

**UNDERSTANDING FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS' LIVED EXPERIENCES OF
LEISURE AND ITS ROLES IN IDENTITY IN TIMES OF
UN/UNDEREMPLOYMENT**

by

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work for my parents, my *Mama* and *Papa*.

And for all those who experienced immigration and/or who are constantly asking themselves, “*Who am I?*” in their journey of exploring, discovering, and expressing their own identity...

this, too, is for you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	viii
ABSTRACT.....	ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Leisure as A Source of Identity Expression for Immigrants.....	2
Canadian Immigration	3
Background.....	5
Immigrants’ Experiences of Leisure and Identity.....	6
Origins and Early Beginnings of the Study	8
Study Purpose	10
Terminology.....	11
Summary	13
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	14
Pathways of Immigration to Canada.....	14
Family Class Immigrants	15
Refugee Class Immigrants	16
Economic Class Immigrants	16
Filipino Immigrants in Canada	17
Brief History of Filipinos’ Immigration to Canada	18
Research about Filipino Immigrants in Canada.....	20
Leisure within the Context of the Philippines and of Filipino Culture.....	22
Leisure, Community Life, and Well-being in the Philippines	24
Leisure as Experienced by Filipino Temporary Migrant Workers	24
Immigration, Health, and Well-Being	25
Impacts of Un/Underemployment on Health and Well-Being	26
Leisure and Well-being.....	27
Health and Well-being Achieved through Meaningful Leisure Experiences	27

Employment and Leisure as Sources of Social Connection	28
Leisure and Its Roles in Identity	30
Theoretical Frameworks for Understanding Leisure’s Roles in Identity.....	31
Tying the Theoretical Frameworks Together	43
Lived Experiences of Leisure and Its Roles in Identity	44
Impact of Current Events on Leisure, Identity, and Employment	46
Gaps in the Literature and Summary	48
CHAPTER 3: EPISTEMOLOGY, METHODOLOGY, METHODS	50
Worldview.....	50
Methodology	51
Hermeneutic Phenomenology.....	52
Methods.....	55
Recruitment Strategies	56
Study Participants	58
Sample Size.....	58
Inclusion Criteria	58
Exclusion Criteria	60
Collective Demographics of Study Participants	61
Data Collection	62
Study Setting and Interview Medium and Location	62
Language and Translation.....	62
Semi-Structured Bilingual Interviews.....	64
Length of Interview and Interview Process	66
Considerations for Data Collection.....	68
Impact of Current Events	68
Data Analysis	69
Data Analysis Framework.....	69

Transcription	69
Translation Models	70
Reflexive Journaling	70
Hermeneutic Phenomenological Thematic Analysis Procedures	71
Semiotic Data Analysis.....	73
Data Storage.....	74
Quality and Rigour.....	74
Credibility	74
Transferability.....	76
Authenticity.....	77
Ethical Considerations	78
Cultural Considerations	79
Researcher Reflexivity.....	81
Rationale for Conducting this Study.....	81
Researcher Identity: Living in “Two Worlds”.....	82
Study Implications and Knowledge Translation.....	84
Academic Audiences	84
Community or Cultural and Immigrant-Serving Organizations	85
Summary	86
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS	87
Experiences of immigration and un/underemployment as a means for strengthening and nurturing identity	89
Challenges related to un/underemployment as a means for strengthening professional identities.....	90
Challenges related un/underemployment as opportunities for nurturing personal identities	94
Leisure’s role in reinforcing identity throughout the experience of immigration	100
Leisure as understood or experienced by Filipino immigrants in Canada.....	100

Leisure’s supporting role in reinforcing identity during or amidst change and transition..	103
Leisure’s role in reinforcing Filipino identities through emerging ‘immigrant identities’ (<i>Being Filipino and being Filipino in Canada</i>).....	104
Immigration as a 'juncture' for leisure practices and choices.....	105
Diverse Filipino identities contributing to emerging 'immigrant identities'	107
Summary	110
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION	111
Framing the Central Phenomenon and Responding to the Research Question	111
Identities Remaining Intact Despite Un/Underemployment.....	112
Un/Underemployment and Identity Theory.....	113
Leisure as Defined, Described, and Experienced by Filipino Immigrants	116
Leisure in the Context of Filipino Immigration to Canada.....	117
Researcher Reflexivity: Positioning My Identity as a Filipino Researcher	121
Researcher Reflections.....	121
Influences of Researcher Identity on Study	126
Study Strengths and Limitations	131
Implications for Practice and Future Research	132
Study Implications for Practice, Service, and Programming.....	132
Directions for Future Research	134
Summary	135
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION.....	136
REFERENCES.....	139
APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT POSTER	157
APPENDIX B: STUDY INFORMATION LETTER	158
APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	162
APPENDIX D: SCRIPT FOR OBTAINING ORAL CONSENT	165
APPENDIX E: ORAL CONSENT LOG	166

APPENDIX F: DEMOGRAPHICS FORM 167

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1	Study findings (three main themes and two subthemes each).....	87
Table 4.2	Collective demographics of the seven study participants.....	88

ABSTRACT

Filipino immigrants are one of the largest and fastest growing immigrant groups in Canada. Their lived experiences of leisure, identity, and un/underemployment remain unexplored, particularly within Atlantic Canada. Since recent immigrants are more likely than others to be unemployed or underemployed in jobs that are not reflective of their education or training, experiences of un/underemployment and identity are relevant to this population. Jeopardized or negotiated identities experienced through un/underemployment can potentially be developed, maintained, or reconstructed through leisure. This hermeneutic phenomenological study, rooted in social constructivism, aimed to understand the lived experiences of leisure and its roles in identity in times of un/underemployment as experienced by Filipino immigrants living in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Seven participants took part in individual, semi-structured bilingual interviews via Zoom videoconferencing and data were analysed using van Manen's (2016) principles for hermeneutic phenomenological thematic analysis. Study findings demonstrate that Filipino immigrants can have intact identities even in the face of un/underemployment and that leisure can play a supporting role in reinforcing their identities through the development of different aspects of their identities, such as personal or cultural. This study contributes to our theoretical understanding of leisure's role in immigrants' identity and can help inform and support leisure- and/or immigration- and resettlement-related practice, service, and programming. This study also provides valuable insights about the methodological implications, reflections, and challenges related to researcher reflexivity.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Leisure can be a useful path for developing, maintaining, reconstructing, and expressing identity as it permits individuals to discover and share or express unique dimensions of themselves or their identities (Bond & Falk, 2013; Genoe & Dupuis, 2011; Henderson, 2014; Höglhammer et al., 2015; Liu & Fu, 2019; Shannon, 2013; Spracklen et al., 2015). Identity can be described as a fluid and dynamic process wherein people come to know, find, and understand themselves through everyday experiences that are shaped by social structures and contexts (England, 2018; Erwin, 1982; Liu & Fu, 2019; Lascano et al., 2014; Sica et al., 2014; Steiner et al., 2013). On the other hand, leisure is a multi-dimensional social and cultural phenomenon that encompasses free time activities or experiences like arts, sports, spiritual or religious practices, or community engagement wherein people can exercise choice and freedom, and derive meaning, contentment, satisfaction, and well-being from those activities or experiences (Hemingway, 1998; Karlis et al., 2002; Liu & Fu, 2019; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997; Shannon, 2013; Sylvester, 1990).

Liu and Fu (2019) suggest that leisure can significantly contribute to one's identity. Pieper (1998, p. 50) supports this belief as he stated that leisure permits people to find themselves and to be "one with [themselves]". For example, when people engage in leisure activities or experience leisure within other aspects of their life such as family time, professional work, or community life, they are provided with opportunities to understand themselves and to explore and express their identity (Kelly & Godbey, 1992, as cited in Liu & Fu, 2019). Further, one is understood to be "in accord with [themselves]" (Pieper, 1998, p. 50) – with their being and their identity, when they engage in leisure, as leisure enables people to see themselves fully through their activities or experiences (Bond & Falk, 2013; Liu & Fu, 2019). Thus, leisure can be

a source for exploring, creating, and understanding one's unique identity (Bond & Falk, 2013; Liu & Fu, 2019; Shannon, 2013).

Leisure as A Source of Identity Expression for Immigrants

Navigating the role of leisure in people's identity is particularly important for people whose identities may have been compromised or negotiated due to life circumstances such as immigration, since identity can be influenced by mobility and challenges related to immigration (Caidi et al., 2010; George & Selimos, 2019, Li, 2003; Marcu, 2015). Immigration is a phenomenon characterized by mobility, change, and transition. According to Brigham, Abidi, and Zhang (2018), "[w]hen people migrate, they don't simply uproot from one country and re-root into another" (p. 235). Rather, when people migrate, they discover and dynamically negotiate new experiences and challenges, tremendous change, and new realities as they come into contact with life or routine within a new society (Guo, 2013, as cited in Brigham et al., 2018). Thus, as identity can be interconnected with "several indicators of adjustment" (Gonzales-Backen et al., 2017, p. 930) – that is, the context-dependent circumstances, events, people, or places (such as challenges related to immigration and resettlement, including adjusting to a new country, language, climate) that shape or influence one's identity, it is essential to acknowledge, examine, and understand the various factors that influence identity within this context.

Challenges like obtaining employment, accessing health care, encountering barriers to language and communication, coping with mental, emotional, and psychological distress, and managing stressors related to adaptation (Asanin, & Wilson, 2008; Hilario et al., 2015), can bring about drastic life changes, which can consequently impact identity. Immigrants can, therefore, be more susceptible than others to experiencing dramatic shifts in their identity (Berhó et al., 2017; Li & Stodolska, 2018; Marcu, 2015; Schwartz et al., 2017; Toomey et al., 2013). It

is thus, essential to explore identity within the context of Canadian immigration, resettlement, and transition.

Canadian Immigration

Canada is a country known for immigration. In fact, Canada welcomed over 300, 000 immigrants in 2019 (El-Assal, 2020) and is expected to continue admitting even more immigrants in the years to come (Scherer, 2020), which demonstrates one of the reasons why Canada is a country well-known for immigration. While the predicted number of settled migrants worldwide is expected to surpass 400 million by the year 2050 (Binggeli et al., 2013; International Organization for Migration, 2010), Canada remains at the forefront of migration as its efforts to promote immigration, diversity, multiculturalism, and inclusion are enabled by historically renowned policies that support such phenomena. For instance, Canada was the first country in the world to pass a multiculturalism policy called *Multiculturalism Policy of 1971*, which is a framework for Canadian society that recognizes, respects, and reflects the following: two official languages (English and French), three founding peoples (Anglophones, Francophones, and Indigenous peoples), and diverse cultural heritages (Golob & Giles, 2015).

While policies like the *Multiculturalism Policy of 1971* contribute to and support Canada's identity as a leading nation for immigration, it is worth noting how Canada has historically mistreated and abused immigrants. For example, thousands of Chinese people were recruited to Canada to help build the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in the 1880s (Wohl et al., 2013). Although these Chinese immigrants were permitted to live and work in Canada while they were building this railway system, supporting themselves and their families became increasingly challenging due to the burdensome head tax (which started at \$50 and increased to up to \$500 in the early 1900s) that was charged to them as a way of preventing their permanent settlement

and/or citizenship in Canada. Former Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, acknowledged the imposition of this head tax as unjust treatment and a restrictive measure imposed upon Chinese immigrants who were trying to seek and build a better life in Canada, and apologized for this mistreatment in 2006 (Wohl et al., 2013).

Mistreatment of immigrants in Canada is not an event isolated in the past. Considering the COVID-19 pandemic, Faraday (2021) states how many migrant workers have suffered tremendously – from losing their jobs or failing to maintain jobs within their field to working in unsafe environments due to their employers’ lack of a responsible and/or timely response to the virus and its effects, which in many cases, has unfortunately led to prolonged precarity or uncertainty, and in some, to death (Grant & Baum, 2020). While the investigation of Canada’s immigration policies and its past or historical and present impacts on the lives and well-being of immigrants is beyond the scope of this study, critically acknowledging how immigration has impacted both immigrants and Canada as a nation is important, if we are to consider Canada a nation that is ‘welcoming’ to immigrants.

Canada, however, has been and continues to be successful in attracting individuals from all over the world to live, work, and settle into Canadian society, especially in the midst of the rapid expansion of global migration (Guo, 2015), facilitating Canada’s growing contribution to global migration and to Canada’s identity as a nation of rich cultural and ethnic heritage (Weinfield, 2016; Wonders, 1984). However, as Canada continues to grow as a culturally and racially heterogeneous nation, immigration presents drastic geographic, socio-cultural, psychosocial, and economic changes that immigrants must experience or overcome in their attempts to resettle and integrate into a new society (Brym & Lie, 2012; Burgess, 2017; Davis, 2014). Pondering on the lives and on the issues related to the experiences of immigrants and the

ways in which those experiences impact their identity is as crucial as acknowledging Canada's significant contribution to global migration (Kosny et al., 2019; Wilkinson, 2020).

Obtaining employment is a critical aspect of immigration, especially as immigration and resettlement are often associated with changes and obstacles associated with rebuilding one's life – most of which involving the dependence on income for sustenance and mobility. However, obtaining employment remains a challenge for many immigrants during and even beyond their resettlement stages (Guo, 2015; Wilson-forsberg, 2015). Some obstacles immigrants experience in obtaining employment include, but are not limited to: language barriers, limited social networks or access to social support systems, cultural differences and expectations of the Canadian labour market, inability to find employment in their respective fields, and 'de-recognition' of skills, credentials, or previous work experiences (Guerrero & Rothstein, 2012; Guo, 2015; Wilson-forsberg, 2015, p. 472). Indeed, many immigrants experience significant barriers in finding employment upon resettlement (George & Selimos, 2019), which can result in their experiences of extended periods of un/underemployment following immigration.

Background

Past research has established the significance of community engagement in helping immigrants to adapt and adjust into Canadian society through experiencing or gaining a sense of belonging (Blackshaw, 2010, as cited in Spracklen et al., 2015; England, 2018; Halli & Anchan, 2005; Kennedy & McDonald, 2006; Salami et al., 2019; Whyte & Sharpe, 2016). Past studies also suggest that immigrants can experience a sense of freedom to express their cultural or ethnic identity by engaging in meaningful community interactions or activities (England, 2018; Golob & Giles, 2015; Kennedy & McDonald, 2006; Salami et al., 2019). Engaging in leisure and accessing recreational services are also understood as being helpful for immigrants to expand

their social networks, which can, in turn, be helpful for overcoming stress related to adaptation and even challenges to finding employment (George & Selimos, 2019; Kennedy & McDonald, 2006; Quirke, 2015). Finally, barriers to finding employment are perceived to hinder immigrants' opportunities not only for engaging in leisure, but also for contributing something meaningful to society (George & Selimos, 2019; Li & Stodolska, 2018). In the following section, I examine more closely immigrants' experiences of leisure as they relate to identity.

Immigrants' Experiences of Leisure and Identity

Despite the emergence of research related to immigrants' experiences of leisure and its roles in identity, there is limited literature about the role that leisure plays in immigrants' identity in times of un/underemployment. For many individuals, employment is a source of income, mobility, independence, but also of identity (Halli & Anchan, 2005; Luyckx et al., 2008). Davies and Esseveld (1982) also propose that people who are unemployed feel isolated, experience a lack of purpose in life, and experience a loss of identity. In addition, Wilson-forsberg (2015) suggests that work can be considered a gateway for immigrants to discover, expand, and express their personal identity. Thus, experiences of unemployment – the absence of work, can threaten a person's identity, apart from a loss of income (Schöb, 2013). Further, as recent immigrants are more likely than others to be unemployed or underemployed in jobs that do not reflect or match their educational background or training (Halli & Anchan, 2015; Premji & Shakya, 2017; Vahabi & Wong, 2017), experiences of un/underemployment are relevant to this population.

Previous studies have approached immigrants' experiences of leisure and its roles in identity in superficial ways. That is, rather than critically examining immigrants' unique lived experiences that are shaped by social and cultural contexts like race, social class, gender, occupation, and education, many studies have overlooked the “multiple interconnections”

(Watson & Scraton, 2013, p. 35) present in immigrants' lived experiences of leisure and identity (Arai & Kivel, 2009; Iman & Boostani, 2012; Kivel & Kleiber, 2000). As immigrant populations are diverse and are not representative of the larger immigrant cohort in Canada (Sethi, 2015), it is crucial to investigate immigrants' lived experiences of leisure to understand its roles in identity. Moreover, we must begin to regard leisure as a contextualized "product of multiple interrelated factors" (Rojek, 2010, p. 22, as cited in Watson & Scraton, 2013) to recognize and understand that immigrants' lived experiences of leisure and its roles in identity are intricately woven by and into social, cultural, economic, political, and historical structures.

There is strong leisure literature about immigrant groups living in either large, urban, Central, or Western cities in Canada (e.g., Deng et al., 2005; George & Selimos, 2019; Golob & Giles, 2015; Kim & Iwasaki, 2016; Walker & Wang, 2008). In fact, many studies have focused on the leisure experiences of Chinese, Korean, and Middle Eastern immigrants living in those parts of Canada, in terms of their leisure behaviours, constraints, perceptions, and motivations (Deng et al., 2005; Kim & Iwasaki, 2016; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Walker & Wang, 2008). While there are dedicated scholars who have established and continue to provide strong literature about immigrants' experiences of leisure, settlement, and social integration in these parts of Canada, more research is needed to explore the lived experiences of immigrants living outside Central and Western Canada.

Literature about the leisure experiences of Filipino immigrants, who are one of the largest and fastest growing immigrant groups in Canada (next to immigrants from China and India) is also limited (Balakrishnan et al., 2005; Brym & Lie, 2012; Chen, 1990; Vahabi & Wong, 2017). While there is also some literature that explores the lived experiences of Filipino immigrants living in Atlantic Canada, there is a need for literature that captures the experiences of Filipinos

beyond the context of the health professions, as not all Filipino immigrants in Canada are working as nurses or caregivers, for instance (Haan, 2008; POEA, 2009; Tubo, 2010; Wang & Sangalang, 2005). Finally, many leisure scholars have examined the relationship among race, culture, ethnicity, and identity without fully considering the context of un/underemployment in relation to those concepts (Chick, 2009; Hemingway, 1998; Shinew et al., 2006; Stodolska, 2000; Stodolska & Yi, 2003). While it is imperative to discuss race, culture, and ethnicity with respect to leisure and identity, it is worthwhile to examine how these are understood and experienced amidst un/underemployment within the context of immigration.

Origins and Early Beginnings of the Study

To uncover the ‘layers of meaning’ (van Manen, 2016, p. 119) within this work – that is, in which, where, or what it is embedded, I engage in and provide reflection for context about this study’s origins and early beginnings. Much of the origins of this work, including the reasons why I chose to conduct this research, stem from my personal experiences of immigration from the Philippines to Canada. In 2015, my family and I arrived at the Halifax Stanfield International Airport with about 23 moving boxes – boxes that contained our lives and our future, during what was considered summer in Canada. (I thought it was a bit cold in June.) Upon our resettlement, I experienced a great sense of excitement, happiness, and hope about this new life and a ‘fresh beginning’. However, when I started university in September of that same year, these feelings were overcome by overwhelming worry and sadness as I experienced a deep sense of isolation and confusion about *who I really am, was, and ought to be*, given all the change and transition I have gone and will continue to go through because of immigration.

As the months passed, my father continued to be the sole provider for our family, working for minimum wage as a service staff member at an automobile and service company,

although back home, he was a successful entrepreneur who owned and operated several different businesses. During this time, my mother, on the other hand, struggled to find employment within her field. She spent her early months of resettlement in Halifax refining her resume, sending out applications to multiple companies, and occasionally working ‘odd’ part-time jobs¹ while waiting to be employed within her field. At one point, she said (paraphrased and translated in English):

“I keep counting the days and the weeks...when I see the garbage truck roll out in front of our house, I’m reminded that it’s another week. Another week with no job, unemployed. Another week, another pay cheque I could’ve made.”

I will never forget those poignant words she shared as she endured unemployment for five months before finally gaining a job within her field.

Amidst these challenging immigration and early resettlement experiences, I recalled reminding myself to ‘snap out’ of this despair to instead, acknowledge the privilege I had to ‘start anew’ – to experience living in Canada, to obtain high quality university education, and to have a plethora of opportunities I would not have had if I remained in the Philippines. This reminder and realization urged me to embrace my new reality and encourage me to simply *be* and *enjoy* my ‘new’ life. Amidst the challenges, I regained hope and resilience by engaging in spiritual practices that I had previously engaged in back home. Eventually, I found making new friends and going out for coffee with them to be enjoyable as that made me feel like I belonged with others. Finally, spending quality time with my family, whether we were exploring Nova Scotia or shopping for groceries on the weekend, helped me experience a sense of purpose in my life, despite the constant change and adjustment. While I had not understood these experiences as

¹ I describe ‘odd’ jobs in this context as jobs my mother never had or would have worked back home, given her professional background, credentials, and experiences.

that which could be considered ‘leisure’, these memories and reflections contributed to the early beginnings of the development of the ideas related to this study.

Reflecting on these memories and experiences of immigration and resettlement fuelled my drive and desire to conduct research about these experiences related to immigration, un/underemployment, leisure, and identity: to investigate and understand what it might be like for Filipino immigrants living in Halifax to experience leisure and what roles those experiences play in their identity in times when they have experienced un/underemployment.

Study Purpose

The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand the lived experiences of leisure and its roles in identity experienced in times of un/underemployment as experienced by Filipino immigrants living in Halifax, Nova Scotia. This study is rooted in hermeneutic phenomenology, which is a mode of inquiry that aims to understand *how* experiences of a phenomenon are lived and what it *means* to experience that phenomenon by understanding the meaning and significance of those experiences using texts and languages (van Manen, 2014, 2016; Sylvester, 2010). This study intends to address the question: “*What is the role of leisure in the ways in which Filipino immigrants living in Nova Scotia understand, express, and derive meaning from their identity in times of un/underemployment?*” Inspired by studies that have adopted a hermeneutic phenomenological research design (e.g., Blegen et al., 2012; Robstad et al., 2017), this study also aims to answer to following sub-questions:

- “*How do Filipino immigrants’ experiences of leisure help them understand themselves or their identity amidst un/underemployment?*”
- “*How can Filipino immigrants’ lived experiences of leisure play a role in their identity (expression) in times of un/underemployment?*”

- “*What is it like (or what does it mean) for Filipino immigrants to understand, express, and derive meaning from their identity through their lived experiences of leisure in times of un/underemployment?*”

Terminology

Before diving more deeply into these phenomena and the study itself, I offer this section for clarification and definition of some key terms used throughout this study. First, *migrants* are defined as individuals who live outside of their birth country, while *immigrants* are individuals who migrate from one country into another with the intention of permanently settling within a country outside of their birth country (Caidi et al., 2010; Li, 2003). For this study (where both terms are present), the term, *migrant* describes people who are living in Canada for various purposes like temporary employment or studies, while the term, *immigrant* refers to individuals who have migrated and have permanently settled into Canada, emphasizing resettlement from their home country and into a host country.

Although I dedicate this section for clarifying the term, *immigrant*, I do not believe that this term captures the complexity and nuances of *who* is an immigrant. That is, in considering *who* immigrates and/or has an immigration background, it may be intuitive to determine who ‘is’ an immigrant based on their country of origin, racial or ethnic background, and/or legal status for residing in Canada (e.g., based on passport or possession of a permanent residence card). However, the issue of how long one remains an immigrant, and who gets to “decide” this, warrants attention. To illustrate, do people who have immigrated to Canada some time ago consider themselves ‘immigrants’, naturalized ‘Canadians’, or something else? For example, while I have been in Canada for a few years now, I do not typically refer to or introduce myself as an ‘immigrant’. Rather, I refer to myself as being Filipino (or having Filipino ancestry) *and*

immigration experience, emphasizing my lived experiences of growing up in the Philippines and of immigrating to Canada with my family, rather than highlighting my legal status in Canada. In other words, I choose not to introduce myself as ‘immigrant’ as this term quite can be quite divisive – perpetuating notions of “them” (locals or Canadian-born people) versus “us” (immigrants or people born outside Canada). Rather than stating “I am an immigrant”, I highlight my lived experiences of immigration by choosing to say, “I immigrated to Canada from the Philippines with my family”. However, I understand that I may not share this perspective with others, and believe that the use of the term, *immigrant*, for those who immigrate depends, too, on comfort level and personal preference.

Further, while legal statuses and documentation emphasize the term and label “immigrant”, it remains unclear whether immigrants remain “immigrants” forever, based on the government’s immigration and citizenship policies, or whether one abandons this “label” for another (e.g., “I’m Canadian now...”, although, the argument of what it means to be “Canadian” persists). While determining the scope of the terms used in this study is beyond its purpose, I hoped to disclose the intricacy of the term, *immigrant*, to provoke a deeper, more complex way of thinking about *who* immigrates and/or by thinking about immigration experiences.

In addition, I refer to Filipino immigrants as “immigrants” and/or as an “underserved or underrepresented group/population/community” not because of their lack of representation in Canada or in certain labour sectors, but because of the historical, political, and sociocultural events that have caused and/or contributed to their experiences of discrimination, racism, and inequity. To clarify the term, ‘underserved’ or ‘underrepresented’, I wish to make explicit the comparison group – that is, to emphasize the group into which underserved or underrepresented communities adapt, adjust, or assimilate. For this work, we identify white culture or mainstream

society as that which (Filipino) immigrants – underserved or underrepresented communities, (must) adapt, adjust, assimilate into, as a result of immigration and resettlement. That is, upon resettlement and transition brought about by immigration, immigrants are compelled to ‘fit into’ a society that is predominantly white, and such adjustments into this society highlight and/or exacerbate disparities (in power or opportunities, for example) that perpetuate (challenges related to) adaptation, adjustment, and/or assimilation into mainstream, white culture. Elaboration and discussion about these events (in relation to terminology) are found in Chapter 2 (Literature Review).

Summary

This chapter introduced the fundamental concepts of leisure and identity to describe how they apply to immigrants’ experiences related to resettlement and immigration, and particularly to un/underemployment. An outline about how past studies have examined leisure, identity, and immigration, as well as my personal experiences related to these concepts were also included in this chapter. This study, including its purpose, study question, and design were also introduced. The following chapter discusses the relevant literature in more detail to support this study’s rationale, purpose, and question.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I review the literature about Canadian immigration and employment, leisure, and identity, to illustrate their connections to Filipino immigrants' lived experiences of these phenomena. A discussion of theoretical frameworks regarding leisure and identity are also included in this chapter. This chapter also highlights considerations related to the current COVID-19 pandemic by acknowledging that current events can impact people's experiences of leisure and identity, in relation to un/underemployment.

Pathways of Immigration to Canada

Contrary to the establishment of Canada's admirable policies that support and enhance the migration of individuals from all over the world, immigrating to Canada is not simple (Golob & Giles, 2015; Guo, 2015). Rather, Canada uses a careful screening process that identifies migrants based on a point system that determines their potential for economic and societal contributions (Nogle, 1998). That is, individuals who aspire to live, work, and settle into Canadian society are subject to rigorous screening and application processes imposed by the Canadian government. Specifically, regardless of race or ethnicity (at least in the later, more updated immigration policies as compared with older immigration policies that screen potential migrants based on race and/or country of origin; Reitz, 2012), migrants who are deemed more likely to prosper socially and economically in Canada are appointed more points in a system that ranks them based on a number of criteria like educational background, English or French language proficiency, age, health status/medical admissibility, and work experience, which determine their eligibility for migration (Caidi et al., 2010; El-Lahib, 2015; Government of Canada, 2021a; Li 2003; Nogle, 1998). Consequently, migrants who demonstrate strong

potential to contribute to Canadian society and economy have higher chances of being appointed more points and thus, have higher chances of being granted to immigrate (Nogle, 1998).

The perceived societal and economic contribution of eligible migrants can be evaluated by their classification into three main categories for admission to migrate namely, family class, economic class, and refugee class (Caidi et al., 2010). While these classes for immigrating constitute the three ‘main immigration categories’ or pathways of immigration to Canada, there are also specific immigration programs in which migrants can be further classified. That is, migrants can apply to immigrate not only as family and refugee class immigrants, but also as economic class migrants through specific skill-based programs like *provincial nominees*, *caregiver classes*, and *federal skilled worker class (FSWC)* (Immigrate to Canada, 2020; Permanent resident program, 2020). Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the three ‘main immigration categories’ (family class, economic class, and refugee class) are discussed to provide context for the pathways for immigration to Canada while specific immigration programs or sub-classes that are classified under the economic class immigration category are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 (see Study Participants).

Family Class Immigrants

Family class immigrants are admitted into Canada due to sponsorship through pre-existing relationships with Canadian citizens or permanent residents who are either their family members, spouses, or close relatives (Caidi et al., 2010). While the family class immigration category can allow family members to reunite and to build a future together in Canada, Canadian employers and the broader Canadian labour and employment sectors often presume that family class immigrants are a highly ‘dependent’ and ‘non-contributing’ class of immigrants due to their perceived lack of economic contribution (Bragg & Wong, 2016, p. 48). Thus, family class

immigrants are often perceived as “problematic” due to the presumption that they have little to offer or to contribute to Canadian society and economy because of their immigration pathway (i.e., immigrating to Canada due to established family ties rather than their skill sets) (Bragg & Wong, 2016, p. 48). Further, they are often found working in low-wage sectors of the Canadian labour market, such as working as building cleaners or as servers in ethnic restaurants (Bragg & Wong, 2016).

Refugee Class Immigrants

Refugee class immigrants are a class of immigrants who are admitted into Canada based on humanitarian grounds such as protection offered to individuals who are at risk to return to their home countries due to war, fear or persecution, or unusual punishment (Caidi et al., 2010; Guo, 2015). Although refugee immigrants receive support from the Canadian government during a period of time following their arrival, many refugee immigrants are employed in highly precarious jobs that often include perilous working conditions, such as shift work or other types of physically strenuous jobs due to lack of proper documentation, scarce social networks, and insufficient English or French language proficiency (Guo, 2015) that can provide them better opportunities to be employed in safer and/or fairer work environments. Thus, a mentality of ‘survival’ mode (Caidi et al., 2010, p. 499) for working such jobs in order to get by is often imposed upon refugee immigrants who continue to be under/employed in jobs that put them in vulnerable positions (Guo, 2015; Vahabi & Wong, 2017).

Economic Class Immigrants

Economic class immigrants are skilled migrants who are selected to immigrate to Canada based on their educational background, previous work experience, and potential capacity to make significant economic investments in Canada (Caidi et al., 2010; Li, 2003). This class of

immigrants is typically regarded with greater priority and preference (Guo, 2015) for immigration due to their lofty potential to be employed and their astounding potential for ‘immigrant success’, which can be attributed to securing employment and contributing to Canada’s economy (Bragg & Wong, 2016; Caidi et al., 2010; George & Selimos, 2019). Therefore, economic class or skilled immigrants typically have higher chances of securing employment that is above the low-wage sector of the Canadian labour market, as compared with family class and refugee immigrants.

However, economic class immigrants are not spared the challenges of obtaining employment. Underemployment, the extent to which “people’s skills, education, and abilities are underutilized by their current job” (Guerrero & Rothstein, 2012, p. 324), is a prevailing phenomenon experienced by both skilled and economic class immigrants. Bauder (2003) even describes this phenomenon as “brain abuse” as skilled immigrants who acquire valuable foreign credentials typically lose access to and opportunities of being employed in positions that they previously held due to the misrecognition of their foreign credentials in Canada. For example, Dean and Wilson (2009) reported that 55 per cent of recently landed skilled immigrants in Ontario secured employment in part-time jobs that barely utilized their skills relevant to their education or area of expertise. As securing employment is a critical aspect of adjustment and resettlement into Canadian society, as well as of economic contribution and social integration, it is imperative that immigrants are supported not only during their settlement journey, but also throughout their quest for meaningful employment.

Filipino Immigrants in Canada

This section of the literature review introduces the study population – Filipino immigrants – and describes the historical and political events that influence(ed) or play(ed) a role

in their immigration and potentially, their experiences of un/underemployment, leisure, and identity.

Brief History of Filipinos' Immigration to Canada

Filipinos are one of the largest and fastest growing immigrant groups in Canada as the Philippines is an intensely migrant nation (Chen, 1990; Lusi, 2012; Marhsall, 2018).

International migration of Filipinos to countries all over the world is typically prompted by political turmoil in the Philippines, leading Filipinos' quest for a fairer, better quality of life – often understood to be found solely in other countries (Asis, 2017). For instance, the current COVID-19 pandemic has caused an increasing number of Filipinos to flee the Philippines because of lack or absence of trust in the local government, given its inequitable and insufficient pandemic response plans (e.g., politicians hoarding the vaccines for themselves and their families rather than fairly allocating these for the public) (Philippines: Country faces health and human rights crisis, 2021).

However, motivations for international migration among Filipinos is not always one-sided – that is, temporary overseas work among Filipinos has also been encouraged by countries like Canada as a solution to combat labour shortages in their specific labour markets such as in the health professions (Damasco, 2012). In the 1990s, Canada's Live-In Caregiver programs (LCP)² was a popular immigration stream that many Filipinos utilized to enter Canada (Kelly et al., 2012; Tungohan et al., 2015), which, since then, made Filipinos immigrants dominate certain sectors of the Canadian immigration labour market. Kelly and colleagues (2012) note that from

²The Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP) is a popular immigration pathway utilized by many immigrant women, particularly Filipinas (Filipino women). The LCP pathway permits migrant workers to live and work in Canada as live-in caregivers providing childcare needs for working parents within Canadian households and/or providing support for elderly family members “for a total of 24 months before they can apply to obtain an open work permit or permanent residency” (Tungohan et al., 2015, p. 92).

the late 1990s to about 2010, Filipino immigrants constituted close to 15 per cent of newly landed immigrants in Canada because of the LCP as an immigration pathway. Consequently, these historical, political, and economic motivations that prompted international migration has made and continues to make the Philippines one of Canada's top source countries for immigrants today (Vahabi & Wong, 2017).

Filipino Immigrants' Un/Underemployment Experiences in Canada. Filipino immigrants in Canada are typically employed in the healthcare workforce either as licenced nurses or as caregivers in long term care homes (Bonifacio, 2008; Vahabi & Wong, 2017). On the other hand, some Filipinos work in the farming, fishing, textile, and hotel and restaurant management industries while others are privileged professionals who work notable positions in the fields of architecture, research and education, and information technology (Haan, 2008; POEA, 2009; Wang & Sangalang, 2005). Indeed, Filipinos contribute to the expanding representation of immigrants in the Canadian workforce and society (Vahabi & Wong, 2017).

However, for many immigrants in Canada, limited social networks and issues related to accreditation frequently impair their ability to obtain employment that is reflective of their previous job experiences or academic background (Shan, 2013). For example, while Filipino nurses working abroad are typically hired as nurses, they are sometimes 'deskilled' and are hired as underpaid caregivers in Canada due to barriers to certification or costly licensure examinations (Vahabi & Wong, 2017, p. 4). An excerpt of Sayo and Daga's (2012) poem about Filipino communities in Canada, *My Folks*, describes a snapshot of Filipino immigrants' experiences of un/underemployment in Canada:

*The most educated
But the least compensated
Disempowered and jaded
You hate it when they say it...*

*'Be grateful for your wages
Be happy that you made it to a country that's so gracious'
But that statement holds no basis
When you're a servant on a slave ship*

*My folks are the live-in caregivers
Night time janitors, taxi drivers and fast food workers
My folks are the service sector
(Sayo & Daga, 2012, p. 89)*

This excerpt illustrates that while many educated and skilled Filipinos (e.g., “*The most educated, but the least compensated...*”) come to Canada with hopes of a better life and future, these hopes are often met with tremendous challenge related to immigration (e.g., “*Be grateful for your wages, be happy that you made it to a country that's so gracious...*”) – one of which being un/underemployment (e.g., “*My folks are the live-in caregivers, night time janitors, taxi drivers and fast food workers, my folks are the service sector...*”). Indeed, although Filipino immigrants have promising labour market potential given their extensive admittance into diverse Canadian labour pools, many Filipinos who have immigrated to Canada are, have been, and continue to be exposed to significant employment barriers that often result in their un/underemployment (Dean & Wilson, 2009; Haan, 2008; POEA, 2009; Shooshtari et al., 2014).

Research about Filipino Immigrants in Canada

Most Filipinos in Canada live in large, urban Canadian cities (Kelly, 2006; McElhinny et al., 2012) like Toronto, Vancouver, and Winnipeg. Nearly 50 per cent of Filipinos in Canada reside in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) while others reside in other urban cities like Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, and Montreal, as these cities often have coveted employment prospects as compared with smaller cities and/or rural areas (Balakrishnan et al., 2005; Haan, 2008; Kelly et al., 2015; McElhinny et al., 2012; Lusic, 2005; Ronquillo et al., 2011). These influences on employment thus establish and maintain Filipinos' solid presence in large, urban

Canadian cities, which has, in turn, paved the way for sufficient research about Filipino immigrants living in these parts of Canada.

One study conducted in Manitoba investigated how Filipino immigrants derive meaning from their practices, activities, and experiences as newcomers (Allard & Caidi, 2018). In addition, Ronquillo et al.'s (2011) study examined the provincial-based structure, history, and presence of immigrant Filipino nurses in Western Canada. Thomas (2013) also explored how the labour market conditions of Filipino immigrants in Toronto affect their income and housing choices. While these studies provide strong evidence of Filipino immigrants' diverse experiences in Canada, most of them either focus broadly on Filipino immigrants (for example, Filipino immigrants living in a large urban centre) or narrowly on Filipinos employed in certain industries (for example, Filipino nurses or caregivers). There is thus, a need to explore the vast experiences of Filipinos immigrants living and working in Canada and in other, broader contexts.

Research about Filipino Immigrants in Atlantic Canada. While there is ample research that illustrates the experiences of Filipino immigrants in either large or urban Canadian cities and/or provinces, little is known about experiences of Filipinos in Atlantic Canada and particularly in Nova Scotia. The population of Filipinos in Nova Scotia is estimated to be nearly 2,000 (Smith, 2013) – which is not quite comparable to the population of Filipinos in other Canadian provinces, despite the Philippines being recognized as one of the top source countries for immigrants in Nova Scotia (Dobrowsky, 2011). Nonetheless, most immigrants who come to Nova Scotia settle in its capital city, Halifax (Tirone et al., 2010), potentially due to it being the largest metropolitan area and one of the most economically stable cities in the province (Tirone & Shaw, 1997). On the other hand, some immigrants settle in rural areas of Nova Scotia due to

other employment opportunities that are intended to attract immigrants as a solution to population declines in those areas (Bruce, 2007).

Contrary to evidence that describes the presence of Filipino immigrants in Nova Scotia, research on their lived experiences remains limited. Tubo's (2010) master's research explored the transnationalism experiences (e.g., migration behaviours, beliefs, and ideas) of Filipino migrant nurses in Halifax, Nova Scotia. In addition, Root's (2008) master's thesis investigated Filipinos' lived experiences of negotiating their identities while working as live-in caregivers in Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM). Barber (1997) also explored how travel, work, and migration to Halifax, Nova Scotia influence Filipino women's experiences of their culture and gender. However, much of this literature is not recent and is again, focused on Filipino nurses and caregivers.

There has been a vast exploration about the experiences of immigrants and other underrepresented or racialized communities in Atlantic Canada regarding belonging, community, acculturation, and employment (Akbari, 2011; Dobrowolsky, 2011; McDonald et al., 2018; Miedema & Tastsoglou, 2000; Samuel, 2009; Tastsoglou & Miedema, 2003). However, research that focuses solely on Filipino immigrants living in Atlantic Canada and particularly in Nova Scotia, to my knowledge, has yet to be done. Thus, more research on Filipino immigrants as a core focus, rather than as a part of a cohort of immigrants within a study, for instance, is needed to understand Filipino immigrants' rich and diverse lived experiences.

Leisure within the Context of the Philippines and of Filipino Culture

To my knowledge, leisure is not necessarily considered a 'thing', or a well-known, understood, and studied concept in the Philippines. From my personal experiences of being born and raised in the Philippines, much of what is understood or accepted as leisure in the Philippine

context does not necessarily constitute choice, free time, or activity (Heintzman, 2013) – important elements of what is considered ‘leisure’ in North America. For example, the term ‘leisure’ is rarely used in the Philippines as a way of promoting activities that can support and enhance well-being, or of activities that people can engage in for fun or to experience relaxation or enjoyment. Rather, common activities and experiences such as enrolling or partaking in paid recreational activities (like singing or dance lessons and other sports) or going to the mall with family on the weekends could be considered ‘leisure’ in the Philippine context, although it is not often referred to as such. Moreover, common Filipino pastimes like having frequent, informal family get-togethers or catching up with friends (to share stories or to make *chismis* or gossip, for example), could coincide with how leisure is defined and contextualized in North America, despite the absence of formal ‘terminology’ describing how leisure is understood or referred to within the Philippine context.

While I have attempted to contextualize ‘Philippine leisure’ – leisure within the context of the Philippines and of Filipino culture above, it is worth being cautious about these characterizations or examples as they are limited to my personal experiences as a young adult, middle-class Filipina who grew up in Manila, the heart and capital of the Philippines (which is largely known as a cosmopolitan and capitalist city-centre). Thus, I am not able to generalize what and how ‘leisure’ is (defined) for the whole of the Philippines because leisure can intersect with (and must be examined within such intersections to; Watson & Scraton, 2012) economic status (e.g., being able to afford paid lessons or recreational activities), family relations (e.g., being able to spend extended periods of time with them or not), geography (e.g., engaging in these activities in a large, urban city as compared with being in smaller, rural areas of the country), and other factors.

While there is not (yet) a definitive set of characteristics that illustrate ‘Philippine leisure’ in the leisure literature, leisure within the Philippine context and Filipino culture exists in rich, yet unspoken ways, as demonstrated through unique Filipino traditions, practices, and pastimes previously described. To support my contextualization of ‘Philippine leisure’, I have identified a few relevant literature sources about leisure as experienced by Filipinos living and working abroad and about activities relevant to community life and well-being in the Philippines.

Leisure, Community Life, and Well-being in the Philippines

Cajayon and colleagues’ (2017) study that investigated elderly Filipinos’ lived experiences of craft-making as a leisure activity demonstrates that craft-making can serve as a meaningful way for elderly Filipinos to connect with and contribute to their communities, deepen friendships made with other crafters, and leave a legacy for the next generation(s). This study did an exceptional job of adopting a phenomenological framework to understand Filipino elders’ lived experiences of craft-making, but it would be interesting to see how craft-making or other leisure activities that provide similar opportunities for community and cultural connections, are experienced by Filipino immigrants (that is, Filipinos who have travelled and permanently resettled abroad) as immigration can constitute periods of intense transition (Stodolska, 2000), which can consequently, cause shifts in their sense of culture, community, and identity.

Leisure as Experienced by Filipino Temporary Migrant Workers

A more recent study conducted by Choe and colleagues (2020) presented how Filipino migrant workers in Macao experience and understand leisure, including the structural and interpersonal factors that constrain their engagement in leisure amidst their lives as migrant workers. They also explained how leisure contributes to one’s subjective perceptions of quality of life and why it is thus, necessary to explore how leisure can be a path for and/or source of

quality of life for migrant workers and other underserved populations (Choe et al., 2020). While this study makes a strong contribution to the literature by connecting leisure to migrants' quality of life and of identifying the structural and interpersonal leisure constraints relevant to Filipino migrants' leisure experiences, more studies investigating the experiences of permanently resettled Filipino immigrants (and not solely of temporary migrant workers) are needed as the experience of immigration – including employment opportunities and leisure or free time activities, is distinct from the experience of temporary work abroad.

In Stodolska's (2018) critique on leisure research about race, ethnicity, and immigration, she emphasizes that with the "...rise [of] global migration...and increasing diversity of our societies, [the] role [of] leisure scholars, educators, and practitioners will be more important than ever before" (pp. 50-51). I thus, acknowledge that while there is a paucity of literature about leisure experienced within the Philippine and/or Filipino cultural contexts, there is more potential for leisure researchers to develop research, knowledge, and understanding of 'Philippine leisure'.

Immigration, Health, and Well-Being

This section re-establishes the discussion about immigration, un/underemployment, and identity, in the context of health and well-being. The *healthy immigrant effect* explains that while recent immigrants are substantially healthier than majority of the Canadian population, this health advantage gradually diminishes over time as immigrants continue to live and/or are situated in circumstances that are detrimental to their health and well-being (Halli & Anchan, 2005). For instance, immigrants are more likely to develop poor mental health outcomes due to various psychological stressors experienced in their attempts to obtain employment (Chadwick & Collins, 2015) upon immigrating to their host society.

Impacts of Un/Underemployment on Health and Well-Being

Obtaining employment without experiencing stress is almost impossible for many (Iwasaki, 2013). Moreover, immigrants are typically exposed to highly stressful experiences related to adaptation and acculturation (Kim & Iwasaki, 2016). Thus, immigrants who experience unemployment can develop adverse mental health outcomes like depression, poor self-esteem, and lowered perceptions of their self-worth (George et al., 2012). In addition, immigrants whose work takes place within precarious working conditions, like unpaid overtime and prolonged exposure to hazardous toxins, can experience a deterioration in their health and well-being (Tsai & Thompson, 2013; Vahabi & Wong, 2017). Indeed, the quality of jobs that immigrants are employed in can consequently influence their quality of life and overall health and well-being.

Un/underemployment can significantly impact one's mental and emotional health and well-being. Immigrants who are underemployed in jobs that are not reflective of their skills or background are more likely to internalize negative work experiences like stigma. Stigma is an attribute that links a person to an undesirable stereotype like being incompetent or lacking in professional skills (Stuber et al., 2008; Tsai & Thompson, 2013). Thus, immigrants who are underemployed are at higher risk for experiencing or internalizing stigma, which can contribute to the development of low self-esteem and depressive symptoms (Stuber et al., 2008). These scenarios describe that while immigration alone can be challenging, the obstacles immigrants experience in obtaining employment, and the conditions of such employment, can threaten or exacerbate their health and well-being.

Leisure and Well-being

Leisure, which includes freely chosen activities or experiences like arts, sports, volunteering, or spiritual activities that are engaged in during discretionary time, can provide people with opportunities for satisfaction, enjoyment, and meaning from those experiences (Karlis et al., 2002; Liu & Fu, 2019; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997; Shannon, 2013). Engagement in leisure can be beneficial for improving immigrants' health and well-being and overall life satisfaction, as evident in research that has increasingly supported the prospect of leisure as a meaningful and effective way of coping with stress related to immigration (Caldwell, 2005; Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003; Kim et al., 2016; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009). For instance, Kim and Iwasaki (2016) identified that meanings constructed and derived from leisure experiences such as maintaining positive relationships within members of a group, can be helpful for overcoming immigration-related stress.

Health and Well-being Achieved through Meaningful Leisure Experiences

Specifically, participating in social gatherings like social drinking or eating are understood to promote friendships and social bonding among immigrants, and these activities can effectively buffer acculturation stress³ experienced by immigrants (Kim & Iwasaki, 2016). In addition to Kim and Iwasaki's (2016) study, the significance of leisure beyond the aspects of immigrants' health and well-being is supported by another study performed in Southwestern Ontario that emphasized leisure's value in fostering community as it unites individuals from different cultural backgrounds through activities like sports and multicultural festivals (Golob & Giles, 2015). Thus, leisure experiences can be considered an important tool for immigrants to

³ Acculturation stress is stress related to psychological and sociocultural adaptation that is experienced throughout cultural and psychological change followed by contact between different sets of beliefs, cultures, attitudes, and behaviours (Kim & Iwasaki, 2016; Kim et al., 2016).

explore and practice their membership within Canadian society (Golob & Giles, 2015). Indeed, leisure has a strong potential for bringing people together and for making them feel like they are a part of something meaningful (Blackshaw, 2010, as cited in Spracklen et al., 2015).

Although engagement in leisure can promote meaningful experiences that can function to support immigrants in positively coping with stress, facilitating a sense of membership within society (Golob & Giles, 2015), and promoting health and well-being and overall life satisfaction (Kim et al., 2016), immigrants' lived experiences of leisure are not homogenous. Rather, cultural characteristics or "ways of life" (Chick, 2009, p. 306), including beliefs, values, and traditions, can influence immigrants' leisure-related choices, behaviours, attitudes, motivations, and experiences (Chick, 2009; Suh et al., 2009). Such "ways of life" (Chick, 2009, p. 306) are worth paying attention to. However, leisure literature related to race, ethnicity, and culture are still emerging (Stodolska, 2000) and thus, a deeper exploration and investigation of immigrants' lived experiences of leisure is warranted.

Employment and Leisure as Sources of Social Connection

Leisure can promote an experience or attainment of community life or engagement and a sense of belonging. Salami and colleagues' (2019) recent work explained that immigrants in Alberta who are unemployed or are employed in precarious or low-paying jobs lack opportunities for social interaction and community engagement. As employment can provide individuals with opportunities for engaging with one's community, having meaningful social connections, and experiencing a sense of purpose or contribution, employment can be a path for immigrants to gain a sense of belonging (Halli & Anchan, 2005; Kennedy & McDonald, 2006; Whyte & Sharpe, 2016). Further, the exploration of one's social networks and even of oneself (or

one's identity) can be cultivated through meaningful engagement in one's community and through a sense of belonging, which can be experienced (or not) through employment.

Belonging is a dimension and an outcome of an inclusive society or community (Whyte & Sharpe, 2016). Kennedy and McDonald (2006) suggest that employment can provide immigrants with opportunities for social interaction and meaningful engagement in structured activities within a community. Thus, employment can be a source of belonging among immigrants as belonging can be cultivated by feelings of inclusion or acceptance brought about by engagement in something meaningful (Whyte & Sharpe, 2016) like employment.

Identity in the Context of Employment and Leisure. In addition to employment as a source of belonging and meaningful social interaction, employment can also be a source of identity. Identity is understood as process wherein one comes to know, find, and understand oneself and the various dimensions of oneself through their everyday experiences, which are dynamically shaped by social structures and contexts (England, 2018; Erwin, 1982; Lascano et al., 2014; Liu & Fu, 2019; Sica, et al., 2014; Steiner et al., 2013). Immigrants can develop, maintain, or reconstruct their identity (Bond & Falk, 2013) from employment as paid work can symbolize one's status or position in society. Thus, employment can be a path for individuals to understand, explore, and express their identity.

If employment can provide individuals with opportunities for understanding, exploring, and building their sense of belonging and identity wherein they can derive self-worth, self-respect, and a sense of competency (Genoe & Dupuis, 2011), then experiences of un/underemployment can rob immigrants of opportunities to develop, affirm, or reconstruct their own identities in creative and reflexive ways (Aysa-Lastra & Cachón, 2015; Luyckx et al.,

2008). There is thus a need to explore alternative avenues for immigrants to (re)construct, (re)develop, and/or reinforce identity.

Leisure and Its Roles in Identity

Mair and colleagues (2011) challenged the idea that work and paid employment must be the sole means to assert identity. Rather, jeopardized identities experienced through un/underemployment can be developed, maintained, reconstructed, or expressed (Bond & Falk, 2013) through leisure, as leisure can be a source of refuge, satisfaction, enjoyment, and a sense of identity (expression) (Spracklen et al., 2015, Tirone & Shaw, 1997). In addition, Caldwell (2005) posits:

“...although work is a context where competence can be experienced, people tend to... engage in activities in their leisure in which they feel they either are competent or can develop competence, thereby heightening the chance to feel competent...” (pp. 18-19).

Further, leisure may be understood as a time or space to get *in tune* with oneself, “...providing an opportunity for identity [expression]...” (Caldwell, 2005, p. 19). Therefore, leisure may be considered to play a key role in identity by providing people a path to understand, explore, discover, and express their own unique identity (Liu & Fu, 2019; Shannon, 2013).

To illustrate, in the exploration of female immigrants’ experiences of employment in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick, community involvement (rather than employment alone) was described to have a direct impact on identity (Tastsoglou et al., 2015). In addition, Wilcox and Busse (2016) demonstrated that identity can be reconstructed through dancing as forms of art that represent one’s cultural or ethnic origins can contribute to the embodiment of one’s identity. Finally, leisure can be a positive source for immigrants to (re)establish or express their (ethnic) identity during challenging times like discrimination, hostility, or isolation (Kelly & Godbey, 1992, as cited in Stodolska & Yi, 2003). Indeed, identity can be practiced and explored not only

through occupational pursuits, but also through various leisure activities as involvement in leisure serves to affirm one's identity (Kleiber et al., 2002).

Theoretical Frameworks for Understanding Leisure's Roles in Identity

There are two relevant theoretical frameworks that guide this study's development and understanding of leisure and identity as experienced by Filipino immigrants. The theoretical frameworks discussed in this section are: Role of Race, Ethnicity, and Culture in Leisure and Identity (and its supporting frameworks – *heterogenous racial group perspective, bicultural model of identity, and subcultural or ethnicity hypothesis*), and the Three Stages of Identity Expression (identity development, identity maintenance, and identity reconstruction) (Bond & Falk, 2013; Celious & Oyersman, 2001; Chick, 2009; Floyd & Stodolska, 2014; Liu & Fu, 2019; Toomey et al., 2013). As leisure and identity is intricately interwoven among race, ethnicity, and culture (Floyd & Stodolska, 2014), these connections must be closely examined to understand Filipino immigrants' lived experiences of leisure and its roles in identity in times of un/underemployment.

From a sociological standpoint, race can be defined as a social construct that classifies and characterizes people based on their physical attributes (such as skin, hair, or eye colour; Brym & Lie, 2012). Sharaievskia et al. (2010) also describe race as a social construct that may be based on assumptions that a person's physical characteristics are attributed to other characteristics beyond the physical, such as one's level of intelligence, morality, or culture; such social constructions of race can have social and economic implications on people, based on their race and/or the race they identify with. However, Celious and Oyersman (2001) state that "Race is not a simple concept...", (p. 149) nor is it simply a category in which people belong. Rather, race is highly interconnected with culture, social class, or status in one's community; one's race

can have economic, social, or political implications on one's life or lived realities (Celious & Oyersman, 2001).

Race as a social construct can be understood within the context of employment – that specific industries, labour markets, or jobs are typically or must be dominantly occupied by people of a certain race or racial group. An example of racialization of employment is the expectation that many Filipino/as working abroad are nurses or caregivers due to their strong presence in these industries. To illustrate, a Filipino Professor at a Canadian university recounted her story of being mistaken as a nanny by a fellow Filipina (who was working as a nanny herself) when she took her children (who had physical features that resemble their father's Scottish ancestry) out to play at a public park in a Canadian city during the early 2000s (Ty, 2012). Although many Filipino/as around the world, indeed, work as 'affective labourers' (Ty, 2012, p. 52) – as healthcare workers, child and elderly caregivers, or in other service sectors, the construction of the Filipino race based on employment can lead to the misrecognition or invisibility (McElhinny et al., 2012) of Filipinos working in other job sectors and consequently, their diverse lived experiences.

Further, study respondents in Kelly et al.'s (2012) research about Filipino immigrants' labour market outcomes and experiences in Toronto pointed out how there is often a 'racialized hierarchy' (p. 84) in their workplaces – that higher roles like managerial or supervisory positions are often occupied by white folks, while racialized folks are often seen working lower-level jobs or taking on blue-collar or service roles. In fact, one of their study participants shared that in their workplace, the higher you go within their building, the 'whiter' the floors increasingly become (as they are occupied more and more by white employees who hold higher positions), perpetuating not only feelings of displacement and isolation, but also the "conception of the

types of work in which Filipinos can (and should) ‘normally’ be found” (Kelly et al., 2012, p. 85).

Identity Rooted in Race, Culture, and Ethnicity. Many immigrants, including Filipinos, are considered underserved and underrepresented because of the inequities they face, which are brought about by beliefs, policies, and practices that cause them to be discriminated against and/or to experience racism. Thus, to understand Filipino immigrants’ experiences of leisure and identity, it is important to keep in mind how such experiences may be influenced by race, culture, and ethnicity, and in relation to their lived experiences of being underserved or underrepresented (within immigration or employment experiences, for example).

Membership, Belonging, and Ethnic Identity. As identity and employment have yet to be extensively examined within the context of immigration, (Drydakis, 2013), further investigation is required to understand how immigrants express their identity in the absence of employment or how they negotiate their identity within the context of experiencing a shift or change in employment. According to Kivel and Kleiber (2000), people can have multiple identities that are expressed depending on the context or situation. Similarly, a person can have one core identity and can have multiple ways of expressing their identity (Christiansen, 2020). Indeed, identity can reflect a person’s set of characteristics which can include, but are not limited to race, gender, age, and class (Kivel, 2000; Liu & Fu, 2019) and these identities can be (re)affirmed, (re)negotiated, and expressed in various, context-dependent ways (Hutchinson & Kleiber, 2005; Kivel & Kleiber, 2000; Lundberg et al., 2011).

There is strong literature investigating the connection between identity and experiences relevant to immigrants. For example, ethnic identity describes how people classify themselves not only within a society, but also within their membership or sense of belonging within an

ethnic or cultural group (Drydakis, 2013). In other words, the exploration or expression of one's ethnic identity can be described as a process wherein individuals within an ethnic group understand, explore, assess, and express the meaning of their membership within an ethnic group (Gonzales-Backen et al., 2017). For example, immigrants who have recently immigrated into a host nation may have a strong sense of ethnic identity but may feel compelled to reject or to downplay their ethnic identity when they experience hostility or discrimination (Drydakis, 2013).

Discrimination is characterized as a situation in which a person (for example, an immigrant) is not treated fairly because of either their race, gender, accent, ethnicity, or other factors related to those characteristics (Sethi, 2015). That is, while immigrants can have a strong sense of belonging and commitment to an ethnic group, their identity can be negotiated or compromised due to negative experiences like discrimination, which is a common experience for immigrants in contexts like employment or social integration (Constant & Zimmermann, 2008; Drydakis, 2013). In such circumstances, it may be likely that people can intentionally distance themselves from their ethnic identity due to negative experiences they associate with it (such as experiencing un/underemployment or feeling like an outsider because of their accent) or as a coping mechanism from the negative experiences in relation to membership or self-identification with group associated with one's race, culture, or ethnicity (van Veelen et al., 2020).

Race, Culture, and Ethnicity Contributing to Un/Underemployment. As another example, immigrant teachers in Canada are reported to face greater barriers in obtaining employment, despite having qualifications that surpass that of their newly certified Canadian-born counterparts (Schmidt, 2010). This situation illustrates that immigrants can experience discrimination in the context of employment due to discriminatory hiring practices (Reitz, 2012; Schmidt, 2010). Similarly, one's ethnic identity may be compromised or negotiated in

experiencing c/overt discrimination based on ability (or lack thereof) to obtain or maintain employment within one's field. Guo (2015) similarly describes this experience as 'the colour of the skill' – circumstances wherein immigrants in Canada are unable to obtain employment within their profession due to the colour of their skin, thick accent, or highly foreign-sounding names. If immigrants experience discrimination within employment (apart from other domains of everyday life), it is a possibility that they may want to distance themselves from or reject their association with their ethnic identity because of the negative experiences they encounter that are related to their race or ethnicity (e.g., not wanting to associate themselves from aspects of their race, culture, or ethnicity as a coping mechanism, or to assimilate faster to 'blend into' society; van Veelen et al., 2020).

Leisure Experiences as Influenced by Race, Culture, and Ethnicity. In addition, immigrants may be fearful of experiencing discrimination within recreational settings because of cultural differences or unfamiliarity with cultural norms related to leisure and/or recreation (Shores et al. 2007). Specifically, immigrants can feel discomfort and reduced enjoyment when their perceptions of leisure do not match their expectations of leisure activities or experiences. For instance, a lack of family-oriented programs or single-sex facilities within a recreational setting can lead to a 'clash' in immigrants' 'non-Western' perceptions of leisure when such expectations of what leisure can look like or how recreation can be experienced are not met (Höglhammer et al., 2015; Shores et al., 2007). These cultural factors can contribute to fear of discrimination (Shores et al., 2007) which can thus, associate leisure with negative experiences for some.

However, leisure has the potential to be a positive source of identity amidst negative experiences, as leisure is understood to make us 'work on', 'engage' with, assert, or express our

identities (Rojek, 2010, as cited in Spracklen et al., 2015). In fact, Gonzales-Backen et al. (2017) describe how experiences of perceived discrimination can facilitate the development, expression, and/or assertion of one's ethnic identity as negative experiences like perceived discrimination may be a way and/or motivation to explore and for some, to embrace their ethnic identity. Hemingway (1998) also offers helpful insights to understand how one can explore, understand, or (re)claim their ethnic identity through leisure and/or amidst discrimination –when people attach and/or derive meaning from their leisure experiences, they come to know themselves through those experiences. Further, Hemingway (1998) suggested that “It is on these meanings that human[s] understand themselves to be acting [or doing]”, (p. 155) and experiencing life.

It is thus, through the meanings that one derives from their leisure experiences or activities that they come to know, understand, and express themselves, and these leisure experiences have the potential to facilitate understandings of oneself or one's identity within the world they live (Pieper, 1998). Further, as “There can only be leisure, when [a person] is at one with [themselves],” (Pieper, 1998, p. 50), leisure can be a positive source of identity amidst experiences that allow people to explore, understand, and express their (ethnic) identity. Although immigrants can experience discrimination either in their attempts to obtain employment or through other challenges related to resettlement or immigration, engaging in activities like sports, arts, and community life or having experiences that provide them with a sense of meaning, satisfaction, and fulfillment, can encourage them to explore, express, and/or assert their identity, as leisure can facilitate (ethnic) identity exploration and development (Karlis et al., 2002; Li & Stodolska, 2018; Liu & Fu, 2019; Mair et al., 2010; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997; Rojek, 2010, as cited in Spracklen et al., 2015; Shannon, 2013).

Role of Race, Culture, and Ethnicity in Leisure and Identity. Celious and Oyersman (2001) declare that “race matters” (p.149) as race has the power to influence people and their life experiences. At the same time, leisure scholars also recognize that “race and ethnicity matter in leisure” (Floyd & Stodolska, 2014, p. 10). For example, ethnic identity is perceived to be expressed in leisure settings more than other social settings as “leisure is subject to fewer normative pressures” (p. 10) that compel people to conform to a set of standards (Floyd & Stodolska, 2014). Thus, as leisure can promote the self-expression through freely chosen activities performed during one’s discretionary time, leisure can be a path for racialized and/or underserved like Filipino immigrants, to explore and/or express their identity (Kivel & Kleiber, 2000; Liu & Fu, 2019; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997; Shannon, 2013). The subsequent paragraphs explore and discuss the theoretical frameworks that are key to this study.

Heterogenous Racial Group Perspective. As identity can be fluid and contextual (Arai & Kivel, 2009; Kivel et al., 2009; Kivel & Kleiber, 2002), the role of race must be further explored in the investigation of leisure’s role in identity. Filipinos can be described as hardworking and family-oriented people (Morillo et al., 2013) who value faith, food, and fun. However, Filipino immigrants are not a homogenous group of people but are rather, people who share similar, yet unique lived experiences. That is, while Filipino immigrants can have shared circumstances or experiences related to immigration, race can intersect with other identity markers (Arai & Kivel, 2009) such as gender (identity), employment (professional identity), income (class identity), and social status (social identity), which can all influence one’s lived experiences of leisure (Iman & Boostani, 2012; Kivel & Kleiber, 2000).

On the contrary, it is worth noting that identity may not always be experienced or understood in an inherently positive way. Within the context of Filipino culture, for example,

different aspects of these identity markers, such as gender, can be experienced negatively or can be considered taboo. Nadal and Corpus (2013) share how gay men in the Philippines tend to be “closeted” – they hide or restrain expression of this aspect of their identity due to embarrassment, fear of being rejected by or disappointing family members or friends, and failure to uphold the *machisimo* belief (that all men must exude masculine behaviours that are typical for ‘men’). In addition, one’s skin colour can be associated with social class (particularly its relation to wealth or profession) within Filipino culture. In de Leon’s (2012) book chapter, colourism was described as a phenomenon or belief that skin colour contributes discriminatory treatment of people within the same racial group. Lasco and Hardon (2019) support this idea by explaining how within Filipino culture, skin colour is associated with social class or socioeconomic status; that being lighter skinned can make people feel that they are cleaner, richer, and/or that they may have access to better job opportunities. This aspect of (socioeconomic or class) identity, in relation to physical attributes (such as skin colour), demonstrates how identity may be experienced in a negative light within Filipino culture.

Thus, these identity markers (Arai & Kivel, 2009) that are connected to race, can consequently and/or simultaneously influence the way people express their identity (which can be experienced or expressed through leisure). Celious and Oyersman (2001) offer a helpful perspective for understanding this concept; the *heterogenous racial group perspective* explains that differences within a racial group that are associated with identity markers (Arai & Kivel, 2009) must not only be acknowledged, but must especially be critically examined. To illustrate, Filipinos are known to be bilingual (English and Filipino) as they are privileged to have English as either a first or second language in the Philippines (Barber, 2008). While this bilingualism is a well-known attribute among Filipinos, it does not generalize for all other Filipinos who speak

more than two languages or dialects like *Chavacano*, *Ilocano*, and *Bisaya* (Totanes, 2012). Similarly, Filipinos are known to dominate the nursing and caregiver professions in Canada (Bonifacio, 2008). However, there are also Filipinos who are employed (although marginally represented) in other industries beyond the health professions (Haan, 2008; POEA, 2008; Wang & Sangalang, 2005). Thus, the *heterogenous racial group perspective* (Celious & Oyersman, 2001) promotes that the recognition of intergroup differences among members of a racial group is essential to understand the uniqueness of not only their identity, but also their lived experiences.

Bicultural Model of Identity. Toomey and colleagues (2013) explain that probing deeper into identity can help us understand the complex layers of people's identities. The bicultural model of identity can clarify how race and identity are related by explaining that people can experience a continual (re)negotiation, (re)discovery, and understanding of their own identity (Toomey et al., 2013). Further, the *heterogenous racial group perspective* (Celious & Oyersman, 2001) explains that racialized individuals can have heterogenous experiences within the world in which they live, work, play, and pray (Cromley et al., 2011), and these experiences can therefore influence the development of bicultural identity (Toomey et al., 2013). One's bicultural identity can be described as a dynamic process of discovering, developing, and expressing identity that is contingent on dual cultural or racial influences (Toomey et al., 2013).

Bicultural identity can be described as the process of discovering, negotiating, and mobilizing people's 'old' and 'new' selves by "maintaining a connection with their cultural heritage" (England, 2018, pp. 15-16), when considering contexts like immigration or tourism (i.e., visiting a new country and questioning one's national or ethnic identity in relation to the country they are visiting; Bond & Falk, 2013). Within the context of immigration, immigrants

can have bicultural identities – one that may have been established prior to immigrating, and another that may be (re)negotiated, (re)discovered (Toomey et al., 2013), and expressed amidst their interactions and experiences within a host society and throughout their experiences of immigration and resettlement.

Subcultural (or Ethnicity) Hypothesis. In addition to understanding the intersections of race on one's identity, leisure's role in these intersections must be investigated. Culture, which can be interpreted as a "situational and context-dependent way of life", is an important tool for understanding the way people derive meaning from their practices and experiences in everyday life (Chick, 2009, p. 306). Floyd and Stodolska (2014) explained that identity can be expressed through leisure, and this claim can be supported by the *subcultural hypothesis* (also known as *ethnicity hypothesis*), which proposes that intergroup variation or differences can be attributed to people's cultural norms and characteristics (Chick, 2009; Floyd & Stodolska, 2014; Toomey et al., 2013). Thus, culture can be instrumental for exploring, understanding, and explaining leisure and its role in identity (Chick, 2009) as experienced by immigrants.

Identity Theory: Three Stages of Identity Expression. The theoretical frameworks previously described offer fundamental perspectives that are relevant to this study's exploration of leisure's role in identity among Filipino immigrants. These theoretical frameworks can be further understood in the context of the three stages of identity expression as described in Bond and Falk's (2013) work on identity and applied to Liu and Fu's (2019) study on leisure and identity. Specifically, Bond and Falk (2013) support Kivel and Kleiber's (2000) claim that people can have multiple identities and that identity can be constructed and experienced dynamically. That is, identity is fluid and is frequently determined by context (Liu & Fu, 2019). Thus, the expression of one's identity can be understood and distinguished by three key stages,

namely *identity development*, *identity maintenance*, and *identity reconstruction* (Bond & Falk, 2013; Liu & Fu, 2019). These three key stages of identity expression will be explored and applied to guide the process of understanding the lived experiences of leisure and its roles in identity in times of un/underemployment while integrating the influences of race, ethnicity, and culture in our understanding of these experiences.

Identity Development. Identity development is the process of learning norms, actions, and behaviours that are expressed based on certain situations (Liu & Fu, 2019; Iman & Boostani, 2012). Immigrants can develop their identity as they are exposed to new norms, actions, and behaviours (Liu & Fu, 2019; Iman & Boostani, 2012) like learning a new language or understanding a new (Canadian) culture. Identity development among immigrants can encompass the process of making sense of oneself within larger and newer contexts or environments (Schwartz et al., 2017). For example, immigrants can develop and learn to express their ‘new’ identity within the diverse Canadian culture – what it is like or what it means to be immigrants in Canada, for them, in addition to their existing identity that is linked to their race, culture, ethnicity, or their immigration experience. In this case, they could even develop a bicultural identity (Toomey et al., 2013), based on how they perceive or understand themselves within the context of living in Canada through the process of discovering, encountering, or understanding Canada’s diverse culture and how they understand or express themselves in relation to their racial, cultural, or ethnic heritage. Thus, immigrants can develop their identity by exploring and/or deciding what it means to practice their cultural norms, attitudes, and beliefs within broader domains of society like work or social relationships (Schwartz et al., 2017), which may be impacted or shaped by experiences like immigration.

Identity Maintenance. Identity maintenance describes the state in which a person wishes to uphold an aspect of their identity for any given time(s) (Liu & Fu, 2019). Immigrants may practice identity maintenance once they have gained a deeper awareness of themselves by understanding the interactions between their internalized construct of identity (or their pre-established identity) and the evolution of their identity, which can continue to be shaped by social forces (Liu & Fu, 2019; Bond & Falk, 2013). As an example of immigrants exhibiting this stage of identity expression, they may engage in religious or spiritual practices that are consistent with those practiced in their home countries, as Berhó et al. (2017) suggest that gradually acquiring the characteristics and norms of one's culture through religious practices garners the maintenance of one's (ethnic) identity. That is, while immigrants can come to Canada with their pre-established 'immigrant' or ethnic identity, they can choose to maintain it by engaging in practices (like spirituality or religiosity) that promote the maintenance of their identity.

Identity Reconstruction. Identity reconstruction is a process of reorganization and restoration of an existing aspect of one's identity (Liu & Fu, 2019; Iman & Boostani, 2012). Immigrants can enter this stage of identity expression when they acknowledge that there is a conflicting aspect of their constructed identity due to the emergence of a new role within their identity (Liu & Fu, 2019). For example, immigrants can reconstruct or experience a shift in their identities since mobility, immigration, and settlement can shape identity (Brym & Lie, 2012; Li & Stodolska, 2018; Marcu, 2015). As immigrants cross international borders to settle permanently within a host nation, the process of immigration can facilitate the reconstruction of their identity (Caidi et al., 2010, Li, 2003; Marcu, 2015).

Moreover, identity reconstruction emphasizes the impact of conflict, change, and challenges on people's abilities to restore or reconstruct their identities (Liu & Fu, 2019). As

immigrants leave their home countries to permanently resettle into another (Caidi et al., 2010; Li, 2003), they often encounter conflict, change, and challenge. Thus, identity reconstruction is relevant to immigrants who may (re)discover and (re)negotiate the emergence of a new aspect of their identity throughout their experiences of immigration (Bond & Falk, 2013; Liu & Fu, 2019). This stage of identity expression can be more salient among immigrants as the reorganization of certain dimensions of their established identities is an important expression of their pre-established 'immigrant' or ethnic identities.

Similarly, immigrants can reconstruct their identity in times of stressful experiences like adaptation and seeking employment. That is, as immigrants experience discrimination, hostility, or isolation (Kelly & Godbey, 1992, as cited in Stodolska & Yi, 2003) within their experiences of adjusting or adapting to Canadian culture and environments, they may experience a deterioration of their pre-established 'immigrant' or ethnic identities. However, they can 'engage' or 'work on' their identities (Rojek, 2010, as cited in Spracklen et al., 2015) by reconstructing it through leisure or other meaningful practices (Caldwell, 2005; Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003; Kim et al., 2016; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009).

Tying the Theoretical Frameworks Together

Immigration is not simply about geographical change, but also about cultural transition and identity negotiation (Guo, 2013, as cited in Brigham et al., 2018). Specifically, in understanding how immigrants' identities can shift, Bond and Falk's (2013) *Identity Theory: Three Stages of Identity Expression* and Toomey and colleagues' (2013) *Bicultural Model of Identity* relate to how immigrants can experience identity negotiation or reconstruction amidst resettlement, change, and transition. Since immigration brings about shifts in daily living, routine, employment, and culture, it is thus natural that identity may not only be negotiated, but

may also be reconstructed or expressed dynamically (through development, maintenance, and/or negotiation; Bond & Falk, 2013) and may be influenced by different sets of cultural norms, paving the way for the potential formation of a bicultural identity (Toomey et al., 2103) throughout the experience of immigration.

In addition, given that immigration and resettlement may be characterized by the exploration or discovery of new (leisure) experiences or activities, Floyd and Stodolska (2014) suggest in the *subcultural (or ethnicity) hypothesis* that culture plays a role in how racially diverse individuals experience leisure and in how they express their ethnic or cultural identity through those leisure activities or experiences. Since this theory is connected to race, culture, and ethnicity, in relation to leisure and identity, the *subcultural (or ethnicity) hypothesis* (Floyd & Stodolska, 2014) is relevant to identity as experienced within the contexts of leisure and immigration. Finally, the *heterogenous racial group perspective* (Celious & Oyersman, 2001) emphasizes that racialized individuals' identities and lived experiences are unique, given the diverse characteristics that can intersect with identity and lived experience. Because people's lived experiences are unique and complex, no two experiences or identities are homogenous (they can be similar, but not identical). Overall, these theoretical frameworks go hand in hand with one another, supporting this study's scope and purpose.

Lived Experiences of Leisure and Its Roles in Identity

Although these three key stages of identity expression outline how identity can be developed, maintained, and reconstructed (Bond & Falk, 2013; Liu & Fu, 2019) throughout immigration, it is important to recognize that identity is fluid and dynamic (Arai & Kivel, 2009; Kivel et al., 2009; Kivel & Kleiber, 2000; Liu & Fu, 2019). That is, people can express their identity in one, two, or all three stages of identity expression (or in other diverse ways that have

yet to be identified by current research and/or by the relevant theories incorporated into this study). Further, people may also express their identity in these three stages either independently or synergistically (or both). Therefore, the pathways in which identity may be expressed can be understood by investigating the lived experiences of leisure and its roles in identity (expression) as experienced by immigrants.

Researchers have examined the intersection of leisure and identity to understand leisure's role in identity development, maintenance, and reconstruction (Bond & Falk, 2013; Kivel, 2000; Liu & Fu, 2019). For instance, Jun and Kyle (2012) established that participation in leisure activities (such as golf) can play a role in the formation of one's identity. In addition, Genoe and Dupuis' (2011) exploration of the role of leisure in identity maintenance among individuals living with dementia demonstrated that the facilitation of leisure activities and leisure-related goals can retain and nurture one's identity. Lin and Graefe (2019) also discovered that a sense of belonging cultivated through engagement in informal leisure activities like roller skating is a meaningful way of (re)establishing and reconstructing one's identity.

While leisure is considered an important context for acquiring new skills or exploring a new way of understanding or defining oneself which can naturally build, affirm, and reconstruct one's identity (Kivel & Kleiber, 2000; Lin & Graefe, 2019), the role of leisure in identity as experienced by immigrants is understudied. In addition, while scholars have suggested that leisure is valuable for people and communities to gain a sense of identity as engaging in leisure encourages us to 'engage with', 'work on', our express our identity (Rojek, 2010, as cited in Spracklen et al., 2015), further investigation is needed to understand the roles of leisure in identity development, maintenance, and reconstruction, as experienced by immigrants (Bond & Falk, 2013; Liu & Fu, 2019). Finally, analysing how (un/under)employment experiences can

challenge or impact immigrants' sense of identity is important in understanding how leisure plays a role in the experiences of immigrants (and their identity) as immigrants tend to experience un/underemployment upon the early days of their resettlement (Dean & Wilson, 2009; Statistics Canada, n.d.).

Impact of Current Events on Leisure, Identity, and Employment

The COVID-19 pandemic has stimulated global fear, panic, and prejudice, apart from eliciting physical, mental, emotional distress (Cullen et al., 2020; Rzymiski & Nowicki, 2020). The uncertainty and instability associated with this current crisis has also left many Canadians unsure of their lives and of their careers (Kuehner-Hebert, 2020). In fact, unemployment rates are rising drastically as a result of this pandemic (Kuehner-Hebert, 2020) and more than one million Canadians have already lost their jobs due to the rapid closures of businesses and multiple layoffs in various industries (Bakx, 2020; Evans, 2020). With these news and current events, unemployment has made itself a phenomenon more common and problematic today as unemployment is a stressor for everyone (Beiser & Hou, 2006); that is, not only for immigrants, but also for many Canadians.

However, newcomers and immigrants to Canada suffer additional harms like precarious housing, low income, and issues with documentation or status (Wilkinson, 2020). Immigrants who experience unemployment during this pandemic can thus be at risk for experiencing increased financial burden, food insecurity, and deployment if they continue to be overlooked in times of crises. In this midst of this pandemic, immigrants in Canada were also reported to exhibit higher rates of economic and social impacts like lower life satisfaction, anxiety and nervousness, and greater pressure to meet financial obligations like paying rent or mortgage (Jedwab, 2020). To illustrate, Filipino immigrant communities in Alberta have been dramatically

impacted by COVID-19 as several Filipinos employees at a meat packing plant tested positive for the coronavirus (Graveland, 2020). As a result, the plant was immediately closed until further notice, leaving many Filipino migrant workers and their families unemployed and fearful of the future, as employment is crucial for many migrant workers' legal status (Graveland, 2020). Indeed, unemployment experienced by immigrants is a relevant issue today that necessitates attention and action given the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic.

While Filipino immigrant health care workers may not be as drastically affected by unemployment during this pandemic as the meat packers described above, they may rather be experiencing an increased demand for employment at this time. Consequently, they can still experience high rates of stress, professional burnout, and symptoms of anxiety and depression (Lancee et al., 2008). That is, whether they are health care workers who are rightfully employed based on their credentials or health care workers who are underemployed, Filipino immigrant health care workers are still susceptible to the imposed demands and pressures associated with the current crisis and their employment within the healthcare system.

In fact, Lancee and colleagues (2008) reported that nearly 60 per cent of health care workers in Toronto experienced significant emotional and mental distress during the SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) outbreak in 2003. Although Lancee and colleagues (2008) did not specify whether health care workers in their study were immigrants, immigrants are more likely than others to experience health and income disparities in the midst of a pandemic as they are more likely to be positions of disadvantage or suffer additional harms (Truman, et al., 2009; Wilkinson, 2020). Thus, the pandemic is anticipated to impact the way Filipino immigrants express or practice their identity, as stress, a prevalent reality present in many people's lives, can be exacerbated by a pandemic (Iwasaki, 2013).

Consequently, added pressures and demands imposed on people's lives can jeopardize their ability and process of developing, maintaining, or reconstructing their identity (Bond & Falk, 2013; Iwasaki, 2013; Jackson, 2005, as cited in Liu & Fu, 2019). Therefore, it is important to explore the role of leisure in the reconstruction or rediscovery of one's identity amidst stress and crisis as leisure cultivated through different aspects of one's life – personal, social, cultural, or spiritual – can provide opportunities for satisfaction, fulfillment, and enjoyment (Iwasaki, 2013; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). Moreover, understanding oneself and finding meaning from leisure activities can allow people to explore strategies for coping with stress which can consequently result in an enhanced quality of life and a healthy sense of oneself or one's identity (Iwasaki, 2013; Kleiber et al., 2002).

Given this review of the literature on the anticipated impact of current events on identity and employment, this study intends to acquire a broad understanding of leisure's role in identity reconstruction among Filipino immigrants through their experiences of employment throughout both their immigration journey and the current pandemic.

Gaps in the Literature and Summary

This chapter provided a review of the literature regarding Canadian immigration, Filipino immigrants, and their employment experiences within Canada. Given this review of the literature, we know that there is a lack of evidence that focuses on Filipino immigrants' lived experiences beyond major Canadian cities and beyond the contexts of the health professions. Thus, conducting this study dedicated to the experiences of leisure and its roles in identity among Filipino immigrants living in Nova Scotia can contribute to the literature about Filipino immigrants in Canada. In addition, while this chapter explored the literature regarding leisure and its impacts on identity, there is a lack of literature about leisure's role in identity as

experienced by immigrants. Thus, this study aims to supply new and/or supporting evidence to the literature about leisure, identity, and race as experienced by Filipino immigrants living in Canada.

Further, the intersections of the race, ethnicity, and culture were explored using two theoretical frameworks that guide the understanding of the role of leisure in identity, namely: Role of Race, Ethnicity, and Culture in Leisure and Identity (and its supporting frameworks – *heterogenous racial group perspective, bicultural model of identity, and subcultural or ethnicity hypothesis*), and the Three Stages of Identity Expression (identity development, identity maintenance, and identity reconstruction), in which these phenomena are embedded (Bond & Falk, 2013; Celious & Oyersman, 2001; Chick, 2009; Floyd & Stodolska, 2014; Liu & Fu, 2019; Toomey et al., 2013). Recent theory related to identity was also reviewed to support the development of this study that investigates the lived experience of leisure and its roles in identity during un/underemployment experienced by Filipino immigrants living in Nova Scotia. Considerations regarding the COVID-19 pandemic and its implications on employment, identity, and leisure were also discussed in this chapter. This review of the literature provides a strong foundation for this study, which explore leisure’s role in identity through experiences that have been shaped by both immigration and current events.

CHAPTER 3: EPISTEMOLOGY, METHODOLOGY, METHODS

This study adopted a social constructivist worldview and a hermeneutic phenomenological research design to understand, interpret, and derive meaning from Filipino immigrants' lived experiences of leisure and its roles in shaping identity in times of un/underemployment (Fendt et al., 2014; Lavery, 2003; Sloan & Bowe, 2014; Spence, 2017). Data were collected through open-ended, semi-structured bilingual videoconferencing interviews to explore Filipino immigrants' lived experiences, multiple perspectives, and realities that influence (Spence, 2017) their lived experiences of leisure and its roles in their identity.

Worldview

This hermeneutic phenomenological study is rooted in a social constructivist worldview. Social constructivism is a paradigm that seeks to understand how social contexts influence the way people derive meanings from their everyday experiences while accounting for the influences of the world in which they live and work (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Keaton & Bodie, 2011; Paris, 2011). Social constructivists acknowledge the meanings people derive from their experiences as multiple and subjective – that meanings are a product of participating in social practices that are structured and influenced not only by people's beliefs, but also by political and historical events (Watkins, 2000). This worldview lends itself well this study's exploration of how Filipino immigrants understand, interpret, and derive meaning from their experiences of leisure and its roles on identity experienced in times of un/underemployment.

Social constructivists also accept that knowledge is (co-)created through collaboration between “social actors” and the meanings that they construct from their socially organized practices (Glover, 2004, p. 67; Watkins, 2000). This worldview, then, supports the idea that people explore, understand, and acknowledge what is ‘real’ through their experiences and that

knowledge, learning, and meanings derived from those experiences are inherently social (Paris, 2011). For example, Cobb (1994) explains that the concept, “individual-in-social action” (p. 13), is at the core of social constructivism, which means that knowledge is constructed and perceived based on a person’s interaction with and interpretation of something experienced within a social context (Airasian & Walsh, 1997, as cited in Paris, 2011).

Further, the social constructivist worldview acknowledges that the researcher (i.e., me) is not an objective observer but is rather, an active co-creator in the research. That is, the researcher engages in a co-constructed interpretation of the meanings of individuals’ experiences by establishing an open, interactive, two-way researcher-respondent relationship and accepting that there are multiple realities to any lived experiences (Fendt et al., 2014; van Manen, 2014, 2016). Throughout the research process, I engaged in this co-creation of knowledge by choosing an open-ended, conversational interview style (more information about interviews on p. 63), as well as by adopting an interpretive approach to analysing data (see data analysis on p. 67).

Consequently, this process of co-construction and interpretation yields a co-created understanding and interpretation of the phenomena in question (Erlandson et al., 1993, as cited in Manning, 1997; Paris, 2011). As developing subjective meanings towards objects, events, and experiences is imperative to understand experiences that occur in the world that people live in (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), social constructivism is well-suited for this study which investigates people’s lived experience of a phenomenon (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Methodology

The research design that provides a foundation for this study is phenomenology, which is a design of inquiry deeply rooted in philosophy, and describes individuals’ lived experiences of a phenomenon (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Lived experiences can be described as explorations

or interpretations of “life as we know it”, or of the ‘active’ and ‘passive’ living of an experience, which includes experiences that are considered “ordinary and extraordinary, routine and surprising, and dull and exciting” (van Manen, 2014, p. 39).

Laverty (2003) explains this methodology by referring to the work of renowned phenomenologist, Max van Manen, who described phenomenology’s aim to answer the questions, “*What is this experience like?*” or “*What is it like to experience this phenomenon?*” (van Manen, 2014, p. 31). In other words, phenomenology invests itself in the understanding of people’s lifeworlds. Lifeworld is understood as people’s everyday experiences of their existence or the natural attitude of their everyday lives that include experiences or occurrences that are experienced in a “taken-for-granted-manner” (for example, driving a car; van Manen, 2014) (Genoe & Dupuis, 2011; Husserl, 1970, as cited in van Manen 2016; Polkinghorne, 1983, as cited in Laverty, 2003; van Manen, 2014, p. 42).

I chose phenomenology to guide this study as it is deeply anchored in *what it is like* to experience a certain phenomenon and since it is focused on the meaning behind people’s lived experiences, rather than simply their feelings or thoughts about such experiences (van Manen, 2014). At the same time, a phenomenological methodology can be a guide for this study in gaining a better understanding of the structures and contexts that contribute to and interact with people’s lived experiences of a phenomenon (van Manen, 2014). However, there are different branches of phenomenology that, because of their intricate nuances (van Manen, 2014), are often used or referred to interchangeably (Laverty, 2003; Sloan & Bowe, 2014).

Hermeneutic Phenomenology

The specific form of phenomenology that I chose to apply in this study is hermeneutic phenomenology, a branch of phenomenology that focuses on the reflection, description, and

interpretation of people's lived experiences of a phenomenon (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; van Manen, 2014). Hermeneutics is a theory, technology, and practice of interpretation (van Manen, 2016) that reflects human experiences that are explained by interpretation and "rich and rigorous language" (van Manen, 2014, p. 65). Hermeneutics can also be characterized by an ongoing conversation about experiences, pre-understandings, and information that can be considered as truth (Lauterbach, 2018). Hermeneutic phenomenology is "concerned with the lifeworld" (p. 24) – how people experience their lives within the world in which they live, and aims to achieve a sense of understanding of people's experiences through the interpretation of the meanings that people create from the experiences within their lives (Lavery, 2003).

Polkinghorne (p. 24, 1983, as cited in Lavery, 2003) suggests that to understand the world, we must understand *why* we are. Thus, understanding and interpreting one's background or "situatedness in the world" is central to hermeneutic phenomenology. Hermeneutic phenomenology is well-suited for this study and its purpose as it emphasizes that to understand people and their experiences, their culture, history, and background must be also recognized and examined. Understanding *why* we are and our "situatedness in the world" (Polkinghorne, 1983, p. 24, as cited in Lavery, 2003) is supported by hermeneutic phenomenology in that it emphasizes that the co-creation of data and the meaning of those data must be actively co-constructed between the researcher and the participant (Lavery, 2003).

That is, in a study rooted in hermeneutic phenomenology, the researcher provides participants an opportunity to "bring life to their experiences" (Lavery, 2003, p. 30) through conversation, imagination, and engagement in a hermeneutic circle. The hermeneutic circle describes an abstract, continuous process of interpreting meanings of a phenomenon or an experience that takes place through a circle of readings, writing, and deep self-reflection

(Lavery, 2003). The hermeneutic circle can also be described as a space and process of establishing truth by understanding and interpreting a phenomenon through a back and forth of reading, writing, and continuous reflection (Langdrige, 2007, as cited in Sloan & Bowe, 2013). Lauterbach (2018) explains that the researcher and the participants understand and establish truth which is co-constructed through the hermeneutic circle.

In other words, the hermeneutic circle embodies an abstract, circular path that one enters and re-enters to understand and interpret people's lived experiences by reading, writing, and reflecting on the meaning of those experiences (Langdrige, 2007, as cited in Sloan & Bowe, 2003; Lavery, 2003). Entering the hermeneutic circle also allows the researcher (i.e., me) to engage in a simultaneous self-reflection and reflexivity (Lavery, 2003) to understand the texts and meanings of a phenomenon. Further, the co-construction of the meanings achieved by entering the hermeneutic circle allows the researcher to capture the essences, multiple realities, pre-understandings, and interpretation of people's lived experiences of a phenomenon (Lavery, 2003; van Manen, 2016).

van Manen (2016) suggests that phenomenology begins and ends with lived experience. 'Lived experience' in hermeneutic phenomenology refers to the immediate awareness and pre-reflective consciousness of an experience (Dilthey, 1985, as cited in van Manen, 2016). In other words, lived experience is the *actual* experience or action of 'doing' something, which can be characterized by the simple, non-reflective attention that is paid to something that one is 'doing' (van Manen, 2016). Lived experience is a central component to the application of hermeneutic phenomenology in this study as understanding the *essence* of lived experiences supported me in capturing, understanding, and interpreting Filipino immigrants' lived experiences of leisure

through the active co-creation of the meanings of their experiences that take place within life as they know and live (Lauterbach, 2018; van Manen, 2014, 2016).

When Martin Heidegger (whose work from 1927/1962, as cited in Lavery, 2003) built on Edmund Husserl's early tenets of phenomenology, he emphasized that people's pre-understanding of their experiences is essential to understanding the experience itself (Lavery, 2003). Pre-understanding sheds light on the idea that there is an "indissoluble unity between a person" and the world they live in (Lavery, 2003, p. 24). That is, people's background understanding of their world(s) (Lavery, 2003) is critical to understanding how they make sense of, derive meaning from, and experience their world(s). Using a hermeneutic phenomenological lens is helpful for understanding and interpreting Filipino immigrants' experiences of leisure and its roles in identity as immigrants are considered to have a pre-understanding of their lifeworld and their experiences in those world(s) in at least two contexts – within their country of origin and their host country, for example. Therefore, applying a hermeneutic phenomenological design is an excellent fit for understanding their experiences of a phenomenon like leisure, while also accounting for their lifeworld and pre-understanding of their experiences of a phenomenon.

Methods

The latter sections of this chapter describe research methods I carried out during the recruitment, data collection, storage, and analysis phases of this study. Cultural considerations for data collection and data analysis are also outlined, and a discussion on this study's quality and rigour, researcher reflexivity, and study implications and knowledge translation methods are outlined at the end of this chapter.

Recruitment Strategies

Once ethics approval was obtained from Dalhousie University's Research Ethics Board (REB), I began recruiting participants for this study. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, a focus on online recruitment and data collection was carried out to ensure that the health and safety of potential participants and all other individuals who may be involved in this study were prioritized. Recruitment was done primarily through direct recruitment. That is, I drew from my personal and cultural networks to connect me with the former Philippine Honorary Consul in Halifax and local Filipino cultural organizations (such as the Filipino Association of Nova Scotia; FANS). Some members of the local Filipino community, whom I have pre-established connections with, then, agreed to share my recruitment poster (see Appendix A) on social media sites of different Filipino cultural organizations in Halifax (such as the FANS' Facebook page).

Fortunately, we were able to recruit seven participants and was thankful to have been approached by three of them within a week of beginning recruitment. Specifically, out of these seven participants, four were recruited via Filipino organizations' Facebook groups (one of them knew me personally and messaged me directly on Facebook to volunteer to take part in the study and the other three corresponded with me through the study e-mail account). Since our goal was to recruit up to 10 participants and since the recruitment momentum slowed down after successfully recruiting a few participants, I decided to lean on personal and cultural networks to recruit at least three or four more participants. Three other participants were recruited directly from my personal networks through the local Filipino community in Halifax. I shared the recruitment poster to other members of the local Filipino community with whom I have closer pre-established connections through informal written communication (e.g., direct messages on social messaging platforms) and asked if they wanted to be involved and/or if they would be

willing to share the study information and poster with other people they thought might be interested.

To my surprise, three of these individuals who I approached stepped forward and volunteered to take part in the study themselves (two out of these three participants knew each other and volunteered to take part in the study together but were interviewed separately, and the other individual asked about my master's research during a social meeting in-person, and after sharing with her information about the study, she volunteered to take part in the study herself)⁴.

While I had hoped to employ a snowball sampling for recruitment – a recruitment technique that is applied when existing study participants are encouraged to refer other members of their cultural or ethnic community or members within their social networks to participate in the study (Browne, 2005), we did not recruit any participants through this approach. Similarly, while we did a social media blitz to supplement these recruitment strategies (that is, by sharing the recruitment poster on Twitter and Instagram), we did not recruit participants through this approach.

Once potential participants have contacted (the three of them corresponded with me via e-mail, one through Facebook, and three through other messaging platforms), an information letter about the study (Appendix B) and an informed consent letter were shared with them. If participants wished to chat or clarify anything about the study prior to partaking in it, they were encouraged to arrange a phone meeting with me. Only one participant wished to meet with me to

⁴ Since I am Filipino myself and since the Filipino community in Halifax is not large, my supervisor and I anticipated the possibility of recruiting people who I might know personally. Prior to recruitment, we thoroughly discussed what strategies we would employ to ensure that while direct recruitment of individuals with whom I may have a pre-established or close connection could be a possibility, we identified ways to communicate clearly to these individuals that their participation was completely voluntary. One way we ensured them of their voluntary participation was presenting them with options when I approached them – that is, an opportunity to say yes or no (to being involved and/or to circulating the study poster to their networks) and an opportunity to discuss any questions they might have prior to volunteering to partake in the study.

ask about details of the study prior to their participation in it. As each participant indicated interest in participating in the study, I set up an interview with them.

Study Participants

Information about and collective demographics of the participants who took part in this study are found after the sections that discuss sample size and inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Sample Size

This hermeneutic phenomenological study aimed to recruit six to ten participants, which adheres with the sampling size recommendations of phenomenological scholars (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Dukes, 1984). My supervisor and I decided to stop recruiting after we recruited seven participants as we were able to obtain a diverse sample in terms of the inclusion criteria as exhibited by the seven participants. Further, recruitment seemed to come to a natural close following recruitment of seven participants, because I did not receive messages from any more potential participants indicating interest in participating in the study.

Inclusion Criteria

The following inclusion criteria guided recruitment and participant selection. These criteria were also indicated on the recruitment posters and social media messages. These inclusion criteria are listed and below and their respective explanation are provided below each criterion.

- Immigrated to Canada from the Philippines

Initially, in designing the study, we specified that eligible participants had to have immigrated to Canada from the Philippines at least six months prior to participating in the study as this period ensures that recent immigrants would have taken at least six months to become familiar either with their host society, their new job(s) (if already employed), or with experiences

of seeking employment in Canada. Further, this criterion (time passed since immigration: at least six months) was intended to capture the experiences of Filipino immigrants who either have previous work experience in Canada or are currently seeking employment since their time of arrival in Canada.

Although we sought to employ this inclusion criterion (of time passed since immigrating to Canada: at least six months), we were contacted by potential participants who had been in Canada for less than six months (around one to three months) and were interested in taking part in the current study. After discussing this inclusion criterion and interest from these potential participants with my supervisor and committee members, we decided to recruit these participants who had been to Canada for less than six months to take part in the study, because the participants themselves felt that they had experience relevant to the study purpose and research questions.

- 18 to 64 years old

To capture the lived experiences of leisure and its roles in identity among working-age Filipino immigrants, eligible participants for this study were Filipinos immigrants aged 18 to 64. Sixty-four was the upper limit in terms of age as the upper limit for the working age population in Nova Scotia is 64 years old (Statistics Canada, 2012). Similarly, the working age in the Philippines is between the ages of 15 to 65 (Palabrica, 2019). While the lower limit for working age in both Nova Scotia and in the Philippines is 15 (Palabrica, 2019; Statistics Canada, 2012), the lower limit in terms of age for this study is 18 as immigrants who are 16 years old and younger can be considered ‘immigrant youth’ (Selimos & Daniel, 2017) whose experiences of immigration, employment, leisure, and identity are distinct and may be less relevant to this study. For example, immigrant youth are deemed more likely to be working part time and/or are

continuing to attend school (Campbell et al., 2016; Selimos & Daniel, 2017). Moreover, identity development among youth or adolescents regardless of nationality, ethnic or cultural background, and country of residence, is considered a tumultuous and premature process that one undergoes throughout adolescence (Campbell et al. 2016; Selimos & Daniel, 2017). Thus, potential participants for this study had to be at least 18 years old.

- Can communicate in English or Filipino (or both)

Individuals were eligible to participate in this study if they could communicate in either of the Philippines' official languages – English or Filipino (or both), as I can communicate in both languages.

- Currently residing in Halifax, Nova Scotia

Eligible participants had to currently be residing within the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) during their involvement in the study.

- Legal Canadian immigrant status (Family or Economic class)

Eligible participants had to be legal Canadian immigrants who immigrated to Canada either as Family or Economic class immigrants who were admitted into Canada from any of the following immigration programs: *Express Entry*, *Family Sponsorship*, *Provincial Nominees*, *Atlantic Immigration Pilot*, *Start-up Visa*, *Agri-Food Immigration Pilot*, or *Live-In Caregiver* programs (Immigrate to Canada, 2019). Including immigration pathways and legal immigrant statuses as inclusion criteria allowed the study to attract diverse participants in terms of these immigration programs and the respective employment experiences related to those programs.

Exclusion Criteria

- Second generation Filipinos

Second generation Filipino immigrants (Canadian-born children of Filipino immigrants) were excluded from this study as they may have had different experiences of finding employment and of settling into Canadian society, compared to the experiences of first-generation immigrants who have crossed international borders to live, work, and resettle into Canada.

- Refugee class immigrants

While it is not common for Filipinos to immigrate to Canada as refugee class immigrants more than other immigrants (for example, refugee class immigrants from Afghanistan; Caidi, et al., 2010; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009), Filipinos who might have immigrated to Canada through the *Refugee* program (Immigrate to Canada, 2019) were excluded from this study as this immigration program can entail distinct implications that may not be relevant to the study purpose and question. For example, migration of refugee immigrants is typically involuntary as they are deemed unable to return to their home countries due to justified fear of danger, possible persecution, and experiences of trauma, imprisonment, and prolonged residence within a refugee camp prior to migrating (Caidi et al., 2010). Such experiences related to refugee migration may thus, have distinct implications on employment, leisure, and identity, which are beyond the scope of this study's purpose.

Collective Demographics of Study Participants

Most of the inclusion criteria were met by the recruited study participants, however, a few of the individuals who reached out to express their interest in taking part in the study did not meet the criterion, 'time passed since immigration' (must be at least six months); that they had only been to Canada between a period of one to three months but were willing and eager to partake in the study. Because of these circumstances and after careful consideration and

discussion with my supervisor and committee members, we agreed to accept these participants. We then, revised this inclusion criterion on my ethics protocol, submitted an ethnics amendment, and obtained approval for these revisions from Dalhousie's REB. Afterward, we engaged these individuals who were interested in taking part in this study but had been to Canada for less than six months.

Data Collection

Study Setting and Interview Medium and Location

To adhere to Nova Scotia's health and safety protocols implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic, interviews were conducted via Zoom videoconferencing at a time that was convenient for participants. Two out of seven participants chose to be interviewed without video but remained on Zoom with their audio turned on.

Language and Translation

Language is key to interpreting the historical, cultural, and social meanings of people's experiences using texts (Polkinghorne, 1983, as cited in Lavery, 2003). Texts are any form of verbal or written communication that serves as a medium for meanings to be conveyed to an audience (Lavery, 2003; van Nes et al., 2010). Language is therefore, a fundamental aspect of this study as texts are essential for interpreting and understanding the meaning of people's lived experiences of a phenomenon (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Larkin et al., 2007; Lavery, 2003; van Nes et al., 2010).

By considering the value of language and texts, interviews were conducted in either of the Philippines' official languages: English or Filipino. My linguistic abilities in both languages permitted a deeper and unspoken understanding (for example, of Filipino slang) of the stories that participants shared. In other words, my bilingualism allowed me to play a dual role of

researcher and interpreter/translator, which provided a strong “advantage of expertise and a clear vision” in cross-cultural research settings like this study (Shklarov, 2007; Temple & Young, 2004, p. 529).

On the other hand, this dual role as a bilingual researcher required prudent and ongoing introspection about the meanings related to the texts and languages used to represent people’s experiences; an open and continuous dialogue about language and translation with my supervisor was critical for this process (Halai, 2007; Fersch, 2013; Shklarov, 2007; van Nes et al., 2010). Translation is often regarded as a technical or logistic undertaking yet, entails a fluid process of describing and/or interpreting the meaning of texts between a source language (Filipino) and a target language (English) (Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009; Shklarov 2007; Temple & Edwards, 2002; van Nes et al., 2010). Open dialogue with those involved in my study (e.g., my supervisor and committee members) regarding the translation and interpretation processes was essential throughout this study especially as I am the only one who can communicate in the source language.

As there can be “different linguistically correct translations” in any translation process, there can consequently be subtle differences in the meanings of those texts, which makes translation challenging (van Nes et al., 2010, p. 315). Given these implications, I planned to develop an interview guide that consisted of main questions and sub questions in both English and Filipino. However, I did not end up developing an interview guide in Filipino, as I instead, reflected on and made notes about different, acceptable ways in which the interview questions may be expressed in English (whether they were translated completely from Filipino to English, included Filipino words/phrases but had English explanations for these Filipino words/phrases, or were a mix of both English and Filipino).

Throughout my preparation of the interview guide, I envisioned what it might be like to ask such questions in Filipino (and whether that was necessary or whether such questions made sense if translated to Filipino). I even had conversations with native Filipino speakers to ask whether some questions made conceptual sense in Filipino and/or whether the *Taglish*⁵ explanations for the English questions were sufficient. I was thus, compelled to consider the diverse language and communication skills participants might have – that they might not need full translations of the questions from English to Filipino, given their own proficiency in both languages, and that communicating in Filipino might only be required for informal conversation or dialogue⁶. I decided then, that it might be best to be flexible with the interview guide and have informally translated ‘versions’ of the interview questions rather than having another interview guide completely in Filipino. The stage wherein meticulous translation was required (as compared with simple or informal translation of a few words to translate some questions in the interview guide) was data analysis, which is discussed later in this chapter.

Semi-Structured Bilingual Interviews

Semi-structured interviews maintain harmony with this study’s methodology as this method for data collection can capture stories, memories, and reflections that contribute to a rich understanding and analysed of people’s lived experiences of a phenomenon (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In fact, the hermeneutic phenomenological approach for interviews emphasize

⁵ *Taglish*: slang for a mix of both English and *Tagalog* (another way of referring to the Filipino language). More explanation about *Taglish* is provided in the section, ‘Semi-Structured Bilingual Interviews’.

⁶ From my personal experiences of speaking with Filipinos in Canada or abroad, I noticed that it is not necessary to speak with them in our native language since most Filipinos I have encountered abroad (i.e., outside of the Philippines) are capable of comprehending and communicating in English. I also noticed that at times, our native language is only usually spoken by preference and not typically out of necessity – when there are idioms or slang that need to be explained more effectively in Filipino. I took these experiences into consideration, which helped me decide not to translate an interview guide in Filipino.

that interviews can be a way for the researcher to develop a “conversational relation” with the participants in order to understand the meaning of their experiences (van Manen, 2016, p. 66).

In addition, open-ended questions were utilized throughout the interviews as these questions give participants freedom to elaborate on their experiences, thoughts, and feelings and to allow them to engage with their memory to reflect on and to share their experiences (Lauterbach, 2018). This data collection method supports this study’s purpose and question as individual, semi-structured interviews that consist of open-ended questions can collect rich and in-depth data of participants’ experiences of a phenomenon (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The development of the interview guide (Appendix C) was informed by Lauterbach’s (2018) work on hermeneutic phenomenological interviewing.

Since the interviews are bilingual, that is, they were conducted in either English and/or Filipino, I made efforts to observe the participants’ comfort level or preference for communicating in a particular language(s). I tried to be cognizant of which language(s) they communicated or responded in so that I can adjust my own use of language(s) accordingly, to ensure that they will feel at ease and not feel to speak in one particular language. In fact, during the interviews, I noticed (and anticipated) that most of the participants whose interviews were bilingual (five out of seven were bilingual and the other two were in English) engaged in *code switching* (Halai, 2007) – a constant switching or blending of both English and Filipino words or phrases within a conversation.

Taglish, the alternation between the use of *Tagalog*⁷ and English in the same conversation (Bautista, 2004), is what can be described as the *code switching* (Halai, 2007) that

⁷ To clarify, *Tagalog* is one of the most common dialects in the Philippines that is spoken in many parts of the country’s central region while Filipino is the official language that is used and referred to interchangeably with *Tagalog* (due to their subtle differences). For this study, “Filipino” is used not only to refer to Filipino people and culture, but also to the official language.

occurred in the interviews. *Taglish* can thus, be described as the ‘back and forth’ or placing of English words or phrases side by side with *Tagalog* words or phrases in the same conversation (Bautista, 2004). Throughout the interviews, when I noticed participants code switching from English to Filipino and vice versa, I also engaged in code switching, as a strategy for ‘meeting them where they were at’ – an effort to build rapport with them, as well as a sense of comfort and trust.

Length of Interview and Interview Process

The interviews (interview guide is available as Appendix C), including the consent process, lasted between 30 to 90 minutes. Interviews were audio-recorded using a voice recorder, with consent obtained from participants prior to the interviews. The interviews began with me providing the participants an overview of the consent process (script available as Appendix D, while oral consent log is found in Appendix E), which includes this study’s procedures, potential risks, benefits (Gordon, 2000), and honoraria (a \$25 gift certificate from Big Ray Filipino Asian Convenience store).

Oral consent was the method chosen for obtaining consent as it was considered most appropriate for this study, considering its ability to facilitate better protection of the participants’ interests than written consent (Gordon, 2000). For instance, achieving clarity and comprehension (Gordon, 2000) in another language may be ensured through oral, rather than written consent. In addition, obtaining oral consent can be particularly helpful in building trust and establishing rapport (Gordon, 2000) with participants. During the oral consent process, participants were asked to choose their pseudonyms to protect their identity. One participant requested that details related to their city of origin in Canada not be shared and all participants agreed to have the interview audio recorded. Once the oral consent process and initial conversations to build rapport

have taken place, I proceeded with providing a description of the research and a description of leisure as (broadly) any enjoyable and meaningful free-time activities, including some examples (interview guide is found in Appendix C).

After this process, I began asking some broad questions that encouraged participants to tell me about themselves (for example, *“Tell me about yourself.”*, *“How long have you been living in Canada?”*, *“What do you enjoy doing during your free time?”*, *“What are your favourite past times or hobbies?”*) that helped to build rapport and provide context for the rest of the interview. Employing these ice breaker questions were an effective way for building rapport with most participants but for other interviews, these ‘foundational questions’ related to immigration and un/underemployment dominated the entire interview. However, since the interviews were semi-structured and the questions, open-ended, I conducted the interviews at the pace that participants had set but remained receptive of the stories they shared with me.

One way I remained open to the varied experiences participants shared with me was by allowing them to share stories that mattered to them (even if they were slightly off-topic), but asked follow up questions to relate them to the research question (for example, if they talked mostly about their lives back in the Philippines, I subtly steered the conversation back to the research by asking them what their experiences have been like presently in Canada). After these ‘initial questions’ were covered, I moved on to the main questions (and their respective sub-questions), which were arranged into the following categories: leisure experiences, experiences of immigration and employment, and identity.

Before the interviews are completed, I collected demographic information (demographics form can be found at Appendix F) such as age, immigration status and program, year that they immigrated, and employment status. All participants answered the demographic questions,

except one who requested that their information related to city of origin in Canada not be disclosed in any part of the study.

Considerations for Data Collection

Impact of Current Events

Given our choice to conduct video interviews via Zoom, I made a strong effort to connect and build rapport with the participants by engaging in a “conversational relation” with them (van Manen, 2016, p. 66) – by approaching the interview as an ongoing conversation (Laverty, 2003) rather than a “Q&A” (question and answer) session. Before and after each interview, I constantly engaged in introspection about both my reflections on the interview process and the stories and experiences that the participants had shared and wrote these reflections on a journal. This practice of introspection helped to ensure that I was conducting the interviews prudently and in a way in that facilitated a conversation with the participants, rather than a rigid interrogation or “Q&A” period (Halai, 2007). This practice of introspection also helped me to reflect on things that went well (e.g., allowing participants to go a little off topic, to encourage conversation) and things that I could have done to engage the participants in a conversation more effectively (e.g., making small talk at the beginning of each interview, if appropriate, to ease them into the conversation) after each interview, for example. My use of a reflective journal also supported my deep reflection (Laverty, 2003) not only about the interviews, but also about the significant aspects of my past and present life experiences (van Manen, 2016) that might influence this research. Regularly journaling and making notes on this journal helped me to make sense of the data that I collected throughout this study.

Data Analysis

Data Analysis Framework

Data analysis followed van Manen's (2016) framework for thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a process of recovering themes that are embodied in the evolving meanings that are interpreted from a lived experience of a phenomenon (van Manen, 2016). Themes are elements that occur frequently within a text and are considered "knots in the web of experience around which the lived experiences are spun" (van Manen, 2016, p. 90). Further, van Manen (2016) describes themes as "stars of the universe" (p. 90) as they have the power to present the descriptions, structures, and interpretations of a phenomenon. Similarly, I describe themes as "stars of this study" as they can fasten or weave together the structures and descriptions of an experience which can further, help me answer the question, "*How does the meaning of this experience arise?*" (van Manen, 2014, p. 31).

This method of data analysis was chosen for this study as it determines themes that make up an experience (van Manen, 2016) through interpretation. That is, hermeneutic phenomenological thematic analysis can allow me to understand a phenomenon by making sense of something (a text or lived experience) through the interpretation of its meaning (van Manen, 2016). Further, this "formulation of themes" (p. 79) permitted me to understand and interpret "how an experience is lived" (p. 90), which is a question central to hermeneutic phenomenology (van Manen, 2016).

Transcription

As each interview was conducted and reflective notes were recorded for each, I began transcribing each interview. During this process, I regularly checked in with my supervisor, updating her with my progress with transcription. Two interviews were purely in English and the

rest were bilingual, which I transcribed myself because I can communicate in both English and Filipino. Once the two English interviews were transcribed, I shared these with my supervisor through FileExchange. I then, continued to transcribe the bilingual interviews. Translation throughout this transcription process was guided by two translation models – the *ecological* and *hermeneutic* models of translation (Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009; Jijon, 2019; Vinokurov et al., 2007) to ensure that the transcription process was completed purposefully and prudently (Rosenblatt & Wieling, 2018).

Translation Models

Translation of bilingual interviews was guided by the *ecological model of translation*, which emphasizes that there is no ‘right or wrong’ translation but rather, that there are different ‘acceptable’ versions that can closely describe a text in the source language (Filipino), as well as the interplay of particular contexts (for example, family, culture, history, and society) in which language is embedded and represents a person’s experiences (Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009; Vinokurov et al., 2007). The *hermeneutic model of translation* also served as a guide for this translation process as this model acknowledges that texts can have multiple and varied meanings and possible interpretations (Jijon, 2019). Once all interviews were transcribed, I used these translation models as a guide and reminder for translating bilingual text through a careful process of conceptualizing the meaning of words or phrases in Filipino and to construct the closest conceptual equivalent of those questions in English (Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009; Vinokurov et al., 2007).

Reflexive Journaling

Throughout data analysis, I used a reflective journal to record reflections I had about the data collection and analysis processes, and particularly to record and reflect on the Filipino

words, phrases, and idioms so as not to lose the meanings of these texts. van Manen (2016) advocates for the use of reflexive journaling as it allows researchers to engage in a deep and collective reflection of interpreting the meaning of lived experiences (Laverty, 2003), so it was engaging in reflexive journaling throughout the process of conducting this study was a good idea. This reflective journal was vital in the analysis process as it served as a guide not only for my reflection, but also for interpretation of ideas that took shape throughout analysis (Laverty, 2003).

Hermeneutic Phenomenological Thematic Analysis Procedures

van Manen (2016) enumerates this process of analysing themes by suggesting three key approaches – holistic, selective, and detailed. The first two approaches (holistic and selective) were the main approaches that guided data analysis for this study as they draw attention to and highlight the fundamental, overall meaning of a phenomenon (van Manen, 2016). First, the holistic approach allowed me to anticipate and derive different possible and acceptable interpretations of the phenomena in question. That is, the holistic approach “attends to the text as a whole” and aims to answer the question, “*What phrase(s) may capture the main idea or significance of the text as a whole?*” (van Manen, 2016, p. 93). Similarly, the holistic approach aligns with the fundamental concepts of hermeneutic phenomenology and the *hermeneutic model of translation* in that themes are analysed and transformed in a creative process (Jijon, 2019; van Manen, 2016) – that there are different acceptable ways in which a theme can relate to or represent the notion or phenomena being studied (van Manen, 2016).

Second, the selective approach suggests reading text several times while asking myself, “*What statement(s), word(s), or phrase(s) seem particularly essential or revealing about the phenomena or experience that is being described?*” (van Manen, 2016, p. 93). In conjunction

with the process of entering and re-entering the hermeneutic circle (that is, engaging in a back and forth of reading, sharing transcripts with my supervisor, writing notes, and taking time for personal reflection to make sense of and establish truth from the phenomena in question), the holistic approach was useful in allowing me to identify what phrases or words stand out, rather than analysing text in a detailed, line-by-line approach (Laverty, 2003; van Manen, 2016).

The latter (detailed) approach, was not adopted in data analysis as carefully reading and interpreting every single word, phrase, or sentence could limit my understanding of the interview themes as a whole, including my interpretation of those themes (van Manen, 2016). Moreover, a detailed approach may be counterintuitive to the translation process and to the concept of ‘calibrating’ (Boothman, 2002, as cited in Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009) the conceptually acceptable meanings of a translated text so we did not employ this third approach in the analysis.

Once I completed the initial analysis (i.e., transcription and translation and ongoing reflexive journaling about these processes), I shared all the translated transcripts with my supervisor and doing so allowed us to repeatedly engage with (i.e., read, make notes, discuss, repeat) and discuss the data. After initially discussing these data, thematic analysis commenced, which was performed manually. That is, we did not use any qualitative data analysis software but instead, read and re-read electronic interview transcripts, recorded notes about these on my journal, discussed these with my supervisor on a weekly basis, and repeated these steps for close to two months.

From this process of analysis, guided by my supervisor, dominant themes and subthemes were initially drawn out or “isolated” from interview transcripts to interpret the meanings related to the phenomena in question (van Manen, 2016; Rosenblatt & Wieling, 2018; Sloan & Bowe, 2013). Isolating themes was done by interpretively engaging with the data by reading transcribed

texts and verbal accounts of an experience and by examining the text to reflect on whether it can be considered something meaningful (Laverly, 2003; van Manen, 2016; Rosenblatt & Wieling, 2018). Performing this thematic phenomenological data analysis closely captured the essence of participants' lived experiences (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Creswell & Poth, 2018; van Manen, 2014, 2016; Laverly, 2003).

Semiotic Data Analysis

Since data were represented in bilingual text, I employed semiotic data analysis procedures (a framework for analysing bilingual text). Semiotic analysis is the process of identifying terms or figurative passages that are ambiguous in a source language (Fersch, 2013). This process of analysis is essential to assess and ensure the consistent representation of translations between English and Filipino (Fersch, 2013; Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009). As language and translation are critical aspects of this study, thorough and careful explanation of Filipino words translated into English was executed to closely represent the messages shared during data collection.

While some Filipino words had a straightforward translation or English 'counterpart', others did not, given the deep, nuanced meanings they had embedded in Filipino culture. Rather than translating these words or phrases that had complex or nuanced meanings in Filipino, calibration was applied (Boothman, 2002, as cited in Jagosh & Boudreau). That is, I carefully explored the 'weight' or meaning of these words in Filipino and reflected on the possible or acceptable 'English equivalent' of the meanings of these words and phrases (Boothman, 2002, as cited in Jagosh & Boudreau) rather than simply translating them word for word. This calibration procedure is in keeping with semiotic data analysis procedures. In cases where there were no acceptable English translations for Filipino words or phrases present in the bilingual interviews, I

chose to provide context for what these text meant, so that readers of this (English) thesis could have a good understanding of the context and explanation of the Filipino text represented by English explanation, and so that the meanings of these Filipino words or phrases would not have been lost in translation (Fersch, 2013) as their direct English translation might not have made sense conceptually.

Data Storage

Participants' data, including electronic files like audio recorded interviews, transcripts, reflective journal notes, and audio recorded consent, were all kept private and confidential. These digital files containing participants' data and information were secured through password-encrypted files in a password-protected computer by both my supervisor and I to protect against data loss. Any reflective journal paper notes (e.g., notebook) were stored in a secure location at my home throughout the research process.

Quality and Rigour

Qualitative validity, careful representation, or account of the participants' realities of a lived experience of a phenomenon, is a term used to evaluate quality and rigour in a qualitative study. Trustworthiness, authenticity, credibility, and transferability are some terms used to address validity in qualitative research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Credibility

Creswell and Poth (2018) write that qualitative validity can be secured through credibility, which is a procedure that determines internal consistency through close interpretation and representation of findings (Creswell & Miller, 2000). A study is considered credible if it closely represents the features of a phenomenon that the study intends to understand, interpret, describe, and explain (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999). In addition, Guba and Lincoln (1981, as

cited in Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999) assert that credibility in a qualitative study can be achieved when findings of a study are recognizable by readers of the study. That is, when readers “can recognize experiences only after having read about them”, then the study is deemed credible (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, as cited in Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999, p. 379). Indeed, credibility is an important criterion of qualitative validity as it allows readers to “identify their own attributed meanings” to the experiences represented within a study (Goldblatt et al., 2011, p. 390).

As this study acknowledges the value of multiple truths about the world, multi-faceted realities, and different interpretations of an experience, the best way to establish credibility in this study was through a logical and interactive assessment and communication among my supervisor, committee members, and myself (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999). This process of assessment and communication can be achieved through researcher triangulation, which is a practice of cross-checking data through different sources, methods, and times by different members of a research team (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999; Schwandt et al., 2007). Researcher triangulation can establish credibility as it allows a research team to interactively reflect on ‘truthfulness’ the data throughout the data collection and analysis procedures (Goldblatt et al., 2011).

For example, to ensure that interview responses closely reflect the participants’ experiences, interviews were audio recorded (with participants’ consent) so that we can perform different methods of cross-checking such as repeated checking of the audio recordings following transcription and repeated readings of the transcripts (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999; Schwandt et al., 2007). Moreover, two models for translation (see Translation Models) were employed for bilingual interviews to secure the contextual representation of the text from the source language to the target language (and vice versa) (Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009; Jijon, 2019; Vinokurov et al.,

2007). While I am the only one who can communicate in both source and target languages, I also engaged in researcher triangulation by involving my supervisor throughout the translation (by regularly checking in with her and sharing and discussing translated transcripts) processes to help ensure that there were not any ‘missed’ or ‘misinterpreted’ text throughout data analysis (Goldblatt et al., 2011).

As cross-checking of data by different members of a research team can yield unique interpretations (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999; Schwandt et al., 2007), employing researcher triangulation during the data analysis stage of the study can ensure that themes drawn from the analysis closely represent the phenomena in question. When initial analysis was complete, my supervisor and I arranged to meet virtually with my committee members to check in with them, share initial findings, and obtain their feedback. To perform a thorough cross-checking of the data, my supervisor read all the interview transcripts herself and engaged in the analysis process. I also referred to past theses and dissertations that were completed by Filipino and/or other racialized graduate students in Canada (e.g., Carlos, 2016; Rouzrokh, 2016) to obtain guidance about how they conducted bilingual data collection and analysis themselves, if their research reflected the cross-cultural nature of my own research. Although I did not actively engage these researchers in my study, I enlisted their experience of conducting similar cross-cultural research by reading their theses and dissertations as a way to help establish credibility (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999) for this study.

Transferability

Transferability in a qualitative study can be described as the extent to which findings are applicable to other contexts, and this can be achieved by providing rich description of texts which are in turn, read, understood, and interpreted by an audience (Schwandt et al., 2007).

Transferability is essential for achieving quality and rigour as it allows readers reflect on their own beliefs and experiences (Morrow, 2005) through the interpretation of the study findings. It is imperative that enough detail is provided in this study so that readers can “construct their own meanings” from the study (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999, p. 376). In other words, as contexts are key to understanding social phenomena (O’Connor, 2011), findings of this study are described in sufficient detail so that they can be transferable to other contexts. That is, a “detailed exposition” (O’Connor, 2011, p. 421) of the contexts relevant to this study (such as one’s lifestyle or nature of one’s employment back in the Philippines) was included in the findings so that the findings (any or all parts) may be applied to any or other contexts (Schwandt et al., 2007)⁸.

Authenticity

Authenticity is the assurance that the components of a study (like data collection and data analysis procedures) align with the study purpose and question, and further constitute an understanding of the participants’ construction of perceived realities or experiences of a phenomenon (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Milne & Oberle, 2005). Manning (1997) suggests using the guiding question, “*How can one go about finding out things?*” (p. 97) during the process of establishing authenticity, which can be achieved through careful description and interpretation of how people make sense of their experiences within particular contexts.

One way in which I attempted to ensure authenticity in this study was by using consistent data collection instruments (interview questions) that support and reflect the overarching theoretical framework for this study (Creswell & Poth, 2018; van Manen, 2014). That is, as this study aims to understand Filipino immigrants’ lived experiences of a phenomenon

⁸ In the Findings chapter, each participant was ‘introduced’ individually prior to presenting their experiences in an integrated, ‘thematic’ fashion. I believe that doing so contributed to providing rich detail and account of relevant contexts related to participants’ experiences, and in turn, contributes to the transferability of this study to other contexts.

(Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Creswell & Poth, 2018), I ensured that the interview questions were phrased in a way that are representative of the phenomenon in question. Moreover, as this is a qualitative study, I ensured authenticity by allowing participants to freely speak about their experiences during the interviews, while ensuring that their stories are closely represented in the analysis and representation of the results (Milne & Oberle, 2005). Finally, the opportunity to communicate with the participants in Filipino allowed me to understand culturally specific terms or phrases, which can consequently help to ensure authenticity during the data collection and analysis stages of this study.

Ethical Considerations

It was anticipated that participants could experience discomfort or unhappiness during interviews, as a result of recalling experiences and memories related to immigration and un/underemployment. However, it was made clear at the beginning of the study that participants could choose to terminate their participation at any point in the study, may take a break before resuming the interview, or may choose not to answer a question and still continue with the interview. A list of local services that offer mental and emotional support as well as immigrant support services was also prepared in case these would be useful to provide at the conclusion of the interview. (However, I did not present this to any of the participants after the interview as I discerned that it might not have been appropriate to do so)⁹.

I made strong efforts to minimize the risk and ethical concern of participants experiencing negative emotions during the interviews by attempting to form a trusting and

⁹ Since mental and emotional health are typically stigmatized in Filipino culture, I did not feel it was appropriate to provide participants a list of services that could direct them to accessing support for mental and emotional health as doing so might be perceived as disrespectful. In addition, throughout the interviews, some participants shared how they were already connected to local settlement services, so I did not feel the need to provide them information for this. Finally, as most of the participants were recruited through Filipino cultural organizations/networks, I did not feel it was necessary to connect them to Filipino cultural organizations/networks.

respectful relationship with participants. I did this by listening intently to the stories and experiences they shared with me and by embodying appropriate body language. I tried to maintain good eye contact, nodded occasionally, and responded in an appropriate, receptive manner towards the experiences they shared with me (for example, by responding, “That’s really tough.”, “Wow, that must have been challenging.”, rather than insisting on moving on to the next question).

While Filipinos are typically known to have exceptional English competency skills given that English is privileged as a first or second language in the Philippines (Barber, 2008), my ability to communicate in both English and Filipino was intended to play a role in supporting and providing comfort to the participants. Hence, I am hopeful that participants experienced a sense of comfort and security while sharing their feelings and experiences with me during the interviews.

Cultural Considerations

There are a few cultural norms unique to Filipinos that were carefully considered for this study. The Filipino culture of *hiya*, which is translated as “shame” or “embarrassment”, is a negatively appraised Filipino trait that describes a conscious self-control or restraint of an action that comes from the awareness of being in a “socially unacceptable” position like under/unemployment (Lynch, 1962, p. 97, as cited in Lasquety-Reyes, 2016). It was essential to acknowledge this implicit cultural trait since feeling embarrassed or ashamed (*hiya*) over experiences of un/underemployment can prohibit participants from sharing their experiences. Thus, it was crucial that I made a conscious effort to build rapport with participants prior to asking them questions so that they can feel a sense of comfort or safety during the interviews.

Although feelings of shame or embarrassment can accompany anyone's negative life experiences which can include (but are not limited to) un/underemployment, *hiya* cannot easily be separated from Filipino mindset or culture since feeling *hiya* constitutes inferiority or alienation (Guthrie, 1968, as cited in Lasquety-Reyes, 2016). Since I am Filipino and am aware of this mentality, I believe I was able to strive to create an atmosphere of security and comfort by speaking in both English and Filipino. Ultimately, I ensured that each participant was aware of their 'rights' as a study participant and that they are more than welcome to choose not to answer a question or could stop participating in the interview at any point. I also made a strong effort to 'meet them where they were' – to conduct the interviews in an informal, conversational style rather than a rigid 'Q & A session' as an effort to help them feel more at ease. I felt that ensuring that these 'rights' were clear to the participants and that I made efforts to approach the interviews as a conversation were efficient ways of acknowledging some cultural considerations like *hiya*.

In addition, since I anticipated that most participants would be older than me, I addressed participants by *po* (e.g., "Hello *po*.", "What was your experience like *po*?"). *Po* is a Filipino term and symbol of respect and authority given to those whom one is not familiar with or to those who are older or are in a position of authority. While a shared cultural background, language, and ethnicity enable me to understand Filipino culture and norms, I still made a conscious effort to connect with and build rapport with my study participants (i.e., by addressing them with *po*), especially with those who were older than me. I felt that using this Filipino term and symbol signalled to my participants that we are not on the same 'level' – that they are doing me a favour by partaking in this study, and not the other way around, symbolizing an unspoken hierarchy, class or level of authority that elders occupy in Filipino culture.

Researcher Reflexivity

Rationale for Conducting this Study

There are several reasons that drove me to conduct this study. First, my undergraduate degree in Kinesiology and diploma in Sports Studies influenced my perceptions of the role that physical health and well-being have in a person's quality of life. However, pursuing elective courses in sociology, health promotion, and community development, combined with exposure to foreign languages and cultures, fuelled my curiosity and passion to explore other dimensions of health as experienced throughout everyday life. In fact, attending these courses influenced me to examine the relationship between culture and health because my own experiences of immigration have played a key role in my life and in my health. Thus, reflecting on what I have learned throughout my experiences of settlement and immigration, combined with my knowledge on health and well-being, allowed me to recognize that place, culture, and language can all contribute to one's health and well-being. Consequently, these discoveries and reflections also allowed me to recognize that these also contribute to my positionality as a researcher in this study.

For instance, my experiences of being a racialized individual living in Halifax shaped the way I perceive myself or understand my identity. In addition, my mother's past experiences of seeking employment helped me to understand how temporary unemployment during resettlement can impact one's perceptions of their lives and of themselves. Finally, engagement in meaningful practices like spirituality and membership in various social circles have provided me with a sense of purpose, confidence, and identity amidst experiencing challenges related to belonging, which have therefore, helped me understand leisure and what its roles in one's life and identity might be like. Thus, exercising ongoing reflexivity of my identity and past

experiences, achieved through open and honest self-reflection recorded in the reflective journal, contributed to reflexivity about my positionality in this study.

Researcher Identity: Living in “Two Worlds”

While this study has close connections to my own personal experiences of immigration from the Philippines, I acknowledge that parts of my identity are embedded within Filipino culture and beyond (through an ongoing receptivity, negotiation, and acceptance of Canadian culture integrated with Filipino culture, for example). That is, I recognize and critically reflected on the fact that I do not fully nor constantly identify with either one culture, Filipino or Canadian, in an absolute manner. Rather, the engagement, assertion, practice, and expression of my cultural identities are reliant on context and situation. I relate this reality of having a bicultural identity (Toomey et al., 2013) by quoting one of England’s (2018) study participants who said: “I have my Canadian [identity], but I also have my Filipino [identity]” (p. 14). That is, I realized, by reflecting on my role as researcher of this study that I subconsciously bring my culturally integrated ‘self’ wherever I “go” and in whatever I “do”, which consequently allow me to (subconsciously) “choose” how I might express certain parts of my identity, depending on the situation or context. For instance, I relied on my childhood memories, foreign lived experiences, and family traditions to unveil and understand the cultural norms that must be considered in this study. Similarly, when I attempted to understand Filipino immigrants’ lived experiences of the phenomena being studied in this research, I referred to my knowledge of Philippine history and politics, including the realities of social classes in the Philippines and the harsh disparities in opportunities for education, health care, and basic income in the Philippines.

On the other hand, I acknowledged my privilege of being able to communicate in and comprehend English as I have learned through my own personal experiences of working with

immigrant communities (such as volunteering at the Halifax Public Libraries) that English language comprehension and communication is a privilege for many immigrants. As I grew up speaking and being trained to communicate in English than Filipino and received strong education predominantly in English throughout my formative years in the Philippines, I acknowledge that my English proficiency is a privilege that permitted me to conduct this research.

Thus, this constant, context-dependent negotiation and expression of my bicultural identity describes my dual “citizenship” in “two worlds” – my “Filipino world” (e.g., lived experiences of immigration and Filipino culture or upbringing) and my “Canadian world” (e.g., experiences of resettlement and education in Canada). Further, I witnessed my ‘bouncing back and forth’ from these two worlds throughout the research process, in critically reflecting on and understanding that while I may have shared experiences with the participants, I realized that we do not have identical lived experiences. These lived experiences have, in fact, helped me recognize that their lived experiences are unique experiences from which I may also learn more about my own Filipino culture, heritage, and identity, and not from which I must acknowledge as ‘the same’ as mine, simply based on a shared race or culture.

Constant reflection of my driving forces for conducting this research, my bicultural identity, and my dual “citizenship” in “two worlds” helped me practice ongoing reflexivity throughout this study, which was supported through engaging in reflection and recording these reflections on a reflective journal, as well as through having regular and open discussions with my supervisor and/or committee members. These two approaches to reflexivity encouraged me to question, think and rethink, and articulate my own beliefs and judgements that might influence any or all stages of this study. In addition, I adopted a phenomenological perspective to

understand that prejudice (any pre-made or predetermined beliefs or understanding about anything) can both be constricting and enabling because it stems from past experiences that can influence future experiences (Spence, 2001).

That is, at times when I doubted my pre-conceived understandings of Filipino culture in relation to this study (and whether I thought they made sense or not), I acknowledged that these prejudices can push me to understand the data in a deeper or richer manner, if pondered upon critically. I also reminded myself that all human beings carry their own prejudices that must be continually shared and explored through reflective examination and questioning (Spence, 2017). Throughout this study, I thus, reminded myself to “Be patient towards all that is unsolved ... [because the] point is to live everything [and to live] the questions now...” (Spence, 2017, p. 837).

Study Implications and Knowledge Translation

Academic Audiences

Three key audiences are identified for the knowledge translation stage of this study, namely: academics, Filipino immigrants, and immigrant-serving organizations. While findings of this study may not directly inform or influence policy, an increased awareness of the role of leisure on immigrants’ identity experienced amidst un/unemployment can contribute new or supplemental knowledge and literature on identity, leisure, and immigration. In January of 2021, I shared preliminary findings of this research at a U.S.-based virtual leisure conference. I also presented this work, with a focus on its reflexive aspects, at a national leisure conference in May of 2021. Following the completion of my MA, I also plan to work with my supervisor towards writing peer-reviewed journal publications from this research. More specifically, we are aiming

to submit one manuscript to a leisure journal and to another peer-review journal with a focus on qualitative methodologies for the reflexive aspects of this work.

Community or Cultural and Immigrant-Serving Organizations

To reach community-based cultural and/or immigrant-serving organizations, I will offer to share a summary of the completed study which focuses on the key findings and implications (with reference to the full manuscript for those who may be interested in learning about it more) with members of FANS through their newsletters and/or other media they utilize to make announcements or share updates within the group. If they wish to invite me to talk about the study in a community setting like during a cultural event, I would, then, make the necessary preparations to share the study findings in a culturally appropriate and audience-specific manner.

To share the study results with immigrant-serving organizations like ISANS (Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia), Halifax Public Libraries, and YMCA of Greater Halifax/Dartmouth, I would offer to present at relevant conferences or events that these organizations might be hosting. An infographic containing relevant results of the study can also be created and shared through social media. This infographic will contain key findings and insights helpful for services to provide immigrants with opportunities to meaningfully build, maintain, and reconstruct (Bond & Falk, 2013) their identity, for example. These infographics (or some parts of it) can also be prepared in Filipino not only to add a personal touch for the study participants and for the Filipino communities located across Canada, but also to reach Filipinos who may either identify with the Filipino culture and heritage more strongly or may communicate in Filipino more than they do in English. While have yet to obtain opportunities to share the findings of this study to this audience, I had the privilege of presenting aspects of this

work at a Dalhousie University's first virtual Human Rights and Equity Services Conference last November of 2020.

Summary

This chapter provided a description of this study's epistemology, methodology, and methods. The tenets of social constructivism and hermeneutic phenomenology served as a guide for this study's data collection and data analysis processes. We successfully recruited seven individuals who met the inclusion criteria and participants took part in individual, semi-structured bilingual interviews that consisted of open-ended questions. As the interviews were bilingual (English and Filipino), language and translation were fundamental to this study. The guiding principles for the translation process throughout this study and particularly throughout data collection and data analysis were guided by the *ecological model of translation* and the *hermeneutic model of translation*. Data were analysed using van Manen's (2016) thematic phenomenological data analysis procedures, particularly using the holistic and selective approaches, and the semiotic data analysis framework.

In the latter sections of this chapter, this study's ethical and cultural considerations, and strategies for establishing quality and rigour were identified. I also described my identity and positionality as a researcher of this study while reflecting on my own lived experiences of immigration. Knowledge translation methods were also outlined in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

This chapter presents study findings, which are outlined according to three main themes, with two subthemes each, as indicated in Table 4.1 (below).

Table 4.1. Study findings (three main themes and two subthemes each)

Theme 1: Experiences of immigration and un/underemployment as a means for strengthening and nurturing identities	Subtheme 1.1: Challenges related to un/underemployment as a means for strengthening professional identities
	Subtheme 1.2: Challenges related to un/underemployment as opportunities for nurturing personal identities
Theme 2: Leisure’s role in reinforcing identity throughout the experience of immigration	Subtheme 2.1: Leisure as understood or experienced by Filipino immigrants in Canada
	Subtheme 2.2: Leisure’s supporting role in reinforcing identity during or amidst change and transition
Theme 3: Leisure’s role in reinforcing Filipino identities through emerging ‘immigrant identities’ (<i>Being Filipino</i> and <i>being Filipino in Canada</i>)	Subtheme 3.1: Immigration as a ‘juncture’ for leisure practices and choices
	Subtheme 3.2: Diverse Filipino identities contributing to emerging ‘immigrant identities’

Seven participants took part in this study. Participants’ duration or residence in Canada (time passed since immigration) ranged from one month to over 20 years. Six of these participants immigrated to Canada through different economic pathways, while one immigrated through a family reunification pathway. Participants’ ages were diverse; they ranged from 24 to 54 years old. Finally, six women and only one man participated. Table 4.2 (below) provides a summary of collective demographic information of the seven study participants. To protect their identity, participants were asked to select a pseudonym that would be used to refer to them in study reports. Six of the participants chose their own pseudonyms and one was assigned a pseudonym (as they asked me to do so). These pseudonyms will be used to attribute quotes throughout the findings.

Table 4.2 Collective demographics of the seven study participants

Demographic information of study participants	
Time passed since immigration	1 month to over 20 years
Canadian immigration pathways	6 economic pathway, 1 family reunification pathway
Age range	24 to 54 years old
Gender	6 women, 1 man

While this study sought to understand Filipino immigrants’ lived experiences of leisure and leisure’s roles in identity in times of un/underemployment, the central phenomenon in the data was not their leisure experiences, but rather, their experiences of immigrating to Canada from the Philippines – that is, what *it was like* for them to immigrate to Canada, or in other words, their lived experiences of immigration. As I began the interviews, I first, asked participants about their experiences of immigration to frame the subsequent questions about leisure, identity, and un/underemployment within the context of immigration, and participants’ stories, memories, and experiences related to these dominated the interview quite evidently as they continued to come back to those stories or experiences throughout.

Participants’ strong attachment to their immigration experiences was also evident in the stories and experiences they shared about what their life was like back home, why they decided to move to Canada, what it was like to travel across the world, what sacrifices they had to make to get to Canada, as well as what challenges or hardships (expected and/or unexpected) they experienced once they got to Canada, what they were missing back home versus what they are enjoying here in Canada, and finally, what life is like for them now as immigrants. The focus on

experiences of immigration dominated participants' narratives even as I asked other questions related to leisure, identity, and un/underemployment. Thus, the immigration experience serves as the central organizing feature of participants' lives, as told in their stories, memories, and experiences that they shared throughout the interviews.

Further, their lived experiences of immigration served as a 'juncture' for their experiences related to leisure, identity, and un/underemployment in that immigration served as a significant life experience or milestone which influenced their leisure experiences following immigration. These observations, thus, frame the experience of immigration as the central study phenomenon. Much of the interviews also consisted of stories about participants trying to navigate life as an immigrant and it was evident that un/underemployment was a *part* of this experience, but not *all* about this immigration experience. Moreover, not all the participants saw, understood, or experienced un/underemployment in a negative way but rather, as something part of the immigration experience that they all had, and played different roles in their immigration and therefore, their identity. We centralize the lived experience of immigration as a core context for analysing the data. While we anticipated that the lived experience of leisure would be central in the data, we observed a shift in the central study phenomenon to the lived experience of immigration, which serves as the foundation and starting point for doing hermeneutic phenomenological thematic analysis (van Manen, 2016).

Experiences of immigration and un/underemployment as a means for strengthening and nurturing identity

I chose to present the first main theme, 'Experience of immigration and un/underemployment as a means for strengthening and nurturing identity', differently from the subsequent themes, to introduce the study participants and to honour their lived experiences

relevant to the central organizing feature (immigration experiences). Rather than presenting the findings in an integrated fashion upfront, we decided that it would be best to first, introduce the participants and their stories relevant to central phenomenon to highlight their stories and experiences related to this phenomenon, and to uphold the value of (their) lived experience.

Challenges related to un/underemployment as a means for strengthening professional identities

For most participants, challenges related to their experiences of un/underemployment in Canada served as a means for strengthening their existing professional identities. That is, participants' identities remained intact amidst un/underemployment and were strengthened by and/or throughout their experiences of and challenges related to un/underemployment.

Dayana's professional identity: 'They recognized me as a smart person'. During her early days as a recent immigrant to Halifax, Dayana experienced both sexual assault and discrimination in her workplace. When she was talking about her early days of being employed in Canada, she said that there were not many immigrants back then as there are today, and this made her feel that she was always her co-workers' 'favourite target'. She further shared that she usually asks for clarification to make sure she understands things correctly and her co-workers' responses would typically be, "Do you even understand English, you stupid immigrant?" And when asked about how she felt about that kind of response, she said that she was deeply hurt and would cry in her car but said that she had to 'suck it up' because according to her, "...what can [I] do? I have bills to pay, I have to stay..." In this case, Dayana showed her willingness to stay in that job despite what she went through to sustain her financial obligations.

Dayana also suffered from sexual assault from a co-worker who not only violated her by making unwanted sexual advances, but also spread fabricated rumours about her after this

incident. Like her experiences of discrimination, she felt 'stuck' because her pleas to escalate this incident with her superior were not prioritized. It came to a point that Dayana's doctor urged her to leave her job due to the physical and mental manifestations of the trauma she was experiencing, but she stayed because she knew what her priorities were (i.e., financial obligations). However, being employed in that job seemed to mean something greater for her professional identity; that Dayana's perception of herself and of being a valuable employee helped her endure these challenges because being perceived as a smart person was also meaningful for her.

She said that one of the reasons why she stayed in that job (for nearly 20 years), despite the negative experiences, was that she was recognized as a smart person. She said, "...they [employers] have no choice! Everybody ahh so dumb!...they always pick me..." Further, she thought it was valuable that her company selected her to take a few courses that the company paid for, as these allowed her to further develop her skills, which she believed, benefited her in the end. She notes, "...[A]gain, they recognized me as talented and smart so I liked that part..." Dayana's professional identity as a 'book- and street-smart', talented, and skillful individual was also strengthened in her employment at that job, even if it was not fully reflective of her previous training and even in the face of negative experiences like sexual assault and discrimination.

Dayana's sense of professional identity was strengthened in her (under)employment experiences in Canada as when she compared these with her employment experiences back home – particularly, in her experiences of working in a male-dominated field, she took pride in the fact that even if she was one of the few women in her department, her male co-workers respected her and esteemed her as a competent professional. Thus, her intact professional identity was

strengthened by her early experiences of (under)employment in Canada, even in the face of negative experiences.

Annabelle’s professional identity: ‘I don’t have anything to prove’. Contrary to Dayana’s experiences of sexual assault and discrimination while (under)employed, Annabelle, who has been in Canada for only a couple months, has an intact professional identity that was strengthened throughout her experience of temporary unemployment. In fact, even when she resettled to Halifax at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, Annabelle was privileged to enjoy other aspects of her life (such as exploring Halifax, going shopping, and cooking and baking at home during quarantine) despite being unemployed because her husband is already employed. Annabelle, a seasoned lawyer and accountant in large, well-known companies back in the Philippines, is confident in who she is, and particularly in her identity as a skilled professional. Even in the face of unemployment upon her resettlement in Canada, she did not have a burning need to be immediately employed, even if that means she must introduce herself as being ‘unemployed’. She says, "I don’t have anything to prove! ...it’s like, ‘been there, done that.’ ...I came here [to Canada] not to work my a\$\$ off..."

That statement illustrates that given her previous work experiences and training, Annabelle has a strong sense of acceptance and confidence in her identity as a skilled professional. Although she is currently unemployed in Canada, her experiences of temporary unemployment were a means for strengthening her intact professional identity, particularly because she expressed how she knew 'what she was made of', as demonstrated in her statements like “I’ve been there, done that” and “I didn’t come to Canada for the rat race or to work my a\$\$ off”. Interestingly, while she was patiently seeking employment, she did not seem open to working other jobs that will underutilize her professional skills and training. She said, "I'm

waiting for the right opportunity... I don't really want a job that'll be different from that... Because *sayang eh* (it'll be such a waste).” She also recounts, “I already have a lot of building blocks...like experience, my certifications...if [that's] not the direction of my career anymore, if [I have to] ‘restart’, it's not really aligned [with] my career plans, *wag na lang* (never mind).” Annabelle’s professional identity of being a seasoned accountant and lawyer back in the Philippines were strengthened amidst experiencing temporary unemployment during her early resettlement in Canada.

JCI's professional identity: 'Just make it work'. JCI personally chose Halifax as her destination for immigrating to Canada because her profession was in demand at the time she applied to immigrate to Canada. However, COVID-19 posed major barriers for obtaining employment upon her arrival as she arrived in Halifax two days before the first COVID-19 lockdown was enforced and because of these circumstances, JCI expressed, "...I really freaked out because I didn't know if there's a potential job offer [or] opportunity for me." Further, she shared how companies she had and/or wanted to apply to enforced hiring freezes during the pandemic, which made her worry. She added, "They [companies] did the freeze hiring. [...] I can't picture how it would work at that time cause it's very uncertain especially during COVID..."

But throughout her experiences of temporary unemployment, JCI sought opportunities to enhance her professional skills and knowledge of hiring practices in Canada by taking virtual workshops about resume and cover letter writing and interview preparations, and even kept regular contact with an employment specialist from ISANS. Despite being temporarily unemployed, she was also determined and hopeful to get a job soon and to even obtain her CPA (Certified Public Accountant) designation in Canada. JCI's professional identity as a Certified

Public Accountant (designation obtained in the Philippines) and as a skilled professional in the real estate industry remained intact and was reinforced through her experiences of temporary unemployment as she was confident in her plan to work towards her professional goals and was even accepting of the prospect of having to work other jobs for meantime.

She said, "...the worst case I said to myself that could happen is ok sure, even if I take a cashier or a grocery [job]...that's what would work, ...I'd do that." When further asked about what she thought of working in the retail or service industries, even having her extensive training in accounting and in real estate, she said, "I don't see it like any less than the job in the office of whatever [...]. But you know, my preference is really my line of work." Like Annabelle, JCI demonstrated a sense of acceptance and confidence in her identity as a skilled professional, but the difference is that JCI expressed confidence in her professional identity even at the thought of working other jobs that could make her underemployed.

After recalling her experiences of temporary unemployment, she shared that she is already employed in a job within her line of expertise and considers this as a "blessing from God". She further demonstrated her strengthened professional identity as she said she wants to look for "something challenging", partly because the workload she is used to having back in the Philippines is not the same as her workload in her new job. But she adds, "I'm super thankful for the organization [that she's currently working for]...of course... I'm very thankful that they gave me the opportunity...*parang, make it work lang* (It's like, just make it work)."

Challenges related un/underemployment as opportunities for nurturing personal identities

For other participants, experiences of and/or challenges related to un/underemployment did not impact their professional identities. Rather, broader experiences of immigration, which comprised of un/underemployment, provided them with opportunities to nurture other aspects of

themselves, particularly their unique personal identities, due to varied factors that contributed to identity.

Jose's identity as a father: 'This is where we became parents'. Jose's experiences of un/underemployment, brought about by complications with his work permit and other immigration documents made him realize that even he was put in situations he was not used to being in, such as working 'all' jobs to get by and experiencing precarious living conditions and food insecurity, he recounted these challenging times as being "worth it" because he thought that these experiences of un/underemployment taught him how to *really* be a father to his children. For example, he said, "...there came a point where we really had no more food. As in. Nothing [repeats 5 times]. We only had water cause [it's] free, right? My youngest at that time was only 3 or 4 years old, [he/she] opened the fridge [he/she] said, 'Daddy, I'm hungry' Imagine that? I couldn't feed anything to my child [pause]... *ang hirap nun* (that was so difficult). As a father." This experience, he recalled, impacted him deeply as a father.

Surprisingly, however, such experiences related to un/underemployment, no matter how difficult they were, were meaningful to Jose. He said, "...despite all of these challenges...honestly, I can say that it's worth it... [because] this is where we [him and his wife] became parents." Jose's immigration experience, wherein un/underemployment caused him to experience many challenges to provide for his family, further developed his identity as a father because coming to Canada and experiencing those struggles taught him to be a father to his children – by going out of his comfort zone to provide for his family and by learning the value of family. In addition, when he was sharing about lessons learned from these hardships, he said that back home, "*Payaman ang isip ko eh...* (all I could think of was how to make more money) But when I got here...money is not the only important thing in life, you know?" He realized, through

the hardships he went through, that at the end of the day, family is more important. Overall, his role as a provider and identity as a father were fundamental to his identity, which were largely influenced and nurtured by his experiences of immigration, and particularly, un/underemployment.

Carol's identity as a recent immigrant: 'As long as I'm working'. For Carol, who is experienced in both teaching and food service industries back in the Philippines and in Singapore, her professional identity was not impacted by her early resettlement experiences in Halifax, even if these were marked by un/underemployment, as well as a mandatory 14-day isolation for international travelers due to the COVID-19 pandemic. While her end goal was to obtain a teaching job by the end of her first year in Canada, she said, "My initial plan is to [...] get a job right away, [...] I don't mind if it's like a part time or a full-time job...I'm not in a hurry to [...] get like a teaching job..." And when asked about her current employment status, she answered, "...I'm doing a food service job. I don't mind doing it actually as long as I'm working." Her responses to questions about un/underemployment demonstrate a sense of acceptance related to working 'other' jobs that do not fully reflect her professional background. In fact, she acknowledged un/underemployment as a part of the experience of immigration because she said, "[...] you know you're in Canada, it's not that easy to get a job that you want at first...it takes baby steps. You will get lucky enough to get a job you like."

In the face of un/underemployment, Carol's identity of being an immigrant in Canada was nurtured and she described being temporarily un/underemployed as "...not the end of the world, to be honest." because working 'other' jobs outside of her professional field serves as her learning experience, especially while being new to Canada. She notes, "...this is my first time working in [...] you know, my first 'Canadian work experience'...so I'm learning [...] I'm still in

that period of trial and error?" She also expressed how much fun she is having at work as she is discovering how to do new things in her job, which makes her feel satisfied with 'getting the hang of things'. She said, "...so far, it's been good. It's been really *really* good." Although she had training as a pre-school teacher in Singapore and experience as a fast-food chain owner in the Philippines, Carol's identity as a recent immigrant to Canada was nurtured through her early experiences of un/underemployment in Halifax.

Chai's 'go-getter' identity: 'Pursuing what you really want'. Contrary to Jose and Carol's experiences of un/underemployment which nurtured an aspect(s) of their personal identities, Chai's immigration experience served as a means for further developing her deterministic, 'go-getting' nature of pursuing goals or life experiences that matter to her. According to Chai, her personal and professional skills and experiences, combined with her persistent character are what got her to Canada. She said, "...I was able to somehow, make the most of my time [and] what resources I had [...] to just put all of this [immigration] together. And now I'm here [repeats]." She also reflected on how she made it here "DIY" – that is, immigrating to Canada without utilizing the services of an immigration lawyer or of an immigration agency back home. As Chai continued to share her immigration stories, she also recounted her (un/under)employment experiences in Canada and abroad and explained that for her, having a salary is not all that there is to being employed. "I will not be in a job that can pay me enough for the things I really want to do", she said. She also recounted how in the past, she worked at different places for the sake of simply wanting to work at those places; "I didn't even look into a career...", she added.

Chai also shared stories of being temporarily employed at Walmart when she resettled in Halifax and described her experience of working there as "an orientation of sorts", as well as a

source of entertainment and a “cultural awakening” because of the things she learned about Canadian culture, how people interacted in the workplace, and how customers treated her. Like Carol's experiences of working a food service job in Canada despite having a different professional background, Chai's temporary employment in the retail industry provided her with valuable learning experiences, apart from simply getting her pay cheque. Chai added, "...no work is going to compensate me for the [...] things that I will also be able to take in.", referring to those learning experiences that according to her, "[go] beyond" what she is getting from her pay.

These statements illustrate how pursuing her goals – whether they are things or life experiences, or "...being unrelenting in pursuing what you really want." means a lot to Chai, because according to her, "...our life [is] being enriched by the things we are doing, [and what] we've done." What makes Chai's (un/under)employment experiences unique is that while they do not connect directly to her professional identity, they relate back to her identity as a 'go-getter' in that she goes after what she wants because those things or experiences are meaningful to her and how she sees herself living in this world. She explains, "...right now what I'm seeing is [...] a summation of all the things that I've done and what these things *are* [emphasis] that build my character [...] [those are what] add value to anything that I get into."

Likha's personal identity: 'I had a chance to reinvent myself'. Like Chai, Likha's immigration experience provided her with opportunities to think about herself and her experiences more deeply, and this period of self-reflection, brought about by change and transition, served as a way for Likha to build her identity. Prior to immigrating to Nova Scotia with her family, Likha was a university student back in the Philippines who loved her university and thought it was a big deal to finish her studies and graduate there. She expressed that she did

not really want to move to Canada and her early days in Halifax were a big adjustment. Likha expressed, "...when I came here, *sobrang na-culture shock ako* (I was so culture shocked) [...] you have to code-switch every time [...] not to mention, I had to leave all my friends behind..."

As she continued her studies at a university in Nova Scotia, Likha said that she was expecting to work part time so that she could provide for herself as she thought that having a part-time job would allow her to buy things (like nice clothes) and to be able to experience new things (such as enrolling in driving lessons). However, she was unemployed for about a year or two. But as she was looking for part time jobs, she did not feel rushed to be employed because according to her, "...my priority is school, work is just extra or secondary." Eventually, Likha obtained a part time job at a fast-food joint, which helped her save and buy things for herself throughout university.

Being new to Canada also made Likha feel isolated at times because of her lack of social life. She recalled that during her early days in Halifax, her routine comprised mainly of "...school, house, church, school, house, church [...] I had no social life [...] I was super down." During that time of adjustment, Likha also thought it was a big deal to search for a community and to find something she enjoyed doing with others because "...it's a new place, I had a chance to reinvent myself...", she said. Likha also explained that during this period of change and transition, she was able to reflect on questions like "'Who [am I] anyway? What do I like? What am I doing? Who am I friends with? What do I know? [...] What do I stand for [...]'" because to her, everything was 'new'. She added, "...my environment was...different [...] I just had time to like think about who I am?" Now a recent graduate and a health care professional, Likha said that she is happy that over the years, she found a good group of friends and a community she feels that she belongs with. While social life is still important to her, she said that she does not

feel the need to be 'buddies' with her co-workers because according to her, "...I already have a group of friends [outside work] who I can always talk to [and] [...] I'm there [at work] to work!"

Leisure's role in reinforcing identity throughout the experience of immigration

While leisure is not the main source of participants' identities, leisure plays a role in reinforcing aspects of their identities during and/or throughout their immigration experience. In this section, I highlight findings that represent leisure's roles in reinforcing identity throughout the experience of immigration, and particularly, its sub-themes: (a) leisure's supporting role in reinforcing identity throughout experiencing change and transition, and (b) leisure's role in reinforcing Filipino identities through emerging 'immigrant identities'.

Leisure as understood or experienced by Filipino immigrants in Canada

For most of the participants, leisure was not understood or accepted as things people did for 'fun' or during their free time as many participants talked about their lack of free time and ability to engage in leisure, especially when they were living back home. For instance, JCI recounts that if she had extra time outside of work, she would do "nothing" and instead, use that time for herself – to recover from work, to take a nap, or to spend time with family on the weekends. Like JCI, Carol also barely had time to do leisure activities outside of work when she lived in the Philippines, but she described things she did on weekends simply as 'activities'. She said, "...family day, we usually eat out, and then sometimes a bit of shopping but [...] other than that, I don't have any leisure activities, oh yeah, I mean Netflix is fun [laughs]..."

Similarly, when I asked Annabelle about her leisure activities back home, she responded by saying "Nothing [laughs]...", with a hint of sarcasm, but followed up by saying that she and her friends used to get together and eat out at a restaurant to catch up, and added that that was "very rare" because she would spend too much time driving to and from work (Manila is a very

densely populated city, where continual traffic increases time to commute anywhere), and doing other things that required her to commute longer was burdensome. On the other hand, as Chai reflected on her early days of resettlement in Halifax, she described leisure as constituting any ‘thing’ or activity that means something to her, whether it is shopping, renting a car to drive to Peggy’s Cove or creating vlogs to document her adventures in Halifax. Chai adds, “Things that I like...and things that I appreciate, ...whether [it’s] a company or brand or... a toy, anything that...basically makes me happy? Or that makes sense to me...those are the things that are that I go after...”

For other participants, leisure related to meaningful experiences or memories from their past, which made them miss or have a strong desire to recreate or relive those within their lives as immigrants in Canada. To illustrate, when I asked Dayana to share what her leisure time looked like in the past (i.e., back home) as compared with the present (i.e., in Canada), she said, “I miss the food [sighs]... [and] I was party girl! We do disco! Night swimming! Cause this is in [an] island! Night swimming, disco, yup! That was my life over there [laughs].” Her stories and memories related to leisure made her miss their life back home, altogether, which in a way, served as a reminder of her present circumstances – of being an immigrant in Canada. On the other hand, for Likha, who enjoyed being with her friends prior to immigrating to Canada with her family, the absence of leisure in her daily routine as a recent immigrant brought about feelings of sadness because she described her routine to be mundane.

Likha also recalled that her feelings of isolation and loneliness were augmented when she would feel homesickness and experience culture shock. Further, she shared that when she would chat with her Filipino friends (back in the Philippines) over the phone and hear of their exciting stories about their day, she was reminded of her loneliness when all she had to share was her

routine of going to school, then home, and then to church on the weekend. She added, “I need something to do other than going to school...” Despite these feelings of homesickness and culture shock, Likha eventually joined a dance club in her university, which she enjoyed and wherein she experienced a sense of belonging and community, which for her, “...meant a whole lot!”

For others, leisure was a novel experience that participants had not fully engaged in back home, yet was meaningful for them. For instance, Jose shared that prior to immigrating to Canada, he rarely had extra time outside of work to spend with his kids so he would instead buy them toys to keep them entertained. He said, “...in the Philippines, ...my wife and I were [...] always busy at work. Buy them [his kids] toys, you know what I mean? [...] It was all about money...” However, he said that his mindset shifted after he moved to Canada and explained how despite having financial struggles that constrain their family leisure activities, he experienced other family bonding activities such as having movie nights at home, that were meaningful to him, especially since they had not experienced such things as a family prior to immigrating to Canada.

Similarly, Annabelle’s temporary employment left her with a lot of free time which she used as an opportunity to learn how to manage her household, which she perceived as leisure. She explained that back home, she would occasionally watch *teleseryes* (Filipino soap operas) or Netflix, and considered these a luxury because she was always busy and rarely had free time. In addition, since Annabelle relied heavily on domestic helpers back home to sustain her household, she wanted to learn how to manage her household on her own now that she is in Canada and without domestic support. She said, “I’ve never really served my family, [...] and here, I’m doing everything so...yeah, I find it fulfilling.” Amidst these changes, Annabelle said, “...I think

umm leisure for me here is [...] cooking, baking, and umm more time to watch Netflix or movies.”

Leisure’s supporting role in reinforcing identity during or amidst change and transition

Leisure also played a supporting role in participants’ identities as it related to memories or experiences that in a sense, reminded participants of *who they are*, but also reflected how they express themselves or their identity, amidst this period of change and transition, brought about by their experience of immigrating to Canada. For example, according to Carol, her leisure choices of staying home, watching Netflix, reading books, and cleaning her house were reflective her introverted nature, which she claims to always have had, including prior to immigrating. In addition, despite the 14-day isolation she had to go through due to the pandemic, she said that staying home for extended periods did not bother her because she felt that doing so provided her opportunities to engage in activities she thought were relaxing. She said, “...it wasn’t really a shock for me to be at home during the pandemic because... it’s so easy for me. [laughs].” Further, she notes that her being a total “homebody” and “introvert” contributes to her leisure choices as she said, “...those activities for other people it can be boring, for me it’s actually relaxing.” Moreover, she recalls that back home, “...even when I was young, I never really go out with friends...we only go out if we are able to...plan something but most of the time...I stay at home.”

Another example is Annabelle’s frugality which influences her leisure preferences in that while she has always enjoyed shopping and looking for properties in the real estate market, she makes it a point to get a good deal in anything she purchases (e.g., clothes or things for her home). She plans to do so when engaging in these activities because according to her, trying to be frugal keeps her grounded, even if she is not in the Philippines anymore. Further, after Jose

recounted his stories about challenging times related to un/underemployment, he explained that even if they are "...still in survival mode...", he makes it a point to have 'family bonding time', which consists of "indoor camping" or movie nights at home. He said, "Since they [my kids] wanted to go camping but we don't have money [for it] [...] instead of sleeping in the room, we bring out the mattress to the living room, that's where we sleep." Jose described these family bonding activities as special and meaningful things that make him happy despite the hardships he and his family are experiencing. He said, "You know those simple things? That you didn't expect [...] would kinda be the ones to give you greater joy or happiness."

Moreover, while Likha's experiences of change and transition allowed her to engage in self-reflection which, in turn, contributed to her personal identity, her experience of joining a dance community reinforced her personal identity and self-reflection as she continued to discover more things about herself through her regular dance classes. She said, "...I'm very shy. In the Philippines, it's easy to make friends because you have many opportunities [...] but here, these are complete strangers [...] but when I found 'my group' like those at [...] the dance community, that's where I realized, 'Oh I really love dancing. I'm passionate about it'." These leisure practices reinforced participants' identities because they engaged in activities or experiences that allowed them to express themselves or an aspect(s) of themselves, amidst change and transition.

Leisure's role in reinforcing Filipino identities through emerging 'immigrant identities' ***(Being Filipino and being Filipino in Canada)***

Participants' reflections, stories, and experiences of immigration related to their unique Filipino identities. That is, what *being Filipino* – their in/tangible traits or different aspects of Filipino culture, traditions, or practices that were highlighted throughout their stories and

experiences of immigration and leisure, meant for them. These unique Filipino identities, as influenced (or not) by leisure, contributed to emerging 'immigrant identities', or what *being Filipino in Canada* meant for them. The subsequent paragraphs describe how leisure played a role in reinforcing diverse Filipino identities by contributing to emerging 'immigrant identities'.

Immigration as a 'juncture' for leisure practices and choices

Carol, JCI, and Annabelle's experiences of immigration served as a 'juncture' for their leisure practices, choices, and experiences, and in turn, their identity of *being Filipino* and of *being Filipino in Canada*. Carol described her leisure back in the Philippines as time spent with family on weekends. She said, "...family day, usually to eat out, and then sometimes a bit of shopping [...] like Sunday[s] we will just stay at home we will just watch TV..." But now that she has immigrated to Canada and is away from family, Carol describes her leisure, consisting of a lot of reading and watching Netflix, as boring, yet relaxing at the same time because she thought that for others, staying home to watch shows and read books is considered boring but for her, they are relaxing. Leisure for Carol was also strongly associated with her family orientation, which was an important part of her Filipino identity. She said, "...the thing that I learned is that Asians¹⁰, [...] they are very very family oriented." She also expressed missing her family, but is making efforts to try to keep busy. Carol's leisure practices and choices thus, reinforced her identity as a Filipino and influenced her emerging identity as an immigrant, now that she is away from family and is trying to explore other leisure choices and practices that can keep her busy.

Similarly, JCI described her leisure time back in the Philippines as a time for herself and to be with family. She said, "...if I have time to spare, I would use it for myself to spend with my family", demonstrating how such leisure practices and choices reflect an aspect of her Filipino

¹⁰ Filipinos are Southeast Asians.

identity as being family-oriented, similar to Carol. JCI's immigration to Canada also served as a 'juncture' for her leisure practices and choices because of the "work-life" balance she described having here (as compared to when she was living in the Philippines). The "work-life" balance she discovered through her immigration experience contributed to her desire to be more active in her community, such as through volunteering. She shared, "...in terms of work-life balance [back home] because I don't have extra time [...] I'm not really involved [...] But like here [in Canada], because maybe...of the work-life balance, I get to participate in the scheduling team of the [place where she volunteers]." Family-oriented leisure activities contributed to Carol and JCI's Filipino identities, but immigration was as a 'juncture' point in which their leisure practices and choices shifted, which further contributes to their emerging identities as immigrants.

Dayana expressed how she missed her 'Filipino leisure', which consisted of cooking and eating traditional Filipino food, going to the disco, and night swimming in the island. In this case, Filipino norms related to traditional food and enjoying the beach life were reflected in Dayana's leisure choices. The kind of leisure that she enjoyed also contributed to her Filipino identity in that she called herself a "party girl" when she described what she used to do for fun back in her hometown the Philippines. She said, "I was a party girl! That was my life over there [laughs]." When asked about what she does during her free time now that she is in Canada, she described going to the beach in the summertime or going for a drive as 'ordinary' leisure activities. "You know, nothing fancy, [...] those things, like, normal people do?", she said, referring to how she perceived leisure in Canada, which is influenced by how she experienced leisure in the past and prior to immigrating to Canada. While Dayana's past leisure contributed to her Filipino identity of being a "party girl" who enjoyed going to the disco, night swimming, and cooking and eating Filipino food, her description of 'ordinary leisure' as that which she thought is

typical for people in Canada shows how she experienced a shift in her leisure practices and choices from her immigration experience, thus demonstrating, how immigration serves as a juncture for leisure, which contributes to an emerging 'immigrant identity'.

Diverse Filipino identities contributing to emerging 'immigrant identities'

The extent to which Annabelle, Likha, Chai, and Jose associated themselves with Filipino norms, culture, and practices contributed to the diversity of their Filipino identities and in how they negotiated these with their emerging immigrant identities throughout their immigration experiences. Annabelle associated her Filipino identity with her working-class status and dependence on live-in domestic helpers to manage her household. She described that back home, she felt beholden to her household helpers who provided her with domestic support like cooking, cleaning, and doing laundry as she recalled, "...in the Philippines, when our *yaya* (live-in domestic helper) says she's leaving, *parang gugunaw yung mundo mo* (It's like your world is going to shatter in pieces)." Annabelle found it challenging to cook or do other household chores without employing household helpers in the past. But now that she is in Canada, she described how performing household chores she considered as menial and challenging at first could be fulfilling as they provided her with a sense of empowerment in being able to do things she thought she could not on her own. She said, "...*napaka [...] valuable nitong mga natutunan ko* (the things I've learned are so valuable)... cooking, before it was um, advanced science for me [laughs] ahh! What am I going to cook?"

But after learning to do these things on her own because according to her, "...here, no one's going to do [that] for you.", she discovered how fun and fulfilling domestic chores could be. She added, "...ah, *masarap pala magluto* (ahh, who knew cooking would be so nice!) [...]. Very empowering." Through these experiences, she realized, "...*kaya ko* (I can do it)." There

was a shift in Annabelle's Filipino identity as she strayed away from her dependence on others for performing domestic tasks and in experiencing a sense of empowerment in domesticity. She also expressed how domestic tasks like cooking were fun and valuable experiences for her. She also mentioned that if she and her husband decide to employ people for household support in the future, she does not think that she will be as dependent on them anymore because her experiences of immigrating to Canada taught her how to do household chores on her own. Annabelle's realizations and experiences of empowerment in domesticity contributed to her emerging immigrant identity of being more dependent on herself and "...no longer [being] beholden or dependent..." on others for managing her household.

Like Annabelle, Likha demonstrated a shift in her Filipino identity in that she shared how she has a strong sense of being Filipino yet expresses a desire to distance herself from some aspects of this Filipino identity. When Likha was looking for things to do or organizations to take part in to add to her routine during her early days of resettlement to Halifax, she thought that to a certain extent, being Filipino contributed to her sense of belonging with the local Filipino community in Halifax. She said, "There's a sense of belonging in that community too because of course, this is my culture, this is my heritage...". However, Likha expressed that she is selective with who she wants to associate with and does not want to fully associate herself with people who do things that she disagrees or disapproves of. She explained, "I'm choosy when it comes to my friends [...], especially if there are negative things that people within the Filipino community do. I don't want to participate in that?"

While Likha did not elaborate on what she meant by "negative things", her stories about how she felt about the Filipino community in Halifax illustrate how she has a strong Filipino identity rooted in her heritage and culture but does not feel the need to engage in activities or

groups that share this culture or heritage because of personal reservations. Thus, Likha demonstrated a shift in her Filipino identity through her desire to distance herself from an aspect of this identity. In turn, she expressed a desire to nurture another or a new aspect of her identity of being a Filipino in Canada, or her emerging identity as an immigrant in Canada. In other words, her stories demonstrate how her immigration journey served as an opportunity for her to branch out and allow her Filipino identity to evolve into other aspects that are connected to her emerging 'immigrant identity'.

While Carol expressed how being away from family because of immigration was hard, Chai shared that being away from her "big and noisy" Filipino family was her motivation to gain independence and to immigrate to Canada. In Chai's interview, it was apparent that what she meant by "big and noisy" family was beyond having a boisterous or loud family. Rather, it was apparent that for Chai, having a big family could entail having many people around and involved in one's day to day life. She noted, "I come from a very very very big family. Umm so I said, 'Ok that [immigrating] will be really good' ...that's when I started preparing..." Moreover, while other participants described how important family was to them, whether it is related to reuniting with family after immigration, engaging in family-oriented leisure, or having Filipino identities rooted in family orientation, Chai's desire to distance herself from her family uniquely contributes to what *being Filipino* means for her, as well as for her emerging immigrant identity. She said, "...I [...] envisioned moving to Canada as a time for me to get away from everybody? [...] You know how noisy our [...] Filipino families can get?"

Contrary to Annabelle, Likha's, and Chai's experiences of straying away or distancing themselves from an aspect(s) of their Filipino identities, which contribute to their emerging immigrant identities, Jose thought that *being Filipino* and having a strong social support system

from fellow Filipinos in Canada was vital during the times he experienced challenges related to immigration and un/underemployment. He recalled stories about how much he appreciated things that fellow Filipinos he knew did for him, such as giving his family rice and food and allowing his family to stay in their basement. He shared, "...one good thing about Filipinos [is] whichever country or place you're in, they have...the concern? *Malasakit nila sa ibang tao* (Their concern for others) [...] That's what's great about us Filipinos..." Jose's Filipino identity, which he associated with concern, care, and mutual support he experienced with the Filipino community contributed to what *being Filipino* and what *being Filipino in Canada* meant for him.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the study findings – three main themes, with two subthemes each. To introduce the study participants and to bring their lived experiences at the forefront, the first theme was presented in a way that emphasized each participant's lived experiences (in relation to immigration, un/underemployment, and identity), which was different from how the other themes were presented (that is, in a more integrated manner). Although we anticipated that leisure would be the central phenomenon, the study findings demonstrate how immigration served as the central phenomenon from which participants' experiences of leisure, identity, and un/underemployment were anchored.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to understand how Filipino immigrants' lived experiences of leisure play a role in their identity in times when they have experienced un/underemployment. Study findings were summarized into three main themes (and with their subsequent subthemes; see Table 4.1 for a summary): a) Experiences of immigration and un/underemployment as a means for strengthening and nurturing identities; b) Leisure's role in reinforcing identity throughout the experience of immigration; and c) Leisure's role in reinforcing Filipino identities through emerging 'immigrant identities'. This chapter summarizes the study findings and their relation to the research question and relevant theories, explores how leisure was defined, described, understood, and experienced by Filipino immigrants in this study, discusses novel findings and study contributions, and presents this study's strengths and limitations and practical implications and suggestions for future research.

Framing the Central Phenomenon and Responding to the Research Question

The study's research question was "*What is the role of leisure in the ways in which Filipino immigrants living in Nova Scotia understand, express, and derive meaning from their identity in times of un/underemployment?*" Using the semi-structured interview guide informed by a hermeneutic phenomenological approach for interviewing – a conversational approach (van Manen, 2016), to invoke memories and stories related to people's experiences of a certain phenomenon (e.g., immigration or un/underemployment), the data collected show that immigration served as the central organizing feature from which participants' experiences of un/underemployment, leisure, and identity were drawn from as they continued to come back to their experiences of immigration even as we continued to converse about their experiences of un/underemployment, leisure, and identity.

That is, while the study question and semi-structured interview guide were developed with a focus around the lived experience of leisure and its roles in identity, it was impossible to discuss such experiences without first, having a conversation about people's immigration experiences. It would have also been difficult to frame, expand on, and understand participants' experiences related to un/underemployment, leisure, and identity without establishing an understanding of their immigration experiences. In other words, immigration experiences were the 'anchor' from which participants' stories, memories, and experiences about un/underemployment, leisure, and identity were grounded, thus making immigration the central organizing feature or phenomenon of this study.

While I have identified several relevant theories for understanding identity within the contexts of leisure, immigration, and un/underemployment in Chapter 2 (Literature Review), in this chapter I draw on the theories that give insight to the study findings and align most robustly with the study's central phenomenon (e.g., understanding identity based on the 'perspective of one's mind' and the 'perspective of one's personality'; Bond & Falk, 2013, p. 431), understanding 'Filipino leisure' as influenced by culture and immigration (*subcultural or ethnicity hypothesis*; Floyd & Stodolska, 2014), and the role of researcher reflexivity in this study (*heterogenous racial group perspective*; Celious & Oyersman, 2001).

Identities Remaining Intact Despite Un/Underemployment

Based on the literature, it is evident that people's identities could be negotiated or shifted in the face of un/underemployment. For example, Bučaitė-Vilkė and Tereškinas' (2016) research stated that paid work was a source of power and identity for men and that when there was an absence of paid work – that is, unemployment, men are more likely to look for other channels or ways to express or assert their (masculine) identity. Soto-Simeone et al.'s (2020) study also

identified how seniors seek work through entrepreneurship to experience feelings of achievement, dignity, and self-worth, all of which relate to their (social) identity, or their perception of themselves in relation to those around them. Within the context of immigration, Wilson-forsberg (2015) suggested that being employed within one's professional field or training could enhance immigrants' (professional) identity, which further suggests that the contrary – being un/underemployed, could threaten one's identity.

Contrary to the literature suggesting that un/underemployment contributes to negotiated or threatened identities, findings of this current study suggest that participants' identities, particularly their professional identities, remained intact – a main finding which we did not anticipate based on my review of past research. Participants demonstrated a strong sense of knowing who they are as professionals, or of their professional identity, and experiencing un/underemployment served as a means for strengthening those identities. For those participants whose professional identities did not appear as prominent as others' (e.g., Jose, Likha), un/underemployment served as a way for them to nurture other aspects of their themselves or aspects of their personal identity. These findings illustrate how un/underemployment, including the challenges that come with these experiences, may be a source for reinforcing and nurturing aspects of personal identity. These novel findings are a valuable addition to the literature about un/underemployment and identity as existing studies about immigrants' un/underemployment experiences (e.g., Guo, 2015; Sethi, 2015) have yet to further explore immigrants' identity despite un/underemployment, and whether such experiences can strengthen or enhance identity.

Un/Underemployment and Identity Theory

In the Literature Review (see Chapter 2), I referred to Bond and Falk's (2013) work on identity to explain how identity can be expressed in three ways or stages – *identity development*,

identity maintenance, and *identity reconstruction* since I foresaw that this aspect of this theory would guide my analysis for study participants' identity expression. However, participants' identity expression appeared to be more complex than their work suggests in that participants demonstrated identity expression in diverse and complex ways throughout their experiences of immigration, un/underemployment, and leisure. I thus, draw from another aspect of Bond and Falk's (2013) work to analyse how identity expression was embodied by the study participants.

An aspect of Bond and Falk's (2013) work on identity theory explains how people's identity is influenced by the different domains in their life such as personal, family, social, professional, and recreational, that identities are fluid, and that one or more aspects of their identity can be more prominent than others (e.g., professional rather than personal, and vice versa). The current study's main finding, supported by Bond and Falk's (2013) work on identity theory, shows that while un/underemployment can pose significant challenges in one's life, especially in the resettlement stages of immigration, such experiences can also result in having a strengthened sense of one's professional identity or having a chance to nurture one's personal identity, as identity is not only multi-dimensional, fluid, and dynamic, but also consists of "a combination of several domains of one's life" (p. 432).

These findings are thus, a valuable contribution to our knowledge and understanding of immigrants' identities in times of un/underemployment, which is an area of research worth examining further as experiences of immigration, resettlement, and un/underemployment can also result in strengthened professional identities or further developed personal identities (which can both be meaningful to one's life and identity). While this aspect of their work, the three stages of identity expression (*identity development*, *identity maintenance*, *identity negotiation*),

did not appear to be robustly represented in the findings, the findings relate to another aspect of their work, as discussed in the following paragraphs.

Bond and Falk (2013) also suggest that identity can be understood in two ways – through the ‘perspective of one’s mind’ and the ‘perspective of one’s personality’ (p. 431). In understanding identity through the ‘perspective of one’s mind’, participants in my study whose professional identities were strengthened amidst un/underemployment (e.g., Dayana) demonstrated that they viewed themselves as competent professionals despite being un/underemployed, and their experiences of un/underemployment bolstered their strong professional identities. Thus, their ‘perspective of one’s mind’ – the ‘I’ (p. 431), or how they view themselves despite being un/underemployed, could have influenced how and/or why their intact professional identities were strengthened despite experiencing un/underemployment.

On the other hand, for study participants whose experiences of un/underemployment provided them with opportunities to nurture different aspects of themselves or of their personal identity (e.g., Carol), understanding identity through the ‘perspective of one’s personality’ – the ‘third-person perspective’ (p. 431), or the perspective of how others see them based on what they say or do (for instance, their employment status and whether they are employed within their field), could explain how being underemployed was not disconcerting for them. Further, being un/underemployed allowed them to nurture other aspects of their personal identities (e.g., Annabelle not minding being unemployed, even if her family continues to be bothered by her unemployment) as their ‘perspective of one’s mind’ (how she thought of herself) was more prominent than their ‘third-person perspective’ (what people thought of her).

Leisure as Defined, Described, and Experienced by Filipino Immigrants

Throughout this study, the role of leisure, and how leisure was evident within participant's' lived experiences, was a prominent consideration. As discussed, immigration served as the study's central phenomenon or the central organizing feature, and leisure played a supporting role in reinforcing different aspects of identity amidst or during change and transition. Leisure's supporting role in identity, rather than its centrality in the study and in people's lived experiences related to identity, may have been influenced by how leisure was defined, understood, and experienced by Filipino immigrants who took part in the study.

One observation that supports leisure's supporting, rather than central role in this study, is the way leisure was described in the study materials, such as in the interview guide (Appendix C). In the interviews, while leisure was described as 'things people did during their free time either to relax, have fun, rest, which can also allow people to meaning, purpose, satisfaction, or enjoyment from those experiences', it was unclear whether participants understood leisure in this way (or whether they had different expectations or understandings of leisure) and whether they were sharing about their experiences of leisure based solely on the way leisure was described in the study materials, possibly influencing the way they might have experienced leisure, as told by their stories throughout the interviews. It is possible that study participants contextualized leisure differently from how it was presented in the context of this study, thus influencing how and what they shared about their leisure experiences.

Leisure, according to Lanham (2021), is essential to our understanding of who we are because the things we do outside of work or the activities in which we engage could allow us to experience a sense of 'life' or 'being' beyond our obligations and therefore, contribute to our identity. I argue, however, that leisure and how it is conceptualized or understood and

experienced within the context of immigration and resettlement, where drastic change and transition characterize such phenomena (Brigham et al., 2018; Berho et al., 2017; Hilario et al., 2015; Schwartz et al., 2017), is also integral to how immigrants understand or express themselves, or their identity. In my analysis, leisure did not seem to be as relevant to the study participants as their immigration experiences were for them. In fact, leisure appeared to be an afterthought for most participants as the data show that most of them spent more emphasis on their immigration experiences more than their leisure experiences. Further, leisure did not appear to be a priority in their lives prior to immigrating to Canada.

Leisure in the Context of Filipino Immigration to Canada

Since the data show how immigration served as a ‘juncture’ point in which participants’ experiences of leisure and identity shifted due to change and transition, there could have been a shift in the way they understood and experienced leisure following their immigration. For example, from not having time to engage in leisure back in the Philippines due to their busy schedules or how they organized their time prior to immigrating to Canada, to exploring leisure activities (like binging on Netflix or baking) during a 14-day self-isolation period during COVID. To illustrate, logistical constraints such as prolonged commute times due to heavy traffic compounded Annabelle’s lack of interest in engaging in leisure when she lived in the Philippines because doing anything else outside of work was burdensome for her, given the time she already spent commuting to and from work. But when she immigrated to Canada and found herself having more free time than she had anticipated because of the COVID lockdown, she enjoyed managing her household – cooking and baking, and doing other domestic activities as these, to her, were her way of serving her family.

Although coping was not a key concept or finding from this study, at times, it seemed that leisure was utilized as a form of coping with resettlement challenges by some participants (e.g., Annabelle cooking and baking during the lockdown or when she was waiting for the right job or opportunity). While leisure as a form of coping is beyond the scope of this study, this area deserves further attention, particularly within the context of (Filipino) immigration and resettlement. Apart from analysing immigration as a ‘juncture’ point for leisure experiences, experiences of (in/formal) leisure during COVID require further examination to understand how leisure is experienced within the context of a global pandemic.

Other participants’ leisure, like JCI and Carol’s, seemed to be influenced by their understanding of leisure. They described their leisure to be non-existent prior to immigrating to Canada but shared how they would spend time with family on weekends or stayed home to rest after work when they lived in the Philippines. Their stories could be reflective of their understanding of leisure, as influenced by culture and norms related to living in the Philippines and to the cultural context of leisure within immigration, as they described their ‘non-existent’ leisure as a time to engage in common pastimes that do not necessarily constitute choice (e.g., spending time with family on Sundays as a typical Sunday activity), rather than freely-chosen, unobligated activities to take part in. It is possible that although immigration serves as a ‘juncture’ point where people experience change and transition, some of the study participants could still be in the process of either negotiating or maintaining their understandings of leisure within the contexts of Filipino culture and immigration. While some of their stories about activities that they engaged in back in the Philippines could reflect how leisure is understood in North America, these may not be understood or perceived as leisure in the Philippine context, as evident in some of the participants’ stories. It is thus, worth noting how leisure, contextualized

by Filipino culture and immigration from the Philippines to Canada influences Filipino immigrants' understandings and experiences of leisure.

Another factor worth examining further is how immigrants' competing settlement priorities (Block & Gibbs, 2017) serve as barriers or constraints to leisure – that in experiencing immigration, people tend to prioritize finding a job, securing housing, and establishing a routine, rather than engaging in leisure or free time activities, hence some of the participants' reaction to not having any leisure time despite having already left the Philippines. These barriers could have influenced how some study participants described their leisure time or activities as nothing special, according to Dayana, or as being limited due to COVID restrictions, on top of their status as a 'new immigrant', as JCI described. On the other hand, Likha's experiences of wanting to be involved in some form of leisure activity or community within or outside her university show that leisure could be a priority for young adults who immigrate with their parents or families and who are in a different stage of their lives upon immigrating (i.e., attending university rather than looking for a full-time job), more than it could be for parents who immigrate for work or to find better opportunities for their children. As Quirke (2015) suggested that to understand the 'nature of [immigrants'] leisure' (p. 241) is to understand their stage of resettlement, it is pertinent that their experiences and understandings of leisure are investigated together with their resettlement experiences – of 'where they are' in their resettlement, as these diverse resettlement experiences can influence their understanding, perception, and experiences of leisure.

While Enverga (2018) suggests in his book chapter, *Mapping Leisure in the Philippines*, that 'Philippine leisure' is largely influenced by colonialism – by cultural practices and activities brought about by colonizers of the Philippines (Spaniards, for example), it is important to note

that the way leisure is understood and experienced can also be influenced by immigration, thus shaping the way leisure is understood by Filipino immigrants in the current study. It is thus, evident that while leisure appeared to be an afterthought for study participants, leisure is still present in their lives, although it is understood, and therefore, experienced in different, cross-cultural ways. The *subcultural* (or *ethnicity*) *hypothesis* supports these findings by emphasizing that while cultural norms, practices, or characteristics can be attributed to leisure choices or experiences, intergroup differences (such as immigration experiences or leisure practices) can also influence leisure (Floyd & Stodolska, 2014). These observations also stress that while leisure scholars, practitioners, and programmers alike might have a preconceived notion or understanding of leisure, it is important to honour how diverse groups understand and experience leisure by allowing them to define leisure for *themselves*, as influenced by culture and people's lived experiences – promoting subjectivity, or the *lived experience* of leisure.

That is, it is pertinent for both researchers and people who have not experienced immigration to be open-minded about how people from different parts of the world who have unique experiences like immigration or those rooted in their culture or heritage experience or understand leisure, even if that calls for the adoption of a different lens(es) for understanding leisure. Being open to diverse descriptions, understandings, and experiences related to leisure will only strengthen leisure scholarship. While there is a paucity of leisure literature about Filipino immigrants, it is my hope that leisure scholarship, particularly related to Filipino immigrants and the way they describe, define, understand, and experience leisure, will only continue to grow beginning, but not ending with my master's research.

Researcher Reflexivity: Positioning My Identity as a Filipino Researcher

Researcher Reflections

Despite the complete shift of this work from in-person to online, including distance learning with my supervisor and committee members, I was pleased with the progress and process of this research. Online recruitment through Filipino cultural associations, as well as through my personal networks within the local Filipino community in Halifax proved to be more efficient than I anticipated. Disseminating the study's recruitment poster through social media pages of Filipino cultural associations was an effective way of gaining attention and quickly recruiting participants for this study. Data collection via Zoom videoconferencing interviews also simplified arrangements (like booking an interview spot and reimbursing participants' travel costs) that would have had to be made if interviews took place in-person¹¹.

While this shift of online interviews from in-person contributed to the quick turnover of data collection to analysis (despite the challenges), transcription was challenging since translation was involved – both tasks which I took on myself, given my proficiency in both English and in Filipino. Although I was appreciative of these skills which I leveraged to allow study participants to express themselves in our native tongue and to build a sense of rapport based on a shared cultural identity, these, at times, were burdensome, as much as they were strengths to this study. Being the lead researcher, a visibly racialized Filipino with firsthand experiences of immigration, compelled me to take on multiple roles throughout this study. Gallant and Yuen (2020) propose that reflexivity within qualitative research is a means for working thorough, understanding, and exposing the complexity of what it means to be human

¹¹ Although I am grateful that online recruitment and data collection were successful, I do not deny the challenges and discomfort (e.g., related to space and privacy) I experienced in carrying these out online. When I reflected on how one of the interviews went, I wrote on my reflexive journal (September 18, 2020 entry): “...*hard and quite embarrassing to do interviews at home (I feel vulnerable interviewing them in my room).*”

within the research process. The following paragraphs present my attempts of understanding and sharing the complexity of my *being* human within my own research.

Despite my knowledge and preparation for conducting this study, the proximity of my own identity to this research had unforeseen mental and emotional consequences. Apart from being translator and interpreter (such processes guided by two translation models and conversations with native Filipino speakers; see *Translation Models* section), I often acted as a Filipino ‘cultural broker’ (Brar-Josan & Yohani, 2019), taking on an informal role of bridging, interpreting, and explaining Filipino idioms, beliefs, and cultural traditions as embodied by my study participants, and with those involved in this study – my supervisor, committee members, and the broader audience of this study or readers of this thesis. These experiences of being translator and informal cultural broker were a natural result of my decision to conduct this research and a natural consequence of my own Filipino identity, which, throughout this study, was also challenged, negotiated, and expressed dynamically.

In listening to my participants’ success stories and challenges related to immigration, I relived my own experiences of immigrating to Canada as a young adult, including the inequities I witnessed my father experience at his workplace and my mother’s struggles to obtain employment within her field during our early days of resettling in Halifax. Reliving these memories, feelings, and past experiences were emotionally burdensome. At times, I questioned my motivation for conducting this research and how I thought other people perceived my motivation for doing so; ironically, these thoughts and feelings were a constant tug-of-war, acting as both a burden and motivator for doing this work. On hindsight, it would have been helpful to obtain advice or support from other researchers who may be undergoing or have undergone similar experiences.

These reflections about my identity and how it both shaped and was shaped by this research also brought me back to experiences of sharing my research ideas during my first semester in graduate school. During the development or early stages of this research, I recall experiencing a sense of overwhelming attention from colleagues and professors about me – a Filipino student with experiences of immigration, doing research with other Filipinos who immigrated to Canada. “Great, a Filipino doing research with Filipinos! That’s perfect!” were a few of the (non-verbatim) responses I often heard and thought, contributed to a sense of discomfort I experienced from unwanted or unsolicited glorification or attention about the idea of me doing research with the Filipino community in Halifax. Part of this discomfort was rooted in an assumption that I may have been considered the “expert” in others’ eyes, based on the fact that I am Filipino doing research with the Filipino community in Halifax yet, the reality is: I do not think I am “the expert”, nor do I represent all angles or aspects of the country from which I have emigrated.

Apart from these tensions, my attempts of communicating and writing about my participants’ stories (during analysis), without losing their depth and meaning, demanded immense mental work; knowing and understanding such stories and experiences that are intricately woven into a specific culture was intuitive, but communicating these was a challenge in and of itself. Throughout this process and mental work of conveying my participants’ stories and experiences, I also questioned my “Filipino-ness” since I struggled to explain stories, experiences, and other norms and beliefs rooted in Filipino culture in a way that would speak truth and give justice to what the participants had shared and experienced.

Experiencing immense pressure to convey these messages authentically – as close as possible to how these are represented by my participants’ stories and to our culture to my

supervisor, committee members, other professors and peers, often resulted in an ‘interior crisis’ of repeatedly trying my best to interpret and communicate this research to non-Filipino and/or non-immigrant audiences¹². I was challenged to question my own identity, lived experiences, and upbringing – some of which helped me understand how and why I struggled so much to explain certain things about my culture that were present in the study, and why I inherently understood, yet struggled and felt pressured to explain them effectively.

I realized that as much as I wanted to convey these rich stories about my participants’ lived experiences, they proved to be better understood if they were *lived* or experienced, rather than (re)told. My struggles of trying to convey these deep stories and messages were a source of occasional frustration and of constantly questioning my *own* identity as a Filipino. However, throughout this process of reflexivity within this study (and beyond), I learned what a joy and privilege it is to conduct such research about my heritage, people, and culture. I also learned to accept that I, too, am still learning, and do not need to put pressure on myself to learn or know everything about my culture all at once. That, while I am Filipino, I am also Giana; my culture or my “Filipino-ness” is not *all* of my identity, but is rather, a *part* of my identity, which makes me unique and unrepeatable.

I realized that I would not have had it any other way nor would I have chosen to research about anything else for this stage of my academic journey. The question of, “If I don’t do it, who will?” was a constant reminder and motivator for me to pursue this research even and especially

¹² Part of this pressure I experienced in discussing these meanings with my supervisor and committee members was trying to explain things related to Filipino culture (as they relate to the findings) that I never had the “practice” or chance to do so in the past because these norms or cultural beliefs always seemed natural to me yet, paradoxically contributed to the difficulty I experienced in trying to explain these to others. Often, I felt uncertain if I, myself, knew what these cultural norms, beliefs, or practices meant or symbolized, and whether my explanation for these was “correct” or acceptable. In wrestling with these feelings and ideas, I felt I was taking the risk of sharing these parts of my culture and of myself with others, and experienced fear that my interpretation might not be closely representative of what these norms actually represent, which all contributed to my ‘interior crisis’.

during times when it got hard or messy (Gallant & Yuen, 2020) because of my positionality as a Filipino researcher. As the authors of *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility* introduced their book by saying, “*Ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggagalingnan ay hindi makakarating sa pinaroroonan.*” (Coloma et al., 2012, p. xv) – translated into ‘one who does not know or look back at their origin will not reach their destination’ – this research, has, in a way, allowed me to look back at where I came from, and by doing so, has allowed me to develop this research and my own identity. In the thick of translating one of the interviews (which I often describe as one of the most rigorous tasks in this work), I wrote in my journal:

“Really enjoy this thus far...So many new and exciting things/ideas emerging as I keep going back to the data – so excited for analysis!” (November 11, 2020) and *“I really love my research, what I’m doing and what I’m learning! It’s really so fun and meaningful. I’ve always been fascinated about culture and how people do things.”* (November 25, 2020)

I hope that other Filipino (and racialized) students in academia will be inspired to do work with people from their own culture and heritage, if that is the path they wish to take. In elaborating on my experiences and position as a researcher of this study, it is not my intention to discourage students and scholars to avoid doing research that could cause emotional burden and additional mental work, especially if it is one close to their lived experiences or their own identity. Rather, it is my hope that through this study and excerpts of my reflections as a Filipino researcher, students and scholars will be motivated to take the risk of doing such research as an attempt to make a positive difference within the lives of those who are involved in their study, as well as in their own, as individuals. I end this reflective excerpt with a reminder that my identity and lived experiences as a Filipino researcher are influenced contextually (e.g., living in Halifax, Nova Scotia), and are not, by any means, absolutely reflective of the depth and richness of my culture and experiences of all Filipinos and Filipino immigrants in Canada.

Influences of Researcher Identity on Study

Aspects of my own Filipino identity and their possible influences on this study are also worth examining. Recruiting participants within local Filipino cultural associations turned out to be quicker and more straightforward than I had anticipated. Further, while the recruitment poster itself consisted purely of English text (no Filipino words or phrases), being introduced or connected by fellow Filipinos as the lead researcher of this study and as their ‘Filipino friend’ within Filipino cultural networks or associations proved to be an advantage as recruitment may have been expedited because of this. In addition, during the interviews, while I explicitly stated that I can communicate in both English and Filipino, I did not impose this aspect of my Filipino identity on the participants.

One way that I did this was that although I mentioned to participants that they are welcomed to speak in whichever language they preferred (given my proficiency in both English and Filipino), I took their cue in doing so by first, asking the first few interview questions in English and if they responded in Filipino and/or shared stories throughout the interview in Filipino, I took their lead and communicated in Filipino as much or as little as they did in order to make them feel comfortable. I did not want to make participants feel that they are compelled to speak a certain language but rather, I wanted them to feel free to converse at their pace and in the language(s) they chose.

This communication ‘strategy’ could have influenced what participants shared throughout the interviews, as well as the depth and detail of the stories and experiences they recounted. Reviewing the interview transcripts and observing how much of what participants had shared appeared to weigh heavily on their immigration experiences, including their challenges during resettlement and experiences and struggles with un/underemployment, could be reflective

of their level of comfort (with me, a Filipino) during the interview. For instance, Jose appeared to be eager to share his immigration experiences throughout his interview, recounting his life back home all the way to his life here in Canada. Much of his interview focused on these experiences (rather than on leisure, for example) which I had freely permitted him to share.

In addition, Dayana shared her experiences of discrimination and sexual assault in her workplace with so much honesty and openness. Her attitude towards sharing these experiences and stories appeared to be a way for her to make a statement or to prove a point – a way of making her story known. “I know this is recorded but it’s true!”, she exclaimed. At the beginning of her interview, she even said, “Are you recording?” before answering the first question. These observations make me wonder how the stories and experiences participants shared, as well as the depth, detail, and richness of each story, could have differed had they been interviewed by a non-Filipino or by a Filipino who does not communicate in our native tongue. The ‘comfort of a shared identity’ (Ty, 2012, p. 53) that the participants could have experienced throughout the interviews was influential to the data collected.

It is worth mentioning, on the other hand, that other participants subtly chose to be interviewed purely in English (e.g., Carol speaking in English the whole time yet, implied through some of her responses that we had a shared understanding of certain aspects of Filipino culture by saying, “...you’re Filipino as well, so maybe you understand...”) and that some participants even chose to have their cameras off during the video interviews. It is possible that because of my identity as a Filipino, some participants were hesitant to disclose parts of their identity (e.g., their appearance or surroundings). This observation reminds me that (the Filipino) race itself – or any race, for that matter, on its own, does not equate identical levels of comfort, safety, or feelings of belonging among people of the same race. In other words, this observation

could teach us that the assumption that research will go ‘perfectly’ or ‘smoothly’ simply because a Filipino researcher will be interviewing Filipino people is not always true as it is more complex than it appears. The belief about people of the same race exuding identical beliefs and characteristics, or that they ‘will get along’ due solely to their race warrants a deeper, more critical examination of race, culture, and identity altogether.

As much as my own Filipino identity grants me privilege of having an ‘insider position’ within this research, this identity was also a source of what Matejskova (2014) describes as a danger and dilemma of an immigrant researcher (p. 16), given the proximity of my identity to this work and its possible influences on different aspects of this study. That is, as much as my Filipino identity was a strength to this study, it could have also caused participants to hold back or restrain sharing some experiences or expressing parts of their cultural identity out of possible fear of identity disclosure within the local Filipino community (or other reasons I may not be fully aware of), despite the research and ethical protocols that I explicitly shared with them and adhered to.

At the same time, my Filipino identity contributed to my feelings of being cautious or guarded about my *own* identity in that I anticipated possible situations wherein participants themselves could ask *me*, the interviewer, personal questions during the interview. Such scenarios compelled me to rethink how I would plan to effectively build rapport with participants during the video interviews if I, myself, ever felt uncomfortable conducting them. In this case, I explained to my supervisor that in the Filipino culture, it is not uncommon to be ‘interrogated’ by fellow Filipinos upon one’s first interaction with another, out of mere curiosity, or sometimes, unfortunately, out of a sense of ‘sizing one up’¹³. Based on my experiences of living in Halifax

¹³ In the Filipino context, drawn from my personal experiences, I describe ‘sizing one up’ as a way of Filipinos critically examining or assessing other Filipinos to get a sense of ‘who they are’ or ‘what they are all about or made

(where there are not many Filipino immigrants who resettled here to begin with, as compared with those in Toronto or Vancouver), I experienced being asked what I would consider invasive or overly personal questions like “*Tiga sa’n ka satin?*” (“Where in the Philippines are you from?”), “*Sino magulang mo?*” (“Who are your parents?”), and “*Ano trabaho mo dito?*” (“What do you do for a living here in Canada?”).

These are indeed valid questions but could be uncomfortable to answer if they are asked by people who you are unfamiliar with or who you just met, as in the case with my experiences with fellow abroad. These experiences caused me to worry slightly about the possibility to being ‘interrogated’ when I am the one, in fact, interviewing the study participants. I knew I had to face these possible scenarios so as not to be unprepared and in the worst case, leave an interview on a sour note – for both me and the participants. Therefore, my supervisor and I prepared for the possibility of being asked such questions and prepared a few statements for answering them in a cordial yet, firm manner, without compromising rapport or respect (e.g., “You know, I don’t want to take too much more of your time, why don’t we talk about your experiences!”). This preparation was helpful since there were some instances in two interviews where participants seemed curious to know and find out about who I am (e.g., what I do and where in I went to school in the Philippines)¹⁴. While I answered some of their questions politely, they appeared to want to continue this conversation about me despite the interview itself already being over. I learned that reflecting on my identity and its possible influences on this research is an important, (and often) unavoidable situation that demands careful consideration when working with participants who are of the same culture or ethnic background.

of’, which is often suggestive of a way of examining or assessing their social class or status in the Philippines, hence asking questions related to employment or family origin.

¹⁴ In one of my journal entries, I wrote “...attempted to ask me stuff about myself” upon reflecting after one of these interviews, to confirm that what I had anticipated did indeed occur.

Referring to the *heterogenous racial group perspective* (Celious & Oyersman, 2001) and the ‘identity markers’ (Arai & Kivel, 2009) discussed in Chapter 2, intergroup differences among people who identify with the same racial group must be acknowledged not only within the contexts of people’s lived experiences, but also their gender, age, social class or status, and educational background, especially when examining the lived experiences of people within a race whose ‘identity markers’ are shaped by society, culture, and politics. For instance, as most of the people I interviewed were older than me, I was conscious of the unspoken power dynamic that elders have over younger folks in the Filipino culture, especially when considering the ‘personal questions’ I might be asked (in relation to the previous paragraph). That is, although such questions were beyond my comfort zone and understandably, the scope of the interview, I was not to treat elders, or most of my study participants as ‘equals’ – as if they were my friends or as if I could simply brush off their questions. Rather, I had to be conscious of my body language, tone of voice, and use of Filipino words (e.g., *po*) to ensure that my behaviour and conduct signaled honour and respect for elders. Through my positionality within this research, I was compelled to critically examine my own identity and challenge my own assumptions constantly as these, too, have influence over my study.

Finally, my knowledge of Philippine politics, history, and culture is influenced by my personal experiences limited by the age in which I immigrated to Canada from the Philippines. (I was a young adult at the time of immigration, with limited knowledge and skills to explain such things.) I, too, am still learning about my own culture and identity. These limited knowledge and life experiences naturally shaped the way the data were interpreted, analysed, and presented. My positionality thus, contributed to a co-construction of knowledge formed from and between me and the study participants (Creswell & Poth, 2018). However, I encourage readers and audience

of this study to exercise caution in taking this knowledge for what it is – that it is worth critically examining the data and considering how socio-cultural, political, and historical events have and continue to shape these data.

Study Strengths and Limitations

Recruiting only Filipino immigrants living in Nova Scotia can limit this study since most Filipino immigrants living in Canada are concentrated in British Columbia and Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2007). Thus, focusing on how Filipino immigrants living in Nova Scotia experience leisure and its roles in their identity, in relation to un/underemployment can be limiting as it does not account for the experiences of Filipino immigrants living in other Canadian provinces. However, this limitation can similarly be considered a strength as focusing on the experiences of Filipino immigrants living in Nova Scotia can provide valuable contributions to established literature on Filipino immigrants living all over Canada.

Moreover, as interviews were conducted online rather than in-person, it was occasionally challenging and less straightforward to establish rapport with the participants to gather rich data. However, this limitation was mitigated by the opportunity to engage with the participants by communicating in Filipino and/or English, throughout the interview. Moreover, my shared experiences as a Filipino immigrant (which came up both implicitly and explicitly throughout the interviews, for example, through conversations about the immigration experience) was helpful for establishing rapport through the interview, despite it being online.

On the other hand, my ability to build rapport with the participants during the interviews, based on a shared culture, is a strength of this study, especially since interviews were conducted online. Further, my ability to communicate in both Filipino and English provided me access to ‘unspoken’ Filipino norms, culture, beliefs, and slang that may not have otherwise been

understood deeply if this study would have been conducted by a non-Filipino who does have the same level of awareness and understanding of Filipino culture.

Implications for Practice and Future Research

Study Implications for Practice, Service, and Programming

This study can serve as a guide (not a blueprint) – by giving a closer look about what leisure means for Filipinos within the context of Canadian immigration and resettlement. In reflecting on the study findings, some practical implications and recommendations for practice, service, and programming that can support immigrants' experiences of immigration, employment, leisure, and identity are listed below.

1. Evidence from this study about leisure's roles in immigrants' identity, broader lives, and well-being can guide professionals and practitioners in considering how leisure education and/or programming may be incorporated within their existing programs and services.
2. As my study provides cultural insights about how leisure is understood and experienced within Filipino culture and immigration from the Philippines to Canada, leisure practitioners and/or recreation service providers may refer to this study to obtain a broader understanding of how Filipino immigrants define, understand, and experience leisure.
3. Given the influences of culture and immigration, as evident in this study, forming partnerships with immigrants – allowing them to share their ideas, understandings, and expectations about leisure activities and experiences, could be an excellent way to incorporating leisure programming and education within existing programs or services and within both recreation programs and settlement services. For example, as

participants' identities remained intact amidst un/underemployment, the role of professionals and practitioners in affirming their clients' (immigrants) professional identities and/or in encouraging the development or cultivation of other aspects of their identities (e.g., personal identity) amidst un/underemployment or other immigration-related challenges may be further explored or developed to support and/or enhance existing settlement programs or services.

Implications for Our Understanding of Immigration as A Reflective Period

As evident in my study findings, immigration is a reflective period for many immigrants. It is during this period that immigrants experience immense and intense change and transition – from experiencing shifts in language and culture, to negotiating employment and identity. Often, personal reflection during resettlement or immigration may be taken for granted or is overlooked as other priorities like finding a job or getting resettled can interrupt quiet moments where people can process and emotionally adapt to their new realities. Yet, Filipino immigrants in my study demonstrate how the early stages of resettlement are marked by reflection and contemplation over ‘what life was like back home’ versus ‘what life is like now’.

Given these findings, professionals and practitioners may consider accommodating this reflective period within their established services and/or programming to support immigrants throughout their transition and resettlement. Further, immigrating during the pandemic is an experience likely to become more common as the Canadian government begins re-establishing their efforts to admit migrants as a strategy for economic recovery during and post-COVID (Scherer, 2020). Reflecting on one's immigration experiences during a global pandemic, including the challenges, novelty, and uncertainty of resettling and adjusting to a new society contributes to the value of immigration during a global pandemic as a reflective period, which is

also worth examining. Finally, since leisure as a form of coping appears to be an emerging idea or concept relevant to this work, it is worth further developing this area of research to explore the role of leisure as a form of coping for immigrants experiencing resettlement challenges similar to or apart from un/underemployment.

Directions for Future Research

Due to unforeseen circumstances – the COVID-19 pandemic – that impacted this research, parts of the data describe people’s experiences during the pandemic. Future work investigating how experiences of immigration, un/underemployment, leisure, and identity could look like in what is now considered ‘ordinary times’ or in the absence of a global pandemic would be beneficial. At the beginning of the pandemic, the surge of COVID-19 cases in Canada caused Canadian international borders to be rapidly shut down, affecting the government’s efforts to admit immigrants to the country, as well as several businesses’ intentions to employ (or lay off) their employees, many of whom were recent immigrants (Government of Canada, 2021b; Miekus, 2020). On the other hand, the experiences of recent immigrants who have resettled in Canada during the pandemic also require further exploration as stay at home orders, 14-day isolation requirements, and social distancing protocols have also greatly impacted their ability to obtain employment, adjust to newly immigrated life, and engage in leisure activities. Indeed, the COVID-19 pandemic has caused immense change, transition, and challenges that may have exacerbated existing challenges related to employment and immigration.

At the same time, my study’s data show that some participants’ experiences throughout the pandemic (e.g., self-isolating at home), compelled them to discover new activities they enjoyed, which they would not have otherwise been able to engage in had they not been self-isolating for two weeks. Interestingly, some of these activities have also encouraged the

development and/or reinforcement or parts of their identity (e.g., emerging immigrant identities or *being Filipino in Canada*), which they may also not had the chance to experience in the absence of the pandemic. Examining these considerations closely necessitates further research about Filipino immigrants' lived experiences of leisure, identity, un/underemployment, and immigration are shaped by current circumstances (with or without a pandemic) would help clarify or understand more deeply such context-specific experiences.

Finally, Filipino immigrants are an understudied population in Atlantic Canada as compared with in Western or Central Canada. Thus, the findings of my study are not fully transferable to geographical contexts where there are larger Filipino immigrant populations. In addition, as the current study was conducted in an urban setting (Halifax, Nova Scotia), more work about Filipino immigrants' experiences related to immigration, un/underemployment, leisure, and identity in rural settings could strengthen our understanding of Filipino immigrants' experiences within diverse geographical contexts that are influenced by job markets or access to certain facilities.

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the findings in relation to relevant theories outlined in this study (i.e., in Chapter 2: Literature Review). Based on the findings, I also elaborated on leisure as defined, understood, and contextualized within the contexts of Filipino culture and of immigration of Filipinos to Canada. A part of this chapter was also dedicated to reflexivity and insights as a Filipino researcher. Finally, I ended this chapter by discussing the study strengths and limitations, implications for leisure practitioners and settlement service providers, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to understand Filipino immigrants' lived experiences of leisure and how those play a role in their identity in times they have experienced un/underemployment. Overall, the findings show that immigration served as central phenomenon from which participants' experiences of un/underemployment, leisure, and identity were rooted. Viewing the immigration experience as a central organizing feature helped us understand participants' stories and experiences, which are presented as three main themes: a) Experiences of immigration and un/underemployment as a means for strengthening and nurturing identities; b) Leisure's role in reinforcing identity throughout the experience of immigration; and c) Leisure's role in reinforcing Filipino identities through emerging 'immigrant identities'.

Researcher reflexivity was a prominent aspect of this study. Conducting this study made me reflect honestly about the role that my *own* identity as a Filipino played in the research process. Adhering to qualitative research recommendations about acknowledging and reflecting on one's identity as a researcher and positionality within a study, I was able to critically reflect on my researcher identity and positionality. My understanding of reflexivity was transformed as I learned that it is not enough to acknowledge a researcher's identity as simply occupying an 'insider' or 'outsider' position within the research. Rather, it is vital to acknowledge and be transparent about the complex scenarios and considerations that must be negotiated when doing research that is closely related to one's own cultural identity or personal background and experiences. Tensions, conflict, and challenges may arise in doing research that is close to one's culture and these must not be downplayed, ignored, or discounted throughout the research process.

This study findings fortify the link between identity (e.g., development, formation, expression, and negotiation) to leisure activities or experiences and provide novel insights about how identity can be uniquely and dynamically expressed within the context of immigration and un/underemployment, as experienced by Filipino immigrants living in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Specifically, we found that the lived experience of immigration is a complex yet, significant experience that must first, be explored to understand specific experiences like un/underemployment and leisure within the context of immigration. In terms of identity, this study demonstrated how cultural identity can be a prominent aspect of one's identity but can be transformed within the experience of immigration and of experiencing or negotiating one's understanding of leisure. Further, cultural identity, like other aspects of one's identity, is fluid and dynamic – influenced by diverse experiences of both immigration and of one's culture, further shaping one's identity throughout the experience of immigration and un/underemployment. Finally, while immigrants tend to be employed in various jobs that may or may not be reflective of their professional training and/or their previous job experiences within the early days of their resettlement, their professional identity can remain intact despite experiences of un/underemployment and/or experiencing challenges related to immigration.

This study supports existing evidence about the role that immigration plays in a person's identity, but also presents deeper insights into how Filipino immigrants' experiences of un/underemployment shape different aspects of their identity, whether that is personal, professional, both or other. As Canada, a nation known for its efforts to build and maintain a diverse, multicultural society (Li, 2003), continues to welcome more immigrants in the next years to come, it is necessary to understand immigrants' lived experiences of immigration and un/underemployment – deeply understanding what these experiences are *like* for them, but also

how such experiences contribute to the way they understand themselves or their identity, and the role that leisure plays within these experiences.

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APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT POSTER

Are you a **FILIPINO LIVING IN HALIFAX?**

**WE WOULD LIKE TO
HEAR FROM YOU!**

**You are invited to take part
in a 60-90 min. research
interview about:**

- immigration
- (un/under)employment
- leisure activities
- identity expression

Participants will be interviewed via Zoom or telephone and will receive a \$25 gift certificate from Big Ray Filipino Asian Store



This research project was approved by
Dalhousie University Research Ethics Board.
File #2020-5240

CRITERIA

- 18-64 years old
- living in Halifax, Nova Scotia
- able to communicate in English or Filipino
- immigrated to Canada at least 6 months ago
- immigrated through Family or Economic pathway
- experienced unemployment or underemployment in Canada

For more information or to participate,
please contact:

Giana Tomas

leisure.identity@dal.ca

APPENDIX B: STUDY INFORMATION LETTER

INFORMATION LETTER

Project title: Understanding Filipino Immigrants' Lived Experiences of Leisure and Its Roles in Identity in Times of Un/underemployment

Lead researcher: Giana Tomas, MA Leisure Studies candidate, School of Health and Human Performance, leisure.identity@dal.ca

Other researchers

Dr. Karen Gallant, research supervisor, School of Health and Human Performance, karen.gallant@dal.ca

Introduction

We invite you take part in a research study being conducted by me and my supervisor, Dr. Karen Gallant, a faculty member at Dalhousie University, as part of my master's research in the Leisure Studies program.

Choosing whether or not to take part in this research is entirely your choice. That is, there will be no impact on your involvement in any Filipino cultural organizations and/or other immigrant or community services that you are involved in if you decide not to participate in the research. The information below tells you about what is involved in the research, what you will be asked to do, and about any benefit, risk, inconvenience, or discomfort that you might experience.

You should discuss any questions you have about this study with me, the lead researcher for this study. Please ask as many questions as you like. If you have questions later, please also contact me at the email address above.

Purpose and Outline of the Research Study

This research aims to learn about Filipino immigrants' experiences of leisure in their everyday lives and how these experiences help them to discover and understand who they are or their identity, and what kind of impacts un/underemployment has on all these experiences. We are looking for six to eight Filipino immigrants (either recent or established) to be involved as research participants in this project by taking part in an individual interview where you discuss your leisure experiences and how they might play a role in how you understand yourself or your identity in times of un/underemployment.

Who Can Take Part in the Research Study (Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria)

You may participate in this study if: you are a Filipino immigrant currently residing in Halifax, Nova Scotia; have been living in Canada for at least six months; if you have immigrated to Canada either through any program(s) within the Family or Economic class immigration pathways; if you are between the ages of 18 to 64; and if you can communicate in English and/or Filipino. Please note that Canadian-born children of Filipino immigrants and Filipino

immigrants who have immigrated to Canada through the Refugee class program are not able to take part in this study.

What You Will Be Asked to Do

You will be asked to partake in an individual interview that is conducted in your chosen language (English or Filipino or a mix of both) as I am able to communicate in both languages. The interview will be conducted online, using Zoom (an app that you can download in either or both your phone and computer). However, the interview can be conducted by phone, if you prefer that. If you choose to have the interview through Zoom, we will provide you a videoconferencing invitation for a videoconferencing interview. Or if you prefer to be interviewed over the phone, we will schedule a phone call/interview. If public health and safety guidelines change and if we can conduct in-person interviews, we will do so at a predetermined location within the community (ex. a room at the public library), with significant physical distancing measures like being six feet apart and/or separated by a pre-installed plexiglass.

During the interview, I will ask you questions about your experiences of leisure and how those experiences allow you to get to know yourself or your identity, and more generally in times of (un/under)employment as an immigrant to Canada. Overall, you would need to spend about 1-1.5 hours during your involvement in this study.

Possible Benefits, Risks and Discomforts

While you are unlikely to experience any direct benefits of this work, it is possible that the findings of this study can influence policy, practice, and/or programming at local community and immigrant serving organizations like ISANS, YMCA, or public libraries, and these could possibly benefit you.

The risks associated with this study are minimal. For example, if there have been times where you felt unwelcome or that you did not belong in a particular setting like work or community, these experiences may come up in the interview, especially if they were associated with employment or immigration. Further, these memories may be distressing for you. However, you are free to choose not to respond to any interview questions, or may take a break for a few minutes, or end the interview at any time.

There may also be some risk associated with privacy and confidentiality during the video and/or phone interviews. Prior to the interview, we ask that you choose an area or space in your home where you feel safe and comfortable to partake in this interview. It may be challenging to find a quiet or private spot at home, especially during this time. However, if you are partaking in a video interview, you are free to switch your camera off, to disable your background, or to switch your background into a virtual background. In addition, we encourage you to share only what you are comfortable to share during this interview.

There may also be potential risks of being recognized or identified through the stories you may share during the interviews. While we will de-identify all data used for dissemination (meaning, those that we might use for paper publications, conference presentations, or community

forums), there is a possibility that you may be recognized by members of the Filipino community through your unique stories. To minimize this risk, we will only use quotes from your interview if you consent or allow us to (i.e., with your consent). When we use these quotes, you will choose a pseudonym (a fake) name so that you will be de-identified. Finally, when we present the findings or results of this project, we will ensure that only general (not individual) demographic information will be shared to minimize the risk of you being identified or recognized based on your stories.

Compensation / Reimbursement

You will receive a twenty-five dollar gift certificate from Big Ray Filipino Asian Store for taking part in this study; however, you will also not incur any expenses in doing so. If public health and safety guidelines change and if we can conduct in-person interviews, you will be provided with two bus tickets for your travel to the interview location. Alternatively, if you travel with your own vehicle, we will pay for any parking fees.

How your information will be protected

We will know that you participated in this study, but we will keep this information private. For example, we will conduct the interview in a private location, and will securely store electronic files related to this research on our password-protected computers, with any paper documents kept in a secure place in my home. Only me and my supervisor will have access to the data. We will describe and share our findings through a written thesis, a conference presentation, and possibly other research reports. In these reports, we might quote you directly, but we will assign you a fake name (a pseudonym of your choice) to protect your privacy.

Note that while Ms. Elizabeth Eustaquio-Domondon and some members of Filipino Association of Nova Scotia (FANS) are helping with recruitment for this study, staff or members at both organizations will not know who has participated in this study. In addition, your access to services and programs at both organizations will not be affected by your choice to participate in this study.

If You Decide to Stop Participating

You are free to leave the study at any time during the interview. If you decide to stop participating at any point in the interview, you can also decide whether you want any of the information that you have contributed up to that point to be removed or if you will allow us to use that information. You can also decide for up to one week following the interview if you want us to remove your data. After that time, it will become impossible for us to remove it because it will already be combined with data from others in the analysis. **If you decide to stop participating during the study, you will still receive the twenty-five dollar gift certificate.**

How to Obtain Results

Results and findings of this study may be reported/published as a journal article, presented at academic and community conferences, and shared at a community forum. If you would like to receive a short description of the study findings when the research is finished, you can provide your contact information during the oral consent process at the beginning of the interview. We

are not able to provide individualized results since your data will be combined with other research participants' data during analysis.

Questions?

We are happy to talk with you about any questions or concerns you may have about your participation in this research study. Please contact me, the lead researcher leading this study (902-719-6051, leisure.identity@dal.ca), or my supervisor Dr. Karen Gallant (902 494-1196, or karen.Gallant@dal.ca) at any time with questions, comments, or concerns about the research study. We will also tell you if any new information comes up that could affect your decision to participate.

If you have any ethical concerns about your participation in this research, you may also contact Research Ethics, Dalhousie University at (902) 494-1462, or email: ethics@dal.ca.

Consent

Rather than have you sign a paper to show your consent, we will have you voice your consent at the beginning of the interview, and will record this on a form so that we have a record that you have agreed to participate in this study.

APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this project. I appreciate the time that you've taken to participate in this study. For this project, I would like to have a conversation with you to understand how you perceive, understand, and express yourself (or your identity) through leisure (activities or experiences), in relation to some of your experiences of immigrating to Canada.

When I say 'leisure', I am referring to some of the things you do during your free time either to relax, have fun, rest. 'Leisure' can also mean any experiences which allow you derive meaning, purpose, satisfaction, or enjoyment from those experiences. As an example, one of my favourite leisure activities is journaling and making jewelry because I feel that I can express my creative side by doing those things. I also like to practice my faith by praying and going to church because I feel at peace when I do those things and I find greater meaning and purpose in my life through my faith especially when I'm feeling down because of difficult times.

This interview will last for an hour to an hour and a half and it will be conducted in either English or Filipino (or both). I can speak both languages so please feel free to speak in whichever language(s) you are most comfortable speaking. *I am excited to hear your stories!* Do you have any questions so far?

If you feel like you need to pause or take time to think before answer any of the questions, please feel free to do so. And at any point during the interview, if you may feel uncomfortable to answer any question(s), or if you wish to take a break, or if you wish to end your participation, please know that you can inform me about that at any point – and it is absolutely okay to do so because your participation in this interview is completely voluntary.

I will also be taking down notes throughout the interview. All identifying information, names, places, and responses, will remain confidential as well. If you allow me to (i.e., if you consent to this), direct quotations will be used in research reports, but any identifying details will be removed. So even if you allow me to include the quotes, your name will not be indicated in that quote. I will make sure that you remain anonymous and that any information or details that identify you will be removed.

Do you have any questions? If not, is it all right to begin? Great, let's begin!

After briefly reviewing the information letter, responding to questions, providing the participant with the \$25 honoraria to the participant, and obtaining oral consent, the interview will begin.

Notes to self (NTS):

1) Useful probes (P):

- “Tell me more about that...”
- “Take me back to that day/moment...”
- “What was it like to (experience)...”
- “How did that make you feel...?”
- “What was going on in your mind when...”
- “What did it feel like to...”

- 2) Try not to ask “Why?” – can sound judgmental
- 3) PH: Philippines; PQ: probing question; NS: Nova Scotia

“Easy questions” for getting to know participant and for establishing rapport, getting a sense of which language they are comfortable using, etc.

1. So, could you tell me a bit about yourself? 😊 (be kind and allow them to speak but be conscious of the time; should take about 3-5 mins) – *try to get to know them, make them feel at ease by allowing them to talk about themselves a bit, find out if they’re a student/mom/dad/etc., establish rapport by trying to see if you have anything in common (other than being Filipino, of course), how long they’ve been in Canada for (if they’re comfortable talking about it), do they miss the PH, do they seem like they want to speak in English? Filipino? Taglish? What do they think about NS? Have they lived anywhere else in Canada? Are they employed? Are they satisfied with their jobs (i.e., are they underemployed?)? To what extent do they see themselves as an ‘immigrant’ – how does this affect their identity? Do they identify as something(s) else?*

* This first part or stage of the interview is crucial because it can help cover some bases or help me understand a bit of who they are, which can be helpful in asking the subsequent questions.

“Meat and potatoes” – questions about leisure, identity, and immigration

2. Can you take me back to the time before you moved to Canada from the PH? – *want to know what kind of activities they enjoyed doing when they lived in the PH, to see if there were any changes or ‘disruptions’ in their leisure activities/experiences, and consequently, in their identity (depending on if/how they express their identity through leisure); refer back to Three Stages of Identity Expression (Bond & Falk, 2013; Liu & Fu, 2019 if needed)*
 - a. What did those activities/experiences mean to you (or how did they impact you) back then? Now?
 - b. Are there any activities that you miss doing? How has moving to Canada impacted your engagement in these activities?
3. Can you describe your leisure activities/experiences since you moved to Canada? – *want to know what it is like for them to do these activities, what engaging in those activities mean to them*
 - a. What **is it like** to engage in this activity/experience? How does engaging in this activity/experience make you *feel* in the moment? Can you walk me through **what it’s like** to do engage in this activity/experience? – *want to get at how they experience leisure and its roles in their identity*
 - b. How would you describe the role of these activities in **how you understand yourself/who you are/how you see yourself within the world?** – *want to understand the impacts or roles of these activities in their identity*
 - PQ: To what extent do these activities help you understand or express **who you are** or **how you see yourself within the world?**
 - PQ: How would you describe **the way you relate with** or **identify** with these activities/experiences? – *phenomenological experience: look for words (texts or language) they use to describe those experiences/activities and how they might have a role in their identity; maybe they’ll talk about*

Filipino 'stuff' or describe their experiences in Filipino and that will have a certain meaning or weight in English

- c. How important is it for you that others know that you engage in this activity? Or how important is it for you that others know how you important this activity is to you? – *emphasis on identity: “How do I see and understand myself? How do I think people see and understand me?”*

Final/Parting Questions

4. Ask to double check in case they may or may not have answered some of these questions: *I would like to collect demographic information before we end, but you are not compelled to answer any of them. Would it be all right to proceed? If yes, refer to demographics form (Appendix F)*
 - a. What is your age?
 - b. How did you immigrate to Canada (status and program)?
 - c. What year did you immigrate to Canada?
 - d. What is your employment status?

5. Is there anything you would like to share or add? If not, I would like to thank you for your time and for participating in this interview. Again, all the details and information included in this interview is confidential. As a reminder, please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you so much!

APPENDIX D: SCRIPT FOR OBTAINING ORAL CONSENT

Initial stages of the interview:

- a) Meet or dial in Zoom interview phone the participant at the time that has been previously agreed upon,
- b) Introduce myself and provide a copy of study's information letter and informed consent letter (which would have been provided through e-mail during our initial correspondence),
- c) Record participant's information (pseudonym), date, location, and time of interview,
- d) Review the information letter to participant and ask them if they have any questions or clarifications (inform them that this part will not be audio recorded and that I will let them know if and when I do),
- e) After reviewing and clarifying anything in the information letter, let them know that you are about to read the oral consent script (below) and remind them that they can ask questions at any point/time.

Beginning the interview process:

- I will now proceed with asking you the consent questions and after this, I will turn on the audio recorder, if that is all right with you?
- Do you have any questions or additional details that you would like to know or clarify before beginning this interview?
- Do you agree to participate in this study (interview), knowing that your participation is absolutely voluntary meaning you can withdraw from the interview at any point/time or up until a week following this interview without any consequences?
- Do you agree that the interview will be audio recorded?
- Once this study is completed, would like to receive a copy of the results? We expect to have results by (date). If you are interested in receiving a copy of the results, would you mind sharing your e-mail with us so that we can send you this copy? (record on consent log, if so)
 - **If yes:** Thank you. Would it be all right if I switch the audio recorder on now and start the interview?
 - **If no:** Thank you for your time.

Concluding the interview:

Thank you so much for your time and for participating in this study. Now that we've finished the interview, do you have any questions or would like to know or clarify any additional details? Finally, do you agree that we may use quote(s) of what you shared during this interview in research reports (let them know that they wouldn't be identified)?

APPENDIX E: ORAL CONSENT LOG

This form will be used to record oral consent. A blank copy of this form will be used for each participant to ensure that their personal information is protected.

Date:	Time:
Pseudonym:	
Participant's name:	
Did participant agree to the use of direct quotations in reports of this study? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	
Did participant agree to audio recordings to be used in presentations of this study? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	
Does participant want to receive e-mail results of the study?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, e-mail: _____	
<input type="checkbox"/> No	

APPENDIX F: DEMOGRAPHICS FORM

This form will be used to collect and/or confirm participants' demographic information. Since they are not obliged to answer any of these questions, I may use this form to refer to the participants and their characteristics/demographics after transcribing the interviews.

Pseudonym:

Age:

Participant's name:

Immigration status/program:

Year of immigration:

City/province of origin (Philippines):

City/province of origin (Canada):

Current employment status:

Past employment: