for Asian women:

> As someone who identifies with being an Asian woman, to some extent, saying that you find our features 'beautiful and exotic', it's just not okay. It's not a compliment, it's degrading, and it sees us as so little other than our racial identity…not even our racial identity, but the fetishized, Western, sexualized images of Asian identity.

Simone recognized that it is the construction of the sexualized image superimposed onto Asian women that has always existed and is now magnified within the social context of the pandemic that has enabled hate crimes towards Asians.

Robin believes that the dismissal of microaggressions as racism against Asians allowed the acceptance of increasingly explicit and violent forms of racism. Robin conveyed his shock stating, "it really just opened my eyes as to how racism can take a turn extremely quickly. You can go from casual comments, little words here and there to full on hate crimes and I guess I didn't realize that would happen to us as a people that fast". The denial of racism before the pandemic accelerated this process, as Robin stated he is told that "Asians only need to endure a short period of racism". While participants either experienced, witnessed or feared the possibility of increased racism in relation to the pandemic, they also feel that Filipinos may not experience racism related to COVID-19 the way East Asians do based on a pattern of being denied their Asian identity in the past. Kaleia and Lydia noted an opposite effect in which the pandemic validated their Asian identities because of the inclusion of Filipinos in COVID-related racism and the panethnic coalitionary activism that followed.

Each participant was able to share some experiences with racism despite initially believing they had not encountered any. Tony was the most vocal about this stance despite revealing common experiences with other participants. He stated that he has been fortunate to not encounter any racism while in Canada, accrediting the multiculturalism and diversity of Vancouver for this lack of encounters. Although he believes racism exists in certain locations to some capacity, he found it difficult to envision

occurring in Vancouver or Canada more broadly, making comparisons to the violent occurrences in the US related to police brutality and Black communities as well as the 2021 Atlanta spa shootings. He described Vancouver as "a unique city" due to its dearth of racism, explaining that Vancouver did not endure many hate crimes involving physical violence due to the presence of a large Asian demographic. He elaborated that reported cases are very implicit as opposed to intense, large-scale acts of violence. He acknowledged that generally, there has been an increase of violence towards Asians on a global scale due to COVID-19, but it has been short and less severe since the first outbreak compared to the centuries of racism against other POC communities, and more specifically Black communities. He questioned why the attention had suddenly shifted from Black communities (in the context of the George Floyd protests in 2020) to Asian communities when racism is a "human issue" as opposed to an issue solely of one community.

The comparative framing of Canada or Vancouver to America reinforces the notion that Canadian identity is formed as a morally superior antithesis to American identity (Kymlicka, 2003). Tony's responses in relation to Canada as a multicultural society contributes to the framing of Canada and Canadian identity as a location void of significant racism. Using Sunera Thobani, McElhinny et al. (2012) state that the "celebration of multiculturalism" is a "Canadian contradiction" as it operates "in a context of continuing privilege for White people" (p.8). They explain that although the number of immigrants may increase as a result of this centrality of multiculturalism, so too does the exclusion of racial minorities from the nation. In addition, although Tony focuses on internal functions of support and community (i.e. by and towards Canadians), there is a globalized, transnational perspective that is necessary to recognize as citizens of the world. This perspective as a national trait encompasses the idea that Canadians are "good citizens of the world" and that there is hope that this good reputation will precede Canadians (Kymlicka, 2003, p.2). This rhetoric contributes to CBRI that dismisses the material consequences of structures of racism while reinforcing White hegemony. By recognizing the existence of racism yet minimizing the extent of its systemic pervasiveness across all locales, it offers an insidious plausible

deniability that perpetuates an attractive narrative of Canada as an accepting multicultural, "good" society. It also exemplifies the colonial indebtedness to the Canadian nation-state that migrants and subsequent generations should be grateful for the opportunity to escape from the economic dearth, political corruption, backwards, conservative ideals, and turmoil of their home countries and an opportunity to participate in the North American dream of meritocracy. This occurs all while ignoring the global economic history that have positioned some countries in places of privilege while others in a position of emigration and brain drain for that 'better life'.

Perceiving Canada as a part of the West (the New World), as previously mentioned, contributes to the moral superiority of Canadian identity. The nation is seen as being "built by settlers and immigrants who have left the constraints of the Old World behind to start a life in a new land" subsequently allowing Canadians to "think of their country as a young modern society, free from the old hierarchies, cultural prejudices, and embedded traditions of the Old World" as well as "a classless, meritocratic and democratic society" (Kymlicka, 2003, p.6). This perception strips the formation of Canada as a nation from its violent ongoing history of colonization and thereby supporting the narrative of *terra nullius* (Lawrence & Dua, 2005; Razack, 2002), the erasure of indigenous presence through immigrants and settlers discovering uninhabited lands. It also suggests the innocence of settler colonialism as hard workers who built the foundations of Canada. The inclusion of immigrants in this narrative specifically works to support the narrative of the sacrificial indebtedness to colonial powers to be able to migrate and have a better life in Canada (Ferrera, 2017; Rimonte, 1997). Tony's perspective of qualifying racism as visible violent acts or utilizing comparisons to uphold the narrative of peaceful diversity and multiculturalism aligns with the projection of IRO back onto the community.

All of these experiences with racism are interlinked with this process of internalization and in turn the disconnection from Filipino identity. The denial of Canadian identity by implying foreignness and the conditional inclusion in Asian identity also work to distort participants' self-perception. The link between discrimination towards Filipinos and social class parallel the resistance of participants to be

associated with first generation immigrants also largely due to the perception influenced by class, resulting in intraethnic othering.

Majority of participants had some issues with colourism, often associating skin colour with expectations of the physical characteristics of Asians and Filipinos more specifically. These expectations are both internally and externally reinforced by either direct connections or the internalization of broader societal messages about skin complexion. Manny's situation in particular affected him significantly, due to grappling with the physical appearance expectations of Mestizo Filipinos to appear light-skinned. Manny feels most comfortable labelling himself "mixed" rather than Filipino due to his biracial background despite feeling that he looks "more Filipino" than how a Mestizo is often expected to look, based on reactions when others discover he is not fully Filipino. As a result, he is often perceived by others to be fully Filipino, leading to the dismissal of his unique biracial experiences. As mentioned, the preference towards mixed Filipinos with lighter complexions in Philippine media has affected Manny's perception of himself and his mixed Filipino identity.

Many of the external reinforcements derive from other Filipinos including family members who fear becoming darker or spread messages to participants that it is unfavourable to become darker. Participants believe these attitudes have been normalized in the culture and that their generally more positive view of darker complexions are a result of cultural difference. For example, colourism has also been reinforced for Noelle from a young age, understanding that in the Philippines, lighter skin is viewed positively due to its association with wealth; that lighter skin signifies privilege to work indoors whereas darker skin is associated with performing manual labour in the sun. Contrastingly, the desire for tanned skin in Canada is an indicator of wealth to be able to go on vacations. However, she recognized that her skin generally remains brown regardless of her behaviours, revealing the use of class difference to disregard how colourism and complexion are intrinsically linked to race and racism.

Participants became cognizant of colourism partially through comparisons to other Filipinos and the differences in responses based on skin colour. For example, Noelle compared herself to her sister,

who is very pale and received many compliments on her skin while they were growing up, compelling Noelle to compensate for her brown skin by altering features she was able to change. This was also true for Valerie, who strived to be "western pretty", as she had evaluated her physical appearance based on Eurocentric beauty standards displayed in both media in the Philippines and Filipino representation in Western media primarily highlighting very pale skin. The participants that were most affected by the social messaging of colourism were those who primarily identified as women.

Some participants would have seemingly favourable encounters concerning their skin tone while growing up. Instead of receiving criticism for having a darker complexion, Lydia received many compliments for her lighter skin tone, convincing her that she was fortunate to have been born with light skin, although later realizing as an adult the engrained structure of colourism and its harmful effects despite benefitting from this system. At the same time, Lydia attended school with Filipinos who migrated from the Philippines that were of a darker complexion and due to the pressure of not feeling Filipino enough, she would attempt to be more tanned in order to "look more Filipino" as a child. Robin similarly acknowledges that usually his lighter complexion grants him access to certain privileges similar to Lydia, by being able to avoid discrimination that Filipinos with darker skin tones would experience. However, this would lead to misidentification as other races and ethnicities as well as a denial of his Filipino heritage based on preconceptions from others about Filipinos and Southeast Asians. Especially in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, Robin noticed a reversal in the dynamic of colourism. He believes that those of a lighter complexion are more ambiguously defined, at times misidentified as East Asian rather than Filipino, which in this context would lead to more discrimination due to the rise in hate crimes against Asians. He also notes, however, that those with a darker complexion are also misidentified as various other ethnicities, which sometimes results in being denied their Asian or Filipino identities.

Regarding the link between colourism and race and racism, participants recognized the normalization of highly valuing racial whiteness alongside lighter complexions. Noelle is cognizant that her previous mentality while growing up involved a proclivity to valuing mixed Filipinos who she

presumed to be very physically attractive based on the internalization of Eurocentric beauty standards that value whiteness and therefore romanticizes ideas of mixed-race Filipinos (that are specifically partially white). However, she later questioned, “are we thinking this way because we’re diluting Filipinoness?”. She reveals that this mentality aligns with presuming that conventionally attractive Filipinos must not be “full Filipino” to explain their attractive outer appearance, prompting Noelle to think, “why not?” Noelle’s questioning displays her unlearning of these engrained standards that many participants undertake as they question and negotiate the understanding of their identities. Robin’s encounter with his acquaintance and Joe’s intention to challenge the institutionalization of white supremacy and colonization ties to Noelle’s observations about the dilution of Filipino physical traits in order to elevate Filipinoness in the system of white supremacy that structures the social perception of race.

Participants regularly witnessed the desire for validation of whiteness through association, such as having mixed family members, valuing white partners and the prospect of having half white grandchildren, or praising White people for taking interest in Filipino culture. This is true for Chloe’s family, leading her to wonder why affirmation of whiteness is so highly valued and shared that these beliefs are a product of the legacy of colonialism. Chloe states that she was often praised for “looking more White and less Filipina” based on this standard of beauty. This reveals the internalization of Eurocentric beauty standards, viewing the necessity of whiteness to position Filipinos more proximally to Whiteness. Chloe also noted that while Filipinos like herself would be criticized for attempts to speak and learn Tagalog or for her imperfect accent, White people instead received praise for any attempt at speaking Tagalog or revealing knowledge about the Philippines and Filipino culture, illuminating the social meaning overlayed onto skins that not only involve space and social class but also language and the linguistic capital that is afforded to particular people (de Leon, 2012; Darvin, 2017).

Some participants attributed the prevalence of colourism, to the overrepresentation of Mestiza Filipinas in beauty pageants, which have gained cultural importance to Filipinos. Kaleia noted that specific Filipinos, often those who fit the expectations of physical appearance for mixed Filipinos, are

often more likely to partake in these events. In addition to beauty pageants, this pattern of representation of Filipinos with lighter complexions permeate through popular media. Noelle recounted an anecdote in which her mother complimented an actress with a darker complexion stating, "*kayumanggi siya pero ang ganda n'ya*", ("she is dark skinned but beautiful") verbalizing her surprise. Noelle took note of this surprise, sharing that she appreciated that her mother considered this actress beautiful, although she pointed out that the actress is beautiful regardless of her skin colour. This interaction highlighted the prevalence of colourism and its link to beauty standards in Philippine media. Beauty pageants are structured by power relations of race, gender, sexuality across different spaces that are affected by colonization and migration, Eurocentric beauty standards, and white heteropatriarchy that form Filipina/o subjectivities (Farrales, 2019). Using space, Farrales argues that the context of white settler colonial Canada "imprints onto the racialized and gendered sexuality of Filipinos" which "helps to clarify our place in settler colonial relations" (p.47). Beauty pageants then reveal much about the subjectivities of Filipinas/os that entangle with colourism (which in turn is also intertwined within the gendered, racial, and sexual discourses of white heteropatriarchy).

Skin colour and colourism not only brought up contentions with Whiteness but also Asianness. Participants reported experienced exclusion from Asian identity based on darker skin complexions. Valerie noted that her experiences would often be dismissed because in her previous encounters, many people do not consider Filipinos (especially those with darker skin complexions) to be Asian, using phrases such as "you're not even Asian, you can't say that" or "you listen to this K-pop song, but you're brown". She shared that others would tell her, "You can't talk about this or do this because you're not Asian" to which she responds, "my family's from Philippines, I don't know where that is to you", pointing out that despite the Philippines being geographically located in Asia, she is excluded by her peers from claiming Asian identity and skin colour (brownness) is an added contribution to this separation. This differs from the invisibilization of Filipino American identity within the construction of the Asian American panethnic label based on its historical centring of East Asians (Espiritu, 1992) and the Spanish

colonial similarity to Latino groups (Ocampo, 2014, 2016) due to the recognition of Filipinos as their own ethnic group by the Canadian government. Although this means increased visibility of Filipinos in Canada as an independent group, its notable separation from the Southeast Asian category and a lack of a panethnic Asian label (or an East Asian label) in the Canadian census, which recognizes Chinese, Korean, Japanese, or Filipino as independent groups while providing amalgamated categories for West Asian, South Asian, and Southeast Asian (McElhinny et al., 2012), further signals the confusion of the place of Filipinos within Asian identity. Instead, participants note a pattern of East Asians being the representative groups of Asians in Canada based on their social interactions, leaving them to feel unseen and unable to claim Asian Canadian identity. However, these interactions reveal the perception of Asian Canadian identity as naturally ascribed. Li (2007) argues that it is instead a discursively formed political assertion and as a multidisciplinary field of study, scholars of Asian Canadian identity examine the history and processes that shape this identity.

Issues with colourism became more pronounced for participants when in the Philippines due to the ubiquity of advertisements for skin whitening. Joe, who currently resides in the Philippines, shared that while he does not feel that colourism personally affects him, he is cognizant of its pervasiveness in the Philippines. He shared that he was inattentive towards his skin colour until interacting with many Filipinos with shared sentiments of desiring the obtainment of a lighter complexion. Noelle found these advertisements almost inescapable and understands their compelling influence and recognized that the subliminal presence of colourism in Vancouver while growing up allowed her to be less concerned about her skin complexion than those who have been more exposed to this messaging. These experiences reflect the “valorized whiteness” in Philippine media (Kelly, 2015).

Although colourism affected the self-perception of some participants, many have actively worked to unlearn the deeply embedded internalization of these reinforcements. They demonstrated their agency in unlearning the self-hatred of darker skin complexions through questioning the normalization of White hegemony and Eurocentrism in beauty standards as well as pushing back against its reinforcement by

coethnics and especially by family. They express the consciousness they have been able to develop to which their migrant parents have not had the same access (Kelly, 2015), critiquing the use of Eurocentric standards of beauty to redefine beauty for people of colour and women of colour. These encounters with colourism reveal the ways that skins are read in relation to other identities (e.g. the exclusion of Asian identity based on skin colour) and the projections of social class onto these skins (de Leon, 2012). All of these experiences with race and racism tie into one another to inform the push and pull of Filipino Canadian identity.

What has been evident throughout this paper has been the cognizance of participants as they demonstrated their growth through their introspection and their recognition of the influences on their identities by the systems within which their negotiations occur. This was accomplished in part by these young adults' retrospective recounting of past experiences and their mindsets juxtaposed with current understandings of themselves. Throughout this paper, the vague concept of "Filipinoness" has been central to this investigation of identity and for many participants, alleviation of their conflicting feelings has involved their self-liberation from the external expectations of "Filipinoness" that have been imposed onto them. A question then arises: what is "Filipinoness"? Here, the significance of agency emerges as these young Filipino Canadians work toward an answer through their internal work: how they make sense of themselves in the entanglement of history, global and local processes, and social context. It is essential to recognize their efforts in reconciling these conflicting feelings and to validate the existence of this ambivalence as part of this internal work.

7. Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis has worked to examine how internalized racial oppression has impacted 1.5 and second generation Filipino Canadians and their relationship to their heritage and heritage language(s), including their acquirement and maintenance. As explored through the diverse experiences of these 12 participants, there are many factors at play that facilitate their level of connection to or disconnection from their Filipino identity. Although IRO plays a significant role in their ambivalent feelings, it is important to recognize that majority of participants desire a sense of belonging among their coethnics. Though part of their separation stems from the internalization of their experiences as racial minorities in Canada, they want to be accepted as in-group members—to be perceived as "Filipino enough" and to not encounter situations with other Filipinos that lead to alienation, rejection, and exclusion. The personal stories shared by participants emphasize the work and emotional resilience involved in forging their own identities as other coethnics will have different conceptions and expectations of what being "Filipino enough" looks like, asserting their autonomy to embody and present their identities in a way that best suits them. This being said, the point is not only to "pass" and therefore become entangled in "authenticity games" (Garrido, 2011, p.186) but to declare feelings of pride in this ongoing negotiation—that conflicting feelings and pride may coexist, especially as these young adults continue to learn about their own identities.

As analyzed throughout this paper, IRO plays an integral role in the negotiation of Filipino Canadian identity. It structures the perception of Filipino subjectivity by Filipinos and non-Filipinos that intersects with class, revealed by the social and economic factors related to migration that segments the social mobility of the children of Filipino immigrants. This relates to the emotional transnationalism that ties young Filipino Canadians to the Philippine homeland with both positive and negative emotions. Part of these negative emotions is shame, which, as discussed, stems from the framing of Filipino subjectivity as low-skilled migrant workers (Gutierrez, 2019; Kelly, 2015) as well as the racialized experiences of minorities in Canada (internalization of racial oppression).

Alongside navigating racialization in broader Canadian society, as discussed by Chloe, those who enter post-secondary must also navigate the structural embeddedness of white hegemony in academia that require advocacy for the self—that one belongs to not only participate but to succeed, which may contribute to the tenacity and resilience of participants who strive to unlearn these internalizations. With few available role models, participants demonstrate their perseverance and agency through reaffirming their choices and their achievements. Although some participants expressed security in their journey of understanding and connecting to their Filipino heritage, all participants shared some form of disconnection either through family dynamics, values, experiences of normalized oppressive systems that have been attached to their heritage, or the internal or external exclusion from coethnics based on experiences with racism.

As noted, the most significant part of this shame manifests as ambivalent feelings towards Filipino identity and the most contentious element is heritage language. Though many aspects of cultural identity and heritage lead to feelings of disconnection for many participants, many also showed a desire to become more connected (often through learning the language and by gaining cultural knowledge). This manifests from ethnic consciousness and the notions that one is insufficiently or inauthentically Filipino (Garrido, 2011). Though participants assert their Filipino identity through ancestry and birthplace, "a deeper, 'truer' identity is deferred until they possess enough knowledge to know what it means to be Filipino" (Garrido, 2011, p.187), an incessant struggle for authenticity, which Simone recognizes as an onerous emotional commitment, demonstrating the weight of emotional transnationalism entwined with the homeland. It is important to acknowledge heritage language retention as the most salient factor in participants' connection to their heritage, as the disconnections that some may feel as a result of intergenerational cultural conflict and dissonance both within their families and with other non-relative coethnics, their experiences as racialized minorities in the Canadian milieu, and the embeddedness of structures of oppression that manifest in Filipino culture as facets of IRO work together to disincentivize heritage language learning. Through the experiences of these participants, it is evident that it is not only

learning a language, but also facing these emotions of shame and guilt but also desire and pride as they navigate social structures and Filipino heritage that are encapsulated by the notion of safety. Heritage language learning involves a grappling with deeper emotions than initially apparent.

Although much of these feelings are internal, despite the longing to establish oneself as "Filipino enough", there also existed the external rejections from coethnics that reinforced these feelings of inadequacy. Through language, participants experienced the conflict of being 'discovered as inauthentic' by being unable to speak Tagalog or another Philippine language (Tseng, 2021). Despite a desire for deeper connection, the internalization of racial oppression also established an aversion to this connection. Some participants, however, illustrated that their ideas of Filipinoness and how they understand their own identities is a personal and ever-changing process. There are those who felt secure in their identities yet still grappled with the differences between two different (yet overlapping) cultures as well as addressing the structures of racism, misogyny, cisheteropatriarchy, and classism that manifest across both.

Wolf's (1997) work suggests that Filipino Americans ultimately feel a connection to the diaspora and perceive the Philippines as *home* but many of the participants in the current study did not share this sentiment. Instead, many expressed that Canada is their home because it is where they reside, despite feeling caught in between and not quite fitting in one place or another. This demonstrates how diaspora can be shaped "in relation to experiences, memories, and ideas about a homeland" (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2019, p.268), the dichotomization of homeland vs host country overlooks the notion of feeling at home rather than merely residing in a diaspora. In addition, the assertion of Canadian identity or Canada as home utilizes a similar justification as the essentialism used to justify Filipino identity (that one is ethnically Filipino by blood or by birthplace in the Philippines) (Garrido, 2011). Instead, *home* and belonging can be formed in several places simultaneously (Dwyer, 2002), "unsettling clear distinctions between 'here' and 'there'" (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2019 p.269). Both the homeland, the diaspora, and identity in relation to both are constantly being articulated and formed through power dynamics, emotions, and imaginations of both (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2019).

The process of identity formation in diaspora is nuanced, mutable, and complex and is not tethered temporally, geographically, nor by essentialist attributions related to birth (Bonifacio, 2013). Rather, identity is a negotiation shaped by personal and social factors including power dynamics and difference that work to structure individuals as Others (through race, gender, class, and sexuality, that converge to inform intersectionality of identity). To Pieterse (1997), "ethnicity is not static; it is a matter of everchanging relational positioning, which refers us to the *dynamics* of ethnicity, shifting from one mode to another" (p.366). Rather than ethnicity attributed to members of ethnic groups, they are "actors who are engaged in a continual process of making, remaking, and negotiating their ethnicities" (Jeon, 2010, p.45). 1.5 and second generation Canadians confront overlapping experiences with the first generation but also encounter specific experiences involving the oscillation between cultural elements of their parents' heritage and the dominant culture in Canada, "influenced both by a distinct ethnic/racial history as well as a personal history grounded in 'Canadian' experiences" (Sundar, 2008, p.253). This conceptualization of ethnicity allows for the examination of the negotiations of identity fundamental to the current study.

Using Bucholtz and Hall (2004), Abdi (2011) critiques the static ascription of identity onto people separated from context by asserting that identity is instead a process emerging from social interaction, defined by Davies & Harré (1999) as positioning, emphasizing its dynamic nature. Abdi argues that individuals have several identities that are not always analogous and that positions are discursively formed. Cultural identity forms as a result of the cognizance of an individual's own culture compared to that of the societal culture in which they are immersed (Lee, 2002). Individuals' connection to their ethnic identities is strengthened through positive associations with membership of their heritage community (Sundar, 2008). This emergent and produced identity reflects this conclusion by participants that their conceptualization and negotiation of Filipino Canadian identity are articulated as part of their own experiences and formed by their social environments.

Several facets of participants' lives converge, from family and community relationships, attitudes towards language maintenance and support from their environment to participants' perception of Filipinos and how they feel seen by others as Filipinos. Part of this idea of feeling seen is influenced by the invisibilization of Filipinos, being overrepresented in some narratives while excluded from others. A resounding common desire for many participants is improved, nuanced representation. Representation played a role in providing some insight into participants' struggles with identity as young adults. In popular culture and media, majority of participants stated that they felt well represented as Asians but did not feel as adequately represented as Filipino. A few participants, however, highlighted prominent examples of Filipinos in Western media or acknowledged that throughout their childhood and adolescence, exposure to Philippine media (such as teleseryes on Philippine networks) compensated for the lack of Filipino representation in Western media. Of the existing examples of representation, many participants emphasized that Filipinos would either play ambiguous Asian roles, refrain from stating any ethnicity, or they would portray different ethnicities entirely, often erasing their Filipino heritage. However, some noted that representations have shifted over the years, denoting the gradual but important change in Filipino representation. Some thought that Filipinos are overrepresented in some areas outside of popular media while underrepresented in others (e.g. nurses, caregivers, labourers, vs doctors, lawyers, or in social sciences and politics). Majority of participants felt represented as Asian but not necessarily as Filipino. Simone pointed out how there are even fewer representations of various intersecting identities, wishing to see more queer and overweight Filipinas in media. Chloe and Heather specifically wished for more representation in their respective fields of work and study. From skin complexion to gender and sexuality, to various professions and industries to regional linguistic diversity and inclusion in Asian panethnicity; each individual shared their unique story and their desire to be seen. Another facet of this visibility is the recognition of their struggles and the negotiations of their identities that can be difficult to have a space to discuss. As previously mentioned, participants felt some isolation due to being unable to share their inner conflicts, which improved greatly by confiding in building ties with others in similar situations. This exemplifies Pyke's (2010) claim that it is important to identify and name our oppression

and how it is internalized in order to begin to address it. White supremacy and white privilege are only some parts of a whole of which IR takes part. The taboo around these discussions inhibits the ability to collaborate and do this inner work.

Although many participants shared feelings of complication of their connectedness to their identity, a few shared that they felt very secure in their Filipino identities. This can be partially explained by the change of identity over the life course. Identities are not static and each individual experiences their identity in their own unique environment and perspective, influenced by numerous factors including location and migration, shifting levels and exposure to diversity, navigating adulthood, desire for reconnection, and varying levels of current understanding and connection to their identity. Despite each unique social positioning, individuals are also linked to other individuals with overarching commonalities while growing, learning, and living at different paces.

Coinciding with the framing of Filipino/a/x subjectivity, it is obligatory to recognize the already existing body of work that analyses the feminist and queer theorizing that work to unpack and critique these images and narratives. Catungal (2017) necessitates a "queer recuperative rereading" of previous Filipinx-Canadian scholarship that analyzes the gendered constructions of Filipinas accomplished through implementing a queer lens (and therefore recognizing the role of sexuality) in order to elucidate the normalization of heteronormativity in family and relationships. Catungal argues that queer of colour critiques and woman-of-colour feminisms and queer Filipinx-Canadian theory and feminist knowledge productions are inextricably linked, embodied by those whose identities experience both simultaneously. Using Cathy Cohen, Catungal recognizes that queerness surpasses solely the *identification* as queer and instead asserts its interlacement with heterosexuality and homonormativity. Catungal explains that "heterosexual subjects are sometimes *queered* by virtue of their nonnormative, even improper, relationship to idealized heterosexuality" (p.29). An example of this is reading queerness onto the transgressions of heteronormativity, gender roles (i.e. division of labour, the requirement of inherent maternal and paternal figures) in family forms, although not explicitly stated as queer, in order to disrupt

the solid and inflexible characteristics of the nuclear family. In other words, Filipinx-Canadian theorizing requires the involvement of queer of colour and woman of colour feminisms in order to challenge the taken-for-granted discourses of Filipinos/as/x.

Chopra (2021) names the recommendations for challenging IRO firstly by recognizing and directly naming it, becoming self-aware, and employing self-compassion, as well as converging with coethnics to implement social action. Her primary point is to transform awareness into action, an assertion of agency and reclaiming power as minorities navigating a series of oppressive systems. This allows a positive outlook rather than a hopeless and stagnant one. Aligning with this perspective, and echoing Joe, Robin, and Simone, I want to celebrate Filipino heritage by recognizing that navigating ethnic heritage, family processes, and racial oppression is challenging. However, the work is rewarding in finding not only the definition but confidence in oneself.

This echoes the foundations of Pinayism, a concept introduced by Tintiangco-Cubales in 1995, which is defined as "a process, place, and production, that aims to connect the global and local to the personal issues and stories of Pinay struggle, survival, service, sisterhood, and strength. It is an individual and communal process of decolonization, humanization, self-determination, and relationship building, ultimately moving toward liberation" (Tintiangco-Cubales, 2009, pp.179-180). This centres the knowledge and work of Pinays (while Filipino is the standard term for a citizen of the Philippines, Pinay is the feminine term, similar to Filipina, but derives from Tagalog). For Bonifacio (2013), Pinayism is inextricably connected to the "Filipino women's own negotiation of cultural heritage and of their resources for inclusion in host communities amid exclusionary practices such as racism or discrimination" (p.13). This means that Bonifacio merges the understanding of culture with gender as opposed to their separate analysis.

It is important to note that Pinayism is collaborative, intending to build a coalition among communities with shared oppressions. They call in Pinoys to contribute to Pinayism and develop a Pinayist consciousness in order to help construct a fuller understanding the transnational struggles of

"Filipinos in America" (Sarmiento, 2018, p.89). they stress that this will "[encourage] Pinoys to recognize that white supremacy manifests through heterosexist exploitation as a method to disempower men of color and subjugate communities of color (Tintiangco-Cubales, 2005 as cited in Sarmiento, 2018, p.89). This is not to overshadow or decenter the voices of Filipina Americans, however. It is in fact, the creation of connections that fosters community to understand each other's interrelated struggles. The very act of centering Pinay and Filipinx voices works to "decenter white hegemonic feminism as the primary interlocuter with which women of Color feminisms engage" (p.89). All of this illustrates the need for coalition building among communities to identify the axes of oppression that divide us, addressing Simone's longing for nuanced representation in as a Filipino/Filipinx in Canada—to feel seen and to reconnect with their heritage after experiencing so much harm at the hands of white supremacy.

The coalition building advocated for by Peminism and Pinayism fits into the larger discourse of Asian Canadian identity. According to Li (2007), the claim of "Asian Canadian" and hyphenated identities emerges from racial and social politics and are powerful reconstructions of identity based not solely on cultural heritage, but the recognition of a collective identity as subjects of racialization within the milieu of dominant Canadian society. The proclamation of this identity is an assertion of both Canadianness and liminality, producing a hybrid identity. Therefore, Asian Canadian identity is socio-politically forged rather than naturally ascribed and utilized as a tool of coalition among Asian ethnic groups as "a strategic, political, and rhetorical resource for struggle and ultimately empowerment", which is crucial when "ethnic-specific resources" are insufficient (Li, 2007, p.25). This idea that identity is a dynamic political assertion as opposed to a static and external ascription projected by others echoes the autonomy of the personalized work that negotiating and articulating (and rearticulating) Filipino Canadian identity entails, which are sentiments shared by the participants in this study.

The work of Pinayism, Peminism, and the call for the inclusion of queer of colour theorizing women of colour feminisms by Catungal through queer recuperative readings, together with pan-Asian Canadian theorizing can work together to inform the identity negotiation of Filipino Canadians and their

relational experiences with groups of overlapping identities within the systems that structure their lives, which provide an answer for the desire from participants for visibility and inclusion in spaces they have felt marginalization. McElhinny et al. (2012) however problematize visibility politics due to its framing around White recognition and using Frantz Fanon, argues that recognition does not necessitate representation and instead, "the focus should be on substantive equality" (p.8). The work already done and continued to be done by Filipinas/os/x (Pinays, Pinoys) in Canada for their own people is personal and political work that exerts their autonomy.

The issues of visibility (substantive equality) and the calls for collaborative work impact not only the discourse of Filipino Canadian identity, but also tangible efforts among the demographic itself. In response to the question "what can we do to help the Filipino community?", RJ Aquino, founder of Tulayan Filipino Diaspora Society and a major proponent for the establishment of a Filipino cultural center in Vancouver stated, "there's a lot of conversations that really started around maybe perhaps feeling unseen and kind of this campaign that started to coalesce around gathering race-based data so that we can quantify the impact to the Filipino community" (Global News Morning BC, 2023). The advocation for spaces in which Filipino Canadians can engage in this collaborative work illustrates the importance of visibility as part of fostering a positive connection with Filipino heritage, reaffirming the need for cultural portals (Ferrera, 2017). The contribution of this study to the literature also contributes to the validation of these significant experiences through the rigorous exploration of these topics through research. Studies such as this help to substantiate the necessity of the efforts by Filipinos Canadians that have long existed in making strides in Filipino communities across Canada, evident by the implementation of classes, programs, and projects that greatly benefit connections to Filipino heritage.

This project has worked to establish a link between IRO and heritage language retention, which have not previously been examined together in depth. While previous works recognize racial minorities' distancing from cultural heritage as part of intraethnic othering, they do not explicitly examine the impact on heritage language learning. Likewise, the literature on heritage language retention predominantly

focuses on the external motivations and constraints of opportunities of speakers. This study thus provides nuances to heritage language learning as a facet of ethnic identity by not only considering the internal motivations alongside the external motivations, but also by offering insight into the ambivalent feelings that exist in relation to these subjects: that one can desire group membership, acceptance, cultural knowledge, and language proficiency, but also experience an internal aversion to facing the difficult feelings and situations that constrain learning opportunities through disidentification, self-isolation, and rejection by coethnics. These factors, when examined together, reveal that failure to retain one's heritage language is not a personal failing but a product of familial, community, and personal (internal) motivations and deterrents. Therefore, establishing opportunities to learn to improve heritage language retention, such as offering language classes, is only half of the battle. The other half involves addressing the factors related to internal motivation, in which IRO takes part.

Ultimately, it is important to explore this topic due to the lack of research on Filipino Canadians in relation to IRO. Most of the literature on IRO is situated in an American context and participants voiced the importance of discussing the topic due to the feelings guilt and taboo to share their negative feelings towards their heritage when in fact, having these conversations are important in understanding where these feelings come from and how to address them, as well as discover new avenues in forging bi-cultural, transnational identities alongside coethnics who can help foster a positive mentality in order to reconnect to and affirm Filipino identity. Although most participants felt that they lacked the legitimacy and authority to do so, as Lydia and Tony stated, regardless of disputes from anyone else, whether they are Filipinos or not, no one can take away their identity from them and it is created through their own personal definitions and their level of knowledge, their skin complexion, and their language abilities do not determine their level of Filipinoness. It is an ongoing, dynamic negotiation and all of these factors play a part in this identity.

This project grapples with many issues pertaining to the Filipino diaspora in Canada, scratching only the surface of the many avenues that may be taken to pursue further research. Primarily, I would like

to build upon my findings by conducting a longitudinal study using the same participants in order to observe the developments of their ethnic identity in a later stage of adulthood in the life course, especially as they have growing independence from their families. Secondly, comparative studies with different ethnic groups, may reveal overarching patterns, especially for South Asians and other Southeast Asians who may experience similar struggles of representation in Asian identity (which also allows discourse for the negotiation of a panethnic Asian Canadian identity). Thirdly, the use of a different methodology, namely focus groups, can produce even richer data in a group setting.

I would also like to further examine the intergenerational aspect of the study by integrating perspectives from the first generation (i.e., migrant parents and even grandparents and their relationships to subsequent generations in Canada. According to Ferrera (2017), these perspectives can allow insight into "how they make meaning of their culture and history; how their endorsement of a colonial mentality has, or has not, developed; and how they perceive their role as parents in the enculturation of their children who must negotiate their own ethnic identities" (p.250). It is also necessary to address limitations, such as implementing a larger and more diverse and inclusive sample size. Future work should consider more representation for demographics that were not adequately represented in this project, especially due to the lack of representation of Filipino men in ethnic studies and the overrepresentation of university-educated participants in previous work. Although this study explores gendered experiences, it heavily analyzes those of women-identifying participants while not exploring experiences specific to men.

Several participants reached out expressing their gratitude for the subject of this research, which illustrates how work on 1.5 and second generation young adult Filipinos in Canada would benefit from more contributions. Though this project merely delves into a small portion into Filipino identity, my hope is that it inspires future students and stimulates similar investigations.

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9. Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Ethnic Identity

1. How do you feel most comfortable identifying yourself: Canadian, Filipino, Asian, or another label?
2. How do you ethnically identify yourself? (i.e. Canadian, Filipino, Filipinx, Filipino-Canadian, Asian, Asian-Canadian)
3. (If applicable) What does being Filipino mean to you? What do you consider to be Filipino culture?
4. How closely connected do you feel to your Filipino identity?
5. Have you ever visited the Philippines?
    - If so, how have these trips impacted you? Has this changed over time?
    - Do you feel as if you must have a certain amount of knowledge about the Philippines or about Filipino culture to be able to call yourself ("authentically") Filipino?
    - Have you ever felt a desire to reconnect with your Filipino identity? Have you acted on it? How so?

Experiences with Racism

6. Have you experienced instances of racism/exclusion? How does this affect how you think about your identity?
    - Have you ever experienced a time when you didn't quite belong as a Canadian?
    - Can you describe any instances of racism that you've witnessed in the media or to someone in your life? (ex. parents)
7. Do you feel represented in Canada as a Filipino-Canadian? As Asian-Canadian? (In media? popular culture?)
    - How has a lack of representation in Canada affected your perception of Filipinos and Filipino culture?

Internalized Racial Oppression

8. Have you ever felt pressure to appear more Canadian and less Filipino? If so, why?
9. Can you describe a situation when your race has ever benefitted you?

Relationships to Filipinos

10. How would you describe your relationship to and perception of Filipinos in Canada?
11. Can you describe a time when you felt like you were not "Filipino enough"?
12. Have you received that sentiment that you are "too Canadian" from first-generation Filipinos? Or from Filipinos in the homeland?
    - How does this make you perceive your own Filipino identity?

Parent Relationships

13. How do you think your parents' relationship with the Philippines and Filipino culture differs from yours?
14. Do your parents have different values from you that they present as "Filipino values"? Can you share some examples?
15. Can you share any experiences of conflict with your parents based on having different values? Has this affected your Filipino identity?
16. Have your parents expressed worry that you are "too Canadian"? Have they worried that you are losing touch with your Filipino heritage?
    - Do you have any siblings? Were they born in Canada? Can they speak Tagalog? What's their relationship like with Filipinoness?

Social Network

17. Can you describe any Filipino connections in your social circle while growing up?
18. How did these connections affect your perception of Filipinos and Filipino culture?
19. How did your experiences in school shape your identity as Filipino?
    - Has the fear of appearing "too Filipino" affected your behaviours or your social circles? How so?

Language

20. Which language(s) did you speak when you were growing up?
    - [for languages other than English] On a scale of 1-10, how would you grade your fluency in this language?
    - How does a lack of fluency affect your perception of your Filipino identity?
        - Has this resulted in a desire to learn the native language(s) of your parents? Why?
21. Did you feel pressured to speak English while growing up?
22. Can you share how language may have made maintaining a close relationship with family and friends of family difficult due to language barriers?
23. Has being unable to communicate with other Filipinos in their native language affected the way that they perceive you? How does this affect your identity as Filipino?

Appendix B: Recruitment Message Samples

Social Media Post Example

Hi [*Social media group or page name*], I am a master's student at York University conducting a thesis on second generation Filipino identity and social relationships in Canada. I am looking to recruit:

- Second generation* Filipino Canadians
- Living/grew up in the Greater Toronto Area
- Between 18-30 years old

*For this project, "second generation" includes individuals who are born in Canada who have two parents that both arrived in Canada as adult immigrants (i.e. both parents were born and raised in the Philippines).

Although these are my ideal criteria, I can be flexible and include people who may not fit all the requirements.

This is a qualitative study on Filipino identity formation and generational/geographical relationships. This would include questions about one's upbringing in Canada and their relationships with family, other Filipinos in Canada, and the Philippines. I will ask about your connection to Filipino identity and how factors such as language and social network might influence your identity. Due to health risks posed by meeting in person during the Covid-19 pandemic, all interviews will be conducted over Zoom and there will be an opportunity to participate in a follow-up interview approximately 1-2 months after the initial interview. Each interview will take about one hour. I would like to audio/video record these interviews and then the information will be analyzed and reported as part of a thesis to better understand Filipino identity and the effect of cultural dissonance on relationships between second-generation Filipino Canadians and other Filipinos.

This study doesn't pose significant risks but as the study revolves around identity and relationships, there is a possibility that sharing experiences may elicit an emotional response or discomfort for some participants. Online communication poses a possible risk of data security, as confidentiality and privacy of data cannot be guaranteed during web-based transmission. All data will be securely stored as securely as possible.

This study is completely voluntary, and all participants may withdraw at any point in time and or decide not to answer any questions they do not wish to respond to. If you are interested in participating in this study, or if you have any additional questions, please contact me only through my email address at kabella@yorku.ca. I would also greatly appreciate anyone reaching out to their own social networks for interested participants!

Email Script Example

Dear [*Organization name*],

My name is Kim Abella and I am a master's graduate student in the Department of Sociology at York University. I am reaching out to invite any interested members of [*organization name*] who would like to participate in my study or my thesis project.

The study is a qualitative in-depth interview about on Filipino identity formation and generational/geographical relationships. This would include questions about one's upbringing in Canada and their relationships with family, other Filipinos in Canada, and the Philippines. Interviews will be conducted over Zoom and there will be an opportunity to participate in a follow-up interview approximately 1-2 months after the initial interview. Each interview will take about one hour. All information will be recorded and stored electronically. I would like to audio/video record these interviews and then the information will be analyzed and reported as part of a thesis to better understand Filipino identity and the effect of cultural dissonance on relationships between second-generation Filipino Canadians and other Filipinos.

Eligible participants are young adult second-generation Filipinos, which include individuals who are born in Canada who have two parents that both arrived in Canada as adult immigrants (i.e. both parents were born and raised in the Philippines). The target age is between 18-30 years old and are ideally living in the Greater Toronto Area.

This study does not pose significant risks, however, as the study revolves around identity and relationships, there is a possibility that sharing experiences may elicit an emotional response or discomfort for some participants. Due to health risks posed by meeting in person during the Covid-19 pandemic, all interviews will be conducted over Zoom. Online communication poses a possible risk of data security, as confidentiality and privacy of data cannot be guaranteed during web-based transmission. All data will be securely stored as securely as possible.

This study is completely voluntary, and all participants may withdraw at any point in time and or decide not to answer any questions they do not wish to respond to. I would greatly appreciate if you are able to connect me with any of your members that fit the eligibility criteria and would be interested in being interviewed. If you have any additional questions, please contact me through this email address at kabella@yorku.ca.

Thank you very much!

Sincerely,

Kim Abella

Appendix C: Consent Form

Date:
Study Name: Second Generation Filipino-Canadian Identity: Language maintenance and Dissonant Relationships with First Generation Filipino-Canadians and Filipinos in the Homeland

Researcher:
Kim Lynette Abella, Sociology MA Graduate Student, York University
Principal Investigator
kabella@yorku.ca

Purpose of the Research:
The purpose of this study is to learn more about the identity and experiences of second-generation Filipinos in Canada and their relationships with first-generation Filipinos as well as those living in the Philippines. Participants will be actively recruited based on meeting specific criteria and will take part in an in-depth video chat interview over Zoom. Participants will have the option to do a follow-up interview if interested. This study will be reported as a graduate thesis for a Masters of Sociology.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research:
Participants will be asked various qualitative questions about their experiences and identity as a second-generation Filipino living in Canada. Interviews will be conducted over Zoom and will take about one hour. Participants will the opportunity to be take part in a follow-up interview approximately 1-2 months after the initial interview

Risks and Discomforts:
This study does not pose any significant risks, however, as the study revolves around identity and relationships, there is a possibility that sharing experiences may elicit an emotional response or discomfort for some participants. However, you have the choice to withdraw at any point in time during the study or decide not to answer any questions.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You:
This study will be beneficial for learning more about the identity and experiences of second-generation Filipino Canadians and their relationships with other Filipinos in their community. Some participants may learn more about themselves and the Filipino community in Canada as a result of reflecting upon the questions in this study.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:
Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer, to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff, or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. Should you wish to withdraw after the study, you will have the option to also withdraw your data up until the analysis is complete.

Confidentiality:

- All Zoom interview recordings, Microsoft word document transcriptions, and participant information will be locally stored in Canada on a password-protected laptop that only the researcher will have access to. No Zoom recordings will be stored by cloud. All data will be electronically stored on a password-protected laptop.

- Data will be stored until December 2022, after which all data with any identifying information will be deleted. Only anonymized data with no possible way of linking back to the original participant will be kept for future research use.
- Unless you choose otherwise, no recordings of the interview will be associated with any identifying information. All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research.
- All interviews will be conducted over Zoom and recorded and transcribed onto a Microsoft Word document. Your data will be safely stored on a password-protected laptop and only the researcher and research supervisor will have access to this information.
- All interview recordings from Zoom will be permanently deleted after the interviews have been transcribed by May 2021.
- Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

- The data collected in this research project may be used – in an anonymized form - by members of the research team in subsequent research investigations exploring similar lines of inquiry. Such projects will still undergo ethics review by the HPRC, our institutional REB. Any secondary use of anonymized data by the research team will be treated with the same degree of confidentiality and anonymity as in the original research project.
- The researcher(s) acknowledge that the host of the online survey (e.g., Qualtrix, Survey Monkey, etc.) may automatically collect participant data without their knowledge (i.e., IP addresses). Although this information may be provided or made accessible to the researchers, it will not be used or saved without participant's consent on the researchers system. Further, because this project employs e-based collection techniques, data may be subject to access by third parties as a result of various security legislation now in place in many countries and thus *the confidentiality and privacy of data cannot be guaranteed during web-based transmission.*

Questions About the Research?

If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me at kabella@yorku.ca or my supervisor, Dr. Ann Kim at annkim@yorku.ca and/or 416-736-2100 x.22678. You may also contact the Graduate Program in Sociology at socigpd@yorku.ca and/or 416-736-2100 Ext. 66405

This research has received ethics review and approval by the Delegated Ethics Review Committee, which is delegated authority to review research ethics protocols by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board, and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, Kaneff Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Legal Rights and Signatures:
I_____, consent to participate in Second Generation Filipino-Canadian Identity: Language maintenance and Dissonant Relationships with First Generation Filipino-Canadians and Filipinos in the Homeland conducted by Kim Lynette Abella. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature_____ **Date**_____
Participant

Signature_____ **Date**_____
Principal Investigator

Additional consent (where applicable)

1. **Audio recording**
   [ ] I consent to the audio-recording of my interview(s).

2. **Video recording or use of photographs**
   [ ] I consent to the video-recording of my interview(s).

   I _____ consent to the use of images of me (including photographs, video and other moving images), my environment and property in the following ways (please check all that apply):

In academic articles	[ ] Yes	[ ] No
In print, digital and slide form	[ ] Yes	[ ] No
In academic presentations	[ ] Yes	[ ] No
In media	[ ] Yes	[ ] No
In thesis materials	[ ] Yes	[ ] No

May the researchers contact you to invite you to take part in future studies? [ ] Yes [ ] No
Would you like to participate in a follow-up interview with the researcher? [ ] Yes [ ] No

Personal Information: Please provide the following information
Age: _____
Gender: _____
E-mail Address: _____
Phone number: _____
Participant name: _____

Signature: Date:

_____ _____
Participant: (name)