

2008

## Parenting in Filipino Transnational Families

Amethyst Reyes Taylor  
*University of North Florida*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/etd>



Part of the [Counseling Psychology Commons](#)

---

### Suggested Citation

Taylor, Amethyst Reyes, "Parenting in Filipino Transnational Families" (2008). *UNF Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 265.

<https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/etd/265>

This Master's Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Scholarship at UNF Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in UNF Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UNF Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [Digital Projects](#).

© 2008 All Rights Reserved

Running head: PARENTING IN FILIPINO TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

PARENTING IN FILIPINO TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

By

Amethyst Reyes Taylor

A thesis submitted to the  
Department of Psychology  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Counseling Psychology

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

April, 2008

Unpublished work c Amethyst Reyes Taylor

The thesis of Amethyst Reyes Taylor is approved:

Date

**Signature Deleted**

---

(Dominik Güss, Ph.D.)

04/18/08

**Signature Deleted**

---

Committee Chairperson  
(Ma. Teresa Tuason, Ph.D.)

4/18/08

Accepted for the Department:

**Signature Deleted**

---

Chairperson  
(Linda Foley, Ph.D.)

4/21/08

Accepted for the College:

**Signature Deleted**

---

Dean  
(Barbara Hetrick, Ph.D.)

4-22-08

Accepted for the University:

**Signature Deleted**

---

Dean of Graduate Studies  
(David Fenner, Ph.D.)

29 APRIL 2008

### Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my appreciation to my thesis advisor, Dr. Tuason, for her guidance and mentorship during these past years. I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Güss for his input and being a part of my committee. I especially would like to thank my husband for his support and continued encouragement. Also, thank you to my parents – they are my inspiration.

## Table of Contents

Title Page.....	i
Approval.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
Introduction.....	1
Methods.....	12
Results.....	15
Discussion.....	30
References.....	37
Appendix A.....	42
Appendix B.....	43
Vitae.....	44

### Abstract

This qualitative study analyzed the experience of parenting within Filipino Overseas families as perceived by adult children. The impact of overseas workers is invaluable to the Philippine economy. The current study explored the dimensions of having a parent, mother or father, who is an overseas worker, acknowledging that there are clear challenges of parenting children with the barriers of geographical distance. International long distance telephone interviews were conducted with adult children of Filipino overseas workers. Results from consensual qualitative research analysis (C. E. Hill et al., 2005; C. E. Hill, B. J. Thompson, & E. N. Williams, 1997) indicated two significant themes: parental work overseas was for the family benefit and the communal nature of childrearing.

Keywords: Filipino, transnational, overseas, migrant, parenting, children

## PARENTING IN FILIPINO TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) are natives to the Philippines who work overseas. Attracted by the opportunities and the financial gain that far exceeds what is available in the Philippines, these individuals move away from their families in order to work in another country. The Philippine economy continues to strengthen its dependence on these OFWs. Eleven percent of the country's population or 10 million adults are OFWs (Depasupil, 2004). Nine to 15 million or 15 to 25% of the country's population has some form of dependence on the income from abroad (Jackson, 1990). As the largest export of the Philippine economy, the impact of overseas workers is invaluable to the Philippine economy. Unofficial reports account for even more overseas workers and a greater economic impact. The remittances of these migrant Filipino workers are valued as the largest source of foreign currency for the nation (Parreñas, 2005).

OFW families are an evident part of Filipino life and provide a non-traditional family structure. The overseas Filipino worker parents are referred to as overseas or migrant parents, i.e., the parent who is working in another country. The present, resident, or non-overseas parent refers to the parent who is at home in the Philippines, rearing the children. Approximately nine million Filipino children grow up geographically separated from their father, mother or both with their parents being migrant workers (Parreñas, 2005). People working overseas leave behind spouses, children, and parents, which consequently restructure the traditional family composition and create societal implications.

Thus, one must not only consider the societal and economic impact of this non-traditional family dynamic, but also the psychological consequences to the families themselves. This qualitative study explored the challenges of parenting children with the barriers of geographical distance. Having adult children as participants, the study examined the family experience by

investigating parenting styles of migrant parents and present parents, through the lens of the adult child and explored how working overseas has affected the family Filipino structure.

#### Theoretical Framework – Parenting Styles and Family Structure

The established theories on parenting styles and family structure will provide a framework for the study, although these theories have been developed in the West and caution is used to apply them to the Filipino context. The Baumrind theory of parenting presents four parenting styles: indulgent, authoritarian, authoritative, and uninvolved (Baumrind, 1991). The indulgent parenting style is also referred to as permissive. Indulgent parents emphasize nurturance, whereas authoritarian parents emphasize control. The authoritative parent sets standards for their children, yet is able to be supportive. The uninvolved parent is low on both responsiveness and control. In western cultures, the authoritative parenting style is considered the optimal style as it provides a balance for the child (Baumrind, 1966).

When researching the parenting of the resident parent in OFW families, again, an important caveat to consider is that much of the research on parenting styles are conducted with Western samples. Thus, there is limited research exploring the authoritarian parenting styles (often characteristic of the overseas parent) and the relationship with the children's adjustment outcome (Ang & Goh, 2006).

In an overseas Filipino worker family, the parenting experienced by the children may be more often a communal experience, parented by relatives in addition to the present parent and the migrant parent (Parreñas, 2001). Recognizing the limits of parenting from afar, it is critical to distinguish which parenting styles surface for both the overseas parent and the present parent. Is the overseas parent uninvolved or authoritarian in an effort to have control from afar? Is the present parent indulgent to compensate for their spouse's absence? Are parents in an overseas



Filipino worker family able to achieve an authoritative parenting style? If so, how is it done and is this parenting style ideal in the eastern Filipino culture?

In addition to parenting styles, Minuchin's Structural Family Theory (Minuchin, 1974) provides a framework for the family structure. This family structure is "reinforced by the expectations that establish rules in the family" (Nichols & Schwartz, 2004, p. 178). According to Minuchin (1974), there is a hierarchal structure with clear boundaries in which the parents possess the leadership role. However, this can be unsettled with boundaries that are too rigid, leading to disengagement or the boundaries being too loose, resulting in an enmeshed subsystem. Structural family theory illustrates the importance of roles. Each member of the family balances a number of roles. For example, a mother also serves as a wife. In addition, along with her husband, they operate as a team to manage family functioning (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2008). In an OFW family, who manages the family functioning? Could it be that the eldest daughter or son takes on the role of the parent to accommodate the need for a mother or father figure in the absence of the true parent?

#### Parenting of Migrant Workers

Parreñas (2005) examined the dynamics of migrant Filipino mothers and their daughters. Migrant mothers often reach out to an extensive kinship network to maintain familial stability in their physical absence. The children's grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, close friends assist in the parenting of children while the migrant mother is working in another country, often in a different continent. With Filipinos' strong tradition of family ties (Ohara-Hirano, 2000), despite the distance, these migrants' priorities in their lives remain their family back home, causing many family based life strains. In this research (Ohara-Hirano, 2000), however, it is not indicated whether the stressors change over time.

Despite the geographical limitations, migrant mothers use creative ways to keep lines of communication open with their children as a means of “being there” and to “achieve a semblance of intimate family life” (Parreñas, 2005, p. 256). Migrant mothers establish a routine of communication: telephone calls, remittances, letters, voice recordings, text messages, photographs or visits (Asis et al., 2004; Levitt, 2001). Some mothers send daily international text messages, for example “biblical messages ... every morning, called ‘my daily bread’” (Parreñas, 2005, p. 257).

Due to the financial opportunities that overseas work provides, mothers attempt to “micromanage their families across geographical distances” by supervising and monitoring the household budget and the financial expenditures of the family (Parreñas, 2005, p. 326). Migrant mothers are dependent on the transnational communication, the flow of ideas, information, goods, money and emotions to keep ties with their family back in the homeland (Parreñas, 2005).

The caring practices of migrant women in transnational families “perpetuate the conventional gender norms of the family” (Parreñas, 2005, p. 243). Parreñas’ work examines migrant mothers’ reflections of their families. She defines transnational mothering as “the organizational reconstruction and rearrangement of motherhood to accommodate the temporal and spatial separations forced by migration” (Parreñas, 2005, p. 246). There is pain of the family separation when mothering from a distance, with migrant mothers often feeling helplessness, regret, and guilt (Parreñas, 2005). The geographical distance magnifies the emotional strains. Socialized gender norms continue to exist in Filipino familial networks. This exacerbates the emotional strains of mothers and children in the transnational families as migrant mothers must balance the responsibilities of being a breadwinner, the challenges of distance, and fulfill the expectations of being a mother. These mothers are still expected to be the source of financial and

emotional support for the family (Ohara-Hirano, 2000). In Cruz's survey in 1987, "60% of children do not wish for their parents to stop working abroad" (as cited in Parreñas, 2001, p. 132). They express recognition of the economic gain and increased opportunities, for example, educationally, that was available to their family through their overseas parent's work. Cruz investigated children's reactions to the migration of overseas parents. It is important to note that the Cruz study is over 20 years old; and family systems and values may have changed. The field would benefit from a more up to date examination and updated data on the children's experiences in an overseas Filipino worker family.

Although there is some literature on Filipino migrant workers (Hilsdon, 2007; Ohara-Hirano, 2000; Parreñas, 2001, 2005), the focus is on the migrant parent's experience and often specifically the experience of female migrant workers. Few researchers have focused on intergenerational relationships. Parreñas has been the only one to extensively investigate the Filipino transnational family dynamic; however, her research focused only on transnational mothers and their relationship with their children (Parreñas, 2001, 2005), and thus leaves out transnational fathers' relationship with their children as well as children's relationship with the parent that remains in the Philippines to care for them. Transnational studies, often using open-ended qualitative interviews, mostly focus on the perspective of migrant mothers (Ehrenreich, & Hochschild, 2003; Parreñas, 2001).

This study will examine the emotional effect of this nontraditional family structure on children because many Filipino children are growing up in geographically split-apart households due to this labor migration (Parreñas, 2005). Because research on the familial life experiences of Filipino young adult children focuses on the relationship that they currently maintain with their migrant parent, this study will advance the field by examining the adult children's relationship

with the non-migrant parent, as well as by understanding the triad among the overseas parent, the parent at home, and the child.

#### Parenting of Parent who Stayed

Parreñas (2005) in one study reports that from a migrant mother's point of view, Filipino fathers of overseas worker families stay out of the picture, avoiding nurturing or parenting responsibilities by finding employment in another island in the Philippines. In addition, when they are around their family, they never ask about the children's emotional well being. Parreñas' qualitative study in 2005, asserts that men are not likely to take up household responsibilities caused by women's greater participation in the labor market. These men model the definition of "absentee father" in which the fathers do not accept an increased level of household/caretaking responsibility despite the greater economic contribution of the migrant mother (Parreñas, 2005, p. 252). More often, the fathers will neglect the duties or delegate it to the other females in the family such as their eldest daughter, a domestic helper, a grandmother or other female extended kin. This behavior of the father can be explained by traditional values and roles in the Philippines of a family structure that sets social expectations for eldest siblings to contribute to the care of their younger siblings (Parreñas, 2005; Popkin, 1980). Consequently, the eldest daughter and/or female kin endure most of the familial responsibilities left behind by the migrant mother (Parreñas, 2005). In fact, the eldest daughter often carries far more responsibility in the maintenance of the families and often acts as a surrogate parent to her younger siblings. Gamburd's study (2000) of the behaviors in one Sri Lankan village, parallels the concept of absentee fathers, as the trend for these men was to avoid the housework by drinking or relocating to another area for employment.

Guided by Minuchin's theory on roles, the investigator will examine whether patterns appear of the oldest child or same sex child filling the place of the paternal or maternal figure for the other children (Nichols, 2004). Parreñas (2005) found that the eldest daughter carried more of the responsibility in the maintenance of these families, often acting as "surrogate parents to younger siblings" (p. 258). Another theoretical proposition that will be examined is the children's perception of their relationship with the spouse not overseas. Gender is often part of this equation, with previous studies asserting that fathers take on a minimal role.

Parreñas' (2005) argument is that the fathers tend to minimize their household responsibilities. Even with fathers who provide care, they do it in a sterile method that does not expand their responsibilities. Even upon the expansion of the family, the birth of a child, the men left behind still do not increase their amount of family time (Parreñas, 2005). An important dimension yet to be examined is the power differential between the migrant mother and the father left behind at home. The power clearly lays with the migrant parent, often the migrant mother. Is the non-overseas spouse missing from the equation? Is the non-overseas spouse overlooked while the overseas parent, in an effort to parent from afar, is overcompensating for his or her own absence?

How does the adult child view the parent who is left at home? Are they simply overlooked with this familial structure? Alternatively, does the adult child view this parent as passive or evasive as described in the Parreñas' feminist literature (2005)? With the power differential and the financial micromanagement by the migrant mother, does the adult child view the father at home as stripped of the power to parent? How can the father left at home be seen by the children as parenting effectively without a solid sense of authority or respect? What dynamic ensues if it is the father overseas and the mother left at home?

Previous literature recounts the parenting from the migrant mother's point of view as well as the reactions of adult children regarding the absence of this one parent (Hilsdon, 2007; Ohara-Hirano, 2000; Parreñas, 2001). The current study examines the present parent's role, the inclusion of fathers who are overseas and present, and mothers who are overseas and present.

If research has shown (Gamburd, 2000; Parennas, 2001) the void left by the overseas parent, there is also some research (Afifi, Hutchinson, & Krouse, 2006) showing migrant parents who overcompensate for their absence. Afifi, Hutchinson, and Krouse's (2006) study on separated households reveals that well-intentioned partners abroad may become too helpful and over controlling in their support. This over involvement tends to exacerbate stress instead of relieving it, thus creating a suffocating atmosphere where the present parent may have difficulty parenting the children (Afifi, Hutchinson, & Krouse, 2006).

Additionally, gender and residence are some important factors to consider in researching parenting of the present parent in OFW families. Hawkins, Amato, and King's (2006) research on parent-adolescent involvement, showed support for the gender system view of parenting— the parent gender was the stronger dimension versus the parent residence when measuring parent-adolescent involvement. This may support previous literature stating that overseas mothers show a deep involvement and display an authoritarian parenting style. However, it is important to consider that fathers can also be effective mothers when circumstances make it necessary or if given the opportunity (Hawkins, Amato, & King, 2006).

#### Roles of Children

Since there is little research on OFW families, exploring other separated family structures helps in the understanding of families with a parent far away. Investigating the dynamics within separated military families might provide a perspective on the absent parent dynamic. Numerous

studies looking at the parental absence in military families have linked the two concepts of the relationship with the present parent and the relationship with the absent parent, although conducted in the United States. Applewhite and May (1996) sent out mail surveys to families of active duty Army personnel, with children ages 4 to 18, living in military housing. Supporting research discussed in the United States study by Applewhite and May (1996) illustrated findings from several decades, as far back as 1946. Applewhite and May's study compared father-child and mother-child separation in military families and the child's psychosocial development in the United States. They hypothesized that children with maternal separation would have greater difficulties in psychosocial functioning than children with paternal separation. However, Applewhite and May found no statistically significant differences between mother separated and father separated children. Despite these findings, however, Applewhite and May put to the fore the aspect of gender in exploring the effects, if any, of parental absence on children. It is important to consider if OFW families' experience parallels military families, with varying experiences for father absent or mother absent families. However, family structure, interaction, and values might differ between military families and other families, and certainly between the United States and the Philippines.

A focus group study conducted during the summer of 2004 (Huebner & Mancini, 2005) investigated life changes for the adolescents during a father's deployment. This study examined one hundred seven adolescents, ages 12 to 18, in military summer camps throughout the United States. Results showed that preparation and family discussion about the separation was a key factor in the adolescent's adjustment during the absence. A common coping mechanism for adolescents was anger directed at the departing parent. Adolescents reported instigating fights with and distancing themselves from their deploying parent in an attempt to prepare for the loss.

Instead of looking up to the parent as reassuring and stable, the children's reactions were often anger and/or loss. It will be interesting to check whether these reactions of children of the United States military who are deployed parallel those of the children of Filipino overseas workers.

Another relevant point is to determine parenting techniques that would help buffer this transition. A significant difference between an OFW and a military parent who is deployed is choice – an OFW decides to leave, albeit forced by economic circumstance, but has a choice of when to go and where to go while the military person who is deployed does not have much choice. Because this military literature examines the children's reactions and adjustments to parents, there is a need for further study on overseas parent families and the children's reactions on the change in family dynamics and structure.

#### Filipino family dynamics

Filipino culture presents the importance of commitments in addition to values (Enriquez, 1977). The more enduring values identified included, "*paggalang at pagmamalasakit* (respect and concern), *pagtulong and pagdamay* (helping), *pagpuno sa kakulangan* (understanding limitations), *pakikiramdam* (sensitivity and regard for others), *gaan ng loob* (rapport and acceptance), *pakikipagkapwa* (human concern and interaction as one with others) (Enriquez, p. 4). In addition, Enriquez pointed out the debt of gratitude, "*utang na loob*" (p. 5). Understanding these commitments and values in Filipino culture are critical when approaching research on this specific ethnic population.

#### Family systems

Parreñas (2005, p. 318), illustrates how the unidirectional "time space compression", in which the migrant mother initiates phone communication and remittances, results in the children feeling paralyzed. Another question is whether the children are satisfied with the



commodification of love, in which gifts are often given as representation of love. With transnational communication, the migrant mother initiates the phone calls with the children receiving calls. With remittances, the migrant parent sends money leaving the family back home physically immobilized and dependent on the initiative of the migrant parent. This commodification of love in which material things are given by the migrant parent as a substitute for physical presence and as a marker of love (Parreñas), enables this differential of power between the migrant worker and the family at home.

Previous studies reveal that family separation creates feelings of helplessness, regret and guilt for parents, and loneliness, vulnerability and insecurity for the children (Kelley 1994; Marsiglio, Roy, & Fox 2005; Parreñas, 2001). Mental health issues such as feelings of loneliness, depression, and abandonment were also assessed. Expanding from previous studies' focus on the family systems and attending to the migrant mother (Hilsdon, 2007; Ohara-Hirano, 2000; Parreñas, 2001, 2005), the current study provides a comprehensive examination of the family systems, looking at the dynamics of parents and their children.

Limitations of existing research calls for an extension of the examination of the OFW family. This investigation broadens the scope of study beyond the daughter/migrant mother relationship to include all family members involved and all their relationships. Families are systems and not just the sum of a few of the parts. Thus, studying these dynamics of both parents (the overseas parent and the resident parent) with the child (and through the child's perspective) captures the importance of these interactions.

## Methods

### *Participants*

Three of the participants were recruited from a non-government agency that assists overseas Filipino workers and their families. Five participants were recruited by word of mouth. The additional three participants were collected through a snowball sampling procedure in which the interviewer inquired if the participant could refer another adult from a transnational family. Three other potential participants could not be reached by telephone or email. When the 10 were asked to voluntarily participate, no one refused the interview.

The purposive sample consisted of Filipino adults, 7 women and 3 men ( $N = 10$ ), ages ranging from 18 to 28 ( $M = 22.40$ ,  $SD = 3.86$ ), who voluntarily participated in the study. All the participants identified as adult children (over the age of 18) in a transnational family, residing with their family in the Philippines, without the one parent who was employed in another nation for more than 1 year. The nations that the parents were employed in were Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Kingdom, United States, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Venezuela, and Columbia. Of the 10 participants, eight are Catholic and one Anglican and one Muslim. Eight are college students and two are working. Seven had other relatives, such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, or a maid who lived with them while they were growing up; two grew up with both parents away from the home, and the remaining one grew up in a nuclear family. Five had mothers who worked abroad and the remaining five had their fathers working abroad. Six had a parent who continued to work overseas, four had parents who retired from overseas work and returned to the Philippines to live with the family. The reported length of their parent's tenure overseas ranged from 3 years to 30 years, the mean tenure was 14.55 years ( $SD = 9.36$ ). Four participants had overseas parents that left before their birth, two were a baby or toddler, and four as a teenager.

For birth order, five were the eldest in their families, one was the youngest, three were in the middle, and one was an only child. All participants stated that their overseas parent provided financial assistance for the family.

#### *Researcher-as-Instrument Statement*

The research team was composed of two Filipino Americans, one psychologist, another a graduate student; one Caucasian American psychology graduate student and one Haitian-born African American undergraduate psychology major. The principal investigator (the Filipino American graduate student) served as the sole interviewer for the study. The data was analyzed by the team of four. All four team members rotated in leading the analyses.

#### *Researcher Bias*

Results expected were a frustration of adult children with the effectiveness of the transnational familial structure as well as frustration even with the parent who is present. The rationale for this is the projection of the frustration onto the parent that is available. It is anticipated that nothing can substitute for the physical presence of both parents for the most effective and efficient parenting.

#### *Sources of Data*

A demographic questionnaire was given to all participants over the phone (see Appendix A). An audio tape recorder was used to record the phone interviews, each lasting about an hour to an hour and a half. A reloadable phone card was used to make the overseas phone calls. The interviews were digitally recorded and downloaded into a computer. The interviews were later transcribed. On average, there were 13 single spaced transcribed pages per interviewee, ranging from 10-17 pages. Criteria that were assessed during the interview are: determining how long the overseas parent was gone, how often the parent came home to visit and the duration of the visits

(see Appendix B). In addition, the economic dependence of the family on the income of the overseas parent was asked as part of demographic data.

### *Procedure*

The purpose of using the phone interviews was to create “intense interaction and dialogue” striving for “both the participant and researcher” to “reach deeper insight” (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 133). The constructivist and postpositivist research paradigms create the context for the study. Constructivism is defined as “reality being constructed in the mind of the individual” (Ponterotto, 2006, p. 129). The constructivist paradigm holds that the dialogue between the interviewer and the participant brings to surface deeper meaning (Ponterotto, 2006). The postpositivism approach aims to show that you can never “fully capture a true reality” (Ponterotto, 2006, p. 126).

Participants were contacted initially to inquire if they were interested in participating in the study. During this call, the interviewer obtained the participant’s email address or postal address. Each participant was given a consent form to read via email or postal mail. The interviewer followed up with the participants with a phone call to confirm that they had received, read over, and agreed to the consent form. Before the interview, the participants were reminded that they had the choice to consent to the interview, that they could have refused to answer any question and that they only needed to answer to the extent that they were comfortable. They also had the choice to stop the interview at any time or decline the interview. Participants were instructed to use a pseudonym, give verbal consent using the pseudonym and conduct the interview with pseudonym to ensure anonymity. The interviewer read the consent form over the phone and filled out the demographic questionnaire. When this was complete, the interview started. The semi-structured interview ranged from one hour to an hour and a half. The

interviews were later transcribed. Transcripts were kept in a locked file cabinet in the advising investigator's office.

After transcription, the data was analyzed using Consensual Qualitative Analysis (CQR) (Hill, Thompson, Williams, 1997; Hill, Knox, Thompson, Williams, Hess, Ladany, 2005). The research team for analysis included, as mentioned before, the principal investigator, another graduate student, an undergraduate student and my thesis advisor. The yields of the analyses, the domains, categories, and subcategories were reported and illustrated using quotes from the transcripts. The transcripts were audited by a third party.

### Results

The qualitative study provided an in depth view into the experiences of adult children who were parented in an overseas Filipino worker family. Table 1 illustrates the domains, categories and subcategories. The data was presented using pseudonyms for the participants interviewed.

Five domains were created to present the results. They included 1) a sense of identity growing up with an overseas parent; 2) sacrifices made by the overseas parent, the present parent, and the adult child; 3) family dynamics; 4) their relationship with their present parent; and 5) their relationship with the overseas parent. The results were organized by how often they occurred in the cases. A category was identified as *general* when it was identified in almost all cases ( $n = 9-10$ ). A category was called *typical* when it applied to half or more than half of the cases ( $n = 5-8$ ). The category of *variant* was labeled for categories which applied to only a few cases ( $n = 2-4$ ). Categories identified by only one participant, were classified as *rare* and were eliminated from the presentation of results.

Table I  
*Domains, Categories, and Subcategories from the Cross-Analysis of the 10 Interviews with Filipino Adult Children of Overseas Filipino Workers*

Domains	Categories	Frequency
Sense of identity growing up with an OSP (overseas parent)	I felt my family was complete and normal, even when my OSP was away. Pursuing my identity meant contemplating whether I will work overseas. I am a good person even though I grew up with one of my parents overseas. I do not want my kids to grow up with an OSP. Because of my experiences of growing up in an OS family, I can deal with anything life gives me. I learned to be responsible for myself.	Typical Typical Typical Variant Variant  Variant
Sacrifices	OSP Sacrifice I believe that my OSP sacrificed by not being emotionally connected to me. Although it was hard for my OSP, I understand that she/he had to work overseas for us. Present parent (PP) sacrifice I believe that my PP gave up so much, for example career, to take care of us children while my OSP is/was still away. My PP worked as both mom and dad and had many responsibilities (household and emotional). Adult child sacrifice I missed out on my childhood, education, time with friends.	Variant  Typical  Variant Typical  Variant
Family dynamics	My OSP worked overseas to provide a better future for us (financial support for education, house). My family relied on extended family for help, I felt close to my PP's family Role reversal: I took on adult responsibilities of my OSP at a young age, e.g. took care of younger siblings. I substituted for my OSP, but when my OSP is/was present, my OSP tried to regain authority until he/she leaves again. My OSP and PP communicated and made major decisions together.	General  General  Typical Variant Variant
Relationship with PP (present parent)	My relationship with my PP is stronger/closer than my relationship with my OSP. I felt bad for my PP being without my OSP, felt sorry for my PP, felt bad for my PP missing my OSP. My PP reminds us of our OSP's sacrifices, and attends to our needs, even now that we are adults.	Typical  Variant  Variant
Relationship with OSP (overseas parent)	I felt distant from my OSP. Although I missed my OSP, I got used to my OSP not being around. My OSP communicated with me through chat, email, telephone, tapes, care packages, and mail in an attempt to keep connected. My OSP rarely communicated over the phone. OSP communicated with me. Communication between OSP and me was mutual. Even when my OSP has returned for good, we are still not as close. I want to get to know OSP (with activities) when home. During special occasions and during times of need, I missed my OSP's presence; I felt my OSP's absence.	Typical Typical   Variant Typical Typical Variant Variant Typical

*Note:* We identified a category as *general* when it included almost all cases ( $n = 9-10$ ), a category was called *typical* when it applied to half or more than half of the cases ( $n = 5-8$ ), a category was called *variant* when it applied to a few cases ( $n = 2-4$ ). Categories identified by only one participant (*rare*) were dropped.

The presentation of results were organized by domain and discussed by the frequency of identification by participants. Categories and subcategories were discussed per domain, and presented according to the frequencies, general followed by typical, then variant. Each category and subcategory was illustrated with quotes from interviewees.

*Sense of identity of one who grew up with an overseas parent (OSP)*

Participants reported examining their identity development as an adult child of an OFW and addressed the influence of these experiences on their non-traditional family structure. Three categories within this domain were identified as typical while the other three categories were expressed in only a few cases.

*I felt my family was complete and normal, even when my OSP was away*

Participants typically indicated feeling their family was complete and normal even when their overseas parent was away. Joseph, a 22-year-old male, whose mother worked overseas, stated, "It's a normal thing. We just move on whatever happens." It was typical for participants to find their non-traditional family structure as nothing out of the ordinary, much like an assurance that their rearing and family life was complete and like everyone else's.

*Pursuing my identity meant contemplating whether I will work overseas*

It was also typical that participants' path towards identity development included reflecting on their experiences in an OFW family and contemplating whether they would pursue overseas work. Ana, a 26-year-old female, whose father works overseas expressed,

“I am actually considering applying my degree to other countries but not at the present time. From what I am hearing from my brother, he also wants to work abroad. He says there are better opportunities abroad than here in the Philippines.”

Rian, a 22-year-old student, whose father worked abroad stated,

“Of course I feel that if I work abroad, I will really miss my family because they will stay here and I’m going to work abroad. But it’s really what I want. I want to work abroad and have my own apartment abroad. It’s really what I want.”

Despite their personal challenges as a child within an OFW family, half of the participants included overseas work in their future goals. This may be because overseas work has been very much ingrained in their family life, something that is more of an option when considering opportunities, especially in comparison to others who did not experience growing up in an overseas worker family.

*I am a good person even though I grew up with one of my parents overseas*

Participants also typically identified themselves as a good person even though they grew up with one of their parents overseas. Julia, a 26-year-old female, whose father worked overseas for over 30 years, described herself, “I didn’t break rules, even though I didn’t have the father figure they always talk about. I am a good person.” This served as an assurance that they were not lacking in discipline nor were they at a disadvantage for having a parent overseas.

*I do not want my kids to grow up with an OSP*

Despite that participants typically described themselves as normal although having an overseas parent and even contemplating overseas work, a few participants were not quite sure if they would do to their children what their parents did to them. The responses varied when



determining if they wanted their kids to grow up with an overseas parent. Laila, a 28-year-old, whose mother works overseas reflected,

“I want to be able to bring them with me...It’s been so hard being away from her kids. Unlike what my mom did to us, I cannot take that. Being away from my kids for so long. I don’t have the braveness, the thing that my mom had before—the guts to leave us behind and be away from us also.”

They questioned if they wanted to continue the overseas family structure, with the hardships and challenges, onto their own family.

*Because of my experiences of growing up in an OS family, I can deal with anything life gives me.*

Participants occasionally expressed that because of their experiences of growing up in an overseas family, they could deal with anything life gives them. Mary, an 18-year-old, whose mother worked overseas, stated, “I’m mature enough to be alone; I can face the world even if I grow up without my mother and with my father only.” Variant responses were identified of learning to be responsible for him or herself. Bob, a 26-year-old, whose father worked overseas, stated, “I would say I’m much more responsible, much more reliable, much more independent.” John, a 20-year-old student whose father worked abroad for 5 years identified himself as “much more independent because we can stand on our own feet. We act independently.” Respondents viewed the distance as an experience forced them to discover their own strength and abilities.

### *Sacrifices*

Participants identified 3 categories of sacrifices growing up in a family with an overseas parent, the sacrifices of the migrant parent, of the present parent, and of theirs, the children. Of the five subcategories, two were typical and three were variant.

*OSP Sacrifice*

*Although it was hard for my OSP, I understand that she or he had to work overseas for us.* When identifying the sacrifices of their overseas parent, participants typically identified that although it was hard for their overseas parent, the adult child understood that the parent had to work overseas for the family. Joseph, a 22-year-old student, who was the second eldest of five children, shared his respect for his mother who worked abroad, “I know how hard it is to earn money and how hard it is to work abroad. For my mother, she’s my inspiration.” Julia, a 26-year-old, whose father worked abroad for 30 years, reflected, “The sacrifices he made are visible. He was successful. Like he proved to us that the years he was gone was worth it.” Adult children identified their parent’s decision to work abroad, as a difficult choice with the goal of making the sacrifice for the benefit of the children.

*I believe that my OSP sacrificed by not being emotionally connected to me.* Occasionally, the adult child believed that the overseas parent sacrificed by not being emotionally connected to the child. Christine, an 18-year-old student, whose mother works overseas and whose father worked long distance, but within the Philippines, reported,

“I think that would be the sacrifice of my mother. We never really had bonding time. I think my mother is shy with us because she does not know how to approach us, so I don’t feel that we are bonding much at home.”

John, a 20-year-old student, whose father worked overseas and is now back in the Philippines, identified the distance in his relationship with his father, “He missed too many days and with that, we’re shy to talk or do things.” The distance went beyond the geographical space, but also hindering the opportunities for the emotional connection.

*Present parent (PP) sacrifice*

Interviewees typically expressed that their present parent worked as both mother and father, having many responsibilities, both in the household and about emotional/relational matters. Bob, a 26-year-old eldest son, recognized the sacrifices of his mother who stayed home with the children. He stated, "...difficult in the sense on my mom, of course. Her job here—mother and father, whenever he leaves. And my mom is going to be taking on the role of father. That's the hard part." Rian, a 22-year-old student, whose father worked in Latin America, recognized the burden of her mother, "She is the only one who really makes the decisions... for example, when I entered college, my first year, my father wasn't home, so she decides where I will live, what apartment I will live in." Leila, a 28-year-old, the eldest of three sisters, described her father's work, "he does the laundry, the cooking, the budget for the groceries, and prepared us for school." Functioning in an overseas Filipino worker family demands that sacrifices were made by all family members, including the resident parent.

*I believe that my PP gave up so much, for example career, to take care of us children while my OSP is/was still away.* Variant responses were identified in believing that the present parent gave up so much, for example, career, to take care of the children while the overseas parent is still away. Julia a 26-year-old, whose father worked abroad for 30 years and is now back in the Philippines for retirement, shared,

"My mom gave up so much for us. My mom was a pharmacist. She gave up so much for us. Since I was born and even until now...My dad wanted her to be a stay at home mom. A domestic mother. Especially since he was not there, it made him feel better knowing she was with us."

Often, the present parent sidelined their own ambitions to focus their time and energy into the care of the children.

#### *Adult child sacrifice*

*I missed out on my childhood, education, time with friends.* Interviewees occasionally identified their own sacrifice, identifying that they missed out on their childhood, education, and time with friends. Laila, a 28-year-old student, whose mother worked overseas, leaving her with the responsibility of two younger sisters, illustrated this,

“Every time I feel so tired and when [sic] I am not able to do my chores for myself and keep up with my courses in school. I don’t even have the time to go out with my friends because I had to come home early right after class.”

Adult children reflected on the responsibility of caring for younger siblings, carrying a burden beyond their years.

#### *Family dynamics*

Exploring family dynamics, participants generally responded that their overseas parent worked overseas to provide a better future. In terms of family dynamics, two of the categories were identified by almost all of the participants, one category was identified by more than half of the participants, and the other two categories were identified by only a few participants.

*My OSP worked overseas to provide a better future for us (financial support for education, house)*

All but one participant stated that the purpose of the parent’s overseas work was for a better life for the family. Generally, adult children understand that their parent had to work far away to be able to provide for their needs, financial support for their education from elementary to college, and to build their own home or renovate their home. Mary, an 18-year-old student, the

third of seven children, conveyed this when describing her mother's absence, "she wants us to have a better future and education. We understand that. We keep in mind that is why she went away." Adult children viewed the migrant parent as motivated for the welfare of the children.

*My family relied on extended family for help. I felt close to my PP's family*

The adult children interviewees also generally identified that the nuclear family relied on extended family for help, often feeling closer to the present parent's family. Ana, a 26-year-old student whose father worked abroad stated,

"Earlier we lived in our grandparents' house. They take care for us all. For example, if my mother is sick and she can't cook for us, my grandparents do the cooking. They send food...I remember my sister was hospitalized. It was my uncle who brought her to the hospital because my mother could not drive. He was the one to prepare the food that we brought to the hospital. They (grandparents) visited my sister every day in the hospital. They are really there for us."

Laila, a 28-year-old, (both parents worked away), was left to care for her two infant sisters. She recognized the invaluable help of her relatives,

"My aunts and uncles – they were the ones who would take care of us whenever my mom and my dad were away. They were always the ones who were helping me. From the start, when I was not able to know what I was doing. My uncles were the ones who guided me to know what I should be do—how I should run the budget or how I should take care of the girls. Of course doing the laundry."

Relatives such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, close family friends, and neighbors contributed to the care of the children. Often times, the present parent's family was more involved in the children's upbringing.

*Role reversal: I took on adult responsibilities of my OSP at a young age, e.g. took care of younger siblings.*

Typically, adult children experienced a reversal of role where they take on the adult responsibilities of the overseas parent at a young age such as taking care of younger siblings. Bob, a 26-year-old, who had two younger siblings, stated that his mother relied on his role as the eldest son, “She always asks for my advice on how to take care of my siblings and things. [sic] Cause I also have to take care of my siblings.”

Children often felt the expectation of assisting the present parent, with adult responsibilities such as caring for the younger siblings.

*I substituted for my OSP, but when my OSP is/was present, my OSP tried to regain authority until he/she leaves again.*

Participants occasionally responded that the family structure demanded flexibility in their role of substituting for the overseas parent in their absence, and then when the overseas parent was present, the overseas parent tried to regain authority until they (the overseas parent) left again. Laila, a 28-year-old student, who was 15 years old when her mother left to work overseas recalled requiring adaptability when balancing these changing roles,

“It’s what really changes when my mom is here. She takes over what I’m doing. She insists that she’s the one still here in the house. She still insists that she’s the one who knows everything that is happening, even if she is away. It makes it so abnormal because everything she does, she does the cooking, the laundry, things that I do. And then when she goes away, I have a hard time again adjusting. I’ll be the one who does the job again.”

Children, often the eldest son or daughter, were expected to take on a mature role as the substitute or alternative parent, which required adapting to the role of authority figure and knowing when to step down, back to the child figure.

*My OSP and PP communicated and made major decisions together*

There were also variant responses in identifying the mutual communication between the overseas parent and the present parent in communicating and making major decisions together. Bob, a 26-year-old, whose father worked overseas for over 25 years, recalled his parents collaborating when disciplining the children,

“They still talk over the phone or whatever you would call it. So it’s like you would get double. She would tell him and he would guide her in making decisions...That’s what they do most of the time. They tell what happened in the house. It’s like you know they just keep themselves updated with what’s happening here and at work.”

For some families, although the overseas parent was far away, the resident spouse was conscious to involve the overseas parent in the decision-making in the house and keep them updated on what was going on in the home.

*Relationship with the present parent*

The adult children reflected on their relationship with the parent who stayed in the home to care for them, considering the strength of their relationship with the present parent, their present parent’s expression of love, and empathizing with their present parent’s pain from the absence of their migrant parent. Over half of the respondents recognized a stronger relationship with their non-migrant parent. The other two categories were occasionally identified by the adult children.

*My relationship with my PP is stronger/closer than my relationship with my OSP*

Participants typically recognized a stronger or closer relationship with their present parent, in comparison to their relationship with their overseas parent. Laila, a 28-year-old, whose mother continues to work overseas and whose father was her present parent, described her relationship with him, “my father, I became closer to him. When ever I’ve got problems, he is the one I confide in.” Adult children expressed a deeper connection with the present parent, regardless of their present parent’s gender.

*My PP reminds us of our OSP’s sacrifices, and attends to our needs, even now when we are adults*

Participants occasionally expressed that their present parent constantly attended to the children’s needs, even when they became adults. In addition, the present parent regularly reminded them of their overseas parent’s sacrifices. Julia, the eldest of two daughters, whose father worked overseas, described her mother’s expression of love,

“She always sends us meals, until now. I work and she still makes me food for my lunch. I don’t know how she doesn’t get sick of it. For, let’s see how hold am I? 26 years. She still does it.”

The present parent often acknowledged the hardship for the migrant parent to be apart from the family. In addition, the resident parent used creative means to attempt to compensate for the children’s lack of time with the overseas parent.

*I felt bad for my PP being without my OSP, felt sorry for my PP, felt bad for my PP missing my OSP.*

Respondents occasionally expressed feeling bad for his or her non-overseas parent, especially when witnessing how much their non-migrant parent missed the overseas parent. Julia,



a 26-year-old whose mother was the present parent during her father's 30 year absence expressed feeling sorry for her present parent missing her overseas parent,

“Every time he would leave, she would cry. For me it was okay that he was here, and it was okay when he left. I would feel sorry for my mother, because it seemed like it was so hard for her.”

Although some adult children felt detached from their migrant parent, they empathized with the sadness and loneliness of the present parent.

#### *Relationship with the overseas parent*

Respondents reflected on their relationship with their overseas parent, the hurdles created by the distance, how they communicated despite the difference, and the status of the relationships once their migrant parent returns for good. There were no categories in this domain that were identified in almost all cases. Typical statements included feeling a lack of closeness to the overseas parent. Half or more than half the time, participants recognized that although they missed their overseas parent, they adjusted to their parent's absence. However, during events such as holidays or an illness in the family, the participants recognized that their migrant parent's absence became more prominent. Communication was a typical way to find closeness despite the distance.

Responses were variant in three categories of this domain. Two interviewees verbalized that their overseas parent rarely communicated with them over the phone. For participants whose parents had retired and returned to the Philippines, participants occasionally expressed interest in getting to know their OSP as well as continuing to feel a lack of closeness in the relationship.

*My OSP communicated with me through chat, email, telephone, tapes, care packages, and mail in an attempt to keep connected*

Participants indicated that their overseas parent communicated with them.

*My OSP rarely communicated over the phone.* Occasionally, the adult child stated that their overseas parent rarely communicated over the phone. Julia, a 26-year-old, whose father was abroad for 30 years recalled, “Telephone calls were very rare...special occasions – my mom’s birthday, my birthday, Christmas.” Especially for the adult children whose parent worked overseas for several decades, phone communication only occurred a few times a year, instead relying on letters, recorded tapes, and care packages.

*My OSP communicated with me.* All but two participants stated that their overseas parent reached out to keep in touch with them. John, a 20-year-old, whose father was overseas during his adolescence, noted, “He called everyday.” Typically, their overseas parent initiated communication.

*Communication between OSP and me was mutual.* Communication between the overseas parent and the adult child was usually mutual. Ana, a 26-year-old, whose father left to work overseas when she was 4 years old, shared, that the communication was bidirectional. When she misses her father, “I’ll text him and see if he can go online so we can see him on the webcam.” In other families, children had the ability to initiate contact with their overseas parent.

*I felt distant from my OSP*

Typically, adult children feel distant from their overseas parent, as spoken again by Ana, a 26-year-old, whose father worked overseas for 22 years, “Honestly, every time he came home, I was scared by him - like he was a stranger.” Half of the respondents recognized that they did not feel connected to their overseas parent.

*Although I missed my OSP, I got used to my OSP not being around*

Participants also typically identified that although they missed their overseas parent, they got used to him not being around. Maria, an 18-year-old student, whose mother works overseas, recalled, “I just got used to it.” They recognized their parent’s absence, yet learned to adjust to their familial situation.

*During special occasions and during times of need, I missed my OSP’s presence; I felt my OSP’s absence*

However, the absence was more prominent during special occasions and during times of need. It was during these moments, such as birthdays and deaths in the family that participants typically recognized that they missed their overseas parent’s presence. Christine, an 18-year-old, whose mother worked overseas for 13 years, recalled, “When I was in elementary, I was very active in school. I was always in some school activities and when it’s our time to take the stage, I just kind of feel, I wish my mother was here watching me.” Ana, a 26-year-old, whose father is overseas, describes the yearning for her father’s presence during difficult times, “We are wishing my father were here when we are having problems in the family.” She provides an example,

“Right now, my Lolo (grandfather), my mother’s father is sick. And we are having a hard time dealing with it. He is bedridden now. And my mother is there with my Lola (grandmother) to sometimes see her crying. She is telling us that she is hoping my father is there so she has someone to talk to. She’s telling us that only the husband would understand. But my father is not there.”

*I want to get to know my OSP (with activities) when home*

Occasionally, the adult child wanted to get to know their overseas parent by spending time with them doing activities, such as going to church together or designating days of the week

dedicated to interacting with their overseas parent, when the overseas parent was home. Julia, aged 26, whose father is now retired and back in the Philippines, now initiates interactions with her father, “Well you know that it is hard to reach out. But I wanted to do it to get to know him. We spend time with each other. We go to mass together.” Participants verbalized a desire to connect with their overseas parent.

*Even when my OSP has returned for good, we are still not as close*

Participants also occasionally identified that when their overseas parent returned for good; they are still not as close. Christine, whose mother has returned to the Philippines permanently, recalls,

“When my mother got home I kind of felt she would be a stranger. But I think that there is a gap between us and sometimes I don’t feel comfortable when I’m with her. There are some instances when I’m not comfortable with her and I’m not open with her. She came home in an instant and there is still a gap.”

The majority of the adult children felt stronger emotional ties to the present parent and a handful of interviewees recalled seeing their overseas parent as a stranger. The emotional distance of a childhood away from the overseas parents was realized resonated years later, even after the migrant parent returned home.

### Discussion

This study was aimed at highlighting the adult child’s reflection of their experiences of being reared in an overseas worker family. Two categories that were identified by almost all participants describe the unique experience of being parented in a transnational family. First, almost all children knew and understood the reason why their parent left—it was for their benefit. These results suggested that this perspective legitimized the decision to be separated and

gave value to the sacrifices made by the family. Participants often noted tangible accomplishments such as the children receiving a college education or a better home, as benefits only made possible by the economic gain of overseas work. Perhaps attaining these goals or material goods validated the idea of victory for the family, after fighting the battle of separation. These findings contrasted with the resentment expressed by interviewees in Parreñas' interviews (2001). Of the 10 participants, there was only one who expressed resentment—the one who was pregnant twice out of wedlock, and the one who did not want to leave her children to go overseas. Since she was the only one, this category was rare, and therefore dropped.

Analysis of the results presents the following incongruence. The majority of the participants vocalized that their parent's overseas work provided a better future and this family structure felt normal and complete. However, less than a handful of interviewees aspired for overseas work themselves, yet often citing that they did not want their future families to endure this hardship. Although adult children gained a sense of respect for their parent's decisions, the personal benefits do not seem to outweigh the hardship of separation. This information could be valuable for further investigation of this ambivalence or determining the likelihood of transgenerational continuation of overseas work.

When considering these results, it is important to address the influence of cultural standards. Marcelino (1990) found that in Filipino families, there is an emphasis on "pakikisama" or smooth interpersonal relations. Thus, Lynch (1973) addresses findings that the Filipino participant may be, "prone to give answers experimenters expect or desire and refrain from using the lower end of evaluation scales" (as cited in Marcelino, p. 117). Also Ho (1993, p. 248) presents these two following concepts as integral to smooth interpersonal relations, "sensitivity and feeling one's way toward another person" and "debt of gratitude" It may be

possible that the overwhelming positive responses from participants may be due to these cultural influences. There may be a sense of politeness and a personal responsibility to caretaking that restricts Filipino participants to present negative aspects of living in an overseas Filipino worker family, in a fear that they are not being appreciative of their parents' sacrifice or that they are being disrespectful to their parents.

A general finding was the economic benefit of having a parent working overseas. However, this family structure led to unique consequences of the demands of role reversal for children, and the sense of responsibility and emotional burden on the present parent, as well as the physical and emotional distance from the overseas parent.

Another significant finding was the communal nature of the childhood experience. This is consistent with the findings of the eastern studies of Parreñas (2001) and Gamburd (2000), in which relatives are involved in childrearing. Almost all interviewees revealed an extended caregiver system consisting of grandparents, aunts, uncles, neighbors, close family friends—well beyond just their mother and father. This may be unique to the culture, where other relatives are there to help. The notion here is that the extended family has a sense of duty to provide support to the parent that stayed. Interaction with the extended family was on a daily basis, for example, with grandparents providing meals, aunts serving as almost a second mother.

Considering the collective family of Filipinos, one must recognize this unique cultural structure in comparison to the Western family model of a nuclear system. In overseas Filipino worker families, although the non-migrant parent theoretically serves as a single parent, he or she has support and resources not commonly available to the traditional American family. A recommendation for further study includes developing a parenting measure within overseas Filipino worker families that considers the extended familial network, perhaps defining and

assessing the interaction among different parenting styles of the migrant parent, present parent, and effects of the parenting styles of additional caregivers.

In addition, the field would benefit from a more focused investigation of overseas fathers and a comparison with overseas mothers. It could also help to compare the viewpoint of the male adult child versus the female adult child. In this study, the eldest male (if the father is the migrant parent) or eldest female (if the mother is the overseas parent) carried personal expectations to assist with the care of younger siblings. This sheds light on the differences in gender. This can be extended to recognize the cultural expectations for the eldest child and consider birth order, when determining the perspective and values of the eldest male children versus female children. Parreñas' study (2005) finds that female children often bear the childcare and household responsibilities of an overseas mother.

Communication patterns in the overseas Filipino worker family are also described in the current study. Adult children shared that their overseas parent initiated communication with them as a child growing up. Common methods of keeping in touch included phone calls, email, text messages, online chats, and letters. Advancements in technology introduced greater options for communication such as video conversations via a webcam or text messages. Thus, the families were more accessible to their parent, and the parent was too, for their families—which makes overseas working perhaps a little less isolating and distant communication less expensive than it used to be.

The resourcefulness of Filipinos was a surprising finding, the sense of determination to maintain communication despite the distance. Perhaps the emphasis on smooth interpersonal relations (Marcelino, 1990) and the communal culture of the Philippines (Enriquez, 1977) fuels

Filipinos' determined effort to maintain ties and motivated them to find creative ways of communication.

The interviews revealed the challenges of growing up in an overseas Filipino worker family and the resiliency of children of overseas workers in addressing the difficulties of the situation and recognizing their strengths to succeed in a non-traditional family structure. The children displayed adaptability in balancing the role of taking on adult responsibilities when their overseas parent was away and being able to step down the leadership role whenever their overseas parent was home to visit or back home to retire. No previous literature was found addressing the demands of this balance.

Surprising findings that differed from previous literature (Gamburd, 2000; Parreñas' 2001, 2005) were the flexibility of fathers who were the present parent. Adult children interviewed in this study revealed that their fathers often accepted traditional female tasks such as cooking, doing laundry, and caring for children. This is counter to the findings of Parreñas' (2001, 2005), and Gamburd's studies (2000) of men in Sri Lankan families where fathers resisted the mothering role, and the eldest daughters assumed this responsibility.

The adult children's reactions to their migrant fathers paralleled the appreciation expressed towards migrant mothers. However, one must consider that only five participants with fathers working overseas were recruited for this study. It is hoped that research will encourage more study on the role of the father in order to draw conclusions with certainty on this gender dynamic.

#### *Recommendations for future research*

This study captured the adult children's retrospective view of their experience growing up in a transnational family. Further longitudinal studies of children at different developmental



stages, such as interviewing children who are actively growing up in an overseas family, may illustrate a change in perspective with age, when examining their experience.

The population interviewed for this study involved middle to upper middle class young adults in college or recently completing college from three cities in the main island (Luzon) of the Philippines. The small ranges of socioeconomic status and location may limit the universality of the experience. Further research is needed with participants from cities and provinces from the other two island groups (Visayas and Mindanao) and participants who belong to a wider range of socioeconomic status.

Further study may provide a more comprehensive understanding of the experience of overseas Filipino families, identifying the stressors, resilience, and protective factors. These findings could be helpful for the field of counseling psychology at an international level and foster greater cultural sensitivity. This information could be most valuable by translating findings to provide outreach services, workshops, counseling and support groups for overseas Filipino workers and their families.

This study has shown the dynamics of an adult child's experience of being parented by an overseas parent as well as by a present parent. Growing up in an overseas Filipino worker family is integral to their formation of sense of self and development of their identity. Migrant worker families are a prominent part of Filipino culture. This study provides a voice for the children of overseas Filipino workers and validates their experience.

Being parented in an overseas worker family is a unique experience, which can yield positive results. The study revealed that children faced with the adversity of this non traditional family structure, while recognizing the challenges of growing up in an absent parent family

system, funneled the energy towards incorporating independence, maturity, a sense of responsibility and resilience as important aspects of their identity.

## References

- Asis, M., Huang, S., & Yeoh, B., (2004). When the light of the home is abroad: unskilled female migration and the Filipino family. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 25(2), 198-215.
- Afifi, T. D., Hutchinson, S., & Krouse, S. (2006). Toward a theoretical model of communal coping in postdivorce families and other naturally occurring groups. *Communication Theory*, 16, 378-409.
- Ang, R. P., & Goh, D. H. (2006). Authoritarian parenting style in Asian societies: A cluster-analytic investigation. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 28(1), 131-151.
- Applewhite, L. W., & Mays, R. A. (1996). Parent-child separation: A comparison of maternally and paternally separated children in military families. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 13, 23-38.
- Baumrind, D. (1966). Effects of authoritative parental control on child behavior, *Child Development*, 37(4), 887-907.
- Baumrind, D. (1991). The influence of parenting styles on adolescent competence and substance abuse. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 11(1), 56-95.
- Bragg, R. (2008, March 15). Maternal deaths and vulnerable migrants. *The Lancet*, 371, 879-881.
- Depasupil, W. (2004). *A salute to the OFW*. Retrieved September 24, 2007 from <http://pinoykaba.com>.
- Ehrenreich, B., & Hochschild, A. R. (Eds.) (2003). *Global woman: Nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

- Enriquez, V. G., (1977). Filipino psychology in the third world. *Philippine Journal of Psychology*, 10(1), 3-18.
- Filipino women's strategies to reshape globalization. (2001, Autumn). *Women's International Network*, 27, 16.
- Goldenberg, H., & Goldenberg, I. (2008). *Family therapy: An overview*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Brooks/Cole.
- Gamburd, M. (2000). *A kitchen spoon's handle: transnationalism and Sri Lanka's migrant households*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hawkins, D. H., Amato, P. R., & King, V. (2006). Parent-adolescent involvement: The relative influence of parent gender and residence. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(1), 125-136.
- Hill, C. E., Thompson, B. J., & Williams, E. N. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 25, 517-572.
- Hill, C. E., Knox, S., Thompson, B. J., Williams, E. N., Hess, S. A., & Ladany, N. (2005). Consensual qualitative research: An Update. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(2), 196-205.
- Hilson, A. M. (2007). Transnationalism and agency in east Malaysia: Filipina migrants in the nightlife industries. *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 18(2), 172-93.
- Ho, D. Y. (1993). Relational Orientation in Asian Social Psychology. In U. Kim, & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *Indigenous Psychologies: Research and Experience in Cultural Context* (pp. 240-259). London: Sage Publications.

- Huebner, A. J., & Mancini, J. A. (2005). *Adjustments among adolescents in military families when a parent is deployed: Final report to the Military Family Research Institute and Department of Defense Quality of Life Office*. Retrieved June 7, 2007 from Purdue University, Military Family Research Institute Web site:  
[http://www.cfs.purdue.edu/mfri/pages/research/Adjustments\\_in\\_adolescents.pdf](http://www.cfs.purdue.edu/mfri/pages/research/Adjustments_in_adolescents.pdf)
- Jackson, R. T. (1990). The cheque's in the mail: the distribution of dependence on overseas sources of income in the Philippines. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 11(2), 76-86.
- Kelley, M. L. (1994). The effects of military-induced separation on family factors and child behavior. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 64(1), 103-111.
- Kelley, M. L., Hock, E., Smith, K. M., Jarvis, M. S., Bonney, J. E., & Gaffney, M. A. (2001). Internalizing and externalizing behavior of children with enlisted Navy mothers experiencing military-induced separation. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 40, 464-71.
- Kurukulasuriya, L. (2008) Housemaid faces death. *Herizon*, 21(3), 12-13.
- Levitt, P. (2001). *The transnational villagers*. Berkeley: CA: University of California Press.
- Marcelino, E. P., (1990). Towards understanding the psychology of the Filipino. In L.S. Brown, & M. P. Root (Eds.), *Diversity and Complexity in Feminist Therapy* (pp. 105-127). New York: Harrington Park Press.
- Marsiglio, W., Fox, G. L., & Roy, K. (2005). *Situated fathering: A focus on physical and social spaces*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Morrow, S. L. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 250-260.
- Minuchin, S. (1974). *Families and family therapy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Nichols, M. P., & Schwartz, R. C., (2004). *Family therapy: Concepts and methods*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Ohara-Hirano, Y. (2000). Cognitive life strains and family relationships of Filipino migrant workers in Japan. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 9(3), 365-373.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2001). *Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2001). Mothering from a distance: Emotions, gender, and inter-generational relations in Filipino transnational families. *Feminist Studies*, 27(2), 361-390.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2005). The gender paradox in the transnational families of Filipino migrant women. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 14(3), 243-268.
- Paz Cruz, V. (1987). *Seasonal orphans and solo parents: The impacts of overseas migration*. Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2006). Qualitative research in counseling psychology: A primer on research paradigms and philosophy of science. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(2), 126-136.
- Popkin, B. M. (1980). Time allocation of the mother and child nutrition. *Ecology of Food and Nutrition*, 9(1), 1-14.
- Velasco, P. (2002, Spring/Summer). Filipino migrant workers amidst globalization. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 21(4), 131.

Yeoh, B. S., Huang, S., Gonzalez III, J. (1999). Migrant female domestic workers: Debating the economic, social, and political impacts in Singapore. *International Migration Review*, 33(1), 114-136.

## Appendix A Interview Schedule

- A. Describe your relationship with your parent who went overseas and your parent that stayed. How was your relationship before your one parent left and after leaving?
1. How was your relationship with your parent who is away? Before leaving, after leaving?
  2. What did your overseas parent do to stay involved in your upbringing, despite the distance?
  3. How was your relationship with your parent who stayed? Before leaving, after leaving?
  4. What did your present parent do to care for you in your overseas parent's absence?
  5. How do you think your present parent did caring for you and your siblings, while your other parent was away?
- B. Tell me about changes in family roles or positions (adjustment in family functioning).
1. How did your family change once your parent went away?
  2. How did your parent who stayed behind care for you, in your other parent's absence?
  3. Who were your primary caretakers?
  4. Your parent who stayed, did they keep a caretaker role or was that role taken on by someone else?
  5. Were there other people involved in the caretaking (grandparent, aunt, uncle) since one of your parents was away?
  6. How did your/his/her family cope?
  7. How did you cope with having only one parent here and the other parent so far away?
  8. How did you feel about the family situation (sad, lonely)? If so, how often? What did you do about it?
- C. What do you feel your family gained from one parent going overseas?
- D. What sacrifices do you feel your family made from one parent going overseas?
- E. What do you feel are the consequences of growing up in an overseas worker family?
1. How do you think growing up in an overseas worker family affected you?
  2. Were there any consequences?
- F. Do you have siblings or relatives that have also worked or are working overseas?
1. Are you or did any of your siblings decide to be an overseas worker also?
  2. How does your/his/her family cope?
- G. If you could describe yourself to the world, what would you like the world to know about you and your experience?
- H. Conclusion
1. Is there anything I did not ask, that you wish I'd asked or any topic that I did not cover that you want to talk about?



Appendix B  
Demographic Questionnaire

Age \_\_\_\_\_ Gender: M    F  
 Religion \_\_\_\_\_  
 Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Which of your parents worked abroad?

Mother \_\_\_\_\_ Father \_\_\_\_\_

Are they currently abroad? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Places worked abroad \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

How long was your parent away from the time from the very start of when they started working overseas? \_\_\_\_\_

How long are they gone between vacations? \_\_\_\_\_

How long do they stay when they visit on vacation? \_\_\_\_\_

How long have they been gone on their current employment? \_\_\_\_\_

How long has it been since they last visited home? \_\_\_\_\_

Did this person provide financial help to the family?    Yes \_\_\_\_\_    No \_\_\_\_\_

How much did they contribute to the household monetarily?

How much of the family expenses? (100% of the cost of the household budget?)

\_\_\_\_\_

How much of their pay went toward the family expenses? (100% of their pay?)

\_\_\_\_\_

Right now is there someone in your extended family working that is working abroad?

No \_\_\_\_\_    Yes \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, how many and who?

Mother/Father \_\_\_\_\_ Sibling \_\_\_\_\_ Aunt/Uncle \_\_\_\_\_    Cousin \_\_\_\_\_

Grandparent \_\_\_\_\_

What is your position in your family?

eldest \_\_\_\_\_    youngest \_\_\_\_\_    middle \_\_\_\_\_ ; what number? \_\_\_\_\_

Your Current Marital status

\_\_\_\_\_ Single    \_\_\_\_\_ Married    \_\_\_\_\_ widowed

\_\_\_\_\_ Partnered    \_\_\_\_\_ Separated or Divorced

How many were you in the family growing up, when your parent was overseas, including other parent and siblings? \_\_\_\_\_

How many siblings? \_\_\_\_\_

Aside from your immediate family who were the other people living in your home?

maid/helper \_\_\_\_\_ grandparents \_\_\_\_\_ Uncle/Aunt \_\_\_\_\_    cousin \_\_\_\_\_

boarder \_\_\_\_\_    other (pls. specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Curriculum Vitae

**AMETHYST REYES TAYLOR**

3158 Ash Harbor Drive East  
Jacksonville, FL 32224  
amethysttaylor@gmail.com  
(904) 874-7678

Birthdate:  
Place of Birth: Manila, Philippines

**EDUCATION**

---

**Master of Arts, Counseling Psychology**, May 2008

University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL

GPA: 3.9 / 4.0

Master's Thesis: Parenting in Filipino Transnational Families, Defended April 10, 2008

Committee Chair: Ma. Teresa Tuason, Ph.D.

**Bachelor of Science, Psychology and**

**Interdisciplinary Humanities** (concentration in Women's Studies), April 2001

Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL

GPA: 3.9 / 4.0 *Magna cum Laude*

**PUBLICATIONS**

---

Tuason, M. T., **Taylor, A. R.**, Rollings, L., Harris, T. & Martin, C. (2007). On both sides of the hyphen: Exploring the Filipino-American identity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54, 4, 362-372.

**RESEARCH EXPERIENCE**

---

**Research Assistant**, Ma. Teresa Tuason, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL, April 2005-August 2007

- Facilitated in the transcription and data analysis of a grant-funded study on Hurricane Katrina victims.
  - Tuason, M. T., & Güss, C. D. (in preparation). *The disaster continues: A qualitative study on Hurricane Katrina victims*. Manuscript in preparation.
- Involved in the data collection, review of literature and co-authoring a publication investigating the various relationship and identity processes of Filipino-American youth.
  - Tuason, M. T., **Taylor, A. R.**, Rollings, L., Harris, T. & Martin, C. (2007). On both sides of the hyphen: Exploring the Filipino-American identity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54(4), 362-372.
- Assisted with data gathering for a research study of children at the Refuge, an inner-city after-school care program.
  - Tuason, M. T., Marcetic, A., Roberts, S., Stuart, K., & Rearick, J. (in press). A refuge: After-school care for African American children in poverty. *Early Child Development and Care*. 2008.

- Prepared the transcription of interviews for qualitative data analysis.
  - Cashore, C., & Tuason, M. T. (2007). *Negotiating the binary: Identity, social justice, and hope for bisexual and transgender individuals*. Manuscript under review.
  - Brunson, L. B., & Tuason, M. T. (in preparation). *How do college professors teaching cultural diversity manage their own attitudes and beliefs?* Manuscript in preparation.

**Research Assistant**, Ashby Plant, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, Florida State University

Tallahassee, FL, January 2001-April 2001

- Facilitated laboratory experiments and interviews with undergraduates with impression formation tasks examining implicit and explicit expressions of prejudice.

**Research Assistant**, Caroline Picart, Ph.D., Department of English and College of Law, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, January 2001-April 2001

- Undergraduate research member in a graduate level research collaboration; conducted interviews and an intensive analysis on the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 and 2000, in preparation for publication.
  - Picart, C. J., (2003). Rhetorically Reconfiguring Victimhood and Agency: The Violence Against Women Act's Civil Rights Clause. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 6 (1), 97-125.

**Intern**, Jessica Labbe, M.A., Florida Commission on the Status of Women (FCSW)

Tallahassee, FL, January 2001-April 2001

- Synthesized information and research on the investigation of the status of girls in the Florida Juvenile Justice System, culminating in a publication produced by the FCSW.
  - Florida Commission on the Status of Women, (2002). Prevention by Intervention: Girls in Florida's Juvenile Justice System. *2001 Annual Report*, 10, 10-19.

**Research Assistant**, Joyce Carbonell, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, January 2000-May 2000

- Analyzed the use of the MMPI as a substance abuse scale for women (SAS-W).

**Research Assistant**, Joyce Carbonell, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, August 1999-December 1999

- Utilized SPSS to analyze data compiled from interviews with women in prison.

## PRESENTATIONS

---

**Taylor, A. R.,** Tuason, M. T. (2008, March). *Parenting in Filipino Transnational Families*. Poster Presentation. International Counseling Psychology Conference (ICPC), Chicago, Illinois.

**Taylor, A. R.,** Tuason, M. T. (2008, July). *Parenting in Filipino Transnational Families*. Oral presentation. 19<sup>th</sup> International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP), Bremen, Germany.

## AWARDS AND GRANTS

---

- Delores Auzenne Fellowship, Fall 2006 – present, \$10,000
- UNF Master of Arts in Counseling Psychology Program Graduate Research Assistantship, Spring & Summer 2007, \$5350
- UNF Graduate Students' Scholarly Project Research Grant, Spring & Fall 2007, \$700

## CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

---

**Clinical Counseling Intern**, Student Counseling Center, Jacksonville University  
Jacksonville, FL, May 2007 - present

- Provide weekly individual counseling to college students, ages 17-35, addressing issues of depression, anxiety, trauma, adjustment, academic concerns, identity development, interpersonal relationships, life skills, diversity, family of origin issues, substance abuse, and eating disorders.
- Conduct intake assessments, psychological testing through the OQ-45 Outcome Questionnaire, suicide risk assessments and emergency counseling services.

**Career Counseling Intern**, Career Services, Jacksonville University  
Jacksonville, FL, May 2007 - present

- Provide academic and career guidance and assistance through individual and group consultations to college students, focusing on undecided majors, internships, resume writing, career planning and graduation preparation.
- Administer and provide interpretations of career planning such as Myers Briggs Type Indicator, Strong Interest Inventory, and Discover.

**Mental Health Consultant**, Student Life, Jacksonville University  
Jacksonville, FL, May 2007 – present

- Implement outreach to the campus community through workshops and programs as well as serve as a liaison to Student Life, coordinating with Assistant Dean of Students to organize the New Student Orientation.

**Presurgical Evaluator**, Alberts & Lahey, P.A.  
Jacksonville, FL, May 2007 – August 2007

- Provided pre-surgical assessment evaluation for medical candidates in consideration for the laparoscopic adjustable gastric banding surgery (LAP-Band) procedure for weight loss.

**Clinical Counselor**, River Region Human Services  
Jacksonville, FL, August 2001-April 2002

- Provided psychosocial assessment, treatment plan development, individual counseling, group facilitation and case management within a clinical services unit, focusing on utilization of methadone maintenance in a recovery program for opiate dependency.

## **PROFESSIONAL TRAINING**

---

- American Psychological Association 115<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA, August 17-20, 2007.
- American College Counseling Association Fourth National Conference, Savannah, GA, February 6-9, 2008.

## **PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS**

---

- American Psychological Association
  - APA, Division 17, Counseling Psychology
- American Counseling Association
- American College Counseling Association
- Asian American Psychological Association
- UNF Counseling Psychology Graduate Association

## **OUTREACH**

---

- Career Planning workshops for freshman, athletes and undecided majors
- Communicating Effectively
- Stress Management and Relaxation
- Freshmen Orientation Group Leader Training
- Celebrate your Body Week: including campus-wide campaign on health awareness, education and eating disorder screening
- Safe Spring Break: including programming on STD education, sexual assault awareness and prevention, and alcohol and drug safety

## **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

---

**Contingent Deferred Sales Charge (CDSC) Reconciliation Analyst**, Merrill Lynch  
Jacksonville, FL, July 2006 – April 2007

- Coordinated client mutual fund activity records to determine sales charges and approve CDSC waivers.

**Product Development Project Manager**, Merrill Lynch  
Jacksonville, FL, August 2005 – July 2006

- Organized the analysis, design and preparation of technology improvements to address business needs including overseeing the inspection, test, and installation of new systems development and enhancements.
- Supported operations personnel in troubleshooting and assisted in resolving all production problems encountered.

**Global Trade Operations Specialist**, Merrill Lynch  
Jacksonville, FL, April 2004-August 2005

- Managed eight-member team responsible for processing over 24,000 dividend distributions and \$1.4 billion in reinvestment trades per year.

**Asset Transition Services Analyst**, Merrill Lynch

Jacksonville, FL, April 2002-April 2004

- Handled the receipt and delivery of accounts for the Merrill Lynch Trust Company.
- Conducted transfer of accounts for Private Wealth/High Net Worth (\$1 million+) clients.

**Computer Lab Supervisor**, Athletic Academic Support Center, Florida State University

Tallahassee, FL, September 2000-December 2000

- Assisted student athletes with computer-related academic support, including the application of Windows software and utilization of network systems.

**Assistant Camp Director**, YMCA of North Florida

Jacksonville, FL, May 2000-August 2000

- Coordinated the administration and function of a summer day camp consisting of 60-80 children.

**Resident Assistant**, Florida State University

Tallahassee, FL, August 1999-April 2000

- Provided advising, counseling, mediating and disciplinary services for undergraduate students in a residential environment.
- Developed and implemented proactive, retention-focused educational and community building programs.

**VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE**

---

**Therapeutic Walker**, Hearts, Hands and Hooves

Middleburg, FL, May 2004-May 2005

- Assisted therapists with a therapeutic horse-riding program for physically, mentally, and emotionally challenged children to improve mobility, muscle development, and attention skills.

**Academic Advisor**, Undergraduate Academic Advising, Florida State University

Tallahassee, FL, August 1999-May 2000

- Provided academic guidance for freshmen and sophomore undergraduates.

**Mentor**, Boys and Girls Club of America

Tallahassee, FL, August 1999-May 2000

- Tutored and served as a role model for children in an after school program.

**Intern**, Florida Public Interest Research Group

Tallahassee, FL, January 1999-May 1999

- Coordinated grassroots campaign for consumer awareness.
- Conducted research for publishing and litigation.
- Organized press conferences.

## HONORS AND DISTINCTIONS

---

- University of North Florida Outstanding Counseling Psychology Graduate Award, 2008
- Six Sigma Green Belt Certification, 2005
- Omicron Delta Kappa National Leadership Honorary, 2001
- Garnet and Gold Leadership Honorary, 2000
- Dean's List, 1997-2001
- Circle of Gold Award, 1999 & 2000
- University Honors Program - Liberal Studies Honors Finisher, 1999
- Torch Night Recipient, 1998
- **Department Representative**, College of Arts and Sciences Student Advisory Committee, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL August 2000-April 2001
- **Outstanding Undergraduate Scholar Award Project Chair and Executive Council Member**, Golden Key National Honor Society, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL August 1999-April 2000

## ACADEMIC AFFILIATIONS

---

- Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society
- Psi Chi National Psychology Honor Society
- Golden Key National Honor Society
- Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society
- Seminole Torchbearers – Alumni Organization of former student leaders

## LANGUAGES

---

- Fluent in English and Tagalog (Philippines)

## TECHNICAL SKILLS

---

- |                            |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| ○ Client Management System | ○ Microsoft Word       |
| ○ Lotus Notes              | ○ Microsoft Access     |
| ○ Windows 98, 2000, NT, XP | ○ Microsoft PowerPoint |
| ○ SPSS                     | ○ Microsoft Excel      |
| ○ Microsoft Works          | ○ Internet Explorer    |
| ○ Corel WordPerfect        | ○ Microsoft Outlook    |
| ○ Telnet                   | ○ Netscape Navigator   |

## REFERENCES

---

- **Ma. Teresa Tuason, Ph.D.**  
Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology  
University of North Florida
- **Kristin Alberts, Ph.D.**  
Director, Student Counseling Center  
Jacksonville University
- **Jennifer King, Ph.D.**  
Coordinator of Clinical Training, Student Counseling Center  
Jacksonville University