

**"PREPARE FOR THE WORST": RITE OF PASSAGE
OF FILIPINO WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT AND
INTEGRATION IN CANADA, FROM THE 1960'S TO
THE PRESENT**

**"PREPARE FOR THE WORST": RITE OF PASSAGE
OF FILIPINO WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION
IN CANADA, FROM 1960'S TO THE PRESENT**

By

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TITLE:

**“Prepare for the worst”:
Rite of passage of Filipino
women’s settlement and
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ABSTRACT:

This thesis explores the settlement and integration of Filipino women. It identifies the migration waves of women from the Philippines from the 1960's to the current period and uses these periods of migration as a framework for understanding the barriers and integration processes of different immigrant groups. Sixteen Filipinas were interviewed and were asked about their immigration entry to Canada, prior expectations, migration process and their settlement and integration experiences. Demographic characteristics such as marital status, level of education, social networks and employment history were also gathered to provide a profile of the sample. Data on the periods of the immigration entry to Canada, housing accommodation and settlement organizations that assisted them enabled comparisons between the various immigration waves of Filipino women. Differences and similarities in labour market integration emerged. Initial findings illustrate that the settlement and integration of Filipinas are conditioned by their entry status in Canada. Filipinas' identities are grounded not only in their various ethnic heterogeneous backgrounds but also in their global position as a group of workers in the social reproduction of caring labour. This comprises their labour diaspora and transnational identity and influences their cultural perception of work, adaptation labour strategies and the tension between their occupational and social status in Canada and their homeland.

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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to highlight the barriers and measures to settlement and integration of Filipino women in Canadian society. Global Division of Labour and Power (GDLP) theory characterizes the current international division of labour. This includes elements of intensification of transnational flows of capital, a complex web of networks of production, and social reproduction (Mittelman 2000, Sassen 2002). GDLP theory reveals the macro level processes of migration and links the compound experiences of migrant Filipinas globally to the current Canadian context. The historical development of the international division of labour to GDLP comprises the issue of power and culture. Power, according to Mittelman, involves both objective and subjective factors (Mittelman 2000). He writes: "Objective element includes physical features of states that can be measured such as gross national products while the latter includes subtle dimensions such as legitimacy, trust and community" (Mittelman 2000: 55). He further writes that "Cultural networks lubricate these chains to facilitate flows of capitals and labour and ease [or sometimes heighten] tensions" (Mittelman 2000: 54). This analysis therefore centers on the deskilling process experienced by Filipinas and why and how they get segregated and relegated to low status jobs despite their high educational and professional skills and experience.

Importance of this Study

Several studies have been done of Filipina domestic workers in Canada and in the world. My research is different in the following context. First, I am a Filipina and I came into this country as a domestic worker. I therefore have a firsthand experience of this work and the process that characterized the lifecycle of this

particular labour force. Chiu quotes Kobayashi's (1994: 78) assertion, "I do not use other people's struggles, [experiences and concerns] as the basis for my research; I use my research as a basis for struggles, [experiences and concerns] of which I am a part"(Chiu 2004: 6). Secondly, this project highlights the surmountable difficulties faced by numerous Filipino women as a result of their unique labour market position in global North countries such as Canada. It is important to understand the 'perceived identities' of this particular group of women and how this is embedded in their historical and cultural traditions and beliefs under current conditions. Thirdly, this project illustrates the socialization process of Filipino women in the live-in caregiver program as a precursor to their segmentation in caring work. This highlights the coping strategy of these workers which downplay their subordinate position in the mainstream society that results in a pragmatic outlook (Cameron 1999). Finally, the aim of this research is to contribute to the very pressing debate on settlement and integration of skilled immigrants in Canada. It highlights effective ways to overcome challenges faced by newcomers, regardless of their immigration status in the country.

Filipino women in Canada

Filipino women migrate to various parts of the world. The waves of these migrations illustrate both the government economic policies of the Philippines and various host countries. Earlier waves of Filipino women who came to Canada in the 60's and 70's with landed immigrant status were comprised of professionals highly concentrated in medical fields. The current influx of Filipinas, in contrast, enter Canada on temporary permits. More specifically, they are known as domestic workers, nannies or caregivers. Caregiving ranges from

childcare to elderly, and to care for persons with disability. The experiences of Filipinas in Canada are predominantly conditioned by their entry in caring work. These women also possess other occupational profiles such as jobs in primary sector like nurses, doctors, accountants, and teachers; most, however, are in medical professional field with low- paid positions such as nursing aid in nursing and retirement homes. Consequently, Filipino women's identities are greatly influenced by their heavy concentration on social reproduction, the emerging wave of mail order brides, and sex entertainers in Canada and various parts of the world (Salazar 2000, 2005, Sassen 2002). As labour markets change from manufacturing to a service economy, Filipinas have worked in every aspect of the segregated and informal labour market. Why? Ng (1993) argues "that first job experience eventually situate[d] them in the labour market" (Ng in Man 2004: 142). This illustrates why the deskilling process of Filipinas is facilitated through their migration and continues as they occupy caring labour in industrial countries like Canada.

CHAPTER II:

GLOBAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXTS: WHY FILIPINA WOMEN MIGRATE

There are almost 8 million Filipino living and working outside the Philippines (Burgess et al 2005). More than half of them are women (Salazar 2000, 2005). Three quarters of these women work as domestic workers in various industrial countries (ibid, Guerrero 2001). Some of the pressing reasons for this massive migration is the inability of their home country to absorb the large influx of university graduates (Kelly 2004, 2006, Salazar 2005). Indicative of this is the backlash of massive high unemployment: the loss of opportunity for male

traditional profit-making, the result of structural adjustments that produced high foreign debt and its devastating effect on the standard of living (Sassen 2002). In short, they come from a third world country. As Salazar argues, "Filipinas are servants of globalization" (Salazar 2000:3).

Industrial countries are the usual destination of Filipinas' migration. Increased participation of women in the economy creates a need for childcare provision (Mahon 2005, Prentice 2001, Tyvka 2001, Jenson et al 2003, OECD Report 2005). Domestic work is undervalued, underpaid and stigmatized. Most Canadian citizens do not want to take part in this occupation. The Canadian government responded by the creation of a domestic work program that imports women from other countries willing to perform domestic labour (Daenzer 1993). The current live-in caregiver program meets the needs for caregiver/domestic work of upper middle- class women in Canadian society. Poor working Canadian women have limited access to LCP. Migration of women of color therefore facilitates the emancipation of a certain class of women in the global North while meeting the needs of women of color for economic survival. This power relation creates tension between workers of the global North and workers of the global South. Movement of human labour is an important feature of the current global economy (Sklair 1991, Daenzer 1993, Bakan et al 2005, Salazar 2000, 2001, 2005). Women comprise more than half of transnational global workers; they comprise what Sassen calls "the feminization of survival" .¹

¹ Sassen's term describes the transfer of breadwinner roles from men to women (Sassen 2002:257).

Global division of labour and power (GDLP) is the current international division of labour (Mittelman 2000). Elements of GDLP includes webs of transnational networks that highlight the current complex production networks. The 'other' of production process is social reproduction (Mattingly 2001, Truong 1996) or the "international transfer of caretaking" (Salazar 2000:561). Production and social reproduction produces conflict or dichotomy in male and female division of labour: On the one hand is the valued work of the high professional jobs in technology and the primary labour market, and on the other hand is the undervalued work of caring work in low-paid jobs in the domestic sphere. Both are mutually interdependent. One cannot function without the other. Historically, male jobs are well-paid while women's work in the home is devalued. Historical consideration of reproductive and international division of labour theories highlights the global social locations of Filipinas. The role of gatekeepers (state: sending and receiving and private employment agencies) facilitates the influx of migrant workers and the rise in the consumption need of the emerging transnational capitalist class, especially among rich countries.

Concepts of International Division of Labour

The historical development of the international division of labour also reveals the power relations embedded in the process. GDLP theory illustrates the anatomy of the current global economy (Mittelman 2000). It locates the concentration of power and identifies particular ideologies, cultures and key actors in the existing international division of labour. It evolves from the first international division of labour (IDL), which is characterized during the colonial era of bilateral trade agreements. The shift from the original international division of labour (IDL) to

New International Division of Labour (NIDL) was driven by a strategy of OECD's to maximize profit by cutting the cost of production through outsourcing in developing countries (Froebel et al 1981).

As this movement of production expands with the advancement of technology, communication and transportation, it opens up more complex global networks.² This continues to fuel the growth of the gross national product that is characteristic of industrial countries. Furthermore, the shift from IDL to NIDL is an "articulation of the old and the redivision of labour" (Mittelman 2000:38-39). This blending heralds and preconditions the current complex international division of labour and power (GDLP).

GDLP fills the gap in the NIDL which fails to connect economic with political and cultural aspects of the international division of labour (Mittelman 2000:39-40). Rapid growth in various parts of the world emerges simultaneously. Industries require various transnational transactions and movement of people and finances. Trade agreements also become complex. However, the old trade relations are still carried out within the current disproportional relations among countries. Current agreements involve structural adjustment programs that are the conditions of the World Bank among poor countries when procuring debt to

² Changes to the international division of labour from IDL to NIDL manifest the shift in production of manufactured goods to developing countries. ²There is a blending of the old with the new types of theory concerning this division (Mittelman 2000). The increase production of fragmented through modern innovation in developing countries shows profits of transnational companies on massive foreign subsidiaries companies.

finance development in the third world (Salazar 2005:15). The increasing profits of multinational companies of the developed countries and the impoverished conditions of mostly of developing populations co-exist (Mittelman 2000, Bakan et al 2005, Sklair 2000, 2001). Basic needs for social reproduction also intensifies under the current context of globalization.

Social Reproduction

As production becomes spatial and networks of sellers and buyers cross international boundaries, so thus finance, capital and the need for social reproduction workers (Mittelman 2000:34, Salazar 2005). Nakano defines social reproduction as "referring to the creation and recreation of people as cultural, and social as well as physical beings"(Ryan 1981, 15 1992, in Nakano 1992: 117). Thus it involves "mental, emotional and manual labour" (Brenner and Laslett 1986: 117 in Nakano 1992:117-118). This translates to the feminization of work and the increase need for service economy. In Truong' study of Asian economy and the role of women, she identified a fourth tier, in addition to the first three classification in the labour force hierarchy that can situate along the current GDLP (Truong 1999:133). This fourth tier is comprised of paid reproductive workers such as sex workers, entertainers and domestic workers (Truong 1999:155-156). This is an expansion of the hierarchal roles previously identified. First tier, are workers in primary labour market constructed along male norms with formal wage system and secure benefits (Truong 1999:155). The second tier includes workers in the secondary labour market who follow the female flexible roles as part-time, non-standard, non-secure jobs without benefits (ibid). The third tier, on the other hand, reflects the position of women in the social

reproduction as household managers (ibid). These women's primary concern reflects the traditional role of women as nurturer of the generation and the protector of moral values. The addition of the fourth tier is a result of the increased participation of women in the labour force, which creates a need for secondary care for the home. The emergence of the fourth tier is part of the intricate process of globalization. Truong argues that the last tier "socially sustains the virility and affective needs of the mobile male workforce who usually belongs to primary labour market, single or temporary detached from their families" (Truong 1999: 156). Sassen's work on global cities highlights the role of emerging urban professionals who require services in the informal sector (Sassen 2002: 262). The presence of Filipinas in various industrial countries provide the 'other' of the massive production characterized by globalization.

Culture ideology is the life-blood of the current global economic system (Sklair 2001, Mittelman 2000: 54-55). Consumption has taken the place of production as the 'fulcrum' of the current capitalist system (Beder 2000: 239). Filipinas are consumers in the current global economic system (Salazar 2000). They purchase the commodified citizenship rights to Canada. The implication of this is the incorporation of everyone regardless of their class into a unifying force that crosses boundaries of gender, class, race, ethnicity, and ideology in sustenance of the current capitalist system. Consumption is an important ideology that provides an important power for continual participation in work and migration. Transnational culture also means an emerging transnational capitalist class with a new type of class consumption (Mittelman 2000: 53, Salazar 2000:574, Sklair

2001). A growing niche of special products and the counter social reproduction service need links to the fourth tier that Truong outlines. This embodies the dynamic of production and reproduction in the global scale and Filipinas' entanglement in the nexus of this convergence. Filipino women in Canada epitomize the expansion of women's caring labour globally. The succeeding section highlights the role of states and other institutions in the current context of Filipina women's position in the national and global economic system of social reproduction.

Gatekeepers in the current Global Economic System

As part of the migration process, gatekeepers play a very important role. The state functions as a key actor by legislating policies that opens doors for migrant workers. Sending countries like the Philippines have economic survival as the main push factor. The pull factor of receiving states like Canada, in relation to the country's domestic program, includes filling the gap left by women working in the mainstream labour force. Recruitment agencies are becoming important gatekeepers who facilitate the flow of workers from developing to developed countries. They are active participants in the systemic discrimination of Filipinas through racial stereotyping. They view Filipinas as a 'milking cow.'

The role of domestic workers in the Philippine economy is directly linked to the need of the country for their monthly remittances. This is important to pay the country's high foreign debt brought by structural adjustment programs. The export of human labour has been the strategy of the Philippine state since the 1970's (Guerrero 2001, Lucas 2006, Salazar 2000, and 2005). It is an important

domestic measures to address high unemployment and underemployment (Salazar 2005:15). Furthermore, at the household level remittances provide an upgrade to the standard of living for migrant families (Burgess et al 2005). It also allows members of the families more access to education, which increases the educational level of Filipinos as a group (ibid). Education and training in the Philippines are driven by overseas employment prospect (Salazar 2000, 2005, Kelly 2004, Bakan et al 2005).

Go argues that the strength of remittances lies in the length of migration history of foreign workers (Go 2002: 4). Regrettably, this partly explains the Philippine government's tolerance of the working conditions of Filipino migrant workers in oppressive places like the Middle East and Singapore. The Philippine government's foreign human labour and employment strategy does not include improving the condition of migrant workers (Go 2002: 5-7). Furthermore a new law was passed for additional training to be undergone by overseas workers from the Philippines to increase their competitiveness in the labour market (Siklab newsletter 2007). The process generates more fees from migrant workers to increase the already high state exactions of overseas workers (Bakan et al 2005:163). However, the issue is not the competitiveness of Filipino workers, but their lack of power political in asserting their proper treatment as workers so they can earn what they deserve. Again, the responsibility and accountability for the exploitative conditions of the Filipino workers are being relegated to the individual and overshadowing the role of the states both sending and receiving countries. Remittances from overseas workers account for a large

source of revenue and foreign currency exchange (Burgess et al 2005, Go 2002). From 1990-1999 remittances to the Philippines contributed 20.3% to the country's export earnings and 5.2% of GNP (Go 2002: 3). This accounts for the every day average of 2, 748 Filipinos being deployed overseas (The Philippine Star, April 2002, in Go 2002:3).

The population of Canada in 2001 includes 43.7% immigrants (Satzewich et al 2007:59) 18.4 % of this population was foreign born (ibid). By opening its door to foreign trained workers Canada is able to save billions of dollars in education and training as immigrants come with high level of education and skills (Satzewich et al 2007:63). In addition, Canadian government save cost as changes in gatekeeping roles from the state to private agencies. This transitions of gatekeeping role is in line with the shift to neo-liberal policies and restructuring of the welfare state. However, private employers have participated as important gatekeepers in Canadian domestic work program since the initial stages of imperial nation building of the country, during the Caribbean scheme, FDM and now in the LCP. However, it is after the FDM to the present that employment agencies expanded its roles as key gatekeepers for the entry of domestic workers. Daenzer quotes a government memorandum that states:

The Committee did not favor a proposal that the government advance fares to female immigrants willing to enter service as domestics...an obligation to stay in such service amounting[sic] to an indenture...There would be no objection to encouraging non-governmental agencies to enter such arrangements...(Daenzer 1993:45).

The government delegates authority to private institutions such as employment agencies to retain the image of an impartial government. Citizenship rights in

host countries like Canada becomes a coveted commodity that can be purchased through private recruitment agencies via LCP. This strengthens the idea of a Western utopia, the vision of the North as a land of freedom and prosperity, among prospective migrants. The lure of citizenship captures Filipinas into the web of rite of passage. Private recruitment agencies fueled by neo-liberal discourses and upheld through various social networks allow Filipino women to perceive themselves as free agents in market transactions. As perceived buyers of the Western rite of passage through LCP and as conceived sellers of social reproductive labour as well, Filipino women invest in this labour transaction by buying their passage to Canada through the recruitment agencies. During the slavery period, the masters usually bought their slaves and therefore had a monetary interest in keeping their slaves. However, employers currently know that there are unlimited supplies of poor women from third world countries. This fuels the profit-making of global North private agencies on the "backs of women" from developing countries (Sassen 2002: 257).

The withdrawal of states as a third party in the employment contract between the domestic workers and the employers retains the moral regulation of women's work within the private sphere. Furthermore, this supports the neo-liberal praxis of privatization. It illustrates the power of private individuals in the enforcement of and therefore reliance on informal governance instead of being part of formal laws and the regulations of the state. This puts domestic workers at the mercy and kindness of the employer and their discretion in following labour laws within the confines of their own homes. The regulation of the domestic workers by the

state is in direct contrast to the deregulation of recruitment agencies by the state. Re-regulation of the domestic workers continues, however, this time it is being carried by proxy along the axis of the dominant class with ruling power: by the private individuals who are owners of recruitment agencies dominantly run by white business owners and further relinquished to individual family of employers. Gatekeeping roles of the Canadian state illustrate the need 'just for labour,' while the Philippines' need is 'just for money' through remittances. The reciprocal nature of the relationship of Canada and the Philippines can be defined as cheap labour for Canada and money for the Philippines. Recruitment agencies facilitate these exchanges.

Women of color and Domestic labour: a historical consideration

Women of color like Caribbean domestic workers enter with temporary status in Canada (Cameron 1999, Daenzer 1993).³ The major source country at this period was the West Indies (Grande 1996, Cameron 1999, Bakan et al 2005)⁴. The Canadian government is always 'shopping' for new sources of domestic workers, usually from the most desirable states toward the least desirable states. Germany rejects Canada's request of 5,000 domestic workers from the country (Daenzer 1993:49). Japan and Guyana also followed the same action and found that Canadian domestic program lacked protective laws (Daenzer 1993: 78).

³ Domestic program initially are heavily regulated employment contract that was from 1967 to 1981 (Daenzer 1993). This period is known as the temporary employment authorization or TEA. Immigration officer serve as the gatekeeper during this era with major moral and medical regulation that builds on racial stereotypes (Bakan et al 2005, Cameron 1999).

⁴ The domestic program of Canada which is now the current live-in caregiver illustrates the preferential treatment given to English or British descent caregivers over women of color in the past. British women are allowed to come as immigrants and illustrate as desirable citizens.

that Canadian domestic program lacked protective laws (Daenzer 1993: 78).

After 1981, a new type of domestic program emerged: the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) (Bakan et al 2005, Cameron 1999, Grandea 1996, Pratt 2001). FDM marked the change for the entitlement of domestic workers to apply for landed immigrant status after two years of domestic work within Canada. This change was the result of lobbying by Caribbean domestic workers (Cameron 1999, Daenzer 1993, Grandea 1996, Bakan et al 2005). The recruitment agencies took a major role as gatekeepers, which converged with the change of worker origins from the West Indies to the Philippines (Bakan et al 2005)⁵. Contracts are now negotiated not between the states but between the employer and the foreign domestic worker.

The FDM changed to LCP in 1991 and represents again another shift in the requirements for the selection and recruitment of foreign domestic workers (Daenzer 1993, Grandea 1996, Bakan et al 2005). The focus of this change centered on education and training. In 1995, the changes in educational requirements of high school and twelve months training or experienced was

⁵ Instead of further negotiating with the issue of domestic workers or establishing a universal childcare the government found another heavily indebted country willing to keep the domestic work program in tact. Philippine became the new source in the 80's after West Indies. The intervening years between 80's and 90's provide the transition period. The government conducted a review of the program and with the option of residency application after two years of domestic work. Yet, retaining most of the oppressive elements which is restriction to legal rights by temporary entry and employer specific instead of occupation specific. The succeeding years now follow this course.

implemented (Daenzer 1993, Grandea 1996, Pratt 1999, Mckay 2002). This will be evident on the findings of the study as changes in the flow of Filipinas migration to other countries became a precursor of the LCP participation. According to Daenzer "changes on policy is based on improving the interpretation and status of Canadian citizens and not the domestic workers" (Daenzer 1993:12).

Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP)

The three elements of LCP are the remnant of the older domestic program and its most oppressive characteristics: the mandatory live in requirement, temporary entry status for 24 months, and the dependence on a specific employer (Grande 1996, Daenzer 1993, Cameron 1999, Bakan et al 2005). The consequence of non-compliance to the terms outlined in the live-in caregiver program is deportation to the home country. Domestic workers must therefore have un-interrupted two years domestic work and the immediate application within one year after the two year domestic work period. Unrealistically, this ignores other factors that might influence the inability of workers to fulfill two year domestic work. The health and well-being of individual domestic workers are crucial issues not considered in the drafting of the program. Leila Elumbra was ordered for deportation by Immigration Canada for not meeting the 24 months required domestic work (The Philippine Reporter 2007: (National Alliance of Philippine Women In Canada: NAPWC), 2006:4). NAPWC, states how Miss Elumbra suffered long sickness after 22 months of domestic work (The Philippine Reporter 2007:NAPWC 2006:5). Elumbra's situation affirms to the lack of power of migrant workers and how legal restrictions sometimes translate to

inhumane treatment due to inherit discriminatory immigration policy. This case illustrates to the lack of protective measures that address domestic workers need as workers relative to the other workers with Canadian citizenship rights.

LCP with its option for residency application, after two years of live-in caregiving, does not provide other type of options to women outside the program, but, to remain in domestic work. The policy is clear on the consequences when requirements are violated. This provides us with a glimpse of the structural barrier that eventually leads to the process of deskilling of Filipinas under the LCP. Most likely, Filipina domestic workers paid for their rite of passage to the LCP. This implies that they will remain in precarious conditions to protect their investment and secure the economic future of their families which they 'hope' is tied with the citizenship package of LCP.

Changes in the type of work also emerged. During FDM, the major focus of Filipina nannies work are in child care and housekeeping (The Philippine Reporter 2007:NAPWC 2006:6). However, in 1992 this has expanded into care of the elderly, people with disability and housekeeping chores(ibid). Education requirements in education and past experiences in health and education draws an important pool of skilled workers to the LCP program (Bakan et al 2005). It is not uncommon to have a doctor, or a teacher as a nanny from the Philippines. The LCP, although full of discriminatory policy, stands as the benchmark of domestic worker's program. This is especially true among the Filipinas working in places in the Middle East such as Saudi Arabia or Singapore where high

Philippines (Salazar 2001, Balita 2007, The Philippine Reporter 2007).

One important feature that draws Filipinas to be part of LCP is the ability of domestic workers to apply for landed immigrant status after the two year program. This is the most attractive feature of LCP to non-citizens and links to what Marshall terms the "cradle of modern citizenship of freedom, democracy and equality" (Bakan et al 2005:20). The program allows one year for domestic workers to apply for permanent status after the two years live-in requirement. From one perspective, this seems very liberating, but within the context of the immigration entry of foreign domestic workers the working permit explicitly states the sole employer on the legal document. This translates into the power for private citizens to enforce the employment contract within the confines of private homes.⁶ This leads to the idea of negotiating citizenship rights based on the 'goodwill of the employer.'

The discriminatory element of LCP is confounded by bureaucratic arrangements in Canada. Immigration policies are governed under the federal government jurisdiction. Labour standards, however, are under the provincial governance.

⁶ The condition of domestic workers illustrates the matrix of domination of women in three areas the personal, societal and supra structural level. The lack of settlement and integration programs for domestic workers illustrates the state discriminatory policy in regulating and NOT regulating. State and its various institutions, nevertheless exerts power and coercion due to differential treatments of entry through immigration policy based on specific employment strategy that eventually segregate women of color into precarious employment. In the website of Canadian immigration one can see four settlement and integration program for immigrants to Canada⁶ but for the domestic worker the list of advocacy group is attached for consultation of rights and settlement of domestic worker. Both groups are destined to the same labour market the difference is not on level of skills but in the recognition of the occupation within the National Occupation Classification which does not render a point to domestic work as a category.

This creates a chasm in accessing protection and settlement services for these workers. In addition, it complicates the enforcement of rules and labour standards, especially among different provinces in Canada. Similarly, it is within the same context, where skilled newcomers to Canada faced challenges in the assessment of foreign credentials.

CHAPTER III:

HOW DESKILLING OCCUR: THE MIGRANT EXPERIENCES OF FILIPINAS

Filipina migrant workers' rights are violated all over the world. Every day unnamed coffins come home to the Philippines (Modern Heroes Modern Slaves (1997): Film, Balita No.14 July 16-31 2007). Not all make it to see their families or talk to their families after long migrations overseas (The Philippine Reporter Vol. 19 No.10 July 2007). A few weeks ago a 25 years old Filipina domestic worker in Toronto from Ilo-ilo, died suddenly when her appendix ruptured. Because she was here for less than 3 months, she was not covered by OHIP (The Philippine Reporter July 2007). The article elaborated that the Filipina kept her suffering a secret because she did not have OHIP coverage. She did not have relatives here in Canada. Several Filipino community groups are trying to raise funds to send her body home (ibid). In the same newspaper, account of several Filipino workers overseas in the Middle East or Asian countries are subject to execution without legal representation. Yet, the surge of Filipino migration abroad continues.

Women from the Philippines who migrated to a second country before entering Canada experienced varying degrees and forms of exploitation and abuse. The

focus of much of academic scholarship on Filipino women in North America does not reflect the complex situational ties of caring positions in social reproduction in which these women participate in various parts of the world. In the current context of globalization, this 'positionality' of Filipinas in various forms of reproductive labour globally have major consequences in their settlement and integration. Understanding the lived experiences of these migrant workers reveal how deskilling is structured along the current GDLP. The success stories of some migrant workers in Canada give them onus to pursue vigorously their dream of a Western utopia as they are awakened by the grim reality of their oppressive flight in other countries. The 'Western utopia' is a cultural ideology that fuels the current flow of Filipina migrants. This also sustains the growth of recruitment agencies that validate the neo-liberal agenda of the current global economic system.

Options Available in Migration: residency application attached to the LCP

The global context of social reproduction seems to portray how the LCP can be a desirable option. As Filipino women purchase their utopian vision of prosperity through recruitment agencies, they presumed that they were buying the 'options' along with the 'access' to citizenship rights. Access to citizenship rights for most racial minorities is a rite of passage. Entry to Canada does not guarantee equality of access to mainstream labour market. It is a process and not a product. Why? Hierarchy exists. Mattingly argues that the "caring strategies of women and construction of differences among class and racially different households is solidified by citizenship status" (Mattingly 2001:370-371). The beheading of Flor Concepcion, a domestic worker falsely accused of murder in

Singapore, is one of these cases where the Philippine state was unable to exert power to demand justice with the rich Singapore state. Globalization therefore not only highlights the despatialization of citizenship rights, but the ability of some states to exert power within the transnational arena (Bakan et al 2005, Grandea 1996). Mobilization and contending citizenship rights supersede other countries' citizenship rights or human rights entitlement due to the overarching power of the global North states compared to the global South.

The power imbalance between citizens/non-citizen divide is further complicated when a nanny enters the employment contract with the end goal of applying for permanent residency in Canada. Residency application in Canada has six important key requisites such as living in Canada, having valid work permit, having travel documents, completing 24 months of domestic work , having always lived in the employer's home and having the ability to support oneself and family members without the need for social assistance or welfare (website cic.gc.ca/English/pdf/kits/guides/5290e.PDF).The implications of the above requirements are many.

First, the salary of domestic worker varies; but most salaries are below the minimum wage of eight dollars an hour. This positions women at the bottom income level. Gabriel expresses the following observation, "in Toronto we understand that some employers pay according to your immigration status: If you're landed immigrant you get, say \$4 an hour; if you're a refugee claimant with employment authorization, you get \$3 an hour; if you don't have any status

at all, you get \$2”(Gabriel 2005:149). Filipinas who entered the country through LCP are left without options or choices in the labour market. Participation in women’s work in the industrialized countries, including migrant Filipinas, contribute to the growth of the gross national product. Most oftentimes, this involves in unrecognized work of care giving (Bridget 2005, Gabriel 2005, in Dua et al 2005).

Second, the cost of migration from the Philippines to Canada is high . This is directly linked to the high value of Canadian dollar compared to Philippine pesos. The exchange rate is \$1 to P40. In some circumstances, Filipinas would borrow from ‘loan sharks’ on a very high interest to secure application to work in Canada through private recruitment agencies. Others will work in other parts of the world, even war-stricken places to raise funds to immigrate to favorable destination like Canada (Guerrero 2001, Balita 2006-2007). Recruitment agencies are part of the movement of human labour among countries in the world. Overseas work therefore allows Filipino women access to money needed to secure passage to LCP and also meet the domestic work experience tied to the program.

Third, The fact that domestic workers work a lot of hours but are not paid for overtime is well documented in several literatures (Bakan et al, 2005, Salazar 2001, 2005, Cameron 1999, Grandea 1996, Pratt 1999, 2001, Mckay 2002). This affects their ability to choose between upgrading their own lives or supporting their families. Moreover, despite their low-wage incomes they also pay rent to their employer from \$300 to 350.00 a month, plus other costs such as telephone

bills, food, and week-end residence out of the employer's place (Pratt 1999:225). They contribute to the growth of the gross national product in both the sending and receiving countries. Migrant workers pay taxes despite their non-status. (Bakan et al : 2005, Grandea 1996, Daenzer 1993, Salazar 2001). However, they are not allocated rights to access social programs to meet their settlement needs.

Fourth, the relationship between the mistress and the maid is further complicated by the notion of the permanent status application at the end of the contract. The need for a good references for permanent status application creates a coercive power that co-opts cooperation (Arat-Koc in Dua et al 2005: 220). Nannies need to obtain favorable letter of recommendation from employers, a letter that has both legal and future employment implications. The last feature addresses the ability of the foreign domestic worker to integrate into the labour market after the two years of domestic work. Domestic work continues as Filipino women seek jobs comparative to their first job as caregivers. Isolated and confined mostly within the private sphere, Filipino women are not able to utilize community resources to lay out their professional network outside their nanny jobs⁷. Lack of formal established network in the Canadian labour market Sassen states creates an important immigrant route to work in the informal sector of the economy

⁷ The caregiver in private homes are non-unionized. It is usually undertaken as part of the informal sector of the economy: under-recognized and under-regulated. Where domestic work is paid, it is often poorly paid. Domestic workers suffers long hours, isolation, unpaid benefits and vulnerable to various forms of violence, in summary an ultra precarious working conditions (Daenzer 1993, Grandea 1996, Cameron 1999, Bakan et al 2005, Pratt 2001, McKay 2002).

(Sassen 2002: 263).

The requirement for 'past experience' as outlined by various regulating bodies such as teachers', engineers' or nurses' provincial organizations or professional crediting bodies' demand two years' current work experience in the field of the profession (Geddie 2002). Since domestic work is not considered a skilled job, it does not count for the Canadian experience required by the regulating bodies. Furthermore, it also disqualifies their work experience outside Canada since it is outside of the two year current work experience in their particular professional field. This greatly disadvantages Filipinas who have worked overseas for more than two years. Daenzer reasons that a domestic worker "self-sufficiency was determined not by the years of self-supporting employment in domestic work- the successful engagement of household management activities-but by criteria external to the occupation"(Daenzer 1993: 121). However, by the same token, the foreign credentials of Filipinas are not recognized after the entry, but only used as requirements for the LCP.

Finally, options available for Filipinas to meet regulating bodies' requirements are limited to two choices: First, they can do volunteer work in the field of their profession to gain Canadian experience. However, they are unable to do this with the rigid schedule of long hours under LCP. Secondly, they need to upgrade their education in their professional field of their choice to increase their education equivalency in Canada. Unfortunately, their working permits outlined that they are not to engage in full-time study under the LCP. The undercurrent of

concern for Filipinas is monetary. Money is needed to send to the Philippines to pay off loans, or support the family left behind and to settle in Canada. Filipinas at this stage must assess their limited options and available resources to see how it will affect their impending application for residency. Oftentimes, the result of this prioritizing of options is subordination to structural forces and compliance to stay within low-paid jobs. These jobs do not require upgrading, but necessitate workers staying outside the primary sector. For Philippine trained nurses, the available jobs will be in nursing or retirement homes and for teachers work will be in childcare facilities or factory work. In other words, it is relegation to secondary labour market of caring labour.

Employers gain when overqualified migrant workers work for them. Managers do not need to provide additional training to enhance employee's productivity and they tap into the other skills of migrant workers in the workplace. It is not uncommon for Filipinas working as nursing aids to work under a manager who is not a nurse; but they themselves are nurses and so they perform the work of a nurse; even though they are paid as nursing aids. In terms of contribution, this translates to 42.9 billion dollars in saving by the Canadian government from skilled immigrants' entry with training and skills (Satzewich et al 2007:63).

Sponsoring family: another important option

The residency application includes the options of sponsoring families to come to Canada. This is a very attractive feature for many Filipinas. However, this process requires money for processing of the papers and supporting family and when they arrive here. This limits the choices of Filipinas. Firstly, the

assessment of Filipinas' residency applications is tied to the application and compliance of overseas member families. If one of them does not pass the medical examination or creates other problems, the application for residency application cannot go through (Grande 1996, Bakan et al 2005). Secondly, due to high value of Canadian currency relative to the Philippine currency, the economic burden is passed on to the domestic workers.

Filipina nannies need to adapt and survive in the current trend of economic pressure both in Canada and in transnational families across state boundaries (Salazar 2005, Sassen 2002). The influx of educated Filipina women in Canada through the LCP complicates the settlement and integration of these workers in society due to the presence of conflicting priorities and conditional residency status. These factors summarize the indebtedness of Filipina women in various spheres. NAPWC asserts that the restriction of Filipina women to a single employer under the LCP "legislates these women into poverty." (The Philippine Reporter 2007: NAPWC 2006:7). The LCP limits domestic workers to properly undergo settlement processes which in the current economy requires participation in paid work, career upgrading and establishing professional network to gain Canadian education equivalency and work experience.

Barriers to Settlement and integration

Filipinas share the same need for settlement and integration program like skilled immigrants in Canada in the following areas. First, several studies point out the need of all newcomers for employment related services (Wayland 2006, Guo 2006, Anderson et al 2006, Kelly 2004, 2006, Geddie 2002). Secondly, ethnic

minorities as a group suffer varying degrees of discrimination in their credential assessment and employment search in the labour market (Geddie,2002,Guo et al 2006). Finally, other forms of non-overt discrimination exist and women of color experience this through informal setting of interpersonal relations (Reitz et al 2002, 2003, Satzewich et al 2007).

Most newcomers from other countries have access to language training, mentoring and upgrading funds upon arrival in Canada (Wayland 2006,Guo 2006). However, Filipinas under LCP are not included in this program. Nevertheless, high level education, good experience and proficiency in one of the official languages of Canada are requirements in the LCP (the Philippine Reporter: NAPWC 2006,Arat-Koc in Dua et al 2005:218-220).

Institutionalized racism as a form of discrimination is overt (Reitz et al 2002, 2003 Satzewich et al 2007).Live-in caregiver program is a good example of this form of discriminatory policy. However, subtle forms of discrimination that are conditioned by structural and systemic processes goes beyond the individual domestic worker. It also affects their family and the community. This is directly linked to the consequences of racial stereotyping of Filipinas that serve as important ideological basis of Filipinas' identity discourse as caring workers. Daenzer adds, "direct social impact of the policy is this reproduction of servant occupational group characterized by differing layers of status- a process referred to here as

state managed class deprivation” (Daenzer 1993: 4).⁸ Consequently it creates a labour diaspora and the longing for homeland (Satzewich et al 2007).

Various groups of women who enter under the non-status category suffer policy and judicial barriers (Wayland 2006, Guo 2006, Kelly 2006, Astorga 2007, Satzewich et al 2007). These barriers encapsulate the lived experiences of Filipinas under the Live-in Caregiver Program. Formal policy outlines and dictates the legal entitlement of domestic workers or the lack of it. Confinement within the parameters of domestic work and the power of employers over workers classifies domestic work as partly unfree labour (Arat-Koc in Dua et al 2005:218-220, Cameron 1999, Daenzer 1993).

The experiences of Filipino workers converge with the experiences of other newcomers to Canada in encounters of discrimination. They diverge at the same time from other newcomers in the sense that barriers of language and unfamiliarity with Western culture is not shared by Filipinos. The emphasis on language and associated training that occurs in settlement policy is challenged by the actual experiences of Filipino skilled workers. The ‘voices’ of newcomers should be an integral part in the drafting of settlement programs. Research data studying newcomers in Canada that highlights ‘language and cultural barriers’ in inconsistent with the experiences of Filipina skilled workers in LCP (Guo 2006).

⁸). This connects the flow of remittances as important way to augment lack of social cohesion in mainstream Canadian society and reclamation of status for Filipino migrant workers (De Vortz et al 2006). Salazar called this process contradictory class mobility(Salazar 2000, 2001, 2005).

Filipinas come with these skills, but still cannot integrate in the primary labour market even after the two years of required live-in domestic work. This highlights the structural and ideological basis of discrimination. Such studies ignore colonial histories in which minority groups were subordinated to imperial regime of white supremacy. It further illustrates the gap in settlement and integration programs that exclude a big portion of newcomers to Canada. Filipino is the third largest ethnic group source destined to Canada (Satzewitch et al 2007:61). More than half of this population is made up of women migrants. Filipinas are visible ethnic minorities who comprise almost 92% of LCP (The Philippine Reporter 2007:NAPWC 2006).

Another major difficulty that Filipino women face is the inability to access government housing (Grande 1996). Under the LCP, Filipinas still seek accommodation outside their employers' home on week-ends. The security of having a private residence provides dignity and safety for women, an important measure for the well-being of domestic workers (Bakan et al 2005). Isolation and confinement of LCP participants provides no adult social outlet. Antonia elaborates:

domestic workers mostly work with children or people with disability; for long hours; every day for a long period of time; they become socially challenged," it limits their ability how to relate to other people, it takes time again to adjust;a new environment is intimidating.....[domestic worker] face with reality without the tools to face it, then they [domestic worker] search for freedom, and sometimes, they found the easy way out of this."

Sometimes, left without no place to go, they stay in vulnerable conditions within the private homes of their employers. Leaving some Filipino women in poverty

and in destitute condition lead some Filipino advocates to say that this draws women to be involved in precarious work of prostitution and sex-trafficking (The Philippine Reporter 2007:NAPWC 2006:8). Poverty plays an important role in the current global economy. Unable to access labour markets due to a lack of citizenship rights and legal status allows women to access informal sector of the economy that hinges on the individual person's 'goodwill' toward disadvantaged non-status women. This condition can translate to social and sexual control. Poverty is one of the worst forms of violence against women in the current global economic system (Guerrero 2001, Sobritchea 2006). It is also very subtle. It affects the family and society now and in the future (ibid, The Philippine Reporter 2007: NAPWC 2006). NAPWC intensively outlines this devastating ripple effect from the individual to the family and society when a vicious cycle of poverty is created and women can not fully participate in the labour market utilizing their hard- earned professional skills (The Philippine Reporter 2007:NAPWC 2006).

Integration and Identity

Although other Filipinas come as landed immigrants the effect of identity discourse that is influenced by their concentration on reproductive labour is further reinforced by race, class and ethnic hierarchies in mainstream society. They are often classify into one category. As Pratt argues, "discourses are productive in the sense that they produce subject positions. These subject positions subjugate individuals but they also function as resources"(Pratt 1999: 217). The global position of Filipina women in social reproductive forms of labour frame their identity as a group and leads to their stereotyping as a group. This has both strengths and limitations.

Bakan et al highlight the negative stereotyping of Caribbean women as domestic workers compared to Filipinas (Bakan et al 2005:76-79). The stereotypical qualities of kindness, patience and docility dominate as key factors in the choosing of Filipinas as nannies over Caribbean women (Bakan et al 2005:79-80). However, by the same token Ng (1993) argues "that first job experience eventually situate[d] them in the labour market" (Man 2004: 142). Statistics Canada illustrates "72% of Filipino women were most likely to be in the labour force" (Gabriel in Dua et al 2005:142). There is a parallel process of identity formation in the external ascription of Filipino identity in the mainstream society and the internal processes of socialization by Filipino women. It is important to connect how identity discourse helps organize labour market segmentation based on ethnicity.

Given that Filipinas foremost objective is to obtain residential status, the rite of passage for citizenship, along with other familial obligations, trap them in a particular sector of the labour market in order to fulfill residency requirement of self-sufficiency⁹. As Kelly explains "This crystallizes into a naturalization of Filipino employment in the health care sector: providing strong cultural explanation for Filipino segmentation on the demand side" (Kelly 2006:11). Pratt's work outlines how immigration officers view Filipino identity in general.

⁹ "A numerical way of representing concentration in the labour market using the 2001 census is to calculate the ratio between the percentage of Filipinos in a job category, and the percentage of the population as a whole in a job category. In healthcare, for example, Filipino men and women are respectively 5.3 and 3.3 times as likely to be working in 'assisting occupations' than the population as a whole. But in occupations such as physician, dentist or surgeon, Filipinos are greatly under-represented – using a similar calculation, there are about one quarter as many Filipino men and about one half as many Filipina women as there 'should be' in such occupations" (Kelly 2006:26).

The external ascription of Filipino identity shows how institutional actors who have discretionary power over the immigration determination of Filipinos view Filipinos as a group of workers:

Interview... Open the door certainly the Filipinos have been good. It's interesting back in the Phils. They are so corrupt. Bribes and that! They got over here. Everything by the book! And they make good immigrants. They are hardworking. And they Canadianize extremely well, extremely well (Interview June 1994: Pratt 1999:222).

The Effect of LCP on other Filipino Women

Middle-class Filipinas are sometimes embarrassed if mistaken as domestic workers when they travel outside the Philippines (Pratt 1999:230). Filipino women are the "most ghettoized of all women in the labour market" (Hierber 1997; Pratt, 1999:215-216). Fragmentation based on class results in a community that disadvantages newcomers like domestic workers in accessing employment jobs through the informal social network provided by immigrant ethnic community (Pratt 1999). The tensions of identity formation can be seen within and outside the Filipino communities. Other authors have outlined these tensions and identity contradictions. Salazar uses the term "contradictory class mobility" to describe Filipino women (Salazar 2000:150-152). In Salazar's comparative analysis of domestic workers she highlights the tension between the Filipino community in Los Angeles and against the dominant society in Rome (Salazar 2000:243-254). The following interview accounts by Pratt are most telling:

Inyang; I was on the Skytrain and we planned to recruit person [I saw] to the centre [Philippine women centre]. We had just said, "oh, you're probably new here, right?" After saying yes, she immediately said, "Wait, but I'm not a nanny, okay?" Look at that! It turns out she was brought over by relatives. (Focus group discussion, September 1995 Pratt 1999:230-231). Stigmatization of Filipino women within the Filipino

community is a concern insofar as it potentially excludes them from valuable employment networks.

Mhay: Because most of us, especially we Filipinos, we go into small groups. One groups will say, 'Oh, there go the nannies, out on their day off together.' It's mostly Filipinos like us who say that (Pratt 1999: 229).

However, at the same time an ethnic enclave is an important adaptation strategy of Filipinas and reflects an important parallel experience as those mentioned by Salazar among the domestic workers in Italy. Filipinas' lives are complex. Their experiences also reflect ambiguity. Penelope's experience expresses this:

I don't like to work where there are no Filipinos. Sometimes people are prejudiced of other culture. I don't want to always explain about my lunch what I brought today and this like that. White people sometimes hate when they smell different type of food besides their usual Canadian food. Don't get me wrong people are always polite but, you never know what they are thinking, you just feel funny when they look at you. They cannot hide it.

Bannerji's assertions also echoes the dilemma faced by Penelope and how it challenges and reinforces subtle forms of racism and the counter internalization of this action by women of color (Dua et al 2005:6-7). This contributes to the internalization process of Filipina's identity. Words might not be spoken but there are other factors that can contribute to the informal 'feeling' of discrimination:

as totalizing abstracts.. "master narratives" and untenable bases for political subjectivity since they are arrived at rationally and analytically moving beyond the concreteness of immediate experience..lived experiences of women of colour... once again I must begin from myself... from my body as a political signifier (1995: 61 in Dua et al 2005: 18).

Hiebert's study of Vancouver's various ethnic groups and the interaction between outside and intra-ethnic identity formation introduces the same themes as outlined above:

To an important extent, ethnic groups come to be identified with the economic participation of their members. We see this most clearly from

"outside" the group, when stereotypes arise from the concentration of groups in particular types of work, such as Korean shopkeepers, African-American porters and chambermaids, Italian masons, Jewish lawyers, and so on. I believe the same is true inside groups, that the petit bourgeois location of Koreans in the economy, for example, helps *define* intra-community relations and the shared imagination of that group. (Hiebert 1997: 4).

Ideological discourse on Filipina identity highlights how ethnic identity formation has been formulated through the occupational parameter of the fourth tier as 'paid reproductive workers.' Stigma develops that is not only endured by current generation of Filipinas and those within the industry, but also dispersed into the community as ethnic identity. Regrettably it undermines the next generation's integration into mainstream society. Moreover, their ethnic identities are challenged and reinforced by this negative stereotype. As a contradictory process, Filipinas' domesticity are romanticized and commodified while their sexuality is eroticized as well. The following account illustrates how a young Filipina experiences the negative effect of this multiplicity of identity discourse and the process of being objectified. Pratt relates Charlene's experience:

A lot of people assume that I am fifteen or sixteen. When the older white men start talking to me in a subtle, but sexual way, it's really disgusting...I think that what disturbs me also is when white men, or men from other nationalities, start talking to you, hitting on you, in Tagalog. They know that! They know how to do that to you in Tagalog...when they walk down the street, and say, "Oh, maganda!" "How do you know that?! Get away from me!"... Earlier this year, I went out to this store to pick up some lunch. This guy opened the door and let me out. I thanked him. He started to follow me. He said to me, "Oh, are you Filipino?" I thought: "Oh, here we go. Leave me alone." [May interjects: "You know it's bad when they ask that."] I'm clutching my lunch. I'm waiting for the light to turn. I just wanted to walk right then. Eventually he started to tell me that he stayed in Manila for a bit. "Oh, that's nice." He said, "You women are so beautiful." I started walking away really fast and said, "Okay, bye." I turned and walked the other direction from where my office was to get away from this guy. I walked for ten minutes just to make sure I lost him. (Focus group 10, August 26, 2001, Pratt 2002:9).

As the number of Filipino immigrants increases, challenges to their settlement

and integration is becoming an important issue. NAPWC outlines several factors that negatively affect the social and cultural adaptation of Filipino women in Canada. Several of these factors are the “lingering effect of LCP program to the well-being of Filipina women” (The Philippine Reporter 2007:NAPWC: 2006:6.). NAPWC argues that the LCP participants experience “deepens’ the systemic racial discrimination as their non-status exclude them from the ‘imagined’ community of Canadian society at large” (ibid: NAPWC: 2006:6-7). Furthermore, “family separation, prolong deskilling produced low self-esteem and inability to fully engage as active citizen due to familial obligation of family reunification that last from five to eight years on average” (ibid: NAPWC 2006: 7). Experiences therefore in LCP have direct impact on the integration of Filipina women which continuous to be seen as “token’ of multiculturalism and reduced to ethnic identity through ethnic cultural conventions through songs, dances and food”(ibid: NAPWC 2006:8). This therefore illustrates that the last stage of integration is even longer among this group of women compared to other immigrants due to the aftermath effect of discriminatory policies such as LCP.

CHAPTER IV: FILIPINAS IN CANADIAN CONTEXT

Research and Methodology

The initial recruitment strategy in the study involved the distribution of a letter of information to my social networks which provided a brief introduction to the study. This outlines my interest in learning about the participant’s entry status in Canada and how this affected their settlement and integration. Further clarification was given to participants to inform them of their rights to participate

in and withdraw from the study at any given point in the research process. In the letter, I informed them of my intention to use the information I will gather for my thesis. I assured them that I would omit information that will identify specific individuals. Pseudonyms will be used in the final writing of the research to protect the privacy of participants. I assure them of the confidentiality and anonymity of those participating in the study at all times.

I distributed 30 copies of letter of information throughout my various social networks. The recruitment strategy highlights how prospective participants can contact me through telephone or email if they are interested in participating. Several respondents from Southern Ontario contacted me. I was able to speak with 24 prospective participants. Three declined to continue in the study since they came to Canada as children and did not feel that they had a lot to offer to the study in terms of their immigration experiences. Two made an appointment, but the appointment did not follow through. Five other women in my social network did not feel that the study was relevant to them since now they are Canadian citizens and not nannies anymore. However, they provided me with other contacts and two of them participated in the study. The fieldwork was conducted within a three month period. A few weeks later, seven more were willing to take part; however, due to limited time, I had to stop at sixteen interviews so that I could process the gathered data.

Method

Interviews

Interviews took place at locations chosen by the participants. Most of them did

not agree to tape recorded interviews. Most interviews were conducted in person, while six of them took place over the telephone. A benefit of phone interviews is that they can potentially overcome the threatening aspect of face-to-face direct interviews. In spite of hectic work schedules, most of my respondents took time to participate in this study. In response, I made sure my respondents were aware that they could stop the interview whenever they felt uncomfortable. The questions were fairly unstructured and the interviews were fairly informal (Appendix A). The format of open-ended questions allowed the participants enough options to provide valuable personal experiences in their migration flight to Canada. This portion of the interviews was valuable and insightful.

Conducting these interviews provided two important processes for me. First, it allowed a personal retrospection of my own experiences as a former domestic worker in Canada. Secondly, for the most part it confirmed that my experiences belong to a particular labour diaspora. This particular experience brought back how oral history is a "conversational narrative" (Grele 1975: 305). It is conversational because of the relationship of interviewer and interviewee. It is narrative because of the form of exposition which is the process of "telling of the tale"(Grele 1975:305-308).

My being part of the community also presented several challenges. Surprisingly, most of my social networks, although Filipinos, did not participate in the study. This was a major debate on my ethics at the proposal stage in the University. Another difficulty I experienced was during the process of the interviews. Some

of the participants would assume that I know what they mean when they say something. I needed to ask them to elaborate and they would find it difficult when I did not know what they meant. I remind them that I needed to take notes of every word they said. Since I was a former domestic worker, some of them felt that they did not need to elaborate on some issues.

The Participants

Filipinas in Canada are not a homogenous group. The group reflects the various ethnic and regional groupings that comprise the Philippine archipelago. These women therefore have differences and similarities aside from the clearly demarcated entry status. The older cohorts traveled to come to work mostly in their intended field as nurses and were generally satisfied. The younger cohorts on the other hand, were mostly disappointed, having chosen to come to Canada as caregivers or domestic workers. Several of them are furious, yet, some were full of gratitude that they came to Canada as nannies. We can see a multiplicity of experiences and ambiguities among the later waves of Filipinas. The first group came for career advancement and an exploration of economic prosperity while the second group came for "economic survival," to escape the instability of heavily indebted home country. Older cohorts were mostly singles, but were able to marry as soon as they arrived in the country. Most of the younger cohorts were married with children, and some are single in their later years and remain unmarried. Due to limited space, several women from the interviews are chosen to represent the various entry status of Filipinas under specific legislation changes on immigration entry category. In addition, to illustrate the various differences and similarities in expectations, occupational backgrounds and other

demographic factors are important in the research. It is of the greatest importance to hear from the actual 'voices' of women, and how they view their settlement in the Canadian context.

Immigration Policy: Point System

My name is Delaila. I came in 1969. I came originally from the Bicol province, southern part of Luzon. I just finished nursing in one of the prestigious school in the country. I did not find it hard to find a job when I arrived in Canada. I was offered a job on the spot after the interview. I passed the nursing exam the following year and got married afterwards. My husband was also an Electrical Engineer from the Philippines. We bought our first house on 1972. We have brought over our families on both side and now enjoy a lot of family get together.

Temporary Entry Authorization (TEA)

Valerie is my name. I came in 1974. I am originally from the northern region of Luzon where the climate is cooler than the rest of the country. I felt 'blessed' that my employer came all the way to the Philippines to hire me as a domestic worker. I felt that live-in caregiver is a good program because domestic worker can have a family to stay with and save money for the future. I entered Canada as landed immigrant and did not find difficulty adjusting in Canada.

Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM)

Bella is my name. I came in 1982 from the Visayas region. I came as landed immigrant. I was a nurse before coming to Canada. I was married with no children. My first work was as a nursing aid and then work in the agency and then in the hospital. We bought our first house with my sister on 1983. I am now working in the hospital and feels quite good working with other racial groups in the community.

My name is Maria. I also came from Luzon. I now have extended families over here. I have the same employer from Hong Kong who migrated here in 1988. I worked 3 years in Hong Kong and two years here with the same employer. I am now married with two children. We bought our first house in 2002. If I can take back the time when I first came over in the country I would not do some of the things that I did. I believe that the obligation to family in the Philippines hampered my successful settlement strategy in Canada. I neglected to even put money and time in learning to drive.

Transition from FDM to Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP)

My name is Madelaine. I came in 1990. I live in Manila all my life. I came

to work as providing care for elderly couple. I have 5 children and a widow and was an orphan of 9 children. I just finished high school and supported my 9 other brothers and sisters to school. I am the only one in Canada and the rest of my family in the Philippines with finished degrees. I feel so glad for how God has blessed my life and brought me over here. I now have my four children and I still live in apartment building.

Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP)

Adelia is my name. I came in 1999. One of my friends in university told me about your research. I came and had been moving from different cities to find work and now almost ready to take my nursing examination. I came as a 'nanny' and have been in Israel before coming here. I am still living in an apartment with other Filipina domestic workers.

My name is Penelope. I came as a domestic worker in 1999. I came from the northern province of Luzon. I am now upgrading in nursing and working as a nursing aid full-time plus a part-time job on the week-end. I am still renting and I just got married and hoping to have a baby soon. I feel that with enough determination I can and anybody can be successful in Canada including Filipina domestic worker.

Lisa is my name. I came as a landed immigrant with my three children and husband Rudy. I am Lilianna's sister. I also came from Luzon region. I came to Canada 2000. I am a teacher from the Philippines but now I work as a nursing aid in one of the hospitals in Southern Ontario. I am very frustrated that I came as a teacher but cannot teach on my profession. I don't know where to obtain information and if there is any program that can help me. We bought our first house 3 years after we arrived in Canada.

My name is Madonna. I graduated as a nurse. I worked almost two years in Hong Kong before coming here. I came in 2003. I am very frustrated and feel very discriminated. I always fight with my employer and I feel there is no difference between working in Hong Kong and working in Canada. I am not paid for overtime nor have a day off. I am taking courses as an RPN which I feel is downgrading my degree as a registered nurse from the Philippines. I am currently looking for another employer and feel so upset on how the system does not allow me to fully meet my expectation.

Distinction of migration waves of Filipina women:

Two distinct waves of migration entry status emerge out of the research. The first wave of these Filipino women entered as landed immigrants after the point

system was first introduced. Succeeding waves entered under temporary permits as domestic workers (please refer to Table 1). The earlier waves of Filipina women entered as landed immigrants regardless of their intended occupation in Canada. After the 1990's most of the single applicant Filipinas entered through LCP. Married applicants mostly came as landed immigrants.

TABLE 1: DISTINCTION OF MIGRATION WAVES OF FILIPINO WOMEN:
VARIABLES: entry category by immigration status, type of policy and intended profession

Name of Participants	Entry Status	Type of legislation	Intended occupation
Jennifer	Landed immigrant	Point system	RN
Delaila	Landed immigrant	Point system	RN
Valerie	Landed immigrant	TEA(Temporary	Nanny/domestic
Bella	Landed immigrant	TEA	RN
Maria	Temporary permit	FDM(Foreign	Nanny/domestic
Madelaine	Temporary permit	FDM	Caregiver(elderly)
Majah	Temporary permit	FDM	Domestic worker
Liliana	Temporary permit	FDM	Domestic
Felicitas	Land/family	Skilled	RN
Trinidad	Land/ family	Skilled	RN
Atella	Temporary permit	FDM	Domestic
Antonia	Temporary permit	FDM	Domestic
Adelia	Temporary permit	LCP/live-in	Caregiver(children
Penelope	Temporary permit	LCP	Caregiver
Lisa	Land/ family	Skilled	Teacher
Madonna	Temporary permit	LCP	Nanny

Expectations

With the high degree of education and experience as important prerequisites for LCP applicants, Filipinas have high hopes of easily integrating into the labour market. The Canadian labour markets provide different types of jobs, but because of various factors, this might not reflect their educational and professional experience. Regulated jobs in Canada are governed differently

among the provinces and there is no national assessment strategy in place at this time to assess foreign credentials. The under utilization of foreign credentials of immigrants has major economic consequences (Reitz et al 2003, Satzewich et al 2007, Picot et al 2003). It is not surprising as one reflects on the implications of LCP to professional Filipinas. Nevertheless, the prior expectations of the participants reflects the desire into integrate in their respective professions, in the primary sector of the labour market :

- "I hope I will have a job and support my family back home"(Penelope)
- " good job"(Maria)
- "good life, progress step by step.. Work hard (Valerie)
- "Earlier on my expectation was to have practiced my profession as nurse; but right now to finish my upgrading"(Adelia)
- "To get a job and bring my family to Canada" (Liliana)
- "To get a job in my field and bring my family here" (Atella)
- "To get a job and go to school" (Majah)
- "Experienced another country"(Madelaine)
- "I thought that I will be able to practice my profession as a registered nurse"(Madonna)
- "My expectation was to have a good job but there was a recession when we arrived" (Felicitas)
- "To have a job as a nurse and I did" (Bella)
- "Be a registered nurse" (Trinidad)
- "My expectation was to work as a nurse" (Delaila)
- "I know I will be employed as a registered nurse" (Jennifer)
- "I hope I can obtain a good job and send money home" (Antonia)
- "My expectation is to have a good job as a teacher" (Lisa)

The older cohort group expresses confidence in their expectations and in some way answers the question of expectation based on what they had already experienced instead of recalling their earlier expectations. Most of the women hoped to integrate into the primary labour market. Several of the answers reflect familial responsibility back home regardless of their marital status. Filipinas' expectations also reflect their cultural understanding of Western utopia and how options and access are confused as the same thing.

CHAPTER V: FINDINGS

Although, my research does not claim a representativeness that can be generalized to the whole Filipino population, it illustrates that there are major changes in the basic characteristics of current Filipino migration to Canada. Foremost, is the increase in the demographic profile of Filipinos and the varying accompanying concerns of these changes, including the emergence of overseas migration before migrating to Canada. This illustrates a diversion to earlier waves of migrants who mostly came directly from the Philippines. The migration experiences of these women are more complex than the earlier group. For simplification of data, Table 2 provides the summary of the entry categories of the women divided as follows: Before FDM and early FDM, Late FDM, and LCP.

Before FDM, most women came to Canada directly from the Philippines. This is also the period of the introduction of the point system. Overall, the similarity between women who come to Canada at this period is their entry status of landed immigrants despite the difference in the type of intended occupation. Late FDM illustrates the change in immigration entry status to temporary permits. Most importantly, data shows that overseas work and number of destination countries for Filipinas migration are on the rise compared to the early period discussed. Overseas employment becomes an important segment of later waves migration. The later period of LCP is temporary-entry status and three countries' accounts for overseas destinations before entering Canada.

**TABLE 2: PERIODS OF ENTRY: MIGRATION EXPERIENCE
OF RITE OF PASSAGE**

VARIABLES: yrs of entry, entry status, intended occupation, overseas work, profession in the Phils., occupation now

Name	Yr of	Entry	Prof/phil-	Overseas	1st job	Occ. now
Jennifer	1962	Landed	RN	None	RN	Retired RN
Delaila	1969	Landed	RN	None	RN	Retired RN
Valerie	1974	Landed	Secretary	None	Domestic	Retired
Bella	1982	Landed	RN	None	RN	RN
Maria	1988	Temporary	Commerce	Hong Kong	Domestic	Commerce/
Madelaine	1990	Temporary	Factory	None	Caregiver/e	Nursing
Majah	1990	Temporary	homemake	Middle East	Domestic	Nursing aid
Liliana	1990	Temporary	Pharmacy	Belgium	Domesticw	Nursing aid
Felicitas	1991	Landed	RN	Scandinavi	RN	Various/oth
Trinidad	1991	Landed	RN	Scandinavi	RN	Various/oth
Atella	1991	Temporary	Medical	Hong Kong	Domestic	Lab
Antonia	1991	Temporary	Professor	None	Nanny/dom	Factory
Adelia	1999	Temporary	RN	Israel	Caregiver/c	Nursing aid
Penelope	1999	Temporary	RN	Israel	Domestic	Nursing aid
Lisa	2000	Landed	Teacher	None	Teacher	Nursing aid
Madonna	2003	Temporary	RN	Hong Kong	Domestic	Nanny

Table 2 data illustrates changes in the global economy and the movement of women in paid labour. This data captures the characteristic of the existing global division of labour and power (GDLP). Migration waves of professionals and intellectual Filipinos to North America and Europe have occurred earlier (Salazar 2000). This is illustrative of the early waves in Canada as well (Kelly 2006). However, the bulk of early waves of Filipino migrants after the Philippines adopted a human export policy were men destined to work in construction, oil industries and agricultural lands (Guerrero 2001, Go 2002). During the later period of FDM, we see the movement of Filipinas alongside men; with women increasing in numbers in the later years relative to the men (Guerrero 2001, Salazar 2000, Go 2002). This shows that increased production levels in the world

is complemented by an increase in social reproduction needs in various countries. This is described as the emergence of the fourth tier as outlined by Truong (Truong 1999). The factor of overseas migration is becoming a defining migration path. This course carries into the current context of LCP.

Occupational profile of Filipinas in the study

Filipinas who participated in the study have six types of category of professional backgrounds. There are nine nurses, one commerce, two teachers, one medical technologist, one secretary and two others (Homemaker and factory worker in the Philippines). The concentration of the occupational profile is within the health and medical field. Most of the work of Filipinas in a second country destinations were domestic work with the exception of Felicitas and Trinidad who work as a registered nurses in a Scandinavian country. Ng's argument holds on the importance of the first job in the overseas work of Filipinas and how it situates them in a specific sector of the economy (Ng 1993 in Man 2004:142). The case of Felicitas and her sister portrays how a policy of the receiving country can allow the positive integration of foreign professionals in the labour market by recognizing a transfer of credentials from another country. Felicitas and Trinidad's nursing licenses were recognized by the professional organization which regulates the nursing profession in this particular country. The occupational profiles of Filipinas in the study under the heading "profession now" illustrate the variety of jobs of migrant skilled workers as they are channeled to secondary labour markets after the LCP period.

Migration experiences by periods

Before FDM, low numbers of migrants came to Canada from the Philippines.

These migrants came with residency status and were destined to enter the primary sector of the labour market. Occupational group identity at this period reflects a concentration in standard forms of jobs and translates to a stable integration to the labour market. Valerie came during the early period of FDM. As already discussed, entry of racial minority women during the FDM period is temporary status. Although she came as a nanny, her entry status was landed immigrant. Valerie's experience illustrates the overall influence of the positive effect of the occupational group identity of Filipinas at this period. Both Bella and Valerie experienced positive upward mobility in contrast to the block mobility of later waves of migration of Filipinas in Canada. Expectation of later waves of migration within this context illustrates positive prospects of labour market integration. Other contributing factors emerged.

The entry of Filipina immigrants corresponded to the specific needs of the country destined to specific sectors of the economy. The earlier wave of Filipino migrants, comprised mostly of Filipina nurses who filled the need for caring work in the primary labour market. Early FDM corresponded to the period when supply for domestic workers was still being met by Caribbean women. At this period in time, Filipinas therefore as a group were allowed to enter proportional to the occupational profile of Filipinas as a group of workers destined to primary labour market. As soon as an arrangement with the West Indies as source country for domestic labour changed, the shift to the Philippines as a new source of domestic labour occurred. This means later waves of Filipinas took the place of Caribbean women in the hierarchy which dissolved any high professional and

occupational status they might possess before entering the LCP. It is therefore important to note how race is a vital tool in organizing labour market segmentation and in maintaining the dominance of hierarchies based on class, gender and ethnicity. Although throughout most of the 1990's, Filipino women migrants were within the medical field, their chances for economic upward mobility in Canada were limited by the concentration of Filipinas in LCP.

Migrant's Investment

The amount of time it takes to process immigration applications is crucial to Filipinas. Due to the low value of the Philippine currency, migration to a second country before coming to Canada is necessary. Money is scarce and often is borrowed or taken as a bank loan with the whole family's earthly possessions. Migration routes are therefore carefully calculated with entry to a favorable third country destination in mind.

Another important factor is the back-log of immigration applications to Canada. A summary is posted on the Canadian government website describing the wait time for receiving a temporary visa to Canada from various regions in the world. The Philippines has the lowest turn-over in terms of obtaining visas, in two days, in seven days, in ten days, in 14 days or after 28 days: the percentage 2%, 2%, 2% and 4% respectively (CIC website/time of processing application outside Canada). The fastest turn-over is Europe and North America which has 80% average of turn over(ibid). Middle Eastern and South East Asian countries have a higher turn-over in application processing times than the Philippines (Canada Citizenship and Immigration website: time allocated to

processingapplicationoutsideCanadahttp://www.cic.gc.ca/ENGLISH/information/times/international/index.asp). This illustrates partly the increase of employment agencies for overseas work and the need for securing visas outside the country to enter Canada.

The processing of applications is a major topic within the Filipino social networks and is always of interest to investigating crowds on return visit to the homeland. Not only are "Balikbayans"(returning migrants) questioned how they made it to Canada, but are also asked about other details like how much it cost them, how did they found the work , and how are they doing now. They will also be asked for recommendation on how to proceed on their own migration flight. This is true everywhere. Madelaine asked me about her son's application in the Philippines and what the best way was to help him come over to Canada. She explained all of her dilemma and the cost she incurred in the process. She was hoping I knew some information on the best approach to her situation.

Some of the experiences of the 1990's to the current years reflect Madonna's frustration and inability to reconcile her prior migration expectations with her actual experience in Canada. Lisa, the Filipina teacher who came as an independent immigrant with the rest of her family found a lot of her support from the earlier migration of her sister Liliana who came ahead of her. She also found the same job as her sister in nursing and retirement homes. To some, invested resources are high and would lead to risking everything to protect the future prospect of citizenship rights. This can include suffering abuse and toleration of

working conditions.

Discretion of Key Actors

The case of the landed immigrant in the 1970's suggests a diversion from the norm experienced by domestic workers lived experiences. Academic research highlights that the domestic program in Canada at this time only allowed temporary permits for domestic worker as reflected on the agreement with the Caribbean women (Daenzer 1993). Bouchard studied the field officer's discretion in the implementation process by comparing US and Canada. Bouchard elaborated on the role of immigrant officers' discretion. She writes: "Field officers have a great impact on policies and other outcomes as they are the ones who are responsible for interpreting and implementing the policies designed by policymakers... Canadian officials operate with a higher level of discretion than their US counterparts" (Bouchard 2000:7).

Examination of Madelaine and Majahs' experiences illustrate that they have gone through a lot economic hardship, more than the rest of the women in the study. When I asked Majah's if there is anything she could add to the study, her response was to offer gratitude for being part of the LCP. She said:

Filipina nannies are lucky to be part of the LCP, follow the rules do not break the laws and do not work under the table while you are a nanny. Finish your contract and then study and find a good job. We are so lucky to be in Canada, in other parts of the world Filipinas suffer a lot.... You know what I mean .. nannies being raped in Saudi, some are being killed you know these stories... we are very lucky here n Canada very very lucky!

A lot of human rights violation happens against Filipinos in this region especially

among the Filipino women. Majah is grateful because she compares her experience to other Filipinas from the region who have to flee from their mistress after being beaten and deprived of food. Therefore, it is not surprising that she feels 'lucky' to be in Canada. Only 2.2% of the migrant Filipinas around the world are in Canada under LCP (The Philippine Reporter 2007; NAPWC 2006). LCP recipients in one hand occupy an elite position relative to other migrant workers in some oppressive states destinations. This provides an important context on the pragmatic approach of some of the Filipina under study. Majah is resolute in her defense of the live-in caregiver program. Madelaine's experience also illustrate a favorable discretion of the immigration officer. She feels it is God's will that she was allowed to stay in Canada. Being an orphan and a widow from a Third world country, everything relative to what she experienced is tolerable. She is now partly disabled because she cannot move some of her fingers in one of her hands. However, she works still in a retirement home and has a second part-time job cleaning at night.

Madelaine and Majah's experiences can be contrasted with Madonna and Liliana who were both angered at the way they had been treated in Canada. Liliana came from Belgium while Madonna came from Hong Kong. In Hong Kong domestic workers are allowed to form a union. They are allowed to publicly protest and express their frustration despite continued exploitation. Liliana compares her situation to other immigrants in Canada who are provided with resources for settlement but Filipinas under LCP are not entitled.

"All immigrants coming to Canada the government gives them a hard time; while if they get a refugee status, they get things free...everything...while us nannies we have to do things steps by steps. No settlement program for us, I did it on my own , my own."

Nevertheless, the impact of successful migrant entry on other Filipinas fuels the social network of migration path. The individual discretion of immigration officers illustrate an important identification of the key actors that is also complementary to the neo-liberal regime of 'individual private power'. Although this exercise of power seemingly ignores race, gender and class. It is its cultural transfiguration that serves a commodified symbol. This 'individual' triumph, along with the private individual signify timeless accomplishment within the boundaries of cultural transmission articulated even further through regional social networks among the multi-ethnic populations.

Success Story of Passage: Myth to Legend

This 'individualize private power' represents a concrete symbol in transnational networks. It creates the 'myth' of 'individualized' empowerment of obtaining working visas or passage to North America. Such a 'myth' of individualize exception rather than the rule solidifies the yearning of individuals like Filipina who are seeking entry to Canada, a vision that 'I' too, as an individual 'might' get lucky like so- and -so. Thus the information super-highway of transnational networks lives on this 'myth' of individualized opportunity. A probability of opportunity fueled by anecdotal success experiences of earlier waves of migrants. "Myth" such as this grows to be legends of the western utopia of

freedom and progress. Along with the remittances being sent to various industrial countries by Filipina migrant workers solidifies the preservation of established 'myth of migration success' which Beder called the "myth of self made man" (Beder 2000:41). Social networks of earlier waves' success build on easy integration to host country serves as the bedrock whereupon future migration waves patterns their migration ideals and strategies of settlement and integration. These 'myths' keep the remaining people in the Philippines with a burning desire to be part of the migrant group.

Another dimension that this 'myth of success' is how it ties with various connections to private employment agencies that are now becoming both Filipino and Canadian management. Success stories like this gives credence to the role of private employment agencies seen as extension of power of individual actors in obtaining immigration entry to Canada. One can easily glance in the Filipino newspapers and the proliferation of private employment agencies. Some of these agencies have questions and answers column. In one of the readings last month one of these agencies answered the question of a reader and then responded at the end on how he will check that problem with 'the people in Ottawa' (BALITA July 1-15, 2007: 20) . This can signal to an individual reader the discretion power of 'key private actors' and the role of private individual agencies in negotiating immigration status. This strengthens the neo-liberal notion of privatization and the affirmation of individual as actors able to exercise personal agency by direct purchase of immigration information in the market.

The legitimization of private agencies is growing among the Filipino community as the rise of immigration influx flow outside the Philippines. This deepens the divide between destination countries on the area of desirability. Furthermore, it allows women in other non-desirable destinations 'hope' that if they endure some more they too can 'purchase' the Canadian package of citizenship. In 1990's when I came as a domestic worker the prospective nanny's fee for recruitment processing application was only \$100 dollars. Now the same agency can ask \$6,000.00 for the same service from the nanny applicant beside from the employer fee [\$500-900.00]. Employer's fee is minimal compared to the nanny applicants. There is limited increase for the employer's fee compared to the nanny applicants. Changes in the fees do not reflect changes in the nature of the job nor the prospective employee. The value of entry to Canada and the notion of citizenship within three years is becoming such an important component of domestic work application to Canada.

These social networks are governed by cultural considerations and historical specificity that provide the dynamic force in a seemingly precarious conditions of Filipino migrant workers in various parts of the world. Hence, social networks are important features of settlement and integration of Filipino women in Canadian society. The importance of regional sources of migrants reflect the social network of Filipino women. It is the major source of information, and support in any destination. These social networks provide the needed 'options' and 'access' in the informal labor market for women under the LCP otherwise not provided in the formal setting of the mainstream host country. Regional origin highlights the

multi-ethnic characteristic of Filipino identities. It also further complicates the discussion of settlement procedure and adaptation which are historically laid out by various waves of migrants that becomes the bedrock of the various social networks under current conditions.

Social Network: Social and Economic Ties

When participants were asked who were their friends in Canada and how do they meet them the following responses were articulated. These friends are mostly family members and classmates from school in the Philippines. Filipinas trust their social networks to provide guidance not afforded through formal state infrastructures due to absence of public regulated settlement services. The majority of these friends are also within the labour diaspora and some are transnationals in various industrial countries¹⁰. This highlights the subjective components of the current GDLP. The elements of trust, legitimacy and community is provided in the informal sector. This creates an 'imagined' community (Salazar 2000, 2001). Two women mention associations with church members who are also mostly Filipinos. Two other women mention having multi-ethnic friends. Without state regulating bodies and international laws to protect migrant workers, social networks facilitate the informal flow of migrant integration in the society and within the labour market in various parts of the world. The experiences of Filipina domestic workers in Canada highlight the lack of state

¹⁰ Satzewich discuss the difference between this two terms. He characterize transnational as the overarching term to describe the movement of people in various parts of the world regardless of class and diaspora as a part of transnational identity but which is characterized by greater attachment to homeland due to inability to fully integrate in the mainstream host country (Satzewich et al 2007).

protection to millions of migrant workers even in such social democratic country like Canada. Social networks possess power and the absorption of individual responsibility of adaptation to regionally specific networks that is now transnationally driven. Reliance on social networks becomes an automatic adaptation for Filipina workers especially among the later migrant waves.

The Canadian context plays a vital role in the global labor diaspora that sustained the elasticity of Filipino workers as sources of cheap labour. It then renders support to continued exploitation by the Philippine government of its human labour exports by providing 8 million people with a bit of room for 'hope' for a better condition as part of the citizenship package. The measure of Filipino migrants 'hope' can be assessed by the escalating rate of employment agencies placement fees.

Overall, labor market participation of Filipino women is high regardless of their migration periods. The creation of domestic programs by the Federal government influences the lives of Filipinas in succeeding waves of migration. Later waves of Filipinas regardless of their entry as landed or temporary visas similarly experienced non-recognition of prior educational and professional experience. This influences their low participation in primary sector jobs. To reverse the process of deskilling of Filipinas means eradication of LCP which conditions the socialization of women into precarious employment as a group of workers. The earlier waves of Filipino women experienced smooth transition and settlement. Their integration experiences in the labour market and in the

dominant culture can be characterized as successful.

TABLE 3: EDUCATION/ PROFESSIONAL FACTORS:

VARIABLES: *level of education, profession in the Phils., overseas work, first occupation in Canada, occupation now and upgrading*

Name of Participants	Yr of entry	Profession in the Phils	Overseas	First occupation	Occupation now	Upgraded/upgrading
Jennifer	1962	RN	None	RN	Retired RN	no
Delaila	1969	RN	None	RN	Retired RN	no
Valerie	1974	Secretary	None	Domestic	Retired	no
Bella	1982	RN	None	RN	RN	yes
María	1988	Commerce	Hongkong	Domestic	Commerce/	Yes
Madelaine	1990	Factory	None	Caregiver/e	Nursingaid	yes
Majah	1990	housewife	Middle East	Domestic	Nursing aid	yes
Liliana	1990	Pharmacy	Belgium	Domesticw	Nursing aid	yes
Felicitas	1991	RN	Scandinavi	RN	Various/oth	yes
Trinidad	1991	RN	Scandinavi	RN	Various/oth	yes
Atella	1991	Medical	Hongkong	Domestic	Lab	yes
Antonia	1991	Professor	None	Nanny/dom	Factory	yes
Adelia	1999	RN	Israel	Caregiver/c	Nursingaid	yes
Penelope	1999	RN	Israel	Domestic	Nursing aid	yes
Lisa	2000	Teacher	None	Teacher	Nursing aid	yes
Madonna	2003	RN	HongKong	Domestic	Nanny	yes

Education/Employment

Table 3 shows how most of the participants have high level of educational background. Most are heavily concentrated on the medical field on all the periods of the migration waves identified by changes in legislation. Most women after FDM, regardless of their entry status, have undergone certain types of upgrading. This reflects the need of LCP applicants to get Canadian education equivalency and to obtain Canadian training and eventually, access labour markets. The expectations on settlement in Canada reflects economic

integration in the field of their profession. The heaviest flow of migrants in the 1990's also corresponded to the era of changes on the duties outlined for the live-in caregiver program which now extend childcare responsibility to include, elderly and persons with disability (The Philippine Reporter 2007; NAPWC 2006). It is not surprising how Adelia, a skilled nurse whose area of specialization is in the acute condition on pediatric children patients in the Philippines can be reduced to a private nanny of foster children with disability. Adelia receives a fraction of what nurses with this background should be earning if she happens to be of British or American or Canadian racial background.

Housing

Filipinos in Toronto are heavily concentrated in the poor areas of urban settings (Kelly 2006). Table 4 illustrates how out of sixteen women interviewed only four were able to buy their home within five years. The average time for the rest of the women was 13.5 years. There were four women who were still renting. The four women who bought their house within five years came to Canada as landed immigrants. Most landed immigrant applicants are required to show availability of funds when immigrating to Canada. In addition, they came as family class and therefore have other working members to help them meet their needs in various phases of settlement and integration process. LCP participants do not have their families in Canada during the program. This further illustrate another layer of barrier for Filipinas under LCP. Residential patterns measure stability and the degree of integration within the society. It outlines neighborhoods and social and political elements of newcomers and an important measure of newcomer's integration process.

TABLE 4: SETTLEMENT FACTORS

VARIABLES: marital status upon entry, current marital status, accommodation upon arrival, when first house is bought, settlement assistance, future settlement plan:

Name	m- entry	m-now	Accommo	1st house	assistant	Future
Jennifer	single	Married	Employer	1976	No need	Canada
Delaila	single	married	friends	1972	No need	Canada
Valerie	single	married	employer	1980	No need	Canada
Bella	married	married	sister	1983	No need	both
Maria	single	married	Em/friends	2002	none	both
Madelai	widow	single	Em/friends	renting	none	Phils
Majah	married	married	Em/friends	2004	none	Phils
Liliana	married	married	Em/friend	1996	None	Phils.
Felicitas	married	married	sister	1993	none	Phils
Trinidad	married	married	sister	1994	none	Phils.
Atella	married	married	Em/friends	2005	none	Phils.
Antonia	Single	single	Em/family	1995	none	Not sure
Adelia	single	married	Em/friends	renting	none	Not sure
Penelope	single	single	Em/friends	renting	none	Not sure
Lisa	Married	Married	Sister	2003	None	Phils
Madonna	Single	Single	Em/friends	Renting	None	Phils

Future Settlement Plan

All the women responded that there was no settlement organization that assisted them in Canada both the older and younger cohorts as Table 4 above illustrates. Differences in market labour conditions, labour market needs, institutions, recruitment strategies, characteristics of individual women and state policies divide the experiences of workers in the study. Lack of settlement program for Filipinas in the study influenced their integration experience and their future plan.

Most of the participants pointed out that they intend to retire in the Philippines. Four were definite in their plans to retire in Canada. Three women ambivalent in

their plans have single marital status. The differences in future plans bring into question the integration of Filipino women in Canada and their migration experiences. The women whose definite plan is to settle in Canada described their settlement process as easy and secure. They have also managed to make friends in the mainstream society and are quite rooted in their profession within the primary labour market. Both Delaila and Jennifer remember their first settlement experience as if it happened yesterday and it is with gladness that they relate its details.

The ambivalent group of women from the study have mixed experiences of settlement. The rest of the women are still on the 'limbo' in terms of their professional upgrading and two of these women (Felicitas and Trinidad) work 11 months in Europe to supplement their incomes and come back to visit their family in Canada once a year. Satzewich quoted several conditions that Cohen outlines as characterizing the diaspora of various communities in the world (Satzewich et al 2007:206-220). Most important is the feeling of not belonging by migrants with their host country (Satzewich 2007:210). The temporary entry of Filipinas under LCP compared to British women's landed immigrant status clearly sends the message that they are not as desirable immigrants like others based on racial background. It clearly points on the commodification of women as they are basically allowed to come 'just for their labour' as domestic workers. This has both personal and group identity reaction that leads to the internalization of not belonging in the host country. This then, influences their future strategy for settlement and how they will allocate their resources and how to reclaim their lost

status.

CHAPTER VI:

SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION: HOW DESKILLING CONTINUES

Lack of settlement organization:

There are different issues in defining the term settlement. Basically it involves the initial process of getting established in a particular locale through accessing housing, social services, community resources, schools or other societal institutions. Most of the current definition does not capture the lived experiences of newcomers in Canada, particularly that of Filipino women. Wayland outlines the definition of newcomers which illustrates the degree of citizenship rights (Wayland 2006:2-3)¹¹. This degree of citizenship rights is dictated by immigration status. This has several limitations. The most crucial implication is lack of entitlement for domestic workers which complicates their settlement and integration process. Their needs will not be part of the drafting of any policy or programs. In short, they are in charge of their own settlement and integration process. The legal and legislative absence of entitlement for these future citizens in the initial entry definition of newcomers frame a foundation based on undesirability and limit their future historical vision of an inclusive welcoming

¹¹Who are “Newcomers”? In this research, the term “newcomer” refers to immigrants, Convention refugees, refugee claimants, and other [bold emphasis is mine] foreign-born persons who are living in Canada and who intend to reside here for the long-term. Canada distinguishes between *economic immigrants*, comprised of skilled workers and business immigrants and their families and *Family Class immigrants*, persons who are sponsored to immigrate by an eligible family member already living in Canada. *Convention refugees* are “selected at a Canadian visa office abroad and arrive in Canada as refugees with permanent resident status. *Refugee claimants* have their claims for refugee status heard after arrival in Canada“. (Wayland 2006: 11). Filipinas do not have legal entitlement for settlement.

society.

Consequently, there is really no accurate measure to assess the process of settlement and integration of Filipinas in Canada. Process of settlement involves the immediate, intermediate and the integration stage (Wayland 2006:3). As a process, settlement experience of Filipino women links migration path with their experiences in the LCP. The situation of Filipinas in Canada is a continual deskilling process . Firstly, they have unsettled conditions for several years until they obtain process residency papers. Secondly, if they are sponsoring families, these create various stages of settlement and might present tensions to the process of settlement and integration of the whole family. Finally, this study highlights how the characteristics of Filipinas requires a different set of settlement programs generally adopted for newcomers to Canada. Obviously cultural factors are of important, but also their needs for settlement are distinct due to their migration experiences and high professional background. There is really no direct indication when one has totally completed one stage of settlement as such could be overlapping and intertwined with other earlier stages mentioned. Integration processes sometimes take years; perhaps generations to some Filipinas. This includes their ability to fully participate in the host country in all its' spheres: social, political, economical and intellectual (Wayland 2006:3). Filipinas of the later waves have more complex lives and are heavily loaded with roles and transnational obligations that are not reflected on the earlier wave of migrants. The process of settlement of Filipinas in Canada reflects not only the rite to passage of citizenship but its counter process of deskilling. Deskilling

occurs when Filipinas are unable to work within their field of profession and are relegated to other jobs either menial or different from their professional background.

The implication of economic motivation for Filipino women under the Live-in caregiver program in Canada is the idea that these women are benevolent recipients of 'options' for future citizenship rights. However, as we untangle the lived experiences of skilled women from the Philippines 'choices' are limited. The live-in caregiver program constraints women's right for economic mobility in the labour market and curtails their successful integration in Canadian society. The conditioning effect of the program facilitates the continued process of deskilling. This has a direct impact on the well-being of individual Filipinas and shapes the type of coping strategies they will adapt to settle in the new place. Only those who suffer some degree of these violations can speak of gratitude for life that sustains women during times when a lesser degree of violence is tolerated. Does this mean these workers are passive? Not because of taking the road of less resistance but, for passing through years of unlawful violations of human rights of unequal magnitude that has a socializing, conditioning effects. The value of these workers are subjected within their occupational labour and not measured on their basic human rights. For LCP women, citizenship in Canada is a privilege and not a right. It is not earned through the rite of passage. It is bestowed or withdrawn by the discretion of the state and its various key actors and institutions.

Domestic workers' history in Canada provides a snapshot of stratification and hierarchal ordering of citizenship rights based on gender, race, class and ethnicity. The gender division of labour still relegates women to the domestic sphere despite their participation in public paid work. Movement of upper and middle class women in Canada to paid employment illustrates that domestic work for women did not disappear.¹² The childcare provision is not met in the household, nor by the state through universal childcare. The only available option then, is in the market (Mattingly 2001). This market source is transnational. Once sources from favorable countries are scarce the solution is to access available labour supply in the Third world. White women particularly of European British descent are desirable choice for a nanny and future citizens by their ability to enter Canada as landed immigrants in any periods. Racial minorities like Filipinas were accepted at the onset as caring workers in the primary sector. However, as the changes of racial minorities willing to take up domestic work changes, Filipinas enter Canada 'just for their labour.' The current context, Filipinas dominate in domestic work. The value of women doing domestic work is relative to the value allocated to the profession which in this context means unskilled. This furthers the deskilling process of Filipinas. This therefore illustrates systemic discrimination. The lack of value for the work of Filipinas in domestic work translates also to their degree of citizenship rights as 'conditional

¹² "Regulation of the occupation of domestic work if granted its rightful place among other occupations the questions of non-immigrant entry rank would be nullified.... It is not the domestic workers who were the issues but rather the Canadian state's refusal to locate the occupation of domestic work on the open and competitive market with full rights of collective action and legislated protection" (Daenzer 1993:128).

candidate.' As such it relinquishes the responsibility from the state to the individual to provide proof of her value in Canadian society: the continuity of rite of passage from LCP and eventually until the Canadian passport is obtained. This only represents the legal aspect of the rite of passage. However, this continues until Filipinas finally integrate to the mainstream society as characterized by active participation in all its spheres. The earlier waves of Filipino migrants experienced this final stage of integration. Current flow of migrants do not have similar experiences. Perhaps, some might never reach this point. Other resilient Filipinas, might reach this stage in the later years of their retirement age. Later waves of Filipinas pay so much for the rite of passage of Western utopia. This payment involves not only money but time, resources, dreams, expectations and overall a major sum of their life cycle. This happens within the period where Canada need large amounts of skilled workers in the Canadian labour market.

The social and political integration of Filipinas is just beginning to unfold. However, the multiple layering of requirements for Filipinas to prove themselves fit for future citizens is the central debate on why they need settlement and integration organizational structure. The older cohorts in the study however attributed lack of settlement organization because of their educational background. Delaila said it:

We do not need a settlement organization to assist us; me and my husband came fully equipped; we did it on our own. I understand that now it is much harder than before. I am a registered nurse from Saint Luke and my husband is also an Electrical Engineer we were fine and we did it on our own....

Jennifer echoes this smooth settlement and integration in Canadian society:

I remember the first time I came; they were so desperate with registered nurses; They even provided for us... the sisters free board and lodging. We even have a maid and we have all the benefits that the hospital can provide to make us feel at home. We were even asked if we have other friends that might be interested to work with us. The director said that they needed more registered nurses so they can open the hospital. So, I told my friends in Chicago and I was not even able to come right away because I needed to attend the wedding of my cousin but they came and the director said to me no problem I can come after the wedding. I worked in the same hospital for 35 years.

The period of the earlier wave of migration was also influenced by their entry category as landed immigrant. The younger cohorts in the study on the other hand has different views. Madonna says:

I came to Canada because I thought I could have a better life by working as a registered nurse. My employer always reminds me every time we fight about our interview when I was still working in Hong Kong. My employer would say: You told us you work long hours in Hong Kong. You told us that you are not paid overtime in Hong Kong. I came here in Canada because I thought it would be better than my working condition in Hong Kong; I did not realize it will be the same.... Every time I asked them about my vacation pay they [employer] would remind me of how they drive me to take this computer course.... In other words they used this as a leverage against me... oh how I hate working with them... Do you know anybody looking for a nanny?

It is important to note as expressed by Madonna that employers know what type of conditions these women face in other countries. Madonna's employers explicitly use her past work conditions as a way to justify her long hours of unpaid work in Canada. This is extremely sad how former knowledge of migration experiences can be utilized as a leverage to exert coercion for nannies to tolerate abuses done to them in Canada. Action such as this continues to perpetuate the degradation of Filipinas work as caregiver and also solidifies the internalization of identity associated with the precarious working condition in

domestic labour. This pushes Filipinas to seek support through ethnic organizations and distances their experiences from the mainstream society.

Filipino communities have various organizations which reflect characteristics typical to that of ethnic organizations. Their roles are heavily influenced and limited to cultural and social functions of activities and did not include advocacy nor settlement programs. One other explanation is the influx of newcomers. These both present challenges to existing organizations and the limited support that social networks can provide. Earlier on, I mentioned the importance of regional origins of migrants in the social networks. The later influx of Filipina migrants now includes other regions which might not have enough social networks in place. Another issue is the disconnect and differences of experiences between the old cohort and the younger cohort settlement process in Canada. Antonia said with indignation:

Filipina domestic workers around the world and in Canada need settlement orientation as soon as they arrived in the country. This should be done before they come here and after they arrive here. This orientation should also include explanation of their rights as temporary workers and most importantly the way they could assert their rights. Lots of my friends are not paid overtime, no day off. Employers should be made accountable for breaking the law.

Most of the founding fathers of current Filipino organizations reflect the older cohorts of professional migrants who were able to settle and integrate in the labour market successfully. This reflected different historical trajectories and lived experiences conditioned by different types of labour market, state policies both of sending and receiving countries and the overall discourse of prevailing Filipino identity in the community, in Canadian society and globally as well.

The government strategy in the current nursing labour shortage is not in the expansion and recognition of the credentials of the nursing profession. Rather, the importation of foreign credentials that channels workers in the low paid jobs sector of health care despite their high skills (Bakan et al 2005:161-163, Daenzer 1993, Pratt 2001). This maintains the position of Canadian nurses in the hierarchy as they have the Canadian recognized nursing degrees (Bakan et al 2005). Non-recognition of foreign credentials affects immigrants earning (Reitz 2001 in Picot et al 2003). Economic integration is a key that unlocks all the other spheres of newcomers' full integration in the society (Nakano 2002). Guo argues, "Professional standard and excellence used as a cloak to restrict competition and legitimize existing power relations" (Guo et al 2006: 19). Adelia's experience typifies the funneling of skilled Filipinas into low paid jobs:

I have been working as a registered nurse in the Philippines but I came as a nanny. I have been working with children with disability for five years. My employer takes care of several foster disabled children. I am glad that I am able to use my professional background in nursing as I take good care of these children. I did this for 5 years. I am now doing my upgrading so...I can finally be a registered nurse in Canada.

BARRIERS TO INTEGRATION OF DOMESTIC WORKERS AS A GROUP

Recognition of prior learning (RPL) is the process of acknowledging the legitimacy or "transfer of learning in one context to be recognized in another context" (Guo et al 2006:2). The following factors mediate the process of RPL: the federal and provincial licensing bodies, regulatory or professional organizations, educational institutions and various employers (Guo et al 2006: 8). In the case of Filipinas through the LCP, they experienced barriers in all these factors.

Upgrading/credential assessment

The live-in caregiver program as it stands legislates the options for Filipinas for upgrading. The conditioning effect of LCP highlights how restrictions of live-in requirements limits women's choice to the mercy of the employer. If employers are not cooperative it is hard to work out schedules wherein domestic workers can conduct upgrading. Furthermore, the various financial obligations of women including their own needs rest on the small salary of domestic work. The needs for academic counseling is crucial to assess labour market and how to tailor the education and training of domestic workers to successfully compete. There is none in place to service the domestic workers population. The issue of transportation is crucial since it can present major challenges on the ability of the domestic workers to attend upgrading courses. Availability of educational institutions in the area also influence whether nannies can participate in upgrading courses. Moreover, the options of available courses for upgrading that will suit the educational and professional background of Filipinas mean clear assessment and career orientation which are usually done during working hours. This hampers the opportunity for Filipinas to undergo upgrading. The importance of time and other mitigating factors specific to the situation of the domestic worker can also add another layer of barrier to the already difficult situation of these women. After the initial period of two years, the rite of passage of citizenship set the choices of women to practically one option. Former domestic workers as they intend to sponsor their families must participate in paid employment regardless of what sector. Available options in the labour market is within the low paid sector, non-standard, casual, temporary, part time, and with

no benefits.

The majority of the women in the study reflects current concentration of occupations in nursing and retirement homes. This reflects the available training in health professions, via-health care aid to meet the aging population of nurses in Canada. These types of training are private and unregulated. Furthermore, it has tailored its flexible courses on the available time for domestic workers which is during week-ends or through independent study. This funnels the educational upgrading of domestic workers toward the secondary labour market. This type of courses are also within the parameter of non-credit courses allowed under the LCP. Reitz analysis will hold, since Filipinas cannot compete with Canadian university graduates who are young, with Canadian experience and education (Reitz 2001 in Picot et al 2003:4). Thus, maintaining the dominancy of existing hierarchal organization of the workforce that situate white Canadian on the higher income level and relegate women of color to the secondary labour market of lower income level.

Deskilling

The absence of available settlement services to assist Filipinas under the LCP does not mean lack of state regulations. State allows individual private business owners to profit from the inability of women to access formal educational institutions, thus confirming continuous regulation not publicly but, through private institutions. The case of domestic workers entry to Canada challenges the notion that deskilling happens due to the rise in technology and innovation which displaced the human control of the workplace. The case of domestic

workers illustrates that deskilling process is fueled and control by the coercive power of the state and institutions and not just by technology and innovations. Their lack of ability to create social networks within their field of profession discourages Filipinas from furthering their education or upgrading. The segmented labour market has already trapped them between two or three poor paid jobs to support overseas families and the hope of obtaining a Canadian passport.

The underlying assumption is to acquire '*survival jobs*' so that later on when the families are sponsored over here this upgrading can take place (Geddie 2002:4). Sometimes however, this process spans long periods of time confounded with other factors that can influence the process and the determination of the residency applications. When the Filipina domestic worker obtains her residency status which is conditioned upon the overall medical clearance of members of the families, her socialization in precarious employment is almost at its completion. Age and familial obligations complicate later processes of upgrading. After two years, domestic workers are unable to practice their hard earned education from the third world countries due to the pressure of participation in the labour market. Penelope's experience in upgrading in Canada is most telling:

I came in 1999. I am basically jack of all trades[with a loud laugh]. I have been moving back and forth from various urban cities to find a secure jobs. ... I was not able to upgrade when I was a nanny.. How can I.. there was just too much work... besides my working permit states I cannot take classes. So I have to wait... now it is 2007 and I am finally taking some courses in university so I can take up my nursing examination....I am still leaving with some other friends and I don't know where will I be working after or permanently reside. I just want to prepare for my nursing examination now.

examination now.

Assessing available options to Filipinas is measured against the rite of passage of citizenship and how close they are in fulfilling citizenship application requirements. This directly links to the multiple roles they perform in their place of work, at home in Canada and transnational mothering to same regardless whether they are single or married. To augment this responsibility some domestic workers find a way to sponsor or pay employment agencies to provide work to another family member. Atella's experience in Canada shows how she negotiated with her employers to hire her niece from the Philippines. However, this means working for them for five years until her sponsored niece arrives. This stretches the time longer for the domestic workers in fulfilling the rite of passage of citizenship and the opportunity to focus on oneself and one's needs. In addition, it depletes their resources such as finances, time and other social responsibilities. Several studies reflect the inability of some domestic workers to get married due to various obligations (Cheng 2001). Multiple roles sometimes mean conflicting priorities that leave the well-being of domestic workers as the last item on the list. After working for five to ten years in caring labour it is easy to see how it is difficult most oftentimes to go back to school and do upgrading.¹³

¹³ Reitz mention that another factor contributing to the current situation of skilled immigrants inability to secure jobs in their profession is the rising educational level of Canadians (Reitz et al 2003, Picot et al 2003:4). This brings the variable of age and other discriminatory determinants in a white dominant society like Canada. Some authors argues that newcomers need training because of cultural insuitability to certain types of jobs. Other factors that is worth mentioning is the personal assessment of Filipinas of their human capital and how it is viewed in the general population. This sometimes has been condition in the precarious working condition and might not be apparent to the consciousness level of individual assessing her worth (Pratt 2002).

positions as low paid workers in nursing and retirement homes. To access primary labour market presents varying degrees of accreditation including obtaining necessary papers that need to be authenticated. Furthermore, it involves educational evaluation. These processes are costly for someone working under eight dollars an hour with all the other obligations such as debt to be repaid, remittances, food and lodging in Canada and application fees.

The LCP program represents ideologically the rite of passage for Western utopia of freedom and prosperity. LCP therefore represents a double-edge sword. It is a means for continued hope that eventually will betray the individuals due to the deskilling effects of the program. Economically it renders support to the current global economic system that rest on the idea that work ethic is the key for equal rights contestation. It commodifies the process of migration and detaches domestic workers everyday labour experiences since citizenship rights can be obtained through market transaction like other commodities through a seller - private recruitment agencies. This creates the illusion that market forces are objective and exchanges are devoid of other factors such as discrimination, gender and class biases. This notions disentangles the political, economic and gender nature of labour transactions in the world. Participation in market transactions implies women buying the commodity of citizenship as free agents. It dehumanizes women's experiences of exploitation and violence under the LCP since, market logic states, a commodity you bought is what you get: an objectification of labour.

SETTLEMENT MODEL ?

The participants from the study highlight the importance of state intervention on pre-migration and post migration settlement programs. This includes strong state relationships between sending and receiving countries. This can provide protective measures to migrant workers. It can also involve regulation of recruitment agencies and to penalize those who abuse domestic workers fees.

Antonia express the following:

Domestic workers perform working hours more than what is stated on the contract. I hope there is a law for those coming in and that immigration will do something about it. For the employers: nannies are people not slaves. They also have rights like other people. The right of the nannies should be enforced by government bodies. Government should look after the rights of these workers. There has to be stricter regulations making employer accountable. Nannies should be allowed to know their rights. There should also be training for new workers such as orientation before they start working in Canada. Sending countries should also have an organization to help this people. They don't do anything for these workers when they send them abroad. There is no resources in community to help migrant workers like Filipina domestic workers. There is nothing to help you upgrade yourself; well, what I mean is something that I like or Filipina women like beside nursing aid or factory work.

Antonia continues and elaborates on what she feels prospective nannies should know. Her tone illustrates a degree of helplessness and lack of confidence to eventual ramification of live-in caregiver program and the indifference of states both sending and receiving countries for regulation of domestic work program:

It is very unfortunate how such educated women waste their lives doing menial jobs when they are capable of doing more. As Filipinos we need to stop pretending everything is all right. Filipinos back home do not want to hear about the condition of domestic workers. The Philippine government does not want the influx of migration outside the country to stop. So, there is not a lot of options, for prospective nannies expectations are different from reality; I would say to them *prepare for the worst!!!*

Experiences of new immigrants in industrial countries reflect under utilization of

their foreign workers' credentials.¹⁴ Felicitas' situation and her sister Trinidad illustrate how Filipinas face challenges in labour market integration. *"There has to be changes in employment in Canada. Foreign credentials like my nursing degree should be recognized.... I don't understand why I can work in Scandinavian countries as a registered nurse from the Philippines but I can't here... It is really strange."* Jennifer's early experience as a registered nurse however illustrates the opposite of Felicitas' experience¹⁵. She outlines the importance of pre-arrival procedure to obtain a more secure job placement:

A word of caution: do not come without a promise job; coming no matter what kind of job you land on. Coming here without applying directly. Coming and then working in any kind of job that come there way is not good. We came and applied and were accepted for the job and hired as a registered nurse. We came here and work and have a good job; we started as registered nurses;

Jennifer's cautious words also reflects her lack of understanding of the current situation that is driving more and more Filipinas in Canada under LCP. A disconnect in the lived experiences between the earlier wave and later wave which solidify tensions in the Filipino community. Her confidence as a registered nurse also echoes Ng's(1993) argument on how first job situate newcomers in particular sector of the labour market (Man 2004: 142). Luckily for the earlier

¹⁴ This under utilization reach to billion dollars annually in Canada and other industrial countries (Reitz et al 2003 and Satzewich et al 2007, Picot et al 2003, Geddie 2002, Guo et al 2006). Skilled immigrants such as engineers in Vancouver acknowledge the discrepancy in assessment program and the ultimate discretion of professional regulating bodies in conducting the assessment of foreign credentials (Geddie 2002). Mentoring from ethnic professional group such as the Punjabi community is a key element in finding unpublished jobs for new immigrants; in addition to the psychological and emotional support that they render to one another (Geddie: 2002).

¹⁵ One of the ways that Filipina nurses meet the inability to succeed in Canadian labour market is through transnational 'transferring' as part of their migration routes.

waves this location is in the primary sector.

Lisa's early settlement experience in Canada portrays the need for standard testing. " *Let immigrants practice their profession; provide training for them and then let them take a practical test; and if they pass this test allow them to work in their field.*" As a teacher, she finds it hard to get into her profession in Canada despite getting her landed immigrant status due to her high points in the pre-selection criteria. She emphasized the same thing as mentioned already, " *train us and give us the test and when we pass allow us to practice our profession.*" There is a hint of frustration and resentment in Lisa's voice.¹⁶ The need is now acknowledged but the procedure on how to go about this process of assessment is not yet laid out. Lisa's experience is however different from those of earlier waves of skilled women from the Philippines. Jennifer provides some explanation on the difference of assessment between the earlier and later waves of migration:

When we came the only requirement to pass the registered nurse exam was 'pediatric' but different states have different rules in California it is psychiatry for example. Right now they need to pass all In the Philippines little clinics can have a college of medicine. When I left the Philippines you can count in one hand the college of medicine in the entire country. Now there are so many of them... U of ST. the only school of nursing now so many you cannot name them... it mushrooms ... there is little schooling they do not have clinical experience that we have before.... Now in the Philippines I teach and now they asked me to teach here too... but I don't want to; it takes so much timesacrifice.. I enjoy the interaction with other staff; not have enough nurses now... .totally different experience... .now technical things before it was actual

¹⁶ Institution such as government public service sector can take a leading role in providing a more inclusive recruitment of visible minorities (Roundtable meetings through the metropolis #8 (2003). One of the recommendations of the meeting echoes the frustration plea of Lisa for standard testing. The meeting outlined the need for standard testing to assess the professional experiences of foreign credentials.

patient...

There are special procedures here in Canada... even if you are certified you still have to be recertified!!! Before nurses... the only one that started IV is 2 resident but we do it in the states; how about starting the IV, a surgeon asked me Canadian nurses not allowed the surgeon asked me if I know how to do it.... I did not want to do it because of the other Canadian nurses I don't want to be single out.... I told the doctor that there has to be a memo sent; I don't want to do this but if a memo was sent we the Filipino nurses will do it... and a memo was sent and we did it... Toronto Filipino nurses were the same...

The other element in settlement and integration is cultural factors. Filipinos are centered on the economic advancement of the family. Parents would borrow money, and sell their land to send their children abroad (Guerrero 2001, Salazar 200, 2005.). As the oldest of nine children my family went into very high debt in order for me to migrate to Europe. This opportunity made me accountable for the economic condition of my family. Familial obligation is part of our socialization as Filipinos most particularly among the Filipino daughters. As Filipinos, children are indebted forever to parents. Migration is a way of expressing our indebtedness. We call this bestowed responsibility of gratitude for favor asked '*utang na loob*': in debt gratitude (Salazar 2001:117). *Utang na loob* however, do not have monetary value. This indebtedness is beyond repay. You are forever bound to your debtor.

This particular cultural lens, allow us to view in some degree the actions of non-Western women like Filipinas. This provides the context wherein these women would face horrifying obstacle to repay debt of gratitude. Cultural sensitivity is needed so as to better understand the resilience of Filipino women in migration path: a clear manifestation of the difference in lived experiences of women; that

challenges the notion of universal experience forwarded by Western feminist thought (Dua et al 2005). Daenzer adds, "unique social relational layering through application of the policy challenges the notion of universal experience; ...immigration status, country of origin and racial specification emerge as significant through often conflicting determinants in this particular process" (Daenzer 1993:5).

Economic factors drive the concentration of women from the Philippines in health care professions. Moreover, cultural values, Filipina femininity and the cycle of in debt gratitude to immediate and distant families obligate women from the Philippines to occupations of their benefactor; for a show of emulation and for migration opportunities (Kelly 2006). Cultural values influences economic activities. This is an important components in the complexity that characterize the current GDLP. Jennifer expresses how there has to be a formal acknowledgement of cultural recognition that Filipinos as a group still possess distinct cultural values. Just because Filipinos can speak English does not make them Canadian. They need to learn the characteristic and difference that make Canadian society differ from that of Filipino. She elaborates on the need for social and cultural orientation as important elements of successful integration into the mainstream society. '*There has to be an orientation in the Philippines and here not just about work but also about effective social adaptation*'.

Domestic workers wait for long periods of time to be reunited with their families¹⁷. This hinders their full concentration on career advancement and diminish their chances in integration in primary sector of the labour market compared to earlier waves of Filipina migrants. Moreover, it affects the eventual settlement and integration of their respective family members. Filipino women continue to be stigmatized as they have performed precarious work in Canada as temporary workers. The National Alliance of Philippine Women in Canada (NAPWC), formed in March 2002 represent the various groups and organizations to rally the cause for Filipino women (The Philippine Reporter July 2007) . On 19th of October 2006, they submitted recommendation to Parliamentary Standing Committee of Citizenship and Immigration to scrap the live-in care giver program and give landed status to caregiver coming to Canada (ibid: NAPWC 2006). All the women in the study regardless of the period of their immigration category state that caregivers should be allowed landed immigrant status upon entry. It was done in the past so it can be done again today. Landed entry status can overcome settlement and integration barriers of Filipinas.

Basically what SUCCESS represents is that women need a holistic approach to settlement and integration (Guo 2003). As Filipinas lives are complex so are the types of services to support their integration. Moreover, organization such as this can provides strong cultural and ethnic organization to rally political and

¹⁷ SUCCESS is an important benchmark on settlement program in Canada. Its most important feature is the holistic approach to settlement and integration. Taking this as an important model some of the key program that apply to the Filipina women population (Guo 2006). The concern for immigrants' children emerged out of the meeting led by Metropolis in the round table of G-8 in Portugal .

economic voice for immigrants' concerns (Guo 2006). This is an important space for "progressive forces" within the Filipino migrant communities (Khan 2001). The Filipino community for the first time has awakened to a realization of their disadvantaged position in the mainstream society; after the death of Jeffrey, a Filipino youth from Toronto (Astorga 2007). New hopes and new beginnings are emerging. Collaboration among various fragmented groups in the community are coming together to form an alliance with other ethnic communities in Canada (Astorga 2007).

Acknowledgement of challenges and gaps to processes of settlement and integration is the first step in projecting a course to begin addressing issues to overcome disadvantaged conditions of migrant workers. The conditionality of two years of live-in domestic work is what Daenzer characterized as the modern version of slavery (Daenzer 1993: 45). She further refers to current Canadian labour strategy as a neocolonial regime (ibid) The state power, as several authors argues, diminishes in the current global restructuring due to neo-liberal and free markets economic discourse (Dua et al 2005, Atkinson 1993). However, this study shows that states still play a major role as evident on the lived experiences of women under the live-in caregiver program.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

This final chapter draws together the key factors that influence the settlement and integration of Filipinas in Canada. The key factors are the role of the state and its institutions, the general condition of reproductive labour of women

domestically and globally, the period of migration and the individual strategies of Filipino women. Devaluation of women's caring labour still persists. Rise in the growth of gross national product as a measure of progress continues among the industrial countries. Negotiation of citizenship rights further articulates the difference of power between the host and receiving countries. This exposes the hierarchy in the labour market along race, gender, class and ethnicity. The rite of passage to citizenship is commodified. It is a regulated process of subordination and deskilling.

Growth in consumption gives rise to a service economy and the prominence of reproductive workers to meet these growing need. Private recruitment agencies are becoming important gatekeepers in the current global economic system. This study highlights how culture is still an important organizing principle even within the intricate networks of transnational flows of capitals, goods and labour. Moreover, it is the manifestation of the subjective element of GDLP in the informal sector of the economy that fosters the trust, legitimacy and community of migrant workers such as Filipino women from the Philippines against the backdrop of structural barriers experienced among host countries.

It is the finding of this study, that within the context of the current international division of labour and power (GDLP), that situates Filipina migrant workers that came under the live-in caregiver program as belonging to the fourth tier. Falling under this classification is to the disadvantage of this sector of migrant populace because it stereotyped and stigmatized not only them but the entire Filipino

women in general. This has debilitating effects to the individual Filipina domestic workers and has generational effects as well. Migration experiences of Filipinas confound their identity discourse. In addition, this classification in which they are relegated further dehumanizes them, and restricts their settlement and integration to the mainstream of Canadian society.

The LCP, systematically discriminates the latter wave of Filipino women and relegates them to the lowest category of caring work. The imposed requirements of the program serve as a barrier for this sector that prevents their full and successful integration in the new country. The two years of live-in requirements for the caregivers restrict these women's access to the social networks, that would have allowed them to freely participate in the mainstream labour force. The limitation that they can only work as live-in caregivers and only within the confines of their employer's family serve as a deterrent to the utilization of their academic and professional training. The two years or even longer underutilization of their academic or professional skills and experiences robs these women of their confidence, self-esteem, and the required "Canadian experience" to fully participate in the mainstream labour force when they leave the program. This process of deskilling is an unfortunate and costly implication of the live-in caregiver program. Furthermore, this deskilling only delays the process of their settlement and integration because it forces them to remain in the domestic labour arena until they have the opportunity to upgrade their credentials. It confirms that the deskilling process is not only due to innovation and technology. It is conditioned and created through political and social

institutions.

Upgrading of their education and credentials still poses a major challenge to these women for several reasons. First, is the problem of Canada's refusal to recognize foreign credentials. The newcomers to Canada need their degrees evaluated by a Canadian educational evaluation service. There is usually a fee for this service and it usually takes considerable time. Second, because of these women's working conditions as live-in caregivers, they have to fit their time so as not to the inconvenience of their employers. Third, most of these women, regardless of marital status, support their family back home, so financial investment in this upgrading venture must always be taken into consideration and based on individual priorities. Upgrading takes a low priority most of the time. Fourth, due to the lack of social networks or access to formal institutions to assist them, most of these women take courses that are irrelevant to their professional preference and the existing career requirements of the labour force.

Furthermore, due to the lack of established services to help this sector of the labour force, it takes a longer time for them to settle and integrate to their new country. Without access to services like mentoring programs and upgrading funds that are offered to landed immigrants, this sector of the labour force is left on their own devices to fend for themselves as they adapt to their new home. The LCP deprives these migrant workers of a sense of belonging because of their segregation from the mainstream by virtue of their entry status to Canada.

The study shows that those who came as landed immigrants had an easier time settling and integrating to the mainstream of Canadian society. This is because upon their arrival they were able to get absorbed and integrated right away to the labour force according to the training and the skills that they have brought with them in their entrance to this country. This integration comes easy for them because they were not confined to a certain class and barrier to integration is limited compared to the group that came under LCP. The evident barriers to integration experienced by those under the LCP shows the inequality and the flaws of the program, for it robs those who come under the program of the same rights, protections and opportunities provided to other sectors of the immigrant populace. It has discriminatory effects that proved to be a barrier for settlement and integration not only of Filipinas who came under the LCP but, for the rest of the Filipino women as well.

As a country proud of its multi cultural diversity, the Canadian government should make sure that all those who immigrate to and work in Canada have an equal chance to reach their potential. Canada as a nation can maintain its leading edge only through the recognition of the important role that the immigrants play in the labour force. As the baby boomers face retirement, Canada's need for immigrant labour will continue to rise; hence proper utilization of their professional skills and abilities and building the network that allows them to succeed will in the long-term give Canada the leading edge in the global market. There is a need for a comparative analysis of various ethnic groups to enhance further the discussion of settlement and integration of newcomers to

Canada at the national level and between countries. Filipinas' migration has taken a central stage in academic scholarship. However, the counter balance in research needs to involve highlighting the male migration experiences of Filipinos as well. This can create a more dynamic understanding of these migrant groups.

The government should re-evaluate its immigration policies and amend those policies that work to the detriment of reproductive workers of the labour force such as those in the fourth tier and redeem them from 'modern slavery' caused by its systemic defects. Canada should make diversity a priority in its labour force, and encourage corporate businesses to commit to hiring people of different ethnicities. Canadian government should ensure that there is a program for career advancement for all sectors of the labour market as well as provide opportunities for mentoring for those segregated sectors to help remove the barriers to their integration and settlement. This will result in a welcoming multi cultural society.

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APPENDICES:

APPENDIX A: Interview Questions:

1. When did you come to Canada?
2. What region did you come from in the Philippines?
3. What is your level of education?
4. What were your expectations when you arrived in Canada?
5. Were you planning to settle in Canada or go back home in the Philippines for retirement? Why?
6. How was your occupational/status in the Philippines before you migrate?
7. What is your marital status when you enter Canada?
8. What was your immigration status when you came to Canada?
9. How did you find your first housing accommodation in Canada?
10. How did you obtain your first job?
11. Where did you work in the first five years in your arrival in Canada?
12. When did you bought your first house?
13. Where did you/your family settled?
14. What organization assisted your settlement in Canada?
15. How did church help you settled in Canada?
16. Who were your friends in Canada?/How did you know/meet them?
17. Are there any comments, ideas, thoughts, suggestions, or questions that you feel might be relevant to this particular study not covered in the discussion?