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STATE POLICY AND THE MIGRATION OF FOREIGN DOMESTIC
WORKERS TO CANADA:
THE MIGRATION OF FILIPINA NANNIES
TO VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA

By

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B.A., Simon Fraser University, 1982

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in the Department
of
GEOGRAPHY

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State Policy And The Migration Of Foreign Domestic Workers To Canada:

The Migration Of Filipina Nannies To Vancouver, B.C.

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ABSTRACT

Thousands of Filipino women have migrated to Canada over the past decade to work as live-in caregivers in Canadian households. Current tendencies within the migration literature emphasize the structural framework of migration and devote particular attention to the role of the state in delineating the parameters within which international migration occurs. However, the labour of Filipina caregivers -- straddling as it does both the realms of production and social reproduction -- fits poorly in established views of international migration that rest on traditional concepts of the division of labour within a global capitalist system. As well, a feminist perspective is necessary to highlight the subordinate status of reproductive work and to assess the impact of state policy in perpetuating entrenched gender roles.

In order to examine state influence on the migration of Filipinas, the study draws on two main sources of information. An historical review of Canadian policies is undertaken using government statistics, releases, and reports pertaining to the immigration of foreign domestic workers, as well as secondary literature. This reveals the recurring pattern of state response to the chronic shortage of live-in domestics in Canada and the migrational consequences of these policies. The current federal Live-In Caregiver (LIC) program is only the most recent example of a state initiative to secure domestic workers; unsettling similarities exist between this program and questionable past

policies. For example, the mandatory requirement of two years live-in service is not unlike the indentured labour aspects of past programs; as well, the persistence of a covert racism is evidenced in regulations that particularly disadvantage women from poor countries.

As a complementary source of data, a survey was carried out of 144 Filipina domestic workers in Vancouver, B.C. The questionnaire responses highlight the motivations that prompted these women to leave the Philippines and seek employment in Canada and clearly identify the impact of government policy on migration. The survey findings indicate that the opportunity for possible landed status presented within the LIC program served as a key incentive in most respondents' decisions to come to Canada. (No other country allows for permanent immigration of foreign domestic workers). Therefore, the Canadian state not only sets the legislation to facilitate the migration and employment of domestic workers but, as well, plays an influential role in drawing significant numbers of Filipina caregivers to Canada.

For Cam and Shawn.

With your love, anything seems possible.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 The Scenario: Filipina Nannies in Canada

Thousands of Filipinas currently work in Canada as domestic help. These women care for children, clean homes, and cook. In addition to various personal reasons, their prime motivation for migration to Canada generally arises out of economic necessity. These women have for the most part left the Philippines because jobs there are in short supply, and working overseas offers much higher wages. Meanwhile, the demand for live-in childcare workers continues to grow within Canada as more and more families discover the nanny as a viable childcare option in a field with few choices. The Canadian government brings these two interests together with a special employment and immigration package -- formerly called the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) program, and recently renamed and revised as the Live-in Caregiver Program. Crafted specifically to address the Canadian demand for childcare, this program ensures a steady supply of well-educated caregivers that will work for minimal wages. Foreign women enter the country as contract workers on restricted work permits, but are eligible for landed immigrant status after two or more years of domestic work. Landed status is not guaranteed, but the Live-in Caregiver Program offers the possibility for permanent settlement in Canada -- an option difficult to obtain through regular immigration channels.

As a focus for geographic enquiry, the migration of Filipina caregivers to Canada offers an opportunity to test the applicability of contemporary migration theory. We need to consider why these women are moving halfway across the globe to work in Canada, as well as what contemporary migration theory can offer to help understand this phenomenon.

The current trend within the migration literature emphasizes the structural framework of migration, and pays particular attention to the role of the state in delineating the parameters within which any international migration occurs. In this regard, the governments of both Canada and the Philippines play a key role in directing the migration and employment of Filipina caregivers. This study will highlight how the employment and immigration policies of the Canadian state control the labour supply of Filipina nannies.

Structural analyses of migration refute popular characterizations of the migrant as economic entrepreneur, seeking to maximize income and opportunity. Within the neoclassical economic perspective, the contemporary phenomenon of foreign nannies is often presented as a mutually beneficial arrangement for both employer and employee. The Canadian household benefits from affordable live-in help, while the Filipino household benefits from an infusion of foreign dollars. As summarized by some employers and government bureaucrats, it is a "win-win" situation. The simplicity of this pronouncement, however, ignores not only the larger context of this interaction (beyond that of the individual), but also the broader societal implications of this economic arrangement. The unacknowledged "winners" are interests that benefit from the

maintenance of the status quo, as traditional patterns of childcare are upheld and the state sidesteps any commitment to universal childcare. The undervalued labour of women (both unpaid Canadian mothers and low-paid foreign workers) within the home helps to subsidize labour costs and increase profitability within the realm of economic production.

In addition, the individual decisions of parents and nannies need to be viewed within their contextual setting: as choices made among limited options, and according to constraints that are beyond the control of the individual. In the Philippines, the financial crunch faced by many individual households is rooted in systemic historical and socio-economic circumstances, made worse by the 'trickle-down' effects of a massive foreign debt. For the Filipino woman, her individual 'solution' to her country's economic dilemma may be to seek overseas employment. The pay is better than in the Philippines, but usually much less than what a Canadian would seek for a comparable job. At the same time, she may also face long hours, unreasonable expectations, poor living conditions, and the likelihood of some discrimination -- in addition to periods of long separation from her own family.

Meanwhile, in Canada, the childcare quandary is not merely an individual household problem, but a nation-wide phenomenon with deep roots in our social fabric and state policies. Within this context, the 'solution' of a Canadian mother to hire a foreign nanny becomes a decision that is often made from limited options, and within an agenda that is largely set by government policy.

1.2 The Study: The Influence of State Policy

For the potential migrant worker, the Live-In Caregiver program defines who can come into the country, under what circumstances, and for how long. Significantly, the program may also serve as the only route into Canada for many women who cannot meet regular immigration guidelines. In particular, the potential for landed status offered by the Caregiver program allows women from 'developing' countries a window of opportunity for immigration to Canada. No other labour-importing state offers a similar incentive, thus Canadian state policy arguably plays a major role in influencing the migration decisions of Filipina workers.

While the decision to migrate may be seen at least partially to reflect individual choice, the migration chain of Filipinas to Vancouver cannot be adequately understood without reference to larger forces that shape and constrain the options available to these women. As a main focus, this thesis seeks to determine the extent of the role of the Canadian state in influencing the migration and employment of Filipinas as foreign domestic workers. This study intends to show that

- i) the Canadian state exerts strong influence over the immigration and employment (supply) of domestic workers.
- ii) Canadian state policies intended to foster this labour supply do in fact attract significant numbers of Filipina migrant workers.

Secondarily, and at a deeper level, this study intends to demonstrate that:

iii) the state policies of the Philippines also work to ensure a constant supply of migrant labour (in this instance, female domestic workers).

iv) the Canadian state also plays a key role in establishing and maintaining the demand for foreign domestic workers.

1.3 Methodology and Presentation

The examination of these themes requires a detailed analysis of state policy, especially those aspects directly pertaining to the migration of foreign domestic workers to Canada. Although the Philippine government also plays a significant role in initiating this migration pattern, the primary focus for this study is on Canadian policy-making. Since 1981 the FDM and Live-In Caregiver (LIC) programs have served as the main state instruments controlling the flow of immigrant nannies, although other policies (or lack thereof) -- such as those related to childcare provision -- have also played an indirect role. The intended purpose, and ultimate effects, of these policies are discernable from several sources of information. Government releases and correspondence from the Minister of Employment and Immigration announce the ostensible intent of policy; however, the underlying political agenda is best surmised from the ministry's own statistics and summary reports. Regardless of intent, the government figures can be used to plot the effects of policy modifications. This source of data, for example, helps to reveal

the impetus for a series of changes made in 1992 to the FDM program, as well as the migrational consequences of those changes. The analysis of the intent and impact of Canadian policy towards foreign caregivers is detailed in Chapter 3.

A complementary source of data -- a comprehensive questionnaire completed by 144 Filipina domestic workers -- provides information that the Employment and Immigration (EIC) figures do not reveal or cannot explain. A survey of foreign caregivers -- conducted in Vancouver from June 1992 through February 1993 -- collected extensive data on the factors influencing migration among Filipina caregivers, as well as a profile of these workers. The questionnaire targeted current and past live-in domestic workers who entered Canada through the FDM or LIC programs, and was self-administered under the supervision of myself and/or volunteers, who themselves were currently, or had been in the past, live-in domestic workers. In addition, pre-survey interviews and post-survey discussions with questionnaire respondents provided opportunities to gain a deeper understanding of the situation of Filipina caregivers in Canada (further details of the survey methodology are presented in Chapter 4). The analysis of the survey findings pays particular attention to the motivations that prompted respondents to leave the Philippines, as well as the factors that figured most prominently in their decision to choose Canada as a destination for overseas employment.

The reworking of the FDM program in 1992, and the effects of those changes, provide an encapsulating episode that clearly identifies the impact of government policy on migration. The

changes produced a backlash from domestic workers and their advocates, who decried the 'racism' and discrimination against 'Third World' women evident within the policy. A dramatic reduction in the number of new entrants to the program -- especially from the Philippines -- suggests the apparent oversuccess of the ministry changes. In view of this, Chapter 5 will speculate on the future scenario, not only for foreign caregivers, but also for Canadian childcare.

CHAPTER 2

The Migration of Filipina Caregivers to Canada: A Case Study for Contemporary Migration Theory

2.1 Migration Theory: Contemporary Trends

Over 100 years ago, E.G. Ravenstein (1889) set out his "Laws of Migration", and laid the theoretical foundations for most subsequent inquiry into human migration behavior. Only in the past two decades has migration theory moved away from its neoclassical emphasis on rational economic choice, and instead recharacterized migration as a response to structural factors lying in part beyond individual control. This theoretical reorientation "is no mere artifact of intellectual fashion" -- it reflects the changing nature of more recent international migration (Zolberg 1989, 407).

Among these changes, the most apparent is the closing of an era of large-scale permanent migration. While a handful of countries may still allow significant immigration levels (including Canada), tighter guidelines favour immigrants with scarce skills or with large amounts of investment capital, while they increasingly restrict the entry of most labourers. In the place of the permanent settlement of labourers, "virtually all countries now participate in an international system of temporary movement", with policies that allow for the controlled importation of migrant labour (Salt 1987, 241).

Contemporary migration theory has become refocused to examine the forces that have set these new movements in international labour migration in motion, and to identify how these

movements are manipulated through the workings of state policy. Scholarly attention has shifted from the description and categorization of individual or aggregate migratory movements towards a macro-analysis of the overarching structural forces that influence migratory decisions. At the same time, micro-level studies have become more sophisticated and sensitive to the wide variety of migrant experiences, especially by focusing on historical, social, and cultural particularities that may influence migration. This variety of approaches has enriched migration studies, for "[t]he migration process so far has proved too diverse for any one theoretical approach" (Ibid., 244).

This chapter examines these contemporary trends within migration theory as they can be applied to a case study of Filipina nannies in Canada. The migration of these women illustrates two dominant themes in the migration literature today: the circulation of workers within an international division of labour and the key role that the state plays in directing this movement. At the same time, it challenges mainstream theorists that fail to recognize the gendered experience of migration by pointing out the inappropriate assumptions of models built only upon male migration experience. Analyses of female migrant labour do exist that offer insights into the particular constraints that affect female migrants (ie. Phizacklea 1983), but even these studies have not fully addressed the phenomenon of foreign caregivers -- women who are relocating for employment in a sector of the economy traditionally considered outside of waged production.

2.2 Neoclassical Migration Theory

The influence of neoclassical economics on migration theory lingers on in some studies despite the contemporary trend towards more structural approaches. Neoclassical theory conceptualizes migratory behavior as an individual, rational choice.¹ Although many different factors can contribute to a decision to relocate, none "can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to 'better' themselves in material respects" (Ravenstein 1889, 48). Within this approach, any individual decision to migrate may be characterized as a carefully considered choice made by weighing the perceived positive and negative consequences of a move (Lee 1966). Negative factors in a migrant's country of origin might include unemployment, low wages, and a lack of opportunity, but these may also be offset by positive factors such as family ties and a familiar locale. A decision to migrate would tend to arise only if the perceived net benefits available in the destination country outweighed those in the origin, while also taking into account intervening obstacles such as the cost of a long-distance move. When large numbers of people move in a highly defined path (such as from the Philippines to Canada), they have likely reacted "in similar fashion to the same general sets of factors at origin and destination" (Ibid., 50).

Neoclassical interpretations of migration, however, generally ignore the social context of individuals (as members of households and larger community networks) and overemphasize economic rationality. As well, rational choice models fail to address the

overarching circumstances that shape individual migratory behavior. The neoclassical approach assumes that individuals have an adequate range of choices and information necessary to make free, measured decisions. In reality, the personal factors at both origin and destination that form the basis for individual decisions are only facets of a larger and much more complicated picture. If an individual can only make a decision among a limited range of options, the constraints of this choice should be understood. When a woman chooses to migrate because her only other option may be poverty, the wider circumstances within which she lives have directed her decision. In a sense, then, structure assumes primary importance over individual motivation, because "individual preferences can explain only why some people chose to make themselves part of a general phenomenon: they cannot explain the phenomenon itself" (Cohen 1987, 40).

In the example of Filipinas who have come to Canada to work as nannies, many women will allow that they left the Philippines because they saw better opportunities elsewhere. However, this apparent evidence of a rational strategy shrinks under scrutiny. When elaborating on their migration decision-making, these women present themselves not as economic entrepreneurs, but more often as economic victims, who have been forced to leave their homes because the economy in the Philippines leaves them few realistic options. For the Filipino woman, her individual 'solution' to her country's economic crisis is to migrate for overseas employment, often a difficult financial strategy that may separate her from her own family (Enloe 1989).

2.3 International Labour Migration

Since the late 1970's, historical-structural analyses of migration have largely supplanted neoclassical migration theory. Explicitly or not, the concept of an international division of labour within an inequitable global capitalist system (such as is depicted in Wallerstein's (1979) world-systems model) permeates much of the discussion of contemporary international migration. The internationalization of capitalism has been accompanied by the rise of exploitative economic and political relationships between countries, creating a global spatial equivalent to that of Marx's socioeconomic analysis of labour exploitation. Those countries deemed as 'developing' are seen to serve the interests of the 'developed' world: the core of wealthy industrial nations dictating the overarching conditions of global capital accumulation.² This unequal partnership, rooted in the formal imperialism of the past, endures today in the informal economic, military, and ideological imperialism that Western nations exert over the neo-colonial world. In this light, international labour migration can be seen as a link in the chain of exploitative relations between rich and poor countries. Workers from neo-colonial countries around the world constitute a huge reserve of labour to fuel the continued economic growth of the capitalist core, whether they work in foreign-owned factories in their homelands, or grow cheap food for export, or migrate to fill the lowest employment echelons within the labour-importing countries. In the past decade, poor countries have become increasingly subordinated to the

economic core, as ballooning foreign debts -- and the structural adjustment measures dictated by the West to address these debts -- strangle domestic economies. The resultant rises in unemployment rates and prices for many basic consumption goods, together with the imperative to earn more foreign currency to pay off international debt, have contributed to the outflow of migrant workers from many countries. As an individual strategy, families have turned to overseas work to ensure economic survival; in turn, the Philippine government has facilitated -- and even promoted -- this labour exodus in an effort to reduce unemployment rates and generate foreign income. Thus, migrant workers have become a commodity for export (Sassen-Koob 1981). Instead of studying migration as merely a demographic phenomenon, it can more broadly be considered as another instance of the international circulation of resources (Sassen-Koob 1978).

However, just as the neoclassical school oversimplifies migration by its emphasis on individual rational choice, so also the macro-view of the so-called 'conflict' school risks reducing migration to economic determinism on a grand scale. Papademetriou (1988, 241) cautions that in "adopting exclusively the view of international migration as part of the international process of capital accumulation, a multifaceted process is reduced to one which serves only the needs and strategies of capital". Not only individuals, but whole populations move for reasons that cannot be readily identifiable as a consequence of an inequitable global economic system. Rather, the motivations for these movements may rise from a complicated

historical mixture of social and political factors at varying and interlocking scales.

A key juncture between the influence of interrelated structural forces and individual migration behavior lies in the "mediating institution" of family and community networks (Lycklama 1989, 30).

A consideration of such social networks

permits understanding migration as a social product -- not as the sole result of individual decisions made by individual actors, not as the sole result of economic or political parameters, but rather as an outcome of all these factors in interaction" (Boyd 1989, 642).

Structural factors may set the conditions that prompt individual decisions to migrate, but their influence operates through a filter of "collective considerations brought forward within the social network of family, household, kin and community, as well as by the outcome of conflicts of interest within that network" (Lycklama 1989, 27).

With respect to Filipina migrant workers, this socio-cultural dimension may exercise a great deal of influence on individual decision-making. In the Philippines, an entrenched social acceptance of migration as an economic strategy is coupled with cultural values that place considerable weight on familial and community obligations. Within this particular milieu, the likelihood increases of an individual decision to seek overseas employment.

2.4 Migrant Labourers

The circulation of labour has increasingly become temporary in nature, moving away from the previous tendency toward the

permanent settlement of immigrants. In fact among many scholars, the term international 'movement' has gained favour over 'migration' "given the latter term's connotation with permanency" (Salt 1987, 242). The incorporation of a foreign labour-force into a receiving country can be conceptualized in one of four ways, each associated with various benefits or disadvantages for the workers. Within this typology, foreign labourers may enter as free immigrants, unfree immigrants, free migrants, or unfree migrants (Satzewich 1990). Free immigrants enter the receiving country as permanent residents, and gain all benefits associated with that status; unfree immigrants, however, enter with restrictions on their free circulation within the labour market. Among migrant labourers, those entering as free migrants gain only temporary status within a country, but may circulate in the job market; those entering as unfree migrants face obstructions to their employment options. Filipina domestic workers who have entered Canada through the FDM or LIC programs fall into this last category.

As non-citizens, temporary workers are particularly disadvantaged within labour-receiving countries, with fewer rights and less access to state benefits than the indigenous labour force (Piore 1979, Morokvasic 1984, Cohen 1987). But for the labour-importing country, a foreign work force offers certain advantages. The state reduces expenditures by avoiding the cost of educating and training this part of its labour-force, while, at the same time, it collects revenue from these foreign workers through taxes and other premiums (Arat-Koc 1990, 93). In addition, if their labour is no longer required or productive, migrant workers may be quickly

repatriated, representing additional savings in terms of the need to supply no unemployment or social security benefits (Sassen-Koob 1981).³

In the case of Filipina nannies working in Canada through the Caregiver program, although they may someday gain landed immigrant status or eventual citizenship, until that day they are 'guestworkers', with the lack of protection and inadequate benefits that are associated with that status. Nannies pay Canada Pension Plan, Unemployment Insurance premiums and income tax, but as contract labourers, if they find themselves out of a job, they face difficulties in collecting any benefits. Although legally eligible to claim UIC under the present program, unemployed nannies must find another childcare position or risk deportation (Arat-Koc 1990, 95). In 1973-1979 alone, foreign domestics in Canada contributed over \$11 million in CPP and UIC premiums -- for benefits they were unlikely to collect (Task Force 1981).

2.5 The Role of the State in International Migration

Economics and sociology may very well be able to explain the movements that took place when there was no effective system of nation-states. But today's division of the world into mutually exclusive territorial authorities has added a factor, the state, which crucially influences the pattern of moves between states (Bohning 1984, 47).

The apparatus of the state has increasingly been identified as the key determinant in shaping international migration. State actions in respect to national borders determine whether any

international migration will take place at all, independently of other conditions (Zolberg 1978). States function as the gatekeepers of migration -- controlling both entry and exit -- within the place-specific parameters set by the capitalist global economy.⁴ This enforcement of borders restricts labour mobility, but at the same time "national boundaries do not act as barriers so much as mechanisms reproducing the system through the international division of labor" (Sassen-Koob 1981, 70). National borders define both citizens and non-citizens, and in this way contribute "to the peripheralization of a part of the world and the designation of its workers as a labor reserve" (Ibid., 70). Unrestricted entry ultimately undermines the benefits derived from foreign workers in labour-importing countries. The selection criteria outlined within the immigration policies of these countries serve to control the size and characteristics of legal immigrant flows (Boyd 1989, 647). An oversupply of permanent immigrants would result in increased social costs -- such as in the form of unemployment benefits and welfare -- which would be eventually shouldered by employers and employed workers (Zolberg 1989).

In the 1970's, the international movement of temporary workers was dominated by large flows of workers flocking to the Middle East and Western Europe in response to the market demand for labourers. In comparison, the movement of today's migrant workers takes place in a more controlled and institutionalized manner (Salt 1987), squeezing past the restrictive immigration policies of labour-importing countries through "small doors that allow for specific flows" (Zolberg 1989, 406). Such policy

manipulation "allow[s] for the procurement of certain types of labour" (Ibid., 406), and highlights the close link between immigration policy and labour policy (Zolberg 1978). For potential migrants, these highly selective criteria may play a part in their migration strategies, "leading to no migration, immigration or illegal entry. Such strategies, shaped by immigration rules and regulations, show how immigration laws can illicit [sic] unintended consequences" (Boyd 1989, 647).

Canada's Live-in Caregiver Program is an example of such a 'door' within the overall immigration policy, which has been opened to help secure a specific labour force to meet a particular need. The program is ostensibly presented as an employment program, but it is inextricably tied with Canadian immigration policy. In the face of heavy criticism in 1992, the federal minister in charge of the program tried to downplay this connection:

The Live-in Caregiver Program is...a program designed to meet a specific labour market need. Immigration plays a facilitation role, however, I believe that the program is seen by some as an immigration program, and that may be how misunderstandings arise. For those who have perceived the program in this way, any attempts to modify its provisions are mistakenly seen as affecting the ability of Third World women to immigrate to Canada (Valcourt 1992).⁵

However, employment and immigration cannot be so easily divorced, a point underscored by the fact that these interests were until recently combined within the same Canadian federal ministry. The possibility of obtaining landed status makes the Caregiver program much more than an employment initiative -- no other country offers such an incentive. And the details of this policy certainly affect the

ability of Filipina women to immigrate to Canada. The minimum requirements of a Grade 12 education and a 6-month training course have not been conceived as necessary attributes for a temporary job as a nanny (these requirements do not apply to Canadian licensed home caregivers); rather they are directed to the over 80% of nannies who eventually become permanent immigrants (Ibid.). By setting an educational requirement tailored to future employment opportunities, Canada reduces the costs associated with upgrading the education of nannies after they attain landed status and begin their search for other work. These savings are in addition to those that the state gains initially by importing a labour force educated and trained within the Philippines.

While immigration (and labour) policies of 'destination' countries tend to determine the nature of international migrant movements, state action at the migrant's point of origin can also have a significant influence on migration. The articulation of state policy concerning international migration includes "not only formal rules and regulations, but also administrative practices concerning them, as well as related incentives and sanctions", and these policies may be either explicitly defined or defined simply by the absence of specific legislation (Zolberg 1989, 406). In a migrant's country of origin, these types of state initiatives may take the form of positive incentives to migrate or, as in the case of the Philippines, the state may actively promote the national labour force in overseas markets (Sassen-Koob 1981; Zolberg 1978).

Philippine state involvement in promoting labour export belies neo-classical notions of labour-sending countries as passive players

in the global economic arena. In fact, "[t]he role of the Philippine government in labour export is anything but passive and concessionary in its mediation of national and international forces" (Ball and Michael 1991, 1). In the 1970's, the Marcos government launched an aggressive campaign to market Filipino labour as part of its export-oriented development strategy (Ibid.). As well, in 1983 the state enacted legislation to control remittances of foreign currency sent home by overseas workers. Executive Order 857 declared that a mandatory percentage of the overseas employee's earnings (50 percent for domestic workers) be remitted back to the Philippines and channelled through the Central Bank. Through this legislation, the government was able to directly collect valuable foreign funds and convert it into the local currency prior to distribution. In practice, however, the policy proved unmanageable, and also contravened Article 6 of Convention 95 of the International Labour Organization on the Protection of Wages, which the Philippines had previously ratified (CIIR 1987). Nevertheless, in 1986 an estimated 800,000 Filipinos were working abroad -- just under 8% of the non-agricultural labour force -- and the \$US1.8 billion they sent back to the Philippines that year exceeded the foreign exchange earnings of any other export industry (Stahl 1988, 147). Both men and women from the Philippines work abroad; however, in recent years women "have become economically more important than their male counterparts" (Enloe 1989, 186). The demand for male labour -- such as in the construction industry in Asia and the Middle East -- has declined, while the overseas demand for female labour continues to grow. Large numbers of Filipinas find

employment not only as foreign domestics, but as nurses, entertainers, and service workers throughout Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and North America.⁶

While the state establishes various mechanisms to facilitate and control the movement of temporary labourers, other institutional players also take actions in order to direct this movement. Modern migrants are "organised, selected and controlled" by recruitment agencies, companies, and employer federations as well as by the state's own administrative apparatus (Cohen 1987, 39). In respect to nannies, recruitment agencies have played a large role in directing Filipinas to Canadian jobs (DeVan 1989). Agencies search for Filipina workers not only in the Philippines but also in places such as Singapore and Hong Kong, and then arrange jobs for these women through affiliated agencies in Canada.

2.6 Women and Migration

Though the migration of foreign domestic workers may appear to fit within recent migration discourses that emphasize the global circulation of human labour and the role of the state, it cannot be satisfactorily addressed by any model that ignores gender relations. This omission, however, is characteristic of most mainstream migration literature, which tends to ignore issues related to gender and often focuses on patterns of male migration. Studies focusing on women as active protagonists in migration, as opposed to women passively accompanying men, first began to appear in the literature around the mid-seventies. Many studies of female migrant workers,

however, have been overly descriptive -- more intent on examining the types of employment, as well as the social and economic experiences of these women in destination countries, than on identifying the reasons for migration. To move beyond descriptive analysis of female migration requires an examination of the structural motivations for migration and, in particular, how those structures are gendered. Morokvasic points out that gender is

used universally as a criterion of social stratification and discrimination. This is highly relevant to migratory movements where women are being introduced as an important facet if not the main component of a mobile and cheap labour force, enabling capital to maximise profits (1983, 24).

As migrant workers, women are especially disadvantaged. Not only does their foreignness assign them lower status within Canadian society, but as women they are also subordinated within a patriarchal social structure. The resultant oppression of migrant women can be seen as a threefold process:

[i]t is the articulation between the processes of gender discrimination, racial discrimination of migrant workers and class exploitation as working class that makes their position particularly vulnerable (Morokvasic 1984, 891).

In addition, their socialization within a patriarchal system may lead these women to accept this vulnerability as natural and normal (Ibid.). Thus, political, economic and social inequities confront these women both in their country of origin, and at their migration destination; these inequities are not only found within the circumstances that compel women to move, but they also can exert a

strong influence on these women's individual decision-making processes.

In order to understand the situation of foreign nannies, gender is an especially significant factor. Not only do these women suffer 'triple oppression' as migrant, ethnic, female workers, they are also taking on jobs traditionally considered as women's work which lie outside of the realm of waged production. As part of the private (and often hidden) realm of social reproduction, domestic workers are rendered largely invisible in the productive equations of the capitalist economy (Arat-Koc 1990).⁷ Even when childcare occurs outside the home (with informal sitters or in daycare centers) the remuneration for this work often fails to reflect its social value. The fact that nannies must 'live-in' intensifies the low status of their position and increases their vulnerability to abuse. For example, in interviews for this study, one nanny told of sharing her bedroom with a child and being on-call twenty-four hours a day. Another woman told of the effect on her self-esteem of not being trusted to have a key to the house in which she worked.

This lack of recognition and protection is embedded within state policies such as provincial labour codes. For example, British Columbia's codes fail to provide live-in workers with any guarantee of overtime pay and prevent any collective bargaining among these workers.⁸ Interconnections between employment and immigration policy do not necessarily indicate common objectives between different departments or levels of government. This lack of coordination between the federally-directed Live-in Caregiver Program and provincial labour laws heightens the vulnerability of

foreign nannies to various forms of exploitation and abuse (Arat-Koc 1990).

Given the key role that government policy plays in influencing migration, perhaps the movement of Filipina domestic workers can be best understood by adopting a feminist approach to analysis of the state. This approach would entail an examination of state actions in a gender-conscious way, in order to better assess the impact of state policy on "shaping the everyday practices and circumstances of women's lives" (Randall 1988, 10).⁹ The ideology of patriarchy tends to relegate women to a subordinate status and, in tandem with the separate yet mutually reinforcing workings of capitalism, devalue women's work within the sphere of social reproduction. In turn, the actions of the state reflect these controlling interests within society, and thus tend to perpetuate entrenched gender inequities. Indeed,

the state has a profound influence on what is deemed private and what is deemed public [and]...helps structure what falls into the public realm of state and formal economy, and what belongs to the private realm of household and family, as well as the extent to which the latter is governed by public regulations (Armstrong and Armstrong 1990, 113).

In Canada, an example of the role that the state plays in maintaining traditional realms of production and social reproduction can be found in the partial solution to the childcare conundrum that the government offers -- that of 'affordable' foreign nannies through the Caregiver program. The labour force needs caregivers for its children, but the state balks at providing universal daycare. Aside from the prohibitive cost of such an endeavor (given other priorities

for government spending), free labour associated with the maintenance of the household and care of children by unpaid caregivers acts to subsidize labour (and thus hold down wages) within the realm of production. Capital benefits from the undervalued labour of women in the home; to remunerate household work and child rearing as socially productive (waged) labour would seriously undermine profitability. Instead, the nanny takes on a portion of the labour within the household, allowing the labour power of parents to be put to other uses with little cost to the state for childcare and related activities. The government facilitates this arrangement through the Live-In Caregiver program.

2.7 Conclusion: Contemporary Migration Theory and Filipina Domestic Workers

The construction of a model to explain migration by Filipina nannies demands a perspective capable of intertwining such seemingly disparate elements as the international division of labour, class relations, ethnic and gender subordination, and the influence of state policy. As well, care must be taken that micro-level analysis of the range of personal motivations among these migrants will not be swept aside within a broader structural focus. As Salt describes, the many theoretical approaches to migration study "overlap and mutually reinforce...but none is adequate in itself" (1987, 244). On the one hand, migration perspectives focusing on the international division and movement of labour can point out the labour-import aspect of Filipina nanny migration; however, they largely ignore the

gender differences in migration constraints and experiences. While the analytical approaches of Morokvasic (1983; 1984) and others highlight some of the additional burdens borne by female migrant workers, the focus is still on labour performed within the public sphere of the economy, and thus does not account for the contradictions of the nanny's employment within the private sphere.¹⁰ The labour of caregivers, straddling as it does both the realms of production and social reproduction, fits poorly in any model of international migration that rests on traditional concepts of the division of labour within a global capitalist system. Indeed, Zolberg suggests that as production costs mount in the capitalist core, production processes will increasingly move to the cheaper labour supplies in the periphery, leading to a decline in the need for First World countries to import labour (1989). This pattern, of course, would not apply to nannies, as the reproductive (rather than productive) work of childcare cannot be shipped overseas.

Within this study, the key link between the diverse factors that influence the migration decisions of Filipina nannies would appear to lie in the workings of state policy. As the preceding pages indicate, no single approach can completely account for this contemporary migration pattern; however, couched within a feminist perspective and mindful of the interwoven nature of migration impetuses, an approach centered on state policy can provide a suitable framework for analysis. Thus, the following chapters will emphasize the state's pivotal role in shaping the international migration of foreign domestic workers into Canada.

ENDNOTES

1. Within the migration literature, the theoretical approaches built upon the tenets of neoclassical economics are often referred to as 'classical' migration studies. As well, the term 'equilibrium model' is sometimes used, a label that underscores the conceptualization of migration as "the geographical mobility of workers who are responding to imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, labour, capital and natural resources" (Wood 1982, 300).
2. The terms 'developing' and 'developed' have come under increasing criticism. These terms, as well as the commonly used 'Third World', imply a hierarchical categorization of nations, based primarily on economic indicators defined by the developed, or 'First' world. The very concept of 'development' is also problematic, as it assumes that a model of development exists within the industrialized West that serves as a goal for 'under-developed' countries. This view not only stresses the supposed superiority of Western ideology and practice, but also suggests a static endpoint within the process of development, a contradiction that in turn ignores the ongoing change experienced by all nations.

Instead, the terms 'core' and 'periphery' highlight the political and economic dominance of the wealthy industrial nations over the poor, thus identifying countries within a relational, rather than hierarchical, means of classification. In much the same way, the terms 'Western' and 'post-colonial or 'neo-colonial' acknowledge not only the historical relations of 19th Century imperialism, but also highlight continuing forms of economic imperialism which tie peripheral countries to the core within a global capitalist economy.

3. Immigrant workers, whether permanent or temporary, constitute a distinct form of labour, often identified by certain racial and cultural characteristics. Ng (1990) has focused on the construction of "immigrant women" as a labour category, and the process through which this group becomes marketed as specialized commodities with certain skills or attributes.

4. If states are the gatekeepers of migration, and if the capitalist global economy sets the overall parameters within which place-specific circumstances unfold, it follows that we need to delineate the connection between capitalism and the state. The 'state' has been defined as "a set of institutions for the protection and maintenance of society", that "guarantee the reproduction of social relations in a way in which no individual social group is able" (Dear 1986). But conceptions of the state are as varied as states are themselves. Fundamental differences exist between liberal (or neo-conservative) and Marxist formulations of the state over such issues as the linkages between political power and class power. On the one hand, liberal tradition has generally posed a pluralist conception of the state, in which the state mediates in the interest of all citizens (Held 1981). The operation of the state within a capitalist economic system is a given, and underlying interconnections between capital and the state are not explored (Clark and Dear 1984). On the other hand, classical Marxist interpretations see the state as an instrument of capital, which consequently renders all actions of the state to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. In between these two conceptual extremes exist numerous neo-marxist formulations of the state, which try to express the linkages between the interests of capital, labour, and the state using less deterministic methods. For this paper, the capitalist state is considered from a neo-marxist perspective, as a distinct and separate institution mediating between and supporting the interests of both capital and labour, while maintaining the overall conditions for capital

and labour, while maintaining the overall conditions for capital accumulation. This perspective recognizes that while the capitalist state may be dependent upon accumulation, not all functions of the state can be reduced to the narrow Marxist focus on class. Within a hierarchy of operational goals, the state must first ensure its legitimacy by securing the support of its populace. Without the acceptance of the prevailing social contract by all groups within society, the state risks collapse (Clark and Dear 1984). Therefore, in an effort to maintain consensus, the activities and policies of the state do not always operate directly in the interests of capitalist production.

5. The West Coast Domestic Workers Association, along with other concerned groups and individuals, charges that "the Canadian government is keeping out many poor women from Third World countries where it is expensive to go to university and now impossible to find a training course for domestic workers" (WCDWA 1992).

6. In 1987, the numbers of Filipina overseas workers (legally deployed under Philippine regulations) were distributed as follows:

Middle East - 47.5 %

Asia - 46.3 %

Europe/America - 5.3 %

Other - .9 %

Of all female contract workers (recorded by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration) in 1987, 45 % were domestic helpers; while 17.5 % were classified as entertainers (Philippine Development Plan For Women 1989).

7. The concept of social reproduction refers to those activities that recreate the 'productive' labour force, through the "physical and emotional maintenance of current workers, and the nurturing and socializing of future workers" (Glenn 1991, 195).

Reproductive labour generally occurs within the household, and is most often done by women. In addition, a racial as well as sexual division of reproductive labor exists, as 'racial ethnic' women have historically been employed as servants and caregivers (Ibid.). Within these traditionally female, low status job sectors, racial stratification tends to allocate less desirable tasks to ethnic women.

8. British Columbia's employment standards regarding minimum wage and overtime pay for domestic workers are currently under review (spring 1994). For a summary of the recommended changes to B.C. policy, see the brief prepared by the West Coast Domestic Workers' Association (1993).
9. As succinctly summarized by MacKinnon (1989, 157), "[f]eminism has no theory of the state." Rather, just as a range of feminisms exist, so do feminist takes on the state. Overall, these different perspectives seek to establish the "extent to which the state is autonomous from, or is itself one of, the structures and relations of male dominance" (Randall 1988, 10). Liberal feminists have held that the state is not directly involved in the perpetuation of the patriarchal relations that subordinate women; rather, the state has a basically neutral stance and serves as a conduit through which women can seek "protection, services, regulations, and redress" (Armstrong and Armstrong 1990, 114). Marxist feminists, focusing on the state's role in maintaining the conditions for capital accumulation, have tended to view the subordination of women as an outcome of the state's privileging of the interests of the ruling class. Men -- as the dominant players within the realm of production -- benefit, while women are relegated to secondary status. Meanwhile, radical feminists view the state as neither neutral nor as indirectly reinforcing patriarchy; instead, the state is seen as a male institution that directly sets an agenda which reproduces male dominance. Overall,

fewer feminists would consider the state as a neutral arbitrator, while "[a]ll would agree that...all state action and inaction has a different impact on women than on men, and often varying effects on women from diverse classes, races, and ethnic groups" (Ibid., 115).

10. While migration theorists have not yet addressed the contradictory nature of domestic labour, several authors from other fields have focused on this issue. In particular, Arat-Koc's examination of domestic workers in Canada highlights the "ambiguous status" of the domestic worker: "Squeezed between the private and public spheres, she belongs to neither one or the other and probably faces the worst aspects of the two" (1990, 86).

CHAPTER 3

Foreign Domestic Workers: Canadian Labour and Immigration Policy

3.1 An Historical Perspective of Government Policy

The key role that the state plays in controlling the international flow of foreign domestic workers into Canada calls for a detailed historical examination of the policies that have directed this movement. The Foreign Domestic Movement and the Live-in Caregiver programs are only the latest examples of Canadian policy designed to procure foreign domestics. For more than a century the state has maintained significant control over the immigration and labour of these women -- indirectly through private agencies and directly through specific immigration policies. Set within this historical perspective, the current scenario of caregiver migration can be considered as yet another episode in a recurring pattern of government response: the chronic scarcity of live-in domestic workers in Canada has not prompted any completely new or lasting solution.

In an effort to procure foreign domestic workers for Canadian households, the Department of Employment and Immigration and its predecessors¹ have endeavored to provide the most desirable labourers at a minimum cost to Canada. Desirability -- at least in the view of government policy -- has had little to do with occupational suitability. Domestic workers are now, as in the past, judged on criteria that bear little relation to the job description. Though the

government may steadfastly insist that the Live-In Caregiver program is a labour (rather than immigration) policy, in reality the master plan of Canadian Immigration dictates the labour program details.

This current scenario with respect to foreign domestic workers is not entirely new -- it has been played out several times in the past. In each case, government decisions have confirmed that immigration policy takes precedence over labour policy. The government may loosen immigration policy to ease the demand for domestics; however, if at some point labour policy is perceived to supersede overall immigration policy, the door is then closed. In this cycle, the initial relaxation of immigration controls facilitates the entry of domestic workers as free immigrant labourers; the subsequent tightening of controls may lead to policies utilizing what Satzewich (1990) refers to as unfree immigrant labour, or even unfree migrant labour. The particular labour pool that is tapped depends on current immigration biases and government goals.

Immigration policy has traditionally superseded labour policy, but the nature of Canada's immigration plan has changed over time. As the balance of this chapter will show, various immigration priorities have been established during different periods in Canadian history. At all times, however, immigration policy towards foreign domestics has been marked to some degree by 'racism', ethnic discrimination, and classism, together with an overall gendered conceptualization of domestic labour within our society.² In the past, these prejudices were thinly disguised -- or not at all -- but current immigration policy also contains unsettling suggestions that they still

exist, despite official denials. Placed within this historical context, the manipulations of contemporary immigration policymakers take on added meaning. An historical perspective, therefore, offers a more complete understanding of the ways that Canadian state policy impacts the employment and immigration of Filipina domestic workers.³

3.2 Nation-building: Early Domestic Worker Schemes (1880-1920).

At the turn of this century, domestic workers were in heavy demand, as middle-class households and successful farm families began to turn to a form of household help that had until then been the privilege of the upper class. (These domestic servants were for the most part maids and housekeepers; the foreign domestic as nanny is a more recent phenomenon.) Indeed, the employment of at least one servant had become an important symbol of middle-class status (Barber 1991). At the same time, the Canadian labour pool of domestic workers was shrinking, as new and more attractive employment opportunities began opening for single women. Though employment in factories, offices, and shops, offered women comparable wages to domestic work, these jobs came with higher status and greater freedom. For both men and women, servants were categorized as part of the lower echelon of society. As the availability of domestic workers fell far short of the demand, both private and government agencies eyed immigrant labour as the solution.

Any major labour recruitment, however, had to fit within the parameters of immigration objectives, and "Canadian immigration policy (was) as ethnically selective as it was economically self-serving" (Abella & Troper 1982, 5). The government viewed British women as desirable immigrants and therefore was willing to directly and indirectly finance efforts to recruit them (Barber 1991). The "immigrationists", a group of women from economic and politically influential circles, supported this view and for several years up to 1920 worked alongside the government to actively recruit domestic workers. With state blessing, but little financial assistance, the "ladies" worked to alleviate the domestic worker shortage by carefully selecting 'suitable' immigrants. In the eyes of the immigrationists, these new immigrants were not only labourers but an addition to Canadian society -- which they viewed as "a British country, founded upon the moral, patriotic, and racial influence of British wives and mothers in Canadian homes" (Roberts 1990). In general the state agreed that the importation of British women satisfied citizen demands on several levels. The labour of these women filled a need voiced by many leading members of society who exerted considerable political influence. At the same time, the government reasoned that these women would someday make ideal wives -- especially in the developing west, where men far outnumbered women and lonely men were believed more likely to desert their homesteads (Barber 1991).

In the early 1900's, the government preferred to work indirectly through labour recruitment agencies and avoided direct efforts to recruit foreign domestic workers. Earlier attempts to offer

state assistance to immigrant labourers had met with general public opposition. Previously, the government had offered reduced railway and steamship fares to 'preferred' immigrants from Britain, and those immigrants entering Canada as female domestic workers or farmers were offered the highest subsidies (Ibid.). Instead of these direct subsidies to immigrants, the government began offering bonuses to private immigration agents who directed particular immigrant categories to Canada. In order to secure a bonus, agents often enticed immigrants by paying their transportation costs to Canada, which were advanced by employers with the condition that the money would be repaid out of the workers' Canadian wages. In effect, this practice led to a form of indentured labour, for the immigrant domestic worker was not free to change employers until this debt was released. Thus, many foreign domestics entered Canada as unfree immigrant labourers.

The immigration bonuses paid to private agencies had the indirect effect of limiting immigrant women's employment opportunities. It also had the broader effect of entrenching domestic work as the chief occupation of women. The efforts of the Salvation Army, one of the largest agencies involved in assisting immigrants to Canada, also contributed to this process. Although the Salvation Army had no specific interest in placing women in domestic positions (though certainly this type of labour fit with its philosophy about the role of women), it actively guided immigrants towards such work because "domestics were the immigrants for which Canadian governments would pay" (Ibid., 12).

Another source of indentured labour came from a group of young women known as the "Home girls". Between 1868 and 1924, over 80,000 British children under the age of 14 were sent to rural Canadian homes through British emigration agents. Of these, about one third were girls, who provided domestic service at bargain rates and were bound to their employers as "apprentices" (Ibid.).

Most of these children were orphans or came from poor families that had surrendered them to state care. The employment and immigration of the Home girls highlights the preference given to 'race' and country of origin over labour suitability, or even class. Despite their inexperience and lower-class status, these British girls were given preferential immigration status over other groups of women. The open-door policy of the Canadian Department of Immigration applied only to white women whose native tongue was English. Preferential travel subsidies in the 1800's had applied to British women, and only British women produced bonuses for agents that in turn led to travel advances. The absence of subsidies and travel advances for non-British domestic workers served as a passive form of restrictive immigration policy, where women from non-preferred countries faced much more difficulty immigrating to Canada.

Immigration policy was more clearly defined for women of colour. The Chinese head tax of 1886, imposed to curtail immigration from that country, had been increased to \$500 by 1903 -- effectively blocking most immigration of Chinese women (Manpower and Immigration 1974).⁴ As for West Indian women, the trial entry in 1910-11 of 100 women from Guadeloupe to French-speaking homes

in Quebec revealed much about the racist attitudes within Canadian labour and immigration policy. The program, which admitted young, single women as unfree immigrant labourers on two-year contracts, was soon discontinued, despite favorable reports from employers. In explanation, government officials suggested that domestic work was not vital to the economy and that non-white immigrants would encounter difficulties assimilating into Canadian society (Calliste 1989; Barber 1991). Rumours that some of the immigrants were single parents contributed to this view, enough for Immigration to deliver a verdict of questionable morality over all West Indian women (Calliste 1989). The Immigration department saw the Guadeloupe women as a potential public burden because, as single parents, they were considered at risk of again becoming pregnant out of wedlock. With such negative preconceptions of West Indian women, the recession of 1913-15 provided ample opportunity for Immigration to rationalize the deportation of several Caribbean women. The government reasoned that the recession would draw more Canadian women into domestic work, throwing West Indian women out of jobs and making them a public burden. This particular deportation incident was subsequently "used for decades as justification for the restricted entry of Caribbean women" (Calliste 1989, 138).

3.3 "Canada is Closed": Non-preferred Immigrants Need Not Apply (1920's - 1950's)

The 1920's saw a tightening of immigration policy to better serve the Canadian government's "unabashed ethnic and racial priorities"; "[t]he Canadian government knew what nationalities and races it wanted and how to keep out those it did not" (Abella & Troper 1982, preface).

In the hierarchy of preference, British and American immigrants received the top rating, were always welcome, and were often recruited or offered special subsidies or promises. When growing economic or labour circumstances demanded a larger pool of immigrants, Canada then set its sights on the less-preferred, but still acceptable white immigrants from northern and central Europe. Only in times of economic boom, did Canada "reach still lower on its ladder of ethnic preference to admit southern and eastern Europeans" (Ibid.). Meanwhile, at the very bottom of Canada's immigration list were Asians, blacks, and Jews, who found it increasingly difficult to immigrate to Canada in any manner.

Non-preferred immigrants were tucked into the labour force in largely non-visible positions: as miners, farmers, railway workers, or as domestic servants. The 1920's saw a decline in the number of households with domestics, but this was more a result of declining availability than lack of demand (Barber 1991). Canadian women were increasingly reluctant to step into domestic service, and, as well, fewer numbers of preferred immigrants were available who

wished to take up these jobs. Unwilling to relax immigration policy to allow for significant labour immigration from non-preferred areas, the government instead intensified efforts to attract preferred labourers. The Empire Settlement Scheme offered government loans to defray the transportation costs of British domestics (excluding women from the Irish Republic), thus allowing women to avoid indebtedness to a particular employer. These loans were later replaced with very low passenger fares (Ibid.). This transportation incentive had the effect of initially channeling women into domestic work, though most left the occupation soon after. Many women utilized the Empire Settlement Scheme as a mechanism to enter Canada to eventually set themselves up for better opportunities.

Although British women remained the preferred immigrant labourers in the 1920's, the percentage of overall domestics from continental Europe also increased. Through the decade, continental European women accounted for 38 percent of domestic servants arriving in Canada, compared to 60 percent from the United Kingdom. More restrictive immigration laws in the United States had directed some of these immigrants to Canada; however, the efforts of Immigration to recruit preferred domestics were still not enough to fill the labour demand. The transportation inducement proved an insufficient incentive to draw women away from the buoyant British post-war economy or to convince them to enter domestic labour (Ibid.). For Continental women, however, grim economic realities prompted their emigration from Europe, and domestic work was often their only ticket into Canada as non-preferred immigrants. Entry of continental Europeans was limited to agriculturalists, female

domestic workers, and the wives and children of immigrants already in Canada -- although in practice, women from north-west Europe received more favourable treatment (Ibid.).

As with British women, those from Continental Europe also used domestic work as a springboard for other opportunities. Language barriers and discrimination made this more difficult; nonetheless, most did not remain in domestic service for long (Barber 1991). The subsequent relocation of non-preferred domestic workers (and also agriculturalists) into other areas of employment -- often more urban and more visible -- helped prompt a further tightening of immigration policy. The deputy minister of immigration, W. J. Egan, cut back Eastern European immigration by two-thirds in 1928, explaining that "non-preferred country immigrants had drifted into non-agricultural work almost immediately upon arrival...and [were] filling positions that might have been filled by immigrants from the Mother Country" (in Abella & Troper 1982, 5). The same case could be made for domestic workers.

The onset of the Great Depression provided the Canadian government with additional justification to further restrict immigration (Ibid.). With a large portion of the Canadian labour force out of work, the government saw no reason to bring in immigrants who might take valuable jobs away from Canadians. Even efforts to recruit preferred immigrants ended, leaving solely Canadian women to meet the demand for domestics (Barber 1991).⁵

Employment figures suggest that Canadian women did take on greater employment as domestic workers during the Depression

years (Table 3.1). In 1931, there were some 134,000 female domestic servants, of whom 69.6 percent were non-immigrants and 30.4 percent were classified as immigrant domestics. By 1941, the

**Table 3.1 -- Female Domestic Servants in Canada
Immigrants vs Non-immigrants**

Year	Total	Immigrants		Non-immigrants	
		No.	%	No.	%
1921	78,118	25,168	32.2	52,950	67.8
1931	134,043	40,763	30.4	93,280	69.9
1941	148,999	18,428	12.4	130,571	87.6
1951	88,775	19,545	22.0	69,230	78.0

(Adapted from Barber 1991, 2)

total number of domestics had climbed to 140,000 women, with 87.6 percent being Canadian-born and 12.4 percent immigrant workers. These figures, however, must be interpreted with caution -- a straight comparison between 1931 and 1941 is difficult because the 1941 figures include hotel and cafe workers. In addition, this time period saw a decrease in the numbers of women employed as live-in help; workers resisted such employment, and houses and families had generally become smaller. As neither set of figures distinguishes between live-in and live-out domestic help, immigrant workers may well have continued to fill the less desirable live-in positions (Ibid.).

The figures for 1951, however, are more revealing. Using the same classification criteria as in 1941, 60,000 fewer women were categorized as domestic workers in 1951. And significantly, the percentage of immigrant women had risen from 12.4 percent to 22

percent. After more than two decades of tight immigration policy (for non-preferreds), the government had reluctantly opened the door to allow entry to a selective group of European domestic workers. Prompted into action by the familiar scenario of demand far outstripping supply and a Canadian labour force unwilling to take on the job (especially after the broadening experience that wartime employment offered many women), the Ministry of Labour targeted female war refugees from continental Europe as an acceptable labour source (Barber 1991). Arthur MacNamara, the Deputy Minister of Labour, personally coordinated the program, which granted landed status in return for a minimum one-year contract as a domestic worker. The selection criteria placed a premium on youth, health, and presumably ethnic origin.⁶ Though no statistical evidence exists to identify the ethnic background of the women selected under the program, "[m]ost groups consulted by MacNamara expressed a preference for northern European domestics" (Ibid., 19). Ironically, many of these refugees may have once again been judged on their ethnicity.

While experience was not an important criteria -- understandably many women had had no opportunity for employment during the war -- over-skilled or highly educated women were believed to be less desirable (Ibid.). The government hoped to assemble a labour force more likely to be satisfied with domestic work and less likely to move rapidly to another form of employment. Nevertheless, most of the women left domestic work after the completion of their contract year.

By 1950 Canada had admitted over 10,000 refugee domestics and there were few others available from the northern European supply area. With the demand for domestic workers continuing to exceed the supply, the Department of Labour once again began searching for alternative sources. As in the past, immigration officials considered the women of Britain and western Europe as the preferred immigrants and, beginning in 1951, offered transportation loans to women from these areas in return for one year of work in a Canadian home. In general, the campaign netted disappointing results, as Britain and Europe also faced a labour shortage of domestic workers and often offered better wages and benefits than those in Canada (Ibid.). Most women who did emigrate used the program as an opportunity to enter Canada and left domestic work as soon as their contract expired, "creating a constant demand for more domestics" (Ibid., 21). Compelled to dip deeper into the labour pool, the Department of Labour then turned to the less-preferred countries of southern Europe.

The Department of Immigration cooperated by loosening policy to allow "bulk orders" of southern European women into Canada (Barber 1991). Programs designed to bring in southern Italian women and Spanish women, however, were discontinued soon after their inception, with both employers and employees citing difficulties. Some employers complained that the Italian women were too assertive and were unable to adjust to Canadian ways. Many Italian domestics, on the other hand, found themselves facing poor wages, as well as strong ethnic and religious biases.⁷

The government was more successful in arranging the immigration of Greek domestic workers. With Greek immigration restricted during the 1950's, domestic work offered the only route into Canada for many Greek families. Once the young domestic workers initiated a link with Canada, their families could eventually follow. Thus, the approximately 300 Greek domestics recruited each year from 1956 to 1966 by the Department of Labour formed the backbone of a much larger body of Greek immigration.

3.4 The Caribbean Domestic Scheme

The racist attitude of the Department of Immigration is evident in the 1952 Immigration Act (Section 61), which "gave the Governor-General-in-Council authority to exclude people on the basis of nationality, citizenship, ethnic origin, occupation, geographical area of origin and probable inability to become readily assimilated" (Calliste 1989, 139). The especially non-favored status of black immigrants had blocked almost all immigration from the Caribbean; however, Canada faced increasing pressure both inside and outside of the country to accept a limited number of Caribbean women as domestic workers. For example, Canadian trade commissioners feared the discriminatory treatment of Caribbean visa applicants might jeopardize trade relations with the region (Ibid.). In addition, Britain had appealed to Canada to liberalize Caribbean immigration policy to help shoulder the British immigration burden being experienced as a side-effect of recent U.S. immigration restrictions (Barber 1991). Within Canada, increasing political pressure came from the black

community, as well as from affluent Canadians who saw the Caribbean as a good source of cheap domestic workers. As well, public pressure for change arose in response to the negative publicity surrounding the government's stand against policy liberalization. Thus, political reasons as much as labour needs prompted the government to introduce the Caribbean Domestic Scheme (Calliste 1989).

The Domestic Scheme began operation in 1955 with an experimental quota of 100 women who entered Canada from Jamaica and Barbados as landed immigrants on the condition that they worked for one year as domestics. If for some reason a woman was found unsuitable during this time period -- for example if she broke her contract or became pregnant -- she was to be deported at the expense of her country of origin (Ibid.). At first, the Canadian government had hoped to bring in the domestics as migrant workers, but it eventually opted for outright immigration because of criticisms that it was promoting indentured labour. The government also reasoned, based on stereotypical perceptions of black women, that they were more inclined than European women to be career domestics and, therefore, might remain in domestic service even after the contract year was over.⁸ By year's end, the program received good reports from both employers and the government. Employers praised the Caribbean women as "more educated, 'fond of children', obliging and less demanding than other domestics" (Ibid., 144). The Department of Labour referred to the program as "an excellent experiment that had provided the best group of domestics to enter Canada from any country since World War II" and raised the

1956 quota to 200 women (Ibid.). By 1966, the last year of the program, 2940 domestic workers had immigrated to Canada through the Scheme (Ibid.).

Predictably, the small numbers of women allowed into Canada through the program did little to alleviate the chronic shortage of domestic labourers. Although women from the Caribbean tended to remain in domestic work for longer periods than their European counterparts, three years after entry less than 25 percent remained in domestic service (Ibid.). Discriminatory hiring practices may have contributed to their inability to leave domestic work sooner for other occupations (Barber 1991).

By the early 1960's, the initial governmental approval of the Scheme had soured. The Caribbean women were not solving the domestic labour shortage and family sponsorships of additional immigrants were seen as "swelling the semi-skilled and unskilled labour force through chain migration" (Calliste 1989, 145). Immigration had little control over family sponsorship because fiances and family could not be screened as to their 'suitability' for Canada's perceived needs. The Deputy Minister commented that:

The one unsponsored worker may meet someone's need for a domestic servant for a year or two, but the result may be ten or twenty sponsored immigrants of dubious value to Canada and who may well cause insoluble social problems... I am greatly concerned that we may be facing a West Indian sponsorship explosion (in Satzewich 1989, 91).

To gain some measure of control, the education requirement for Caribbean domestics was raised from grade 8 to a high school level in the belief that better educated women would tend to sponsor a

higher caliber of relatives (Calliste 1989). In addition, the government defended the educational upgrade by noting that educational levels had risen for the Canadian labour force in general. As most immigrants left domestic work for other occupations, the government reasoned that a higher educational level at the outset would facilitate these people's ability to compete or train for other employment (Ibid.).

Immigration officials stood by the belief that Canada would be better served by importing immigrants with higher education and skills. The Deputy Minister of Immigration, however, aptly expressed his department's seeming dilemma:

Are we trying to pick domestics whose attitude to household service is good and who will be content to remain in household service and be good domestics on a career basis? Or are we using the domestic movement as a means of selecting a higher class of girl who will not stay in domestic service any longer than necessary but will move out after a year into the occupation for which she is best suited, and be in the long run a greater credit to herself, her race, and to Canada? (in Calliste 1989, 148).

His statement is revealing in many ways. It clearly underlines the low status of domestic work, as an occupation of lower class 'girls', with less education and little ambition. For a working woman to be a credit to Canada -- in other words, better fitting some pre-conceived notion of worth and suitability -- she must not work in the home. Yet, at the same time, the enshrined view of the wife and mother was that she remain at home and provide her unpaid services to her family. To be remunerated for the same work within another household, however, was a completely different matter.⁹

The Department of Immigration's disenchantment with the Caribbean Scheme intensified with the proposed changes to Canada's immigration policy introduced in 1962. These changes inaugurated a point system for assessing immigrants, in which points were awarded for attributes such as education, skills, and occupational demand. In addition, any explicit racial discrimination was eliminated. The Caribbean Domestic Scheme struck out on both counts, as it did not conform to the new point system and also had the taint of racial discrimination within its quota system. The announced elimination of racial discrimination failed to end this bias; it served only to cloak it within more covert interpretations of policy (Satzewich 1989). The "insoluble social problems" and "West Indian sponsorship explosion" quoted earlier were again brought up in 1964, two years into the new policy. Many immigration officials saw Caribbean black immigrants as generally of inferior quality and unable to successfully adapt to Canadian society. As such, it was believed that any proportional increase in their immigration to Canada might intensify racial tensions (Ibid.).

3.5 The Point System

Despite government reservations, the Caribbean Scheme continued to function through 1966, being approved annually by Order-in-Council. In 1967, the formal adoption of the immigration points system set into place the new policy guidelines that had been introduced in 1962. Not surprisingly, the new direction within immigration policy created difficulties for potential domestic worker

immigrants. In the decade from 1951 to 1961, 82,937 domestic workers entered Canada as immigrants (Barber 1991). In the next decade, however, as the new policy was introduced, a drop in domestic worker arrivals took place to only 32,045 immigrants. In 1962 the percentage of domestic servants within the total number of immigrants dropped to 8.6 percent from 12.4 percent in 1961; it declined even lower in subsequent years (Satzewich 1990). Meanwhile, the demand for domestic workers continued unabated.

This dramatic drop in immigration can be attributed to the interpretation of domestic work under the new policy. The general aim of the point system was to assess whether a potential immigrant could become successfully established in Canada. Applicants were rated out of a possible one hundred points as to their suitability; for domestic workers, however, the assessment guidelines ensured that few could tally the minimum fifty points to even gain consideration. Although in many instances individual immigration officers wielded broad discretionary powers, in a few key areas fixed guidelines heavily discriminated against domestic workers. In particular, the occupation of domestic work was assigned little or no points for the assessment categories of "specific vocational preparation", "experience", and "occupational demand". For their specific vocational preparation (SVP), domestics received a maximum three points out of fifteen, regardless of their training. A low SVP score, in turn, assured that the candidate received a maximum of only two out of a possible eight points for experience. And despite the persistent demand for their services, domestic workers were assigned no points at all for occupational demand (Task Force 1981). The skewed

reasoning behind this decision viewed the lack of available domestic workers as not a 'real' shortage, but a consequence of the Canadian labour force's reluctance to take on this type of work. In objective terms, therefore, Immigration considered that Canada already held a plentiful supply of potential domestic workers. The outcome of this assessment made it "virtually impossible for someone to obtain landing on the basis of a plan to work as a domestic" (Ibid., 23). Immigration policy, therefore, once again took precedence over labour policy. Despite the demand for foreign domestic workers, Canada's immigration program (with its premium placed on education and training) could not be compromised.

3.6 Unfree Migrant Labour: Foreign Domestics as Temporary Workers

In 1973 Canada introduced a new system of employment visas which has continued to the present. The Employment Authorization Program (EAP) was designed to serve three purposes: "to respond to the urgent search by employers to fill jobs that cannot be filled domestically; to safeguard the employment prospects of Canadian residents against unwarranted resort to foreign workers, and to provide an effective means of keeping track of Canada's temporary worker population" (in Wong 1984, 86).

The employment visa allowed for the temporary entry of foreign labourers to fill pre-arranged jobs. Prior to the introduction of the EAP, employment policy for foreign workers had been relatively flexible and permission to work in Canada relatively easy

to obtain (Wong 1984). Under the new guidelines, a 'validated' Employment Authorization could be granted only if the work assumed by a foreign worker would "not adversely affect...the employment and career opportunities of Canadians" (Boyd and Taylor 1986, 719).¹⁰ Temporary work visas allowed Canada to import needed labour without the commitment of permanent residency. In the case of domestic workers, thousands of workers who may have desired immigrant status -- but could not obtain it under the point system -- could now be admitted as migrant workers. In Boyd and Taylor's (1986) study of temporary labour flows to Canada, migrant women accounted for 60 percent of the validated work authorizations and, of these women, nearly 90 percent were employed in service occupations, particularly as domestic workers.

Nevertheless, in the years following the introduction of the EAP, the numbers of immigrant domestic workers declined. From 1971-1980, the total number of immigrant domestics dropped to 23,328 from 32,045 during the previous decade -- or a proportional one percent drop when calculated as a fraction of Canada's total immigration picture (Satzewich 1990). More than making up for this decrease, however, were the approximately 67,000 temporary domestics who entered Canada on employment authorizations from 1974 through 1980 (Table 3.2).

By 1980, the number of immigrant domestics had declined to only 720 workers per year (Ibid.) while more than 11,000 domestics obtained contracts as temporary workers (Task Force 1981).¹¹ Within less than a decade, therefore, an immigrant work force had

been almost totally supplanted by the unfree labour of migrant workers. At the same time, foreign domestics lost the rights and freedoms associated with landed status; instead they began to face the many forms of potential exploitation common to migrant

Table 3.2 -- Temporary Employment Authorizations for Domestic Workers (1974-1981)

Year	No. of Employment Authorization
1974	1,722
1975	3,103
1976	5,657
1977	10,556
1978	9,455
1979	10,255
1980	11,820
1981	14,787
Total:	67,355

(Epstein 1983; Task Force 1981)

workforces. As well, Canada's reliance on temporary domestics served to further marginalize domestic workers, "[inhibiting] the type of improvement in wages and working conditions which might ultimately attract Canadians to these jobs and reduce the need for foreign workers" (Ibid., 59). The Task Force pointedly added that it was

too much to ask that we rely on newcomers' cultural differences to compensate for our own ambiguous attitude toward domestic labour. Ironically, only when we value the job when it is done by wives and mothers in their own homes

will we value it enough to attract substitutes to it when these wives and mothers enter the labour market.

Thus, while work authorizations were supposed to alleviate a temporary shortfall in the Canadian labour force, the steady supply of migrant domestics did little to foster the development of a Canadian replacement. This problem, and the increasing potential for worker exploitation, prompted the 1981 Task Force to consider several options to the EAP. On the one hand, the Task Force reasoned that a complete closure of Canada to foreign domestic workers might allow market forces to push wages and working conditions to levels that would be needed to attract Canadian labourers. It rejected the idea, however, because it reasoned that live-in jobs would likely be resistant to price mechanisms due to their lack of status and lack of privacy. In addition, the scarcity of domestics arising from a complete closure could potentially attract illegal labourers, who would be even more vulnerable to exploitation.

On the other hand, to address the problem of exploitation by excluding domestic workers from the EAP would likely mean that the labour demand would remain unsatisfied because normal immigration selection criteria would allow few domestics to migrate as permanent residents. Even with a change to the point schedule, large numbers of domestics were unlikely to enter as immigrants as they would face stiff selection competition from other applicants. The 1976 Immigration Act had placed even greater emphasis on training and experience. In addition, it allowed annual immigration levels to be set by the minister of Employment and Immigration in

order to meet "regional demographic needs and labour market considerations" (Estable 1986, 7).

Another possible option to the EAP saw the facilitation of domestic worker immigration through the creation of a separate category with lower criteria, coupled with a requirement to stay in domestic service for a specified period of time. This "soft landing" approach -- essentially the idea behind the former Caribbean Domestic Scheme -- was, however, rejected because it stressed the "dubious status attached to domestic work...[and made] more tempting the notion of requiring some mechanism to keep domestics in their jobs once they have arrived here" (Task Force 1981, 87).

Ultimately, the Task Force concluded that the EAP program should remain in effect for domestics because it avoided two key labour and immigration problems -- that of workers leaving domestic employment soon after arrival and that of large-scale family sponsorship. It was, however, recommended that the opportunity for landing should be expanded, as domestic workers should not be denied permanent entry because of the skewed point system. Revision of the point schedule would allow a better chance for immigration acceptance. The Task Force made one point especially clear: immigration policy and the EAP were separate programs and should not be merged. In the view of the Task Force, domestics on Employment Authorizations who desired immigrant status should leave the country after the completion of their contracts to apply for permanent residency. Furthermore, after the implementation of a revised landing policy, no workers should be allowed to subsequently apply for permanent status from within the

country; otherwise, the Report stressed, "entering as a domestic on a 'temporary' employment authorization would become our biggest 'back door' to permanent status" (Ibid., 93).

3.7 The Foreign Domestic Movement

The revised policy adopted by the federal government in November 1981 ignored the Task Force caveat in respect to 'back door' immigration. The new Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) program gave domestics the opportunity to apply for permanent residency from within Canada, after a minimum two years of contract work as live-in domestic workers. The initial status of domestics, therefore, remained unchanged as unfree migrant labour. Although the government had opened the door to wider immigration, the new policy assured that labour needs would not solely determine who these potential immigrants might be. The entry criteria for domestics coming into Canada under an employment authorization became two-fold: entrants were selected not only for their job qualifications, but also for their potential to become landed immigrants. In this manner, women who might be desirable caregivers could fail to meet immigration criteria and be refused a work permit -- even if they had no intention of eventually applying for landing. For those who desired landing after the completion of their contracts, eligible domestics were assessed under criteria separate from the regular point system. The soft-landing approach rejected by the Task Force had, therefore, become policy -- with the

attendant negative reinforcement of the lower status of domestic work.

In 1982, a total of 11,327 domestic workers entered the new FDM program, including applicants from both outside the country and those already within Canada under the EAP (EIC 1990a). After meeting the FDM selection criteria, a domestic worker received an employment authorization that named her employer and was valid for one year. The potential entrant required:

- 1) a minimum of one year's experience as a full-time paid domestic; or documentation from a recognized school showing successful completion of a domestic training program;
- 2) the ability to speak, to read and write in French or English; and
- 3) the ability to meet Canadian immigration character and health requirements (EIC 1989, 3)

At the end of the first year, the work permit could be extended for another year, pending successful review. After two years continuous employment, a domestic worker became eligible to apply for landed status. For the review process, the immigration officer was required to consider: an applicant's work record, courses taken to improve her skills, her language skills, her financial situation, her adjustment to Canadian life (as evidenced in part through volunteer work and membership in groups), and her number of dependents (the applicant's financial situation needed to be sufficient for their support). The actual attainment of landed status was not guaranteed, but those receiving a poor review might gain a one year extension and a further chance to reapply.

In the first four years of the program over 11,000 requests for landing were received by Immigration; on average 62.6 percent were

accepted, 4.4 percent were rejected, and the remainder were either put on hold or directed to further training (Seward and McDade 1988). A large portion of these applications came from domestics already in Canada under the EAP. A relatively high acceptance rate was to be expected, given that domestics faced an initial Immigration screening to determine their potential eligibility for permanent residency. However, lack of proof of financial ability to support themselves and potential dependents held back many domestics from successful landing. Ironically, leaving domestic work altogether provided the best way for an applicant to prove her financial potential. Despite the FDM's insistence on 'qualified' domestic workers, career nannies had little chance of immigrating; the policy favoured women who planned to leave domestic work once they obtained landed status (Estable 1986).

In 1983, 3,511 new applicants entered the FDM program and in the following years the numbers steadily increased to a high of 10,731 entrants in 1990 (Table 3.3). During these years the source regions for foreign domestics changed dramatically. In 1983, the largest group of entrants originated from Europe (29 percent), followed by Britain (almost 19 percent). The Philippines and Caribbean each supplied approximately 15 percent of the total entrants (Table 3.4). By 1990, the proportionate share of Filipina entrants had climbed to 61 percent, up to 6564 entrants. In contrast, the numbers of entrants coming from Europe and Britain had remained fairly constant, resulting in a proportionate drop of entrants from these countries to 14 percent and 6.5 percent, respectively.

The landing rates of FDM participants help to reveal some of the impetus behind this shift in labour source regions. Overall, approximately 53 percent of FDM participants have achieved landing after five years in Canada (EIC 1990a). Conservative calculations show that as of December 1989, wide variations exist between the

Table 3.3 -- New Entrants to the FDM Program By Region of Origin (1982-1991)

Year	Phil.	U.K.	Europe	Carib.	Other	Total
1982	2,779	3,058	2,060	2,071	1,359	11,327
1983	526	660	1,026	546	753	3,511
1984	772	578	1,286	934	1,000	4,370
1985	1,536	745	1,442	859	899	5,479
1986	2,564	846	1,681	770	1,077	6,938
1987	3,212	926	1,914	629	1,209	7,889
1988	3,703	754	1,851	549	1,199	8,056
1989	4,388	736	1,683	544	1,491	8,842
1990	6,564	718	~1,700	~500	~1,600	10,731
1991	5,477	476	1,097	n/a	n/a	8,593
Total:	31,521	9,497	14,040	6,902	8,987	75,736

(Compiled from EIC 1990a, 1993a)

- a. 1982 figures include those applicants already in Canada with employment authorizations.

landing rates of European and British domestics, as compared to workers from the Philippines and the Caribbean (Ibid.). After the mandatory two years within the program, 14.8 percent of Filipina participants had gained landed status, and 11 percent of Caribbean women (Table 3.5). On the other hand, only 7 percent of European and British workers had obtained landing. Five years after entering

Table 3.4 -- Regional Distribution of New FDM Entrants (Percentage)

Year	Phil.	U. K.	Europe	Carib.	Other
1982	24.5	27.0	18.2	18.3	12.0
1983	15.0	18.8	29.2	15.6	21.5
1984	16.9	12.7	28.1	20.4	21.9
1985	28.0	13.6	26.3	15.7	16.4
1986	37.0	12.7	24.2	11.1	15.5
1987	40.7	11.7	24.3	8.0	15.3
1988	46.0	9.4	23.0	6.8	14.9
1989	49.6	8.3	19.0	6.2	16.9
1990	61.2	6.6	14.3	5.0	14.6
1991	63.7	5.5	12.8	n/a	n/a

(EIC 1990a, 1993a)

**Table 3.5 -- Percentage of Landed FDM Participants
By Region of Origin and Years Since Entry**

Years Since Entry into Program	Phil.	U. K.	Europe	Carib.	Other	Total
2 years	14.8	7.1	7.0	11.0	10.6	11.1
5 years	85.1	46.8	30.7	70.5	53.2	52.6

(EIC 1990a, 7)

Canada, Filipina and Caribbean domestics had landed at rates of 85 and 70.5 percent, compared to only 30.7 percent for Europeans and 46.8 percent for British domestic workers. The lower landing rates of Europeans bear no relation to their eligibility, but rather relate to their desire for immigration. Women from Europe are more likely to use the program as an opportunity to work and travel in Canada for

a period of time before returning home. Women from poorer countries, however, tend to use the program as a stepping-stone toward permanent migration for themselves and possibly their families (DeVan 1989). Thus, the FDM program has indeed become a significant back door route into Canada -- something that Immigration had perhaps not anticipated at the outset of the program.

Meanwhile, in the mid-1980's the federal government changed direction in its overall immigration philosophy. After years of "non-expansionist policy", a 1985 government report called for a controlled increase in immigration levels; it stressed that "immigration policy must be based on longer-term planning, rather than short-term labour force considerations" (Seward and Tremblay 1989, 6). In view of this new policy, the FDM program likely appeared neither controlled nor based on long-term labour needs.

Later action on the part of Immigration confirmed governmental dissatisfaction with the FDM program -- in December, 1991 the FDM program was suspended with no prior public notice. The clampdown arrived via a Telex from the External Affairs department, in which visa officers learned that "[the FDM] program, as currently administered [was] now dead", and that External Affairs and Immigration officials had decided that "the plug should be pulled" (in Oziewicz 1991). The External Affairs directive appeared to be a delayed reaction to the so-called "Pinto decision" of November 1990, a court case which had established that visa officers could only assess an applicant's suitability for the validated job in question, and not for future potential as a landed immigrant.

The Pinto decision involved an applicant from India who had been denied entry into the FDM program because she lacked paid experience as a domestic and sufficient motivation about becoming a Canadian citizen. The woman, a primary school teacher, spoke the same relatively rare language as her potential employers and had gathered experience for domestic work from her own role as a mother. The court ruled that Immigration had erred in refusing her application by applying too narrow an interpretation of policy. In other words, her experience and qualifications were compatible with the potential job and should have been considered. The court also found Immigration at fault for exceeding its authority under the FDM program -- an assessment of her potential for permanent residency was not in accordance with immigration laws and regulations. It was decreed that only questions regarding employment were legally within the jurisdiction of FDM policy, for the current selection criteria of the FDM program did not include any standards assessing a domestic's chances of becoming successfully established (Davidson 1992, Marrocco and Goslett 1993).

Without the power to screen for immigration suitability, the government had lost a significant portion of control over the 'gate'. After a domestic worker successfully completed two full years of domestic employment, she would most likely be directly eligible for landing; having effectively bypassed all regular screening channels, she would be evaluated under the relaxed criteria of the FDM program. In the face of the Pinto decision, therefore, Immigration believed that it had no choice but to suspend the program.

Aside from the External Affairs intervention, the program had also been under internal review by the EIC, and a revision was expected (EIC 1991a). The official government line on the FDM moratorium stated the need for a re-evaluation of the selection criteria to the program, based on alleged high rates of unemployment among domestic workers on open work permits. Although never clearly substantiated, the government suggested that unemployment figures showed that "as many as 1300 foreign domestics [were] without employment in Canada" (EIC 1992a). This concern was tied to a second: that many foreign domestics lacked the education to compete in the Canadian job market for other occupations once they had obtained landing (EIC 1992b).

Amid rumours that the opportunity to obtain landed status for domestic workers would be cut -- heralding a return to the exploitative reliance on a migrant work force -- the Minister of Employment and Immigration, Bernard Valcourt, announced that the upcoming changes to the program would not remove the eligibility for landing, but would tighten the requirements for entry into the program. Valcourt stated that

[b]y making these changes, we are meeting a real labour market need and ensuring that people admitted to Canada under this program are bringing with them skills and experience required in Canada's labour market, thereby contributing to and participating in the present and future prosperity of our country (Ministry of Employment and Immigration 1992a).

The supporting data for Immigration's position had been drawn in part from the findings of a detailed study prepared by the

Research Division of the EIC, which concluded that FDM participants in general "tend to end up in low paying jobs" (EIC 1990a). However, the same internal report also reveals other information critical to understanding the rehaul of the FDM program -- information that Valcourt understandably did not mention. Most significantly, the EIC had expressed alarm over the rising numbers of entrants and especially singled out Filipinas.

Using the current rate of increase of thirty percent more Filipina entrants each year, the EIC forecast that the numbers of domestics coming from the Philippines would leap from an estimated 6400 in 1990 to almost 24,000 in 1995. Even if the current rate of increase were to be cut in half (to 15 percent each year), close to 13,000 Filipina domestics could be expected to enter Canada in 1995. Concern within the report focused not on the large numbers of migrant workers entering the country, but on the potential landing of these women. The differential landing rates of Filipinas and of Europeans were seen as having "important implications for future immigration levels" (Ibid., 8). By applying the expected landing rates to the projected numbers of entrants from each region, the EIC concluded that the total landings from the FDM program could be expected to more than double from 1990 to 1995 (Table 3.6). But while the projected number of landed immigrants originating from Europe or Britain would remain the same or even decrease, immigration from the Philippines could climb to as high as 8700 in 1995, from about 2500 in 1990.¹² The report added that if current trends were to be maintained "the number of entrants from the Philippines would be expected to grow at 30 percent per year, a level

that could prove impossible to maintain" (Ibid., 8). The unexpressed, but undeniable extension of this concern lies in the ability of the landed immigrants to then sponsor their families. Immigrants processed under the family reunification program, as with as the FDM program, were not subject to the same intense Immigration

**Table 3.6 -- Projected Landings of FDM Participants
By Region of Origin**

Year	Phil.	U.K.	Europe	Carib.	Other	Total
1990	2,520	509	558	481	625	4,693
1991	3,041	425	571	417	692	5,146
1992	3,758	398	562	388	760	5,866
1993	5,014	388	558	383	858	7,201
1994	6,656	389	564	385	958	8,952
1995	8,695	390	579	385	1,079	11,128
Total:	29,684	2,499	3,392	2,439	4,972	42,986

(EIC 1990a, 8)

scrutiny as those entering as independents. It takes little deduction to suggest that this lack of control over Filipino immigration played a significant role in the government decision to jettison the FDM program. Such a motive, however, could not be stated publicly, as such reasoning would invite accusations of discrimination -- a charge the government would take care to avoid.

3.8 The Live-In Caregiver Program

On April 27 1992, after a twelve-week moratorium on the acceptance of new applications, the Live-In Caregiver (LIC) Program came into effect. The tougher entry requirements of the new policy ostensibly provide for better-qualified domestic workers, but -- more importantly for Immigration -- also guarantee better-educated immigrants. For the government, a higher education translates into a higher caliber of immigrant, who might be expected, in turn, to sponsor better educated family members. At the very least, the tightened requirements are expected to reduce unemployment among landed domestics and ensure that they are better prepared to support themselves and their families.

The new program is limited only to live-in caregivers -- those workers who work unsupervised in a private household and care for children, elderly, handicapped or convalescent members of a family. Paid experience as a domestic worker is no longer necessary, but program entrants now require the completion of a six month full-time course in a childcare-related field. This requirement can be satisfied within the regular course of high-school or post-secondary education, or can be met by taking a special course. In addition, applicants are now required to have a minimum education equivalent to grade 12 in Canada.

The overall impact of the new program on the number of entrants has been drastic. If the intention of the EIC was to decrease the large numbers of Filipino immigrants coming into Canada via the FDM, the new program has been overly successful. The EIC figures

for numbers of new entrants into the FDM and LIC programs since 1991 reveal a dramatic reduction in the numbers of Filipina participants. In 1991, Filipina entrants to the FDM numbered 5477, or 64 percent of the total entrants to the program. Throughout 1992, an additional 2374 Filipina entered the program, having cleared visa requirements before the closure (Table 3.7). With the implementation of the LIC, however, the number of Filipina applicants plummeted to a mere 25 women.

**Table 3.7 -- New Entrants to the FDM and LIC Programs
By Region of Origin (1992)**

Program	Phil		U. K		Eur.		Carib		Oth.		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
FDM	2,374	65.2	155	4.3	323	8.9	275	7.5	514	14.1	3,641
LIC	25	8.7	79	28.0	133	46.0	11	3.8	39	13.5	287
Total:	2,399	73.9	234	32.3	456	54.9	286	11.3	553	27.6	3,928

(derived from EIC 1993a)

The numbers of women coming from other regions also dropped, but proportionately less. Under the new LIC policy, 79 caregivers entered Canada from Britain and 133 from other parts of Europe. Out of the total 287 women who entered the LIC program in 1992, however, European entrants (including those from Britain) accounted for 74 percent of entrants, compared to only 18 percent in 1991 under the FDM program. In contrast, Filipina participants represented less than 9 percent of the program entries. The new policy had completely flipped the source regions for foreign nannies,

by introducing standards that were more difficult for Filipinas to meet than for women applying from Europe.

The LIC program restricts the entry of Filipinas in two ways. The requirement of an education equivalent to Canadian grade twelve demands that Filipina entrants have at least two years post-secondary education, as high school graduation in the Philippines is normally accomplished in ten years. This criteria alone, however, cannot account for the dramatic drop in numbers; EIC figures indicate that over 50 percent of Filipina participants in the FDM program already had at least twelve years of education (EIC 1990b). Rather, the number of eligible Filipina applicants has been slashed by the new requirement of six months relevant training. Unlike Europe, the Philippines has had no established programs for nanny training and few related programs that might qualify (Patterson 1993).

The drastic reduction in availability of new Filipina entrants may lead to a pronounced under-supply of live-in caregivers in the near future. The current impact and future consequences of the Live-in Caregiver policy will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 5.

3.9 Conclusion

The decline in the number of Filipina applicants cannot be dismissed as an unintentional consequence of policy changes. That the EIC summary report specifically highlights the scenario of uncontrolled Filipino immigration suggests a deliberate attempt to

block this migration stream -- a suggestion made more plausible by Canada's historical manipulation of immigrant domestic workers from particular source regions. Despite an official policy of non-discrimination, the current caregiver program has placed obstacles in front of women from Third World countries, where the necessary criteria for program acceptance is much more difficult to obtain. The end result has been a fine-tuning -- albeit a radical one -- of the profile of Canada's temporary live-in caregiver labour force, and the subsequent immigrants drawn from that work force.

As this chapter has shown, this 'fine-tuning' has many historical antecedents in various policies designed to exclude certain groups of workers while targeting others. The Caribbean Domestic Scheme provides perhaps the closest parallel with today's foreign caregiver scenario and, in particular, the situation of Filipina domestics. In both programs, pressure groups compelled the federal government to provide the opportunity for immigrant status by loosening the normal criteria for immigration. With both Caribbean women and Filipinas, the spectre of uncontrolled family sponsorship provided motivation to raise educational standards, a move qualified in both instances as necessary to facilitate the ability of these immigrants to compete in the general labour force.

Within past and present policy, the procurement of foreign domestic workers has not compromised Canada's overall immigration initiatives. Labour demands have not been allowed to take control of immigration policy, even in the face of strong popular support for the importation of a certain type of domestic (such as Caribbean or Filipina).

An historical similarity also rests in the tying of a certain group of immigrants to a form of indentured labour. In the early part of this century, nonpreferred immigrants were tied to their employers until they paid back their transportation costs. Later, nonpreferred war refugees in the late 1940's were bound to remain in domestic service for one year or face deportation. With the Caribbean Domestic Scheme, women could not gain immigrant status until they had served their one-year term as a domestic. And today, immigrant status continues to be reserved only for those eligible applicants who successfully complete at least two years of domestic work.

The preferred immigrants of today are those who can meet Canada's selection standards as independent immigrants or entrepreneurs; the women who use the LIC program as a route towards permanent residency are the non-preferred immigrants. Like their counterparts in the past, Filipinas must do their part to ease the chronic labour shortage of live-in domestics before they can earn their opportunity to become Canadian citizens.

ENDNOTES

1. The governmental department responsible for immigration has changed several times. Since confederation, immigration policy has fallen under the following ministries:
 - 1869 - Ministry of Agriculture
 - 1892 - Ministry of the Interior
 - 1917 - Ministry of Immigration and Colonization
 - 1936 - branch of the Ministry of Mines and Resources
 - 1949 - Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration
 - 1966 - Ministry of Manpower and Immigration (amalgamation of the National Employment Service, elements of the Department of Labour, and the Immigration service)
 - 1977 - Ministry of Employment and Immigration
 - 1994 - Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (pending final legislative approval)

Throughout this chapter, the generic term "Immigration" is used to denote the government ministry responsible for immigration.

2. Men also work as domestics, but their numbers have been small, and most often their duties have differed from those of women. Overall, domestic labour has always been considered as women's work.
3. A methodological problem exists, however, in that the history of government immigration policy is difficult to ascertain. A comprehensive list of immigration regulations and changes does not exist. In this chapter, I have relied on the extensive research efforts of various authors, together with EIC reports and statistics, in an effort to form a more complete picture of Canadian immigration policy as it has impacted domestic workers.

4. However, many Chinese men worked as domestic servants, especially in British Columbia, where they had earlier migrated to work as miners or railroad workers (Barber 1991).
5. Interestingly, despite closed immigration in 1937 the government launched a special program to bring in Scandinavian and Finnish domestics (Lindstrom-Best 1986).
6. Canada was in direct competition with other countries seeking domestic workers, notably Britain. Facing this stiff competition for a dwindling supply of workers, the selection criteria were eventually relaxed somewhat to admit limited numbers of older women, married women, or widows with one or two children (Barber 1991).
7. At the same time, a large number of Italian women were migrating on their own for purposes of domestic service -- likely single women from northern regions. This group of women were the second largest group of foreign domestics arriving in the 1950's (Barber 1991).
8. In fact, evidence suggests that most of the Caribbean women who came to Canada under the Scheme had no previous experience as domestics. Instead, many were skilled labourers in fields such as nursing and teaching (Calliste 1989).
9. The comments of the Deputy Minister illustrate not only the contradictions between labour and immigration 'needs', but the core dilemma that rendered any solution to the domestic crisis impossible. Because of the poor pay and working conditions, as well as the entrenched view of domestic workers as second-class citizens, few Canadian labourers would ever be attracted

to the occupation. This, therefore, necessitated a constant supply of new immigrant workers.

10. A second type of work visa, the 'exempt' Authorization, allowed immigration officers to admit workers without reference to the Canadian job situation. This category has typically applied to applicants already in Canada, in addition to groups such as refugee claimants and graduate students (Boyd, Taylor, and Delaney, 1986).

Foreign domestics who entered Canada under the EAP were initially under a one-year contract. Furthermore, they were compelled to leave the country in order to reapply for another contract (Estable 1986). Although Employment Authorizations were not to be renewed beyond three years, in a number of cases extensions had been granted for up to a total of five years.

11. Out of a total 11,555 employment authorizations, 6160 entrants were destined for "domestic occupations" -- including the jobs of housekeeper, butler, personal servant, and maid; while 5395 entrants were working in childcare occupations.
12. The actual figures for 1990-92 were not as high as predicted. In 1990, 2154 Filipinas became permanent residents through the FDM program.

CHAPTER 4

A Survey of Filipina Caregivers in Vancouver, B.C.

4.1 Introduction

Migration decisions are made within the structural constraints of global transfers of labour and capital, and directed by the restrictive nature of state policies in respect to immigration; but in the final analysis, individual circumstances and personality separate those who choose to migrate from those who decline. The women who move from the Philippines to Canada to work as caregivers represent only one group of many in their homeland that face unemployment and tight economic circumstances -- others cannot or choose not to migrate. The individual nature of migration motivation necessitates an analysis on a more personal level, to balance the emphasis of the preceding chapters on the larger structural factors contributing to migration. Nonetheless, this microlevel analysis reinforces, rather than diminishes, the significance of a structural framework for migration. Although their journeys from the Philippines to Canada comprise many different routes -- with individual circumstances, sacrifices, and expectations -- at the same time similar threads tie together the experiences of Filipina migrant caregivers. These common experiences highlight the extent to which their decisions are shaped by overarching factors embedded within the social and economic fabric of the Philippines.

This chapter attempts to illustrate both the range and commonality of individual migration motivations via a survey of 144

former and current Filipina caregivers in Vancouver, British Columbia. The survey provides the data for an analysis of migration motivation, with particular attention on the role that Canadian immigration policy plays in drawing these women to Canada.

4.2 The Survey Subjects: Filipina Caregivers in Metropolitan Vancouver, B.C.

Filipina nannies have become an increasingly popular childcare option for families in metropolitan Vancouver. In more affluent areas of the region -- such as the west side of Vancouver city, West Vancouver municipality, and parts of Richmond -- Filipina caregivers and their charges are often seen at playgrounds, stores, or pre-school drop-offs. In 1990 alone, local immigration officers opened the door for 953 new Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) entrants from the Philippines, who immediately went to work on pre-arranged contracts throughout greater Vancouver (Table 4.1).¹ This number represents only new entrants to the program in one year; thousands of additional Filipinas may be currently working as live-in and live-out nannies in Vancouver area households.²

Filipinas represent a relatively large proportion of FDM entrants located in Greater Vancouver. In 1990, approximately 76 percent of the new FDM participants who arrived in the region originated from the Philippines, compared to about 63 percent for the rest of Canada (EIC 1991b). In Toronto, Filipinas accounted for 65 percent of the new entrants. To a large extent, this geographical distribution is employer directed, as contracts are arranged before

**Table 4.1 -- Initial Greater Vancouver Destination
of FDM Program Entrants (1990)**

Destination	Total Entrants	Filipina Entrants	Filip. as % of Total
Vancouver	737	566	76.8
Burnaby	67	48	71.6
Coquitlam	30	24	80.0
Delta	50	36	72.0
Langley	18	15	83.3
Maple Ridge	11	7	63.6
New Westminster	21	17	81.0
Port Coquitlam	11	8	72.7
Richmond	91	72	79.1
Surrey	72	48	66.7
West Vanc.	137	104	75.9
White Rock	8	8	100.0
Total:	1,253	953	76.1
Canada Total:	8,671	5,608	64.7
Canada (exclud Vanc. region):	7,418	4,655	62.8

(Derived from EIC 1991b)

- a. These figures do not show a complete total of 1990 entrants to the Greater Vancouver region, as not all FDM applications clearly state intended destination.

the foreign caregiver enters Canada. Unless she has the choice among more than one job offer, the program entrant has no other option but to move to the locale of her new employer. A simple analysis suggests that Vancouver employers choose to hire proportionately more Filipinas than do Toronto households, but these numbers can be interpreted in at least two different ways. On one hand, the Filipina migration stream may be more firmly

established in Vancouver than in Toronto; on the other, competing migration streams from other countries may be relatively stronger in Toronto. For example, historically Toronto employers have had a much more developed link with caregivers from the Caribbean. In 1990, 5.5 percent of Toronto's new entrants came from Caribbean countries, compared with only 0.8 percent in Vancouver (Table 4.2). A successful link between sending country and receiving country (for both employers and employees) can develop into a strong migration stream. For example, the Filipina nanny of one employer can help another employer make a connection with a friend or relative still in the Philippines. Or, one satisfactory contract with a Filipina caregiver may lead to subsequent hirings by a particular employer, as former employees move on to live-out or non-caregiver positions after gaining their open work permits.³

For Filipinas in the position to choose an employment destination, certain Canadian centers may hold greater attraction because of the friends and relatives who have already established links to that area. As well, once in Canada, nannies may choose to relocate to Vancouver in second or subsequent jobs. Section 4.7 of this chapter will examine this locational decision-making in greater detail, using the findings of the Vancouver survey.

**Table 4.2 -- FDM Entrants to Toronto and Greater Vancouver
By Country of Origin (1990)**

Country of Origin	Toronto		Vanc.	
	No.	%	No.	%
Philippines	1,346	65.1	953	76.1
France	60	2.9	17	1.4
Germany	57	2.8	38	3.0
Jamaica	64	3.1	6	0.5
Guyana	11	0.5	1	0.1
Ireland	11	0.5	2	0.2
Czechoslovak	15	0.7	1	0.1
Europe (oth.)	243	11.7	103	8.2
Carib. (oth.)	40	1.9	3	0.2
Other	222	10.7	129	10.3
Total:	2069	100.0	1253	100.0

(derived from EIC 1991b)

4.3 The Survey

The survey of foreign caregivers that forms the backbone of this chapter was conducted in Vancouver from June 1992 through February 1993, with the cooperation and assistance of the West Coast Domestic Workers Association (WCDWA). From the outset, the survey was designed to serve two purposes: 1) to collect data on the working conditions of domestic workers within the Live-In Caregiver Program and its predecessor, the Foreign Domestic Movement program, in order to produce statistical information concerning hours of work, wages, and benefits (Mikita 1993a); and 2) to collect data on

migration motivation among Filipina caregivers. The latter focus has provided the information presented in this chapter.

The survey targeted current and past live-in domestic workers who entered Canada through the FDM or Live-In Caregiver programs, and entailed the completion of an 8-page questionnaire (see Appendix A). A total of 158 women took part in the survey. The questionnaires were distributed in controlled situations, and self-administered under the supervision of myself and/or volunteers.

The distribution and collection of questionnaires can be categorized in four ways. The survey was first introduced at the monthly meeting of the West Coast Domestic Workers' Association in June 1992, and distributed to all current and former domestic workers in attendance. Of 37 questionnaires distributed, all were returned. A second set of 16 questionnaires was completed at the July meeting. A third set of 43 questionnaires was gathered between June 1992 and February 1993 from domestic workers who visited the office of the WCDWA in Vancouver, and another 62 responses were distributed and collected within the community at large by several volunteers, who themselves were currently, or had been in the past, live-in domestic workers. Of this total of 158 questionnaires, 144 respondents indicated their country of origin as the Philippines. The Filipina responses were drawn out of the total, and provide the data for all subsequent analysis within this chapter.

In light of the potential difficulty in gaining access to foreign domestic workers -- and asking sensitive questions of them -- the study owes much to the assistance of the WCDWA. The association provided access to a sizeable sample of domestic workers; whether

these 144 women are a representative sample of Filipinas caregivers in the Vancouver area may be debated, but nonetheless, the survey was able to collect a large amount of otherwise unattainable data. Attempts to correlate this information with EIC statistics are difficult, because in almost all instances the government figures do not isolate Filipinas; however, this also presents the opportunity to use the survey findings to identify ways that Filipinas differ from foreign domestic workers in general. Within the survey responses, certain trends are clearly identifiable. At the very least, the survey information sheds much light on the experiences of a relatively large group of Filipina migrants in Vancouver.

4.4 Profile of Survey Respondents

The majority of the survey respondents (60.8 %) held temporary employment authorizations under the FDM or LIC programs at the time of questionnaire completion; 18 percent held an 'open' work permit (provisionally approved for resident status); 12 percent had attained landed status (permanent residency); while the remainder were either on Minister's permits⁴ or were Canadian citizens (Table 4.3).

The age of the respondents ranged from 23 years to 52 years, with a mean age of 34 years. Women under 25 years of age accounted for only 2.8 percent of the sample; while almost 21 percent were 40 years of age or over (Table 4.4). Overwhelmingly, the age of most of the respondents fell between 25 and 39 years.

Their mean age at the time of entry into Canada as a domestic worker was 32 years.

Table 4.3 -- Immigration Status of Respondents

Immigration Status	No.	%
valid FDM or LIC authorization	87	60.4
Minister's permit	4	2.8
open work permit	26	18.1
landed	17	11.8
Canadian citizen	9	6.3
n/a	1	0.7
Total:	144	100.0

Table 4.4 -- Ages of Respondents
(At Time of Entry to Canada vs. At Time of Survey)

Age	at Entry		at Survey	
	No.	%	No.	%
20 - 24 yrs	16	11.1	4	2.8
25 - 29 yrs	42	29.2	35	24.3
30 - 34 yrs	43	29.9	42	29.2
35 - 39 yrs	17	11.8	28	19.4
40 - 44 yrs	17	11.8	19	13.2
45 - 49 yrs	3	2.1	9	6.3
50 - 54 yrs	1	0.7	2	1.4
n/a	5	3.5	5	3.5
Total:	144	100.0	144	100.0

Mean age at time of entry: 32 years
Mean age at time of survey: 34 years

With respect to marital status, the majority of respondents were single (61.8 %), but a large number (30 %) were currently married and, for the most part, living apart from their spouses. As well, a small number were widows or divorced or permanently separated (Table 4.5). When compared to the marital statistics compiled by the federal government, the survey findings suggest that married entrants are much more common among Filipinas (29.9 %) than is the overall norm (11 %) among FDM entrants in general.

Table 4.5 -- Marital Status of Respondents vs. Total FDM Entrants^a

Marital Status	Survey Respondents %	Total Entrants %
Single	61.8	84.7
Married	29.9	11.0
Perm. Separation	2.1	2.7
Widow	2.8	1.6
n/a	3.4	0.0

a. Based on FDM entrants from all countries in 1990-1992 (from EIC 1993a).

Over 29 percent of the respondents had children of their own, and of these women, 40 percent had three or more children (Table 4.6). Of a total 100 children, 12 percent resided in Canada. These children were for the most part under the age of six and born in Canada. Children living in the Philippines ranged in age from infancy to 26 years, with the majority being young teenagers (Table 4.7).

Most respondents, however, initially left the Philippines when their children were much younger. Seventy-four percent of the mothers with children in the Philippines indicated that they would like to sponsor their children to come to Canada in the future.

TABLE 4.6 -- Respondents with Children (by Number of Children)

No. of Children	No. of Resp.	%	Total Children
1	13	31.0	13
2	12	28.6	24
3	10	23.8	30
4	5	11.9	20
5	1	2.4	5
8	1	2.4	8
Total:	42	100.0	100

Table 4.7 -- Ages of Respondents' Children (by Country of Residence)

Ages of Children	No. in Canada		No. in Philipp.	
	No.	%	No.	%
0-5 yrs	9	75.0	5	5.7
6-10 yrs	0	0.0	18	20.5
11-15 yrs	0	0.0	27	30.7
16-20 yrs	0	0.0	24	27.3
21-26 yrs	3	25.0	14	15.9
Total:	12	100.0	88	100.0

Mean age of children in Philippines: 14.3 years

4.5 Motivation for Leaving the Philippines

Women in the Philippines have been particularly impacted by the economic restructuring and political unrest in their country since the late 1970's. As production dried up in the wake of foreign exchange controls that restricted the flow of imported materials, the resultant closures and layoffs led to a disproportionate number of women being laid off. At the same time, the female labour force grew rapidly as women faced added pressures to boost household income to offset price increases on basic commodities. Although they generally have educational levels comparable to those of male Filipinos, women face societal blocks to their greater participation in the economy. As secondary citizens within a patriarchal society, women face fewer job options, as well as gender discrimination in their efforts to advance (Philippine Development Plan for Women 1989).

These conditions within the Philippines provide a well-documented impetus for female migration, but to apply such motivation to all Filipina emigrants in a blanket manner would obscure the nature and range of personal motives among individuals. In order to shed light on what individual migrants perceive as the most influential reasons behind their decision to seek overseas employment, question 9 of the survey questionnaire asked respondents to identify the reasons that compelled them to leave the Philippines and work as migrant domestics. In a closed format, but with the opportunity for an open-ended response, the women were to rank the three most important reasons out of a possible eight

choices. In addition, any other factors that applied to them could be checked off. The list of possible choices was drawn from responses to an open-ended question in a draft questionnaire, and follow-up discussions with each of the respondents. The format of the question closely followed that found in a study examining the migration motivation of Indian males to Canada (Winchie and Carment 1989), thus providing an opportunity for comparative analysis.

The distribution of responses clearly shows that two categories dominate as motivating factors for emigration: low income and the need to earn money for family responsibilities. These two motives were each selected as 'number one' by 30.8 percent of the respondents who indicated a rank order (Table 4.8). They are obviously related, as low income erodes the ability to provide for family; however, the respondents did not consider these motives to mean the same thing. With all responses counted regardless of ranking, family responsibilities assume primary importance, claimed by 87 percent of the respondents as a motivating factor behind their migration decision. In comparison, 71 percent cited "low income" as a factor, and only 41.4 percent cited "poor standard of living."

This concern with family responsibilities appears to surpass the desire for personal career fulfillment. The two categories which might indicate career goals -- "lack of opportunity for advancement" and "lack of suitable employment" -- were selected as a migration factor by 43.6 and 32.2 % of the respondents. Even when counted together, these two categories were selected as the number one factor contributing to migration by only 22.5 % of the women --

Table 4.8 -- Percentage of Respondents Ranking Each Reason For Working Overseas

Reasons For Migration	1st Rank n=107	2nd Rank n=102	3rd Rank n=96	Non-Ranked n=144	Total Selections n=144
Family responsibilities	30.8	29.4	20.8	27.9	87.2
Low income	30.8	21.6	16.7	20.7	71.4
Lack of opp. for advanc.	12.2	14.7	11.5	15.7	43.6
Lack of suitable employ.	10.3	9.8	6.2	12.9	32.2
Travel and adventure	7.4	12.7	20.8	16.4	45.7
Standard of living	8.4	7.8	15.6	18.6	41.4
Political situation	0.0	2.9	4.2	7.9	12.9
Join family members	0.0	1.0	4.2	5.7	9.3

(format based on Winchie and Carment 1989)

- a. Not all respondents indicated their ranked choices; rather, several choices were checked off without ranking.
- b. The 'Total Selections' does not add up to 100 percent as this column tallies all responses regardless of ranking.

significantly less than that accorded to either "low income" or "family responsibilities." The survey respondents have no inflated expectations as to their future employment in Canada -- after their mandatory term as domestics, they see themselves in clerical, nursing, and service jobs.⁵ These figures indicate the importance of the family in Filipino culture. The bond is strongest between children and parents, but it also extends to more distant relatives (Trager 1984). As one respondent stated, "...we are close-knit families and family responsibility is passed down -- it's a chain reaction from parents to children, children to the nephews, and to the children of the next generation."⁶ Ironically, the expression of

this familial concern sees many women leaving behind not only parents and siblings, but their own husbands and children. In return for a degree of economic security, these families endure years of separation, and face potential socio-psychological problems as a result.⁷

The importance of family responsibilities can also be seen in the large proportion of wages that are channelled back to the Philippines. The high incidence of remittances indicates the existence of social networks across space. Question 23 of the survey questionnaire examined the amount and frequency of monetary remittances sent by domestic workers to their families. Almost all of the women sent money at some time -- only two respondents did not send remittances. Of those sending remittances, almost half sent earnings home an average of once every month, in increments from \$50 to \$500 (Table 4.9). Calculating all remittances as a monthly figure, the respondents sent an average \$245 per month to the Philippines (Table 4.10). These remittances represent a large proportion of the respondents' earnings. The gross salary of the 95 respondents working as live-in caregivers at the time of the survey averaged \$740 per month, less approximately \$150 in deductions for income tax, medical benefits, unemployment insurance, and Canada pension benefits (Table 4.11). Remittances accounted for an average 33 percent of gross wages -- with many women sending even larger amounts (Table 4.12). Of the 92 respondents who completed all sections of question 23, remittances averaged \$2940 per year. For this small sample of women, therefore, the overall value of annual

remittances sent to the Philippines topped \$270,000 -- giving some idea of the value of overseas employment to that country's economy.

**Table 4.9 -- Remittances Sent By Respondents to Philippines
By Frequency per Year**

Remittances Per Year	No. of Responses	%
1 - 2	4	2.8
3 - 4	14	9.9
5 - 6	19	13.4
7 - 8	1	0.7
9 - 10	0	0.0
11 - 12	65	45.8
24	2	1.4
"sometimes"	7	4.9
"frequently"	2	1.4
"special occasions"	2	1.4
n/a	26	18.3
Total:	142	100.0

The migrant operates as a "shadow household", whose commitments and obligations are not only in Canada, but even more so to a household in the Philippines (Boyd 1989). The responses of the 133 Filipinas who completed the second part of question 23 illustrate these strong ties: 92.5 percent indicated that their remittances were used to defray daily living expenses for family members in the Philippines (Table 4.13). Twenty-nine percent of respondents sent money home to support their own children (a number which corresponds closely to the number of women who

**Table 4.10 -- Remittances Sent By Respondents
By Dollar Value per Month**

Remittance \$ Per Month	No. of Responses	%
1 - 99	11	12.1
100 - 199	25	27.5
200 - 299	24	26.4
300 - 399	12	13.2
400 - 499	9	9.9
500 - 599	9	9.9
"\$800"	1	1.1
Total:	91	100.0

Mean monthly remittance: \$245

**Table 4.11 -- Gross Wages of Respondents Employed as
Live-in Caregivers**

Gross Wage Per Month	No. of Responses	%
\$300 - 399	3	3.2
\$400 - 499	2	2.1
\$500 - 599	2	2.1
\$600 - 699	33	34.7
\$700 - 799	27	28.4
\$800 - 899	13	13.7
\$900 - 999	6	6.3
\$1000 - 1099	5	5.3
\$1100 - 1199	2	2.1
\$1200 - 1299	2	2.1
Total:	95	100.0

Mean monthly wage: \$740

- a. The gross wages of respondents have been calculated after deductions for room and board (generally \$250-275).

Table 4.12 -- Remittances as Percentage of Live-in Caregivers' Gross Monthly Wages

Remit. as % of Gross Wage	No. of Responses	%
0 - 9	4	5.9
10 - 19	12	17.6
20 - 29	20	29.4
30 - 39	13	19.1
40 - 49	5	7.4
50 - 59	4	5.9
60 - 69	8	11.8
70 - 79	2	2.9
Total:	68	100.0

Mean percentage of respondents' gross wages sent to Philippines as remittances: 33.4 %

- a. The sample includes only those respondents who were working as live-in caregivers at the time of the survey.

Table 4.13 -- Use of Respondents' Remittances in the Philippines

Use of Remittances	No. of Responses	
	n=133	%
Daily living expenses:	123	92.5
Parent(s)	98	73.7
Children	36	27.1
Husband	19	14.3
Other	32	24.1
Not specified	6	4.5
Both parents and children	15	11.3

Education of family	92	69.2
Buy house or property	25	18.8
Pay off debts	29	21.8
Furniture/ lg. hshld. items	10	7.5
Buy a car	0	0.0
Gifts	4	3.0
Medicine	2	1.5
Not Specified	3	2.3

have children), but contributions were also sent to other family members. As one woman remarked, "even single people...still support brothers and sisters and parents back in the Philippines... and send most of their income." Although both sons and daughters may migrate overseas, parents tend to view daughters "as more likely to be obedient and less likely to spend money on themselves" and, therefore, "more likely to remit money and aid in other ways" (Trager 1984, 1274). Almost 80 percent of the respondents sent money for daily living expenses to their parents; as well, 26 percent

sent money toward the support of siblings, or in a few instances, their nieces or nephews. In over 12 percent of cases, the worker sent money to both parents and children. Only 15 percent of the women sent money for daily living expenses to their spouses; however, as one respondent pointed out,

...Filipino men could be working abroad too, like [in] Saudi Arabia or as sailors. So, in that case -- people who are married to sailors or to people who are also working abroad -- they normally would send [remittances] to the kids and the parents who are looking after their kids...

In respect to money sent to husbands, a few respondents expressed a fatalistic assessment of where this money goes. The following exchange among respondents in a post-survey discussion highlights the social impact of family separation.

A: In many cases you get to subsidize your husband's extramarital affairs.

B: It's true! It's really true.

A: Isn't it though.

C: That's the reality...

A: ...and it's led to so many broken homes because sometimes the wife never comes back.

The high percentage of remittance money that goes toward daily living expenses suggests the need among many families for the foreign worker's income. Remittance money is rarely used to buy furniture, large household items, or a car. However, the money is

sometimes used to pay off debts (21.8 %) or for the purchase of a house or property (18.8%).

Sixty-nine percent of the respondents direct remittance funds toward the education of family members, a use of funds second only to daily living expenses. In general, education is considered important to success and security in the Philippines, and parents work hard to give their children the best education they can. In turn, this gives the next generation better opportunities for employment or to meet eligibility criteria to emigrate.

Thus, motivation for leaving the Philippines to work overseas appears to be strongly tied to the obligation to support the family, and the inability to effectively meet this demand within their own country. When asked as to their future job expectations in Canada, few women admit to aspire to jobs beyond the traditionally gendered roles offered to them in the Philippines. In many instances, the employment that they expect to eventually gain in Canada, even after gaining landed status, may be considered below occupations for which their training or experience prepared them. Whatever personal benefits migration may give to these women, their actions are very much part of a familial economic survival strategy.

As a postscript to migration motivation, however, attention must be drawn to the 45.7 percent of respondents who indicated that the "desire for travel and adventure" figured in their migration decision-making. While rarely cited as the number one reason for migration, this factor clearly carries weight among the women who have come to Vancouver. It serves as a reminder that individual personality ultimately plays a strong role in the decision to relocate.

This suggests something of the temperament necessary to move alone to the other side of the world for employment.

4.6 Motivation for Migrating to Canada

The decision to migrate for overseas employment requires the selection of a destination country. For the majority of the study respondents, Canada had not been their first stop as a migrant domestic worker. Only 27.5 percent of the women migrated directly from their home country to employment situations in Canada. The balance of this group of Filipinas spent up to 12 years living and working as temporary workers in countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Kuwait. Of the 138 respondents who completed the pertinent questions, the average time span between leaving the Philippines and arrival in Canada was 3.3 years; however, if those 38 women who came directly to Canada are excluded from the analysis, the remainder spent an average of 4.6 years living and working overseas before moving to Canada. These figures suggest several things. Firstly, many women have spent years away from their homes and families even before they enter Canada's caregiver program, presumably with some degree of emotional toll. Secondly, the years spent abroad give these workers a wider view of the options available to them, as well as the comparative conditions in different countries. Working in Singapore, for example, foreign domestic workers face extremely long hours, low wages, and no rights, as well as mandatory AIDS and pregnancy tests on a regular basis. If found pregnant, a domestic faces immediate deportation

and her employer forfeits a \$5000 (Singaporean) security bond put up as assurance of good behavior; predictably, many employers use drastic means to control their workers (PMR 1987).

Important to this study, however, a link can also be made between Canadian government policy and the years spend abroad before entering Canada. Under the FDM program, regulations stipulated that entrants have at least one year of paid experience as a domestic worker. For many workers, the time spent working in a country such as Hong Kong may have served to secure the necessary requirement for future employment in Canada. As well, many migrants may have used this employment period to raise the substantial funds necessary for relocation to Canada.

Whatever their migration path, these women have at some time made the decision to work in Canada. In general, they had some idea of what they could expect in Canada, either from friends or family that had gone before them or from the numerous agencies that specialize in the recruitment of foreign nannies.⁸ Question 10 of the survey asked respondents to evaluate the reasons that prompted them to choose Canada as a migration destination over another nanny-importing country (with the assumption that the worker has weighed the options between various destinations). Respondents were directed to assess the personal importance of each of nine possible reasons, using a 5-point Likert scale that rated each factor on a continuum from "unimportant" to "very important". Those reasons accorded one point were deemed unimportant to the destination decision, while a rating of '5' highlighted the most important factor(s). Respondents were also able to include additional

reasons in written comments, but most of these answers fell within the provided categories.

Among the 141 respondents who addressed this question, the most important reason for choosing to work in Canada appears to be the chance for landed status. Over 76 percent of the respondents rated landed status as "very important"; overall, this reason rated a mean score of 4.4 (Table 4.14). The second most important reasons were "wage levels" and "working conditions", which were given the highest rating of '5' by 66 percent and 64.5 percent of the respondents. These two reasons each received mean ratings of 4.2. Following in perceived importance were "opportunity for education" (61.0%, 3.8 mean), and "standard of living" (56.0%, 3.9 mean). The remaining reasons -- "climate", "family or friends in Canada", "political situation" and "language" -- were all accorded mean scores of less than 3, although language was judged as "very important" by almost 40 percent of the respondents. As Filipinos receive much of their education in English, this may reflect the relative ease of communication in Canada compared to non-English speaking countries.

Of the total 141 respondents who answered question ten, a smaller sample of 33 respondents identified the top three reasons as to why they chose to migrate to Canada. Their rankings confirm the larger analysis: 30.3 percent of the women rated landed status as the most important factor in their choice of Canada, followed by wage levels (24.2 %), and working conditions (21.2 %) (Table 4.15). The remaining reasons received little mention.

**Table 4.14 -- Reasons For Choosing Canada as Migration Destination
(By Respondents Ranking Each Reason as "Very Important")**

Reason for Choosing Canada	No. of Responses n=141		Mean Rank
		%	
Opp. for landed status	108	76.6	4.4
Wage levels	93	66.0	4.2
Job conditions	91	64.5	4.2
Opp. for education	86	61.0	3.8
Standard of living	79	56.0	3.9
Language	52	36.9	2.9
Family in Canada	15	10.6	2.2
Political situation	92	65.2	2.2
Climate	25	17.7	2.3

- a. Each factor received a ranking from '1' (unimportant) to '5' (very important). Some respondents did not rank every reason; in the calculation of the mean rank, 'no answer' was assigned a rank of '1'.

Table 4.15 -- Reasons For Choosing Canada (By Percentage of Respondents Ranking Each Reason as "Most Important")

Most Important Reason	% of Resp. n=33
Opp. for landed status	30.3
Wage levels	24.2
Job conditions	21.2
Opp. for education	6.1
Standard of living	12.1
Language	3.0
Family in Canada	3.0
Political situation	0.0
Climate	0.0

- a. Note that only 33 respondents identified one reason as "most important" in their decision to choose Canada as a migration destination.

Conversely, only one respondent out of 141 judged that the chance for landed status was an unimportant factor (rated '1') in their decision to come to Canada. Working conditions were similarly rated, as were Canada's standard of living, wage levels and educational opportunities. Climate, family and friends, and Canada's political situation, however, were most often considered as unimportant factors in their decision.

What can be made of these figures? The opportunity to collect better wages and work under better conditions are certainly important factors in migrating to Canada, even though they must be weighed against the much higher cost of living within this country. The potential for landed status, however, is clearly the number one draw for these workers. In their words:

Getting landed gives you more opportunities. That's the important thing...the security.

Basically, getting landed...gives you a wider range of choices. Like, once you get landed, you can stay if you like, you can go if you don't like. You can study, you can get married, you can sponsor. It gives you so much more power over your life...It's your ticket to freedom -- freedom to what you want to do with your life -- realize where you want to live, what you want to do, and what should be your future.

Even getting an education, you cannot...you cannot take academic courses if you are not landed...you don't get much opportunity if you're always under a work permit...because you are restricted in doing stuff.

The landed status thing is like an attraction... we may be working in Hong Kong or Singapore -- 10 years, 15 years -- and still we are stuck as nannies there. So that's why we look for work on that landed status...

These comments and figures suggest that Canadian government policy -- in the form of the FDM and Live-In Caregiver programs -- provides in itself an important impetus for migration to Canada. Only Canada allows migrant caregivers the opportunity to become permanent residents -- and therefore the chance to gain the rights and freedoms denied to them in other labour-importing countries.

Interestingly, for many of the respondents, the importance of landed status does not lie in the opportunity to permanently emigrate to Canada, but rather in the freedom it allows. As some respondents stated:

People want landed status not because they want to live here forever -- it's not that, speaking for Filipinos. They want to stay longer here. If they don't get landed, they can't stay here, [and] after three years they go home. Or you will be forced to go home. One thing...some people will just stay as landed immigrants and not apply for citizenship.

When they retire, most Filipinos want to go back home.

After they go home, they have already bought property, and have secure financial status...and they just enjoy life. It's the plan, to every worker.

This reverse migration, however, might never be realized. Socialized into Canadian ways and without good future prospects in the Philippines, many of these women and their families will end up staying in Canada. Regardless, these views on the ultimate benefits of landed status make an interesting counterpoint to the immigration projections of EIC strategists that were presented in Chapter 3, which highlighted the large wave of Filipino immigration expected in the future.

4.7 The Decision to Migrate to Vancouver

Question 11 asked respondents why they came to Vancouver, rather than another location in Canada. At least 50 percent of the women surveyed did not have a choice in their destination -- they were not offered a job elsewhere. However, 60 women stated that they chose to work in Vancouver, and gave their reasons in open-ended answers (Table 4.16). The mild climate of Vancouver figured heavily in their decisions, with over 56 percent citing this factor. Several others mentioned that they were drawn to Vancouver by the presence of relatives (16.7 %) or friends (8.3 %) already in the area. The balance of remarks generally state the belief that Vancouver is a "nice/good/beautiful place"; one respondent wrote that "working here is a childhood dream -- I've read about Vancouver in the Reader's Digest".

Table 4.16 -- Reasons For Choosing Vancouver as a Migration Destination

Reason	Responses	
	n=60	%
Climate	34	56.7
Relatives	10	16.7
Friends	5	8.3
Education	2	3.3
Other	11	18.3
n/a	6	10.0

- a. Several women gave more than one reason.

Several points can be drawn from these answers. First, the draw of family and friends highlights the role of social networks in migration, and the development of chain migration. Second, the importance accorded to climate is not surprising, as it represents one of the few factors that someone unfamiliar with Canada can determine. As one respondent remarked in conversation: "I had two job offers -- one in Yellowknife and another in Vancouver. I didn't know where Yellowknife was, so I looked on a map. So far north! I knew it would be too cold." As well, approximately one in every six respondents had migrated from other points in Canada, including the B.C. interior. As one woman pointed out, "...the idea is just to enter Canada, and after you're set up, you can choose wherever place you want to go." These workers would be well aware of the milder climate found in Vancouver.

Vancouver's weather, however, as well as its beauty, are assets that many Filipinas may become aware of only after their arrival. The wording of some responses alerts us to the methodological inadequacies of asking for pre-move motivation after the fact (see Winchie and Carment 1989). A comment such as "good working conditions, plus friendly people around" suggests first hand experience, not a pre-migration comparison of second hand information. Some responses, therefore, may reflect why Filipina caregivers are happy they ended up in Vancouver, rather than why they "chose" that destination in the first place. Confirmation of this circumstance is suggested in the comments of several respondents who stated that they were not offered a job elsewhere, but went on to add why they "chose" to work in Vancouver. Their answers

included "nice city", "weather", "best place", and "friends are here and not much snow" -- answers similar to those of women who gave Vancouver as their intended destination.

One factor not accounted for in the questionnaire responses, -- but mentioned in post-survey discussion with respondents -- was the role of agencies in directing Filipina nannies to Vancouver. Links between overseas and local agencies serve to connect workers with B.C. employers.

Sometimes it's the agencies. The agencies we applied to have sub-agents in Vancouver. That's why we end up here. It's like, I did not know Fely the last time, but she came from the same agency where I came from -- through Manila Express -- and then here, it's Supernannies who are handling all these applications...We work together in Singapore, and end up working in the same place because of the placement of the agency...Cristie was there, Auntie Fely was there, and I was there... and [now] all the same. We pick up kids at the same school. We came from the same nanny agency, and we were placed in the same neighbourhood.

(see Appendix B).

These locational links serve to highlight once again the structural web that entangles individual decision-making. Though the phenomenon of Filipina migrant labour may stretch across continents and present a world of destinal options, in fact, the movement of these workers may be channelled along much narrower paths. Indeed, in the words of one respondent, "...it's a small world."

4.8 Conclusion

The survey of Vancouver Filipina caregivers proved a valuable exercise for a number of reasons. As well as providing quantitative data for the Employment Standards Brief presented in April 1993, the survey sheds much light on the individual responses of Filipina migrant workers to the social and economic circumstances they face in their home country. The questionnaire responses bring a personal dimension to the statistics compiled by the Department of Employment and Immigration, augmenting those figures by revealing the interwoven motives that often underlie migration decisions. Filipinas' decisions to work as Canadian nannies are clearly set within a scenario of few options, framed by a lack of economic opportunities in the Philippines and the social imperative to provide for their families. If any general profile can be drawn from the survey responses, it may be that of a woman who is compelled to secure a source of income and the potential for future opportunities for herself and her family and willing to undergo personal sacrifice to attain it. Canada offers relatively good wages and work conditions that translate into immediate benefits, but the long-term benefits hold out even more promise. The opportunities for education and landed status represent an investment in the future, not only for the migrant worker but also for her family. Unlike the Indian males in Winchic and Carment's study (1989), the major goal of these Filipinas is not personal career advancement. Rather than a particular job, the main objective is landed status and its attendant benefits. The EIC figures presented in Chapter 3 concur

with these expectations: the overwhelming majority of Filipina nannies will attain landed status.

For the purposes of the overall study, the survey findings substantiate the hypothesis that, although individual decisions to migrate are influenced by a variety of reasons, Canadian government policies play a key role in drawing Filipina migrants to Canada. Employers may be in a position to offer higher wages, less hours, and better working conditions, but only the state can offer the opportunity for landed status. Whatever the benefits of working in other nanny-importing countries -- such as closer proximity to the Philippines or paid transportation costs -- only Canada allows for the permanent immigration of foreign caregivers. With landed status in hand, the domestic worker is free to enjoy the rights and benefits of the destination country, and is sheltered from the exploitation that accompanies migrant status. She is also free to sponsor her family, or to leave and return in the future. Therefore, although the ostensible role of the FDM and LIC programs is to facilitate the demand for affordable live-in childcare in Canada, the same policy offers an attractive 'back door' opportunity for gaining permanent residency in Canada. Whichever perspective is emphasized depends from which side of the world one approaches.

ENDNOTES

1. The full total is somewhat higher, as these figures do not include workers who entered the program after arriving in Canada on student or visitor visas.
2. An accurate estimate of Filipina caregivers is difficult to ascertain. The 1992 employment estimates produced by the federal government show that 14,400 people are employed within category "6147 - Child-Care" in the B.C./Yukon region. Women represent 96 percent of this total, and close to 50 percent are employed as full-time domestic workers. No figures are available to indicate the proportion of live-in caregivers or their country of origin (EIC 1993b).
3. Possible explanations for employers' preference for Filipinas -- particularly in comparison to Caribbean women -- include that they "tend to be younger, they are probably cheaper, and they are more likely to show, if not feel, deference to their employers" (Calliste 1989, 150). DeVan (1989) points out that many employers associate Filipina workers with subservience and obedience, but fail to link these stereotypical traits to the Filipinas' vulnerable position in seeking landed status.
4. According to S.37(1) of the Canada Immigration Act, the Minister responsible for immigration may issue a special permit authorizing any person to come into or remain in Canada. In the case of domestic workers, permits are sometimes issued when problems arise with employment authorization renewals.

5. These numbers form a distinct contrast with the findings of Winchie and Carment in their study of male immigrants from India. They found that career reasons ranked highest as motivation for emigration, and "inadequate income and earning money for family responsibilities played only a minor role in impelling the respondents to emigrate" (1989, 100).
6. Most of the comments found throughout this chapter arose from a post-survey discussion session with ten of the respondents; other comments have been drawn from written replies in the questionnaires.
7. The negative consequences of labour migration on Filipino families were addressed in a Philippines government study. Serious problems include "values disorientation as a result of the sudden increase in income; solo parenting and its attendant problems; emotional pressure/loneliness and anxiety caused by temporary separation from loved ones; break-up of marriages; [and] neglect of children" (Philippine Development Plan For Women 1989).
8. Employment agencies operate not only in the Philippines, but in other countries where the nannies work. Approximately half of the respondents indicated that they made their initial job contact in Canada through the services of an agency; in almost all cases these agency contacts were in Singapore or Hong Kong. The balance of workers found employment in Canada through direct contact with their future employers -- a process often facilitated by friends or relatives already in the country.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

5.1 The State Role in Influencing Caregiver Migration

The preceding chapters have stressed the complexity of any analysis of the migration of Filipina caregivers to Canada. Interwoven historical-structural factors set both the constraints and the options available to these woman; within this contextual fabric -- and through the filtering influence of social networks -- arise individual decisions to migrate. Within this complicated scenario, the study has focused on the role that the state plays in framing the migration behavior of Filipinas. This emphasis does not suggest the preeminence of state policy over other factors that determine the size and character of international migration; rather, it highlights a key facet of this particular migration phenomenon and of international migration in general. Throughout this paper, the critical examination of state policy in respect to foreign domestic workers has served as a base for further exploration of this topic.

The emphasis within contemporary migration literature on the structural framework of migration provides insight into the economic, political, and social factors that influence and shape the international movement of foreign domestics; however, the contradiction of a migrant labour force employed within the sphere of reproduction needs to be more fully explored. In the instance of foreign caregivers, Canadian policy targets migrant women as a labour reserve to help meet the demand for paid workers within the

societally undervalued reproductive sector. Although its actions are mediated by competing forces in the political system, the state sets policies which tend to reflect controlling interests within society; the consequent maintenance of the status quo works to perpetuate entrenched inequities. Considered from a radical perspective, this highlights how state policies support the class interests embedded within society. In addition, a feminist approach to the state stresses the ways in which state policy disproportionately benefits men -- as the dominant players within a patriarchal society -- while it does relatively little to alleviate the overall subordinate position of women.¹ This action reinforces inequitable gender divisions within Canadian society; moreover, the state's role in the importation of foreign domestics underscores its influence in maintaining racial and class divisions as well.

As a case study of contemporary migration, the example of foreign domestic workers in Canada illustrates the influence of state policy in setting the parameters through which any international migration must occur. State borders serve to define parts of the world as peripheral regions within a global economic system and identify people within such regions as a labour reserve for the economic core. In an era where we see the loosening of borders to facilitate the global movement of goods and capital, states continue to exert strong control over the international movement of labour. Indeed, such control may be one of the few strategic tools left available to the state in the struggle for influence in the global political economy. Consequently, few opportunities exist for citizens

of peripheral countries to gain permanent status within the wealthy core.

For much of Canada's history, restrictive legislation has carefully designated the preferred candidates for immigration by defining who can and cannot become a permanent resident. As well, the strong ties that exist between labour needs and immigration policy have prompted the development of auxiliary strategies in an attempt to secure specific types of immigrants from particular regions -- producing at times a "tap-on/tap-off" effect as the government alters policies to selectively regulate the flow of immigrants. Such an approach is evident within various Canadian immigration policies that have been designed to address the continual demand for domestic labourers and the corresponding 'shortage' of these workers within the Canadian labour force. The federal Live-In Caregiver program is only the most current example of such legislative manipulations -- past strategies have included a variety of policies, all of which first defined the preferred labour pool through entrance restrictions and then ensured the installment of the new entrants into domestic employment.

The migration policies of both sending and receiving countries influence individual migration choices in ways that are not always intended. The LIC program (and its FDM predecessor) has been identified by government as a labour policy; however, despite the initial status of entrants as migrant workers, the program serves as an immigration portal -- especially for 'Third World' women and their families. The possibility of attaining landed status was not conceived by the government as an inducement for migration; rather,

it was included within the program in response to criticisms regarding the exploitation of migrant caregivers under the former Temporary Employment Authorization program. Nonetheless, the opportunity for landed status has been identified by Filipina respondents in the Vancouver caregiver survey as a key factor in their decision to work in Canada.

5.2 Study Contributions

In addition to identifying the importance of landed status in the individual migration decisions of Filipinas, this study has also yielded findings that further clarify the situation of Filipina caregivers in Canada. First of all, the placement of this migration stream within a historical overview of Canadian policy in respect to foreign domestics (Chapter 3) has allowed us to see the connections between the current scenario and past situations. Viewed in this manner, recent government policies reveal unsettling similarities to questionable biases in past policies. For example, the LIC program requirement of two years mandatory live-in domestic service is not unlike the indentured labour aspects of past programs. As well, a covert racism appears to persist within the current program, which determines 'preferred' and 'non-preferred' domestic workers through criteria that particularly disadvantage women from poor countries. In this regard, a close parallel exists between the situation of Caribbean women in the early 1960's and that of Filipinas in the FDM program. In both cases, the federal government -- fearing a large influx of family class immigrants -- successfully reduced the

number of initial entrants by setting higher educational requirements.

Second, the Vancouver survey has provided a broad collection of new information on a subject that has previously lacked much quantification. A picture emerges of a Filipina work force -- the majority in their thirties -- who are working in Canada primarily to gain economic security for themselves and their families. Their individual migrational motivations arise within a socio-cultural context that places prime importance on family obligations; these responsibilities extend not only to children, but also to parents and siblings. Poor economic conditions and rising prices in the Philippines have put pressure on many Filipinas to search for overseas employment not so much for personal career reasons, but to help secure the well-being of their families. This situation has led to the establishment of 'shadow households' in other countries, where the commitments of the migrant caregivers remain closely tied to households in the Philippines. The extent of these ties is exemplified by the large proportion of their salaries that Filipina caregivers send home as remittances.

Overseas work can produce an interesting role reversal, as many of these Filipina caregivers have, in a sense, exchanged their traditional position within the household for that of economic provider. This is in contrast to the dual responsibility often borne by waged females in the Philippines (or elsewhere). Ironically, the relinquishment of their direct reproductive role within their own family sees them taking on the same role within their employer's household. But although they lose direct contact with their families,

it seems that most women maintain frequent long-distance contact. In this respect, many of the survey respondents mentioned the high costs of telephoning home on a regular basis -- one respondent estimated that local Filipina workers spend on average \$100 to \$200 each month in phone bills.

In some ways, overseas work can have a liberating effect for some Filipinas, who gain a measure of independence from the direct control of parents or their husbands. As one survey respondent stated, "some people are running away from things...in the Philippines, if a woman wants to leave a husband and the husband doesn't permit you to leave, you are stuck there. But if he wants to leave you, he can just leave." Whatever greater freedom these women gain, however, must be balanced against the loneliness of separation and the weight of their obligations in the Philippines -- as well as the lack of freedom they experience in Canada as temporary workers.

Family responsibilities also play a part in motivating Filipinas to seek employment in Canada. The survey respondents cite higher wages, better working conditions, and especially the opportunity for landed status as the most attractive features of Canadian domestic service. The draw of landed status cannot, however, be interpreted as a statement that these women all wish to someday become Canadian citizens. In fact, many respondents clearly stated that they would like to eventually return to the Philippines. Rather, the draw of landed status lies in the range of options that it opens up and in the protection that it offers. With permanent residency established, Filipinas can freely choose their employment and residence, further

their education, or sponsor their family; as well, they gain most of the rights associated with Canadian citizenship. In general, employment as a live-in nanny in Canada is used by many Filipinas as both an immediate and a longterm economic strategy.

5.3 The Live-In Caregiver Program: The Impact and Implications.

This particular migration stream of Filipina nannies exists because of the demand for live-in childcare workers in Canada. The recent policy changes found within the Caregiver policy indicate the intent of the government to somehow reshape this flow. In view of this, we might speculate not only on the future of Filipina caregiver migration, but as well, on the overall future of foreign domestic employment in Canada.

The sharp decrease in numbers of Filipina migrants entering Canada as caregivers since the spring of 1992 is a direct consequence of the tighter entrance regulations found within the LIC program. Over time, this depleted flow should rise to higher levels as both Filipinas, and the Philippine government, adjust to the new policy guidelines -- though it is unlikely that we will see a return to the numbers of migrants entering under the last years of the FDM program. As the new program places primary importance on educational attainment, we will presumably see applicants with higher education and with the requisite six months relevant training. In respect to education levels, many potential Filipina applicants already have a college education -- in fact, the survey findings and

WCDWA records suggest that a sizeable number of FDM entrants have in the past misrepresented their education. (In many cases, college graduates had purposely neglected to report their post-secondary education in an attempt to allow calendar time for fabricated full-time caregiver experience.) And as to the six months of childcare training, already a suitable course has been established in the Philippines, though reportedly at a stiff cost to students (Horner 1994).

As the numbers of Filipina entrants drop, new source regions for foreign domestics are beginning to emerge. In particular, eastern European countries appear to be potential suppliers of caregivers; Czechoslovakia, for example, sent 42 new entrants into the LIC program in 1992 -- a number second only to England and significantly more than the 25 entrants from the Philippines (EIC 1993a). The collapse of socialism in eastern Europe has pulled several countries into the economic periphery of capitalist relations, resulting in overall economic instability and individual financial hardship. The streams of emigrants flowing out of these countries represent an alternative labour supply to that of the Philippines and Caribbean -- which unlike their western European counterparts view the opportunity for landed status as an attractive inducement to work as a nanny. In light of the historical manipulation of immigration policy to target preferred immigrants, this latest development has unsettling implications. Notably, a white European work force is now available to replace the non-preferred women from the Philippines, if policy-makers should care to take advantage of these circumstances.

In the event that the overall numbers of LIC entrants do not significantly rise in the near future, the resultant shortage of live-in caregivers may give rise to several outcomes. We might expect to see an adjustment to the LIC policy to allow for a greater flow of workers; in fact, the government announced in June 1993 that the policy would be amended to consider one year of paid, related work experience in lieu of the six-month training course. (To date (spring 1994), however, this regulation has not been passed.) Another possible outcome might see wage levels for live-in caregivers rise, as nannies set higher wage demands because of the labour scarcity. The predominance of European nannies could also contribute to this increase, as these women generally collect higher wages than Filipina caregivers (DeVan 1989). Currently, live-in Filipinas do not appear to be receiving any better remuneration (Horner 1994). Perhaps any rise in wages may take some time to develop, given the vulnerability and lack of organization among domestic workers, as well as the procedure of arranging initial contracts outside of the country.

A pronounced shortage of live-in caregivers may also give rise to an increase in the numbers of illegal or non-regulated workers, with domestics being drawn from the pool of foreign women in Canada as visitors or refugees. As illegal workers, caregivers are especially vulnerable to exploitation, as they have no official recourse in the event of mistreatment. Any significant increase in non-regulated workers could also have negative consequences for all caregivers, as such competition might depress wages.

5.4 Childcare Scenario in Canada

Given the specific combination of state policies in areas of childcare provision, labour legislation and immigration, domestic service is not simply a private but a politically constructed solution to the crisis of the domestic sphere. (Arat-Koc 1990: 97).

The introduction of the LIC program may have chopped -- at least temporarily -- the numbers of foreign caregivers entering Canada, but in the future we can expect to see a continuing reliance on foreign caregivers within Canadian society. Several factors support this prediction. First of all, nannies represent a desirable childcare option for many Canadian households of sufficient financial means. Home-based care fits well with the hectic schedules of dual income families, plus the nanny often takes on a portion of time-consuming household duties such as cooking and cleaning. As well, a live-in caregiver can be a more affordable option than licensed daycare, especially if a household has two or more children that need care. Second, a reliance on foreign caregivers will persist simply because of the lack of suitable options. Licensed daycare is often unavailable, expensive, inflexible, or relatively inaccessible; while private, unlicensed daycares may, in addition, contravene legal guidelines for supervision or safety.

The lack of childcare options is tied to the low priority assigned by the state to this issue; despite repeated election promises, funding for childcare has consistently been placed on the backburner. Any large-scale federal initiative to overhaul childcare policies is unlikely

to come in the near future, given the current climate of fiscal restraint and the growing trend toward privatization. As well, any significant change in the way that childcare is delivered within Canada requires not only fiscal attention but, at a deeper level, a reordering of societal priorities. Childcare and household labour continues to be undervalued within a socio-economic system that places primary importance on immediate economic production rather than longterm social reproduction -- a situation reinforced by the underlying patriarchal ideology within society. A comprehensive scheme such as universally accessible daycare demands a recognition of the value of social reproduction, together with a genuine affirmation of the equal status of women. Were such circumstances to occur, we might also expect a concomitant rise in both the status of waged caregivers and the remuneration for their labour. Ultimately, recognition of the value of the work performed by caregivers could shrink the demand for such services to only the most affluent Canadians.

The state, however, continues to help perpetuate the demand for domestic workers. On one hand, a lack of fiscal attention to childcare leads to a dearth of options; on the other hand, the LIC program ensures that a cheap supply of migrant labourers is readily available. Although foreign caregivers may offer a partial solution to the childcare needs of working parents, it is a questionable solution for a number of reasons. Live-in nannies are an option only for wealthier Canadians -- the majority of parents receive no benefit from the LIC program and the existence of the program may stymie the development of alternative childcare initiatives by the state. As

well, the increasing reliance on foreign caregivers harkens the uncomfortable re-emergence of a servant class -- one characterized largely in terms of gender and 'race'. The traditional female role of caregiver is not elevated in status, but filled by low-income surrogates drawn from a global labour reserve. Thus, this exploitation of migrant female labour in turn affects Canadian women, by maintaining the gendered and subordinate perception of social reproduction. It might be argued, therefore, that the Canadian state, through its influence in fostering the demand and supply for foreign caregivers, is indirectly implicated in sustaining the socio-economic relations of the subordination of women.

5.4 For Further Study

Any migration is a spatial connection between two points -- the origin and the destination. This study has largely focused on the latter and has paid only cursory attention to conditions within the Philippines. A logical progression of this thesis, therefore, would see a more detailed examination of the Philippines side of the this migration stream -- focusing in particular on the role that the state plays in encouraging or facilitating the overseas exodus of women.

Other directions for further study are indicated within the large amount of data gathered through the Vancouver survey of Filipina caregivers. In particular, the survey provided detailed information on the migration paths of Filipina domestics in Canada. From the questionnaire responses, it is possible to map the patterns of their individual movements -- from the initial departure in the

Philippines, through middle destinations such as Singapore or Kuwait, and then on to Canada. An interesting follow-up study could focus on changes to these migration patterns after the introduction of the Live-In Caregiver policy. The removal of the experience requirement has presumably led to a greater incidence of women moving directly from the Philippines to Canada. If such is the case, it serves as yet another indication of the influence of state policy on the migration decisions of Filipina caregivers.

Other research topics include a range of questions on the social and economic effects that arise from the growing deployment of Filipina migrant workers. For example, little has been studied of the psychological impact within families in the Philippines caused by the longterm absence of working mothers. As well, we might consider the impact of remittances on individual households: do these families begin to rely on regular installments of foreign income to the point where it becomes compulsory to send family members overseas? In addition, further study could be made of how Filipina migration behaviour differs from that of Filipino males.

The increasing numbers of caregivers migrating from eastern European countries suggest opportunities for comparative studies. How do the motivations, expectations, and experiences of these European women -- many coming from countries with distressed economies -- compare with those of Filipinas? On one hand, this analysis could highlight how the workers of countries in the economic periphery constitute a labour reserve for the affluent economic core; on the other hand, it could reveal evidence of covert racism within Canadian society. Alternatively, a future study might

contrast the experiences of western European or British nannies with that of Filipina caregivers, to underscore the vulnerability -- or privilege -- associated with place of origin.

As the preceding list indicates, a wide range of research directions remain to be explored in respect to the migration of foreign caregivers to Canada. The complexities of contemporary migration are well-illustrated by the economic, political, and social factors that influence and shape the international movement of Filipina nannies; while at the same time, the contradictions of a migrant labour force employed within the sphere of reproduction add another challenge for migration models. The labour of Filipina caregivers, occurring as it does within the private setting of Canadian homes, indeed represents the "Third World in [our] living rooms" (Bautista and Boti 1992). As such, this overseas link between Canadian and Filipino households serves to emphasize at a personal level the global interconnections of our modern world.

ENDNOTE

1. Events in British Columbia shortly after the completion of this thesis serve to illustrate this point. On March 17, 1994, UBC Professor, Mark Thompson, released his review of the B.C. Employment Standards Act. Included in his 118 recommendations were those directly relating to the working conditions of foreign domestic workers, including the introduction of minimum wage, hours of employment, and overtime pay. The business community responded by calling the document "an academically driven response to the marketplace" and "not founded in the way the economy is structured today" (in Casselton 1994a). Lorina Serafico, an advocate for domestic workers, noted that she was "excited about the inclusion [of domestics in the review], but I'm really worried about the enforcement part, and we're hearing the government is not planning to do something about that in an extensive manner, because of the cost" (in Casselton 1994b). In fact, within a week, the government had announced it would table the report for at least a year in order to study it further.

Appendix A -- Survey Questionnaire

Note: The original questionnaire was printed on four double-sided pages of legal size.

SURVEY on IMMIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT FOREIGN DOMESTIC WORKER PROGRAM (Live-In Caregiver Program)

The West Coast Domestic Workers' Association is collecting information on the immigration and employment of domestic workers in British Columbia, in particular those employed under the Foreign Domestic Worker Program (Live-in Caregiver Program). If you have ever worked under this program, your participation in this survey will help provide information on the effectiveness of the current government immigration policies, and help to suggest ways to improve the current situation for domestic workers.

All information collected in this questionnaire is strictly anonymous and confidential. Government officials will not have access to this survey.

For each question, please mark the answer that applies to you, or write your answer in the space provided. Please add additional comments for each question if necessary. *It is important that you answer ALL questions.*

1. What was the date of your entry into Canada? _____
(month/year)
2. Indicate your current immigration status:
___ valid work visa under the Foreign Domestic Workers Program
(Live-In Caregiver Program)
___ Minister's permit
___ Open work permit--> When did you receive your permit?
_____ (month/year)
___ Landed immigrant--> When did you gain landed status?
_____ (month/year)
___ Canadian citizen
___ Other: _____

3. Have you applied for Landed Status?(if applicable)

NO ___

YES ___--> ___ have received Open Work Permit

___ waiting for Immigration to make decision

___ refused--> For what reason has your application
been refused? _____

4. What is your country of origin?

___ Philippines--> city or region: _____

___ Other: _____

5. Did you come directly to Canada from your country of origin?

YES ___

NO ___--> When did you leave your country of origin? _____
(year)

In which country (or countries) did you live in after
leaving your country of origin? *If more than one country,*
please list them in order of your movement, and give the date you left
each country.

country: (year of departure):

_____ ()

_____ ()

_____ ()

6. Did you have **paid** experience as a domestic worker before
entering Canada?

NO ___

YES ___--> In which country, or countries? _____

Why did you leave this position? *(if more than one*
position, give reasons for each)

7. Before entering Canada, did you take any training as a caregiver?

NO ___

YES ___--> What course?_____

Where? _____

Length of course?_____ months (or _____ years)

8. What was your main occupation in your country of origin?

___employed--> type of employment:_____

(if more than one type)_____

___homemaker

___student (or recent graduate)

___other: _____

9. For what reasons did you leave your country of origin?

(Identify the 3 most important reasons by numbering them "1" "2" and "3"

Place a check mark beside any other reasons that apply to you)

___lack of opportunity for advancement in job

___lack of suitable employment

___low income

___desire for travel or adventure

___to earn money for family responsibilities

___poor standard of living

___political situation

___to join family members living elsewhere

___other: _____

Additional comments: _____

10. Why did you choose to come to **Canada**, rather than work as a domestic worker in another country? Circle the relative importance of each of the following reasons. ("1" indicates the reason was not at all important, while "5" indicates that it was very important in your decision)

	not important		-----> very important		
Wage levels:	1	2	3	4	5
Working conditions:	1	2	3	4	5
Climate:	1	2	3	4	5
Family or friends in Canada:	1	2	3	4	5
Standard of living:	1	2	3	4	5
Chance for Landed Status:	1	2	3	4	5
Language:	1	2	3	4	5
Political situation:	1	2	3	4	5
Opportunity for education:	1	2	3	4	5
Other:(explain)_____	1	2	3	4	5

 Additional comments: _____

11. Why did you come to **Vancouver**, rather than another location in Canada?

- ___ not offered a job elsewhere
 - ___ chose to work in Vancouver, rather than in another part of Canada.
- > Why did you choose to work in Vancouver?

12. Did you come to **Vancouver** from another location in Canada?

NO ___

YES___--> Where from?:_____

13. How did you find your job in Canada?

___ Direct hire

___ Employment agency-->

Name of this agency?: _____

Location of this agency?: _____

Where did you come into contact with this agency?

How did you come into contact with this agency?

Did you pay a fee to this agency?

NO ___

YES ___--> (How much?: \$ _____)

In which country did you pay this fee? _____

Did you sign an employer/employee contract
through this agency? NO ___

YES ___

Were the terms of this contract upheld when you
came to Canada? NO ___

YES ___

14. What money did you pay *in your country of origin* for the
purposes of overseas employment? Check any of the following that
apply to you.

___ fee to your government--> (how much?: \$ _____)

___ fee to Canadian government--> (how much?: \$ _____)

___ Other (explain): _____

15. How many employers have you worked for as a domestic worker in Canada?

Live-in: _____ (number of employers)

Live-out: _____ (number of employers)

Give the following information for each employer that you have worked for:

	1ST JOB	2ND JOB	3RD JOB	4TH JOB
STARTING DATE (month/year)				
FINISHING DATE (month/year)				
LIVE-IN POSITION? (YES OR NO)				
ADULTS (no. in household)				
CHILDREN (no. in household)				
GROSS WAGE per month (before deductions)				
HOURS WORKED (per day)				
DAYS WORKED (per week)				
ROOM AND BOARD (amount in \$)				
OVERTIME PAY? (YES or NO)				
PAYSLIP? (YES or NO)				
VACATION PAY? (YES or NO)				
SEVERENCE PAY? (YES or NO)				
RECORD OF EMPLOYMENT? (YES or NO)				
T4 SLIP? (YES or NO)				

16. If you have worked for more than one employer, give your reason for leaving each job position:

1st job: _____

2nd job: _____

3rd job: _____

4th job: _____

17. Have you ever been unemployed since moving to Canada?

NO ___

YES ___ --> When? From _____ (date) to _____ (date)
(if more than once): _____ (date) to _____ (date)

--> Reason for unemployment?

___ illness

___ maternity leave

___ not looking for work --> Why? _____

___ recently finished last job --> Looking for what type of work? _____

___ unable to find employment--> Looking for what type of work? _____

___ other: _____

Did you apply for UIC benefits?

NO ___

YES ___ --> Did you receive any benefits? NO ___

YES ___

Have you ever received Welfare benefits?

NO ___

YES ___

18. What is your current occupation? (You may check more than one)

___ live-in domestic worker

___ live-out domestic worker

___ other employment: _____

___ student--> What program?: _____

___ unemployed

19. What are your long-term plans for employment? (What type of work do you hope to be doing in the future, *assuming that you will have Landed Status?*)

Will you need to upgrade your education to meet this goal?

NO ___

YES ___ --> (*explain*) _____

20. Have you ever had any serious problems dealing with your employer?

NO ___

YES ___ --> What problems have you experienced? (*Check any of the following that apply to you*)

___ low wages

___ long hours

___ heavy workload

___ unsuitable living conditions

___ poor treatment by employer

___ sexual harassment

___ other: _____

Additional comments: _____

21. Have you had any problems dealing with Canada Employment and Immigration?

NO ___

YES ___ --> What problems have you experienced? (*Check any of the following that apply to you*)

___ problems when changing employers

___ problems with misrepresentation (*such as age, name, marital status, number of children, education, or work experience*)

___ violation of work authorization (*such as expired permit, illegal work*)

___ other: _____

Additional comments: _____

22. Have you have ever gone for help to:

___ a lawyer, or legal aid

___ an association: _____

If yes, for what reason? _____

23. Do you send money home to your country of origin?

NO _____

YES _____ --> How often?(*on average*): _____

(*ie. once a month*)

How much?(*on average*) \$ _____

How is this money usually sent home?

___ through an agency--> (Fee?: \$ _____)

___ mailed

___ through the bank

___ other: _____

For what purpose is this money used at home? (*you may check more than one purpose*)

___ goes towards daily living expenses

--> For whom? ___ your parents

___ your children

___ your husband

___ other: _____

___ education of family members

___ towards purchase of house

___ pay off debts

___ buying furniture/large household items

___ buying a car

___ other: _____

24. Have you used your Canadian earnings for any of the following investments *in Canada*?

___ car

___ home

___ term deposit

___ other major investment: _____

25. How many years education do you have at the following levels?

___(yrs) elementary school

___(yrs) high school --> Completed? NO ___ YES___

___(yrs) college or university

Program:_____

Completed? NO___ YES___

___(yrs) technical or vocational

Program:_____

Completed? NO___ YES___

___other education:_____

Additional comments: _____

26. Since entering Canada, have you attended classes to upgrade your education?

NO___

YES___--> What classes? _____

Did your employer help to pay for the class(es)?

NO___

YES___--> How much? _____

27. Have you encountered any problems in trying to upgrade your education?

NO___

YES___--> What kind of problems?

___lack of time to take course(s)

___lack of money to pay for course

___lack of time to study

___lack of suitable courses

___language

___restrictions from Immigration

___other:_____

Additional comments: _____

28. What is your age? ____ years

29. Do you have children?

NO ____

YES ____--> How many? ____ Ages: _____

Are they living with you in Canada?

YES ____

NO ____--> Are they being sponsored to come to
Canada? (*either now or in the future*)

YES ____

NO ____

30. What is your marital status?

___single

___married--> Is your husband living with you in Canada?

YES ____

NO ____--> Where is he living? _____

Is he being sponsored to come to
Canada? (*either now or in the future*)

YES ____

NO ____

___permanent separation or divorced

___widow

31. Sometimes applicants misrepresent facts on their immigration application because they believe it will improve their chances for acceptance into Canada. Did you misrepresent any of the following information in your application? Please remember that all answers are strictly confidential.

Age: NO ____ YES ____

Marital status: NO ____ YES ____

Children: NO ____ YES ____

Education: NO ____ YES ____--> How did you misrepresent
your education? _____

Work experience: NO ____ YES ____--> How did you misrepresent
your work experience? _____

Did someone advise you to misrepresent this information?

NO__

YES___--> Who advised you?

___ employment agency

___ friend(s)

___ other: _____

Additional comments: _____

32. Do you belong to any groups or associations, whether for pleasure or work?

NO__

YES___--> List groups that you belong to:

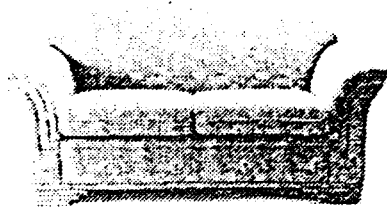
Have you heard of the West Coast Domestic Workers Association? NO__

YES___--> Are you a member? NO__

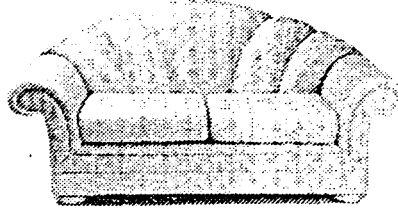
YES__

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

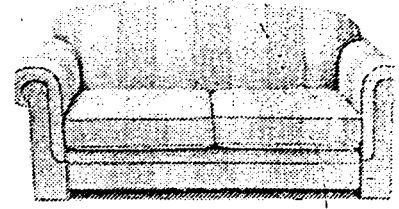
If you have any questions about the survey, please contact the West Coast Domestic Workers Association at (669-4482) or Jeanne Mikita at (421-2412)



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Sofa 2 **\$1500**



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