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WHY FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS GET LOW-PAYING JOBS IN TORONTO**
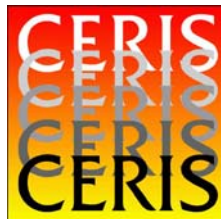
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and the Community Alliance for Social Justice, Toronto**

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Explaining the Deprofessionalized Filipino:
Why Filipino Immigrants Get Low-Paying Jobs in Toronto

Philip F. Kelly, Mila Astorga-Garcia, Enrico F. Esguerra,
and the Community Alliance for Social Justice, Toronto

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The starting point for this research project is the deprofessionalization, deskilling, and occupational concentration in certain kinds of jobs experienced by many Filipino immigrants to Canada. These processes have been widely observed in recent years, both in the Filipino community and among other immigrant groups. It has usually been assumed that the explanations for such processes are universal across all immigrants. To some extent, this is a fair assumption, but assuming a universalized immigrant experience also masks a great deal that is specific to particular groups. In this project, our goal was to examine the *specific* experiences of Filipino immigrants in the Toronto labour market.

This research project was a collaboration between Dr Philip Kelly at York University and the Community Alliance for Social Justice (CASJ). In the first stage of the collaboration, in 2005−06, a survey of Philippine-educated immigrants in Toronto was undertaken, eliciting information on their immigration history, their educational and professional training, their experiences in the Canadian labour market, and their reflections on the barriers that prevent them from achieving their full potential. The survey was distributed by CASJ; 421 completed surveys were returned.

The survey was followed by two sets of focus groups. The first set was conducted in 2006−07 with groups of Filipino professionals (some were practising their professions, but most unable to do so): engineers, accountants, physiotherapists, and nurses. These focus groups were designed to address the barriers that exist for Filipino professionals seeking access to specific licensed professions. The second set was conducted in 2007−08, and involved individuals working in occupations for which professional licensing is not a necessary condition for upward mobility in the workplace: participants worked in hotels, retail, manufacturing, clerical positions, and ancillary jobs in the health care system.

Based on these quantitative and qualitative data, we argue that four sets of issues together constitute a specifically Filipino experience of the labour market.

The first concerns the Philippines as a country of origin. Given the class structure of Philippine society, the class origins of most Filipino immigrants, and the place of the Philippines in the global economic order, Filipinos generally arrive in Canada without significant financial assets, and this situation affects their integration into the labour market. In most cases, they need a "survival job" and cannot afford educational upgrading. The continued responsibilities of Filipino immigrants and "pre-immigrant" caregivers towards their families in the Philippines further accentuates this pattern.

The second set of issues concerns the distinctive profile of immigration programs used by Filipino immigrants. In the period 1980−2005, around 20 percent of Filipino immigrants arrived through the live-in caregiver program, and another 41 percent through family reunification. The implications of this pattern are far-reaching. It means that a large proportion of immigrants have been separated from their immediate families for a significant period of time, making the obligation to send

remittances to family back home an almost universal experience, which adds to their financial challenges. The live-in caregiver program in particular means that immigrants must suspend their professional training and practice, and cannot further their education or training during the program. The result is that "graduates" of the program generally find work in childcare and other low-paid and precarious types of work. The "multiplier" effects of this concentration in certain kinds of work are extensive, as new arrivals generally find work through friends or family members (even if they themselves have entered under the "skilled worker" category).

The third set of issues concerns credential assessment and access to professions. Many respondents complained about the arbitrary and often ill-informed nature of the decisions made by professional regulatory bodies in relation to Philippine education and professional training. In particular, assessors appear to be ignorant of the quality of certain colleges and universities in the Philippines and the rigour of the country's professional board exams. A striking 36 percent of our survey respondents had seriously considered leaving Ontario because of what they saw as unfair barriers to professional practice.

The fourth set of issues concern the ways in which culturally "being Filipino" is interpreted in Canadian workplaces and broader society. This finding has several dimensions. First, it means that Filipinos bring a certain culture of work and a set of workplace practices. Although many of these practices are objectively quite virtuous, they may be interpreted as not fitting a predetermined managerial persona, meaning that Filipinos get overlooked for promotion. In other instances, Filipinos' high levels of diligence and deference to managerial hierarchies may be exploited by employers. The second dimension of "being Filipino" concerns the way in which Filipinos are culturally "read" in Canadian society. Here, we often see processes of stereotyping in which certain kinds of work and certain levels in the occupational hierarchy are seen as "normal" or "suited" for Filipinos. This type of racialization and discrimination is also evidenced in our survey results, in which over half of respondents reported having experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in Canada.

The final sections of the paper report on some of the responses we heard from deprofessionalized Filipinos and offer some policy recommendations.

Overall, this report argues that there is a specific combination of circumstances that shapes Filipino experiences and these circumstances are not always captured in the arguments about access to professions and deskilling that are based on the experiences of immigrants in general. In isolation, none of these factors are unique to the Filipino population in Canada (except perhaps the caregiver immigration category), but together they form an ensemble of factors that characterize the distinctive experience of Filipino immigrants as they attempt to integrate into the labour market.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. Introduction

Processes of labour market subordination among Filipino immigrants to Canada have been widely observed in recent years, but the reasons for them have usually been assumed to be typical of all immigrant groups. While some processes behind deprofessionalization and mismatched skills in the labour market are indeed generic and experienced by all immigrants arriving with non-Canadian credentials and experience, particular groups experience the labour market in specific ways.

In this paper, we seek to provide a nuanced assessment of the factors behind the deprofessionalization of Filipino immigrants in particular, by drawing attention to a mixture of cultural, economic, social and institutional circumstances that shape the experience of this group. We argue that the distinctive labour market integration processes affecting Filipino immigrants requires attention by policy makers, and by implication we also suggest the importance of considering the distinctive labour market experiences of other specific groups. The generic immigrant experience that so often forms the basis of quantitative or institutional assessments of labour market integration should not be assumed to be universally applicable.

2. Immigrant Labour Market Integration

Despite the high skills and qualifications of the approximately 250,000 immigrants who arrive in Canada annually, many face difficulties in accessing employment in professions and skilled trades commensurate with their training and experience. In 2007, the national unemployment rate among very recent (landed for less than five years) immigrants aged 25 to 54, was 11 percent. For those born in Canada, it was 4.6 percent. For those in the same age group with university degrees, the unemployment rate for very recent immigrants was 10.7 percent, but only 2.4 percent for degree-holders born in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008a).

Overall, immigrants are now taking longer to integrate into the labour force and they do not achieve incomes as high as their Canada-born counterparts. Recent immigrants, in particular, are facing lower labour force participation rates, higher unemployment, a mis-match between their human capital and their occupation, and lower overall earnings than in the past (Bauder, 2003; Heisz & McLeod, 2004; Picot & Hou, 2003; Wald and Fang, 2008).

Barriers to the rapid and appropriate integration of recent immigrants into the labour market are well documented. They include immigrants' unfamiliarity with Canadian workplace and labour market practices (Bauder, 2005); employers' difficulties in assessing international credentials, work experience and occupation-specific language skills (Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Galabuzzi, 2005; Buzdugan and Halli, 2009); regulatory barriers to licensing in the professions and trades (Girard and Bauder, 2007); racial discrimination and other systemic barriers in the Canadian labour market (Frennette & Morissette, 2005; Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2005); and, the general increase in competitiveness in the labour market as the average education and skill level of Canadian-born workers has increased, along with employer expectations (Reitz, 2001a and b).

The economic and social impacts of these barriers are immense. A mismatch between skills and work or inadequate recognition of credentials can result in the unemployment and underemployment of immigrants, leading to a sense of frustration and alienation on their part, and often to other social and family problems. For the Canadian economy as a whole, estimates have placed the cost of underutilizing immigrants' skills at $2 to $5 billion annually (Reitz, 2005;

Alboim and MacIsaac, 2007). There is also evidence of increasing return and onward migration among highly skilled immigrants who find that they cannot work in their professional field in Canada (Aydemir & Robinson, 2006).

Existing studies, however, have approached the issue of skills-employment mismatch by seeking statistical patterns and universalized institutional or structural explanations that apply to all immigrant populations in Canada. While they have differentiated immigrants by arrival cohort, gender, human capital, and other attributes, the literature still tends to treat its subjects as generic immigrants, rather than distinct groups with specific ethno-racial identities and places of origin. A closer look at differentiated sub-groups within the immigrant population reveals distinctive patterns, even among those visible minority groups that have primarily migrated since immigration reforms in the late 1960s. These distinctions run along several axes:

1) The timing, volume and settlement destinations of immigration from different source countries vary. For example, Vietnamese immigrants arrived in significant numbers in 1979−81 and continued in a steady stream since then; while Filipino immigration started in the late 1960s (building on earlier smaller flows in specific programs, e.g. nurses), and increased substantially after the late 1980s. The Philippines now constitutes the third most significant country of origin for immigrants to Canada.

2) The total size and cohesion of immigrant communities from particular source countries determine, to some extent, their ability to assert themselves politically in the Canadian context, such as making specific policy demands in relation to labour market institutions or immigration programs (see Kelly, 2007). Group identity, based on place of origin, is usually the basis for political demands. Being a member of a particular immigration cohort, or being a woman, for example, may have a significant bearing upon labour market outcomes, but it is more common to find that being Filipino, or Chinese, or Indian, is the basis for any kind of mobilization.

3) The economic assets and class origins of immigrants differ depending on their place of origin. All immigrants must demonstrate access to a certain level of financial capital when applying, and in combination with the administrative costs of applying, this requirement places a filter on the class backgrounds of applicants (who are primarily middle class). Differences in middle-class incomes, property values, and exchange rates mean that individuals from different source countries arrive with quite different levels of capital. Tales of millionaire migrants from Hong Kong (Ley, 2003) stand in stark contrast to the indebtedness incurred by many Filipino migrants to finance their immigration.

4) The immigration programs used by individuals and families vary across source countries. Among Korean immigrants, business immigration programs dominate (accounting for 34.5 percent of all immigrants born in Korea and landing between 1980 and 2005). For Filipinos, however, the majority arrive under family reunification and skilled worker programs, and 20 percent enter under the live-in caregiver program.

5) Different immigrant groups are racialized in Canadian society in different ways. Whatever their educational, professional or class backgrounds in their home countries, British, Jamaican, or Filipino immigrants (for example) find themselves represented in quite distinctive ways in Canada, which affects expectations and stereotypes in the labour market. The 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey revealed that 35.8 percent of Filipinos surveyed felt that they had experienced some level of discrimination in Canadian society, while the figure for Black Canadians was 49.6 percent. For British Canadians, the figure was just 10.7 percent (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007).

6) The quality of human capital that immigrants from different sources bring with them varies widely. Language skills in English or French varies between groups, as does the medium of instruction and educational standards in source countries. Among immigrants from the Philippines between 1980 and 2005, 77 percent were deemed proficient in English upon landing in Canada. For immigrants from Korea the percentage was only 31 percent.

These aspects of differentiation are masked when explanations for mismatches between skills and employment are framed as an "immigrant" issue. There are, however, two very important caveats. First, the differences described above are only broad patterns and *individual* immigrants from any source country might go against the "type" that such generalizations imply – individual circumstances, motivations, and abilities differ. Second, even at an *aggregate* level, any immigrant group is internally diverse with finely grained differentiations in immigrant settlement experiences depending upon age on arrival, length of residency, place of settlement, gender, class, religion, ethnicity, and education levels.

Notwithstanding these caveats, the broadly different profile of various immigrant groups does call for an assessment of particular experiences of settlement. In the case of the Filipino community in Canada, several studies have outlined the particular Filipino experience. Significant attention has been paid to the live-in caregiver program and the conditions of work and citizenship that it imposes (Bakan and Stasiulis, 1997; McKay, 2002; Pratt, 2004; Spitzer and Torres, 2008). Other researchers have offered accounts of the history of settlement (Laquian, 1973; Cusipag and Buenafe, 1993; Chen 1998; Laquian and Laquian, 2008). Relatively few studies have examined the issue of labour market integration among Filipinos (although see Kelly, 2006, for a quantitative assessment of integration, as well as Kelly and D'Addario, 2008).

In this paper we combine quantitative and qualitative evidence. Except in some numerical measures, we do not make the case for Filipino distinctiveness by establishing that Filipinos are any more likely than other groups to experience any of the processes we identify. Such an approach would require comparative research that was not a part of this project. What we argue instead is that the particular assemblage of processes we describe together constitutes a specifically Filipino experience.

In the next section, we explain the methods used in this study. We then paint a broad quantitative picture of labour market assets and outcomes among Filipino immigrants in Canada. We take this as our starting point for identifying distinctive aspects of the Filipino immigrant experience. Subsequent sections examine some features of Filipino immigration and settlement that lead to deprofessionalization: the consequences of origins in, and continuing ties with, the Philippines; the Canadian immigration programs used by Filipino immigrants; the ways in which Filipino immigrants experience regulatory barriers in the labour market; and the ways in which Filipinos are racialized in Canadian society. The final two sections examine the responses to deprofessionalization among Filipino immigrants and policy issues arising from this study.

3. Study Methods

The research reported here is the product of collaboration between university-based researchers and Filipino community-based researchers and organizers in Toronto. At York University, Philip Kelly was lead researcher, but the conceptualization, planning and execution of the research was done in collaboration with the Community Alliance for Social Justice (CASJ), specifically the CASJ

Research Team, led by policy and community-based researcher Mila Astorga-Garcia. CASJ is an advocacy organization engaged in research, education, community mobilization, and social development, which has lobbied various levels of government for action on issues such as regulations concerning the live-in care-giver program, fair access to trades and professions, and policing practices in relation to immigrant youth (see Garcia, 2007). The research project has thus included an action component insofar as its findings have been integrated into CASJ's advocacy activities.

In the first stage of data collection, in 2005−06, we undertook a survey of Philippine-educated immigrants in Toronto, eliciting information on their immigration history, their educational and professional training, their experiences in the Canadian labour market, and their reflections on the barriers that prevent them from achieving their full potential. The survey was distributed with the assistance of the Community Alliance for Social Justice, whose board members helped in circulating the survey questionnaires and ensuring that they were completed. For the most part, respondents completed the survey themselves, and for that reason, the forms were kept short and straightforward. The survey is provided in Appendix 1. Of the 1,100 surveys distributed, 421 were returned – a strong return rate that reflected both the way in which they were circulated and, we believe, the resonance of the issues with members of the Filipino community. Distributing the survey through CASJ meant that we were able to reach a diverse population of Philippine-educated immigrants and visa-holders in Toronto.

The profile of respondents to the survey was a reasonably good match for the profile of Filipinos in Toronto as a whole, as revealed in Census data. Four areas in which representativeness is important are time of arrival, education, gender, and immigration category:

a) 2006 Census data shows that 64.5 percent of Filipino immigrants in Canada had arrived since 1991. In our survey, 61 percent arrived in the same period. A similarly representative sampling of recent immigrants was included in the survey: 25.7 percent of Filipino immigrants in the 2006 census had landed in or after 2001, while in our survey, 22.1 percent had done so.

b) In the survey, 78 percent of our respondents are college graduates, and almost 90 percent have some college education. This compares with just 41.3 percent for Filipino immigrants in Toronto CMA aged 25 years and over in the 2006 census. Clearly there is a discrepancy here between our sample and the population as a whole.

c) Our data approximately reflect the gender composition of the Filipino population as a whole in Canada. The 2006 census recorded that 59 percent of immigrant Filipinos were women; in our survey, 65 percent of responses came from women. The survey is thus representative of the gender imbalance in Filipino immigration.

d) One area in which our data do not reflect the overall pattern is in relation to the immigration categories under which Filipinos have arrived in Canada (see Table 1). Data from the Landed Immigrant Data System (LIDS) of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) show that 20.27 percent of all Philippine-born immigrants arriving between 1980 and 2005 entered as principal applicants or dependents in the caregiver or domestic worker categories. In our survey, this figure was 34 percent; the numbers of sponsored family members was correspondingly smaller. However, our survey also included those still employed under the Live-In Caregiver program, whereas CIC data includes only those who have immigrated and therefore completed the program's requirements. In that sense, our survey provides a more complete picture of the

Filipino population in Toronto by including not-yet-immigrant caregivers. It is therefore appropriate that it should include a higher representation of caregivers.

Table 1
Comparison of Immigration Category Profile for CASJ survey and all Filipino immigrants, 1980−2005

	Sponsored Family Members	Entrepreneurs, Self-Employed and Investors	Skilled Workers and their Dependents	Domestics, Caregivers, and their dependents	Others
PERCENT of all Filipino immigrants 1980−2005	41.26	1.78	34.27	20.27	2.42
PERCENT of CASJ Survey	31	2	32	34	1.3

Sources: Permanent Resident Data System, CIC; and CASJ Survey

While quantitative survey data can illuminate patterns in labour market experiences, they have limited usefulness in identifying the processes that give rise to such patterns. Individual experiences of the labour market are needed to understand how such patterns come about. To probe these experiences, we used focus groups.

Focus groups have advantages and disadvantages in generating qualitative data on immigrant experiences. One advantage, and the reason they were adopted here, is that they provide a group check upon the individual experiences being articulated. In this way, some generalizations about collective experience are possible that have greater reliability than would be the case if they were derived from the same number of individual interviews – simply because participants can validate or cast doubt upon the generality of the experiences relayed by others. This is a useful process when a relatively small number of respondents are consulted. There are, however, also disadvantages. First, recruitment is logistically difficult, since getting 8 to 10 participants to a single central location at the same time can often be very challenging. Second, the presence of a group inevitably shapes the opinions and experiences recounted. Third, time does not permit individual narratives to be pursued in as much detail as in a personal interview.

The first of these problems yielded instructive insights into the circumstances of our respondents. Many were juggling shift work, child care, and other family responsibilities, and sometimes two or more jobs. Many depended on transit rather than a personal vehicle. As a result, it proved difficult to elicit participation in the focus groups. In the case of health care workers, a combination of focus groups and interviews was used instead. For the other sectors, focus groups were often conducted with fewer participants in attendance than were expected.

The first set of focus groups was conducted in 2006 and 2007 with groups of Filipino professionals: engineers, accountants, physiotherapists, and nurses. These focus groups were designed to address the barriers faced by foreign-trained professionals seeking access to specific licensed professions. Some participants were working in the professional occupations for which they were qualified, others in relevant sectors but not in jobs that recognized their professional competencies, and still others in entirely unrelated sectors. These four focus groups involved the participation of approximately 30 individuals.

The second set of focus groups were conducted in 2007 and 2008, and involved individuals working in occupations for which professional licensing is not a condition for upward mobility in the

workplace. We were seeking information on workplace and labour market processes that limit access to good jobs beyond regulatory barriers to professional licensing. Focus group participants worked in from hotels, retail, manufacturing, clerical jobs, and ancillary jobs in the health care system. These focus groups involved the participation of approximately 35 individuals.

Before turning to the primary data generated through the survey and focus groups, we will provide an overview of Filipino settlement and labour market outcomes in Canada.

4. Context: Filipino Settlement in Canada

In recent years, the number of Filipino immigrant landings in Canada has grown dramatically. Between the late 1990s and 2007, Filipino landings doubled from 9,205 in 1999, to 19,064 in 2007. Arrivals from the Philippines in 2007 constituted 8.1 percent of Canada's immigration flow.

Economic and political circumstances in the Philippines in recent decades have made migration for temporary overseas labour contracts and permanent emigration an appealing option. After decades of Spanish and American colonialism (which ended formally in 1946, but left traces that persist into the present), the Philippines has a legacy of landlessness and poverty in the countryside, dependence on the export of raw material commodities and the absence of a manufacturing base, extensive foreign ownership of productive assets, and an economic structure of deep inequality (De Dios and Hutchcroft, 2003). These inequalities are reflected in a political system dominated by a relatively narrow stratum of land-owning families, and more recently, corporate elites. Successive governments, while ostensibly democratically elected (with the notable exception of Ferdinand Marcos's dictatorial rule in the 1970s and 1980s), have been marked by corruption, electoral fraud, and the curtailment of human rights and civil liberties. Such circumstances have fostered the emigration of many Filipinos. A less material, but equally important, legacy of colonial history has been a "colonial mentality" in which the West is seen as the greener pasture, or the "promised land" (Asis, 2006).

Alongside these economic, political and cultural push factors, the Philippine government has, since the early 1970s, actively encouraged the export of human labour through a variety of institutional structures (Tyner, 2004). In the case of temporary overseas contract workers, these have included a formal process for marketing and deploying Filipinos around the world, which now processes more than one million contract worker postings each year. In the case of permanent emigrants, the Philippine government has pursued international agreements to facilitate employment placements, including MOUs with several Canadian provinces. In announcing an agreement with the Philippine government in 2008, the British Columbia government noted that "The Philippine government has adopted a deliberate policy of labour export for more than three decades, giving it a number of advantages as a partner country for an agreement like this" (BC Government, 1998). It is, therefore, important to remember that migrations from the Philippines are not solely the result of individual decisions, but are fostered by the state at both ends of the process.

The 2006 census of Canada recorded 303,195 immigrants born in the Philippines; also, 436,190 people recorded Filipino as all or part of their ethnic origin.

Table 2
Philippine-born Immigrant Population in Canada, 2006

Period of Immigration	2006 Population	% of 2006 Population
pre-1991	107,765	35.5
1991−95	65,485	21.6
1996−2000	52,060	17.2
2001−2006	77,880	25.7
Total	303,195	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2008b.

As Table 2 indicates, at the time of the May 2006 census, one-quarter of Filipino immigrants had arrived within the last five years. Almost two-thirds had arrived since the early 1990s. Thus although Filipino immigration began in the 1960s, the growing numbers arriving since the 1990s mean that the community as a whole is weighted towards recent immigrants.

A second distinctive feature of the migration stream from the Philippines has been the importance of special immigration categories for domestic workers (see Figure 1). In the 1990s, the Live-In Caregiver Program accounted for about one-quarter of all Filipinos who gained immigrant status in Canada. This program has had a major influence on the experiences of Filipinos in the Canadian labour market and on the gender composition of the Filipino community – overall, women comprised 59 percent of immigrants from the Philippines between 1980 and 2005.

Figure 1
Number of Filipino Immigrant Arrivals in Canada, By Major Categories, 1980−2005
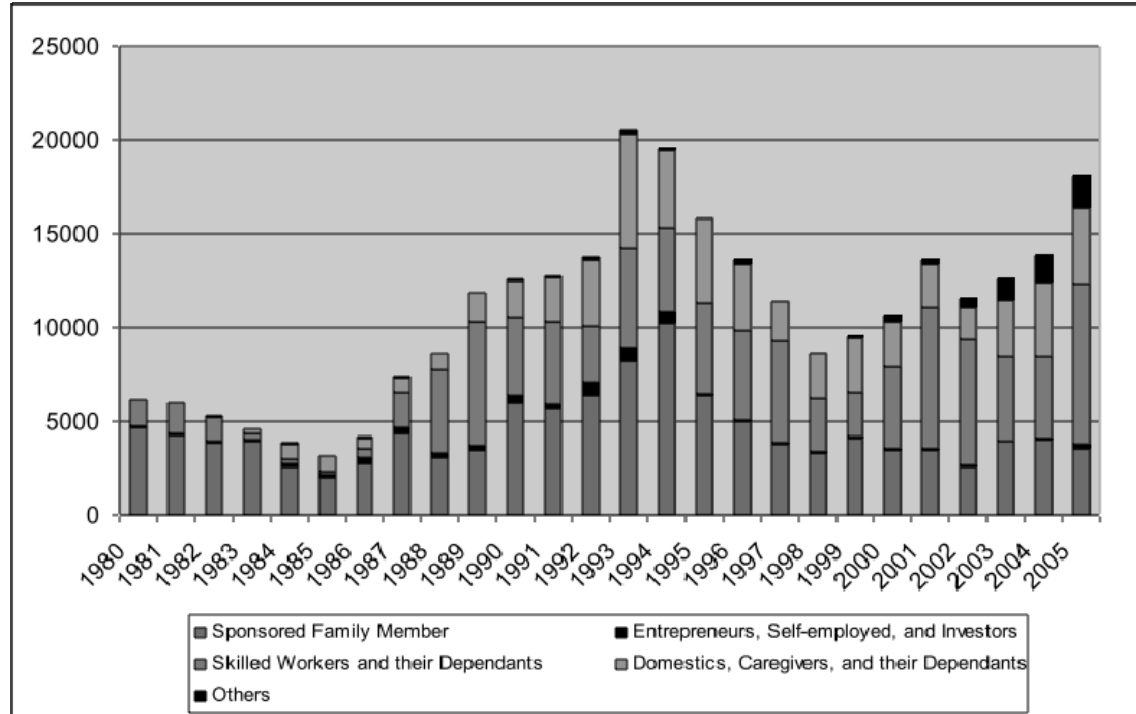
Source: Calculated from CIC Permanent Resident Data System. Note: the Live-in Caregiver category includes only those who have completed the program and formally immigrated. It does not include those present in Canada on the LCP visa.

Filipinos have tended to settle in Canada's urban centres, with Toronto by far the single largest destination. Of the 303,195 immigrants born in the Philippines in the 2006 census of Canada, 130,315 (43 percent) lived in the Toronto CMA. Many of the rest were in the Vancouver (21 percent), Winnipeg (8 percent) and Montreal CMAs (5 percent). Within Toronto, however, Filipinos are remarkably dispersed. Statistically, as a visible minority group, Filipinos exhibit very low levels of segregation, although they tend to live in lower-income neighbourhoods (see Bauder and Sharpe, 2003, Balakrishnan et al., 2005).

In 2006, 41.3 percent of all Filipino immigrants residing in Toronto aged 25 years and over had a university qualification at the bachelor's level or above, compared with 28.8 percent for all immigrant groups, and 31.9 percent for non-immigrant residents of the Toronto CMA in the same age group. This relatively high level of education among Filipino immigrants is all the more striking given the high numbers arriving as sponsored family members or live-in caregivers – immigration programs that are not driven primarily by human capital considerations.

The human capital embodied in many Filipino immigrants also extends to a strong command of English and a familiarity with North American culture and institutions. In the Philippines, government documents, much of the media, and some business environments use English as the lingua franca. Therefore, reasonably good English language skills would be expected of any high-school graduate. Almost all college graduates would have a strong command of the language. In the 2006 census, 42 percent of Filipino immigrants in Toronto reported that the language they spoke most often at home was English. This figure can be compared with 29 percent of immigrants born in India, and 10 percent of those born in China (Statistics Canada, 2008). While this is not necessarily an indication of a lack of English skills among those who do not speak the language at home, it does highlight the relatively high (and widespread) level of comfort with the language among Filipino immigrants.

5. Labour Market Outcomes for Filipinos in Toronto

A distinctive feature of Filipino integration is the concentration of immigrants in relatively few labour market niches. Health care, clerical work, and manufacturing, in particular, are prime destinations for working Filipinos, and Filipinos have been shown to have among the highest levels of segmentation compared with other groups (Kelly, 2006). Data from the 2006 census confirms this pattern. Table 3 shows the concentration of Canadian-born individuals, immigrants, and Philippine-born immigrants in broad occupational sectors.

Table 3
Occupational sectors of Canadian-born individuals, immigrants and Philippine-born immigrants (15 years and over), by gender in the Toronto CMA, 2006

	Male Non-Immigrant	Percent	Male Immigrant	Percent	Male Filipino Immigrant	Percent
A Management occupations	110,640	16	88,965	12	1,805	5
B Business, finance and administrative occupations	100,530	15	92,905	13	6,605	17
C Natural/applied sciences & related occupations	67,670	10	101,790	14	4,765	12
D Health occupations	13,350	2	15,840	2	1,590	4
E Occupations in social science, education, government, & religion	45,695	7	26,520	4	630	2

F Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	35,125	5	16,320	2	620	2
G Sales and service occupations	141,260	21	134,235	18	8,400	22
H Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	129,755	19	169,090	23	6,540	17
I Occupations unique to primary industry	14,695	2	5,555	1	155	0
J Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing & utilities	29,770	4	80,610	11	7,345	19
TOTAL MALE	**688,490**	**100**	**731,830**	**100**	**38,455**	**100**

	Female non-Immigrant	Percent	Female Immigrant	Percent	Female Filipino Immigrant	Percent
A Management occupations	69,490	11	48,135	7	2,485	5
B Business, finance and administrative occupations	203,285	31	189,340	29	15,715	30
C Natural/applied sciences & related occupations	20,330	3	32,095	5	1,885	4
D Health occupations	40,930	6	52,560	8	8,345	16
E Occupations in social science, education, government, & religion	98,265	15	56,450	9	2,095	4
F Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	37,325	6	17,805	3	735	1
G Sales and service occupations	151,845	23	172,085	26	16,350	31
H Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	10,100	2	14,295	2	740	1
I Occupations unique to primary industry	3,970	1	1,625	0	30	0
J Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing & utilities	11,740	2	70,430	11	4,010	8
TOTAL FEMALE	**647,280**	**100**	**654,820**	**100**	**52,390**	**100**

Source: Statistics Canada, 2008b.

The data are aggregated, and little can be said about distribution within these categories (for example, doctors, nurses, and support workers are all considered Health occupations). However, by comparing percentage distributions across rows, a few patterns are clear. First, both male and female Filipino immigrants are under-represented in management occupations, as well as education and government service sectors. Second, Filipino women are heavily over-represented in the health care sector (as are Filipino men, albeit in smaller absolute numbers). Third, Filipino men, in particular, are over-represented in manufacturing – a remarkable 19 percent of Filipino men were employed in this sector, compared with only 4 percent of the male non-immigrant population (a significant issue for the Filipino community, given the current crisis in manufacturing in Ontario).

Of more significance to us in this paper, however, is that within these sectors there is a tendency towards concentration in lower-status occupations. Despite their high levels of human capital, Filipinos as a group tend to occupy marginal socio-economic positions after arrival in Canada (Kelly, 2006). Many are successful in integrating with the mainstream waged labour force (participation rates for men and women are high, and self-employment is low), but wage levels are anomalously low. Census figures show Filipino men in particular earning significantly less than the

average for immigrants as a whole and for comparison groups born in India and China (see Table 4). Filipina women earn substantially less than immigrant women as a whole, or non-immigrants, but slightly more than Indian and Chinese-born women in full-time employment.

Examination by immigration period, however, shows some important patterns. Recent immigrants, male and female, from all sources, are earning significantly less than more established immigrants (in a pattern that has been widely noted). Also, immigrants arriving in the early 1990s have clearly been at a lasting disadvantage. For several of the groups in the table, this cohort earns less than the cohort that arrived in the late 1990s. This would appear to support the theory of a "scarring effect" in which unfavourable macroeconomic circumstances (in this case the deep recession of the early 1990s) at the time of arrival lead to lasting disadvantage in the labour market.

Table 4:
Average Employment Income for those with full year, full-time employment, by Gender, Period of Immigration, and selected Places of Birth, Toronto CMA, 2005.

	Average Employment Income (C$) for population aged 15 years and over with full-time, full-year employment income	Immigrated Before 1991	Immigrated 1991 to 1995	Immigrated 1996 to 2000	Immigrated 2001 to 2006
Female - born in PR of China	36,524	41,748	36,118	37,105	29,753
Female - born in India	36,704	43,797	34,882	34,251	28,058
Female - born in Philippines	39,315	45,595	35,547	36,689	30,504
ALL Female immigrants	42,630	47,726	37,182	36,929	31,378
ALL- Female non-immigrants	55,302				
Total Female Population	48,881				
Male - born in PR of China	47,222	54,127	46,794	48,143	37,869
Male - born in India	49,194	59,613	46,483	46,397	39,271
Male - born in Philippines	45,632	53,197	40,967	43,287	35,968
ALL Male immigrants	58,318	67,937	47,738	48,246	40,629
ALL- Male non-immigrants	81,606				
Total Male Population	69,912				

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada 2008b.

In the context of real lives and immigration experiences, these data translate into a process of deprofessionalization and subordination in the workforce for Filipinos. Even where they are employed in the sectors or industries for which they are trained, Filipinos are frequently found in lower-paid, lower-status and less professionally recognized jobs. Some examples from our survey respondents are provided in Table 5 below.

Table 5:
Examples of Degraded Professional Status among Filipinos in Toronto

Occupation in the Philippines	Occupation in Canada
Mechanical Engineer	Machine Operator
Midwife	Health Care Aid
Registered Physiotherapist	Physiotherapy Assistant
Registered Nurse	Nursing Assistant
Accountant	Billing Clerk
Dentist	Dental Office Administrator
Quality Engineer Training Supervisor	Quality Assurance Technician
University Professor and Dean	Supply Teacher
Financial Analyst/Credit Analyst	Administrative Assistant

Source: CASJ Survey, 2005

Our survey requested information on employment before leaving the Philippines and current employment in Canada. We used this information to assess the incidence of downward mobility in the immigration process. This approach has some advantages over other means of assessing deskilling. Unlike a comparison of employment and education, for example, it does not assume that employment mismatch is a product of immigration, as individuals may have been under-employed in the Philippines before leaving (indeed, in a context of nepotistic and patronage-based hiring and promotion practices, this fact may have been the reason for emigration). In such cases, the processes of deskilling started before immigration rather than afterwards.

Comparing occupations in the Philippines and in Canada also implicitly incorporates the professional experience of Filipino immigrants – that is, it acknowledges that not only were they qualified to carry out a particular job, but they had also practised in that field. In this way, the comparison also removes from consideration those who were entering the labour market for the first time in Canada, having just completed their education in the Philippines, but before having gained any professional experience.

There are also disadvantages to the technique we have used to assess downward mobility. First, it relies on the conversion of job titles provided in the survey responses into comparable occupational categories, and a subjective assessment of whether one represents a downward movement from the other. In many cases, the comparison was clear, as Table 5 indicates. In others, a judgment call was needed. Sometimes this is an ideologically loaded judgment. There is no doubt, for example that childcare is an occupation with a high level of responsibility that draws upon a range of skills. How, then, should it be compared with professional (albeit very poorly paid) practice as a midwife in the Philippines? In such cases, we viewed the move as downward mobility because of the educational expectations and professionalization associated with each occupation. In other cases, we categorized the occupational movement as "different/flexible," meaning that although it was not commensurate with previous experience, it did not necessarily represent a downward movement.

Another disadvantage of our technique is that comparisons can be generated only where individuals worked in both locations. This means that our comparison does not capture those who are currently unemployed in Canada (this situation applied to 27 of our 420 respondents), nor those who did not work in the Philippines. In the tables that follow, therefore, we display patterns only among those

for whom a direct comparison of occupations is possible. These are categorized into those who are "perfectly matched" (their current work is commensurate with their past work experience), the "downwardly mobile" and the "different/flexible." In all cases, only immigrants are included – live-in caregivers who are stilled enrolled in the program are not, since their position in the labour market is pre-defined by their visa (this question will be discussed later in this paper).

Table 6 provides labour market outcome data broken down by gender. Overall, 53.9 percent of respondents had experienced downward mobility, although it is notable that the incidence of downward mobility was substantially higher among men than among women. This important finding highlights the fact that the process of occupational downward mobility is not solely driven by the significant numbers of Filipina women entering through the live-in caregiver program. Clearly it is also a process that affects Filipino men (as suggested by the occupational and income data from the 2006 census).

Table 6:
Occupational mobility between the Philippines and Canada for survey respondents, by gender

	Perfectly Matched	**Different / Flexible**	**Downward**	**Total**
Male count	21	16	67	104
%	**20.2**	**15.4**	**64.4**	**100.0**
Female count	37	24	50	111
%	**33.3**	**21.6**	**45.0**	**100.0**
Total count	59	41	117	217
%	**27.2**	**18.9**	**53.9**	**100.0**

Source: CASJ Survey, 2005

Nevertheless, it is clear that entry through the caregiver program leads to a common experience of downward mobility. As Table 7 indicates, 66 percent of the caregivers surveyed had experienced downward mobility, and only 11 percent had found work commensurate with their employment prior to leaving the Philippines.

A further striking feature of Table 7 is that the incidence of downward mobility was actually *higher* for those entering through the skilled worker program (three-quarters of whom were the principal applicant) than the family reunification category. The more stringent selection criteria relating to human capital endowments associated with the skilled worker category would appear not to result in better labour market outcomes. This may reflect the fact that an overwhelming majority of our respondents were highly educated, regardless of the immigration category they used. Clearly, the discounting of this human capital is common across all immigrant categories.

Table 7:
Occupational mobility between the Philippines and Canada for survey respondents, by immigration category

Immigration Category		Perfectly Matched	Different/Flexible	Downward	Total
LCP / Domestic	Count	5	10	29	44
	%	**11.0**	**23.0**	**66.0**	**100.0**
Family / Reunification	Count	21	18	29	68
	%	**30.9**	**26.5**	**42.6**	**100.0**
Independent Skilled Worker	Count	28	11	58	97
	%	**28.9**	**11.3**	**59.8**	**100.0**

Source: CASJ Survey, 2005

The most dramatic indicator of downward mobility in our survey was the period of immigration of the respondent (see Table 8). An immigrant who had arrived in the last 10 years was approximately three times as likely to have experienced downward mobility as an immigrant who arrived before 1991. In part, this finding reflects the longer period that older immigrants have had to break into the professional labour market (possibly after obtaining further training) and find jobs commensurate with their previous experience. But it also reflects the more difficult transition that immigrants in general have faced over the last decade (Buzdugan and Halli, 2009).

Table 8:
Occupational mobility between the Philippines and Canada for survey respondents, by period of immigration

		Perfectly Matched	Different / Flexible	Downward
Immigrated Before 1991	Count	26	23	17
	%	**39.4**	**34.8**	**25.8**
Immigrated 1991 to 1995	Count	16	11	26
	%	**30.2**	**20.8**	**49.1**
Immigrated 1996 to 2000	Count	4	4	20
	%	**14.3**	**14.3**	**71.4**
Immigrated 2001 to 2006	Count	13	3	54
	%	**18.6**	**4.3**	**77.1**

Caregivers currently still serving in the program (and therefore not free to explore opportunities in the open labour market nor to engage in training or education) are excluded from the counts in these tables. Nevertheless, for every caregiver for whom a comparison could be drawn, their current work represented a process of downward mobility. It is also notable that 51 out of these 60 caregivers had college degrees.

These data present the problem as a statistical phenomenon, but innumerable human stories lie behind such patterns – stories of financial hardship, failed job searches, unsuccessful interviews, workplace discrimination, frustrations with professional regulatory systems, and psychological suffering. One of our focus group participants, a political science graduate from a Philippine university now working as a sales representative, summed up such experiences:

> *There are a lot of hardships and adjustments just to cope up with the workplace. That's the main thing here, especially when you moved from the Philippines working as a manager or as self-employed, where you are the boss of your own work. Then you come here and you start cleaning up those washrooms with all kind of filthy things. It starts from that − psychological, and then everything. And then you realize that back home, you were an engineer, a teacher. It's very hard. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with manufacturing workers, 2007)*

In the rest of this paper, we explore the ways in which settlement and labour market processes have created the circumstances of downward occupational mobility in which so many Filipino immigrants find themselves.

6. Being from the Philippines: Financial Obligations and the "Survival Job"

Immigrants are not simply new arrivals to Canada, they are also arriving from *somewhere*. The features of the place of origin matter not only in terms of how racialized identities are ascribed (as we will discuss later), but also in terms of the types of individuals and families that migrate and the assets (both human capital and financial capital) that they bring with them.

There is no avoiding the fact that the Philippines is a poor country – a low-cost peripheral nation in most global production systems and a site of social reproduction for a low-waged global underclass. The fact that about 10 percent of the country's GNP is derived from remittances from overseas speaks clearly to the lack of dynamism and opportunities in the domestic economy. The country's poverty translates into the low purchasing power of much of its population.

It is also a highly unequal society, with a relatively small and very wealthy elite and a large impoverished class that includes labourers, petty entrepreneurs, agricultural and service sector workers, and low-level government employees. In the mid-1990s, economic development accelerated somewhat and an urban middle class became more evident, but the disparities of wealth still exist.

Table 9 shows measures of national wealth, poverty, and income inequality for selected countries. Comparing the Philippines with its Southeast Asian neighbours, its wealth per capita was slightly above those of Indonesia and Vietnam, but considerably lower than Thailand or Malaysia.

Compared with other major Canadian immigrant source countries, the Philippines' per capita GDP was below China's but above India's.

When we look at income distribution, however, the Philippines has one of the highest levels of inequality globally. Only Jamaica, Mexico, and the United States have lower proportions of national wealth held by the poorest 20 percent of the population, and after Malaysia, the Philippines has the highest Gini coefficient of the major Southeast Asian economies. These indicators all point to the fact that immigrants from the Philippines arrive from a society with low levels of per-capita income, and considerable inequality in the distribution of that income.

Table 9: Income inequality measure for selected countries

	Poverty headcount ratio at $1.25 a day (PPP) (% of population)		Income share held by lowest 20%		Gini Coefficient[1]	GDP per capita (PPP US$) in 2005
	Year	**%**	**Year**	**%**		
Canada	..	..	2000	7.2	32.6	33,375
China	2005	15.9	2005	5.7	46.9	6,757[2]
India	2005	41.6	2005	8.1	36.8	3,452[3]
Indonesia	..	..	2005	7.1	34.3	3,843
Jamaica	2004	2	2004	5.2	45.5	4,291
Malaysia	2004	2	2004	6.4	49.2	10,882
Mexico	2006	2	2006	4.6	46.1	..
Pakistan	2005	22.6	2005	9.1	30.6	2,370
Philippines	**2006**	**22.6**	**2006**	**5.6**	**44.5**	**5,137**
Sri Lanka	2002	14	2002	6.8	40.2	4,595
Thailand	2004	2	2004	6.1	42	8,677
United States	..	..	2000	5.4	40.8	41,890[4]
Vietnam	2006	21.5	2006	7.1	34.4	3,071

Source: World Bank (2007) World Development Indicators 2007. Washington, D.C.

[1]   A Gini Coefficient value of 0 represents absolute equality, and a value of 100 absolute inequality.
[2] World Bank estimate based on a bilateral comparison between China and the United States (Ruoen, Ren, and Chen Kai. 1995. China's GDP in U.S. Dollars Based on Purchasing Power Parity. Policy Research Working Paper 1415. World Bank, Washington, D.C).
[3] World Bank estimate based on regression.
[4] For purposes of calculating the HDI, a value of 40,000 (PPP US$) was applied.

Table 10 provides a more direct sense of the financial circumstances of immigrants before they leave the Philippines. Using data from the Philippines' Family Income and Expenditure survey, it shows the distribution of families in various income ranges (including all sources of income).

Table 10: Annual Family Income (from all sources) in the Philippines, 2003

Family Income (Pesos)	Approx. Equivalent in Canadian $ (2003 exchange rates)	% of families
Under P10,000	under C$249	0.18
10,000−19,999	C$250−499	1.66

20,000−29,999	C$500−749	4.16
30,000−39,999	C$750−999	6.87
40,000−49,999	C$1,000−1,249	7.8
50,000−59,999	C$1,250−1,499	7.63
60,000−79,999	C$1,500−1,999	13.38
80,000−99,999	C$2,000−2,499	10.51
100,000−149,999	C$2,500−3,749	17.23
150,000−249,999	C$3,750−6,249	16.41
250,000−499,999	C$6,250−12,499	10.86
500000 and over	C$12,500−	3.31

Source: National Statistics Office, Republic of the Philippines (2008)

More specific figures on particular occupations are available on websites that compare global salaries. They reveal that annual salaries for professional nurses in the Philippines amount to just over PhP100,000, while the mean salary of a chartered accountant is around PhP250,000.[1] What is notable about these data and the figures in Table 10 is that, with the exception of a small percentage of families with incomes in excess of C$12,500, for the vast majority of Filipino families, even a year's salary saved and brought to Canada would quickly disappear in expensive cities like Toronto and Vancouver. They also suggest how large a financial commitment families make when they bear the costs of migration.

Understanding the class origins of Filipino immigrants, the class structure of Philippine society, and the place of the Philippines in the global economic order is important in several respects. First, it contextualizes some of the characteristics of immigrants themselves, as members of an educated and professionally qualified middle class, but one with relatively modest personal resources and assets. Second, any assets that immigrants bring with them (for example, from the sale of a house or land), represent relatively little spending power in Canada. This situation contrasts with the savings and other assets that a similarly qualified middle-class professional might be expected to bring from, for example, the United Kingdom or Hong Kong.

Assets and relative wealth matter, because immigration is an expensive process. At the very least, immigration to Canada requires about C$1,500 for immigration and landing fees, perhaps the same amount again for an air ticket, and other expenses such as medical examinations, getting documents notarized, obtaining passports, and so on. For many, the costs are further inflated by payments to immigration consultants and recruiters; 25 percent of our survey respondents (n=96) reported having used an immigration consultant or recruiter when they immigrated (two-thirds of that number had entered under the caregiver program). Costs vary, but one focus group participant estimated that consultants generally charged about C$6,000 for a complete package of services.

Filipino immigrants finance their immigration in various ways. Some sell or mortgage assets such as homes, businesses, or land. Others borrow from extended family networks in the Philippines, or from relatives working elsewhere overseas. Many immigrants have themselves worked overseas (for example, in Singapore, Hong Kong, or the Middle East) before arriving in Canada. In our survey, almost one-third (130) of our survey respondents had worked in other countries before arriving in Canada.

For the most part, then, immigrants have access to financial resources to fund their applications, but these seldom provide sufficient capital to invest in property or to tide them over a period of job

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[1] See, for example, www.worldsalaries.org/philippines.shtml, www.payscale.com/research/PH/

hunting, retraining, or educational upgrading. Upon arrival, they must pay for initial living expenses for food, accommodation, and transport. Even a family that has property to sell in the Philippines would be in a weak position to invest in Canada's expensive housing markets or to survive while a breadwinner undergoes retraining or credential evaluation. This situation represents an important difference between an immigrant arriving from a country such as the Philippines, and one arriving from a country such as Singapore, Japan, the United Kingdom, or the United States, where property prices and the exchange rate allow for a soft landing in Canada.

The data in Table 11 provide some striking indications of the savings that different groups of immigrants bring to Canada, and how these differences might be correlated with labour market outcomes. The data are derived from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, which surveyed new immigrants who landed in 2000−2001 and then tracked their experiences after six months, two years, and four years of settlement.

Table 11: Levels of savings on arrival in Canada, and subsequent labour market outcomes for immigrants from major source countries, by gender (for arrivals in 2000−2001)

Top countries of origin	Total N (weighted)	Average savings on landing (in $2005)		Average months to 1st job		% in job related to field of study/ training, 4 years after landing		% Employed (of labour force), 4 years after landing		Average hourly wage (in $2005), 4 years after landing	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
India	20, 980	$20,300	$28,700	2.2	4.7	51.9	29.2	90.6	82.4	18.2	12.4
China	25, 040	$31,800	$43,000	5.7	8.2	62.5	53.7	83.0	79.2	18.3	14.2
Philippines	11, 040	$17,900	$18,400	2.3	4.3	43.3	56.3	93.3	91.4	15.5	15.2
Pakistan	6, 170	$22,000	$28,800	2.3	5.2	47.8	32.1	89.1	77.3	17.5	13.1
Iran	3, 620	$44,400	$48,000	9.6	16.6	49.9	45.8	79.4	75.6	21.0	14.4
Sri Lanka	3, 040	$18,400	$21,600	3.5	12.8	50.7	35.5	-	71.4	17.9	11.4

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada

The data show that among the largest groups of immigrants (by country of origin) Filipinos arrive (on average) with the smallest amounts of savings. Not surprisingly, they are then among the quickest to find work, suggesting that having limited financial resources necessitates a rapid entry into the labour market. Furthermore, the data shows that Filipino men in particular experience a high degree of mismatch between skills and employment outcomes – only 43.3 percent find work related to their past training. (Note, however, that these data show a better outcome for Filipina women.)

A similar pattern emerges in relation to hourly wages. Filipino men earn significantly less than their counterparts from other countries, but Filipina women earn slightly more (although still less than their male counterparts). More could be read into these data, but for our purposes, the implication is that lower savings may lead to more rapid labour market entry, often in fields that do not match previous training and at lower wage levels (especially for men).

In some cases, the money that immigrants bring with them is a loan that must be repaid. The repayment of these debts incurred in the immigration process and the shortage of funds to support retraining or extended job hunting has important consequences for labour market integration, to which we will return shortly. Such financial imperatives are, however, exacerbated by the family circumstance of many Filipino immigrants.

Among Filipino immigrants, almost two-thirds arrive under the family reunification and caregiver categories, implying that the majority have experienced some form of separation from their immediate nuclear family – a period of separation that might include several years in a third country before arriving in Canada. In most cases, such individuals are trying to support family members back home, while saving to fund their immigration applications and travel expenses, so that the family can be reunited in Canada. The pressure to support family members in the Philippines creates a further strain on the personal finances of new immigrants. A participant in a focus group with Philippine-trained physiotherapists made this point clearly:

> *Maybe 8 out of 10 [Filipino immigrants] are still suffering here while working… Let's say you earn $1,600 to $2000. You send your money of $700 Canadian [to the Philippines], and you are paying $800 for your rent – still suffering. Because the Philippines' government is relying on us! Relying on our remittances. The average Filipino who sends money back home is like $500, $300 a month. Myself, I send $700 a month for my brother who is taking nursing. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with Philippine-educated physiotherapists, 2006)*

In short, whether it is to pay off their own immigration and initial settlement costs, support family members back in the Philippines, or finance the reunification of their family in Canada, Filipino immigrants face an immediate need for income and for ongoing and stable employment. The fact that family separation is particularly common among Filipino immigrants, in combination with the class origins of Filipino immigrants, makes this an acute issue for this group.

This finding has several consequences in the labour market. First, it means that immigrants must seek and accept survival jobs rather than waiting for an appropriate opening to come along. A participant in our focus group with Filipinos working in the manufacturing sector explained this process:

> *I can say something about that. I came to Canada only last year, in September. Still fresh. My work in the Philippines was quite different from my work now. In the Philippines I worked for five years in an insurance company, so it was the typical office in Makati [Manila's financial district]. When I came to Canada, after a month, I was hired in my current workplace, first as a general labourer. So all the factories, the machines, it was quite shocking for me. But because of the urge of finding a job, for immediate survival in Canada, because I have a wife, I immediately grabbed it. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with manufacturing workers, 2007)*

Another experience, described in a focus group with accountants and reproduced as a vignette below, has a happier ending, but it illustrates the same initial gravitation towards low-paid, precarious work.

Vignette 1

I came to Canada in 1992. My wife sponsored me. She came here in 1990. So two years afterwards, I finally got the visa and joined her. My experience here is quite humbling. I did not land into the

job that I wanted. At that time, I think there was a recession – it was hard to get a job and so in my mind, it was sort of a survival decision I had to take… I was just starting a family, so I said, I got to grab anything that I could. So I ate my pride and my first job was at Wendy's. Four hours [per week] job. And to complement that − because four hours was not enough and they were paying you what, $6.25 at the time − and I thought four-hour job is not enough to start a family, so at that time, I joined my in-laws who are also employed in a security job. So that kind of helped out with my stature financially.

And then, after two months, I got a break applying into the hotel industry. At the time, they were looking for a busboy and this friend of mine, who worked with me in Wendy's asked me if I could go with her and try our luck. I said OK. And she said it was to be a busboy. I didn't know anything about being a busboy and I don't even have any drivers' licence, can I qualify? 'Cause in my mind, busboy is like you got to drive people and she laughed at me and said why? So we went there – it was still [major hotel chain] at the time, Terminal 3. So luckily I was the one who was hired. ... For three months, I was a busboy and in fact I was given an award because I was so fast! Manual kind of thing. And afterwards, there was an opening at room service and that was where I would have gotten stuck for four years, but at that time, I was also trying to upgrade my skills…

Then one day, I was looking at the Filipino newspapers and here came AFCA – Association of Filipino-Canadian Accountants. And so I contacted the people in the newspaper and I came to talk to …. And that was how I became associated with the group. And while I was studying at night time, a friend of mine who was a comptroller at the company, needed someone in the accounts … and so I grabbed the opportunity because I really wanted to be back in my accounting job. And that's how it started. I worked with her for four years and afterwards, there was an opening at [major computer hardware firm] so I grabbed that. And luckily I was the one who got the job and presently, I am connected with a Dutch company… And I am currently holding a senior administration position.

PK: Were you re-certified as an accountant?

Yes. I got the certification in 2001, but I started the program in 1998. 'Cause you can only take one course. You can take three at a time, but I think you could kill yourself. So I am happy where I am at right now. It was quite a struggle. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with Filipino-trained accountants, 2006)

Even in this case, in which personal contacts provided some lucky breaks, it took nine years before the individual could be recognized as a professional accountant. In many instances, however, once a person finds himself or herself outside their professional field, it becomes very difficult to break back in. Another participant in the same focus group made this point:

> *But I guess my suggestion is… I always say this to people who are new here especially with accounting − is if you want to stay in accounting, focus on your field. Focus there and prove yourself. Because if you move out of your field and then you get stuck there, then it would be difficult for you to get back. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with Filipino-trained accountants, 2006)*

The second effect of financial obligations to family members and creditors is the intensification of participation in the labour market, with Filipino immigrants sometimes working two or three jobs, leaving no free time in which to find better work. A participant in our focus group with manufacturing workers emphasized the effects of debts and family back home:

They have to take three jobs. They have to pay debts they used [incurred] when they came here, they have relatives so they still send money back home. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with manufacturing workers, 2007)

It should be noted, however, that although this multiplication of labour market involvement was often commented upon, only 4 of our survey respondents actually reported having more than one job.

Third, financial distress means that the expense of studying or training to upgrade qualifications is often impossible to cover. In our survey, 24 percent of those who had experienced downward occupational mobility through immigration pointed to their "family financial situation" as a reason for not having been able to practice their profession. In a focus group with hotel workers, a nurse trained in the Philippines noted that retraining was often difficult because of both financial hardship and physical exhaustion:

You have to upgrade. Even if you are a registered nurse back home or pharmacist you cannot practise here without a license. You have to take the course. You go all over again. You have to spend a lot of money. When I took that nursing aide course – one course is ... very expensive. Books. Not easy. When you are just earning a few dollars an hour…those are the things that lock you into this kind of job. And sometimes, even though you have the money, after working, if you are doing hard physical work, you can't study anymore. (Female respondent, authors' focus group with Filipino hotel workers, 2007)

Vignette 2 highlights how a lack of funds can prevent immigrants from getting the required retraining, and emphasizes the yearning for, and connectedness with, immediately family members back in the Philippines.

Vignette 2

I finished my degree at home [in the Philippines] in 1993, bachelor's in nursing. Then after that, [it was] really hard to find a job as a nurse [in the Philippines], so I was doing voluntary job at one of the nearby hospitals for free. Just to get some experience. And some guys are coming in and tried to visit the doctors and nurses and pharmacists at the hospital. I got to meet with them and I ended up finding a job as a medical representative. Or I don't know how you call it here – it's like a…like the sales rep. Yeah. It's a legal drug dealer!

I worked there for six years. It's a prestigious job back home and what happened after six years, our company was downsizing and my supervisor and some of my colleagues just decided to apply to Canada. I had applied and was interested in coming here to Canada because my aunt has been living here for years – I had applied initially as a student and I just turned back and said "I am not going to Canada." After that, going back to the sales rep, my supervisor and colleagues just decided to apply and left our company.

So my supervisor came here first. He arrived about 1999, then myself some time later as an independent immigrant, just by myself and left my whole family. I was the youngest of the siblings and that was really a shock for me – first time away from my family, parents and siblings. [It was a] really hard, excruciating experience [to be] by myself, although I lived with my aunt and family. So that was the experience I have.

On the transition − the first two years after I arrived in Canada, it was 1999, February, and in the middle of the winter. Just very depressing for me – I couldn't go wherever by myself, so I tried to find a job, which was similar to what I did back home since I had years of experience as well. So I called some pharmaceutical companies here and tried to find out what I could do and if there is some opportunities out there and they said, "OK you have some experience from home but

you need to go to school. You need some certification to be a sales rep." I said, "OK, do you know which school I can go to and check that out, see if I can get myself enrolled?"

And I went to a pharmaceuticals school in Scarborough just by the town centre and I checked if there was some availability of courses or whatever, so that I can get myself into the job. They said, "OK this is how much its going to cost you and it's going to take you a year." I said, "OK, just tell me how much, see if I can avail that." I was here by myself and I was living with an aunt and all my money was gone because I didn't have a job for a few months and here I was trying to see if I could get some certification from the school. And they tell me I need $15K! I said "How?" (Female respondents, authors' focus group with Filipino health care workers, 2005)

Fourth, there is evidence that once in a workplace, the requirement for a steady and secure income may lead Filipino immigrants to hold back from seeking advancement into higher-paid positions with supervisory or managerial responsibilities. In some sectors these jobs require employees to leave the safety of a unionized job for one from which they can be fired at any time.

In focus groups, hotel cleaners described avoiding better-paid and less physically taxing jobs at the front desk because they were outside the union and had no job security.

> *Respondent 1: There was one at Hotel X …trained at the front desk …then they got rid of her.*
> *Respondent 2: She's talking about a co-worker who was a room attendant. She asked management that she be trained in the process [of front desk work]… This is outside of the union. Not unionized….*
> *Respondent 3: What gets me is that why isn't there a single room attendant who rose to the front desk. I haven't seen one at all.*
> *Respondent 2: There is, but he has been terminated. [Laughter] (Female respondents, authors' focus group with Filipino hotel workers, 2007)*

Precisely the same logic was described in a focus group with nurses:

> *Respondent 1: Yeah, for me too. I work as a bedside care nurse. Because that's my choice…. I never liked to be on management because I like to …*
> *Respondent 2: Why? Because they say Filipinos are always caring and loving? (Laughs)*
> *Respondent 1: No no, not like that! I've always wanted to be this. In management, you are not with the union! (Laughs) Less job security. In management, at St. Michael's, the managers are on contracts. (Female respondents, authors' focus group with Filipino health care workers, 2005)*

In some cases, focus group respondents commented that their financial vulnerability often led them to take on tasks at work that were beyond their job descriptions. This might be because of financial obligations to dependent family members back home in the Philippines, or it might be simply their own financial vulnerability living in Toronto, as the following two quotes illustrate:

> *The Filipinos have extended family. Example: I help my sister back home … Thinking about job security and family back home, you can't just … That's why we need secure job and we will do anything to keep our job. (Female respondent, authors' focus group with clerical workers, 2007)*

In some areas, you could say they [new immigrants] have some insecurity because they just arrived here. And they don't have any other family here. You have to provide everything yourself for your rent, food, clothes, everything. So you are insecure because you think that if you say "No" or if you question your employer, you are going to get fired. So where are you going to get the next pay cheque? We are just like, "If I can do more, maybe they can give me a good position." It's like an unwritten thought that if we work better, if we do more, then we could keep our job. But now, with me, it's like "Who cares?" Maybe because I have family. I have a fallback. (Female respondent, authors' focus group with clerical workers, 2007)

The combination of financial vulnerability, obligations to family back home, the need for a "survival job," the lack of time or money to undergo retraining or upgrading, and a desire to stay in secure unionized jobs rather than seek advancement might be common to many immigrant groups as they integrate into the Toronto labour market. Two features, however, accentuate these processes in the Filipino community. The first is the class profile of immigrants coming from the Philippines and the wider question of the place of the Philippines in the global economic order, both of which mean that immigrants usually arrive with few financial resources. The second is the widespread phenomenon of family separation which, in the case of the live-in caregiver program, is actually enforced through conditions imposed by Canadian immigration regulations. Such separation means that Filipino immigrants, more than most, are working in Toronto with extensive obligations to support immediate family members back home.

7. Immigration Programs

All immigrant groups use a distinctive combination of immigration programs for their entry to Canada. Among Filipino immigrants, the especially high usage of family reunification and live-in caregiver categories implies that many migrations follow extended periods of family separation, with implications for the labour market integration of those seeking to support distant families and for family members after they reunite.

Of particular note in the Filipino case is the high number of arrivals under the live-in caregiver program (LCP) and the specific rules and conditions that apply to this immigration category. In our survey, 133 respondents (125 females, 8 males) had entered Canada under the LCP. Of these, 73 had passed through the program requirements and acquired permanent resident status. Interestingly, the common stereotype of the nurse downgraded into a caregiver does not hold true among our survey respondents. In fact, immigrants under the LCP come from a wide range of professional backgrounds; of the 133, only 30 had health care−related qualifications (of those, 9 were qualified nurses, 8 were midwives, and 7 were physical therapists).

What is apparent, however, is the high level of education and professional experience among the respondents who came as caregivers. No-one in the post-LCP group (n=73) had less than a high school education, while 3 (4 percent) had vocational diplomas upon entry to Canada, and 58 (79 percent) had a college degree at the bachelor's level or higher. A further 10 (14 percent) had a college education, but had not completed their degrees. Only one respondent had no education beyond high school.

Despite this level of human capital, the survey revealed the near-universal downward mobility effect of the LCP, so that whatever the prior educational and professional experiences the participants had, they generally found themselves in lower-paid, less-skilled, and more precarious

occupations than the jobs they had had before they emigrated from the Philippines. Of the 73 caregiver immigrants who were, at the time of the survey, permanent residents and therefore free to explore the wider labour market, 16 had not been employed in the Philippines prior to departure, and 5 had been employed in the Philippines but not in Canada (a further 8 did not respondent to occupational questions). Comparisons are not possible in these cases. For the other 44 cases, 10 (23 percent) are working in fields quite different from their previous professional or work experience in the Philippines, but not necessarily representing a downgrading. In nearly all of these cases, the individuals had taken some kind of additional training in Canada. In 29 (66 percent) cases, however, individuals had experienced a clear degradation in their labour market position. In only 5 out of 73 cases (11 percent) were individuals employed in occupations that approximated their original occupational category in the Philippines and all of them had undergone further training in Canada.

This pattern of downward mobility is largely attributable to the regulatory requirements of the Live-in Caregiver Program. The program requires that the individual complete two years of work in the home of an employer within three years. Only then is the caregiver eligible to apply for permanent residency. The corollary of this requirement is that "graduates" from the program have been removed from a professional working environment for at least two years. Since many arrive after completing contracts as domestic workers in Asia or the Middle East, the actual separation from professional employment is actually much longer. Of the 73 post-LCP respondents to our survey, 37 (51 percent) had worked elsewhere in the world before entering Canada under the LCP – in most cases these contracts were in Europe, the Middle East, Singapore, or Hong Kong. Among the 60 respondents in our survey who were still enrolled in the program, 34 had previously worked elsewhere outside the Philippines before coming to Canada. In some cases, these sojourns represented considerable periods – including 20 years in Italy in one case.

The contrast between the diversity and professional standing of caregivers' occupations in the Philippines, and their subsequent occupations in Canada, is striking (see Table 12). Although a few have succeeded in becoming nurses, accountants, or physiotherapists in Canada, the vast majority are either still working as caregivers, housekeepers, or personal support workers, or are working in clerical or customer-service roles, manufacturing employment, or aide/assistant positions in the health care sector.

Table 12: Comparing professional pasts with post-caregiver outcomes

Occupation[1] in the Philippines	#		Occupation[1] in Canada, post-LCP	#
Financial Auditors and Accountants	7		Other Aides and Assistants in Support of Health Services	13
School Teachers	6		Visiting Homemakers, Housekeepers and Related Occupations	4
Midwives and Practitioners of Natural Healing	5		Customer Service, Information and Related Clerks	2
Registered Nurses	5		Accounting and Related Clerks	1
Accounting and Related Clerks	2		Administrative Clerks	1
Physiotherapists	2		Babysitters, Nannies and Parent's Helpers	1
Administrative Clerks	2		Cashiers	1
Agricultural Representatives, Consultants and Specialists	1		Chefs	1
Industrial and Manufacturing Engineers	1		Court Clerks	1
Nurse Aides and Orderlies	1		Insurance Underwriters	1
Professional Occupations in Business Services to Management	1		Library, Archive, Museum and Art Gallery Managers	1

School Administrator	1	Machine Operators, Mineral and Metal Processing	1
Secretaries (Except Legal and Medical)	1	Mail, Postal and Related Clerks	1
Tellers, Financial Services	1	Medical Laboratory Technicians	1
		Nurse Aides and Orderlies	1
		Other Labourers in Processing, Manufacturing and Utilities	1
		Payroll Clerk	1
		Personnel and Recruitment Officers	1
		Physiotherapists	1
		Professional Occupations in Public Relations and Communications	1
		Property Administrators	1
		Registered Nurses	1
		Registered Nursing Assistants	1
		Security Guards and Related Occupations	1
		Storekeepers and Parts Clerks	1

Source: CASJ Survey, 2005
[1] In both cases, original survey responses concerning job titles were converted into National Occupational Classification categories.

Clearly, the caregiver program has led to both segmentation in certain sectors of employment (especially in the personal support and health care fields), and to a generally subordinate integration of its "graduates" in the labour force.

Vignette 3

This is the story of a licensed civil engineer who practised her profession in the construction industry for 15 years in the Philippines.

It's been three and a half years now… I was in the construction business back home. And actually… I applied as an independent immigrant, but when I looked at the application kit, they required… a lot of papers, like the income tax papers for a few years. And I have five kids, that's why I need a lot of money. So I was thinking to kind of find an easier way. So because my sister-in-law had been here a long time, I asked for her help and so she finds me an employer. So I applied directly. I came here after five months. My visa was released. Actually when I came here, I was released by my employer. The employer sponsored me just to come here and I looked for a job. I asked for my friend and my sister-in-law and I was recommended to a job, also as a caregiver because I had to work within the program, because I was on contract visa. So I worked there for three years, three months with my first employer. But when I got my papers, I went out and found another employer, but still I am working in the house as a housekeeper but with bigger pay. (Female respondent, authors' focus group with Philippine educated engineers, 2005)

The institutionalized form of deprofessionalization imposed by the LCP clearly affects those enrolled in the program directly. The implications of the program are, however, felt more widely for two reasons. The first is that job search networks tend to operate through personal referrals and social networks. Thus, a large segment of the Filipino community is consigned to precarious and low-paid care work, since those who arrive under other immigration programs, but rely on relatives and friends who are already in Canada to find work, tend to be channelled into similarly precarious work.

Vignette 3 illustrates the role of personal networks in finding employment and also the types of employment they elicit (see also Vignette 1). The prevalence of personal social networks in job search processes was also evident in survey data. Upon arrival, more than 80 percent of our survey respondents were aided in some way by friends or relatives already in Toronto. Just over 50 percent reported that friends or relatives had helped them with housing needs when they first arrived, and 44 percent had been assisted in the process of finding work. A similar finding was evident in responses to another question about how individuals had found their current job in Toronto: 47 percent of all responses to the question indicated that Filipino family, friends, and networks had led individuals to their current job.

These figures are significant because the process of social network−based job searching can clearly lead to a self-perpetuating occupational segmentation. If Filipinos are relying heavily upon other Filipinos in their job searches, there will inevitably be a reproduction of existing occupational niches. Hospital janitors recruit more hospital janitors, data entry clerks recruit more of the same, childcare workers provide access to that field, and so forth. An example of this process was provided by our focus group with hotel employees. For many, the hotel sector represented employment easily obtained through personal networks, but it seldom provided time or money to attend upgrading classes.

> *Philip: So there are certain jobs in the hotel sector that are dominated by Filipinos. Why is that, do you think? Why are there so many Filipinos working as room attendants?*
> *Respondent: Maybe it's the easy job for them, I don't know. Because you know, we just came here, it's like, I don't know, so where was I gonna go. And they [fellow Filipinos] said "Come, I'm going to help you apply in the hotel."*
> *Philip: So you found it through a Filipino friend?*
> *Respondent: Yes, my brother. He was working in the hotel and he said, "If you want to work right away, I'm going to help you." I go to school also before, but I cannot handle [that]… because I still don't have money. So in that time, I go to that hotel. (Female respondent, authors' focus group with Filipino hotel workers, 2007)*

This comment raises an important point concerning labour market integration. The consequences of marginalization into low-paid work affects more than just the first person in a chain of migrants. As subsequent migrants use their friends and relatives to help them navigate the job market and for referrals to their employers, entry into "survival jobs" is, so to speak, contagious.

In that sense, the importance of the caregiver program extends not just to those who are enrolled in it, but also to larger numbers of new arrivals, whether or not they come under the LCP, who depend on their compatriots to find work. While the LCP directly accounts for just one-fifth of Filipino immigrant arrivals, it has multiplier effects on the wider Filipino immigrant community.

The second implication of the caregiver program concerns the ways in which Filipinos are racialized and culturally represented in the labour market. A clear stereotype exists of "what Filipinos do" and where their aptitudes lie. It is not uncommon to find that non-Filipinos believe that all Filipinos arrive in Canada as caregivers. Thus the types of work for which they are seen as culturally suited is highly circumscribed. We will return to this issue in the section on racialization.

8. Regulatory Barriers: Credential Assessment and Cultures of Practice

The role of professional regulatory bodies as gatekeepers to licensed professions has been closely examined in the literature on immigrant integration (Girard and Bauder, 2007; Boyd 2002; Turegan, 2008). Upon arrival in Canada, licensed professionals are required to have their educational backgrounds assessed by provincially mandated professional bodies, which oversee the accreditation process. Successful completion of this process does not, of course, guarantee employment, but is the first step towards finding a job in a regulated profession.

In our survey, 52 percent of respondents who identified a reason for not being able to practise their profession (147 out of 281) reported that the non-recognition of their qualifications was a factor. Many see this non-recognition as an implicit form of discrimination in that the quality of their work and training is demeaned simply because it has been conducted elsewhere – a complaint common to many immigrant groups.

In focus groups with Filipino professionals, specific problems were identified concerning the ways in which Philippine qualifications, in particular, were evaluated. The first concerned the apparent arbitrariness of the process. According to our focus group with Filipino engineers, the provincial regulatory body (Professional Engineers of Ontario) requires Philippine-trained professionals to take courses, either as few as eight or as many as fourteen, without providing a clear basis for the variation in such requirements.

A second, related, issue concerned an ignorance on the part of evaluation bodies regarding the quality of specific Philippine educational institutions, the quality of their (North-American designed) curricula, and the rigour of the profession regulatory system in the Philippines. Focus group participants were especially critical of the ways in which Philippine institutions were judged. One noted that graduates of the Mapua Institute of Technology, the Philippines' foremost engineering college, would not fare well, as assessors tend to look down on "institutes," or anything not clearly identified as a university:

> *I would say that they [assessors] have little or no knowledge of what is happening. For example, the Institute of Technology… it doesn't say college, it doesn't say university. They would, say, take about a four- or six-month course. And they see University of Philippines, they see "Philippines," they would say "Oh, that is nothing." But one person came from National University [a very minor university in the Philippines]. It's not "Philippines," it's "National." They gave him four subjects. But the same university, other curriculum, but same university, given eight subjects. So they are very inconsistent. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with Philippine-educated engineers, 2005)*

These regulatory barriers to professional practice have meant that few Filipino engineers are able to fully employ their skills in Canada. According to the Ontario Association of Filipino Engineers, out of 400 professional members, only about 10 have gone through the costly and time-consuming process of accreditation.

Filipino accountants find themselves in a similar situation. One focus group respondent, currently working in a bank, described the way in which Philippine credentials were peremptorily assessed:

> *I worked at a bank in the Philippines as a department head. When I came to Canada, I worked as a data entry encoder for two years. Luckily, I was hired by a bank here and got promoted up to supervisory level. But before that, I had a lot of bad experiences, especially when I did upgrading of my studies. When I had my degree evaluated, the lady was asking me "Let me see what school you came from in the Philippines. Oh, is it from the Philippines? I don't think it's [equivalent] to university here." As if they are lowering my education. Luckily, my school's name has the word "university" in it. So they made me up to Level 3 for that section pertaining to Certified General Accountant (CGA). (Female respondent, authors' focus group with Filipino retail workers, 2007)*

Another Philippine-trained accountant described the ignorance he felt existed among those assessing his education, training and experience:

> *I think there is also a problem with the evaluation, because the people who evaluate your records do not know the system in the Philippines. Like for instance, I had a friend who graduated in the same university as I came from, but he graduated later. The curriculum has changed. So when they ask for the description of the subjects, it's now different. So he gets more than I get, you know! So I guess even from the other schools I have a friend who graduated from a college – Philippine College of Commerce, ok? The word College will put you down one degree lower and I said to them, "Why don't you ask the department of education to give you a certification that it is a university level school?" And he did. And he presented it to CGA and he got the same evaluation. What I am saying here is that it's the level of knowledge of these people who evaluate the graduates and that's what causes the problem. I guess it is important for these people to be also educated to the kind of ... they ask like "Do you read English there?" Our books are American books! But they don't know that. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with Philippine-trained accountants, 2006)*

Filipino accountants have, however, taken some steps to address the lack of information on the part of professional regulators in Ontario. In the early 1990s, a delegation representing the Chartered General Accountants of Ontario went to the Philippines to investigate the academic curriculum in university accountancy courses, the process of professional licensing and examination, and accounting standards applied in the Philippines. As a result, all Philippine CPAs (Chartered Public Accountants) who passed the national licensing board exam after 1990 were given exemptions from foundation-level courses in Canada and required to pass only advanced courses. Later, the Association of Canadian Filipino Accountants lobbied successfully to ensure that all Filipino CPAs would get the same exemptions, regardless of when they passed the board exam in the Philippines. Nevertheless, immigrants with a degree in Accounting from the Philippines, but no professional accreditation, are still required to take foundation courses in Canada which duplicate, at great cost, the curriculum material already covered in their Philippine degree courses. And to obtain Chartered Accountant status in Canada, work experience in a Canadian accounting firm is still required. The accountants' experience does, however, demonstrate the need for, and the positive outcome from, a higher awareness of a specific country's professional training and regulatory system among professional regulators in Canada.

The Ontario Association of Filipino Engineers has also been active in addressing the needs of Philippine-trained engineers, lobbying the Professional Engineers of Ontario and providing self-organized training sessions in the advanced computer applications needed in the workplace.

Another dimension of the accreditation process raised by focus group participants in certain professions was the role of the practical examination. For physiotherapists, for example, licensing in Ontario requires a "hands-on" test of practical skills that includes communications with the patient. The Filipino physiotherapists in our focus group felt that assessing such practices was culturally specific and favoured candidates who conformed to the cultural expectations of the examiners.

> *Respondent 1: it is always an issue of subjectivity, because it is a person that is going to look at you, and I don't know if it is relevant to say that, but I've heard… because one of my colleagues, always working as a physical therapy assistant, he overheard a physical therapist here being an examiner and telling a colleague of his that as soon as the examinee comes to the station, he already has the notion of what to give.*
> *Respondent 2: I mean not only that, but how many stereotypes enter into that? It becomes quite subjective. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with Philippine-educated physiotherapists, 2006)*
>
> *Respondent 1: There are other hidden criteria that are not mentioned in the practical exam. Just knowing the answer to the practical exam won't get you a passing score. There are other hidden criteria. They don't tell you!*
> *Respondent 2: What could be the basis? I mean what is the basis for the criteria and where is that coming from?*
> *Respondent 1: Yeah, that's what I mean. Because when you receive the scoring sheet, they will mention the global rating scale. The communication. How can you rate a person's communication level in that particular time-pressed situation, considering that physiotherapy doesn't need a time-pressed situation? It's not an emergency thing. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with Philippine-educated physiotherapists, 2006)*

Two critical issues emerge from this discussion of credential assessment processes carried out for professional licensing in Ontario. The first is the ignorance of certain assessors concerning educational, training and regulatory standards in countries of origin. Immigrant professionals from the Philippines feel that the standards imposed back home are ignored by regulators in Canada and the cost of taking a large number of upgrading courses is prohibitive. The second issue concerns the cultural specificity of some practical evaluation procedures used by professional regulatory bodies. The next section of this paper will turn to examine the cultural practice of work in more detail.

One striking result that emerged from our survey was the number of respondents who had contemplated leaving Ontario's restrictive regulatory environment in order to practise their profession elsewhere. A survey question asked respondents if they had "seriously considered" any of three options in order to practice their profession: leaving Ontario, leaving Canada, or returning to the Philippines. A remarkable 36 percent had indeed considered one of these options. Thirty percent considered leaving Canada entirely – either for the Philippines (8.5 percent), or for a third country (in nearly all cases, this would be the United States). For 6.5 percent, it was simply Ontario's provincial regulatory environment that they were considering leaving for somewhere else in Canada.

> *If I have my way, I'm going back [to the Philippines] This is just for the kids. Canada is bullshit.…Here, when I say I'm from Mapua Institute of Technology, they say, "What is that? It's only an institute." They want university. The rival school of Mapua is Feati, which is a university. But a student in Mapua could be a scholar of Feati. Very, very disappointing. We tried our best. We came here as educated people. We do the work of the labourer. Still*

they look at us that way, when it comes to Asian people. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with Philippine-educated engineers, 2005)

9. Being Filipino: Cultures of Work and Racialization

Regulatory barriers are tangible impediments to successful integration into the labour market, and apply to all immigrants with foreign credentials, albeit with some specific lapses of recognition in relation to Filipino institutions and accreditation procedures. Such regulatory barriers are, however, largely formalized and increasingly recognized as an issue that must be addressed (Turegan, 2008).

More insidious ways in which being Filipino presents disadvantages in the labour market derive from how being Filipino is represented, marked and understood. There are two ways in which being Filipino might be construed as a disadvantage. The first concerns the cultural practices of work that Filipino immigrants bring with them from their work experiences and socialization in the Philippines. Practices that in one cultural context might be viewed as meritorious and virtuous may, in another, hold an employee back from workplace advancement and upward mobility. The second concerns discrimination and the racialization of Filipinos, involving the ascription of particular characteristics and aptitudes on the basis of ethno-racial labelling.

Filipino Work Cultures and "Promotability"
Focus group respondents repeatedly noted what they perceived to be a specifically Filipino working culture that they brought with them from the Philippines. This set of cultural practices includes taking on all tasks required of them, regardless of their job description, not being assertive in relation to authority figures, and not being boastful of their achievements and abilities. In focus group discussions, these cultural traits were repeatedly identified, usually in comparison with white colleagues or other visible minorities.

In the Philippines, managerial hierarchies are more rigid than in Canada, and superiors are addressed as "Sir" or "Ma'am." Many respondents felt employers took advantage of this different work culture – demanding more from Filipinos, and expecting them to take on, without complaint, a wider range of roles than were part of the job description. In some cases, focus group participants felt that employers had a clear interest in keeping capable and cooperative employees in certain kinds of positions.

> *Maybe that is one thing I can be proud of. We Filipinos as workers, we can easily adapt to the work. We don't think that this is just work to do and be paid. We take our job as a challenge for us to learn and for us to explore more about the field. Sometimes it is also a big disadvantage for us… In my first job, they used me. Because when they saw my resume (the Canadian government made us do a comprehensive and beautiful resume − they depend on the resume), they really used me in my first job. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with manufacturing workers, 2007)*

Other respondents elaborated this point, commenting on how a specifically Filipino work culture (and the way in which it is read in a Canadian context) may be an impediment to advancement. In particular, Filipino cultural norms that proscribed being ostentatious or assertive about one's abilities or achievements would often lead to such employees being overlooked for promotion.

Respondent 1: But Filipinos are regarded well, right? We work hard, we are conscientious, we're caring. And so that works for us in a lot of ways, but then there is the limiting way that that also works 'cause then we may not be perceived in terms of a managerial role.
Respondent 2: Because we are viewed, and perceived to be passive. That you don't speak up. You just keep on taking it and get it done, don't complain. So why would I move him if he is taking all of these responsibilities, same pay same everything, as opposed to I can give it to her, she complains all the time, for example. I see that in my workplace. And there are a lot of Filipinos in my area in data entry. And I have heard remarks. And even towards me, like if you don't speak up. So you really have to learn to speak up. And the data entry clerks, they were saying they don't speak up or complain, because everyone is scared, because they are a migrant here so you don't want to lose your job because you need that job. So you can't.

> *But when you [referring to another member of the focus group] started working, you were educated here – someone who came and started nursing the same time as you, but came from the Philippines, how do they fare in comparison to you? Because I see with me my own experience, studying here and coming from the Philippines, there is a big difference! The way they view people. Don't get me wrong. Coming here, we got a little bit more westernized – we tend to speak up more. [But] being from a cultural background where you never speak up to an older person, you don't voice. We were always taught don't voice your opinion – it's not nice. We were always in a don't talk back kind of thing – this holds us back as a culture. .... We are not speaking up and I think I can see that in myself too. (Female respondents, authors' focus group with Filipino retail workers, 2007)*

Another respondent in a municipal civil service position, also articulated this notion that culturally valorized behaviour might be counter-productive in a different cultural setting.

The system expects – and this is where discrimination comes in – that you present yourself the same way that a white, Canada-educated male or female would present oneself. The systemic way it is practised is discriminatory, so that eventually the best ones among the ethnic people will never get the chance to get into their profession. It's called "corporate fit" and it impacts on both being selected and being promoted. Even if you work five, ten years in a certain cultural environment and you are really very good…you are good beyond what you do, you can go to the next level, but there is just the ceiling to put you on the line. They don't put you in the cultural fit context. Sometimes, that system wins in putting you away from the managerial positions – like "Oh, you don't look like a manager" or "You're too humble" or "You're too modest." I had a white Canadian friend who was at the management level who advised me that when you go to the next job, when you go in front of the panel, my only advice to you, because I know what you can do, is you brag. Because in the way that you are, at your bragging level, it is still acceptable. So there is something wrong with the system, right? (Female, local government employee, CASJ pilot focus group)

Racialization of Filipinos
The second dimension of being Filipino in a cultural sense in the labour market relates to racialization and stereotyping by broader Canadian society. In many instances, our respondents felt they were *expected*, in a sense, to occupy certain sorts of jobs in certain sectors. A respondent in our focus group with Philippine-educated manufacturing employees noted the specific assumptions he had observed being made about Filipino immigrants, even during a casual encounter in a bank:

It happened not directly to me in my job, but it was typical stereotyping of Filipino women. When I applied at a bank to open an account, the account manager talked to me about my

stay here. She asked "How come you came to Canada?" I said, "My wife petitioned me." The second question was, "Was she a nanny?" And I said "Yes, she was." And the third question "Who is now your employer? Are you working at Tim Horton's?" I said, "Oh, now I'm working in a manufacturing company." For her, it was nothing. For me, stereotyping is degrading. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with manufacturing workers, 2007)

Several respondents in different sectors noted that there was a racialized hierarchy in their workplaces, with lower-level jobs almost exclusively occupied by visible minorities, and managerial or supervisory jobs taken by white employees. This created a tendency for those in lower positions to perceive higher positions as being the preserve of white employees – thus in some cases, when promotions were available, Filipino employees did not apply, seeing higher positions as unattainable. In one focus group, a clerical employee of a large accounting firm in downtown Toronto described how the floors of an office tower occupied by the company got increasingly white with each additional storey. She described feeling out of place when having to visit the upper floors.

In another focus group, a municipal government employee described being placed in a "clerical box" in the sense that she became identified with that type of work and it became very difficult to be taken seriously for other kinds of position, despite her qualifications. These examples suggest that it is not simply discrimination against visible minorities that Filipino immigrants experience. It is also a specific conception of the types of work in which Filipinos can (and should) "normally" be found.

Respondent: No matter how hard your job is, how good you do your job or how fast you do it, they don't put you in higher positions. Only in the second level but not in the highest level.
PK: What is your explanation for that?
Respondent: Discrimination.
(Male respondent, authors' focus group with Filipino retail workers, 2007)

As the last comment suggests, expectations that Filipinos would occupy certain (subordinate) roles in the labour market and the workplace are given a harder edge in experiences of direct discrimination. In our survey, experiences of discrimination were assessed through two sets of questions. The first related to experiences of discrimination or unfair treatment in Canadian society at large. As Table 13 indicates, more than half of respondents recorded experiencing discrimination/unfair treatment "sometimes" or "often."

Table 13: Frequency of discrimination or unfair treatment in Canada in the last five years

Frequency	N	%
Never	70	20.8
Rarely	73	21.7
Sometimes	153	45.5
Often	30	8.9
Yes, but no frequency given	10	3.0
Total Responses	336	100.0

Source: CASJ Survey, 2005

The basis for this discrimination is clearly rooted in the ethnocultural characteristics that Filipinos present, as the results in Table 14 show.

Table 14: Basis for discrimination or unfair treatment in Canada

Basis of discrimination or unfair treatment	Number reporting*	Percent of those reporting*
"Race/Colour"	137	60.6
"Accent"	83	36.7
"Culture"	77	34.1
"Ethnicity"	60	26.5
"Gender"	14	6.2
"Religion"	10	4.4
"Other"	17	7.5
Total Reporting	**226**	**100**

Source: CASJ Survey, 2005
* Note: many recorded more than one response

Another question in the survey asked specifically about experiences of discrimination in processes of recruitment and workplace advancement (see Table 15). Close to half of all survey respondents (44.6 percent) noted that they had experienced some form of "discrimination or unfair treatment in Canada while at work or when applying for a job or for promotion" in the last five years. Very few saw this as based upon gender or religious grounds – instead it was primarily racial and linguistic characteristics that were noted. Almost two-thirds saw discrimination or unfair treatment as being based on "race/colour," while more than one third identified "accent" or "culture" as factors.

Table 15: Sources of work-related discrimination or unfair treatment

Basis of discrimination or unfair treatment	Percent of those reporting*
"Race/Colour"	63
"Accent"	39
"Culture"	36
"Ethnicity"	26
"Gender"	5
"Religion"	5

Source: CASJ Survey, 2005
* Note that many respondents ticked more than one response.

Beyond the stereotypes of Filipinos' aptitudes and their "place" in the labour market, some respondents noted that racialized identity construction is a two-way process. In particular, they noted a culture of self-denigration and acceptance among some Filipino immigrants, who appeared willing to accept defeat in the labour market. This idea was articulated especially by the focus group from the manufacturing sector.

> *Respondent: And one thing also is the fact that…some Filipinos have the feeling of indifference, inferiority, colonial mentality. I have concrete experience about a friend of mine. I told him I'm starting a family. I'll have my first child. He asked me, "Ilan bang anak ang gusto mo? Susundan mo ba yan?" [How many children do you want? Do you want another one?] My reply was, "Maybe two years from now when I will have a better job."*

He asked, "Ano pa bang trabaho ang gusto mo?" [What kind of a job do you want?] From his answer, I sense the feeling of being trapped in this kind of job. Parang gusto niyang sabihin [Like he was saying], "You should be contented." For me, I think that I should strive for a better job. Then that's the time for me to have a second child. But he was trying to say to me, "Tama na yan. [That's enough already.] You have a job, a wife, a child. What else do you want?"
PK: How does that link to colonial mentality?
Respondent: This feeling of inferiority − it connects to the mentality that those white guys or people from other country than your own and have a better chance of a better life here. So accept it. This is our fate here. You work in a factory. Stay there. Don't look for any more job. Be happy about it. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with manufacturing workers, 2007)

A similar idea emerged in the focus group with clerical workers, in conjunction with the point about the security of unionized jobs made earlier in this paper:

Some do not apply for higher positions especially, because they perceive these as lacking in security. These positions are not unionized. So if one gets into a higher position that soon becomes redundant, or management decides to cut back and lay him off, that person will have no other option. Also, one has to factor in the race question. If you look at the supervisory level, you may find a few of the people of colour. But at the managerial level, most, if not all, are white Anglo-Saxon. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with clerical workers, 2007)

These last two quotes highlight the sense of inevitability that immigrants use to reconcile themselves to a deprofessionalized and subordinate role in the labour market. In the next section we turn to the question of how Filipino immigrants cope with their employment situations.

10. Dealing with Deprofessionalization: Rationalizing or Challenging?

There are two broad ways in which Filipinos in Canada cope with deprofessionalization. Some rationalize it as a fact of life in an immigrant-receiving country, where labour market subordination is widely experienced by immigrants from countries like the Philippines. Others actively question this state of affairs, and have attempted to correct what they see as discrimination and unfairness.

Those who tend to grudgingly surrender to reality are usually those who are thankful just to be in Canada, where they believe the economic opportunities for themselves and their families are better than they would be in the Philippines, where so many families live in poverty. One respondent in our focus group with clerical workers highlighted these conflicted feelings:

I think people swallow it like a bitter pill, because it is a necessity. So even if for them it is degrading…from being dentist to dental assistant… That's how they cope. They'll be hypocrites if they won't say "It's kind of degrading… I'm president or manager and now I'm doing floor janitorial work." Instead, they will say "Oh, my present job is OK." But deep inside the feeling is different. "What am I doing here?" It is a necessity, especially if there is a need to send money back home. (Female respondent, authors' focus group with clerical workers, 2007)

Another coping mechanism relates to ways of rationalizing the reduced status that Filipino immigrants experience. Once economic basics are satisfied, and status within the Filipino community is maintained, if many compatriots are undergoing similar experiences, and one's status back home in the Philippines is elevated simply by being in Canada and by sending gifts or cash, then there is, perhaps, a reduced incentive among some to seek an advancement in the workforce. For many, labour market subordination has become a "natural" part of the immigration process, which is rationalized on the basis of "doing it for the children."

> *There are professional couples who come here and get accepted as immigrants; they want to practise their careers, but they cannot. At the same time, the economic status is already falling down. And if they have three children, professionals struggling with small children, they would have to spend money on babysitting if they both go to work at the same time... Because of the need to sustain themselves, they end up with either one (staying) home. I have friends in that situation. They are engineers, but they end up babysitting their children because the income they have is not enough to pay for the babysitting, and so economically now, they are stuck. It's always like that. And most of us feel good if we could only afford to buy a house and a car. But we are jumping from one job to another and have almost no time for yourself. [It's] not good quality time with the family. (Male respondent, authors' focus group with manufacturing workers, 2007)*

Other focus group participants similarly described settling for earning a sufficient amount to pay for a secondhand car, or buy a house, something they could not afford in the Philippines.

One other way of dealing with deprofessionalization is to draw upon a powerful sense of an essentialized Filipino identity, understood to embody strength of character, resourcefulness, the capability to carry out a job beyond expectations, and thus maintain a good reputation as a worker. A number of focus group participants noted the pride that they derive from their ability to conduct their work to a high standard because of their superior training and experience in the Philippines. A focus group participant summarized it this way: "Filipinos in general do more than what is expected quantitatively and qualitatively, more than what the standard is here in Canada." The same participant was told by her Canadian employer that, with Filipinos in the workplace, they usually get from them more than they expected. In some cases, then, a strong sense of ethnic or national pride is deployed to deal with the indignities of deprofessionalization.

The fact that many Filipinos find ways to rationalize their circumstances is reflected in data from our survey concerning levels of satisfaction with career/work/prospects in Canada (see Table 16). Those who described themselves as "very satisfied" or "satisfied" make up almost 40 percent (38.5 percent in total) of the responses, although almost 30 percent (28.5 percent) considered themselves as "dissatisfied" or "very much dissatisfied."

Table 16: Level of Satisfaction with Career/Work/Prospects in Canada

	Frequency	Percent
Very satisfied	44	11.3
Satisfied	108	27.2
Somewhat satisfied	106	26.7
Dissatisfied	73	18.4
Very much dissatisfied	42	10.6
No response	24	6.0

Total	397	100.0

Source: CASJ Survey, 2005

Some of these "dissatisfied" Filipinos deal with deprofessionalization not by resigning themselves or accepting this state of affairs, but by making an effort to correct it. Filipino professional associations and community groups have been involved in campaigns for fair access to trades and professions since the late 1980s, when the issue was first taken up by both the provincial and federal levels of government. Associations of nurses, engineers, and accountants actively sought recognition for the quality of their professional training and experience in the Philippines. Some efforts were successful, such as the Filipino accountants association's successful efforts to have their Philippine-earned Certified Public Accountant (CPA) accreditation recognized by the Ontario professional association.

More recently, in Toronto, the Community Alliance for Social Justice (CASJ) has been actively pursuing the issue of access to professions. During its first consultation conference, on October 30, 2004, access to trades and professions was identified as one of three most pressing issues of the Filipino community – the others being the live-in caregiver program; and youth, community safety, and policing (see Garcia, 2007). This initiative was followed by activities focused on access to trades and professions, which included organizing focus groups, embarking on the research collaboration reported here, making submissions to special government committees, linking with other research and advocacy groups in the broader immigrant community, and making presentation at conferences and universities. For example, the initial findings of this paper were presented in 2005 by two of the authors at a workshop during the 10th International Metropolis Conference in Toronto. The same initial findings, plus some recommendations, were presented as a formal CASJ submission during provincial legislative hearings regarding *Bill 124: An Act to Provide for the Registration Practices in Ontario's Regulated Professions*, held in Toronto on March 22, 2006 (see Garcia, 2007).

11. Policy Recommendations

Some of the issues raised in this paper have been addressed extensively in advocacy campaigns by Filipino groups in Toronto, as well as other immigrant organizations. In this section we will summarize some of the positions that our findings support, in addition to further policy ideas that arise. We will address these issues in the same categories as the findings presented earlier: financial obligations, immigration programs, credential recognition, and discrimination/racialization.

Financial obligations to family members back home and the role that they play in constraining labour market mobility in Canada are more closely related to Canadian policy frameworks than they might first appear. The forced separation implied by the Live-in Caregiver Program and the waiting times for processing family reunification applications mean that individuals are spending unnecessarily long periods supporting spouses (as well as children and others) in the Philippines, rather than supporting each other's efforts at professional accreditation or skills upgrading in Canada. When couples are reunited, or when then arrive together, evidence suggests that it enables one of them to pursue educational opportunities, while the other works to provide financial support. Separation, however, delays this process, both for the individual in Canada and for the spouse left in the Philippines.

Another element that plays a part in financial obligations is the cost of immigration. Processing fees (currently $550 per capita for adults), the right of permanent residence fee (currently $490 each for

applicant and spouse), medical examination fees, language testing, and legal or agency fees (where applicable) all add up to several thousand dollars. The result is that immigrants must often pay off debts after arrival, rather than investing in skills upgrading or pursuing accreditation. Devising ways in which these fees could be regulated, made commensurate with income levels in sending countries, or (in the case of the first two fees) made refundable upon landing, would provide extra resources to immigrants at a time of acute need.

Our second set of issues relate to immigration programs. There have been numerous policy suggestions concerning the Live-In Caregiver Program in particular. Many of these suggestions (such as permanent residency status upon arrival, abandonment of the live-in requirement, closer surveillance of working conditions, and regulation of recruiters) concern the vulnerability of caregivers to abuses because of their precarious status in Canada and the blurred line between work and non-work life when a place of residence is also a place of employment (Santos, 2009). These suggestions, especially concerning full permanent residency status upon arrival, would also assist in the labour market integration of caregivers after they have completed the Live-In Caregiver Program, as they would be able to freely enrol in educational or training courses. Short of full permanent residency status, other measures, such as waiving the need for a study permit, would be a move in the right direction (as recently recommended by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration Report, June 19, 2009), as well as ensuring that caregivers have enough time off work to engage in educational or vocational training.

Credential recognition has received a great deal of policy attention in recent years, both provincially and federally (for example through *Ontario's Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act* of 2006, and the Government of Canada's Foreign Credential Recognition Program). In our survey, among those who had experienced downward mobility between the Philippine and Canadian labour markets, 50 percent suggested in their survey responses that Filipino professionals should be able to practise in Canada immediately, on the basis of their Philippine qualifications. A substantial number (40 percent) suggested that full rights to practise their profession should be granted after a period of internship (respondents in some cases gave multiple responses). Only 28 percent suggested that to practise in Canada they should be required to undergo skills upgrading. Clearly, then, there is a strong sense that in many cases a requirement to upgrade or retrain is unnecessary.

Further measures to reduce the likelihood of arbitrary or inappropriate assessment of credentials should include ensuring that members of regulatory bodies in Ontario are capable of assessing the education, training, experience, and other professional qualifications of applicants toward accreditation, by requiring them to have an educated and updated knowledge of the quality of training provided by specific institutions and professional regulatory boards in major immigrant-sending countries such as the Philippines. Also, if an application for accreditation is rejected, regulatory bodies must be required to explain the rationale for the rejection, to enable the applicant to take appropriate steps. Where the rationale is perceived to be unjustified and unfair, applicants must be able to appeal the process and have access to free legal aid. Where training or skills upgrading is genuinely needed, financial assistance to subsidize fee for upgrading and bridging programs should be provided to allow greater accessibility for skilled immigrants.

12. Conclusions

Large-scale structural explanations for labour market subordination among Filipino immigrants emphasize the integration of the Philippine economy into the global system and of Filipinos into a "global racial order" (Espiritu, 2003). Likewise, in Toronto, the structural need for devalued

immigrant labour reflects the economic imperatives of a global city – remaining globally competitive based on the integration of low-cost labour (see Sassen, 2001).

These explanations provide only a general picture of corporate globalization's inherent inequities and raise questions about where immigrants come from, which labour gets devalued, and why subordination happens to some members of an immigrant group and not others. In other words, these structural explanations are useful but limited in their ability to explain how Filipinos undergo deprofessionalization and subordination in the labour market, and the distinctive experiences of Filipinos. We have attempted to answer these questions using data from the survey and from focus groups and interviews.

The findings of this project suggest several conclusions. First, much analysis (both academic and policy-oriented) about immigrant labour market experiences tends to aggregate different groups into the category "immigrant." Our findings suggests that while there are certainly generic processes experienced by all immigrants, and by visible minority immigrants in particular, there is also a more nuanced account of labour market processes possible when specific groups are examined. The specificity of racialized identities, workplace cultures, and immigration programs that define the Filipino settlement process mean that there is a particular experience that needs to be understood. (There are also, of course, important differences within the Filipino community that further complicate the picture).

Second, the policy debate on immigrant labour market integration has been concerned almost exclusively with foreign credential recognition. But many immigrant workers are in employment situations in which upward mobility and access to more secure or more favourable terms of employment are not necessarily impeded by formal professional licensing issues. Instead, it is everyday workplace "micro-politics" that determine upward mobility and these often relate to systemic processes of racialization and cultural practices specific to particular ethnolinguistic groups.

Third, immigrant economic integration is often treated as a process that occurs within the bounded space of the labour market in which it happens. However, the lives of immigrants themselves – their obligations, commitments, calculations etc. – are not bounded in this way, but made in a transnational space. The need to financially support family members in the Philippines is a responsibility felt by many respondents. While by no means a uniquely Filipino characteristic, the nature of Filipino migration (involving, for example, women arriving alone under the Live-In Caregiver Program) means that separation from immediate family members left behind is common, thereby intensifying such financial obligations. This situation translates into a need for job security that might make higher-level positions less appealing, especially if they are not unionized and are therefore more precarious.

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Appendix: Survey Instrument

SURVEY ON ACCESS TO PROFESSIONS AND TRADES
FOR FILIPINOS IN CANADA

If you were educated in the Philippines, we ask you to kindly answer the questions in this survey.

The results of the survey will help the Community Alliance for Social Justice (CASJ) in its advocacy effort to allow Filipinos to practice their professions and trades here in Canada. The survey is being conducted in collaboration with Dr Philip Kelly of York University.

All information collected will remain <u>anonymous</u> and <u>confidential</u>.

For more information, contact:

Mila Garcia,
Research Coordinator, Community Alliance for Social Justice
Telephone: (416) 461-8694 (The Philippine Reporter)   (416) 803-8576 (Cell)

Please return your survey form by September 15th 2005 to:

_____

1) **I am (check one):** ___ **Male** ___ **Female**

2) **Year of birth: 19____**

3) **I first <u>arrived</u> in Canada in (please give year): _____**

4) **I became an <u>immigrant</u> to Canada in (please give year): _____**

5) **I became a <u>citizen</u> of Canada in (please give year, if applicable): _____**

6) **Under which immigration category/program did you become a resident of Canada? (please check one only)**

	Principal Applicant	Dependent
Live-In Caregiver:	_____	_____
Independent/Skilled Worker:	_____	_____
Family Re-unification / Family Class:	_____	_____
Entrepreneur/Business Immigrant:	_____	_____
Other, please specify: _____	_____	_____

7) **Did you work in any other countries before coming to Canada? Please give <u>name</u> of country and <u>years</u> spent there.**

e.g. _____*USA*_____ _1970 - 1972_
_____ _____-_____
_____ _____-_____

8) **When you immigrated to Canada, did a recruitment agency or consultant assist you in finding your first job?**

No____ Yes____

9) **Did you already have relatives or close friends in Canada who helped you when you first arrived?**

No ____ Yes ____

If "Yes", then what kind of help did they provide?
a) Finding Work ____
b) Finding Housing ____
c) Other (please specify):_____

10)When you arrived in Canada, what level of education did you have?

Less than High School   _____
High School Graduation   _____
Vocational Diploma   _____
College Undergraduate   _____   * College:_____   Course:_____
College Graduate   _____   * College:_____   Course:_____
Masteral/Doctoral Degree   _____   * College:_____   Course:_____

         (* Please enter the name of the **college/university** and the **course**, e.g. commerce, civil engineering etc.)

11) What professional <u>status</u> or professional/trade <u>qualifications</u> did you have in the Philippines?

_____
_____

12) How would you label the specific profession or trade for which you were qualified in the Philippines? (e.g. civil engineer; psychiatric nurse etc.)

_____

13) For how many years did you practice this profession/trade in the Philippines (or elsewhere) before immigrating to Canada?

_____

14) How did your <u>last job in the Philippines</u> match your qualifications?

____ 'Perfectly matched'   ____ 'I was under-qualified'
____ 'I was over-qualified'   ____ 'I never worked in the Philippines'

15) Since arriving in Canada, have you gained any further qualifications or training? (please specify type of qualification)

_____
_____
_____

16) For the job you currently hold (or most recently held), please give your precise <u>job title</u>, the name of your employer, and the sector or industry in which you work.

Job Title (e.g. Legal Secretary; Nursing Assistant): _____
Name of Employer (e.g. Mount Sinai Hospital):   _____
Sector or Industry (e.g. Healthcare; Retail):   _____

If you have more than one source of livelihood, **please list your other jobs** as well.

17) How does your <u>current job in Canada</u> match your qualifications?

_____ 'Perfectly matched' (go to 19)   _____ 'I am under-qualified' (go to 19)

_____ 'I am over-qualified' (go to 18)   _____ 'I am not working in Canada' (go to 18)

18) Why do you think you are not able to practice the trade/profession for which you are qualified? (Please check all that apply)

_____ Discrimination

_____ My qualifications are not recognised

_____ I have insufficient education/training

_____ I lack Canadian experience

_____ Family financial situation (e.g. had to accept any kind of work)

_____ Other - please specify _____

_____ None of the above: 'it was my own choice'. Please explain why:

_____

19) How did you find out about the job you <u>now</u> hold? (Please check one)

Advertisement in newspaper, website etc.   _____

Through an internal job posting   _____

Through an employment agency   _____

Through Filipino relatives or friends   _____

Through non-Filipino contacts   _____

Other means (please specify)   _____

20) What do you think is a fair and just solution to being able to practice your profession here in Canada? (Please check one)

_____ Allow professionals to practice in their field right away

_____ Allow access after a practicum/internship in the field in Canada

_____ Allow access after educational upgrading or training in Canada

_____ Other, please specify:_____

21) Please describe the obstacles you have faced in trying to work in your profession in Canada.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

22) Are you a member of a Filipino professional association here in Canada?

___ No (go to question 23)

___Yes (Please give name of association) _____

23) This question uses a scale of 1 to 5. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life these days in Canada in terms of your career, work, or prospects of working in the field you want? (Please check one)

___ 1 very much dissatisfied
___ 2 dissatisfied
___ 3 somewhat satisfied
___ 4 satisfied
___ 5 very satisfied

24) Have you seriously considered any of the following options? (Please check)

_____ Leaving Ontario in order to practice my profession in another province
_____ Leaving Canada in order to practice my profession elsewhere
_____ Returning to the Philippines in order to practice my profession there

25) In the past 5 years, do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in Canada while <u>at work or when applying for a job or for promotion</u>?

___ No   ___ Yes

If 'Yes', what do you feel has been the basis of this discrimination or unfair treatment?

___ Ethnicity   ___ Culture   ___ Race/Colour   ___ Religion
___ Gender   ___ Accent/Language   Other:_____

26) In the past 5 years, how often do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in Canada (in the workplace <u>or</u> elsewhere)?

___ Often   ___ Sometimes   ___ Rarely   ___ Never

If you have ever experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in Canada, what has it been based upon? (Check all that apply)

___ Ethnicity   ___ Culture   ___ Race/Colour   ___ Religion
___ Gender   ___ Accent/Language   Other:_____

> ******* THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION! *******

Can we contact you if we need to clarify anything in this survey? If so, please provide your name and telephone number:
Name: _____ *Telephone:* _____

Would you be interested in participating in a **focus group** on the subject of access to trades and professions? If so, please provide your name and telephone number above, and check here: ____