

Exploring the Sexual Lives and Sexual Health of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwestern
British Columbia, Canada

by

Jenny Rose Serpa-Francoeur
Bachelor of Arts, University of Victoria, 2014

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Abstract

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This research addresses how transnational Filipino youth living in southwestern British Columbia negotiate their sexual lives and sexual health decisions, and how they do so within the context of individual, familial, and community dynamics. The research explores how youth contest and negotiate notions of sexuality that are discursively constructed and constituted through familial expectations, religious ideals, peer expectations and pressure, societal expectations, and sexual education curricula.

Sexual subjectivities are shaped by the social and geographic locations individuals inhabit. My interviews with youth explored dynamic ways in which these youth enacted their sexual lives in the context of their position as transnational Filipino youth, and in turn how their positions as transnational Filipino youth interacted with and impacted their sexual subjectivities. I argue that while opinions and expectations of friends and family, as well as cultural norms and religious expectations impact youth's sexual subjectivities, youth nonetheless perceive themselves as the primary decision-makers in their sexual lives. This research shows dynamic ways in which youth enact their agency and control their sexual decisions and sexual lives.

This research was conducted between August 2016 and March 2017 in southwest British Columbia (BC) in two main locations, the Southern Vancouver Island (SVI) region and the Vancouver/Greater Vancouver Area (GVA). I conducted a series of in-depth, semi-structured interviews and engaged in informal personal engagement activities (i.e. "deep hanging out") with ten transnational Filipino youth between the ages of 19 and 25 who live and study at the post-secondary level in SVI. I also conducted interviews with adult community members, experts in the sexual health field, scholars working with Filipino youth, and staff from migrant youth organizations in SVI and the GVA.

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Chapter One: Situating the Sexual Lives of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwest British Columbia

1.1 Introduction

In recent decades, Filipinos have become one of Canada's largest minority populations, with the Philippines the top source of immigrants to Canada in 2015 (Statistics Canada 2016). Tagalog, the *lingua franca* of the Philippines, has become one of the five most spoken mother tongues in Canada (Statistics Canada 2013). Despite this major demographic influx, there remains minimal research on Canada's Filipino population in general, and an even more limited portfolio that speaks to the migration stories and experiences of Filipino youth (Oyaga 2015; Kelly 2015; Farrales and Pratt 2012). Much of the research that has been published focuses on Filipinos in the context of the Live-in Caregiver program (LCP) (e.g. Pratt 2012; Oyaga 2015; Farrales and Pratt 2012), exploring the structural barriers imposed by this temporary work program that causes long-term familial separation. Researcher have looked at the LCP in the context of familial social mobility, exploring how extended periods of separation and, for many, eventual reunification through migration to Canada, affects younger members of the Filipino families participating in the LCP in terms of their educational outcomes, as well as how separation and reunification affects familial relationships (e.g. McElhinny et al. 2012; Mendoza 2012; Pratt 2012; Aguinaldo 2012). One area that has not been thoroughly examined is how transnational Filipino youth fare in terms of their sexual health needs. There is a distinct lack of research exploring how the multinational identities of transnational Filipino youth inform their positions around social, societal, and family dynamics, how these identities shape their sexual health decisions, and how they negotiate these decisions in the context of their surroundings.

In conjunction with the opportunity provided by this literature gap, and through the research focus of my supervisory committee on Southeast Asian women, migration, and family, the goal of my MA research and this thesis is to contribute to the growing research on transnational youth in Canada, and transnational Filipino youth in particular, focusing specifically on their sexual lives and sexual health. Sexual health is a lived and negotiated process affected by the particularities of an individual's life. In order to explore individual agency by examining the ways in which transnational Filipino youth navigate the messy liminal "in-between-ness" in their lives (Ahearn 2013:244), the ways youth act through resilience ("the ability to withstand adversity") and resistance ("counterattack...to change existing conditions") (Nahar and van der Geest 2014:383), I attend to these individuals in this study not only as youth, but as transnational youth. Transnational Filipino youth live actualized "in-between" positions within Canadian society. Not only must they fight against cultural practices that dismiss youth as "adults-in-waiting," rather than autonomous, self-governing individuals, they are also forced to navigate the strain of transition, and then the intersection of culture and tradition within the Canadian context and cross-culturally. My research makes inquiry into how transnational Filipino youth, in this case those between the ages of 19 and 25 and attending post-secondary school in Southern Vancouver Island (SVI), manage their lived sexual experiences, and more specifically, how they navigate their positionality, (i.e. "an individuals' location across shifting networks of relationships" (Rogers and Ahmed 2016:1) between conflicting individual, familial and social expectations with regards to sex.

1.2 Filipino Youth in Canada: Sexual Health and Migration

In this section, I review the extant literature on two broad topics: sexual health and Filipino im/migration to, and presence in Canada. I have sectioned the sexual health research into:

research on youth sexual health in Canada; transnational youth sexual health in Canada; Filipino, 'East Asian', and 'Asia-Pacific' youth sexual health in Canada and the US; and youth sexual health in the Philippines. I divide it in this way in order to position Filipino youth as a part of sexual health trends whether Canada- or transnationally-born. I have supplemented these studies with work produced in the United States as Canadian studies alone are limited. I draw from studies on 'East Asian' and 'Asia-Pacific' youth populations in Canada and the United States as references to Filipino youth in these studies provide further context for Filipino youth sexual health information¹. I then examine the conditions for im/migration to Canada from the Philippines, Filipino settlement patterns in Canada, and educational outcomes for Filipino youth in Canada. Here I show conditions for migration from the Philippines and settlement in Canada, youth migration patterns, and educational outcomes for Filipino youth in Canada, after which I lay out my research questions. The last section of this chapter focuses on the theoretical framing of my research, which draws on the concepts of sexual health, culture, subjectivity, agency, and discourse.

1.2.1 Youth Sexual Health in Canada

The majority of studies addressed in this section come from the fields of Psychology, Sociology, Social Work, Nursing and other medical fields. Significantly, there appear to be no anthropological studies on transnational Filipino youth sexual health in Canada. Numerous large-scale quantitative studies have been conducted in Canada, primarily to assess sexual health knowledge competency and the efficacy of secondary school sexual health curricula (Poon et al.

¹ It is important to note that the categorization of Filipinos as being of like mind with other "East Asian" cultures is inherently problematic. Researchers such as Agbayani-Siewert (2004:39), Aguinaldo (2012), Mendoza (2012), and Choi (2008), among others, critique research methods that envelop racial minorities into generalized categories, such as Asian, Hispanic, black, and white, noting high levels of diversity both within these generalized categories, and across them.

2015; Salehi et al. 2014; Kumar et al. 2013; Desaulniers et al. 2013; Flicker et al. 2009; Saewyc et al. 2008; Boyce et al. 2006). These studies focus on the assessment of "risky behaviours," such as consistent condom use and number of sexual partners, as a means to understand youth sexual health knowledge and outcomes. These studies reveal that, in general, youth (ages 15 to 24) in Canada are relatively knowledgeable about sexual health topics including pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (STIs), despite having the "highest incidences of chlamydia and gonorrhoea infections" in the country (Kumar et al. 2013:74; Maticka-Tyndale 2008). In comparison, youth were less well informed on topics including contraception, assault, and consent. Wong et al. (2012:75) argued that socially and economically marginalized youth, including many transnational youth, experience "poorer sexual health outcomes" in part due to stigmatizing educational methods which disempower these youth from "fully embrac[ing] their sexualities" safely. Saewyc et al. (2008) looked at "protective factors" along with risky behaviour as a means of looking at factors that increase positive sexual experiences and decreased behaviours considered risky. The outcomes of these studies exposed country-wide gaps in youth sexual health knowledge which can be attributed, at least in part, to Canadian sexual health education curricula and the ways in which information is disseminated. This may suggest a need for standardization or further regulation of school-based sexual health education for both students and educators.

1.2.2 Transnational Youth Sexual Health in Canada

Several large-scale studies have been conducted across Canada which focus on immigrant youth specifically (Salehi et al. 2014; Homma et al. 2013; Narushima et al. 2013). Studies such as Homma et al. (2013), Homma (2012), Van Ngo (2009), Van Ngo and Shleifer (2005), and Jimeno et al. (2010) argue that transnational youth often face cultural barriers to accessing

information and services, and may have different cultural and religious values encompassing varied sexual health needs and wants in comparison with other youth demographics in the country. Many of the studies reviewed focused on transnational youth sexual health in terms of risky behaviour (Wong et al. 2012; Homma et al. 2013 for Canada; Sasaki and Kameoka 2009 for US), the degree of acculturation into the larger society (Homma et al. 2013; Brotto et al. 2005 for Canada; Chung et al. 2007 for US), and parental and cultural influence and expectations, e.g. gendered expectations and religious values on sexual activity and dating (Narushima et al. 2013; Tong 2013 for Canada; Espiritu 2001; Kim and Ward 2007 for US). The primary focus of these studies are "high risk sexual behaviours" and intervention, and "early" sexual experiences (Homma et al. 2013:13 for Canada; Lee et al. 2013 for US). These studies focus primarily on the sexual health outcomes and activity of female youth (e.g. Morton and Gorzalka 2013; Wong et al. 2012; Samuel 2010; Gagnon et al. 2010; Brotto et al. 2005), or the juxtaposition of female and male youth sexual health outcomes and behaviour (Homma et al. 2013; Homma 2012; Flicker et al. 2009; Brotto et al. 2007). There is limited qualitative data that speaks to the lived aspects of sexual health, including the broader aspects of sexual decision making, i.e. dating, romance, etc., and how youth make sexual choices, and perceive and experience their sexual lives.

1.2.3 Filipino Youth Sexual Health in Canada and the United States

A literature search for studies pertaining specifically to the sexual health of Filipino youth living in Canada proved unsuccessful, however; this search produced two important quantitative studies which analysed a province-wide health survey in order to assess the "sexual health and risk behaviours" and "sexual initiation" of East Asian (Japanese, Korean, Chinese and Filipino) youth populations in British Columbia in comparison to the general youth population in British

Columbia (Homma et al. 2013:13; Homma 2012). Homma (2012) and colleagues (Homma et al. 2013) argue that the youth from these four ethnic backgrounds were less likely to engage in sexual intercourse during secondary school than their non-East Asian peers; however, for those who did engage in sexual intercourse, they were likely not to use a condom during their last intercourse, and were likely to have had multiple sexual partners. These trends were seen as correlates to whether English was spoken in the home, and whether the youth was born in Canada or elsewhere. Several other quantitative survey-based studies looked at sex education and risk behaviours among Asian youth populations throughout the United States (Lee et al. 2013; Tong 2013; Javier et al. 2010; Sasaki and Kameoka 2009; Kim and Ward 2007). These studies provide an overview of sexual health competency, acculturation, and prevalence rates of "risky behaviour[s]" among Asian youth in comparison to other demographics (Lee et al. 2013). Lee et al. (2013) focused on Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino female youth and parents. The results showed that discussions with parents about birth control did not lead to riskier sexual behaviour. However, parents and their children were still unlikely to discuss sex, preferring sexual health information to come from school. The study also found that female youth who were more "acculturated" (Lee et al. 2013:351), as measured by the length of time parents and children had been in the US, were likely to have sex at a younger age than those who had come to the US more recently. Two studies published by Chung et al. (2007, 2005) looked specifically at one American Filipino community to assess how acculturation affected parent-adolescent communication. The first (2005) focused on female adolescents and their parents and whether this affected youth engagement in risky sexual behaviour. The second (2007) study juxtaposed the results from the 2005 study with data from male adolescents in the same community. These studies, along with others, (e.g. Javier et al. 2010; Espiritu 2001) address changes in attitudes and

practices of Filipino youth outside the Philippines, as well as how parents and youth engage with Filipino "cultural values" (Javier et al. 2010:306) within an American context.

1.2.4 Youth Sexual Health in the Philippines

In the Philippines, there has been a range of studies done on the sexual health of Filipino youth. The majority of this research has been conducted through large-scale quantitative studies of secondary school and/or university students (Radicon et al. 2015; Melendrez Castañeda 2015; Serquina-Ramiro 2014; Gipson et al. 2014, 2012; Labrague et al. 2012; de Irala et al. 2009; Paunlagui et al. 2005). Several qualitative studies on young adult sexual health have been published (Delgado-Infante and Ofreño 2014), most often in conjunction with quantitative studies (Ujano-Batangan 2012; Tan et al. 2001). Although the Philippines is officially a secular country, population data identifies the country as predominantly Catholic, or belonging to other Christian denominations (Gipson et al. 2012), followed by a notable (5.6%) and fairly distinct Muslim population historically concentrated in the south of the country, but rapidly becoming more numerous and widespread in the last 50 years of overseas work opportunities in the Middle East (Philippines Statistical Yearbook 2015; Angeles 2011). These sexual health studies reflect these values. On the whole, youth participants within these studies express fairly "conservative" religious morals and values around sex including adverse views towards abortion and towards sex before marriage, and upholding ideas around the "value and essence of virginity" (Labrague et al. 2012:5; Delgado-Infante and Ofreño 2014; Gipson et al. 2012; Esteban 2014).

In general, courtship and dating are considered acceptable youth practices; however, sex and dialogue around sex is discouraged. Talking about or knowing *too much* about sexual activities, especially young women, is often interpreted as a sign of promiscuity (Delgado-Infante and Ofreño 2014; Ujano-Batangan 2012; Ofreño 2007). Data collected by the

University of the Philippines Population Institute reported that premarital sex among Filipino youth increased from 18 percent in 1994 to 32 percent in 2013 (Ong and Tolentino 2014:1). Juxtaposed with their parents generation, Filipino youth today are now waiting longer to get married and are more frequently engaging in premarital sex at increasingly younger ages (Gipson et al. 2014; Serquina-Ramiro 2014; Ong and Tolentino 2014; De Jose 2013; Likaan 2010). This increase is in part due to "a relaxation of the stricter standards of sexual conduct for women" (Paunlagui et al. 2005:2). Yet, despite this change in attitudes, strong gendered expectations for female and male youth conduct are common in the Philippines, including differences in allowance and expectations for dating and sexual activity. Social norms encourage male youth to "experiment," while female youth are "discourage[d]" from sexual expression or knowledge, "especially before marriage" (Gipson et al. 2014:600; Serquina-Ramiro 2014; Labrague et al. 2012; de Irala et al. 2009). The use of technologies such as cell phones are changing the ways that Filipino youth "explore and conceptualize their sexual identities" (Melendrez Castañeda 2015:35; Ellwood-Clayton 2006). For example, Melendrez Castañeda (2015) explores the use of the smart phone networking application "Grindr" in the Philippines as a way for gay men to easily connect and "find" (2015:32) one another. The application has also become a useful tool for these individuals as an avenue for "learning how to be gay" (2015:29), as well as a space to navigate around and overcome heteronormative attitudes and practices surrounding dating and sexuality.

In terms of sexual health knowledge and activity, sexual health education sanctioned by the State and the Catholic Church remains focused on abstinence before marriage, offering youth minimal information on their sexual selves beyond reproduction after marriage (Gipson et al. 2012; Laguna 2004). Despite this, most Filipino youth are aware that condoms and other forms

of contraceptives are "risk reduction" measures for pregnancy and STI contraction, but use of these items are low (de Irala et al. 2009:9; Gipson et al. 2014, 2012); based on a series of studies led by Ujano-Batangan (2012:170), she reported contraception rates of 27.3% for male and 17.1% for female youth during their last intercourse. In a study by de Irala et al. (2009:7), youth showed particular interest in learning to "manage feelings and emotions," i.e. the emotional aspects of navigating relationships, more so than topics on the physiological aspects of sexual health. Similar to Chung et al.'s (2005, 2007) studies on familial communication and cooperation in the US, Upadhyay and Hindin (2007) assessed the impact of discussions with parents on sexual health topics. They found that parental cohesion and stability in the home had a positive correlation with "delayed first sex" in both male and female youth. Unfortunately, there remains limited information on parent-child communication and much of youth's sexual and dating activities are done without the knowledge of their parents (Melendrez Castañeda 2015; Gipson 2012; de Irala et al. 2009). I was able to find very little on the subject in terms of qualitative ethnographic data (Melendrez Castañeda 2015). It remains unclear how the views and practices of Filipino youth align or contrast across Filipino youth in the Philippines, and transnational Filipino youth in Canada and the US.

1.2.5 Summary of Sexual Health Research

The literature discussed here shows that studies on youth sexual health in Canada, the United States, and the Philippines studies are generally conducted via large-scale quantitative data collection methods. These studies are typically extensive surveys collected across fairly expansive sample populations (e.g. Poon et al. 2015; Flicker et al. 2009). Research methods focus primarily on information recall through Likert-scale style questions on personal experience and feelings. The studies were based primarily around discourses of risk (e.g. risky behaviour,

risk reduction) and control (e.g. whether and how effectively individuals were able to control sexual urges). Unfortunately, there are limited studies addressing the experiences and concerns of (transnational) Filipino youth in the Canada, the United States and the Philippines. These studies focus primarily on whether or not youth are engaging in sexual activities, and if so, if they are doing so by "risky" means. Thus, it is difficult to draw concrete conclusions about how gender, education, faith, and family relations may influence the sexual activities and sexual health outcomes of transnational Filipino youth. My research further explores these avenues through in-depth analysis of how transnational Filipino young adults and parents perceive youth sexual health outcomes through an ethnographic lens.

1.3 Situating Filipinos in Canada

In order to understand the context in which many transnational Filipino youth came to be in Canada, it is important to look at the existing research on the condition of the migration and educational experiences of not only transnational Filipino youth, but also transnational Filipino parents, and how experiences and attitudes of these parents may have an impact on the sexual health and choices of their children.

1.3.1 Filipino Settlement in Canada

Filipinos come to Canada through a variety of work and family based manners. The majority of Filipino migration to Canada has taken place since from the 1950s and 1960s onwards, beginning with incentivized immigration specifically marketed towards various professional fields such as doctors and nurses catering to a labour shortage in Canada at the time. Since then several occupational waves have taken place, along with changes to immigration laws which have at different times aided or abated family (re)unification (McElhinny et al. 2012). Many Filipinos who have come to Canada over the last 35 years have come through temporary foreign

work programs (TFWP) such as the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP) (Pratt 2012; McElhinny et al. 2012). These temporary work programs offer opportunities for transnational workers, primarily women, to labour in Canada in the low-skilled domestic sectors at "below-market rates" (Pratt 2012:6). The LCP, in particular, has proven to be a primary point of entrance for many Filipinos; in 1998, the LCP was responsible for nearly 50 percent of Filipino migration to the city of Vancouver, and migration numbers have continued to increase rapidly since then (Pratt 2012:4). Although workers are separated from their families initially, in the long term the program offers the possibility of permanent residency and family sponsorship for individuals who complete an initial two to three year contract, neither of which are offered through the majority of TFWPs (Pratt 2012:2; Government of Canada 2016) and over 90% of participants have pursued this opportunity (Pratt 2012:4; Oyaga 2015; Davidson 2012). Realistically, children of LCP workers spend an average of 8 to 13 years living apart from their parent(s), as logistical (e.g. fiscal constraints and educational goals) and bureaucratic (e.g. application process) preparations usually take much longer than the initial three year work period (Pratt 2012; Oyaga 2015). Research on Filipino communities across Canada give particular importance to religious organizations as well as Filipino community and advocacy groups as means of social support. These support networks are instrumental to settlement, identity, and integration for many temporary and settled Filipinos. Churches, religious activities, and community groups are environments for "community socialization, and political networking" (McElhinny et al. 2012:34), where settling and settled Filipinos are able to foster valuable relationships and social support networks, maintain ties and relationships with the Philippines, and boost their social capital outside of the Philippines (Oyaga 2015; Pratt 2012; Tungohan 2012; Bonifacio and Angeles 2010; Kelly and Lusi 2006).

1.3.2 Filipino Youth in School in Canada

Today, Filipino youth in Canada may be first generation or born in Canada. Filipino youth in the Canadian school system cultivate friendships with Filipino and non-Filipino youth, as well as maintaining friendships in the Philippines. Evidence from across Canada shows that youth who migrate before the age of 13 are generally able to successfully integrate into the educational system and have overall educational outcomes comparable to other youth in Canada (Bonifacio 2013; Pratt 2012). Youth who migrate in their later teenage years, however, fare worse in terms of educational success in comparison to their peers in the Philippines. Data from across Canada show that transnational Filipino youth are less likely to complete high school in comparison with other youth demographics in the country (Farrales and Pratt 2012; Mendoza 2012). In the Philippines, youth with parents working in Canada can often afford to attend private schools. In comparison, data on Filipino youth in the Canadian school system show that while transnational Filipino youth are sometimes enrolled at private (usually Catholic) schools, the high cost of tuition at private schools makes it difficult to continue sending youth to private institutions once in Canada. Instead transnational Filipino youth are often processed through the public school system in English Language Learner classes below their English capabilities (Mendoza 2012; Pratt 2012) and are often required to redo grades they completed in the Philippines. Youth find these to be barriers to engagement with coursework, and this, along with the systematic deskilling of their educated parents (Mendoza 2012; Pratt 2012; Kelly 2014; Farrales and Pratt 2012; Oyaga 2015), result in educational stagnancy with Filipino youth opting for low-wage jobs which have few educational requirements but allow them to contribute to their family's income. Regardless of where they were born, Filipino youth have some of the lowest educational outcomes in Canada based on ethnic categorization (Farrales and Pratt 2012). Systemic problems

faced by transnational Filipinos go largely unnoticed, especially in terms of their educational outcomes, due in part to the Canadian government's failure to recognise the LCP as an immigration program resulting in a lack of structural programming for youth who arrive through this channel. In many ways, transnational Filipino youth "blend into the mainstream" (Pratt 2012: 26), and therefore structural problems faced by these youth are by and large ignored by the government despite the substantial and still growing numbers of Filipinos in Canada.

The educational outcomes for Filipino youth in Canada provide an arena in which Filipino youth become the "anomaly to an expected trajectory of upward social mobility among children of immigrants" in Canada (Farrales and Pratt 2012:6). The documented educational outcomes of Filipino youth depict a unique situation mirrored only by Black immigrant youth in Canada wherein the educational levels of their immigrant parents are likely to surpass that of their own (Farrales and Pratt 2012). What more, these parents are often employed in low paying service sector jobs which do not match their educational levels and skill-set. Youth often feel pressure to contribute to family income, resulting in either leaving school earlier than intended, or completing shorter, vocational style programs and/or working in the same kinds of low paying service jobs as their parents. On the other hand, many youth feel pressure to obtain post-secondary education based on an understanding that their parents brought them to Canada so that they could obtain an education and a career that will provide future familial "economic security" (Farrales and Pratt 2012:18).

Although Filipinos are one of the largest immigrant groups in Canada, they are severely underrepresented in the post-secondary education system across Canada (Mendoza 2012). High school English Language Learner courses often replace or conflict with university prerequisite courses and high entrance grades requirements lower youth's chances of entering university

without taking upgrade courses after high school. College programs generally have more manageable entrance requirements, however, which accounts for the noticeably higher rates of Filipino students in colleges. In both cases, economic factors such as the high cost of post-secondary education and the need for many youth to contribute to family income can negatively impact enrolment levels (Mendoza 2012). Neither first- nor second-generation Filipino-Canadian youth are immune to the economic challenges posed by post-secondary education.

Research undertaken in British Columbia (BC) show that Filipino youth in post-secondary schools in the GVA notice that they are underrepresented, and research has noted that those individuals often feel "isolated" and that they do not have a place in the academic community. They have reported feeling "paradoxically both marginalized and privileged" (Mendoza 2012:369); privileged for being able to access higher education when others in their community cannot, and marginalized as visible minorities at school, feeling as though they do not quite fit with other "Asian" (Chinese, Korean, Japanese) education narratives, or have a significant enough Philippines representation to create their own narratives (Mendoza 2012). This research contributes to the growing narratives and stories of Filipino youth attending post-secondary institutions in Canada.

1.3.3 Summary of Filipino Migration, Employment, and Educational Outcomes

Canada has experienced several waves of patterned Filipino immigration during the last 70 years. Youth may come together with their families, or more commonly, may come to Canada after long periods of separation with one or more parents. Transnational Filipino youth often face strained relations with family members when they have experienced separation and they often incur difficult socioeconomic and cultural adjustment periods in conjunction with educational obstacles. Transnational Filipino youth continue to be overlooked and underestimated as an

important youth demographic, despite their growing presence in Canada. Regardless, transnational Filipino youth are slowly becoming more visible in academia through studies on their educational, mental health, and socioeconomic outcomes (e.g. Farrales 2017; Kelly 2014; Darwich et al. 2016; Beiser et al. 2015; Mendoza 2012; Farrales and Pratt 2012).

One important aspect of their lives that continues to be overlooked, however, is how youth fare in terms of their sexual health and wellbeing. This literature review concludes that little research to date provides insight into this important aspect of the lives of transnational Filipino youth. My research focuses on how transnational Filipino youth living in Southern Vancouver Island (SVI) and the Greater Vancouver Area (GVA) make decisions about their sexual health, and how they negotiate these decisions in the context of their surroundings. The themes which have emerged within the extant literature portray transnational Filipino youth as more likely than the general population to engage in "risky" sexual activity, to lack or disregard sexual education information, and to underuse sexual health services (Salehi et al. 2014; Lee et al. 2013; Flicker et al. 2009). However, owing to the relative dearth of research and based on the primarily quantitative nature of the available studies, these studies rarely allow youth to identify or speak to their experiences in their own words. As the limited research that has been conducted primarily explores transnational youth sexual health in Canada through primarily problematic terms (as seen above), it would appear beneficial to begin to look to Canada's growing transnational populations more thoroughly to see whether these youth are facing structural barriers or "lacking" information and resources. If their needs are not being met, are there ways to better serve the sexual health needs of Filipino im/migrant youth and families? With the number of transnational Filipino youth living in Canada and the United States dramatically on the rise, perceptions, practices and experiences of transnational Filipino youth is increasingly

important. In light of the gaps and limitations identified in this literature review, my research addresses the question: *In the context of migration and mobility, how do transnational Filipino youth living in southwestern British Columbia negotiate their sexual lives and decisions around sexual health, and how do individual, familial, and community dynamics impact these decisions?*

This question will be explored through four sub-questions:

1. *In what ways do transnational Filipino youth identify ideals about sex and sexuality in terms of their perceptions of their cultural identity?*
2. *What are the gendered expectations around sexual restraint/modesty, sexual assertiveness/initiative, or other expectations, that create particular tensions for these youth vis-à-vis their parents and peers?*
3. *To what extent do these youth feel empowered and disempowered sexually in the context of their lives in Canada?*
4. *Where are these youth turning to for guidance in their sexual lives?*

1.4 Theoretical Concepts

In order to explore these questions thoroughly, I draw upon the concepts of sexual health, culture, subjectivity, agency, and discourse to understand how these youth are dynamically situated as transnational Filipino youth with equally dynamic sexual lives. "Young adults," a term used interchangeably with "youth" throughout my writing, are regarded as occupying a middle ground between childhood carelessness and adult responsibility (Lesko 1996). Cross-culturally, youth are granted a limited range of the responsibilities and know-how afforded to adults, and simultaneously regulated and scrutinized for lacking responsibility and "expert knowledge" (Lupton 1999:87; Lesko 1996). Following Foucault's ideas on power, sexuality, and the body, one way in which particular subject positions are created through discourse is through the external regulation of their bodies (Bristow 2002:169; Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987). This regulation is blatant in discussions around youth engagement in sexual activities (Bristow

2002:169). For example, topics surrounding children's sexual health are often approached with "unease" (Montgomery 2009:183), while young adulthood is, in some cases, regarded as a natural time of "sexual exploration" and experimentation (Homma et al. 2013:13). In line with this partial acceptance, youth sexual health studies acknowledge that youth may have sexual identities, yet, overwhelmingly, these studies depict youth's sexual lives through discourses of irresponsibility, deviance and "poo[r] sexual health outcomes" (Wong et al. 2012:75). By doing so, a regulatory and moralist tone that denies youth agency to self-govern as well as the ability to act as responsible subjects is reified. By framing the sexual health of youth through discourses of risk factors and technical problems to be solved, much of the lived experiences and realities of human sexuality are sidelined. In order to capture these lived experiences and realities, I am interested in exploring how transnational Filipino youth contest and negotiate notions of sexuality and sexual health that are discursively constructed and constituted through familial expectations, religious ideals, peer expectations and pressure, societal expectations, and sexual education programming.

1.4.1 Sexual Health and Sexuality

Both individual and societal perceptions are constantly transforming, and changing perceptions of sexuality and sexual health often instigate social changes. Conceptually, sexuality and sexual health are pervasive across "many domains of social, cultural, political and economic life" (Moore 2012:1) and difficult to define or approach from a single angle. As demonstrated through the literature above, an approach that is often taken is framing sexual health, and particularly that of young people and/or females, as both problematic and risky (e.g. Homma et al. 2013; Chung et al. 2007; Labrague et al. 2012). Sexual health is often approached through discourses of risk that negate positive or pleasurable aspects of the sexual life (Kippax et al. 2013; Philpott et al.

2006). In order to approach sexual health through a discourse that privileges a sex-positive understanding, rather than viewing sexual health as inherently risky I employ the conceptualization put forth by Bristow (2002:1): "sexuality would appear to embrace ideas about pleasure and physiology, fantasy, and anatomy," which allows for a wide exploration of the conceptualization of youth sexual health and accounts for the complex and varied sexual lives of people. As this project is a means to learn about the sexual lives of Filipino youth from the youth themselves, I also look to the participants to lend their interpretation of sexual health. Rather than dictate a predetermined understanding to them, I wanted the participants to take part in the complexities and variability of sexual understanding through their own voices and interpretations (Weidman 2014).

1.4.2 Culture and Subjectivity

Culture, subjectivity, and agency are terms that can be useful as a means to help to explain the individual complexities and patterns through which individuals, and transnational Filipino youth more specifically, navigate their lives. Culture is neither static nor globally unified, rather it is complex and in a constant state of flux (Moore 2012; Lyttleton and Sayanouso 2011; Ortner 2005). Rosaldo (1989:20-21) argues that culture is a "more porous array of intersections where distinct processes crisscross from within and beyond its borders...derive[d] from differences of age, gender, class, race, and sexual orientation." Within our daily lives we navigate these "social boundaries" (Rosaldo 1989:29), sometimes unconsciously, and sometimes with overt intention and purpose. This view of culture aligns with Sherry Ortner's (2005:32) notion of subjectivity as "the ensemble of modes of perception, affect, thought, desire, fear, and so forth that animate acting subjects"; an understanding of subjectivity that can be used to articulate the nuances which make up "culture." Ortner (2006:45) stresses that individuals, or subjects, are at least to

some extent "self-aware and reflexive." Therefore, a subject's engagement as an individual within the world, and the ways in which they interact with the world around them is complex. Individuals are subject to dominant hegemonic formations they must navigate and that impact how they interact within the world around them. I employ the concepts of culture and subjectivity as a potential means of understanding why the participants act in the ways they do, accounting for flexibility, differences, and similarities found amongst the research participants as well as across the social dimensions in which they live. I am interested in how the participants respond to and navigate these social dimensions, particularly in the context of their sexual lives, and how they do so as persons with intentions.

1.4.3 Agency

In order to understand how these participants navigate their subjectivities, I draw upon the concept of agency. Agency, like culture and subjectivity, cannot be captured through a single action or idea either across or within societies. Ahearn (2001:112) provides an open-ended concept of agency, which states that agency is "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act." I draw on this perspective as it allows for interpretation of the act of agency in both a passive *acted upon* and active *acting on* manner. Furthering this point, Nahar and van der Geest (2014:382) present agency in simple terms, framing agency as individuals' "ability to make choices and thus (to some extent) steer their own lives." This definition is used to argue that individuals always hold a degree of power to act on their own accord, through either blatant or nearly undetectable actions. This concept proves valuable in that there are implicit and explicit expectations imposed upon these young adults in the context of large scale cultural or societal values, and smaller scale familial or individualistic expectations; however, as each of these individuals are agentive beings, they hold the capacity to conform to or resist these notions, even

if just slightly so. As the agency that youth hold is often disregarded or misconstrued, a goal embedded in my research is to acknowledge structural barriers that youth face while simultaneously demonstrating the agentic nature of these youth in their decisions regarding their sexual selves.

1.4.4 Discourse

Sexual health is a negotiated and contested process affecting subject identities at the individual and group level. The sexual health of an individual therefore stems in part from negotiation with larger discourses in society. Sexual behaviour and sexual identities are regulated (restricted and encouraged) by discourses. Scott (1988) defines discourse as "not a language or a text but a historically, socially, and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs...the elaboration of meaning involves conflict and power" (Scott 1988:35) which are negotiated through various means of control, power, and resistance at individual, local and societal levels. Discourse invokes "language *and* practice [emphasis in original]" (Hall 2013:29), and therefore acts as a regulatory tool informing individual and group practices and understanding (Hall 2013). Our collective understanding of sexual health knowledge is invested and bound up in power; therefore, in the case of sexual health, how sex and sexual activities are defined and dictated bears influence and consequences for the youth entangled within these discursive confines (Bristow 2002).

Discourses involving sex are particularly complex. Drawing on these interpretations of culture, subjectivity, and agency, as well as the complexities embedded within understandings of sexual health, I explore how individuals conduct their sexual lives and for what reasons. The concepts of culture, subjectivity, and agency are useful in making sense of why individuals comply and diverge from certain patterns and why certain attitudes and assumptions are

embedded within attitudes about sexual health and youth, specifically in terms of how transnational Filipino youth engage with discourses about sexual health (Fairclough 2003). Works such as Bristow (2002), Jennaway (2002), and Bennett (2005a, 2005b) on female Indonesian sexual subjectivities and agency highlight the important relationships of sexuality to power and the discursive construction of expectations about "good" and "bad" subjects through sexual conduct (Bennett 2005a:23). Their works highlight the ways in which "power circulates within the social order through *discourse* [emphasis in original]" (Bristow 2002:169-70), and how discourses on sexuality articulate socially appropriate and inappropriate behaviours within a particular culture. Sexuality is seen in this regard as a "dense transfer point for relations of power" (Bristow 2002:171), and both gender and sexuality are seen as starkly disparate ways in which to negotiate and reify power relations, as well as a way to challenge and bring forward these same boundaries and hegemonic ideals (Bristow 2002:172). I am curious to explore ways in which discourses on sexuality, gender, virginity, etc. affect how youth negotiate their sexual lives, particularly as transnationally situated young adults.

Transnational Filipino youth in Canada are negotiating highly moralized cultural discourses and boundaries. Ahearn's (2013:243-44) conception of "affect" as emergent, "aris[ing] in the midst of *in-between-ness*: in the capacities to act and be acted upon [emphasis in original]" can be helpful for understanding youth experiences and agency. Transnational Filipino youth employ a range of affects to express the mediated, negotiated processes they use as they move through their sexual lives. At a superficial level, Canadian sexual health discourses directed at youth can be readily perceived as having more liberal, sex-positive messages than those in the Philippines (Poon et al. 2015; Flicker et al. 2009 for Canadian context; de Irala et al. 2009; Espiritu 2001 for Filipino context), however; these discourses do not manifest a universal

experience for all youth. When compared, Canadian and Filipino discourses may be interpreted as varyingly symbiotic and incongruous, and may elicit emotions from transnational Filipino youth as wide-ranging as contentment and liberation, to confusion and frustration.

In heeding the warning of Aguinaldo (2012:405-6) who states that "there is no one coherent [Filipino] identity that one can claim, but a contested terrain of multiple selves or 'subjectivities' from which one can take up or be positioned...such a commitment brings to the fore the 'realities' of multiple Filipina/o perspectives and voices." With this research, I provide voice and context to the lives of the individuals who have graciously taken part in this research. Throughout the following chapters I bring to the forefront the words of these individuals in order to provide context to the unique lived worlds and experiences of these young adults.

1.5 Thesis Outline

In Chapter One I have outlined the foundations for this research through a review of pertinent literature and theoretical concepts, and I have presented the main questions that guide this research project. The literature review included extant research on the sexual health of (transnational) Filipino youth in Canada and the United States, Filipino youth in the Philippines, and transnational youth in Canada, as well as the conditions of Filipino immigration to Canada, for parents and youth, and educational outcomes for Filipino youth in Canada. The concepts of sexual health, culture, subjectivity, agency, and discourse were introduced as ways of framing and conceptualizing the data that will be presented in Chapter Three and Chapter Four and discussed in Chapter Five.

In Chapter Two I discuss the methodological aspects of this research. I discuss the ethnographic methods used to conduct my research including the processes used in recruitment, data collection (interviews, focus groups, and "deep hanging out"), and data analysis. In this

chapter I also detail my position as the researcher and explore how this position has shaped this research project.

In Chapter Three I introduce the ten youth research participants and explore their decisions around becoming, or not becoming sexually active. I bring forward the youth's conceptualizations of sexual activity and what being sexually active means to them. I then explore ways in which youth think about decisions around their sexual lives and introduce some of the primary motivators that contribute to these decisions focusing on affect and emotion around sex and being sexually active. I begin to explore how these youth enact their agency in these decisions.

In Chapter Four I explore some of the primary motivators that impact the youth's sexual lives. This chapter looks at how their relationships with parents and peers, along with cultural, religious, and gender expectations shape their sexual subjectivities. I explore how these relationships and expectations influence the youth's decisions and how these decisions impact their sexual lives and understandings. I look at how their positions as children, friends, transnational youth, women and men, Filipinos and Canadians, Christian and atheist, and so on, impact their sexual subjectivities and the ways they in turn enact their sexual choices.

In Chapter Five I provide an in-depth exploration of my research findings from Chapter Three and Four. I look to the social scientific theories of agency and subjectivity to examine how the youth negotiate their sexual lives and decisions in the context of individual, familial, and broader cultural dynamics.

In Chapter Six, I offer my final conclusions for this research. I also address the implications and limitations of this project as well as possibilities for future research.

Chapter Two: Research Methods

2.1 Overview

In this chapter I discuss the advantages and challenges of the methods used in my fieldwork. I provide an overview of the ethnographic methods used and why I considered them to be the most efficacious and appropriate methods of data collection available for this research, which was conducted in two locales on the west coast of British Columbia (BC) between August 2016 and March 2017. I conducted 20 interviews with 10 transnational Filipino young adults, which I recorded and transcribed. I supplemented these interviews with two focus groups, four interviews with parent community members, and six interviews with experts from a variety of related fields (for sample interview questions see Appendices 7, 8, 11; for sample interview recruitment scripts see Appendices 4, 9). My main research methods I used included in-depth, semi-structured interviews, which allowed for one-on-one interaction, and “deep hanging out” (Fontein 2014:59; Wogan 2004:130), a form of informal personal engagement in which I spent time with transnational Filipino youth in a variety of contexts. This method encouraged informal group interaction that helped me to create rapport with participants to better understand the dynamic aspects of transnational Filipino youth relationships as they interact with one another and with community members in different social and community contexts. My research aims were to work with transnational Filipino youth in order to produce a comprehensive project that speaks to their sexual lives, a largely ignored and often misrepresented facet of their lives. In the following section I discuss the location of this research and context in which this location was chosen, as well as a more in depth look at the research methods I used.

The primary location for my research was Southern Vancouver Island (SVI), with additional research collected in the Greater Vancouver Area (GVA, i.e. Metro Vancouver

Regional District). My research focuses on transnational Filipino young adults² who live in SVI (primarily in Victoria), and draws on supplementary information from parent community members³ and experts who live in SVI and the GVA. The province of British Columbia has the second largest Filipino population in the country, concentrated primarily in the GVA and with a growing population in SVI (Statistics Canada 2013). Both regions have established Filipino communities and a notable Filipino presence at post-secondary institutions. Choosing to work with Filipino youth attending post-secondary educational institutions in Canada has created an opportunity to work with a subset of the population which is often out of focus in academic research on individuals from the Philippines. Although several studies have been conducted on educational outcomes for Filipino youth in BC (See Farrales 2017; Farrales and Pratt 2012; Mendoza 2012), there still remains limited research that addresses the presence of first generation Filipino youth in Canadian post-secondary institutions, and there are no studies that look at Filipino young adults in post secondary institutions on Vancouver Island, BC. Although my research does not focus on educational outcomes specifically, I was conscious that this research could offer new insights into research on Filipino educational outcomes in British Columbia. I am also conscious that this research focuses on a specific subset of Filipino youth and that results will likely reflect the attitudes of youth in the post-secondary education subculture and does not reflect the views of all Filipino youth in the region.

In the GVA and SVI there are a variety of community associations, faith-based community groups, youth-specific programs, and advocacy groups that cater to both settled and

² Within the context of my research participants, the term "young adult" and "youth" are used synonymously, and refer to individuals between the ages of 19 and 25.

³ Within the context of my research, the term "community member" refers to transnational Filipinos over the age of 25.

newcomer youth and adults by providing support and helping to foster community. Throughout the course of my research, I reached out to a variety of these organizations, and attended various events and programs with the purpose of introducing myself to the SVI and GVA Filipino communities. I attended Filipino cultural and academic community events and programs, spoke with organizers from im/migrant and youth organizations and religious groups, was active on social media sites, held events at my home, and helped organized monthly programs for a Filipino youth association⁴. Each of these interactions helped me to further position myself as a researcher within these communities.

The primary site for activities and recruitment was through the aforementioned Filipino youth association in SVI. In the spring prior to my fieldwork, I approached a Philippines-born individual who I met through the academic community in SVI who became my primary liaison to connect with Filipino youth in both the GVA and SVI. With this individuals' support and guidance I was introduced to several individuals who invited me to help recreate a defunct Filipino youth association which resulted in my active participation as club Vice President for its inaugural year. This role helped me to establish credibility with my recruitment community. This relationship will be discussed more in-depth in the following pages.

2.2 Research Participants

My research includes three distinct participant groups: Transnational Filipino Young Adults, Filipino Parent/Community Members, and experts from community organizations associated with sexual health and/or Filipino young adults. By conducting interviews with individuals from each of these groups, my goal was to collect comprehensive data with the intention that each would help me to gather representative, multifaceted, and multisided results. Eligibility for

⁴ I discuss this in further detail below.

participation required an English competency level which would allow them to understand the informed consent form, as well as to engage comfortably in interviews conducted in English. All research participants lived in Southern Vancouver Island (SVI) or the Greater Vancouver Area (GVA) at the time of their interviews. In order to ensure confidentiality, I recruited young adults and community member participants from different locations to ensure that young adults and community member participants were not from the same household; ultimately young adult participants were recruited solely from SVI, while community members and experts were recruited from both SVI and the GVA. As I was recruiting young adults primarily at a single post-secondary campus and through snowball sampling, two sets of sibling pairs participated.

2.3 Recruitment

My primary recruitment methods for youth participants were through personal contact, snowball sampling, and social media posts and messages. The youth participants were primarily recruited through my affiliation with the Filipino youth association. I initially intended to recruit young adults from both the GVA and SVI for one-on-one interviews and focus groups. However, after making several attempts at recruitment via email, Facebook flyers, and personal messages, as well as through face-to-face recruitment at community events in Vancouver, I shifted my focus to interviews with youth in SVI due to a lack of interest from individuals in the GVA (although I never redacted my recruitment attempts in the GVA).

Community members were primarily recruited through personal contact and snowball sampling. Four community members from the GVA were recruited via word of mouth. I attempted to recruit community members through the main Filipino community association in Victoria by attending "Community Open House" lunches held on Sunday afternoons. During the fall of 2016 and winter 2017, I was introduced by my research informant to several community

members at these lunches, and to those who took interest in my project I passed along a recruitment information sheet geared towards community member participation (see Appendix 9), both in-person and via email; unfortunately this recruitment method failed to bear fruit. As such, community member interviews only reflect the experiences of community members living in GVA and not SVI.

Experts were recruited primarily through email via publically available email addresses found online or obtained in person.

2.4 Research Process

My main methods of data collection were qualitative, semi-structured interviews and in-person engagement with participants in activities (one-on-one and group). My research included twenty interviews with ten young adults, four with adult community members, and six with experts in the fields of migrant youth education, migrant and community organization and programming for youth, and Filipino youth more specifically, and sexual health. I conducted interviews structured by a combination of open-ended and semi-structured questions to provide the flexibility needed to capture the complexity, messiness, and ambiguity of people's lives (Holmes and Casteñada 2014; Starks and Trinidad 2007; Bernard 2011, 2006). Two intensive in-depth interviews were conducted with each youth, complemented by a single interview with each of the community members and experts. For logistical reasons, three interviews were done over Skype and four interviews were done over the telephone. With this sample size, I was able to reach a point in which the results were not likely to change drastically with the inclusion of more participants (Holmes and Casteñada 2014; Starks and Trinidad 2007). An audio recording device was used with permission during all formal interviews.

Semi-structured interviews and participatory activities done in-person provide opportunities for participants to express themselves in emotive or detailed ways that might reflect their own priorities and concerns beyond the realm of more calculated quantitative research methods such as surveys (Bernard 2011). My aim was to use qualitative data collection methods to produce comprehensive, nuanced data and offer participants and myself with chances to interact in a comfortable and communicative manner. In addition, this interactive ethnographic approach proved valuable as it provided means for pertinent, nuanced information to be expressed and gathered not only from a participant's answers, but from their body language, pauses and silence, demeanour (Weidman 2014), and their interactions with others and their surroundings. These non-verbal cues were invaluable during my research process, both during recruitment and during more structured data collection methods (interviews, activities, and focus groups); because I was collecting data concerning sensitive topics related to sex and sexual health, my goal was to be attuned to these expressions as they could provide important indicators for how participants felt during our interactions. Beyond this, they helped me to conduct myself during interactions at all stages of my research as they allowed me to gauge how best to ask questions and present myself in a way that would be comfortable and help to encourage genuine answers from each participant. Although individuals were not visible during telephone interviews, I was still able to work with non-visual, non-verbal cues for frame of reference.

2.4.1 Interviews

All interviews were conducted one-on-one, unless otherwise requested by the participant, at a location agreed upon by the participant and myself; participants were asked to pick a location which was both comfortable and convenient for them. Interviews were conducted primarily at a post secondary campus or in restaurants around Victoria, and several interviews were conducted

in homes and offices. Each of the primary youth interviews lasted an average of 45 to 90 minutes, while the secondary interview, although intended to be shorter, on average also lasted between 45 to 90 minutes. Community member interviews lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. Interviews with experts lasted between 35 and 90 minutes. Four interviews were done over Skype video calling or the telephone with individuals in the GVA; two with young adults⁵, two with community members, and three with experts. One phone interview featured two participants together as the participants knew one another and one individual was hesitant to do the interview alone.

The telephone interview method was used in certain cases due to temporal and geographic constraints, and as per participants' requests. Following repeated attempts to conduct these interviews in-person in the GVA, obstacles including participant apprehension, inclement weather conditions, and scheduling conflicts necessitated that these interviews take place via telephone. Although there are disadvantages to conducting qualitative interviews over the phone, such as more difficulty reading social cues or knowing when a participant was finished answering a question, the telephone was necessary in order to include these particular individuals.

In order to be eligible to participate, young adult participants had to have been born in the Philippines, and have lived in both the Philippines and Canada, and self-identify as Filipino. Participation was open to all genders and sexualities as my research questions address potential for differences in gendered behaviours and expectations for female and male youth (Gipson et al. 2014 for the Philippines; Gallupe et al. 2009 for Canada). All participants had to have been between the ages of 19 and 25 at the time of their interviews; initially participation was to be

⁵ These individuals completed their first interview in Victoria and then relocated to the GVA in early 2017; therefore the following interviews were done via the telephone.

open to individuals 16 and 25; however, due to concerns raised by the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Board, as well as a change in research focus to post-secondary students specifically, the minimum age was raised from 16 to 19.

Three considerations went into focusing on Filipino youth. First, due to a lack of research on Filipinos in post-secondary education in Canada, I wanted to focus on individuals enrolled in post-secondary education in either SVI or the GVA and the majority of students fall within this age range⁶. Second, this age range correlates with trends in sexual activity in both Canada and the Philippines; studies show that in Canada two thirds of youth between the ages of 15-24 are sexually active and one third within the same age range in the Philippines, therefore this age range should allow for diversity among participants' potential sexual activity (Rotermann 2012 for Canada, Marquez 2014 for Philippines; Gipson et al. 2014). Third, at 25, I myself fall within this age range; as my interview questions involve in-depth discussions on topics of a sexual nature, I wanted to minimize any age-related power dynamic between the participants and myself as interviewer, with the aim to make the participants as comfortable as possible discussing topics related to sex with me (Kang 2013).

Before I started recruitment, I anticipated that youth participants would have come to Canada primarily by way of a parent or parents sponsoring their children through the sponsorship program attached to the Live-in Caregiver program (LCP). This was based on statistical data and research which indicated this route as a popular method for emigration to Canada from the Philippines (McElhinny et al. 2012; Bonifacio 2013). I had originally specified in my proposed research that to qualify to participate, youth would be required to have lived separated from one

⁶ For detailed population demographic information see data released by the largest post secondary institution in the GVA and SVI, respectively, which can found here: <http://pair.ubc.ca/student-demographics/demographics/>; <http://www.inst.uvic.ca/>.

or more parent for a minimum of one year before coming to Canada, and then to have lived with one or more parent in Canada for at least one year since moving to Canada. However, upon beginning my recruitment process, I was unable to recruit the intended number of participants focusing solely on the children of LCP participants and therefore expanded the recruitment criteria to allow for more participants. Given the sample size and the tight-knit nature of the community from which the youth were recruited, I have purposefully withheld the route by which they came to Canada in order to protect the anonymity of the youth participants. In order to impart some insight as to the context of their migration journeys, there were three main situations in play: some of the youth migrated to Canada with their families as a collective unit, some came with part of their families and reunited with a parent who had been working in Canada prior to migration, and some came alone as students.

I conducted interviews with four community members to gain insight into adult perspectives on youth relationships and sex in the Philippines and Canada, comparing and contrasting the results in order to reveal similarities, disparities, and potential divergence from youth perceptions. All participants must have been over the age of 25, self-identify as Filipino, must have lived in Canada for over a year, and not be the parent of a youth participant. My research was open to individuals with or without children. There were no restraints on the age or country of residence for participants' children.

In order to gain perspective on the standards and expectations of youth sexual health, as well as extant Filipino youth education and community programming in the GVA and SVI, I conducted interview with a variety of 'experts' (experts in this context being individuals holding coordinator or leadership positions within their respective fields). These experts include the "Coordinator of Community Education Services" from the Island Sexual Health Society in

Victoria, a youth leader from a Catholic youth organization chapter in Victoria, members of the executive board members of the Filipino youth association, and several academics who research and have worked with settlement and youth organizations that cater to Philippines- and Canada-born Filipino youth in British Columbia. These experts were chosen based on relevance to the project in terms of their area of expertise in working with Filipino young adults in their respective communities.

2.4.2 Focus Groups

I recruited focus group participants through personal contact, snowball sampling, and through social media posts and messages. I made participation open for both individuals who took part in interviews, as well as individuals who may not have wanted to participate or may not have been eligible to participate; i.e. second generation Filipino young adults living in SVI who were interested in taking part in the project but did not qualify to participate in one-on-one interviews.

2.4.3 Activities (Observations)

As the primary focus of my research was the youth themselves, I was most concerned with creating rapport with them. Since the participants and myself are close in age and shared a variety of interests through our engagement in the Filipino youth club, I was able to employ a style of "localized, long-term, close-in, vernacular field research," also referred to as "deep hanging out," in order to get a sense of the daily social activities and interaction styles which provided contextual information for understanding what socializing, school, and dating meant for these transnational Filipino youth (Wogan 2004:130). During the youth club's inaugural year, I took on the position of Vice President, organizing, and participating in group activities, outings, and meetings with both first and second generation Filipino young adults. Through my active participation, I was able to interact with Filipino students from different backgrounds, develop

credibility and trust through my position and attendance, recruit individuals from the club membership roster, and participate and observe interactions between young adults in the context of a post secondary institution. My intention was to take part in activities with these young adults in order to not only develop a more relaxed rapport with the participants outside of an interview setting, but also as a way to casually observe participants' dating and social lives, adding further insight into aspects of my research not explicitly clear from interviews and focus groups (Berg and Lune 2012), such as reputations, the banalities of student life, the ways youth navigate their social lives around parental concerns, and the kinds of rapport youth have amongst themselves when hanging out together (Fontein 2014; Bernard 2011, 2006).

Meaningful engagement with participants outside of the formal interview context helped to foster a more relaxed dynamic between myself and participants through which I was able to observe “natural” (Berg and Lune 2012:175) aspects of these young adults' dating lives that would otherwise have been overlooked or deemphasised with interviews and focus groups alone. These activities also provided me with the opportunity to participate in community events as well as meet adult community members who also took part in my research.

2.4.4 Analysis

My analysis was done in several steps. I began by transcribing the recorded interviews verbatim, along with typing up my field notes. I then organized and coded my data using QDAMinor Lite qualitative analysis software. I used a comprehensive list of descriptive (e.g. pregnancy, parental attitudes), thematic (e.g. family expectations, gender expectations), and demographic (e.g. family, education) codes which I developed deductively from the existing literature, as well as ideas and themes that emerged inductively from the data as I worked through the analysis. In

combination with the analysis software, I also reviewed the transcripts manually to aid in the distillation of broad themes.

As part of my research process, a gap of several months spanned the first and second interviews conducted with each young adult. By allowing for the passage of this amount of time between the two interviews, I was able to provide insight into my research in two previously unanticipated ways. Firstly, this gap created a mini, longitudinal-style research project; during those few short months, many changes took place in the lives of these youth, for example, the start or end of several relationships, engagement in sexual activity, graduations, moving off Vancouver Island, moving in with parents, etc. These changes proved to be significant markers in the lives of these youth as well as for my research results. I was also able to revisit several of the questions from the first interviews from slightly different angles, allowing me to compare consistencies in their answers.

Through the use of these multiple methods of research, I have triangulated my results to ensure a comprehensive understanding of both youth perspectives on their sex lives and the perspectives of adults in their community (Holmes and Casteñada 2014; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

2.5 Research Protocol

I received ethical approval from the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Board before commencing my fieldwork. To gain ethics approval, I altered several aspects of my intended research project. Concerns surrounding anonymity and informed consent of underage youth, and creating discussion around sensitive topics (those of a sexual nature) within a small community resulted in raising the minimum age of participants from 16 to 19, as well as increasing

anonymity through further separation of youth and adult community members by location and recruitment spaces.

Before an interview or focus group took place, each participant was sent a copy of the consent form (e.g. Appendices 5, 6, 10) and a synopsis of my research (e.g. Appendices 4, 9) so they could familiarize themselves with the research goals before participating. These two documents were discussed in person and individuals were given time to ask questions or voice concerns before beginning the formal interview process. Written and verbal consent was obtained from all individuals to participate and to be audio recorded.

I received ethics approval for my research in late August 2016, and began recruitment by contacting the administrative members of Filipino campus clubs at two major universities in the GVA and SVI, and received permission from each club to post a recruitment flyer (Appendix 5) and recruitment script (Appendix 6) on their respective Facebook group pages. In early September, I was introduced by my primary informant to several university students in SVI who were interested in reinventing a defunct Filipino youth club that had been initiated the year prior with limited success. I subsequently met with three individuals and together we resurrected the club. Through my ongoing participation in this club, I was able to create valuable connections that helped me to recruit participants for both interviews and focus groups. In one instance, this connection led to an individual approaching me to inquire if their parent could participate. While the member was not eligible to take part in the research as they were born in Canada, their parent was born in the Philippines and interested in this project.

As an “outsider,” my club membership and position helped me to establish credibility and rapport with young adults, useful in both locating potential participants and facilitating their participation. I was able to recruit participants through both the club roster and active snowball

sampling by various club members. My rapport with club members extended, in several cases, to credibility with their broader social circles, which allowed me to successfully recruit several members of their individual social circles.

2.6 Positionality: Reflexive Researching

As an ethnographic researcher, it is essential to understand my own positionality within my research. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest that we cannot do research that is disconnected from our surroundings or ourselves, therefore it is important to be aware of how one is situated within the context of one's work.

My interest in working in the realm of sexual health as well as with a transnational community predates my scholarly interest in these topics. In high school, I became interested in sexual health and the mitigation and management of sexual health risk. Somewhere along the way I became *that friend* that people went to for advice and turned to as a companion for trips to the clinic. This interest continued throughout my undergraduate degree and led me to seek out a volunteer opportunity that would allow me to participate not only as the “advocate” friend but also as an individual with formal training and knowledge that could be applied in a broader context. Since 2012, I have been volunteering with a sexual health organization in SVI where I am trained as a Doctor's Assistant and a Birth Control Educator, and attend workshops and events to help improve my sexual health educational skills and knowledge. Volunteering has provided an arena for me to bolster my sexual health understanding, as well as to actively engage in dialogue about sexual health with others educators, doctors, and clients. I pursued a Master's degree in part in order to forge a path towards a career working with youth sexual health, for which engaging in an ethnographic research project concerning sexual health education, cultural knowledge, and perceptions will surely be valuable.

My interest in working with individuals from diverse backgrounds stemmed from growing up in a family with strong ethnic, cultural, and community connections, each of which were instrumental in shaping the person I am today. As the daughter of a Portuguese immigrant, I grew up with the stories my mother shared about her experiences, both challenging and inspirational, about moving to and living in Canada in her youth. My siblings and I grew up enveloped in my mother's cultural practices, as well as those from my father's Jewish cultural heritage. Although we were raised far away from our relatives, we grew up in a tight-knit Jewish community, and I have always held close the experience of that sense of family and community. Common attributes (religious and cultural practices) united us within the broader community, and helped me to establish my understanding of myself and shape my communal and familial beliefs and values. Although I am an "outsider" (Bernard 2011; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007) to the Filipino community, I found ways to help create a sense of understanding between my recruitment community and myself. Upon setting out to complete my fieldwork, my primary informant asked me about my background and excitedly suggested I lead with these attributes when introducing myself to potential participants. They believed that my religious, cultural, and familial background would likely invoke a sense of familiarity between us; this observation was indeed helpful.

I created a research project around youth who shared a similar age demographic as myself with the intention of reducing a power-dynamic related to age as my research involves topics of a sensitive nature. For the duration of my fieldwork I was 25 years old, which fell within the age limit of my young adult participants. I was insistent upon making my research open to all gender identities in order to gain substantive gender-based information, however; in doing so I anticipated the possibility of encountering gender-based difficulties. Upon completing

my research, it appears that my position as a cisgendered female-identified person did not solicit negative reactions; in fact, in several cases female participants responded positively to this likeness.

Working with young adults in post-secondary institutions similar to the one I attend created a familiarity in locational positionality, and educational goals and attainment. Beyond this, these post-secondary students seemed receptive to taking part in a research project as many had themselves participated in or conducted research projects during their educational experiences.

The ethnographic style of research which I undertook during my fieldwork encouraged me to reflect on my position in relation to my research and my participants. My gender, age, religious and cultural background, educational background, and my status as a second generation immigrant each played an active role in my ability to conduct my research and impacted the selection of the approaches I relied upon during my fieldwork.

2.6.1 Issues of Positionality

As a new researcher, I found several things to be challenging during the recruitment process. Firstly, I was very conscious about my terminology and the description of my research; depending on who I was recruiting I would consciously augment the explanation of my project for fear of disapproval or concern. For example, with community members I was initially cautious to focus more on the ideas of "family dynamics" and "relationships" rather than highlighting the topics related to "sex" and "sexual health." I feared that participants would be hesitant to discuss topics of sexual nature with me; however, this seemed to be my own insecurity rather than the worry of any of my (potential) participants. The next challenge I faced was that of explaining my position as an "outsider" and why I had chosen to work with the

Filipino community. Because I was doing research within my home community in SVI, I received a lot of puzzled queries as to why, as a non-Filipino person, I had chosen the Filipino community to research. When I began my research I found this a difficult question to respond to and relied on a cumbersome threefold answer, and a genuine, but nervous, smile. This daunting question also tended to hold me back from active recruitment in group situations as it made me feel uncomfortable to impose my research wants on strangers when I clearly did not “belong.” As my research progressed, this answer became more natural and lighthearted and I stopped worrying about being out of place as I found other ways to relate to potential participants, such as school struggles or familial histories.

I found it challenging to try and do research in two locations. Because I was more familiar with SVI, and had more resources and time to help guide me in this region, it was more easily accessible and therefore more successful in terms of recruitment and creating meaningful connections to further explore. That said, the GVA proved to be a valuable asset for "expert" resources as has a more established network for Filipino and newcomer community resources and research. Additionally, the GVA provided a distinct location to recruit adult community members and ensure that I did not have issues of parent-youth overlap. Lastly, the use of multiple locations provided opportunities to scrutinize my research for cross-locational validity.

2.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have contextualized the region within which this work takes place, providing insight into why this research is important and why this region was viable for this project. I have detailed the recruitment, research, and analysis methods used within this study, and why in-depth interviews, focus groups, and "deep hanging out" were the most appropriate methods of research for this study. I have stated my position as a researcher within the context of this research. In the

following two chapters I present the research collected through these methods, followed by a discussion of this data in Chapter Five.

Chapter Three: Youth Negotiating their Desires, Concerns, and Anxieties about Sex

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I introduce the ten primary research participants⁷ in this study, beginning with their decisions to be or not be sexually active. I explore how they think about sexual activity and some of the more notable influences shaping their sexual decisions. The focus of this chapter is on individual's agency around sexual choices, the personal sexual decisions made by each individual, and how they have reached these decisions. Agency can be understood as the ways that an individual makes choices, acts, and exists within socially constructed beliefs and situations, through acts of resistance or acquiescence and anything in between (Nahar and van der Geest 2014; Ahearn 2001).

In this chapter, we see that sex and aspects of the sexual life are socially constructed and complex. Culture plays heavily into discourses, although pinpointing how culture shapes these discourses can be difficult (Scott 1988). Here, the youth identify that growing up in the Philippines and Canada has affected and shaped their sexual selves in that sexual discourses exist within and across these national borders, cultural understandings, religious moralities, sexual and gender identities, and so on, and influence their individual perspectives on sex (Ashcraft 2006). These discourses are powerful methods of management. These existing cultural notions of how individuals are expected to conduct themselves provide a guiding platform for the individuals to decide how they will act in light of these expectations (Bristow 2002).

⁷ For further information, see Appendices 1 and 2

In our interview conversations, the participants presented their sexual lives and understandings through ideas about what being sexually active meant to them personally, and the ways in which they chose to engage with their sexual lives and sexual identities. They did so through engagement with their decisions around becoming sexually active, as well as what mattered to them in terms of their sexual well-being. This is seen in discussions around the ways in which intimacy and emotion are bound up in their views about meaningful sexual engagement, as well as their perceptions towards what they perceived as (potentially) negative aspects of sexual engagement, such as concerns about premarital "indiscretions" such as unintended pregnancies, and potential effects on personal and familial reputation. Regardless of the actual decisions they pursue, the youth felt strongly that these decisions were theirs to shoulder.

These youth provide examples by which to think through some of the many aspects of sexual decisions making. Furthermore, through ongoing negotiations of personal ideas and values about their sexual lives, participants demonstrate that sexual decision-making is never a static action, but rather a fluctuating activity. They exemplify a constant renegotiation of sexual discourses, and make choices and take actions regarding their sexual lives.

3.2 Youth Conceptualizations of Sexual Activity

Through the interviews, youth talked about different forms of physical intimacy and sexual activity. Physical intimacy was not considered synonymous with sexual intimacy or sexual activity, and different sexual activities held various connotations. For example, youth could be physically intimate with another without being sexually intimate, such as with hand-holding or hugging. These actions connoted romantic intimacy, and in some cases even platonic intimacy, but were not interpreted as explicitly sexually intimate activities. Other activities, such as

kissing, cuddling, masturbation, and manual or oral stimulation with a partner were interpreted as sexual activities, but were not considered activities that made one "sexually active." Youth could engage in sexual activities without being "sexually active"; however, being "sexually active" was strictly defined as engagement in penetrative sex. Gabriel explained:

Eight to ten months we'd been dating before we engaged in sexual activity, but before that we would just be holding hands, hugging, a little bit of kissing here and there but nothing to the extent of actual sexual penetration. (Gabriel, Interview 1)

Penetrative sex was viewed differently than other kinds of physically and sexually intimate behaviours due in part to the known consequences that may result from this activity, such as pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections, and damage to one's reputation. Karla explained:

I know there's like different sex, there's like oral sex or whatever, but like, I think, like for me personally, oral sex is fine as long as nothing is going to go inside me. I mean, something is going inside you but, like, the risk of pregnancy so, yeah [...] 'cause like, me and my boyfriend talk about like, 'What if we have sex and then I get pregnant?' and [he's] like, 'We would get an abortion.' 'No! That's the thing we're not going to get,' I know my parents will disown me but I'm not going to give up this baby! [laughs]. Which is a funny hypothetical fear, but like, I'm so scared. (Karla, Interview 1)

During the interviews, youth spoke about sex and sexual activities in a variety of manners. Youth sometime used metaphors or euphemisms to talk about sex, or not having sex. Mae elaborated:

Like yeah, you have to be really careful if you're trying to say the word sex because it holds responsibility, yeah. It means that you know a lot, they might think you already did it, it's not...it will ruin your reputation. (Mae, Interview 1)

Euphemisms such as "giving everything," "it," and "that" (as in "doing it," "doing that," "having it") "stuff" or "sexual stuff," and "encounters" were used to talk about sex. Terms for not having sex including expressions such as "waiting," "waiting (un)til marriage," being "pure," "saving" yourself, and "virgin/ity." A distinction was often made around whether the sexual activity was within the context of marriage or not. Sometimes individuals would change intonation, often lowering their voices, when discussing sexual topics, mainly when conversing

in a public space; however, this occurred in secluded interview spaces as well. In keeping with the participants, I defer to their conceptualization of sex as genital-genital sexual activity.

3.3 Personal Choice and Sexual Activity

During the interview process the interviewees often framed their actions in relation to notions of time. This notion of time—both timing and the temporal more broadly—was central to the story of each participant. Seamlessly woven into every interview was the idea of time: the division between time spent in the Philippines and in Canada; timing around educational goals; the right time to get married; and the proper time to have sex. Some moments appeared highly significant for nearly all individuals, such as the youth's recollections of immigration to Canada. Others, such as talking about a definitive "right age" to get married, were less concrete. Youth talked extensively about becoming sexually active in terms of "waiting" or "not waiting" to engage in penetrative sex until marriage. Thus, temporal divisions is a logical place to begin discussion on their sexual lives and decisions.

In this section, I highlight the ways these youth negotiate ideas around becoming "sexuality active" (penetrative sex). I look to the youth to understand what becoming sexually active means, and different factors that play into their choices about becoming sexually active.

As this research revolves around the sexual lives of ten individuals, I begin by noting how they each interpreted the idea of being *sexually active*. I asked each individual if they were sexually active, suggesting that they could interpret "sex" as they pleased. Every youth either explicitly or implicitly denoted "sex" to entail vaginal-penile penetration, and several included anal penetration as well. For the purpose of clarity, "sex" refers here to vaginal and/or anal penetrative sex. When referring to other forms of sexual conduct, such as oral sex, kissing, cuddling, etc., these actions will be explicitly stated as such. An individual's "sexual life"

encompasses any and all aspects of an individual's romantic, dating, and/or sexual actions and desires. Based on this understanding of what sex is or is not, it can be concluded that six youth consider themselves to be sexually active, and four considered themselves to have never been sexually active; one youth became sexually active during the course of my research.

3.4 Decisions around Sexual Activity

Talking to the ten young adults about their decisions to be(come) sexually active; the idea of becoming sexually active, of making a conscious choice to engage in sexual intercourse for the first time, several prominent themes emerged, as well as a variety of contexts in which to explain these themes. The youth brought up concepts of “saving” oneself and “waiting” until marriage, virginal purity, family honour, and various consequences associated with engaging in premarital sex. They discussed the ways they grappled with these concepts and potential consequences. For all, the decision to engage in sexual activity was a conscious and deliberate choice. Below I introduce each of the youth participants as they are presented with a short biography describing their migration trajectory as well as ways in which the youth felt connections with the Philippines and Canada.

With little preoccupation about the "right time" to become sexually active (Ujano-Batangan 2012), two of the interviewees made their decisions to have sex while swept up "in the moment" (Delgado-Infante and Ofreneo 2014:396). Recounting their first time having sex, both emphasized that these were events they remembered fondly, clouded only by mild concerns of avoiding accidental pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections, and parental reprimands or consequences.

Kate:⁸ 22 years old, identifies herself as both Canadian and Filipino-Canadian, acknowledging these as her citizenship and her heritage. She arrived in Canada nearly half her lifetime ago. She misses her extended family in the Philippines, enjoys Canada for its multiculturalism, and feels free and independent here.

She explained her feelings about having a sexual life:

J: How old were you when you first had sex?

K: I'm thinking. Let's say...19. 19.

J: Was that a positive experience?

K: It was awkward, but it wasn't negative. [...] To me, [what is important] is that...it's healthy, as in its uhm, not detrimental to anyone's health, uhm, it's pleasurable to me and my partner, whatever, whoever, and that I'm confident with it. Yeah, and confident doing it, rather than reluctant and second guessing. (Kate, Interview 2)

Darren: 20 years old, came to Canada about three years ago. He identifies himself as Filipino-Chinese and associates feelings of home with three countries. He is close with his mother and describes himself as spiritual, but not religious.

He described his first sexual experience:

J: How old were you when you first had sex?

D: 18.

J: Do you wish you had waited?

D: No. [...] I mean it was just like a casual online hook up thing so, maybe that's not the best way to go about it, but, I've never seen virginity or anything as like, this big of a deal, so, [...] like, to me it doesn't really matter. (Darren, Interview 1)

Three of the interviewees explained that they were going to wait to become married before they would engage in sexual activity. For Gabby, Mae, and Hilary this decision was influenced in part through their religious beliefs and what they described as "Filipino" cultural values passed down from their parents. They explained this decision:

⁸ All participant names used within this study are pseudonyms chosen by the participants.

Gabby: 19 years old, came to Canada almost nine years ago. She identifies as Filipino-Canadian and emphasized the centrality of religion in her life, several times reciting bible verses to elucidate her points on dating and love. She felt she was too young for dating, but old enough to be "firm" in her faith and convictions.

[Sex] is something that we don't advise on doing before marriage, uhm, because it's something very, uhm, intimate and we...we acknowledge it's something that's God's gift for us, right? 'Cause for me, I just don't understand how people could go have sex and it's very intimate and just give everything, right? [...] I don't think I'm ready to be that open to someone, and it takes a lot of emotional attachment, right? And...and it's a sin for us [Catholics] to do—to have sex before marriage. (Gabby, Interview 1)

Mae: 21 years old, identifies as Filipino and considers herself an active church-goer. When she came to Canada nearly five years ago she had already completed her first year of college in the Philippines, but repeated the twelfth grade here before entering a college-to-university transfer program.

I actually don't think I will be comfortable having sex before marriage. [...] But hopefully it will not change, but if I think of it now I don't think I will be comfortable doing it 'cause I was raised as a Catholic, so, from my Filipino background I have this idea of not good results of having it, [...] yeah, so, I don't think I will be comfortable. (Mae, Interview 1)

Hilary: 20 years old, identifies herself as Filipino. She explains that although she has been here over four years, she still feels that the Philippines is where she can be herself. She misses her grandparents with whom she grew up, but now considers "home" here with her family. Since coming to Canada, Hilary has begun focusing on religion more than she once had, enjoying the strong cultural ties associated with her primarily Filipino congregation.

Growing up I've always had this in my mind that I would always wait until marriage 'cause I...I only started hearing a lot about {pause, gets quieter} sexual stuff when I moved here, cause in the Philippines [...] we never really talked about it. Maybe because also [...] I went to a Christian school where we...'cause at our church they don't talk about this stuff. It's just, [...] I've never heard them talk about, like...tell us that, 'Oh, you shouldn't do it until marriage.' But I guess it's just like you...you should already know. (Hilary, Interview 1)

Gabriel, Blake, and Manuel had believed at one point that they would remain chaste until they were wed, but as their understandings of themselves and their beliefs changed during adolescence, they have since become sexually active. Each grew up Catholic and cited their religious beliefs and upbringings as the primary reason behind their prior decisions to wait, but explained that they eventually changed their minds when they became older and began grappling with these expectations, and eventually chose to engage in sexual activity through newly negotiated religious and cultural understandings (Ortner 2006; Scott 1988). For Manuel, this decision changed when he became an atheist; with this, his conviction to wait, as well as the shame and guilt he had felt towards actions like masturbation, subsided.

Manuel: turned 21 years old before our second interview. He came to Canada at the beginning of high school, and then moved away from home for university. He identifies himself as Filipino-Canadian, as well as a self-proclaimed atheist after a high school science class revelation.

Before I moved here I was pretty religious and I think up 'til grade 10 or 11 I was pretty religious. That definitely impacted who I saw myself as and what I aligned with. So I did act a different way, but I think the bulk of the change was towards sex and relationships because I thought I didn't want to have sex in a relationship until I was married, and then when I decided that's not what I believe in, then that all changed. (Manuel, Interview 2)

Gabriel and Blake identified as practicing Catholics and attributed their prior decisions to wait to their religious values as well. As opportunities began to present themselves, however, their faith was only one of several voices factoring into their sexual decision-making.

Gabriel: 25 years old, came to Canada almost two decades ago. He still lives at home, goes to church every week, and describes himself as "like a hybrid between Canadian and a Filipino"; "heavily influenced by Canadian culture" but "still behaves like a Filipino" (Interview 2).

He explained:

It did change over time when it comes to, uhm, maturity, when it comes to during the relationship where when I first started dating I was, like, 'Of course I wouldn't have sex before marriage,' but then at times I would be like, with these temptations, like, it started to get more and more like... 'ah, but maybe I should,' but then being assimilated to Canadian culture where sex is culturally accepted when you feel ready, as opposed to Filipino culture where sex is, 'No you can't do it. You have to do it after marriage'. So...being surrounded with people who've engaged in sex and still believe in God, I find that it's...it's okay to do so. And so that changed my whole perspective (Gabriel, Interview 1).

Blake: 22 years old, came to Canada partway through high school, moved away for university, and then back home again after graduating, which he admits has made dating more challenging. He explains that he has always had strong ties to religion and gone to church weekly but recently has been feeling trepidations about his faith. Depending on who asks, he identifies himself as either Canadian or Filipino-Canadian.

Blake described what happened for him:

B: I thought waiting was something I would do but at the back of my mind it's something that, you know, I wanted to have sex, obviously. Yeah, but, for a bit I did think it was something I would do.

J: What pushed that decision out?

B: I guess it was, 'I'm in university,' and just being away from my parents and, you know, all the partying, and it all just kind of gets in your head and you just get so caught up with everything that's going on that you kind of lose track of what you originally have and you just kind of go with the flow of everything here. (Blake, Interview 1)

Anon identified as never having engaged in sexual activity solely for lack of opportunity. She said that a future sex life was important for her and that she was receptive to becoming both romantically and physically involved with someone if and when the opportunity should present itself.

Anon: 21 years old, came from the Philippines about 10 years ago, but says she has only felt settled in the last two years. Her family speaks a local Filipino dialect at home, and have immersed themselves in the local community from their region in the Philippines.

J: Is having a sex life at some point important to you?

A: Yeah, I think so! [I] just like haven't found the person. (Anon, Interview 1)

Karla became sexually active during the course of my research. In the first interview, when she was not sexually active, she told me that her and her boyfriend *could* have been having sex, but she was hesitant; she had set out to have sex and then changed her mind several times during the course of their relationship. She was "scared" of the pain of "first penetration," and that she and her boyfriend may eventually break up and she would lose that "first" time feeling. In our second interview, now sexually active, she explained that she was content with this choice, but was now scared of what impact her decisions may have on her future and her reputation.

Karla: 21 years old, came to Canada five years ago. She was living with a friend she met the year prior in university residence, and has been dating her Caucasian boyfriend for almost two years. When we spoke the second time, she was taking a leave from school and had gone back home to live with her family and save some money.

I mean like, it took quite a while. I mean, I'm okay with the whole idea of it, I'm like, whatever, I just don't like the idea of like, the pain, so...so it was okay. I mean, I did it with someone that I love, and I think loves me, like—cares about me—and we've been dating for almost 2 years. [...] When I decided to do it with him he was like nice, so that's okay. [...] just like, every time I still think about it. Like, every time I still think that the necessary safety precaution isn't being met and I...I still have this sinking feeling that something bad is going to happen. (Karla, Interview 2)

3.5 Explaining Decisions around Sexual Activity

The decisions all the youth made regarding their sexual lives were understood by them as theirs to make. The respondents provided a variety of explanations for their decisions around sexual activity, demonstrating the complexities and variation that occur not only from person to person, but during the course of one's own sexual life. It became clear through their rationales about their sexual decisions that each individual thought themselves to be the primary decision maker in this monumental aspect of their life. Attributed to these decisions and actions about their sexual lives

were feelings of freedom and liberation, personal agency, camaraderie, and intimacy, as well as feelings of anxiety, shame, and guilt bound by fear and restriction (Bristow 2002).

Understanding affect and emotion can help us to better understand the ways in which these youth come to these decisions to engage in sexual activities (Ahearn 2013). These decisions are often framed through discourses of intimacy, pleasure, and "readiness," anxiety, guilt, fear, and shame (Ashcraft 2006). In this section, the youth explore their sexual life choices through their understandings of intimacy and emotion, as well as anxiety, guilt, fear, and shame. These feelings are discussed below.

3.5.1 Intimacy and Emotion

When inquired as to whether they had felt pressure around their decisions to engage (or not) in sexual activity, the responses from the youth showed that they actively negotiated their decisions within constructed social boundaries (Bennett 2005a, 2000b; Jennaway 2002). Without dismissing the existence of these social parameters, their primary motivation guiding this decision was that it was first and foremost for *themselves* (Ortner 2006).

I don't think I'm affected by peer pressure much, I make my decisions because I want to. This is my decision, it's mine to decide and it's mine to suffer for if it's wrong. [...]. I don't think I'm being pressured by anybody, nor being controlled by anything. (Kate, Interview 1)

Uhm, partly [religious], but also, it's my own decision. Yeah, [...] 'cause I...strongly believe that I should only do it with the person that I'm getting married to, my husband. 'Cause...like, when I do it now, then when I get married it won't be our first. It won't be my first with my husband, and I want it to be with my husband, the person that I will be together with. (Hilary, Interview 1)

Hilary, Mae, and Gabby emphasized that sexual activity was something that they were not missing out on at this juncture in their lives. Each of these young women, however, did express that sometimes it was difficult to navigate romantic feelings and temptations because sex and romance was so inculcated in society: "I was working and they will just be kissing in front

of me and I'm making their food, like, 'okayyyy!'" (Mae Interview 1). Often times what they felt they longed for was a sense of romantic intimacy often brought on by these socially normalized displays of affections.

The sex part is not challenging for me, but it's more the emotional lusting. Like, you see this couple and then they're holding hands and you feel like you're lonely. I think that's the biggest part for us. A lot of people that I know really treasures, what they have, [...] they think their body is a special gift, right? So they don't want to be giving it away. I don't think that's the hard part, I think it becomes more of a temptation when you're like...24, 25, or like older in that age. I think for now it's more of like, having the idea of having a boyfriend. I think that's the biggest problem [...] It's mostly like, if you're watching a show and then there's a couple and they're all doing cutesy stuff, and... 'Oh my gaad, I wanna have...!' (Gabby, Interview 2)

Hilary, Mae, and Gabby found that it was sometimes challenging to navigate an absence of romance and intimacy given the prevalence of both popular media culture rife with sex and romantic tropes and of public displays of affection. Tan et al. (2001:82) express that in the Philippines, desire and "ideas of romantic love are pervasive, affecting the discourse about dating [and] courtship," and that feelings of romance were connected with notions of "maturity" (2001:83). Feeling not quite ready to engage in romantic intimacy, they managed their feelings, reevaluating the social conditions that made them feel this way (Nahar and van der Geest 2014; Ortner 2006) and drew on their support networks; friends, religious organizations, and other interests when they felt lonely.

Me and my friends talk about it. [...] 'Cause they have the same views as me, that we should wait until marriage, [...] so like in a group, like, 'Don't have sex until you get married.' Or we would read, uhm, 'cause there's also a lot of blogs about why you should wait until marriage, why you should only do it with your husband. You read those stuff and talk about it. (Hilary, Interview 1)

Peer influence is cited in the literature as a common indicator predicting sexual activity trends (e.g., see Laguna 2001; Ujano-Batangan 2012). As Gabriel and Blake attributed their

decision to peer influence, more broadly, Gabby, Hilary, and Mae found comfort in sharing their beliefs and feelings with their close friends who also practiced abstinence before marriage.

For these youth, sex and intimacy were also closely intertwined. Whether the youth engaged in sexual activities or not, they cited sex as something that was supposed to be an intimate activity, something that was special or "meaningful." The Religious Youth Group Coordinator interviewed explained that sex was "something we don't advise on doing before marriage, uhm, because it's something very intimate and we...we acknowledge it's something that's God's gift to us, right?" She explained that outside the bounds of marriage, this intimacy would not be achieved in the same capacity according to their religious understanding. Gabby explained that she "didn't understand how people could go have sex and it's very intimate and just give everything, right?" (Gabby, Interview 1), because for her, she felt she was too young for marriage, and therefore also the responsibility and "emotional attachment" (Gabby, Interview 1) involved in sexual relations. Manuel explained his sense of sexual intimacy:

Uhm, yeah. I...I think of myself as a very, uhm, I guess, touchy person...especially with the people I feel affection towards [...] uhm, so, it does mean a lot for me. It [sex] feels like a really intimate activity and I really feel a strong connection when it's happening. (Manuel, Interview 1)

Gabriel expressed his feelings about sex through ideas of emotional connections; intimacy and emotional connection were essential elements of sexual experience and enjoyment. Only once this intimate connection had been made would he engage in sex.

Sex means to me, is the bond between two people who are actually in love and how this activity is a representation of that love. [...] I don't get the idea of sex in terms of pornography. For me it's more feeling someone else's emotions towards myself and that's how I engage in that sort of thing, [...] just a preference in readiness. [...] What matters to me the most is how emotionally invested I am in the person. Whereas anybody can have sex, I mean, you can call anybody for a fee, but in terms of me, I think I place an incredible amount of importance on actually being emotionally invested in the person, so it's not just physically pleasing but also emotionally fulfilling for me. So that what I find the most important thing. (Gabriel, Interview 2)

Karla focused on intimate trust creating comfort around sexual activities:

Oh, it's a very slow, gradual thing, 'cause like, he's my first boyfriend, and he's like, he's also like every first that I have, so like, we had our first kiss and then we didn't even make out, like I think three months in the relationship because like, I'm so scared, [...] I mean, right now it's pretty...it's doing pretty well and I consider him to be like my future partner as well. I know it's so soon, but like, maybe I'm just so in love with him, but like, even though we're pretty young, I...I always think that we will end up together, I donno. (Karla, Interview 2)

Several of the sexually active participants explained that they felt their sexual relations were more pleasurable when pursued in the context of intimate and meaningful relationships instead of "one-night stands," "flings," and "casual sex."

I mean, I'm the type of guy that would rather be in a meaningful relationship than be living a single life and having one night stands and stuff like that. [...] since I've been here there's only been a few times where I've really been single. [...] Now that I'm single, like, I'm more kinda on the lookout for somebody...yeah. I'd prefer to be with somebody than just being single and just doing random hook ups... (Blake, Interview 2)

I think in a relationship it [sex] is a very intimate thing that makes you feel connected to your partner. Uhm, I definitely think sex is an important part of a healthy relationship if you're in a relationship [...] Like, I entered a relationship and I was like, 'nah, I like this a lot more,' actually. And then that was when I was like, 'you know what, no, I don't want to be a casual sex person anymore.' (Darren, Interview 1)

For the youth, positive views of sexual activity were primarily linked to feelings of intimacy, which in turn were linked to maturity and emotions around closeness between partners. For some, sexual activity was found outside the bounds of relationships: "If you're doing it, like, as a casual thing it's just satisfaction and like, pleasure based" (Darren, Interview 1). However, the youth primarily gravitated towards the intimacy and emotional connections they found in relationships. This could be partially linked to common discourses of love and romance associated with sexual activity, or attributed to a particular level of comfort and stability felt by youth in various aspects of their lives (e.g., Tan et al. 2001; Quindoza Santiago 2007; Maticka-Tyndale 2008; Saewyc et al. 2008). This will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

3.5.2 Anxiety, Guilt, Shame and Fear

Young people engaging in sex invoke discourses of risk and stigma (e.g., Kippax et al. 2013; Philpott et al. 2006; Lupton 1999). It is no surprise that negative aspects and consequences of having sex also featured prominently in the youth's views. Anxiety, guilt, fear and shame often surfaced in our conversations alongside the positive viewpoints expressed above. The youth often felt anxious about hypothetical situations: pregnancy, losing their virginity to the *wrong* person, disapproval from parents. These anxieties culminated in feelings of fear and shame associated with unplanned pregnancies and fear of potential long-term consequences such as a loss of one's virtue and "integrity" (Gabby, Interview 2), and a damaged family reputation. The youth expressed their anxieties around engaging in sexual activities and their fear of bringing shame onto themselves and their families. These fears were wrapped up in real-life examples of siblings or former classmates who became pregnant unexpectedly and were unable to finish their schooling, as well as common film and television storylines about those castigated to permanent spinsterhood or loveless marriage because of impetuous decisions and unplanned pregnancies.

Youth talked about ways of living within, and managing different discourses around sex, and about "good" youth conduct versus "bad" youth conduct (Ashcraft 2006; Delgado-Infante and Ofreneo 2014). Several individuals talked about former classmates in the Philippines who became pregnant unexpectedly soon after graduating high school. I asked what kind of effect this would have on the young women within their communities?

Filipinos point of view about sex is not good, so, yeah, it's a really big reputation downfall. [...] They think like, if you have just sex before graduating, you will not graduate. Yeah, because sex is not—it's supposed to be like, sacred. It should be done after marriage, or after you graduate, because if you did it before it will ruin your life forever. They call this desgracada. It means like, disgraced, disgrace, or like, being a disgrace to the family, or being disgraceful, graceless, or descrasya also means accidents, so, yeah, [...] in the Philippines it's not really good to see a girl having pregnant before getting married. (Mae, Interview 1)

Anon described what happened when her cousin and his girlfriend became pregnant unexpectedly. She explained that they were "forced to live together," and were "trying to make it work" because there was pressure from their family members to make it *legitimate*, "'cause yeah, if you are pregnant and you have the kid, you have to get married" (Anon, Interview 1).

Last year, my cousin got someone pregnant so they're not officially married; like, she was just a regular girlfriend. [...] They weren't really, really thinking I guess, looking into a future or something, but once they found out she was pregnant—'cause you can't do abortions in the Philippines—I don't know if it's illegal, but [...] then morally also that's like a big no-no, yeah. So I think they're forced to live together—they are living together right now. I think they are trying to make it work, which is good. At least I know that they don't hate each other...that's the biggest thing. Yeah, there are expectations that they should get married and stuff like that from the family. (Anon, Interview 1)

Karla said that while she was okay with having sex before marriage, she feared the repercussions that could follow. Karla mentioned on multiple occasions her fear of physical pain during sex, coupled with fear that having sex could lead to an unintended pregnancy, as it had for both her brother and sister. For her, judgment and reputation played a big role in her decisions around dating and sex. When talking about her siblings who had children out of wedlock, she often prefaced her statements with "don't judge my family but..." (Interview 1). This anxiety extended beyond her fear of pregnancy to her choice of partner.

J: How does your family feel about you dating a non-Filipino?

K: Uhm, I guess that's like one of the reasons why I'm really scared at the start of the relationship 'cause I always think that people will judge me. Filipino's are very judgmental for some reason. I mean, probably it's very common here in Canada now, but, like, when you go back to the Philippines—that's why I don't post pictures of us together on Facebook—my classmates or whatever, are like, 'Oh...she just wants to date, like, a white guy.' Like, people are so judgmental and, to be honest, I'm easily affected to what people think about me, so, I mean, right now it's okay, but there are times where it affects me. (Karla, Interview 1)

Several participants used to feel burdened by guilt if they engaged in particular aspects of their sexual lives, such as masturbation or sex. For Manuel, letting go of religion pushed him to re-evaluate his beliefs:

I think most of it [the shame] was religious because I felt ashamed because I felt like I was sinning and doing something bad and every time, say, I masturbated, I felt, 'Oh, this is wrong and I should feel bad for doing this,' so I always felt guilty. Uhm, once I realized that not what I aligned myself with, or believe in, then I didn't feel any guilt. (Manuel, Interview 2)

Gabriel consciously thought through which of the values that he grew up with did he want to continue to uphold and why he wanted to do so, rather than blindly listening to what he was told. By re-evaluating what he wanted out of his religious beliefs and creating his own understanding of what his religious and sexual identities meant to him allowed him to work through much of the guilt he had once felt for thinking lustful thoughts, masturbating, and engaging in sex.

I feel like I'd sometimes hide, like, my condoms and any dirty magazines when I was growing up here, kinda hide that because I felt ashamed 'cause for Catholicism it is a sin to look to a woman with lust and stuff like that. So, but at the same time I was growing up with puberty, so it's a fine balance. [...] I was pretty ashamed when it comes to sexuality and conflict with my religion [...] because being raised Catholic we [...] save sexual activity [until] after marriage, but...[sigh], I...I just feel that since it is human instinct and you know, I'm still believer of God, there's no reasons to why I shouldn't engage in sexual activity. I firmly believe that God feels that, you know, I'm not going to condemn somebody to hell just because they've had sex before a sacramental marriage, but yeah, it does play a role, but not much. (Gabriel, Interview 2)

Sexual decision making is not only influenced by, but also influences an individual's intersecting identities and cultures (Ashcraft 2006). Youth drew upon discourses around "proper" conduct, such as sex in the context of marriage, and "shameful" actions, such as masturbation and premarital sex. They detailed their anxieties around judgment and reputations of both themselves and their families in regards to "issues" such as unplanned pregnancies and dating the "wrong" person. Sexual discourses, such as virginity and sexual conduct only within the bounds of marriage, influence youth decisions and perpetuate notions of "good" and "bad" conduct and often caused anxiety around individuals' decisions (Ashcraft 2006; Bristow 2002).

3.6 Exploring Choice, Power, and Decision-Making

These youth's articulations about their sexual lives involved the mediation of their parents' wishes, and perceived cultural and familial expectations in conjunction with their personal understandings of themselves as young adults with transnational histories and identities. Notably, these young adults are conscious of their positions within a range of intersecting lives — the life of a student, a parent's child, an independent adult, a Filipino, an immigrant, and a desiring, emotional person, to name a few.

The youth felt it was very important to control the decisions around their sexual lives. It was also the case that they looked to their parents for guidance; as explained by Gabby: "my parents' opinions are a big part of it, but it's really up to me on what I'm going to do" (Interview 1). They valued, and often sought the advice of parents, siblings, relatives, and friends, but emphasized that they accept the ultimate responsibility for their actions. They trusted that their parents have their best intentions at heart when impressing upon them their aspirations and trying to prepare them for their futures, but appreciated that their parents respect their decisions. Although they sometimes had to fight for these *adult* allowances and sometimes they appeared to back down or follow their parents (Ahearn 2013), the youth often persisted beyond the knowledge or approval of others. For example, in some respects, these youth acquiesced to the wishes of their parents, e.g. when Blake takes a girlfriend home to his parent's house to visit, he respects his parent's rule that they sleep in separate rooms. Similarly, since Karla moved back into her parent's house, she follows her dad's wishes that she comes home every night, despite her boyfriend wanting her to stay the night with him.

Youth also admitted they disregarded their parent's advice sometimes and circumvented parental expectations that were contrary to their own. Blake, Karla, and other sexually active

youth often spent the night with their significant others despite the rules outlined by their parents and said that as they did not live at home, they never broached the subject with their parents, and would lie if they were asked. Gabriel joked about having stealthy, quiet sex with his girlfriend at his parents' house. They let her sleep over because they believed that based on his religious upbringing, he would not engage in sex prior to marriage. Darren explained that in his adolescence his father and eldest brother would often make threats towards him and his younger siblings: "When I was growing up my brother...my older brother used to be very homophobic and very like, 'if any of you guys turn out to be gay I'm going to disown you'" (Darren, Interview 1). His father warned them, "being gay is wrong, according to the bible, so, don't do that!" (Darren, Interview 2). Despite these attitudes, Darren considers himself an active bisexual and feels that there is a very real possibility that he may end up in a long-term, committed relationship with a male partner in the future.

3.7 Exploring Youth Agency

Delgado-Infante and Ofreneo (2014) argue that it is integral to consider the cultural constructions such as the dominant discourses within which individuals are situated in order to sufficiently understand how different variations of agency emerge. In the context of this research, these Filipino youth have all been exposed to what they describe as a "traditional" Filipino discourse imbued with religious values and in which sex exists within the confines of marriage, gender roles are clearly defined, and in which western values are devalued as "loose" (Mariah Interview⁹). These youth also face discourses which identify minorities and immigrants as "others," and find themselves somewhere between the stages of childhood and adulthood (Ahearn 2013), being told simultaneously to act as grownups (i.e. get a job, pay rent, and get an

⁹ Parent community member participant. For more information, see Appendix 2.

education), and that they are young and must follow the rules dictated by their elders. The youth must manage their conduct in ways which simultaneously please themselves and others, attempting to maintain their sense of agency and "preserve their social status and self-image as good women" (Delgado-Infante and Ofreneo 2014:405), children, Filipinos, and so on.

These individuals must navigate cultural structures which value, for example, Filipino ideals around family honour and status when it comes to sexual conduct, especially that of the unwed daughter, as well as western ideals which feature more individualistic values. When it comes to executing decisions that do not necessarily follow their parent's wishes, there were a variety of strategies employed in order to make these decisions work for them without openly disrespecting their parents' instructions. Here it is possible to draw on the works of researchers like Bennett (2005a, 2005b) and Jennaway (2002) who focused on ways in which Indonesian women push against discourses that restrict their sexual agency in a society in which female chastity is highly valued, largely related to conservative religious customs. However, despite religious, family, state, and cultural regulation, these scholars argue that Indonesian women negotiate their reproductive health and sexual desires, and "assert their sexuality" (Bennett 2005a:2) in a variety of ways including the use of "secrecy and circumvention" (Jennaway 2002:88). The youth, both male and female, in this study have had to likewise learn to negotiate their sexual agency while also navigating malleable cultural boundaries and expectations. The youth participants often talked about defying their parents, while at the same time trying to hide that they thought could cause their parents distress, embarrassment, disappointment, or other perceived negative outcomes. Maintaining a cloak of secrecy and distance from their parents or community in terms of their sexual lives helps to preserve expected cultural values around sex while also expressing and acting on their sexual desires through acts of agency.

3.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have defined the way that the youth participants understand sexual activity, as well as their personal decisions around engaging in this activity. Youth appear united in their conceptualization of sexual activity; however youth engagement in sexual activity, and their reason for doing so, varies in many ways. Youth believed intimacy and emotion to be important and preferable when engaging in sexual activity. All of the youth, regardless of whether they were sexually active or not, expressed feelings of fear related to shame, guilt, or making the "wrong" decision. Despite these anxieties, youth felt that they were in charge of making these complex sexual life decisions. In Chapter Four, I further examine the contexts, influences, and pressures under which these youth make these sexual life decisions.

Chapter Four: Youth Navigating Competing Expectations

4.1 Introduction

The sexual lives of youth are shaped by the constant negotiation and renegotiation of social expectations impressed upon them within their social worlds. As young adults, transnational individuals, students, women/men, Christians/atheists, Filipinos/Canadians, to name a few of their identities, the youth study participants faced compounding and often contradictory expectations about dating and sexual relationships. As such, the decisions that they make regarding their sexual lives are influenced by things which relate directly to sometimes conflicting aspects of their identities as immigrant youth. The interviews showed that they were tasked with managing the overlapping worlds around them while attempting to satisfy their own developing wants, needs, and curiosities. As seen in Chapter Three, the youth demonstrated their agency in determining the outcome of their sexual lives; however, in these choices they also emphasize how their complex and integral relationships with those around them, notably their parents and peers, inform these decisions, and how their personal choices in turn have impact on these relationships. This chapter explores how these relationships and social expectations inform these decisions. I explore how influential individuals (specifically those originating with peer and family members), in conjunction with cultural, religious, and gender expectations, shape the sexual lives of these youth. I consider the impacts of these influences on youth's sexual decisions as a way to understand how youth interpret and interact with social norms, discourses, and expectations around sex and relationships. The first section of this chapter focuses on the youth's interactions with the people they turned to for advice and guidance, while the second section delves into specific ways in which these social pressures mould their personal sexual lives. In

this chapter, the discussion expands to include the voices of four mothers and several experts connected to the Filipino youth communities in the GVA and SVI.

In order to fully explore the factors outlined above, they must first be conceptualized. Cultures can be understood as intersecting processes and commonalities that connect and divide individuals and groups (Moore 2012; Rosaldo 1989). Sexuality is intertwined within cultural and social boundaries and expectations (Lyttleton and Sayonouso 2011) which are perpetuated by subjects who navigate their lives within these constructed boundaries (Ortner 2005). Together, culture and religion explicitly influenced the opinions and actions of the participants with regard to sex and relationships. The participants of this study explained that, growing up in the Philippines, they were surrounded by cultural values that were subsumed by religious values, and vice versa. Religion, primarily Catholicism and other Christian denominations, was inculcated in the Philippines in the home, church, school, and broader community. Religious habits and cultural practices were referred to synonymously by participants, as though the religious practice in question was inherently "Filipino," even in Canada, where religion still featured prominently in the lives of the participants. This combining of religion and culture blur the line between "religious" influences and "cultural" influences, and illustrate how deeply inculcated Filipino religious and cultural influences were in these participants. In this study, the youth, parents, and expert participants all differentiated between what they referred to as common Canadian and Filipino experiences or practices, i.e. the "Canadian" or "Western way," and the "Filipino" or "traditional way." Although it is impossible to draw definitive boundaries around what attributes create a specific "culture," it is possible to make general distinctions between disparate cultural groups (Almeida 2000). Within this research project, individuals made these distinctions when

they found them meaningful and useful; participants themselves, not the researcher, inform the use of terms such as the "Canadian" way or "Filipino" way¹⁰.

4.2 Influential Individuals and Relationships

Within the context of this research, the youth saw their peers (friends and siblings) and their parents (parents and older relatives) as factors that directly affected their sexual choices. These individuals both discouraged, encouraged, and helped the youth to navigate their sexual lives through a combination of (un)solicited suggestions, warnings, and advice. Youth detailed instances where their parents' approval was important, or even essential, to their decision-making process. In other cases, they sought advice and encouragement from peers and siblings, which often ran contrary to the warnings and wishes of their parents. What individuals chose to do varied at the individual level (as seen in Chapter Three); however, group patterns and similarities emerged within the participant population.

4.2.1 Peers

Peers, i.e. friends and siblings, can be considered one of two main relational social influences on the sexual life decisions of the youth participants, both in terms of the experiences and advice of their peers, as well as general trends of young adults around them. Peers, including romantic partners, act as social role models for one another, influencing what individuals do and do not do, as well as acting as sounding boards and guidebooks for each other (Ujano-Batangan 2012; Temple-Smith et al. 2016). The peer group has been interpreted as a space where youth create

¹⁰ I recognize that reproducing the Canadian-Filipino binary throughout my thesis is problematic in that it fails to recognize the complexities of transnationalism I seek to explore. Further, articulations of the "Canadian way" or the "Filipino way" assume singular/homogeneous notions of sexual liberalism, race, and heteronormativity which fail to adequately capture the diverse experiences of being. However, as a researcher it is important not to overshadow the voices of my participants, and to locate their language and understandings at the forefront of the research project.

close bonds with other individuals of similar age and/or interests, and where young adults ignite formative relationships and learn about romance, dating, and sex (e.g. Temple-Smith 2016; Ujano-Batangan 2012; Ofreneo 2007). The youth participants in this study provide further evidence in support of this assertion. Youth felt that their relationships with their peers were informative in learning about meaningful social connections, as well as forming opinions about and acting upon feelings of desire, love, lust, humility, coyness, etc. They relied on their peers to help gauge their sexual conduct and values, expressing a sense of camaraderie around these "tender topics" (Gabriel, Interview 1).

I think in the early period of me discovering, sort of what sex is, and sexuality, my older brother played a big part in that he told me about sex and things like that. And then during my first year here one of my really, really good friends was a very open person and she would talk about sex a lot, learning about that kind of facet from her was, I think, a very good thing in me discovering how I value sex and, like, that meaning and all that for me. (Darren, Interview 1)

Uh, all the information I need is online [...] but, like...I go to friends also. Yeah, it was funny because I was having a conversation with my roommate a couple days ago and we were talking about, like, choking during sex [...], and like, how if it's consensual then it's really enjoyable [...] Uhm, yeah. I'm pretty open about it [sex], especially with my guy friends.[...] I think looking at other people's relationships and, like, their sex lives, that impacts me [...], and I guess I compare it to myself. (Manuel, Interview 1)

Siblings were often depicted as dependable and level-headed, with a unique understanding of their shared experiences and family backgrounds. As such, the participants often exchanged advice and support with their siblings. For example, Blake valued being able to impart wisdom on his younger siblings, swap stories, and strategize ways to navigate their parent's rules at home.

Yeah, especially my brother 'cause he lives here, too, so we're pretty much open with each other about girls and relationships. I mean, we kind of have each others' back in that respect. Uhm, I also have...our middle sister is also, you know, going through some boy issues and stuff. She'd come to us sometimes. You know I tell her about, uh, the girls that I've been with. [...] It's getting more to the point

*where she's getting older and we can talk more and more about these things.
(Blake, Interview 1)*

Karla felt that her older siblings passed on valuable knowledge and advice when it came to dating and sex, with their past experiences providing helpful guidance for her own actions.

I think my siblings shape who...who's the guy that I'm dating right now, yeah. Oh, uhm, my second brother—the oldest—he will always joke around about it, but like, my oldest sister and my other brother, they'll be like, 'Oh, don't, like, don't get pregnant—your brother will kill you,' but like, yeah, they always say to be careful. (Karla, Interview 1)

For Hilary, talking with her brother about his relationship for the first time recently helped strengthen their relationship and inform her understanding of dating norms.

I never talk about dating with any of my family unless, like, my brother is in a relationship right now, so I only started talking about that to him, but before, never. [...] I can't tell him a lot of advices or anything because I don't really have experience but I think it makes us a bit closer because I feel like he's starting to share, like, his private life, besides what I'm seeing at home. (Hilary, Interview 2)

Youth saw their past and present sexual and romantic partners as important influences for personal growth and understanding in life and love. These individuals informed the values, conduct, desires, etc. that are important to the wellbeing of the participants and their partners (Ofreneo 2007). Manuel felt that each of his partners helped him to become more rounded, furthering his understanding of himself sexually and otherwise.

The relationships I've had shaped my decisions on dating and sex. And just like how I came out of them. I usually feel like I grow a lot when I have a relationship and or, like, leave it. I learn a lot from it, and then that shapes me into thinking, 'Oh, who am I? What do I want, and what do I want in a person?' (Manuel, Interview 1)

For Gabby, like several of the ten participants, religion was central in her life. Finding a partner with whom she could share and grow together within this value system was integral for her.

[I want] someone that would, like, respect my values as well, uhm, and would understand me and love me unconditionally, right? [...] When I understand God's love more through you, [...] you make me a better person and you—not just me,

but we both make each other a better person and we push each other to be closer to the Lord. (Gabby, Interview 1)

Participants tended to have more than one social group and social network offering sometimes welcome, sometimes unsolicited advice. Kate explained how there were different individuals and groups within their social networks that they and their friends tended to turn to depending on the nature of the topic.

I have different kinds of friends, people I go to for help with school work, people I go to to talk about dating, [...] like, going to dinner, there's people I go to when talking about sex. [...] I have a friend who is very shy and very conservative, if I'm just one-on-one with [her], of course we don't really talk about it, however, through the years she's learned that if she's going to hang with me and my other friends [...] having a one night stand, uhm, masturbation, those are stuff that we talk about [...] So, yeah, I have friends who I talk about this thing and we talk about this thing, but doesn't mean they can't be either. (Kate, Interview 1)

Having a variety of social networks meant that the participants were sometimes faced with differing sexual values than their friends.

I get along, of course, with people that I have the same outlooks as, right? Uhm, but when I'm with my other friends, I can't just be like a whole different person, right? 'Cause you have to, if it's what you believe in, then it's what you believe in, right? [...] I've come to a point where I really have accepted what I believe in and why should I be ashamed of? [...] Uhm, if I say, oh yeah, I'm going to courting first then dating, like, "Really, you do that?" and it's like, 'Yeah, I do.' Uhm, but it doesn't mean that we have a less of a friendship, yeah. [...] I think sometimes, they're like, 'Gabby, you should just date!' Right? 'This guy likes you, just date!' And I was like, 'No, no, no, no! Stop guys!' (Gabby, Interview 2)

J: Do you think that your outlook on dating and sex is similar to your friends here?

M: Not at all. Like, they think that they have to have fun first [...] My friends, they think, 'Oh, she's my fling,' 'He's my fling,' or like that, right? So, I don't think that... [...] like, it doesn't feel right. (Mae, Interview 2)

Gabriel recounted that, prior to becoming sexually active, he and his friends were close, but there was a disconnect when it came to discussing and joking about sex. Once he began having sex, he noticed a shift in the social dynamic between him and his friends. In his case, becoming sexually active brought him closer to his friends and created a new layer of comfort in their relationship.

My Canadian friends would often brag about, 'Oh man, I had sex with her, and had sex with this other girl,' and it's just this whole group of guys that have the common aspect of engaging in sexual activity that I just felt isolated in. But I never felt pressured by them to engage in sexual activity to be included into their group. But just...missing that whole, uhm, bond between them, like, I mean, 'I kissed a girl', but like, that doesn't really count. So, but, it does change the whole dynamics of the friendship when you know someone else, someone you used to know that was a virgin that has had sex before, and it's like, 'Oh man, you're grown up now!' (Gabriel, Interview 1)

Unlike the other participants, Anon did not talk with her friends or siblings about sex and dating. Although she refrained from talking to others, she was interested in and familiarized herself with sexual health resources and information, "just in case I have to access them someday" (Interview 2).

J: Do you and your friends talk about sex and dating?

A: No, not really. I have a lot of, like Asian friends, like, East Asian, China, Japan, and they're—

J: Pretty conservative?

A: Yeah! [...] And my best friend since middle school here is like, Thai, right? So no, we don't talk about it. We don't talk about a lot of things, even though we're best friends.

J: Is those things you would like to talk to her about?

A: I don't know. If she feels uncomfortable talking about it, then maybe not, yeah. Because I think she's the one, the type who feels uncomfortable about that topic. Yeah, her parents are really conservative, so yeah. (Anon, Interview 2)

Youth look to the values of their peers as a primary force for shaping their own values and actions, as well as an outlet for exploration and understanding (Temple-Smith 2016). As argued by Ujano-Batangan (2012:172), youth often "rationalize their decisions to have sex based on what they perceived to be the *norms* in their peer group" (emphasis in original). Youth who hung out with mainly non-Filipino peers considered themselves as following primarily "Canadian" dating values and practicing habits akin to their fellow Canadian peers in terms of sexual initiation and attitudes. Those who hung out with primarily Filipino (and other Asian) friends tended to have stronger dating values that aligned with what they learned in the

Philippines and in church. This lends to the understanding, for example, as to why these youth were inclined to search for partners from amongst their respective church communities.

I would want to live with someone that would share the same morals and values as I do, right? Let's say, if I'd be religious and he's not, then how am I going to raise the kids in a way that I would want to, right? Because, let's say I want to go to church and I want to bring the kids with me and he's like, 'no, I don't want them to grow up in that,' right? So it's like, we would be really divided, so I wouldn't want to put myself in that situation in the future. (Gabby, Interview 2)

These experiences are helpful in understanding ways youth turn to and rely on the support of peers to help guide their sexual lives. The participants described instances where they mimicked others, as well as situations in which their own behaviours diverged from that of their peers. These patterns help to demonstrate how youth learn from and help one another negotiate social situations regarding their sexual lives and how these individuals can be impactful on the outcome of youth's sexual life. Young adults are "in the process of negotiating their own values amidst...differing influences" (Ujano-Batangan 2012:172) of friends, family, and surroundings, and strive to please those that support and nurture them.

4.2.2 Parents

Beyond the relationships of the youth with friends and siblings, youth saw their relationships with parents (and other elders) as instrumental in their sexual decision making processes and practices. As much as youth valued making their own decisions, they also wished to comply with the expectations, views, and teachings of their parents. Youth valued their parent's knowledge and experience and felt that respecting ones elders was a "Filipino" custom not to be taken lightly. In general, the youth followed their parent's teachings and expectations. Yet, when it came to their sexual lives they often felt obliged to resist or disregard their parents in pursuit of their personal needs, through both blatant, but more often discreet means.

On the whole, youth shared "close" and "open" relationships with their elders. The participants emphasized an importance towards centering family and community in their lives and appealed to the ideal of cultivating and maintaining close familial relationships with their parents (Melendrez Castañeda 2015). As such, not wanting to upset these relationships, they were conscious of the importance of the manner in which they presented their sexual lives, their partners, sexual activity, and sexual preferences to their parents. They regarded the prospect of doing something, and more specifically exposing doing something that would upset their parents as a "big deal" (Darren, Interview 1) and not to be taken lightly. "I greatly, greatly respect my parent's opinions and decisions and that will inevitably play a big part in what I choose to do" (Darren, Interview 1). At the same time, Darren, like others, emphasized that he still discretely partook in activities and a lifestyle of which his parents were unaware and about which they would surely disapprove.

The participants distinguished their values around family from what they characterized as "Canadian" or "individualistic Western" (Shao 2013:469; Zaidi et al. 2014) mentalities regarding both family affairs and daily life. For these Filipinos, dating was understood as a family affair rather than an individualistic project. As Anon joked, "if you're dating someone, you're dating their family [...], their siblings, their parents, the cousins, their uncles, and if they're in the city, yeah, you have to know everybody" (Interview 1). The youth expected their parents to be "nosey" and generally quite involved in their dating lives, and for the most part, the youth were happy to include them. As such, youth were often forthright about some aspects of their relationships, telling their parents about and introducing their new partners to their parents.

B: She [my mom] is very nosey. She likes to pry a lot. [...] I just started seeing this girl and she hasn't...it's weird because she hasn't asked me about it yet. She's usually, like, on top of it. 'Oh, so who's your new girl?' But, uhm, yeah, every time there's a new girl I'll always...I'll always tell my mom, 'cause...yeah. [I have been

seeing her for] about a week now. [...] She hasn't asked, but, I've been meaning to tell her [...] I wouldn't keep something like that. (Blake, Interview 1)

K: Well I think I'm very open and I'm really talkative, so I always tell everything that I do to my parents, like, uhm, like everything I guess. [...]

J: And how far into your relationship did you tell your parents you were dating your current boyfriend? [...] How long until you introduced him to your parents?

K: Well, we dated, like, a week, I think. [...] like, the weekend...like that, and then after that, uhm, oh it's my dad's 50th birthday, so there's like, a grand celebration, so I took him there! (Karla, Interview 1)

We can see through these quotes that it was not only parents being interested in their children's lives; youth were keen to share their lives with their parents. However, the youth were explicit that although they enjoyed close relationships with their parents, they did not see a benefit in opening up to them about the physical aspects of their romantic relationships. On the contrary, they actively tried to keep this area of their lives private from their parents. It felt easiest to keep these more intimate aspects of their relationships private thereby avoiding confrontation and disapproval (Hirsch et al. 2012). They insisted that coming face to face with their parents about their sexual lives would disrupt their personal relationships and have repercussions in their social lives.

The participants concerned themselves with whether they would disappoint their parents, e.g. compromise their education, become pregnant, gain an unwanted reputation, and offend their religious sensibilities. Sexual activity was not engaged in as a means of rebellion, rather, they worked hard to keep the sexual aspects of their romantic lives hidden from their parents out of deference, maintaining a facade upheld by both parents and youth (Hirsch et al. 2012). To do so, youth consciously altered how they behaved and what they discussed in front of their parents and others, constantly mindful of their actions and the potential repercussions of these choices.

The latter half of this chapter focuses on social expectations impressed onto youth by others, and the ways youth think about and negotiate their sexual lives in light of these expectations, focusing primarily on the relationships between youth and parents.

4.3 Social Standards and Aspirations

In exploring the ways youth navigate key social relationships while maintaining their sexual lives, it cannot be ignored that their choices are impacted by different social standards impressed upon them by themselves and others connected to cultural and religious dating expectations (i.e. partner choice, sexual activity and discretion, gender/gender roles), and dialogue around sex and sexual education. This section examines these influences more extensively as a means of further understanding these young adults' dating and sexual decisions. I discuss how the impact of specific relationships for youth at the intersection of culture, religion, and gender influence sexual choices and attitudes.

The voices of youth participants, experts on transnational/Filipino youth and sexual health in British Columbia, and parent community members are heard throughout this section to provide further context and perspectives. Four mothers¹¹ were interviewed for this project. Between the four of them, they had eight children, five girls and three boys, who ranged from six to twenty-years-old. With their own experiences as young adults and parents in mind, they expressed their concerns and thoughts about sexual dialogue, dating, partner preferences, premarital sex, sleepovers, and living together through their perceived adaptations to Canadian culture, religious beliefs, their children's genders, and life stage/maturity level.

¹¹ The parent community members and the youth participants shared no familial relations. For more detail on recruitment criteria, see section 2.4

4.3.1 Dating Practices, Gender, and Partner Choice

The formation of romantic relationships between young individuals is seen as a natural part of development in both Canadian and Philippines contexts (Gipson and Hicks 2016; Zaidi et al. 2014; Saewyc et al. 2008; Temple-Smith et al. 2016). The participants, too, felt that dating was common and expected amongst youth in the Philippines and Canada. They made distinctions between what they perceived as "Filipino" and "Canadian" ways of dating, and each youth embraced different aspects of these "dating styles" in their lives. Much of the discussion around Filipino dating practices was centered on romance and courtship. In the Filipino tradition, courting, "from the expression of interest to the maintenance of a relationship," (Tan et al. 2001:3) typically commences after two acquainted peers express mutual interest in one another, first formally expressed by the male counterpart, then reciprocated by the female.

For me, courting would be the guy going to our house and meet my family first and asking for their permission if they date me. [...] You should just take things slow. I mean, there's no rush, you're still young. [...] A good foundation of a relationship is a friendship, right? Getting to know each other first, and if you do like someone then okay, and then you go into dating, right? (Gabby, Interview 1)

The processes of courtship allow for the individuals "to get to know the other and deepen the relationship," thereby sparking the potential for peers to create romantic bonds and eventually sexual relationships (Ujano-Batangan 2012:174). A Youth Settlement Worker who worked closely with Filipino youth in British Columbia characterized Filipino culture as a "hyper romantic culture." She elaborated on this through her experience working with Filipino youth:

[S]o, a lot of them talked a lot about the courting—that was really important to a lot of them. [...] We talked a lot about, being courted by the boys that liked them. Uhm, and that was really important to a lot of them—to show their moms and their dad that this boy was courting them according to like, the cultural expectations of what courting entails, and so that whole process involved, like, really romantic things, like buying flowers and, like, uhm, opening the car door, things like that. (Youth Settlement Worker, Interview)

Karla felt that there was more romance when it came to the Filipino courting style. She explained how the process of starting a relationship with her boyfriend in Canada was different from the experiences of her peers in the Philippines.

In the Philippines if you're Filipino the guy should court the girl for like a month or so, bring her gifts or whatever, we didn't do that. We just become friends and then, like a week after, we were, like, 'Okay, we're together, I guess' so, it's really different. Which is really bad, like, to think about it. I didn't even go through the process, but, whatever. [...] I started dating him when I was like 20, so I was pretty old, and then my friends back in the Philippines they started dating really young and then sometimes the guys will do lengths just to get that girl, and they post it on Facebook or whatever...I want that. I mean, I don't...It's just, I like the sweetness. So lame, but yeah. (Karla, Interview 1)

Dating norms were explained by the participants through notions of a more conservative "Filipino" and more permissive "Canadian" dating style. Filipino dating culture was seen as simultaneously a public and private affair. Courtship was expected to involve public displays of romantic affection, while premarital sexual relations, if to be arrived at, were to be had with secrecy and discretion as "premarital sex is still generally disapproved and premarital virginity is still generally valued among [...] Filipino youth" and parents (Ofreneo 2007:149; Ujano-Batangan 2012).

For me, my parents always tell me if I were to bring a guy to our house, it should be like a gathering, it shouldn't be just me and him, and it should be a place where people can just walk in. I can't take him up to my room, because that's—that's inappropriate. A room is a very intimate place, there's a bed, you can close the door, you can turn off the lights and 'tada!' (Gabby, Interview 1)

Within the Canadian culture the participants inhabited, dating was interpreted as more casual and less rigid (Temple-Smith et al. 2016; Zaidi et al. 2014) than in the Philippines and accounted for multiple dating experiences and sexual partners, and not necessarily searching for "the one" on the first try. For Mae, Hilary, and Gabby, their dating preference remained within the realm of the courting style of the Philippines.

Let's say if someone tells me they like me, I wouldn't usually say, 'Oh, I like you back', and then we're already dating, right? [...]I should know who you are first and what your intentions are, right? Because if your intentions are just for dating, just 'cause, or just dating because you just want to feel all the giddy things, then I'm not going to go and waste my time to date, right? I just need to know your intentions so I can reflect on if I do like you. I should pray about it if this is something that's God will for me, right? (Gabby Interview 1)

The other youth participants were interested in following the dating norms common to youth in Canada.

Coming here I felt a lot more sexually liberated and I was able to explore that part of me a lot more openly, a lot easier, and without the fear of judgement because, you know, back there you have this identity of yourself that you want to uphold already, so it was nice coming to a completely new place. But, like my past, like sexual relationships were like, every now and then kind of meeting up, it wasn't like...it wasn't like an openly done thing, basically; whereas here you can date and it's fine. (Darren, Interview 1)

The youth found that these dating norms were often in contrast with those expected of them by their parents.

J: Right. So they [his parents] would let you sleep there, but your parents won't allow it?

K: Yeah. Whenever I go to his place and it's at night, 'cause he lives so far, he has to drop me off, he will be like, 'just stay in my place, stay in my place!' And I'm like, 'No, your parents won't like it,' and he'll be like, 'my parents will be fine with it,' so different. (Karla, Interview 2)

J: Do you think that there are cultural clashes that happen between you and your non-Filipino girlfriend?

M: I talked to her about this. She said that her parents would probably let us sleep in the same room, in the same bed. I think that's where it differs the most, when it comes to parents, because my parents are still... hold[ing] strongly to their Filipino roots and they keep saying, 'don't get lost in the culture!' So...I'm sure that they hold onto Filipino culture very strongly. Uhm, and when we're at my parents they would make us go to church with them. Even if my girlfriend wasn't religious, they'd make her come. (Manuel, Interview 2)

Similar to the ways that Canadian and Filipino dating customs were seen as permissive and conservative, respectively, gender added another layer of conflicting acceptability's and expectations in dating and sexual practices for the youth. The participants felt that females and

males carried different gender roles and gendered expectations which impacted their sexual lives and dating practices. Female youth in particular, voiced the impact of gendered expectations, often describing gender through a series of imbalances hindering females more so than males. Male youth often did not think about gender differences until their opportunities and affordances as young men were juxtaposed with those of their sisters or female friends (Lefkowitz et al. 2014; Rudman et al. 2012). The participants, especially the female participants, felt that the men in their families, and in general, had more freedom to express themselves sexually. For example, Karla felt that her dad treated her brother differently, allowing him to spend the night with women at their family home, and joking around together about his romantic trysts. Despite being in what she considered a serious adult relationship, she felt she still had much less freedom in comparison to her single brother.

J: Does your dad have the same opinion about having sex for your brother and you?

K: No actually, [...] when they talk about sex they don't really let me listen because they treat me like a child [...] but, like, when I hear them talking about like, 'Oh yeah, I did this.' [...] My dad is like okay with it. [...] My brother is even allowed to have girls sleep over in his room. [It's a] gender thing, yeah. My dad always, like, always have this threat that if I ever get pregnant or whatever, and my boyfriend leaves me, he'll leave us alone and I have to...I have to fend for myself. (Karla, Interview 1)

Youth felt that gendered expectations were inculcated in the social norms of both their Canadian and Filipino identities. One of the experts interviewed for this research, a Vancouver-based Filipino youth Mentorship Program Co-director, believed that gendered social expectations exist in Filipino-Canadian communities mimicking those found in the Philippines. She described the Vancouver Filipino community as "a very gendered community where ideas of masculinity and femininity are very much, [...] enshrined in social norms and interactions." These norms strongly dictate appropriate ways of acting in dating relationships (Delgado-Infante and Ofreño 2014; De Jose 2009). The youth described distinctions between what they saw as

"Western" and "Filipino" dating practices and described ways in which gender impacted these practices. In the "Canadian way," female and male youth were more often perceived to be able to mutually express their intentions, make the first move, and talk about sex without judgment (e.g. Homma et al. 2013). Kate felt that within "Western" cultural dating practices the option to express sexual desires or knowledge, or instigate romantic experiences was shared by everyone, male and female. She felt that in the Filipino customs it would be expected for only a male counterpart to express themselves in these ways.

So, in Filipino culture it's kind of, it's kind of annoying where just you being open about talking about these things means you're promiscuous. [...] That's the perception on it. So, uhm, it's hard to be...it's hard to talk about it and not having people think you're...judge you, I guess. (Kate, Interview 1)

The youth contested and complied with gender norms familiar to them in Filipino and Canadian dating traditions. In the "Filipino way," youth perceived clear rules based on gender dictating acceptable behaviour (e.g. Ofreneo 2007). In some instances they embraced gender divisions, and rejected them in others. Gabby believed in having distinct gender roles when it comes to dating. She felt, for example, that the responsibility to initiate a relationship and provide for a family belonged to men.

It should be the guy that's initiating, right? I mean, you can go and try to like... high key hint that you like him, but if he doesn't have the courage to initiate, just talking to you and telling you that they like you, [...] because you're eventually going to lead a family, right? What if you guys were going to build a family and he's going to always wait to initiate? So initiative is a very important thing for a guy. (Gabby, Interview 1)

Gabriel felt that his parents raised him with expectations that he and his future partner would fill these particular "traditional" male and female roles, a trajectory he was not particularly keen to perpetuate.

My parents are raised in the Filipino traditional culture where a woman takes a role of the bread-maker whereas the man comes home, you know, making the money, whereas being raised in Canadian culture, I see more women equality, so

I feel that, you know, it's not just the women staying home and making dinners and taking care of the kids. I want to have my own role if I were to date somebody I want to be also in their lives and helping with the, uh, kitchen work and stuff like that. (Gabriel, Interview 1)

Although expectations and allowances around dating and sex were projected onto both males and females, the youth and parents agreed that there were different expectations projected onto female versus male youth. Mae discussed the differences in attitudes towards, and consequences when you are female versus the male in the event of an accidental pregnancy prior to marriage.

It's really really different [...] like, for male having sex before marriage or, girls having sex before marriage and then the other way around. [...] Maybe for guys it's not that much of a downfall but for girls it's a really big fault. Like, 'Why did she let the guy do it to her?' [...] That's why I think my parents won't be as worried if, let's just say my brother's 21 already and I'm already 25, and then we both had sex before marriage, it won't be that much of a headache for my mom in terms of my brother, 'cause, yeah, he's a guy. If I get pregnant, my physical body changes, it will affect my job, it will affect my school. (Mae, Interview 1)

Female youth bore the pressures of these expectations more so than their male counterparts as family reputation and other values were "directly linked to a girl's behaviour" (Zaidi et al. 2014:31; Tan et al. 2001).

As youth wanted to please those who loved and supported them, partner choice was a complex and rather involved topic between the youth and their parents, with youth fielding concerns over dating outside their cultural and religious traditions and heterosexual norms. Most of the youth believed that their parents would ultimately support them, regardless of who they dated, but often followed up these statements with stipulations regarding the choices they or others had made in the past and their parents' reactions. As explained by Alyson, a youth focus group participant, "parents want to know, 'Who are you dating? Are they Filipino?' That kind of thing. And then it's kinda, like, not necessarily that they look down on you if you're dating somebody that's not Filipino, but they are more, like, sceptical about it." Parents put forward certain expectations for their potential romantic partners, exerting pressure on them to seek out

certain characteristics and dismissing others, and then critiquing them when they did not reproduce those wishes. For example, Blake's mother wanted him to find a girlfriend who was both Filipino and Catholic. He appreciated his mother's interest in his life and wished to not disappoint her, but expressed that a partner's religious and cultural background were not of primary concern for him. He agreed that a Catholic partner would be a bonus, but was not a prerequisite for (not) starting a relationship.

My mom really wants me to date a Filipino. She really wants to, you know, keep the traditions going. But I was, like, one of the main reasons I was excited to come to Canada is because of the white girls. Like, I think, you know, white, uh, blue eyes, blonde hair for me is like really pretty, so, I don't know. I guess she just wants me to date a Filipino because she wants more than anything for me to date another Catholic girl. [...] I would like to be dating a Catholic girl, but I'm not going to limit myself to other options. (Blake, Interview 1)

Gabriel and Karla felt that their parents were disapproving of their partner choice which created friction in their relationships between themselves and their parents, put strain on their relationships and their partners, and stunted potentially meaningful relationships between their parents and their partners. These intrafamilial conflicts were troublesome to the youth because they made maintaining close connections complicated. Gabriel's parents were not very welcoming of his past two non-Filipino girlfriends, believing a Filipina would be a better match for him.

My parents give perspectives on, 'Oh, you should be dating a Filipina, they're very patient, honest, and kind, and they can cook for you,' and I really disagree with that because I don't want them to just label the whole Filipino women—population as that. [...] In the Filipino culture [...] when it comes to another ethnicity...it does play a factor in the perception of the person. One instance is when I brought my [ex] girlfriend to a family dinner—and this really bothered me—it was, uhm, [they] can't really say her name properly [...] which, I found very, very offensive, and just...if this was a Filipina, it would have been no problem. (Gabriel, Interview 1)

Karla's parents were sceptical of the intentions of her Caucasian boyfriend.

I don't want to sound racist or something, but like, in the Philippines there's this stereotype that like, white people, 'cause like, in the Philippines there's a lot of Filipinas will end up with some white people and then they'll end up getting pregnant and then those white people will leave them or whatever, or that Filipinas will just want to get together with white people because they are rich and then they're going to [...], like, help their family financially...something like that. So my dad doesn't really like it in the sense that he thinks [he] will leave me, he'll abandon me, he'll just use me up and then, and then people will see me in a bad light. Which is true, I guess, yeah. (Karla, Interview 1)

Darren expressed that as a bisexual, regardless of faith or culture of the partner, his parents, as well as other important elders in his life, were unlikely to approve of any partner if they are male.

I don't know whether I'll marry a man or a woman, whether I'll even marry at all, but my parents, or my dad especially doesn't know about my sexuality, so it's always like, 'marry a girl!' [...] Like, I think about it a lot 'cause I know who I am and I want my parents to know who I am too, but with my dad it's just a bit of a...I don't know which way he'll go. Like I think it's up in the air 'cause he loves his children unconditionally, but at the same time he has those very conservative social values. [...] But I think I'm more concerned for my grandparents and what they think than what my parents think. [...] I don't know how that would play out. (Darren, Interview 1)

As such, without knowing that his future will hold, instead of causing familial conflict and creating a stressful situation for himself, Darren chose to keep his personal relationship at a distance from his family who live in the Philippines.

There is clear evidence that youth care about their relationships with their parents, expressing concern towards the prospect of disapproval or of disappointing them. Youth were conscious of their parent's expectations and wishes, yet many of them simultaneously pushed against these expectations in order to satisfy desires of their own. Precisely because they respected their parents, they strove to act in compliance with the guidelines of their upbringings, or at least appear as such, while also employing forms of circumvention to pursue their personal sexual lives while minimizing intrusion on their family lives.

4.3.2 (Hiding) Premarital Sex, Sleepovers, and Living Together

The youth recounted how their parents disapproved of young adults engaging in sexual relations before marriage.

My parents didn't really want us to be, you know, kind of get white-washed or move away from our culture or...learn, quote-unquote, the 'Western way', [...] stuff like, 'Oh, here it's okay to live with your girlfriend before marriage,' and 'Oh, they want you to move out as soon as possible.' Uhm, yeah, there's a lot of values like that that we don't...that aren't really recognized here that are kind of a big thing in the Philippines.(Blake, Interview 2)

This attitude expanded beyond the views expressed by participant's parents; one youth explained that their faith-based youth group discouraged premarital sexual activity. There remained "strong norms against premarital sex" in Filipino culture as it is often viewed as "shameful for a girl to become pregnant but not be married" (Xenos and Kabamalan 2007:267). As a result of these kinds of attitudes, youth felt that their parents and their community would disapprove of the sexual aspects of their lives, and they, in turn, were disinclined to expose to them this part of their lives. With the exception of Gabriel, the sexually active youth believed that it was likely that their parents expected that their children were engaging in sexual activities but neither parents nor their children wanted to clarify this assumption.

J: Do your parents know that you and your boyfriend have a physical relationship?

K: No, they will kill me! [...] I think my parents, or my dad has like, a general idea about it. I mean, they always assume, of course. (Karla, Interview 1)

B: I mean, I don't necessarily lie to them but I don't tell them everything, you know?[...]I do feel like that they know that I do this kind of thing but I guess we just don't talk about it.(Blake, Interview 2)

J: Would you be honest with your parents if they asked?

M: Uhm, probably not, no. [...] I don't talk about that...uhm, I don't think they want to ask because they already know, uhm...so, if they don't ask then they can't really approach me about it. So I guess it's a mutual thing. (Manuel, Interview 1)

To avoid disappointment or confrontation, avoiding acknowledgement of their sexual activity of this from both sides was considered the best method with which to avoid this conflict between children and their parents (Burke 2012).

On the other hand, Temple-Smith et al. (2016) argues that parents often presume their own children are exempt of negatively perceived social norms that their children's friends would remain subject to. For example, Gabriel's parent's allowed his girlfriend to stay overnight in his room. He concluded that this was allowed because his parent's believed that, unlike his "Canadianized" friends, he was raised "in a Catholic setting" (Interview 1) where he was taught that sex was pursued only after marriage, and therefore believed that he would not be engaging in premarital sexual relations.

J: How do you think they would feel if they found out that you are sexually active?

G: For sure my mom would be very concerned. My dad would be shocked because, you know, [...] they raised me in a Catholic setting where celibacy before marriage, right? That's where the shock factor comes in [...] I thought I raised you a little bit better than this.' [...] They view sexual activity within the Filipino young adults as something that will lead to marriage, [...] but, whereas they see Canadian couples who engage in sexual activity as, you know, 'they're just doing it for fun,' 'they're just doing it for activity.' (Gabriel, Interview 1)

Darren's circumstance was complex in that he felt that his parents would be indifferent to him having premarital sexual relations, but because of the homophobic climate at home, he remained silent believing that they would not react well to learn that he was engaging in sexual relationships with other men.

Yu's (2007) work concerning British-born Chinese youth, and Chung et al.'s (2007) research on Filipino parent-adolescent dyads both found that young adults who were sexually active avoided sharing their sexual truths and opinions with their parents, who they perceived as having traditional values, in order to avoid clashes in their differing values. The youth in my research insisted that disclosure and honesty about sexual activity were not the best policies for

youth or their parents. In Yu's, and Chung et al.'s studies, as well as my own, nondisclosure was regarded as the best relationship management strategy since it allowed youth to make their own sexual choices and parents to maintain idealized notions of their adult children. This strategy of active silence on the part of youth and denial on the part of their parents allowed for the youth to be independent in their personal lives, while allowing their parents to continue to feel as though they "know" and have control over their children's' actions.

Beyond the act of sex, sleepovers and living together prior to marriage were two other dating milestones that arose during conversation with youth and adult participants and parents and youth often had conflicting opinions over these topics. Having sex before marriage and living together before marriage are both fairly common practices in the Philippine and Canada (Xenos and Kabamalan 2007; Zaidi et al. 2014), but many participant families still follow more "traditional" marriage and cohabitation expectations. For Filipino families, living with a partner "traditionally" takes place in conjunction with marriage, or at least a promise of future legal union, and unmarried couples sleeping over together is not a common socially sanctioned practice (Xenos and Kabamalan 2007:265). For parents in my research, sleepovers, and living together were viewed as "Western" values (2007:263), and youth, typically the sexually active youth, mostly referred to their parent's views which looked unfavourably at premarital sex and sleepovers as "traditional" or "conservative" Filipino views.

Participants felt that, in Canada, it is a typical and generally uncontroversial part of young adulthood to move out of one's parents' home sometime after finishing secondary school, and then to eventually move in with a partner, often as a precursor to marriage. In the Philippines, however, this step was often negatively associated with ideas such as premarital sex and out of wedlock pregnancy resulting in family shame (Gipson and Hicks 2016; Xenos and Kabamalan

2007; Laguna 2001). The youth spoke about the challenges of straddling conflicting Canadian and Filipino cultural norms around these stages of young adulthood.

For the sexually active youth, as per their experiences, they saw their non-Filipino friends' and partners' parents as more "liberal" than their own when it came to sleepovers and sex. In order to be able to have any hope of partaking in these activities, youth avoided conflict with their parents by hiding these activities from them (Burke 2012).

There was this one girl that I was dating and she lived with her parents but she had her own basement suite and I...I still spent the night there and, like, in the mornings I would come up and make breakfast, and her parents were there and I was like, 'This is really weird.' Like, my parents don't even know that we're sleeping in the same bed and here your parents are like, 'Hey, good morning!' [...] So...yeah, it's a lot more, uh, liberal here I guess with that kind of stuff... (Blake, Interview 1)

When Karla lived away from home she would spend the night with her boyfriend, "a lot" (Interview 1). In order to maintain the vision her parents had of her, once she moved back in with her parents, she stopped spending the night with him. Even though her boyfriend's parents were okay with her sleeping over, she knew her parents would not approve and staying there would create more problems than it was worth if they were to learn they were sleeping together; in order to have the freedom to spend time alone at her boyfriend's house, she chose to not break the illusion that her parents had of her as non-sexually active (Burke 2012).

Parents raised several concerns when thinking about premarital sex, sleepovers, and living together prior to marriage. Parent participants hoped that their children would defer to the values they grew up with in their homes, but attributed the idea of their children engaging in these activities to the influence of peers and "Western" culture (Ujano-Batangan 2012). The mothers were most fearful of their daughters, having more expectations and concerns around their daughters conduct.

I expect her not to be promiscuous. [...] Like, if it was a male, I would probably more lax about it, I mean if I had a son, and my son was dating somebody and then they did all of that stuff, too, I would feel bad for the parents of the girl. [...] That's sexual prejudice right there because I'm thinking if my daughter was a son I would be looser about stuff like that. (Mariah, Interview)

Ja: 'cause I have girls, I have to be...I told my husband, they need to be prepared. It's not...you know, boys can just say, 'Okay, you're pregnant, say bye!' but you can't be... you're going to be a mom and then what you going to do, right? So, uh, psychologically, or mentally, they need to be prepared, physically, they need to be prepared, but that will be—it's hard, still, for me.

C: I think it's even harder for her because she has girls, and I think it's easier for me because I have boys, but for sure, I'll be more onto the girls' side, [...] if they will have a girlfriend I will say that, 'Okay, sex is not just sex' [...] you have to respect the girls, like, it's more damaging for girls than to my boys so I think I have to tell my boys not to be, you know, easily be aggressive or easily be into that kind of stuff. (Jan and Ces, Interview)

Mothers Ces and Jan, interviewed together, explained that because they were "adapted to Canadian culture," they expected that their children were likely to follow "the force of the peers" (Ces) and engage in premarital sex, but hoped that they would do so in safe and smart ways. Mariah, on the other hand, hoped that despite peer influence and being raised in Canada, the religious upbringing she had provided for her daughter would influence her to abstain from sex.

My daughter is also raised as a Catholic. That's why when you ask those questions about, you know, being sexually active and stuff like that, I mean, she's no longer regularly going to church but she was taught and raised as a Catholic, that's why I say morally she knows it's wrong, right? (Mariah, Interview)

These parents acknowledged the likelihood that their children, born and raised in Canada, were likely to follow the trends of "Canadian culture" and felt the best thing they could do was to try and raise them in ways that would lead them in the right direction through tools such as dialogue and religious teachings.

Parents' views were split in terms of living together. Parents acknowledged that young adults growing up in Canada had more autonomy than they had growing up in the Philippines (Ofreneo 2007; Tan et al. 2001; Maticka-Tyndale 2008). All of the parents were in agreement

that here in Canada, "whatever decision they have, [...] I have to respect their decision" (Jan, Interview 1). However, this did not stop them from worrying about their children and stepping in if they felt their children were really crossing a line:

I think both of us will be okay with it. [...] When I said, 'Yes,' [...] I think at least when they...when they're like in a maturity age "if it's in a young age of course, we will be intervening [...] Yeah, but if they're into a right age that we know that they are prepared to do it, I think we will allow them [to live together] (Ces, Interview).

Jan, on the other hand, was less comfortable with the idea. "It's not the right way for me because maybe...maybe 'cause I didn't do...'cause I still respect as being a Christian that I want to be married before I live in with the person" (Jan, Interview). Penelope, among others, accepted that marriage was typical but not an essential social convention in Canada, accepting that people can live together and not get married, but felt there was more potential for disaster if one were to choose this route.

I think there's value to living together, but [...] I think it's important—uh, the church puts you through a marriage course, whether put by the church or not, I think you should go through a marriage course or a discussion about what marriage entails and then, 'cause we've talked about not getting married at all, which I'm okay with, but you have to walk into that decision with your eyes open. Because you can always make a decision based off here and know all the possibilities and consequences, but you're going to have a lot of regret afterwards, and if you're prepared for that potential regret, then hopefully it won't impact you that much, right? (Penelope, Interview)

Parents and youth had mixed opinions about premarital sex and living together, shaped by both the social norms of where they grew up and where they live now (Xenos and Kabamalan 2007). In several instances, youth viewed their dating practices as different from what their parents preferred and often hid their actions from their parents or refrained from acting in certain ways in order to avoid conflict or disappointment (Yu 2007; Ujano-Batangan 2012; Burke 2012). Parents tended to believe their views influenced their children's choices about dating and sexual activity, yet as is evident through these examples, parents are not always privy to the actions of

their children. Youth and parent participants demonstrated that they both drew upon customs familiar to both Canada and the Philippines. Interestingly, parents felt that in Canada they had less control over their children than they would had they been raised in the Philippines, and accepted that their children were surrounded by plural cultures and their customs and thus, their decisions would reflect this. Meanwhile, youth felt that their parents retained similar or stricter views and rules to those they perceived their parents would have held if they had remained in the Philippines, yet pushed boundaries that they believed they would not otherwise have as a result of their blended cultural identities.

4.3.3 (Not) Talking about Sex

The topic of sex seldom came up in conversation for the youth in their family homes. Not one youth had received a formal anatomy or biology based "sex talk" from a parent. When the subject did arise, it was often in the form of a warning or lesson about sexual values, or in some instances sexual jokes aimed at no one in particular. Some of the youth recalled instances where their parents had explicitly denounced sexual behaviour to them. Gabriel remembered how "when my brother brought his girlfriend home, the first thing my mom told him was, "Don't have sex! [...] and she made sure I heard too that you shouldn't have sex" (Interview 1). Karla recalled also being warned by proxy:

I think there is one time that he [my father] really talk[ed] about it. Like, we have a housemate in the Philippines and she thought that she was pregnant, and she was like 15 or 16, I think same age as me at that time, then my dad was like 'Don't be like her!' (Karla, Interview 1)

Youth encountered clear familial sexual values at home while the biological processes of sex were left to professionals at school.

I've never received a 'sex talk.' They usually reserve that for the school and I remember when after my grade 6 or grade 8 they give us a pamphlet to look over. [...] I remember my parents were like, 'Oh, okay, good. You learned some things.

Okay, good.' And they just didn't really explore the topic more, 'Okay, I'm glad you learned it. Okay, let's put that away now.' (Gabriel, Interview 1)

The youth turned elsewhere for information and advice on sex, such as sexual education taught through the public and private school system in British Columbia, as well as relying on friends, siblings, and health resources available to them within their communities.

The clinic was really helpful. They have volunteers and doctors to help you with your questions, especially—like for me it's my first time and it's kind of awkward for me, but [...] they're really helpful. I mean, they don't give off the feeling that you need to be embarrassed about it. Like, they're pretty open and they're pretty friendly, 'cause like, you can ask them about like, anything. (Karla, Interview 2)

Youth found it helpful that they could learn about sex outside the home. All of the youth participants were enrolled in and graduated from the public school systems in SVI or the GVA, with the exception of one student who came to Canada for university only. These interviewees spent an average of four years in the Canadian public school system. The majority of youth recalled having sexual health curriculum units at different points during their adolescence, such as a puberty unit in middle school. The most recollected classroom experience was a tenth grade unit where they learned about condoms, birth control pills, and common sexually transmitted infections (STIs). These youth learned about "sexual risk-taking" and "prevention" techniques (e.g. Shoveller and Johnson 2006:47, 51; Ashcraft 2006; Saewyc et al. 2008), which they saw as important elements of a comprehensive sexual health education program. They identified a variety of gaps in what they were taught, highlighting that sexual education should extend beyond learning about risks and prevention during sexual intercourse.

In our planning class we talked...we didn't really talk much about sex, but like, we talk about the diseases about it, and then the protection that is being used, but it's not, [...] like if you think about it...it's really not informative, they just tell you, 'Oh, just use this condom,' or 'Just use this pills,' or 'use this like, condoms for females,' like it's not really informative. They didn't really give us like the pros and cons. (Karla, Interview 1)

A few youth felt like they had learned sufficient information to satisfy their curiosities, understand what they were doing, and engage in sexual activities in a reasonably safe manner, although they had also sought additional information from external sources. For Manuel, he found his sexual education experience sufficient: "I think they covered sexual health and sexuality pretty well and gave, quite a bit of information" (Manuel, Interview 2). The majority of youth, however, thought that the sexual health education they received was limited and wished they had learned more comprehensive sexual health in school.

In particular, youth wished to know more about consent, readiness, and learning how to engage in open dialogue about sex and sexual health, as well as learning how to navigate sex and sexuality within the framework of religious teachings. Gabriel explained:

I wish they would have information regarding, you know, what religion plays a part in sexuality and also, [...] the conflict of growing up here through puberty but also having a religion conflict. I wish they would have a little pamphlet saying that it's okay to be religious but also have these certain urges to, you know, see a girl lustfully, or something like that—it's completely normal. I wish I just had that sort of information available when I was growing up. [...]and I would have liked it to just say it's okay to go through these changes but also still retain your faith. It's not wrong to be moved by your instinct to be sexually active. [...] That would be really helpful. (Gabriel, Interview 2)

Interviewees expressed frustration that the British Columbia school system sexual health instruction they had received had been both limited and rushed, and therefore unnecessarily difficult to understand. As Anon described it, "Sex Ed was ONE class in a bigger class, so, it takes just one day in a planning class" (Interview 1). Kate elaborated:

Hmm, I don't remember. I remember...I remember a nurse coming in and talking about different—how to wear condom, and uhm, but this is grade 10 so I don't think it's Sex Ed, because everybody knows this, but it's like, more different types of birth control, and what's available and it was a day, so I don't think, I don't categorize it as sex education because, again, it's not really information that is enough. (Kate, Interview 1)

Despite Anon and Kate's complaints about their sexual health education experience, they were among the few to be taught sexual education by a professionally-trained third party. One of the most problematic aspects of school-based sexual education, according to Jennifer Gibson, the Coordinator of Community Education Services at Island Sexual Health Society in Victoria, BC, is that there is no standardized sexual health curriculum across the province of British Columbia and consequently the quality of the education varies widely from classroom to classroom (Poon et al. 2015; Garcia 2015; McKay 2004). This helps to explain from a structural point of view why some youth may have found their sexual health education experience satisfactory, while others found it entirely lacking. Youth at different schools were taught different sexual health modules, and some did not receive any formal sexual education at all. For example, Mae, who immigrated to Canada at age 17 and reenrolled in the twelfth grade, was confused and frustrated that she received no sexual health education in school. She expected that in Canada, where everyone is so "open about sex" (Mae, Interview 2), they would learn about it in school.

M: I didn't [receive sexual education here] [...] I was expecting it 'cause Filipinos point of view of more western is more of like they do have this Sex Ed, like pretty much titled 'Sex Ed' and they have a program. Then when I came here, 'Oh no, they don't have it.' [...] I want to [have it]. Not, of course, like someone showing it to me but like just to educate you because ignorance sometimes triggers the uhm, like the, uhm—it's tempting if you don't know something you want to know something, so if you know it from sex education it will be helpful for those like, to control themselves or like, maybe just to, as you know, like populations, like increase exponentially so if there's maybe if there's a sex education than I guess it will be really helpful. Hopefully my...my kids will have that. (Mae, Interview 1)

Having open dialogue about sex in schools, as well as fairly open and positive views on sex and sexuality in Canada (Zaidi et al. 2014; Maticka-Tyndale 2008) meant that the youth participants were exposed to different sets of cultural values around sex, and as such, these, and their other identities (gender, religion, etc.) contributed to their overall understandings and values around sex and dating. I was curious not only about the experiences of these immigrant youth

with sexual education in the school system, but also how these adults felt about their children receiving sexual education classes in primary and secondary school.

Parent participants highlighted how accessing sexual health resources and talking about sex in the Philippines was both difficult and shameful, especially for females (Gipson and Hicks 2016; Lucea et al. 2013; De Jose 2013; Delgado-Infante and Ofreneo 2014); obstacles which resulted in unnecessary confusion and unintended consequences among the parent participants. None had ever received sexual education from parents or in school, due in large part to the impact of religion on state education (Gipson and Hicks 2016; De Jose 2013; Lucea et al. 2013). Ces explained that because she had not been taught how to adequately protect herself, "at first contact I got pregnant" (Ces, Interview). Jan expanded on this point, explaining how religious discourses caused her to feel guilty for exploring her sexual curiosities:

I was 17 when I had my first boyfriend, so that, like, that age is very curious and all those stuffs going on, so uh, actually I did, and then, but then uh, it's so hard as a Catholic [...] 'cause you really feel guilty, like in your mind [...] it won't go away. (Jan, Interview)

Parents felt sexual health education in schools starting from a young age was important for the safety and development of young people.

In the Philippines we are self taught in a way that while you're growing to be adolescent and you got menstruating and stuff, that's how you realize that to get pregnant. [...] My knowledge of being pregnant before is a baby has a baby already inside of them [...]. I realized when I was a teenager 'Oh they have a crush and then comes the kissing and hugging and stuff. Parents, they don't teach us, like, 'Your private parts, you cannot let anyone to touch it.' There's no words like that, it's so embarrassing to talk to them about that. That's why in the Philippines it's pretty obvious that a lot of kids being abused sexually, [...] because nobody talked to you about it. [...] That's a big difference of coming to Canada and knowing that our kids are being taught [at an] early age!' (Ces, Interview)

They were satisfied that youth were learning about sex in an educational environment and stressed that learning to talk about sexual health was integral to help alleviate instances of sexual

shame and unintended consequences such as pregnancies and childhood sexual abuse. Ces and Jan were thrilled that their young children (ages 8-11) might grow up without the same kinds of fear, anxiety, and guilt about their sexual lives that they felt in their youth.

I think starting kindergarten they [talk] about sexual orientation [...] and about touching and body stuff, private parts. For me it's actually good 'cause they need to learn that and be aware 'cause when I grow up, we don't talk about it with my parents. Even with friends, we don't talk about it. [...] I think needs to be addressed. For me, there's nothing bad about being taught even when they're little. (Jan, Interview)

Mariah was grateful to let the school handle the topic of sex education, seeing her job as supplementary. She was happy for her daughter (20 years old) to have received a sexual education she did not desire to, or feel entirely capable of providing.

J: Would you feel comfortable talking to her about dating and relationships?

M: Maybe not, but I guess I have to suck it up and talk to her about it. When she was elementary school, they had this thing at school, Grade 6 or something. [...] It was voluntary, but they talked to them about sexual stuff, and I immediately signed her up. I thought, 'Let that person talk to her,' and then [...] whatever questions she had, I would just build on that, but, so I kind of took that easy way out. (Mariah, Interview)

The parents and youth regarded being knowledgeable about sex and sexual health topics as valuable for both general knowledge and personal safety. Although the parents expressed a sense of relief that their children would not grow up as sheltered as they had, they nonetheless tended to approach discussions around sex gingerly and only when necessary. Youth were also content to leave discussions about sex out of their conversation with their parents, preferring to have those discussions with siblings, peers, and other resources. At the same time, maintaining silence posed challenges for parents and their children. A lack of acknowledgement about the youth's sexual lives meant that if youth were engaging in sexual activities parents could not directly intervene in their child's actions, thus the youth could act upon their sexual life without dissent from their parents. Yet, at the same time, because parent's silence made their expectations

clear, this provoked youth to self-regulate, restricting them from doing things in ways that would otherwise cause conflict between the youth and their parents. For example, Karla engaging in sexual activities with her boyfriend and then coming home to sleep so as to not arouse suspicion and conflict with her parents. Thus, although restricted by parental expectations, youth were able to evaluate and enact strategies within these confines that allowed them to pursue their sexual lives and maintain boundaries.

4.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have discussed ways in which youth are influenced by a variety of social factors in regards to sexual decision-making. I also discussed the ways youth present their sexual lives to others, and how parents expect their children to act when it comes to making decisions regarding their sexual lives. Youth take into consideration the opinions and expectations of family members and friends when making decisions about their sexual lives, such as taking advice from siblings and following the examples of others in their social circles. They also reflect on the religious teachings and cultural norms that they have been familiar with since childhood, such as shameful associations around premarital sex and pregnancy. Parents expect their children to follow certain traditions and guidelines outlined to them in their formative childhood and adolescent years at home, but also felt that their children were subject to expectations and social norms that can be quite different in the Canadian context than in their own youth experiences in the Philippines. In Chapter Five, I will engage with the concepts of subjectivity and agency in order to further explore the narratives of these participants and answer my research questions posed in Chapter One.

Chapter Five: Youth Engaging with their Sexual Lives

5.1 Overview

This research project was guided by a primary research question that emerged as a result of gaps in the existing scholarly literature. The primary question I have sought to answer is: *In the context of migration and mobility, how do transnational Filipino youth living in southwestern British Columbia negotiate their sexual lives and decisions around sexual health, and how do individual, familial, and community dynamics impact these decisions?* In order to address this question, I have four secondary research questions which attend to youth's perceptions of cultural identity in terms of their ideals about sex and sexuality; gendered, and other expectations that create tension between the youth and their parents and peers; ways in which youth feel empowered and disempowered within their sexual lives in Canada; and where they youth turn to for guidance in their sexual lives. I answer each of the secondary research questions by engaging primarily with the analytical concepts of subjectivity and agency introduced in Chapter One in conversation with the interview data presented in Chapters Three and Four.

5.2 Analytical Concepts Revisited

First, I reintroduce the analytical concepts of subjectivity and agency, and offer a brief overview of "culture" as I use this term in the context of this thesis. Culture is not constituted by a few attributes or moments, but is wonderfully complex, individualistic, unifying, and continually fluctuating (Moore 2012). It is people *being* and *doing*, the processes we create and those we counter. As I refer to cultural ideals, and cultural processes below, these conceptualizations are borrowed from the experiences and positions of the participants themselves. Agency and subjectivity are constituted by individuals and through relationships within cultures. Agency is "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001:112) as well as "the capacity for

effective and meaningful action" (Robb 2010:515). Agency helps us to make sense of "how people are able to act" (Robb 2010:515); I use this concept to understand how youth enact their subjectivities, particularly their sexual subjectivities as transnational Filipino youth in southwestern British Columbia. I defer to notions and expressions of culture and subjectivity as seen through the eyes of and felt by the hearts of the participants. My construction of subjectivity follows that of Sherry Ortner (2005:31), defined as "the ensemble of modes of perception, affect, thought, desire, fear, and so forth that animate acting subjects...as well the cultural and social formations that shape, organize, and provoke those modes of affect, thought and so on." I understand subjectivity as the feelings, things, and forces that shape and motivate subjects to act or not. As such, individuals embody many shifting subjectivities.

5.3 Addressing Ideals and Expectations around Sex

This section discusses the first two secondary research questions together: *In what ways do transnational Filipino youth identify ideals about sex and sexuality in terms of their perceptions of their cultural identity? What are the gendered expectations around sexual restraint/modesty, sexual assertiveness/initiative, or other expectations that create particular tensions for these youth vis-à-vis their parents and peers?*

Researchers have highlighted that the ethnicity and cultural heritage of young adults and their parents plays a definitive role in shaping youth's sexual attitudes and behaviours (Laguna 2001; Zaidi et al. 2014; Yu 2007; Marmuh 2017). As family values influence youth as they grow, they begin to formulate their initial sexual values based on those encountered at home (Yu 2007; Zaidi et al. 2014). The youth in this study were brought up in their families with particular notions of what dating (and one's sexual life more broadly) "should" entail, influencing the sexual subjectivities of the youth through idealized cultural notions on how individuals are

expected to act (sexually), and how individuals who do and do not follow these ideals should be and are treated. Although ideals are idealized perceptions of how people *should* act and not typically how all people *do* act, the study participants conceptualized Filipino ways of dating, sexual engagement, and family building in similar ways. These similarities were based on three overarching cultural ideals that all ten youth felt shaped what the youth knew, imagined, and accepted as acceptable ways of "being Filipino" when it comes to sex and dating. First, the youth felt that, as Filipinos, religious tenets are treated as cultural ideals, therefore religious sexual discourses, such as those about premarital chastity, homosexuality, and sexual morality are expected to be incorporated into the personal tenets of the individual. Second, family and community needs are expected to be prioritized above the needs of the individual, ergo youth should not engage in activities that are construed as being harmful to their family. Third, daughters and sons hold different responsibilities within a family and experience different pressures around the ways they are expected to act, both in terms of sexual conduct and gendered familial roles.

The youth were hyperconscious of these ideals because they transcended geographic boundaries. These "Filipino" sexual ideals were generally conceptualized by youth and parents as distinct and different from "Canadian" sexual ideals. These distinctions were reinforced by parents who often reminded them to "hold strongly" to their Filipino culture (Manuel, Interview 2); i.e. respect your parents and do not have premarital sex. Although they no longer live in the Philippines, the youth's parents still expect their families to uphold these cultural ideals in their lives in Canada. At the same time that these youth felt pressure to uphold these Filipino sexual ideals, they were also engaged with other value systems and ways of thinking. Peers, school, and other social spaces they inhabited encourage youth to think critically and form nuanced sets of

personal sexual values separate from their parents (Temple-Smith et al. 2016; Zaidi et al. 2014). These values that youth encountered in these different social spaces influenced their sexual subjectivities and framed the ways in which they were able to act out their sexual lives and in which spaces. These ideals also acted as primary sources of tension felt between the youth and their parents and peers.

Living these overlapping discordant and complimentary notions of sexual acceptability pressed youth to negotiate and project themselves in very deliberate and oftentimes disparate ways to different people. They remained conscious of the "Filipino" expectations that dictate ideals around sexual modesty, virginity, premarital sexual relationships, and so on, notions that were projected to them primarily via their parents. Youth felt they were expected to follow perceived customary "Filipino" dating practices rather than the "westernized" and "loose" (Mariah Interview) sexual practices. We saw this exemplified in the ways youth talked about their parents not wanting them to get "lost in the [Canadian] culture," (Manuel, Interview 2) such as Manuel's parents not wanting him to have sleepovers with his girlfriend. At the same time, many of the youth felt that not partaking in "Western" dating practices left them feeling external to their peer groups. Gabriel, for example, felt he was not quite part of the 'group' until he lost his virginity. Embarking into young adulthood in Canada, the youth encountered attitudes that stressed that sex and dating be treated as a "normative part of growing up that contributes to teaching youth about decision-making, responsibility, their own sexuality, and feelings associated with it" (Zaidi et al. 2014:29). Attitudes such as this helped youth feel more comfortable exploring and engaging in their own sexual lives, and doing so through a positive lens, rather than something shameful or "bad." Youth perceived themselves as capable of making

decisions regarding their sexual lives based on the autonomy they felt afforded to them as young adults in Canada.

Conradson and McKay (2007:168) use the term translocal subjectivities "to describe the multiply-located senses of self amongst those who inhabit transnational social fields." This lends to the notion that the spaces and places individuals occupy contribute not only to the ways individuals understand these spaces, but to how they help to shape their identities. Furthermore, "Sex and space cannot be 'decoupled'," therefore the places and spaces people move within effectively affect their sexual sensibilities, and sexuality in turn has an impact on these same environments (Johnston and Longhurst 2010:3). As such, the youth's understandings of sex and their sexual subjectivities were shaped by their peers, schools, churches, parents, and communities. The participants often addressed their sexual lives via the places and the people with whom they spent time. In Chapter Three, we saw how Anon engaged in virtually no dialogue around sex with her "conservative" best friend, but on her own time was interested in learning about sexual resources. Gabriel's sexual subjectivity was moulded by his "assimilation to Canadian culture [...] surrounded" (Interview 1) by people who engaged in sex and continued to believe in God. Blake attitudes towards sexual engagement shifted with his move away from his parents home, and was "caught up" (Interview 1) in the university dormitory mentality. The sexual subjectivities of these youth are never static but rather continuously shift with the physical and mental spaces they occupy daily and over years of learning and interpreting. As sexual individual, they constantly manage a dynamic system of negotiated tensions internally and with others.

We see how living at the intersection of oftentimes competing sets of expectations, the youth felt that they were obliged to contextualize and re-evaluate their values and actions. They

did this in order to be able to pursue the sexual lives they desired while also attending to the expectations of people around them whom they felt socially bound to accommodate. Sexual discourses about "traditional" sexual values, readiness, virginity, and sexual morality, for example, influenced how youth approached their sexual decisions and feelings about sex. These discourses about "good" and "bad" conduct had been internalized by the youth (Bennett 2005a, 2005b; Bristow 2002). For example, youth frequently brought up issues around religious morality and sexual habits, such as premarital sex and homosexuality (Ofreño 2007). Religious discourses, such as going to hell for having sex before "a sacramental marriage" (Gabriel, Interview 2), and homosexuality as a sin (Darren, Interview 2), continued to be present in their lives. It is clear here that religion is a substantial player in shaping the youth's sexual subjectivities. These ideas persisted for the youth as they engaged with their sexual selves, e.g. feeling guilty for masturbating, or shameful for having lustful thoughts. And, as sex and space go hand in hand (Johnston and Longhurst 2010), their sexual lives proved significant in shaping their religious subjectivities as well. Some of the youth, like Manuel and Darren eventually moved away from religion, others, like Gabriel, came to peace with the parts of religion they felt matched their lifestyles, and relinquished those that created crises of conscience when it came to their sexual needs and beliefs.

Although some conflicting aspects of their sexual lives could be navigated by the youth coming to terms with a particular internalized discourse or viewpoint, many complications arose as a result of conflicts of sexual expectations between the individuals and others. For example, Darren was proud of his sexuality but strategically chose to keep his sexual preferences discreet from his family due to their abrasive and religious based attitudes that labelled homosexuality a sin (Melendrez Castañeda 2015; Nahar and van der Geest 2014; Ofreño 2007; Burke 2012).

Many of the youth felt that as Filipinos, their elders held them to different standards of morality, modesty, and conduct in contrast to the non-Filipino youth around them; i.e. not to have sex outside of marriage or before they finished their schooling. Youth regarded acting outside of these standards as contradictory to their Filipino family value systems, and so they imposed boundaries between their family life and their sexual life as a way to negotiate spaces for personal desire and for interpersonal relationship expectations. Thus, the youth engaging in premarital sexual activities disapproved of by their parents chose to keep this hidden from them to minimize potential conflict and family discordance.

Gender expectations influenced male and female youth's sexual self-understanding. Women and men are held to different allowances and expectation that often correlate and shift with age, location, and life stage (Hirsch et al. 2012). For the young men, tensions surfaced primarily around the idea that a Filipino man should "act like a man"; engaging in a "traditional" male role (Temple-Smith et al. 2016) as an initiator, provider, and father (Lucea et al. 2013; Cruz I 2012). Gabriel, for example, expressed frustration that his parents expected that he should take on a "breadwinner" role (Interview 1), while his female partner should be expected to mind the house and care for their children. Contrary to this, however, Gabriel and the other young men mostly rejected this traditional division of labour; wishing instead to engage in more equal partnerships. The young men also had feelings of discordance between their peers and themselves in the period of their lives before they became sexually active because they felt that men were expected to be sexually experienced and must engage in sexual activity to be accepted by their peers (Hirsch et al. 2012; Ujano-Batangan 2012). Youth recollected that prior to becoming sexually active their sexually active friends would often poke fun of them, expressing that they were not "men" yet until they had had sex. Darren, although close with his brother, felt

he could not be honest with him about his sexual life, for fear of homophobic repercussions. Notions of male performance and action shaped what *being* a man was supposed to look like and how one *properly* acts as a (sexual) man.

The young women faced an additional cadre of gender-based sexual expectations and discourses (see Delgado-Infante and Ofreneo 2014; Ofreneo 2007; Laguna 2001). Women are generally monitored as gendered objects and taught to suppress their sexual identities in ways that males are not (Hirsch et al. 2012; Costa et al. 2009; Ofreneo 2007; Bennett 2005a, 2005b; Jennaway 2005). This sexual double standard (Delgado-Infante and Ofreneo 2014), often addressed as the Madonna/Virgin-Whore dichotomy (Delgado-Infante and Ofreneo 2014:392; Hirsch et al. 2012; Ashcraft 2006) connotes a religious moral tone in women's sexual actions as it synonymises "pure," virginal women with the Virgin Mary, while women who partake in sexual activities are seen as "promiscuous" and disreputable. Discourses such as this one are directed specifically towards and more acutely noticed by women. Parents perpetuated this double standard. In the participant's experiences, sons had more social freedom than did daughters. Sons were able to stay out later, and trusted to be alone with young women, while daughters were more heavily monitored, restricted, and burdened by not only their personal reputation, but their familial reputation as well. For example, in Chapter Four Karla explained that her father not only accepted his son's engagement in sex, but encouraged him to do so by allowing him to share his bed with women, while Karla was not given the same affordances. Mae too, explained that her brother having sex, although several years her junior, would be less of a "headache" for their mother because he would not embody the consequences of a pregnancy in the same way she would (Gipson and Hicks 2017; Delgado-Infante and Ofreneo 2014; Costa et al. 2009). The female participants were regulated by discourses centered on ideas of the virtue of

female virginal purity, shame (Tan et al. 2001:56), and "*nadisgrasya* (to fall from grace, to be disgraced)"; i.e. to become pregnant before marriage (Tan et al. 2001:56). The female youth were entangled intimately in these discourses, sometimes embodying the pressure to act "properly" to the point that they could physically feel the weight of their anxieties and actions. Karla, for example, internalized her anxieties of becoming pregnant to the point that she had never been able to relax fully during sex. An unintentional pregnancy was a bodily sign of a daughter's "indiscretion," and a permanent stain on her family's reputation. Threats and stories of young women being sent back to the Philippines for failing to preserve their family's honour (Tan et al. 2001) both signal the vulnerability of young women and show how sexual taboos persevere transnationally. Thus, gender significantly influenced young women's sexual identity formation and the ways they enacted their sexual lives.

Our personhood and our understandings of ourselves are moulded and continuously remoulded through the self, family, community, nationhood, and the events and actions, big and small, that we partake in throughout our lives. Place, and movement between one place and another, impacts how we interpret the world, and in turn how we are understood by others (Conradson and McKay 2007; Rogers and Ahmed 2017; Dunn 2010). The participants' understanding of the world was constituted through their experiences from their country of birth, as well as their adopted country of Canada. Coming to Canada in their youth provided the participants with an opportunity to create, evaluate, and challenge their traditions, customs, expectations, from both the Philippines and Canada. Their multi-situational and multicultural upbringing provided attitudes and understandings separate from both their parents of a different generation and their friends of different backgrounds. Thus, they drew upon, negotiated, and

managed their sexual lives based on cultural pursuits of their own as intentional young adults, as well as impressions left upon them by those with whom they shared meaningful relationships.

5.4 Addressing Relationships, Tensions, and Guidance

I turn to the remaining two questions in order to address the ways youth acted upon the tensions, relationships, experiences, and expectations highlighted in the previous section: *Where are these youth turning to for guidance in their sexual lives? To what extent do these youth feel empowered and disempowered sexually in the context of their lives in Canada?*

The data presented in Chapters Three and Four highlight ways in which these young transnational women and men encountered and struggled with cultural constructions of being sexual, and the performance of being sexual. The youth provided evidence of the often overwhelming challenges involved in entering, exploring, and navigating their sexual lives and the many ways in which youth asserted their sexual agency and decision-making capacities. Their decisions to engage in sexual activities were complicated by dominant social discourses around youth sexual modesty, readiness, exploration, and so on, and pressure to perform in certain ways in certain spaces. The youth were socialized as immigrant and minority "others," and positioned in society as young adults, no longer children, but not quite yet adults (Ahearn 2013). This liminal state challenges young adults to act like independent adults while also being obedient children. This leaves young adults in a space where they are encouraged to explore and enjoy their sexual lives, while also being told that they are doing so incorrectly, unsafely, or that it is simply "bad" to explore one's sexual life (Kippax et al. 2013; Ashcraft 2006; Shoveller and Johnson 2006). In many spaces sexual expression is promoted (Temple-Smith et al. 2016; Zimmerman 2015; Ashcraft 2006), and in others, even the acknowledgment of sexual interest, knowledge, excitement, or pleasure, is seen as improper behaviour and discouraged, especially

for young women (Ofreneo 2007; Bennett 2005a, 2005b; Jennaway 2005; Hall 2013). The data provides many examples of ways in which the youth enact agency through acts that push against these dominant, often contradictory, social orders and discourses (Nahar and van der Geest 2014; Ahearn 2014; Hirsch et al. 2012; Ortner 2006). Despite the complex pressures and forces cast upon these individuals, these youth seemed to take in stride the challenges they faced in pursuit of their sexual lives, while managing cultural identities, and maintaining strong familial and peer relationships.

Sherry Ortner (2006:130) argues that social agents are "always involved in, and can never act outside of, the multiplicity of social relations in which they are enmeshed." The degree to which these youth felt connected with their surroundings and the ways in which youth moved through these spaces provide insight into their sexual subjectivities. Youth treated religious and culturally constructed ideas and values, both "Filipino" and "Canadian," as avenues providing commonly accepted and ascribed frameworks for performing gender, sex, sexuality, sexual identity, and so on. The youth's peers, parents, and their surrounding communities acted as intimate and personal ways to mediate, guide and hold youth accountable to their actions within these socioculturally prescribed frameworks. As children begin to gain independence from their parents and shift into young adulthood, peers take on significant role as primary sources for learning, problem solving, and decision-making (Temple Smith et al. 2016; Zaidi et al. 2014). Youth sought out guidance from friends, partners, and siblings regarding relationships and sexual endeavours. These social networks provided space for dialogue, problem solving, exploration, self-discovery, and relationship building. Youth participated in social scrutiny, and gained sexual confidence and understanding through processes they engaged in and the spaces they inhabited with their peers.

All of the youth in this study highlighted close and meaningful relationships with one or more of their parent(s) and grandparent(s).¹² They stressed the importance of these relationships to them, often turning to these older family members for guidance and accepting critique from them regarding their dating lives, such as partner choice or permission to date. This search for approval did not mean that the youth always conformed to their parents' wishes, or their parents always approved of, or even knew of the youth's actual actions. The youth acknowledged a lack of dialogue addressing sex or their sexual lives in their homes with their parents. They attributed this barrier to their disinterest and discomfort in discussing sex with their parents, many of whom they understood to hold "conservative" sexual attitudes and felt these conversations would likely complicate their relationships and their ability to move through sexual spaces with as little parental interference as possible.

For these youth, sexual subjectivity was shaped through the intersection of carefully crafted reputations and actual lived experiences. Youth built themselves multiple reputations that represented their sexual lives to different people in very specific ways, crafting different sexual personas among different social spaces (Conradson and McKay 2007). Hirsch and colleagues (2012:92) argue that individuals' "attention to the reputational implications of particular sexual practices is particularly helpful for understanding agentic dimensions of sexual practice—that is, what people long to do...avoid doing, and...do but work hard to keep secret." This makes sense of how and why many of the youth lived separated lives wherein, in one life they moved through spaces as openly sexual young adults, and in another, they performed as sexually 'modest' children, disinterested in, and refraining from "bad" sexual social practices. Reputations,

¹² Interestingly, this runs contrary to a theme common throughout much research on Filipino youth migrants in Canada focused on "rupture[d]" and strained relationships between parents and their children in both separation and settlement (e.g. Davidson 2012:142; Pratt 2012).

argue Hirsch and colleagues (2012:92), "are built not just because of what people do, but because of where they do it, so that the *audience* is as relevant as the participants [original emphasis]." Youth exemplified this point in many ways, Darren, for example, felt comfortable being and acting openly bisexual in his lived spaces in BC but performed a different socially produced version of himself for his family who did not live in Canada with him. For some youth who lived outside their family home, they reproduced their parents beliefs and expectations by sleeping in separate rooms from partners if visiting home, and often times blatantly lying to parents about where they spend their nights. In these kinds of actions, these manipulated dual identities allowed them to enact and move through their lived sexual lives more easily in both spaces with limited harm to these social relationships. In constructing their sexual reputations in these ways, the youth were empowered to act upon their sexual desires in ways that created opportunity and choice through fairly benign inconveniences (white lies, sleeping separately, etc.). Sexual reputation, rather than actual sexual practices, was most important for these youth in their familial spaces. This strategy of social projection was complicated by the ever-present fears of a collision of their separate lives via accidental pregnancy, outing by a community member, and so on, which would present a difficult obstacle for rebuilding these carefully crafted images.

In order to maintain specific social bonds and have the sexual lives they wanted, the youth had to create specific images of themselves through many carefully overlaid parts. We can see through these examples that youth, male and female, positioned themselves in ways that enabled them to feel in control of their sexual lives. In particular, female youth demonstrated ways in which they readily asserted authority over their sexual lives. The young women, whether sexually or not, felt in control of their sexual choices and the way these choices were negotiated and presented to others. The young women exemplified ways in which women push back against

cultural discourses that discourage female sexual expression, exploration, and pleasure. Nahar and van der Geest (2014), Hirsch et al. (2012), and Bennett (2005a, 2005b), among others, provide useful ideas for thinking about ways in which restricted women enact diverse forms of agency through negotiation, resistance, and accommodation of longstanding ideas about sexuality in the context of overarching discourses, and religious and social structures.

Research shows that in Canada immigrant youth face more barriers to accessing sexual healthcare than those born in Canada (e.g. Salehi et al. 2013; Van Ngo 2009; Maticka-Tyndale et al. 2007). Contrary to this evidence, not one participant reported experiences of blatant socioeconomic or race based obstacles to accessing sexual healthcare services in SVI. Youth had previously accessed services for medical exams (e.g. breast and testicular exams, and PAP and STI screenings), birth control options, advice, and information, but overall accessed these health resources infrequently citing a limited need to access these kinds of services with regularity. The majority of youth had received some form of school-based sexual education in British Columbia, although the content and teaching methods varied. These youth were pleased that topics of a sexual nature were being addressed at school, and were happy to have participated in these programs, although most commented on the limitations and rigidity of the content. The participants felt both comforted and empowered to learn about their sexual health and have access to sexual resources. Youth and adult participants alike articulated that these opportunities and resources helped them to feel in control of their sexual health and wellbeing.

I argue that through the data presented in this thesis we can see diversity in the imagined, acted on, and acted upon lives of each the ten youth participants. Their knowledge, ideas, and understandings are not static, nor do an entire category of people, namely "transnational Filipino youth," experience the same sexual experiences, desires, needs, or restrictions. Despite this,

research and popular discourses often overlooks and simplify the dynamic experiences of migrant youth. For example, in research conducted on youth in Canada, transnational youth, and "Asian youth" in general, are portrayed as "more sexually conservative" (e.g. Meston and Ahrold 2010:179; Zaidi 2014; Woo et al. 2012), "less likely to participate in sexual activities" (Woo et al. 2012: 1485; Maticka-Tyndale 2008), and sexually repressed and having "less accurate sexual knowledge" (Woo et al. 2012:1487) in comparison to their non-Asian peers. Furthermore, Filipino youth as a group are portrayed, for example, as "traditionally restrictive when it comes to sex" (Ofreneo 2007:149). As was demonstrated by this group of ten youth who shared the position of "transnational Filipino youth," certain similarities were shared among them and in some ways reflected the influence of their peers, siblings, parents, and so on; however, they each experienced very different sexual lives. I argue that this style of static categorization negates youth's complex positionalities, and limits youth's sexual decision-making capabilities and understandings, and can lead to harmful sexual health outcomes for youth.

5.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have connected the interview data from Chapters Three and Four with the social scientific theories of agency and subjectivity. I have discussed the dynamic ways in which these youth enacted their sexual lives in the context of their position as transnational Filipino youth, as well as how their positions as transnational Filipino youth interacted with and impacted their sexual subjectivities. The youth generally took into consideration the opinions and expectations of friends and family, gender and cultural norms, and religious expectations. The youth felt that they were expected to act within certain cultural frameworks both inside and outside the home, and these expectations impacted the ways youth conducted their sexual lives. In light of these varied and often conflicting sets of expectations, the youth chose to enact their sexual lives in

diverse ways, as well as to express and characterize their sexual lives varyingly, depending on their intended audience. Without exception, youth articulated the awareness that their actions might result in consequences such as conflict with parents or unintended sexual health outcomes. In light of these foreseen consequences, the youth remained content to negotiate their complex sexual subjectivities in pursuit of their desired sexual lives.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis has set out to explore how transnational Filipino youth living in southwestern British Columbia negotiate their sexual lives and sexual health decisions, and how this aspect of their lives are impacted by individual, familial, and broader community influences. In order to investigate this question, I spent considerable time with (i.e. "deep hanging out") and conducted semi-structured interviews with ten transnational Filipino youth who were born in the Philippines and living in Southern Vancouver Island and the Greater Vancouver Area. I conducted interviews with four Filipino mothers, several youth settlement workers and scholars who have worked with Filipino youth in this region, and a sexual health educator in Victoria, BC. Through this research I have looked at the ways in which these ten youth engage in their sexual lives in the context of their lives as transnational Filipino youth living in Canada. Below I discuss my main conclusions, followed by some thoughts on the implications of this research for sexual health education in British Columbia, limitations of this research, and possibilities for future research.

6.1 Conclusions

Youth's understandings of themselves are constantly shifting and reconfiguring in light of the places they inhabit and the people around them. As such, this research has argued that their sexual subjectivities were shaped by both the geographic locations where they reside, as well as the social spaces they occupy (Rogers and Ahmed 2017; Hirsch et al. 2012; Johnson and Longhurst 2010; Conradson and McKay 2007). Additionally, I have shown that sexual identity is "something people build...rather than a static" state (Hirsch et al. 2012:92). The youth participants in this study faced overlapping expectations and understandings of how they were supposed to act, and who they were supposed to *be*. For each youth, in some cases the

expectations projected onto them by family, friends, religious tenets, and so on, complemented the ways the youth wanted to enact their sexual lives, and in other instances, youth actively pushed against what was expected of them in order to pursue the sexual experiences they wanted for themselves.

In spite of the social expectations and restrictions placed upon these youth, they nonetheless regarded themselves as the primary decision-makers with respect to their sexual lives. This was seen by the way some of the young women have chosen to wait for marriage to become sexually active in contrast to the actions and expectations of their friends. This was also exemplified in the way that several youth, while retaining their religious beliefs as a whole, rejected particular religious tenets that they felt restricted or damaged their sexual pleasure and experience. The youth demonstrated their agentive capacity through other means as well, including consciously augmenting the way they presented their sexual lives by constructing socially productive reputations that did not necessarily reflect their lived sexual experiences (Hirsch et al. 2012). Thus, some sexually active youth hid this aspect of themselves in order to maintain social relationships with their parents (Costa et al. 2009; Burke 2012).

Individually, each youth's unique upbringing, experiences with migration, mobility, education, religious engagement, family, friends, and their own personal desires and expectations were constantly shaping and transforming their sexual lives. Each of these aspects of their social worlds enabled, encouraged, and pushed the youth to continuously evaluate and experience their sexual lives in new and different ways. Therefore, although connected through their positions as transnational Filipino youth, children, Filipinos, students, and so on, the participants led different lives with different sexual interests, experiences, desires, and complications, and exemplified different ways of understanding, experiencing, and projecting their sexual lives.

6.2 Implications and Recommendations

I begin this discussion with the implications of this research, followed by discussion of its limitations, and then some thoughts on possibilities for future research. This research contributes to literature (e.g. Marmuh 2017; Zaidi et al. 2014; Homma et al. 2013) that argues that the sexual lives of transnational youth in Canada are dynamic and shifting constantly as they progress through their lives in Canada (and beyond). I believe this research is valuable in demonstrating sexual diversity among transnational youth, a group of youth who are often overlooked and misrepresented within sexual health research and sexual health education in the classroom. This research can be helpful in facilitating sexual health education curricula that accounts for diversity while not overlooking the nuanced reality that space and place impact sexual subjectivity. Youth in Canada come from diverse cultural, religious, gendered, and sexual backgrounds, which indeed contribute to shaping youth's sexual subjectivities, but do not in isolation define how youth will enact their sexual lives. Being attentive to these factors can help create sexual health curricula that are inclusive of all students while fostering awareness that there are many ways to engage with and understand sexual lives.

This research was conducted with the intention of adding to the expanding research on the growing immigrant and transnational populations in Canada. This research provides further evidence to support the argument that cultural, religious, and ethnic backgrounds impact on youth sexual health needs and experiences. Researchers in Canada and beyond have called for changes to the way that educators, healthcare providers, and individuals in general approach the sexual health care and sexual health needs of transnational individuals, with a particular focus placed on the needs of adolescents and young adults. For example, Homma et al. (2013:15) argue that there is a clear need for making "sexual health promotion strategies more culturally

appropriate," and Maticka-Tyndale et al. (2007:183) argue that "more attention needs to be paid to developing public health and medical services related to sexual health that take account of the cultural diversities represented in the Canadian population." This research demonstrates that youth hold many different sexual attitude and beliefs, not only across cultures, but varying greatly within cultures.

Based on the data presented in this thesis, I propose four key recommendations that could benefit future sexual healthcare programs in schools in British Columbia (BC). First, due attention should be paid and credit be given to the diversity of the youth population in BC. This can be done in part by expanding our understanding of what sexual health and sexual health needs look like for different people. For example, several youth expressed that it would have been helpful if they had been taught ways to manage and comele sexual desires and religious beliefs. Failing to acknowledge that the lived experiences of youth include religion and sexuality can be extremely hard on youth (Shiple 2017), and can be damaging to youth's self-esteem and other areas of their lives. These youth felt isolated and ashamed because no one addressed these struggles as part of the "normal" youth experience, and so, the youth suffered alone in silence, trapped in a cycle of sexual suppression and guilt. Second, I recommend that sexual health education in schools in BC be expanded so as to take place more consistently throughout the curriculum, especially during high school. Currently, in the province of BC, sexual health curricula stop in the tenth grade, yet according to the McCreary Centre Society (2015), 47 percent of 17-year-old students surveyed across the province of BC reported engaging in "oral or intercourse," versus 34 percent of 15-year olds, and 4 percent of 13-year-olds. Truncating sexual education in school at this age creates obstacles for youth to engage in dialogue about their sexual lives at the time when youth are more frequently engaging in sexual activity. This

recommendation is made with particular emphasis in light of the fact that youth are entering the Canadian school system at all ages, including many in their late teens who have received no prior sexual education in the home or at school (Zimmerman 2015; Salehi 2014). Third, this research has shown that oftentimes youth are not engaging in sexual dialogue with parents and are turning to other resources for their sexual health needs and queries. Clinicians and educators can act as neutral and reliable sources of information for youth who may not know what questions to ask or how to ask for help within the context of their sexual lives. The diversity of Canada's youth population highlights that different youth may face different obstacles to accessing sexual health resources or engagement in their sexual lives. Educators should anticipate and present information that covers a range of aspects of sexual life beyond physical biology and risk prevention, such as attending to gender- or religion-based customs. Lastly, in this study, most of the parent participants expressed that they felt they lacked adequate knowledge to provide their children with sexual health information, and therefore avoided engaging their children in dialogue around sex. Programs and workshops geared towards parents specifically, such as the "Approachable Adult Workshop" taught through Island Sexual Health Society¹³ in Victoria exist in BC for parents to learn how to talk to their children about sex; however, they are not widely utilized or promoted. These community based resources are geared towards providing clear and accurate information to parents that help to bolster parents' understanding, confidence, and language around sexual health topics. They provide guidance on ways to approach conversations with their children at different ages and stages of growth and maturity and encourage parents to think about how their own understandings and values around sexual health may influence how they teach their children. Making these valuable programs more visible and accessible would

¹³ For further information, visit <https://www.islandsexualhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Approachable-Parent-flyer-2017.pdf>

help parents to feel more viable as sexual health educators, and improve the foundation for parent-child dialogue around sex.

6.4 Future Research

This research has created a platform for future research. Exploring the experiences and perspectives of second generation Filipino youth rather than first generation youth may shed light on understanding how growing up in one rather than two or more locations may affect participant cultural transmission and sexual outlooks. As well, as noted in such studies as Ofreneo (2007), De Jose (2013), Laguna (2001), Tan et al. (2001), Gipson et al. (2012, 2014) education level and location (urban vs. rural) have an impact on sexual attitudes and sexual activity; for example, post-secondary students often hold more permissive sexual attitudes. With this in mind, as this current study focused on youth in post-secondary educational institutions in Canadian urban centers, it would be beneficial to investigate how educational outcomes or the size of a community impact sexual attitudes and outcomes. For example, if the research participants had never attended post-secondary school or if they had lived in a small town rather than an urban center, would their sexual attitudes differ? As gender was also considered a significant force in shaping sexual attitudes (e.g. Lefkowitz et al. 2014), further focus on the sexual lives, attitudes, and outcomes of female and male siblings may provide further understanding of differences surrounding gender attitudes within family dynamics. The research participants in this project acknowledged differences in the sexual attitudes and sexual lives of male and female youth, thus, it would be beneficial to understand how siblings of different genders think, feel, act, and are treated by others (elders, siblings, etc.) regarding their sexual lives. This research recruited youth and parents from not only separate families, but also different

cities; focusing on youth-parent dyads would potentially provide a more holistic understanding of intra/interfamilial dynamics around sexual attitudes.

6.5 Limitations

In conducting and completing this research, a variety of limitations to the research have emerged. One of the limitations of this study is that the youth and community member participants were obtained via snowball sampling and therefore likely represent a fairly small population sample. It is possible that different conclusions would have been reached, for example, depending on the age at which youth and parents came to Canada, or the immigration category through which youth came to Canada. Other research has shown (e.g. Farrales 2017; Kelly 2014; Mendoza 2012; Pratt 2012) that migration trajectory and age at migration can affect parent-child and sibling communication and connections, as well as educational outcomes. As education can impact sexual attitudes, another limitation is that youth participation was restricted to individuals attending post secondary institutions. It is possible that youth who have not attended post-secondary school may well have different sexual views and experiences. Answers may also have differ depending on the size of the Filipino community in their city and how involved participants were or had been in that community (e.g. if youth participants were from the GVA where the Filipino community is larger and more established in comparison to SVI). As well, since community member participants were recruited via snowball sampling, the age of the participants' children were not consistent, nor did it guarantee that their children were of "dating age." Controlling for this, e.g. interviewing parents with "young adult" children only, may invoke different attitudes from parents. The recruitment criteria did not control for whether or not the young adult participants lived with parent(s), or away from their family home. Based on the data gathered, this may impact the attitudes, experiences, and relationships of youth and parent.

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Appendix I: Youth Participant Demographics

Gabby: 19 years old, emigrated ~9 years ago, living with parents, not sexually active, regular church goer

Hilary: 20 years old, emigrated ~5 years ago, living with parents, not sexually active, regular church goer,

Manuel: 20 years old, emigrated ~7 years ago, living with friends, sexually active, not a regular church goer

Darren: 20 years old, emigrated ~3 years ago, living with friends, sexually active, not a regular church goer

Mae: 21 years old, emigrated ~6 years ago, living with parents, not sexually active, regular church goer

Karla: 21 years old, emigrated ~ 5 years ago, living with friends/living with parents (GVA)*, not sexually active/sexually active**, not a regular church goer

Anon: 21 years old, emigrated ~10 years ago, living with parents, not sexually active, not a regular church goer

Blake: 22 years old, emigrated ~7 years ago, living with friends/living with parents (GVA)*, sexually active, regular church goer

Kate: 22 years old, emigrated ~ 10 years ago, living with parents, sexually active, not a regular church goer

Gabriel: 25 years old, emigrated ~17 years ago, living with parents, sexually active, regular church goer

* Indicates change in living situation between first and second interview

**Indicates changes to sexual activity between first and second interview

All stated demographic information is current to the first interview (September-December 2016), unless otherwise indicated

All names are pseudonyms chosen by the participants at their first interview

All youth participants lived on Southern Vancouver Island, unless otherwise indicated by greater Vancouver Area (GVA) next to residence status.

All youth participants were taking post-secondary educational courses for at least one semester during the course of this research (September 2016-March 2017)

Appendix 2: Community Member Demographics

Penelope: emigrated 35+ years ago with family, married, children: ages 20 (F), 17 (M), 14 (F), nurse, not a regular church goer, GVA

Mariah: emigrated 35+ years ago with family, married, children: age 20 (F), accountant, currently-retired, regular church goer, GVA

Ces: emigrated ~13 years ago through Live-in Caregiver program, married, children: ages 10 (M), 6(M), Physiotherapist in Philippines, currently- full-time mom, regular church goer, GVA

Jan: emigrated 15+ years ago through Live-in Caregiver program, married, children: ages 11(F), 9(F), currently- full-time mom, not a regular church goer, GVA

All stated demographic information is current to the date of interview (December 2016- January 2017).

All names are pseudonyms chosen by the participants at their interview.

All community member participants live in the Greater Vancouver Area (GVA).

Appendix 3: Youth Recruitment Flyer



Are you 19 - 25 years of age?

Were you born in the Philippines?

Interested in participating in a study about family dynamics, dating, and sexual health?

My name is Jenny Francoeur and I am a Grad Student in the department of Anthropology at the University of Victoria. I am interested in hearing about your experiences and thoughts about dating culture, sex, family and community experiences, and life in Canada and the Philippines.

If you participate, we will do a one-on-one interview at a location of your choice, lasting about an hour. Your views will be respected and your participation will be kept anonymous.

Thank you for thinking about participating in this study.

Have Questions? Want to participate?

Please text me or email me

Appendix 4: Youth Recruitment Script



University
of Victoria

Filipino Young Adults

Exploring the Sexual Lives and Sexual Health of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwestern British Columbia, Canada

My name is Jenny Francoeur. I am a student at the University of Victoria doing my Master's Degree in Anthropology conducting research as part of my requirements to complete this degree. I would like to invite you to participate in my research project.

My research project explores how young adults (19-25) and adult community members (26 +) in the Filipino communities in Victoria and Vancouver think about, communicate, and act regarding a variety of topics related to personal, family, religious, and community values about dating, sex, and courtship, as well as looking at how ideas about sex, dating, and family values differ or share similarities within families and communities and across different communities.

I am looking for 10-15 Filipino young adults between the ages of 19-25 who have lived in both the Philippines and Victoria or Vancouver who are willing to participate in either one-on-one interviews **OR** a small, private group discussion. You may choose whether you would like to participate in an interview(s) **OR** the focus group.

If you would like to be interviewed, we would meet once, with the possibility of meeting up to two times for about 1-1.5 hours. The interview questions are about dating, sexual health and sex, migration and religion, and life in Canada, as well as family and community dynamics in regards to ideas and feelings around dating. I will ask questions about how you think life differs in Canada and the Philippines and between Filipino families and other families on expectations for dating and courtship, your personal romantic relationships, talking about sex or dating with parents, friends, or doctors, migration experiences, and how you think dating is similar or different from when your parents were your age. You can choose when and where we do these interviews.

I'm also organizing a discussion with a small group to talk **generally** about group ideas and thoughts which relate to how life differs in Canada and the Philippines and between Filipino families and other families on expectations for dating and courtship, talking about sex or dating with doctors, parents, or friends, migration experiences, how you think dating is similar or different from when your parents were your age, etc. This group meeting will last roughly 1.5-2 hours and will be held at (time and place not specified yet).

Participating, and what information you choose to share with me is up to you. Your identity will remain private from others, and you can stop participating at any time. There are no restrictions

about whether you have or have not engaged in dating or romantic or sexual experiences in order to participate in this research. I will use the information from these interviews and group discussion to help me write my master's thesis and potentially a report which may be helpful in sexual health education classes or programs in British Columbia.

Thank you for reading about my project. Your opinions are valuable to this project. If you are interested in finding out more and potentially participating in this project, please contact me via email or by phone.

Sincerely,

Jenny Francoeur

Appendix 5: Youth Participant Consent Form



*Participant Consent Form
Young Adults*

Exploring the Sexual Lives and Sexual Health of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwestern British Columbia, Canada

You are invited to participate in a study entitled *Exploring the Sexual Lives and Sexual Health of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwestern British Columbia, Canada* that is being conducted by Jenny Francoeur.

I am a graduate student in the department of Anthropology at the University of Victoria and you may contact me if you have further questions by email or by phone.

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for the completion of a Masters in Anthropology. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Lisa Mitchell (Dept of Anthropology).

Purpose and Objectives

My research project explores how immigrant young adults, parents, and community members in the Filipino communities in Victoria and Vancouver think about, communicate, and act towards a variety of topics related to personal, family, religious, medical, and community values about dating, sex, and courtship, as well as looking at how values about sex, dating and family values are expressed within communities and across different communities.

The objective of this research is to contribute to the growing body of literature of Filipino and immigrant youth studies in Canada, and to collect data which may be of use for sexual health education curriculums or programming within the province of British Columbia.

Participants Selection and Involvement

You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a Filipino young adult between the ages of 19-25 living in Vancouver/Victoria, who has lived in the Philippines and in Canada for at least one year. There are no restrictions about whether you have or have not engaged in dating or romantic or sexual experiences in order to participate in this research.

If you consent to participate in this research, your participation will include being asked to participate in up to two interviews, each lasting around 1-1.5 hour. Your participation is voluntary. If asked for a follow up second interview, you are not obliged to do so, and may decide if you want to participate in the second interview or not. I will audio record these interviews and I will also take notes and make a transcription of these materials for use in the study.

Benefits and Risks

This research will contribute to the limited literature on this topic. By having individuals share their thoughts with me, my intention is to produce a final product that may be of use to a variety of resources and services such as youth health clinics, school sexual health programs, or migrant associations within British Columbia and beyond which may in turn be beneficial to you or young adults such as yourself.

Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you by taking time out of your schedule to complete the interview.

Participation is not expected to cause you harm. I will ask questions about how you think life differs in Canada and the Philippines and between Filipino families and other families on expectations for dating and courtship,

your personal romantic and potentially sexual relationships, talking about sex or dating with parents, friends or doctors, migration experiences, and how you think dating is similar or different from when your parents were your age. If you feel uncomfortable at any point during the interview we can take a break, skip the question or topic, reschedule, or end the interview; you do not need to complete the interview.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you decide to end your participation at any time during the research project, due to the sensitive nature of the project, all data collected from you will be discarded and no materials will be used in any research analysis.

Anonymity

In terms of protecting your anonymity I will use pseudonyms when analyzing and disseminating the data. I will generalize or change details about identifying information such as locations, family characteristics, and employment information.

Confidentiality and Disposal of Data

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by myself, the researcher. No personal information about you will be made public.

I will store all of my data on a password encrypted computer and external hard drive and all paper notes will be stored in a locked desk drawer. After I have completed my thesis and published results from it, all data from this study will be disposed of by erasing all electronic data and shredding all paper copies and notes within five years.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be presented to my university department as a thesis, which will be published online through the UVIC library system. It is also possible that this research will be used in journal articles, media reports, at scholarly conferences, or to write a resource guide or report to be used by local health facilities or sexual health educational programs in British Columbia. If you are interested in the results of this study you can contact me by email and I will send you copies.

Contacts

Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include myself, Jenny Francoeur, the researcher, as well as my graduate supervisor Dr. Lisa Mitchell. Our contact information can be found at the beginning of this consent form.

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca). Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

Consent for Interview #1

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Researcher</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

Consent for Interview #2:

Date: _____

Your initials here _____ indicate that you understand the conditions of participating in this study, that your questions have been answered by the researcher, and that you give your consent to being interviewed a second time.

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix 6: Youth Focus Group Consent Form



*Participant Consent Form
for Young Adults*

Exploring the Sexual Lives and Sexual Health of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwestern British Columbia, Canada

You are invited to participate in a study entitled *Exploring the Sexual Lives and Sexual Health of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwestern British Columbia, Canada* that is being conducted by Jenny Francoeur.

I am a graduate student in the department of Anthropology at the University of Victoria and you may contact me if you have further questions by email or by phone.

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for the completion of a Masters in Anthropology. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Lisa Mitchell (Dept of Anthropology).

Purpose and Objectives

My research project explores how immigrant young adults, parents, and community members in the Filipino communities in Victoria and Vancouver think about, communicate, and act towards a variety of topics related to personal, family, religious, medical, and community values about dating, sex, and courtship, as well as looking at how values about sex, dating and family values are expressed within communities and across different communities.

The objective of this research is to contribute to the growing body of literature of Filipino and immigrant youth studies in Canada, and to collect data which may be of use for sexual health education curriculums or programming within the province of British Columbia.

Participants Selection and Involvement

You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a Filipino young adult between the ages of 19-25 living in Vancouver/Victoria, who has lived in the Philippines and in Canada. There are no restrictions about whether you have or have not engaged in dating or romantic or sexual experiences in order to participate in this research. As it is a group discussion, we will talk more generally about group ideas and thoughts which relate to how life differs in Canada and the Philippines and between Filipino families and other families on expectations for dating and courtship, talking about sex or dating with doctors, parents, or friends, migration experiences, and how you think dating is similar or different from when your parents were your age. If you consent to participate in this research, your participation will include being asked to participate in a group discussion that will last around 1.5-2 hour.

I will audio record this interview and I will also take notes and make a transcription of these materials for use in the study.

Benefits and Risks

This research will contribute to the limited literature on this topic. By having individuals share their thoughts with me, my intention is to produce a final product that may be of use to a variety of resources and services such as youth health clinics, school sexual health programs, or migrant associations within British Columbia and beyond which may in turn be beneficial to you or young adults such as yourself.

Participating is not expected to cause you harm. Talking about dating, sex, and family may be uncomfortable or embarrassing. You are free to not answer a question, to take a break, or to withdraw

from the study entirely. I will organize two breaks during the focus group which will make it easier if anyone wants to leave. If you feel stressed by the discussion, I will provide you with information about someone you might want to talk to.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or explanation. If you do withdraw from the study your contributions to the research will be anonymized, and used in summarized form with no identifying information.

Anonymity

In terms of protecting your anonymity I will use pseudonyms when analyzing and disseminating the data. I will generalize or change details about identifying information such as locations, family characteristics, and employment information.

Confidentiality and Disposal of Data

You should be aware that full confidentiality is not possible if you participate in this focus group because other participants will hear what you say. I will not tell anyone that you participated in this focus group, if you wish to tell someone that is up to you.

I will store all of my data on a password encrypted computer and external hard drive and all paper notes will be stored in a locked desk drawer. After I have completed my thesis and published results from it, all data from this study will be disposed of by erasing all electronic data and shredding all paper copies and notes within five years.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be presented to my university department as a thesis, which will be published online through the UVIC library system. It is also possible that this research will be used in journal articles, media reports, at scholarly conferences, or to write a resource guide or report to be used by local health facilities or sexual health educational programs in British Columbia. If you are interested in the results of this study you can contact me by email and I will send you copies.

Contacts

Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include myself, Jenny Francoeur, the researcher, as well as my graduate supervisor Dr. Lisa Mitchell. Our contact information can be found at the beginning of this consent form.

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Researcher</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix 7: Youth First Interview Questions

So, before we jump in I just want to give you a friendly reminder again that if at any point throughout this interview there are any questions that you do not want to answer, or if you want to stop at any point throughout the interview, please just let me know and we will do so. Please feel free to ask me to repeat or reword any questions and ask questions about anything you would like to have clarified.

As previously discussed, this interview covers topics including dating and sex. The first part of this interview will be a series of questions starting with some questions about you (basic questions about your experience in Canada), as well as a little bit about your migration story. I then have some questions about your relationships, sex, and your sexual health, as well as some questions on family influences in your dating life and family and community dynamics.

I'm now going to turn on my audio recorder and I'm also going to take notes.

Section 1

1. Could you start by telling me how old you are and about how you came to be in Canada?
 - a. Who did you come with?
 - b. What/ who was the motivation to move? (*parent, job opportunity, etc.*)
 - c. How long have you lived in Van/Vic?
 - d. Have you lived anywhere else in Canada? Where? For how long?
2. Where were you born? Can you tell me a little bit about your life in the Philippines?
 - a. How long did you live in the Philippines?
 - b. Who did you live with (growing up in) the Philippines?
3. Have you lived anywhere outside of Canada and the Philippines? Where? For how long?
4. Which members of your family live in Canada? Who do you live with?
5. What language do you speak at home? (Does that vary depending on who you are talking with?)
6. Have you gone or are you currently going to school in Canada? What are you taking?
7. Are you employed at the moment?
8. Are you in active in the Filipino community here in Van/Vic?
 - a. How did you become involved?
 - b. Are you a member of a church?
9. You've told me a bit about how you came to be in Canada. I'd like to know more about your feelings about migrating to Canada. -- *good way to talk about family, to alert you, to give me a bit of a sense about (expectations/ thoughts) (can refer back to these things..)*
 1. [Has migrating been] / [was the migration transition] difficult for you?

2. Where is 'home' for you?

Section 2:

I'd like to ask you a couple questions about your dating life.

1. How would you describe your relationship with your parents in terms of closeness/openness/honesty?
 - a. Is sex a topic discussed in your family? *In what capacity?*
 - i. Dating/sex/health/pregnancy/condoms/STIs, etc?
 - b. Is there a family member (parent, sibling) who you feel comfortable talking to about topics related to sex?
2. Do you think you and your parents have similar expectations for you in terms of dating and marriage?
 - a. Differences/similarities in courtship from their generation to yours?
 - b. Permission/secrecy? (*mutual secrecy, etc., needing permission to date*) –do you follow these rules?
 - c. Time spent/activities with potential love interests (appropriateness/allowed?) (ex. Door closed in high school)
3. Do you think you have similar experiences in terms of dating/ courtship in comparison to your parents and other individuals in their generation?*
4. Are you currently seeing someone? Could you tell me a little bit about your relationship? (have you been in a relationship in the past?)
 - a. How did you meet (and become a couple)?
 - b. Is this someone you are sexually active with?
 - i. Can you tell me a little bit more about the sexual aspects of this relationship?
 1. If you have used birth control methods, could you tell me about your experience with them?
 2. If you are not using them/have not, could you elaborate on this?
5. Do your parents know that you are romantically involved/sexually active? How do they feel about it?
 - c. Was this (relationship and/or sexual activity) something you were open about or was your relationship "found out"?
IF NOT
 - d. Why not? How do you think they would they feel if they were to find out?
6. What do you think your parents opinions on you having sex are?
 - a. Do you think that your parents would have preferred you weren't sexually active until marriage? / Do you think your parents prefer that you refrain

from sex until marriage? (*Which asked depends on if they are sexually active or not and whether their parents know or not*) –

7. How old were you when you first had sex? (open to their interpretation)
 - a. Was this experience a positive one, could you elaborate on why/why not? *In retrospect, are there things you would have changed about this experience?*
8. Is having a sex life something that is important to you? Is it important for your partner? Can you tell me more about this?
 - a. Can you tell me a little bit more about what sex means to you? (deal breaker? Does it make you feel closer to your partner, etc., pressure)
9. Are there aspects of your sexual relationship(s) that you'd like to change?

If they mention not being sexually active, they may mention something about waiting till marriage, etc.

10. *Can you tell me a little bit more about why waiting until marriage is important to you?*
 - a. *Do you have concerns about sex outside of marriage?*
 - b. *Do you feel pressure from friends either in terms of waiting or to engage in sexual activity?*
 - c. *Under what circumstances / what do you imagine your first sexual experience will be like?*
 - d. *Are there some kinds of sex (sexual activities) you are comfortable with before marriage? (oral sex, etc.)*

Possible these questions will be covered in the above questions

11. Do you think your parents attitudes about sex and dating are changing over time? (*as you get older, as you've been here longer? As they meet other parent here? Etc.*)
 - b. Are there ways in which your parent(s) have become more lenient compared to their attitudes/practices (of caregivers) in the Philippines? Could you elaborate for me?
 - c. and in terms of your privacy/maturity?
12. In general, do you feel that you're the primary decision maker regarding these big decisions in your life? In terms of your sexual life?
 - d. Are there certain decisions which you wish you had more control? In what ways?
 - e. Has there ever been a time(s) where you were scared or frightened (in regards to dating/sexual experiences/safety for your body)?

Section 3:

1. Are there certain people/things that have shaped your decisions on dating and sex? In what ways?
2. Where do you go for information and advice on sex and relationships?
 - a. Are there specific people (..or?) that you might ask? / (media sources/internet, etc.)?
 - b. When you were in high school did you find your high school sex ed programs/experiences helpful/informative?
 - c. Are there other sources of information you have found to be more helpful?
 - d. *If yes to sex ed. in Philippines and Canada: Could you tell me how these programs/classes were similar/ different in from the other?*
3. Have you ever received a 'sex talk' from a parent/family member?
4. Is sex or dating a topic that has come up in your experiences within the Filipino community here? In what context? Can you tell me about this?
 - a. Have these experiences shaped your attitudes/actions in terms of dating, relationships and sexual activity/ sexual health?
 - b. Do community members such as parents, church leaders, and community leaders have vocal opinions about sex and/or dating? How do these affect your decisions/actions?
5. Do you find there to be differences between Canadian and Filipino dating culture?
 - a. Are there differences of how sex gets talked about?
 - b. Gender?
 - c. In what ways do Filipino and Canadian youth express their sexuality differently? Similarly? Can you give me some examples?
6. Do you think Filipino and Canadian parents have different attitudes about youth sexual expression/sexuality? Can you give me some examples?
7. Do you have Filipino friends here? Do you keep in touch with friends in the Philippines?
 - a. To what extent do you talk about sex with friends/peers (in Canada and the Ph's)?
 - b. Have you experienced situations in which your friends have passed judgement in regards to your sexual activities? (Does this vary between the C and the Ph? Person to person?)
8. Do you have friends whose parents are friends with your parent(s)? Do you ever worry about your privacy being compromised by these individuals?
 - a. You mentioned earlier that you were a member of a church, does this figure into your connection to the Filipino community here?
 - b. Would you consider yourself to be a religious person? What does going to church mean to you?

- c. (This may be covered up in section 2 about why a person does(n't) have sex)
Are there ways in which religious beliefs impact your decisions? Can you tell about how they are impactful?
9. What does the term "sexual health" mean to you?
 - a. How would you describe your own personal sexual health?
 - b. Does having sex raise concerns for you?
 - i. Are there particular risks you think about?
 1. Does the idea of becoming pregnant (getting someone pregnant) impact your choices about sexual activities?
 2. Does the idea of contracting an STI impact your choices about sexual activities?
 3. How about reputation?
 10. Have you ever visited a clinic or doctor regarding your sexual health? For example, birth control, education/ support, tests (PAP, STI, breast), check-ups, concerns? Could you please tell me about your experience(s) in this facility/these facilities?
 - a. I know that people often have more than one way of approaching certain situations /concerns, etc. Have you tried or heard of any non biomedical/ holistic approaches /remedy used in the Philippines/ Ph community here before? E.g. Natural birth control methods, prenatal remedies, natural abortive etc.?*
 11. Some people talk about their own sexuality as changing over time. Do you think your own ideas about yourself as a sexual person have changed?

Anything else you would like to say or if there are any questions that you have for me?
About the project?

Thank you!

Appendix 8: Youth Second Interview Questions

I really appreciate this second interview; it's very kind of you to take the time to do this, especially during exam season! This topic is really important to me and for you as well! In this interview I'm hoping to get beyond the specifics of your life, and look further into specific features of your experiences. I really enjoyed our first interview, and I've drawn a few questions from that, as well as a few more general ones.

1. How do you identify yourself?
 - a. Filipino? Canadian? F. Can? Religion?
2. Is your 'filipino-ness' something that you think about often? That shapes your (day to day life) actions, etc?
 - a. Are there certain values or attitudes towards dating, relationships, and/or marriage that you've noticed that draw on your Filipino upbringing that you feel differ from your non-Filipino friends here? Values that you have from growing up here that differ from your parent's wishes? Could you please elaborate on this for me?
 - i. in terms of dating/ sexual relationships?
 - ii. marriage?
3. How does age play a factor in dating? Dating casually, finding a serious partner, school, etc.
 - a. People keep talking about first “serious” bf/gf— is dating around common before finding a marriage partner?
4. Are there stereotypes you (or people you know) have been confronted with in terms of sex, dating, religion, and relationships?
 - a. Judgement from others assuming you are with a white man for certain reasons, virgin because you're Filipino, naive because of religion, that you're a TFW, etc.
5. Do you think people expect you to act in particular ways in terms of your dating life?
 - a. Do you think there are certain expectations in terms of how others perceive you, as a Filipino?
6. What kinds of attributes do you look for/ think are important in a potential partner?
7. Have you encountered discrepancies between yourself and your partners based on religious or cultural differences?
 - a. In what ways do they differ? How come?
8. Do you feel like you have a similar outlook to your friends in terms of:
 - a. dating, sex?
 - b. morality, religious ideals, school, family?
9. Do these similarities/differences make it easier/challenging to understand one another?
 - a. Do you feel like you learn a lot from each other?
 - b. What about the ways in which media/ social media portrays young people in NA?
10. Do you think that these are expectations from adult Filipinos that Filipino young adults will act/ or should act differently than other youth their age here in Canada?
 - a. in terms of (gendered) sexual modesty/restraint (assertiveness), educational outcomes, careers, etc.? (those born both here and in the Ph)
 - b. Do you think these change for young people who come to Canada? Do you think you would have experienced this in the Philippines but are feeling them less so/more so here?
 - c. In what ways does growing up in the Philippines impact your decisions about dating and sex?
11. Can you tell me more about the impact of religion in your upbringing?

- a. How has this affected your life/ settlement in Canada?
 - b. Your sexual choices?
12. Are there ways in which you feel (un)restricted/ liberated sexually in the context of your life in Canada?
- a. Are there ways in which you think this would be different in the Philippines?
13. Conversely, can you recall situations in which you have been made to feel ashamed or upset about your sexual choices?
- a. Fear due to stigma, aversion to abortion? family expectations/disappointment, etc?
14. **What really matters to you when you think about your sexual life?** (dating, romance, sex?) – emotional, physical aspects
15. To what extent are these needs met? Why or why not?
- a. I know that some things are difficult to talk about, but can you give me any examples?
16. The knowledge you have about sex, sexual health, and everything that comes with it, what were (are) your sources for this information?
- a. Do you feel like you have all the information you want/need in order to be comfortable, safe, happy, well informed?
 - b. Do you feel like it's easy for you to actively be on top of your reproductive and sexual health with minimal inconvenience/ difficulty (transportation, doctors, access, awareness, etc.)
17. What does the term sexuality mean to you?

I have a couple of technical questions to end off with about programming. Often programs are designed with little input from the individuals they effect, so I'd like to hear from you as I really value your expert input. I'd like to ask a series of questions about sexual health programming.

1. Are there / What kinds of information do you wish was more readily available or more easily accessible?
2. What facets of sexual health unit would more important than others to teach in a classroom if there is only a finite amount of time allotted to this kind of programming?
 - a. healthy relationship strategies; expectations
 - b. anatomy, body
 - c. STI/pregnancy and prevention
3. Is there anything that you would like to have further clarification on?
4. Are there things that you think are unnecessary to discuss in a sexual health class?
5. What do you think are effective teaching methods for sexual health education?
6. Is there anything I can help you with in terms of accessing anything to do with sexual health/education in any way?

I really appreciate you taking the time to do these interviews and I would like to know if I can be of service to you in any way?

Appendix 9: Adult Community Member Recruitment Flyer



**University
of Victoria**

Filipino Community Members

Exploring the Sexual Lives and Sexual Health of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwestern British Columbia, Canada

My name is Jenny Francoeur. I am a student at the University of Victoria doing my Master's Degree in Anthropology conducting research as part of my requirements to complete this degree. I would like to invite you to participate in my research project.

My research project explores how young adults (19-25) and adult community members (26 +) in the Filipino communities in Victoria and Vancouver think about, communicate, and act regarding a variety of topics related to personal, family, religious, and community values about dating, sex, and courtship, as well as looking at how ideas about sex, dating, and family values differ or share similarities within families and communities and across different communities.

I am looking for adult Filipino community members who have lived in the Philippines as well as in Canada for at least one year to participate in a one-on-one interview. I am interested in hearing how you feel life differs in Canada and the Philippines, and between Filipino families and other families on expectations for dating and courtship, talking about sex or dating with young adults and other Filipino parents/community members, how you think dating is similar or different than it is in the Philippines or from when you were between the ages of 19-25. The interview will last roughly 1 hour and you can choose when and where we do this interview.

Participating, and what information you choose to share with me is up to you. Your identity will remain private from others, and you can stop participating at any time. I will use the information from this interview to help me write my master's thesis and potentially to provide insight into a report which may be helpful in sexual health programs in British Columbia.

Thank you for considering participating in this project. Your insight and experiences are valuable to this project. If you are interested in finding out more and potentially participating in this project, please contact me via email or by phone.

Sincerely,

Jenny Francoeur

Appendix 10: Adult Community Member Consent Form



Community Member Participant Consent Form

Exploring the Sexual Lives and Sexual Health of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwestern British Columbia, Canada

You are invited to participate in a study entitled *Exploring the Sexual Lives and Sexual Health of Transnational Filipino Youth in Southwestern British Columbia, Canada* that is being conducted by Jenny Francoeur.

I am a graduate student in the department of Anthropology at the University of Victoria and you may contact me if you have further questions by email or by phone.

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for the completion of a Masters in Anthropology. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Lisa Mitchell (Dept of Anthropology).

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of my research is to better understand how immigrant young adults, parents, and community members in the Filipino communities in Victoria and Vancouver think about, communicate, and act towards a variety of topics related to personal, family, religious, and community values about dating, sex, and courtship, as well as looking at how ideas about sex, dating and family values differ or share similarities within families and communities and across different communities.

The objective of this research is to contribute to the growing body of literature of Filipino and transnational youth studies in Canada, and to collect data which may be of use for sexual health education curriculums or programming within the province of British Columbia.

Participants Selection and Involvement

You are being asked to participate in this study because you are an adult Filipino community member over the age of 25 living in Victoria or Vancouver. If you consent to participate in this research, your participation will include being asked to participate in an interview that will last about 1 hour.

I will tape this interview and I will also take notes and make a transcription of these materials for use in the study.

Benefits and Risks

This research will contribute to the limited literature on this topic. By having individuals share their thoughts with me, my intention is to produce a final product that may be of use to a variety of resources and services such as youth health clinics, school sexual health programs, or migrant associations within British Columbia and beyond.

Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you by taking time out of your schedule to complete the interview.

Participation is not expected to cause you harm. In this interview I will ask questions about how you feel life differs in Canada and the Philippines, and between Filipino families and other families on expectations for dating and courtship, talking about sex or dating with your children or other Filipino

parents/community members, how you think dating is similar or different than it is in the Philippines or from when you were between the ages of 19-25. If you feel uncomfortable at any point during the interview we can take a break, skip the question or topic, reschedule, or end the interview; you do not need to complete the interview.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you decide to end your participation at any time during the research project, due to the sensitive nature of the project, all data collected from you will be discarded and no materials will be used in any research analysis.

Anonymity

In terms of protecting your anonymity I will use pseudonyms when analyzing and disseminating the data. I will generalize or change details about identifying information such as locations, family characteristics, and employment information.

Confidentiality and Disposal of Data

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by myself, the researcher. No personal information about you will be made public. I will store all of my data on a password encrypted computer and external hard drive and all paper notes will be stored in a locked desk drawer. After I have completed my thesis and published results from it, all data from this study will be disposed of by erasing all electronic data and shredding all paper copies and notes within five years.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be presented to my university department as a thesis, which will be published online through the UVIC library system. It is also possible that this research will be used in journal articles, media reports, at scholarly conferences, or to write a resource guide or report to be used by local health facilities or sexual health educational programs in British Columbia. If you are interested in the results of this study you can contact me by email and I will send you copies.

Contacts

Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include myself, Jenny Francoeur, the researcher, as well as my graduate supervisor Dr. Lisa Mitchell. Our contact information can be found at the beginning of this consent form.

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Researcher</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix 11: Adult Community Member Interview Questions



**University
of Victoria**

Community Member Interview Questions

I would like to once again thank you for taking the time to meet with me today.

As we begin I want to remind you that if at any point throughout this interview there are any questions that you do not want to answer, or if you want to stop at any point throughout the interview, please just let me know and we will do so. Please feel free to ask me to repeat or reword any questions and ask questions about anything you would like to have clarified.

As previously discussed, this interview does cover topics including dating and sex. The first part of this interview will be a series of questions starting with some questions about you (basic questions about your experience in Canada), as well as a little bit about your migration story. I then have some questions about your relationship with your children in terms of dating, sex and relationships, as well as some questions on family and community influences in terms of dating culture, family and community dynamics.

I'm now going to turn on my audio recorder and I'm also going to take notes.

Context

1. Could you start by telling me about how you came to be in Canada?
 - a. What/who was the motivation to move?
 - i. Are you here with family members? Who? Who do you live with?
 - b. How long have you lived in Van/Vic?
 - c. Have you lived anywhere else in Canada? Where? For how long?
2. Have you lived anywhere outside of Canada and the Philippines? Where? For how long?
3. What language do you speak in your home?
4. What kind of educational background do you have?
5. Are you employed at the moment?
6. Are you involved in the Filipino community here in Van/Vic?
 - a. How did you become involved?
 - b. Are you a member of a church?

DEPENDENT ON IF CHILDREN ARE HERE IN CANADA --

18. You mentioned you have children (in the Philippines/ here in Van/Vic). Could you tell me about them? (Age, boys/girls, what grades are they in, who do they live with?)
19. Could you tell me about your experience living away from your children?
 - a. How long have you lived apart?
 - b. How often do you see them?
 - c. How often do you talk with them?
20. You've told me about how you came to be in Canada. Could you tell me about your experience with sponsoring family members to come to Canada?

- a. How long did it take
 - b. Was this a difficult experience?
- OR
- c. How long has the process been going on?
 - d. Are you encountering difficulties bringing over your family members?
21. How would you describe your relationship with your children?
- a. Parent-child relationships can be bumpy at times. Has this been your experience?
 - b. Has the transition to living together been difficult for either of you?
22. What kind of goals do you have for your children? –education? Family? Career?
23. Do you talk to your children about dating and relationships? Could you elaborate on these decisions please?
- a. Do you intend to talk to your children about dating and relationships?
 - b. Are these conversations difficult/easy for you and your children? Could you expand on this a little bit please?
24. What would you like your children to be taught? Not taught? (Q. 19 may be discussed here)
25. Are there things that you would (rather not/) not talk about with them? What are these things? Why?
- a. Would you like them to learn these things elsewhere? Who from?
26. Did you receive any kind of sexual or reproductive education when you were younger, who from?
27. Do you share these responsibilities with anyone, such as the other parent of the child(ren), older sibling, aunt/uncle, etc.?
- a. How do you split these roles? Why?
28. What did you / do you want to say to your children about dating?
- a. Do you talk to your children about sex and the physical aspects of relationships?
 - i. Dating/sex/health/ pregnancy/condoms/STIs, abstaining, etc.?
 - b. Do your children readily talk to you about their experiences with and feelings about dating and relationships?
29. Does the idea of talking about these things with your children worry you that it will encourage them to engage in these activities rather than prepare them for these activities?
30. Do you have different expectations in terms of how girls and boys should/can act in terms of relationships?
- a. Dating? Sex? Modesty? Family Reputation? Etc.
 - b. How would you expect your children to act in these situations?
31. Do you feel that you and your children have similar expectations in terms of dating, sexual relationships, and marriage? Could you please elaborate on this for me?

- a. In what ways do you differ? How come?
 - b. To your partners expectations? In what ways do they differ? How come?
32. Do you feel that your expectations around your children and their dating and sexual lives are similar to other Filipino parents here in Canada? Could you elaborate for me please?
(In terms of waiting until marriage, courtship practices, modesty, family reputation, male roles vs. females, etc.)
- a. With parent (you know) in the Philippines?
 - b. Your parents (in the Philippines?)
33. Do you have other adults to talk about this with?
- a. Do you worry about family's reputation within the Filipino community here?
 - b. In the Philippines?
34. Do you worry about the influences of (non-Filipino) friends on your children in terms of dating and sex? Why or why not?
- a. In what ways?
35. Do you think Filipino and Canadian parents have different attitudes about youth sexual expression/ sexuality? Can you give me some examples?
36. Do you worry about your children? What are your biggest concerns in terms of your children becoming sexually active?
- a. Dating? Sex? Modesty? Family Reputation? Etc
 - b. Are there things that your children are/may be doing that is disappointing/displeasing to you?
 - c. Do you worry about your children's grades/ attendance in school?
37. IF/AS your children are having sexual relations, what kinds of precautions/care do you want them to be practicing?
- a. Condom use, birth control, openness/secretcy, etc.
38. Have you/ would you take your child to a doctor's office to get birth control? Condoms? Information? Etc.? Could you tell me about your decision around this?
- a. Are there other people/places you (would) go to beyond/rather than a doctor's office?
39. Do you prefer to talk to your children about sexual health and sexual safety (pregnancy, STIs, etc.) or would you prefer they get this information elsewhere?
- a. Could you talk about this preference please?
 - i. Alternately, where would you like this information to come from?

Well, I think we've covered everything. As we wrap up this interview I make it a habit to ask if there is anything else you would like to say or if there are any questions that you have for me about the project?

Thank you so much for your participation.