

Problems Filipino caregivers continue to face after the abolishment of the Live-in Caregiver
Program in Canada

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Abstract

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Feminists have long argued that the current economic system, especially the standards of national economic accounting, are structured by men in a manner such that they can dominate women, or at least, keep women in ‘their place.’ The truthfulness of such accounts is nowhere more evident than in the case of Filipino caregivers.

Since national economic accounting systems do not recognize the economic value of time women spend in household services or caregiving activities, female labour invested in such caregiving is excluded from both sides of national income, and from product accounts. This means the current economic system has important consequences for women in both the developed and developing world. This system encourages women in the developed world to seek employment outside the house to be considered a productive and contributing member of national economy. However, women in the developed world cannot completely escape childcare and other caregiving responsibilities, hence they employ the labour of women from the developing world. The Filipino story in this thesis is situated within this context. The act of caregiving or raising children within the current neoliberal economy has been turned into a commodity. Like any other commodity, it can be brought when needed and disposed of when not needed anymore.

This thesis is focused on Canada’s policies concerning caregivers in recent years, as well as the occupational and social mobility of these caregivers who became permanent residents

through the Live-in Caregiver Program. This thesis also looks at the educational levels of these Filipino caregiver workers upon their arrival, and the type of news or opportunities Canada makes available for them to enhance their education once they become permanent residents of Canada.

In this thesis, I use standpoint theory both as a conceptual framework and a methodology. By interviewing and obtaining narrative accounts of six participants who came from the Philippines, this thesis reveals the difficulties they faced during the life in the Live-in Caregiver Program and the challenges they continue to have after becoming permanent residents.

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Prologue

I worked as a caregiver for more than four years while trying to immigrate to Canada. During this time, I felt isolated, unnoticed, and unimportant. I was not aware before coming to Canada that being a caregiver was not regarded highly, and that it would be considered as if I had no other skills. Before moving to Canada, I thought that caregivers and daycare educators were the same thing. After working as a child counselor in the United States with professionals such as probation officers, social workers, and therapists, working as a caregiver in Canada was - to me - a step down. It is also considered a low skill job by the Canadian government. My employers were extremely kind and generous. They treated me more as a Japanese language teacher to their children than a nanny. I liked the work, however, I did not like the label that came with it. My only consolation was that it would only go on for two years, until I became a permanent resident and found a different job. Under the "Live-in Caregiver Program," I would be qualified to be a permanent resident after two years of full-time employment, and move on to a new job and field of study. However, things did not turn out that way. It all started with a small mistake by an immigration consultant hired by my employer. He had sent my documents to the wrong office, and the federal government issued me a temporary working permit, which did not fall under the requirements of the Live-in Caregiver Program. As a result, I did not qualify to be a permanent resident after 24 months of working full time. I did everything to fix this situation, absolutely everything, but nothing worked. I planned on being a permanent resident, I worked hard to save money to study for a master's degree, and to go back to work in a profession that would be socially and economically viable. However, despite the many years that have passed, I am still not a permanent resident. I am an international student paying high tuition fees, for which I saved up during the four years working as a "low-skill worker."

I was frustrated with many things. Because I studied Political Science for my BA, I was considered as if I had no skills. If I had studied business or engineering, that would have scored me points for the Skilled Workers Program. Both Quebec and the federal government kept changing immigration policies, and I fell through the cracks. Quebec wanted a higher French level, and the federal government did not want immigrants from a caregiving background as a skilled worker.

One day, when I was at the park with a Filipino caregiver and children we worked with, a mother of a boy asked us where we were from. My friend said she was from the Philippines, and the mother did not say anything. However, when I told her that I was from Japan, she was surprised. She said, “oh, then you must be a student, are you doing this for a part-time job?” My friend and I were just about the same age and dressed the same way. In the mother’s voice, it felt like she was saying, “you are from a rich country. Why are you doing *this* kind of job?” What hurt me was the fact that she saw it as a natural thing for a Filipino person to be a caregiver.

During those four years, the place where I could really be myself, and complain and rant about my situation was at a French course provided by the Quebec government. Because it was a Saturday class, many of the caregivers were my classmates who also worked very long hours and thus understood my situation. The school gave me a sense of belonging and I felt like at least I was doing something for the future. In retrospect, having a space like this is what helped me to get through difficult times.

From my experience working as a caregiver for four years, I shared many experiences with other caregivers such as long work hours, working on weekends, struggles with the living conditions, and downward mobility. This shared experience has helped me during my field research to attain a deeper knowledge of the participants’ lived reality.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Globalization is one of the biggest factors when it comes to “caregiving” in Canada. With the rising demand for caregivers, many countries including Canada have sanctioned opening their borders to foreign caregivers (Parrenas, 2008). This globalized flow of caregivers has led to the commodification of caregiving in the last four decades, with neoliberal globalization gaining speed and momentum. However, in order to understand the commodification of social relations and services, we first need to understand the concept of neoliberal globalization. Globalization was first mentioned by Theodore Levitt in 1985, according to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Stromquist, 2002). Although his definition of globalization grasped the economic sense of globalization, it did not express the implication of the ensuing social transformation. Advocates of globalization argue that globalization is a liberation of the world economies, and that it spreads opportunities for success all over the world. In addition, globalization helps people to gain new skills and knowledge by participating in the international trade and competitive marketplace. It has also made the mobility of goods, capital, and people more fluid in moving from one country to another. However, there are negative impacts. The mobility of people has caused cultural dislocation and uncertainty. Many immigrants have difficulty integrating into a new society and face barriers to jobs and education. Also, the mobility of people is most fluid among those with high levels of skills and education, such as engineers and technicians. At the same time, developed countries also attract low-skilled workers who are potentially prone to exploitation (Stromquist, 2002).

Neoliberalism is an essential economic model needed in order to understand globalization. Neoliberalism is, in simple terms, “an economic doctrine that sees the market as the most effective way of determining production and satisfying people’s needs” (Stromquist, 2002). This model became largely dominant due to the policies introduced by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom, President Ronald Reagan in the United States, and by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Canada. This new model has hugely impacted economic order, environment, education, and how people move around from one place to the other in search of better earning opportunities. This type of neoliberal globalization is viewed by some as a new form of “imperialism,” in the sense that the developed countries set the rules of the market for the whole of humanity (Maclaren & Farahmandpur, 2001). In this context, “caregiving workers” have been dehumanized. Household chores that were once considered parental responsibilities are also viewed as tasks that can be outsourced to others, so that those who have the economic power to employ others can continue to participate in the labour market. The outsourcing of household work and caregiving has become a global trend. This has led to an upward mobility for families all over the world. Both parents continue to work, and children either go to daycare from a very young age or are kept at home with a caregiver.

1.2 Canada’s Caregiver Program

One population that is hugely influenced by neoliberal economic globalization are the caregivers who come from the developing countries in the South to work in the developed countries of the North, such as Canada. In the last few decades, the majority of women who entered Canada as domestic workers are from the Philippines (Grande & Kerr, 1998). In order to encourage and provide support to middle-class families in which both parents can participate

in the labour market, Canada came up with a program called the “Live- in Caregiver Program” in 1992. It replaced the program called “Foreign Domestic Movement” (FDM) which started in 1981.

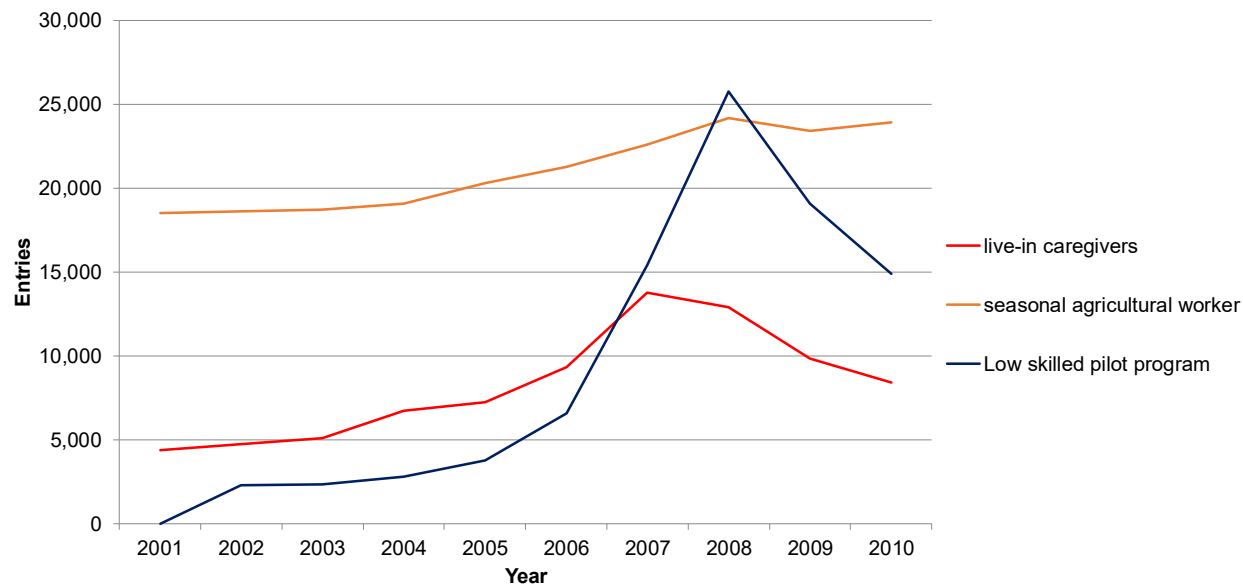


Figure 7-Number of entries under temporary foreign workers program. Citizenship and immigration Canada (2011)
Canada Facts and Figures. Immigration overview Temporary and permanent residents. (Takamura, 2017)

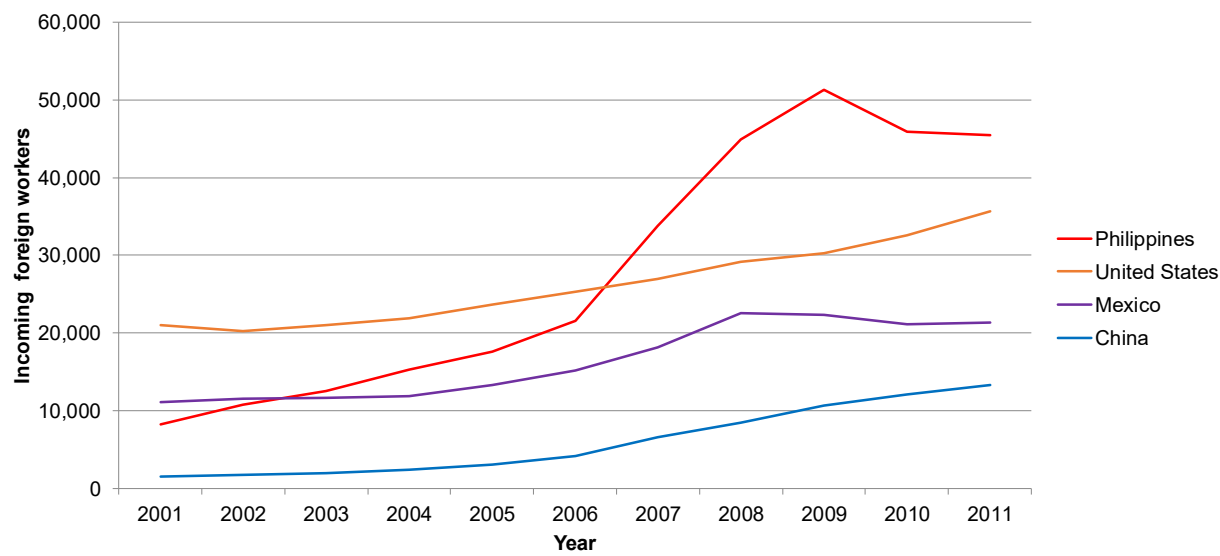


Figure 8- Major source countries for foreign workers. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2011). Canada Facts and Figures. Immigration overview Permanent and temporary residents 2010 (Takamura, 2017)

(Cohen, 2000). Under this program, caregivers were obligated to live with their employer for 24 months. After 24 months of working full time, they were allowed to apply for a permanent residency. Once they were granted permanent residency, they could sponsor their family members and bring them to Canada. Until November 2014, the mandatory live-in policy attracted much criticism. For example, critics argued that there were more risks for abuse and invasion of privacy by employers, and such incidents were also frequently reported by the caregivers. The mandatory live-in conditions made it difficult to draw a line between work time and off time. In addition, if an employee was fired, this meant, they would lose both work and living space at the same time.

In November 2014, the Canadian government under Harper announced a major overhaul of the Live-in Caregiver Program. Then immigration minister Chris Alexander insisted that, "we are saying to the whole Canadian population, to caregivers above all, the time of abuse and vulnerability is over" (Hussan, 2014). The significant changes made to the policy were:

- It was no longer mandatory that the employees live with their employers.
- Two new categories, (i) the caring for children pathway, and (ii) the caring for people with high medical needs pathway, were created. Based on these two categories, caregivers could apply for permanent residency after completion of 24 months of full-time work.
- However, for each pathway, a cap of 2,750 applications was imposed. A total of 5,500 applications were allowed to apply for permanent residency at the start of 2015. This cap applied to all provinces and territory except for Quebec. In Quebec, caregivers cannot

apply for permanent residency, since the Quebec government does not comply with the new Caregiver Program.

- The federal government has been delaying issuing more than 60,000 applications for permanent residency under the Live-in Caregiver Program due to a large number of spouses and children of the live-in caregivers. Therefore, reducing an accumulated backlog of 60,000 applications was one of their priorities when they started with the new policy.

Then immigration minister Chris Alexander stated during the announcement that he aimed to reduce this number from 60,000 to zero in two years (Mas, 2014). However, as of December 2017, there were still 30,000 applications waiting to be processed. Liberal Immigration Minister Ahmed Hussen blamed the conservative government for mismanagement and “unreasonable delays” and announced speedy processing to further reduce the backlog (Kennedy, 2017).

It has been over three years since these changes to the caregiver program were made. While initially making the “live-in” condition optional was seen as an improvement, since November 2014 policy change, various new problems have emerged. First, by setting a cap, the government had taken away the automatic right to apply for a permanent residency that the caregivers had struggled to obtain for a long time.

Canada has a long history of foreign domestic workers, though numbers were much smaller in the past. Historically, in accordance with a policy of more ‘inclusive’ Canada which supports both current and former live-in caregivers, before the 1900s, women from England, Finland, and Ireland who were called “nursemaids” and “governesses” were allowed to come to Canada to provide caregiving services. Their work was valued and respected because it was acknowledged that such work required “skills.” They were automatically granted permanent

residency upon arrival in Canada. In 1945, due to the war, the care gap increased drastically. Therefore, the Canadian government widened their list of countries to recruit caregivers. As a result, many caregivers came from Caribbean countries. However, contrary to their European counterparts, they were not given permanent residency and were considered as “disposable reserve labour.” In 1966, the federal government introduced the point system to its immigration policy. On the surface, it seemed remarkable that Canada’s immigration system no longer assessed race and the birthplace of the immigrants. However, in actuality, the introduction of the point system made caregiving “unskilled” and disposable work. Along with the low status relegated to caregiving work under the new point system, caregivers were also seen as a commodity that could be brought by those who could afford them and disposed of when employers no longer needed their services (<http://www.inclusivecan.ca/learn/lcptimeline/>).

Following the end of the white-only immigration policy in 1967, new policies were created in 1973 that denied permanent residency to domestic workers. The roots of the current Temporary Foreign Worker Program were laid in 1973 (Cohen, 2000). The creation of the "temporary" migrant worker programs was a policy rooted in racist exclusion, because many caregivers and seasonal workers come from poorer countries from South America. Unfortunately, the recent 2014 policy changes made it seem like the clock was being turned backward to the 1970s by placing an annual cap over the automatic right to apply for permanent residency after 24 months of full time work (Hussan, 2014).

Another issue is a low Labour Market Impact Assessment¹ (LMIA) approval rate. 90 percent of all LMIA's filed between January and March of 2015 were rejected. This high rate of

¹ “A Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) is a document that an employer in Canada may need to get before hiring a foreign worker. A positive LMIA will show that there is a need for a foreign worker to fill the job. It will also show that no Canadian worker is available to do the job.” (Immigration and Citizenship, Government of Canada).

rejection meant that few caregivers are now allowed to come into Canada. It also means that if a caregiver is fired or forced to quit their work even due to abuse or mistreatment, they cannot start a new job because, without a positive LMIA, an application for a new visa cannot be sent out to the government. The advocate groups claim, “this limit on LMIAs has created immense fear in the caregiver community, with most workers choosing to stay quiet in the face of abuse and mistreatment” (Caregivers’ Action Center <http://caregiversactioncentre.org/permanent-status-now/campaign-updates/>).

Nonetheless, there has been a concentration of Filipino labourers who came to Canada through the Live-in Caregiver system. They are mostly female, and many of them possess college degrees or vocational diplomas and have worked as professionals in their country. In the following literature review, I will explain how economic globalization based on neoliberal principles has relegated a low status to caregiving work. I also argue that Canadian immigration policies further reinforce the neoliberal ideology by delegating a low-skilled status to caregivers and therefore add to their oppression. Finally, I will examine what kind of life opportunities are available to the current and former caregivers who, in many cases, are the sole breadwinners for their families.

Chapter 2 Literature review

2.1 Caregiver program and global neoliberalism

Neoliberalism and globalization have produced fierce competition among workers in society. It is no longer uncommon to see both parents working in many parts of the world. Sometimes, it is the only way that they can make ends meet. Other times, dominant discourses of “who is a good, worthy and contributing citizen, who is liberated, etc.,” influence women's choice to continue to participate in the labour market, because the job is part of their identity even after they have children or elderly to care for. The System of National Accounts² is only interested in the cash generating capacity and completely discards the unpaid work and reproductive work that women are engaged in. Yet, this accounting system is what determines the public policy all over the world (Waring, 1988).

With globalization, the movement of people, money, and goods has become much more fluid. However, in the fast-paced, competitive market system, not everyone can be a winner. According to McLaren and Farahmandpur, workers struggle going through times where there is an elitism of the marketplace in a capitalist system. In this system, inequalities are becoming more common than ever before (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001). Caregivers who travel transnationally are one example of workers who bear the brunt of the negative aspects of globalization. The increased mobility of people and fluidity of capital are all related to the Live-

² The UN defines the System of National Accounts as “the internationally agreed standard set of recommendations on how to compile measures of economic activity. The SNA describes a coherent, consistent and integrated set of macroeconomic accounts in the context of a set of internationally agreed concepts, definitions, classifications and accounting rules. In addition, the SNA provides an overview of economic processes, recording how production is distributed among consumers, businesses, government and foreign nations. [...] Consequently, the national accounts are one of the building blocks of macroeconomic statistics forming a basis for economic analysis and policy formulation. (<https://unstats.un.org/unsd/nationalaccount/sna.asp>)

in Caregiver Program. However, according to Filipino scholars, globalization is another form of Americanization or neo-colonization, wherein the powerful advanced capitalist countries make rules and terms of political, cultural, and economic spheres (Law & Nadeau, 1999).

Neoliberalism and globalization affect the Live-in Caregiver Program and the new Caregiver Program in two ways. First, they affect nuclear families in developed countries like Canada, where it is commonplace for both parents to work. The neoliberal idea is summarized as, instead of government bureaucracies being in control, the free market should dictate the price of goods, production, services, and overall economic discourse. Therefore, traditionally public sectors such as hospitals and schools should be privatized, and control should be taken by force by the free market (Spring, 2008). Neoliberalism encourages the privatization of and cutbacks to social welfare programs, which makes it more difficult to find a balance between paid work and household maintenance (Parrenas, 2008). Canada, like any other developed nation, subscribes to neoliberal principles. The Live-in Caregiver Program, as well as the new caregiver programs are prime examples which show how government policies, globalization, and neoliberal ideology are closely related.

In 1981, the Live-in Caregiver Program was shaped under the name of the “Foreign Domestic Movement,” which coincided with the time of political leaders such as Thatcher, Reagan, and Mulroney, who all favored neoliberalism (Tungohan, 2014). This is the era after the second wave feminist movement, when it had become increasingly common for women in the household to take on jobs outside of the house. Also, due to the supporters of the free market, the competition for better goods had increased, which made both parents in the nuclear family had to get full-time jobs. At the same time, neoliberalism and globalization also impacted the career choices of many Filipino women. Many Filipinas who choose to work as caregivers are highly

educated professionals. Unfortunately, in countries such as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia, there is less correspondence between educational attainment and economic achievement. There are structural impediments for women to participate in the economic realm because of patriarchal systems, socioeconomic constraints, and the interface of gender ideologies (Jayaweera, 1997). Many caregivers who come to Canada are certified professionals such as nurses, teachers, or accountants. However, they choose to be caregivers, as their degrees are often not recognized and only caregiving jobs are available to them in these developed countries. Additionally, the exchange rates make it viable for them to take up caregiving work, which still helps them earn more than what they would be able to earn as professionals in their home country. This illustrates the economic disparity among nations and a world system that narrows life opportunities and forces women in the developing world to take up labour-intensive professions such as caregivers and domestic workers. Globalization has resulted in increasing inequality and imbalance of power among citizens of nation-states (Alfred, 2015).

Several countries in the global South have either deliberately, or coercively due to debt repayment and structural adjustment policies, been forced to shift to the neoliberal economic model. While this model has given certain advantages to people in certain classes, the vast majority of people have ended up in the informal economies of wage labour, which is sometimes too similar to slavery (Shekar, 2015). The feminization of labour is another characteristic of globalization. More women are participating in paid work sectors all over the world. However, women in developing countries are often working in informal sectors, which are less visible and undercounted. The feminization of labour also means that there is increasing demand for workers to be more flexible. Workers are forced to take on subcontract work, part-time jobs, and home-based work as it is the norm for women to work in these ways (Kanji, Tan, & Toulmin, 2007). In

addition, there is a question as to whether paid work emancipates women along with economical development and globalization. Patriarchy does not simply decline as women participate economic, political, and educational activities (Walby, 1996).

For the case of the Philippines, the movement of people especially women without their immediate family members in order to work for Canadian families also need to be understood in the context of global economy. The debt crisis in the Philippines made the Filipino government encourage their citizens to work outside of the country. This resulted in a massive influx of Filipino women as domestic workers in Canada and other countries (Cohen, 2000). In addition, the Philippines have a long history of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the recent debt crisis has left the Philippines in a position where it cannot reject the implementation of the Bretton Woods institutions and (US-supported) Structural Adjustment Program. Massive cuts imposed on government spending, a push to devalue its currency and deregulate and privatize Filipino industry, as well as opening its markets to foreign competitors has pushed the Filipino government to encourage emigration as a strategy for economic survival (Stasiulis & Bakan, 1997). Along with these push factors, the pull factors such as lack of workers in low-paid labour-intensive professions such as nurses and caregivers in the Western world have affected Filipino women at a higher rate than men (Tungohan, 2013). To make matters worse, emigrated caregivers and domestic workers are often unprotected because they are vulnerable temporary workers abroad and do not have a well-defined immigration status. The documentary “Brown Women Blond Babies” (1991) shows the accounts of Filipino caregivers who usually work more than 70 hours a week as they live with their employers. One caregiver had to ask her employer every time to provide her with a paycheck, and the other was asked by her male employer to give him a massage.

The narrative of live-in caregivers in Canada often doesn't reach the Canadian public or media. The first reason is, while it is unimaginable for the Canadian public to live separately from their family members for years, caregivers can eventually become permanent residents and sponsor their spouses and children. Second, the public and media are unsure about when national responsibility and obligation to better the lives of foreign caregivers who are not Canadian citizens starts. Finally, many Canadians simply assume that the life in Canada, a developed country, is much better than Philippines. This sentiment results in a simplistic point of view that Canadians are "rescuing" Filipino caregivers from the Philippines (Pratte, 2009). Due to complex circumstances and dilemmas, the media often fails to address the unfairness of caregiver programs. Subsequently, lack of media coverage can lead to unawareness by the Canadian public concerning the actual narratives of caregivers.

2.2 Norms of "care-work": low-skilled and women's work

According to the statistics, 2000 to 2006, Filipino women account for more than 70 percent of annually deployed migrant workers, of which 69 percent in 2006 worked as domestic workers or as caregivers. These numbers demonstrate the notion that the women are more suited to care work and household chores than men (Parrenas, 2009). In the Philippines, like many other parts of the world, the traditional gender division within the family is that men work outside of the household to bring in income and sustain the household as breadwinner, whereas the women are to take care of children and maintain the household. However, due to the Filipino government's push policies and rich countries such as Canada's pull policies, gender relations in the Philippines are being reconstituted when women migrate into richer countries. According to Parrenas (2009), this reconstitution does not necessarily mean that men are taking care of

children and household chores. Instead, these responsibilities are passed on to other female kin such as grandmothers and aunts. Therefore, it is still women who take over these works after the mother leaves the country to become a breadwinner.

Feminist scholars have been contesting the ideological discourse that connects women to nurturance and, therefore, emotional labour. It has been taken for granted that paid domestic workers should be women because it involves house and care work, as well as it being carried out in the domestic sphere. There are several branches of feminist thought which focus on psychoanalytic and care-focused feminism. Primarily, care-focused feminists such as Sara Ruddick, Virginia Held, and Eva Kittay argue that since women are the only ones who can bear a child, women are better than men at taking care of those who need care. It is argued that because of a complex interaction between a women's childbearing capability, and because of the patriarchal society, it has become women's work to care (Tong, 2016). Also, the notion that care work dictates a unique labour process is embedded in a relationship. The emotional connection based on a feminist tradition in philosophy, psychology, sociology, and economics regards care as the "feminine" antithesis to the "masculine." Attributes such as individualism, competition, and rationality that are valued in a capitalist society are ascribed to men, and since women are seen as the antithesis of men, their status is relegated as secondary (Duffy, Albelda & Hammonds, 2013). However, Tong (2016) warns that psychoanalytic explanations alone do not account for women's oppression and do not explain women's subordination to men. The capacity of childbearing should not force women to be more docile than men or expect women to be universally more caring than men. Kelly-Gadol questions how the "attachment of women to domestic work develops, and what forms does it take?" (Harding, 1987, p23), and argues that the connecting of child rearing to domestic work, and the sex typing, is a social, not natural matter

(Harding, 1987). In addition, according to Sheila Mullet, “a person cannot truly care for someone if she or he is economically, socially, or psychologically forced to do so. Thus, genuine, or fully authentic caring cannot occur under patriarchal conditions characterized by male domination and female subordination” (as cited in Tong, 2016, p. 171). Therefore, if caregivers are coerced into taking care jobs due to economic and social reasons, their job cannot be authentic and truly caring.

The point system adopted by the Canadian and Quebec immigration policies ascribes a low status to skilled caregivers by not allocating high points to their profession. However, as mentioned in the introduction, due to the shortage of caregivers in Canada, especially since it has become common for both parents to have paid work, Canada created the caregiver program, which is convenient for Canadians to employ cheap labour from outside of the country that can be adjusted depending on the economic situation of Canada. Shekar (2015) argues that “that crucial work, which ensures that our children are taken care of, allows our elderly and disabled to live with care and dignity, and send out the workforce everyday, clothes and fed and taken care of- is rendered invisible and valueless.” The notion that the caregiving is women’s work, along with the idea of an unlimited supply of disposable labour that’s endorsed by policies of both the Filipino government and the Canadian and Quebec governments, positions caregiving work at a lower status and allows it to be labeled as low-skill work. On the other hand, there is a contradiction in how caregivers are expected to apply for permanent residency. For example, in Quebec, caregivers must apply for permanent residency through the “Skilled Workers Program,” since technically Caregiver Program no longer exists after the recent policy changes. Since caregiving work is labeled as low skill work, there is little chance for caregivers to earn enough points as skilled workers to become eligible for permanent residency in Quebec.

2.3 Caregivers as breadwinners and their social mobility

First and foremost, domestic workers (with the exclusion of seasonal temporary workers) are the only group of people who are not permitted to enter Canada with their immediate family members (Cohen, 2000). This means that their spouses and children must wait at least two years (more than a decade in some cases) to be reunited as a family. In order to support their family during the separation, women work overseas and send remittances. As mentioned, the majority of the immigrants from the Philippines are women, and 34 to 53 percent of the overall population depend on remittances from migrant for their daily necessities (Parrenas, 2009). This makes women not only the breadwinners of the family, but also the breadwinners of a nation that is heavily in debt and relies on the remittances as the largest source of revenue comes from overseas. However, entering into the so-called global economy and having breadwinner status is not directly correlated to women's empowerment, nor is it an indicator of upward social mobility in the Philippines or elsewhere. In the book "The Force of Domesticity," Parrenas argues "the process of labour migration pushes women outside the home at the same time that it reaffirms the belief that women belong inside the home. The work that migrant women perform outside of the home [...] usually maintains the nation of women's domesticity" (Parrenas, 2008, P4). Parrenas also states that the notion of women's domesticity somewhat justifies the low wage, and looking at care work as low-skill (Parrenas, 2008). Therefore, the social mobility of women is limited due to the constraints of occupational segregation and gender inequality. In other words, being a breadwinner and earning wages cannot overturn the patriarchal system in society, the family, and workplace.

In Canada, immigrants in general tend to experience downward mobility due to the language barrier and non-recognition of educational credentials from developing countries. Only 24 percent of skilled immigrants find jobs in their field, and within this group around 60 percent have to accept jobs that are occupationally “lower” than those they had in their country of origin. In many cases, skilled immigrants have a set of skills, certificates, or diplomas that are not recognized in the country they immigrate to. For various reasons such as lack of time and funds, many immigrants give up the hopes of getting a job in the field that they were trained for (Chapin 2012). Devaluation of immigrants’ foreign credentials has effects such as a refusal of immigrants’ entrance to closed professional communities, blockage of immigrants’ access to professional employments at high salary jobs, and blockage of immigrants from moving into management positions due to their cultural and ethnic differences (Guo, 2015). Particularly for immigrant women, the scenario gets worse as their capabilities are viewed through the additional lens of gender, class, and race, which block their access to professional employment (Guo, 2015). According to a study in Canada, over 90 percent of the immigrants who failed to find work in their field in the first three years of immigration ended up permanently in other services which are usually occupationally lower (Slade, 2015).

Ethel Tungohan, a leading scholar and an activist who researches the mobility of former live-in caregivers, argues that very little is known about former live-in caregivers after they receive permanent residency. Tungohan in her article, “After the Live-in Caregive Program” shows how Filipina caregivers face various discriminations and unique barriers for being former caregivers, as compared to the other type of immigrants (Tungohan et al., 2015). As mentioned, one characteristic that is common to almost all Filipina caregivers is that most of them are the family’s breadwinners. Therefore, after facing de-professionalization, it becomes harder for them

to pay expensive fees to go back to an educational institution, and to get back into the profession they had in their home country (Tungohan, et al., 2015). According to the Landed Immigrant Data System, there is a clear disconnect between the educational attainment and intended occupation for Filipino women in Canada. Between 1980 to 2001, 28.3 percent of principal applicants for migration to Canada had a university degree or more. However, only 11.3 percent were destined for jobs that correspond to their educational attainment. Strikingly, as a result of the Live-in Caregiver Program, more than 75 percent of migrated Filipino women ended up with jobs that are designated for lower skilled workers (Kelly, 2006).

Chapter 3 Conceptual Framework and method

3.1 Conceptual framework: Standpoint theory

As shown in Table 1, the discourse of women's migration and gendered labour is complex and intertwined. In order to understand the intersecting issues and problems caregiver workers face, I used standpoint theory as a conceptual framework. This framework allowed me to look at things from the standpoint of those who have gone through the experience of oppression and marginalization. Standpoint theory informs us to start the exploration by hearing the voice of those whose lives have been oppressed so that we can see the power relations. Standpoint theory also directs our attention to understanding the link between political and social power and knowledge, which is socially situated (Moreton-Robinson, 2013).

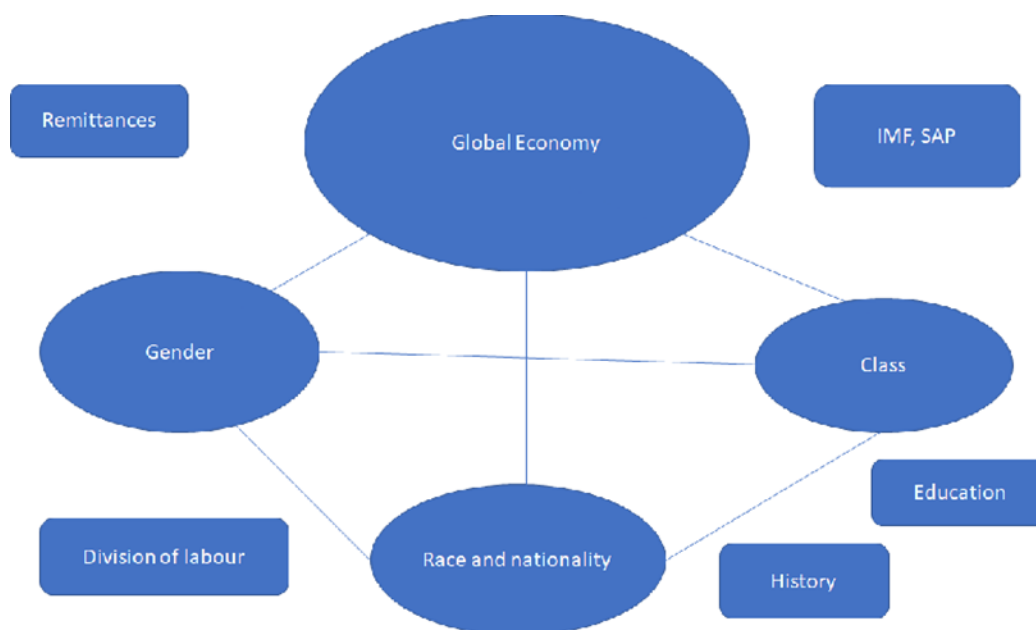


Figure 9- *Intersection of women's migration*

According to Harding, “standpoint theory’s focus on the historical and social locatedness of knowledge projects and on the way collective political and intellectual work can transform a source of oppression into a source of knowledge and potential liberation, makes a distinctive contribution to social justice projects as well as to our understanding of preconditions for the production of knowledge” (Harding, 2004, p10). From the view of the marginalized group, we are imbued with critical insights and can better understand the social order and knowledge-power relationship. One of the founders of the standpoint theory, Dorothy E. Smith, argues that methods, conceptual schemes, and theories of sociology have been built up in the male social universe. Therefore, sociology for women is needed that offers the direct experience of women (Smith, 1990). Smith also asserts that women’s direct experiences can help us to see the uneasiness of the world we live in, and that the standpoint of women can make us recognize the problems in everyday life (Smith, 1990). In “Feminist and Methodology,” Harding argues that women’s theory is needed, since traditional theories have made it difficult to understand women’s accounts and participation in social life. Instead of “adding women” to existing traditional theories, a new empirical theory, standpoint theory, was developed (Harding, 1987). Moreover, standpoint theory also helps us to see the duality of reality by explaining the deeper meaning from the surface, and how it is inverted and distorted in the deeper reality (Hartsock, 1987). Therefore, standpoint theory is important for investigating the systemic oppression in a society that devalues the knowledge of the “other,” and those who are marginalized. For the interviews, I used Dorothy E. Smith’s standpoint theory. Smith (1987) argues that established sociology had a concealed gender subtext constructed largely from the perspective of men. In her method of research, the interviewer’s specific knowledge and experiences are useful tools in the research process. Smith believes that when there are two people, there is a relationship, and

therefore, the interviewer cannot be completely objective (Smith, 1987). Rather, the interviewer should take advantage of her own knowledge and experience so that they can reach deeper understanding. As she states in her essay “Women’s Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology,” “[...] the only way of knowing a socially constructed world is knowing it from within. We can never stand outside it” (Smith, 1987, p28).

In addition, my qualitative research inquiry opens up the knowledge and experience of those who were or are still caregivers in Quebec, Canada. Their individual standpoint is not reduced to samples or social process. Also, by inquiring about their experience and knowledge, “inquiry becomes an essentially reflective critique” (Smith, 1990, p 203). However, before proceeding with detailing my research, I think it is important to highlight some of the criticisms of standpoint theory.

3.2 Criticisms of standpoint theory

Standpoint theory is criticized because, to some people, this framework seemingly lacks objectivity. According to Harding, objectivity is not associated with “emotion” and “feelings” and tends to be attributed to “fairness” in science. However, in seeking fairness, researchers can exclude minorities who belong to different races, classes, or genders (Harding, 1995). Accounts and articulation of these minorities and their struggles are what challenge objectivism (Harding, 1992). Therefore, objectivity should be considered not as a single idea, but rather as a collection of assumptions, aspirations, and attitudes by the dominant groups in the society (Harding, 1995). Standpoint theorists argue that starting one’s research from the view marginalized people leads to the strong objectivity because it enables us to identify the systematic problems which cause marginalized people to stay in the conditions that they are in (Harding, 1992).

Hekman, S. criticizes this theory, saying that it is difficult to find the dynamics and realities because there are multiple standpoints and, therefore, “there must be multiple truths and multiple realities. This is a difficult position for those who want to change the world according to a new image” (Hekman, 2004, p. 229). To this argument, African American standpoint theorist Patricia Hill Collins responds that by sharing histories based on shared location of marginalized people in relation to power, they can see themselves as a group, therefore, the knowledge and experience of this group of marginalized people can lead to a political movement (Collins, 2004). With standpoint theory we can see the experience, knowledge, and power relations from a specific marginalized person and/or people’s view. Such shared insights can have political and social implications. Having explained the conceptual framework I have used to analyze the stories of six Filipino workers, I will proceed with stating the problem and the overall objectives of my research.

3.3 Statement of problem

A review of literature shows that very little is known about the lives of Filipino caregivers after they obtain permanent residency. The purpose of this research is to investigate the following from the perspective of the caregivers:

- 1) Experience of caregiver workers during the live-in caregiver program before the changes to policy were made in 2014,
- 2) The experience of caregiver workers related to their immigration process and transition after they have received their permanent residency,
- 3) Explore how caregiver workers view educational and vocational opportunities available or not available for them and

- 4) Explore the social mobility of the caregiver workers after they obtain permanent residency.

Filipinos are the largest group of immigrants in Canada, and the majority are women. Many of them immigrated to Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program. In this study, I explore how caregiver workers defined their various experiences related to immigration and caregiving and domestic work in Canada. I further explore how caregiver workers look at various educational and vocational opportunities (available or not available to them) which would help them settle down in either their previous professions, or help them gain new credentials to improve their quality of life and assist them in upward social mobility once they receive permanent residency in Canada.

3.4 Research Questions

The goal of my research was to listen to, understand and analyze the stories of the six caregiver workers who are research participants in this qualitative study. My interviews with the research participants are open-ended, so that I allow room for the research participants to express their feelings in an uninhibited manner. However, the following research questions will provide a reference guide to the reader about the direction of the open-ended interview.

1. What are the obstacles and challenges that caregivers face while in the Live-in Caregiver Program?
2. What has been the impact of the 2014 policy change on their lives? What are some of the major problems they face after the policy changed in 2014, and has the policy change helped caregives, or created more problems?

3. How do caregivers transition to their life in Canada upon leaving the Live-in Caregiver Program? What types of opportunities, educational or vocational, are available to them?
4. Do they see their experiences being different from that of other immigrants? If so, how and why?
5. What type of educational opportunities should be made available to them to help their transition from caregiving to other professions which can help them in upward social mobility?

3.5 Method

According to Denzin and Lincoln, “qualitative study researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied and the situated constraints that shape inquiry” (Denzin& Lincoln 2008, p.14). I analyzed literature on the Live-in Caregiver Program and the mobility of immigrants. Also, I conducted in-depth, unstructured interviews with former and current caregivers “to understand the complex behaviour of members of society without imposing any prior categorization that may limit the field of inquiry” (Denzin& Lincoln, 2008). Questions I asked were about their lives in the Philippines, moving to Canada for work, life during the Live-in Caregiver Program, life after leaving the Live-in Caregiver Program, and education opportunities and social mobility. I used purposeful sampling and snowball sampling methods to recruit six former and current caregivers as research participants to conduct in-depth interviews. The purposeful sampling method was used in order to identify the information-rich participants for the subject. The in-depth interviews I conducted were in free conversational style, which is spontaneous with a natural flow. Also, I used voice recording equipment for accuracy and convenience. My research participants were six

caregivers who came from the Philippines and worked in Quebec. It was made clear to the research participants that their participation in this project was purely voluntary, and that they could withdraw from the study any time, should they desire to do that. I handed out the written consent form, which would guarantee research participants' confidentiality. To sum it up, the data I collected was related broadly to:

- 1) Their profession in the home country
- 2) Their educational background
- 3) Reason for applying for the Live-in Caregiver Program
- 4) Their current profession
- 5) Participation in an educational institution
- 6) Their overall thoughts on immigration to Canada, the barriers and opportunities available to them for joining labor market, and chances of upward social mobility.

3.6 Ethical Issues

Because the participants talk about the very private sphere, I paid special attention to protect their privacy. Caregivers usually work, and often live, in the household of their employers. Therefore, the subjects can be their employers' personal matters, as well as those of caregivers. All participation was strictly voluntary, and the names of participants and the people they talked about were not to be revealed. Before any questions were asked, I handed out the consent form for participants to read thoroughly and sign. They were also offered a choice of taking this consent form home. The contents of the consent form were read aloud, and all of the questions participants were answered to confirm their understanding of the consent. Also, it was written and explained that they were free to withdraw at any time during the interview. I also

made it clear to the research participants that they were not obliged to answer any questions they did not want to. I also explained to the participants that they would have an option to withdraw from the interview until May 1, 2018, after which I will finalize the data and write up my thesis and submitted it to my committee. They were also reminded that, upon their request, all the material related to their interview would be destroyed immediately. The data I collected was mainly hand-written and recorded with a voice recorder. The information I gathered is stored in a locked safe where only I have access to it. Digital data will be kept with a password on my computer. Five years after the end of my study, I will destroy all the related data and materials.

3.7 Limitations of the research

First, a word on some limitations. The size of the research sample is fairly small and, thus, it may be argued that it is not generalizable. However, generalizability is not the aim of this type of qualitative research, rather it is contextual sensitivity. The objective of this research is to give a voice to their experiences and opinions using standpoint theory as a conceptual to understand their problems and to seek appropriate solutions within the Canadian context.

Another limitation was that English was not the first language of participants or the researcher. While some could articulate what they wanted to state in English, there were several participants who had a hard time explaining exactly what they wanted to say. However, my previous experience of working with Filipino women, and having detailed conversations with them, helped me during the interviews to understand where they were coming from. In this case, my insider knowledge and awareness of the particular context played an important role in helping along and facilitating the interview process, as well as in understanding the point of view of Filipino caregiver workers.

3.8 Possible biases

As written in prologue, I have somewhat similar experiences to many caregivers, since I also worked as a caregiver in Canada. I know many current and former Filipino caregivers. Using standpoint theory as a conceptual framework informs me not to generalize their experiences, and instead to pay special attention to their individual standpoints and situated knowledge.

Chapter 4 Interviews

4.1 Interview overview

For my research, I recruited five participants who told me their stories. However, one of the participant's sisters was also willing to join and talk about her experience as a caregiver. I used a purposeful sampling method to recruit four participants out of five. From them, snowballing was used to recruit one participant. Both time and location were chosen by participants. Names shown are a pseudonym for privacy reasons. The interviews took place over the course of three weeks. Instead of following themes or questions, I followed a free flow style to allow my research participants narrate their life stories following standpoint theory, which informs us to start the exploration by hearing the voice, as it may facilitate epistemic insight of the practice of power. Therefore, instead of dividing their stories into groups, I chose to write their stories in order of the interview. Discussion and analysis were followed.

4.2 Participants' overall profile

All the participants were women from the Philippines aged between 38 to 45. I deliberately chose women who did not have children when they first came to Canada. Because the first three participants did not have children when they came to Canada, I decided to narrow down to caregivers who had the same profile. The reason to do this was that caregivers with children in the home country and caregivers without children would differ greatly regarding the motivation to be in Canada and motivation for occupational and social mobility. For example, for a mother, it would be much more difficult to quit her job to go to school when her family back home waits for the remittances for daily living expenses. Therefore, two participants with

children had them after they became a permanent resident and none of the participants had children when they arrived in Canada.

4.3 The education system in the Philippines and its equivalency to that of Canada

One of the questions I had for the participants was their educational background. The education system in the Philippines is very similar to that of the United States. With completion of a 10-year study, students would move on to university, vocational school or a two-year college.



Figure 10- Education system in the Philippines. (<http://www.alberta.ca/iqas-education-guide-philippines.aspx>)

However, the Canadian government does not consider the Filipino education levels to be equivalent to that of Canada.

Credential	Entrance requirements	Length of study	IQAS ³ comparison
Sertipiko or Diploma (Certificate or Diploma (2-year post-secondary program))	High School Diploma (10 years)	2 years	The combination of the High School Diploma and a two-year Certificate or Diploma generally compares to the completion of a one-year post-secondary Certificate.
Sertipiko or Diploma (Certificate or Diploma (3-year post-secondary program))	High School Diploma (10 years)	3 years	The combination of the High School Diploma and a three-year Certificate or Diploma generally compares to the completion of a two-year post-secondary Diploma.
Asoyado (Associate's degree (2-year program))	High School Diploma (10 years)	2 years	Generally compares to the completion of a one-year post-secondary Certificate.
Asoyado (Associate's degree (3-year program))	High School Diploma (10 years)	3 years	Generally compares to the completion of a two-year post-secondary Diploma.
Batsilyer (Bachelor's degree)	High School Diploma (10 years)	4 years	Generally compares to the completion of a three-year Bachelor's degree.

Table 4-Credentials comparison (<http://www.alberta.ca/iqas-education-guide-philippines.aspx>)

As shown in Table 1, generally, the Canadian government subtracts one year from Filipino education to determine the equivalency with the Canadian education system. This is especially troublesome for Filipino immigrants because their diploma or credentials from the Philippines are not recognized in Canada, despite the influence of the US education system on the Filipino education system.

³ The International Qualifications Assessment Service. This service compares education and credentials from countries with educational standards in Canada. (<https://www.alberta.ca/iqas-education-guides.aspx>)

4.4 Interview questions

Questions were answered by following these general guidelines and questionnaires.

- 1) What was your profession in you home country?
- 2) What is your educational background?
- 3) What is your reason for applying for the Live-in Caregiver Program?
- 4) What is your current profession?
- 5) Do you attend any educational institution in Canada?
- 6) What are your overall thoughts on immigration to Canada, the barriers and opportunities available to you for joining the labor market, and the chances for upward social mobility?

For second part of the interview, participants were asked to narrate their experience, focusing on the following questions.

- 1) What has been the impact of the 2014 policy change on your life?
- 2) What were the obstacles and challenges that you face or have faced as a caregiver while you were in the Live-in Caregiver Program and has the policy change helped or created more problems for you as a caregiver?
- 3) How did you transition to life in Canada upon leaving the Live-in Caregiver Program? What types of opportunities, educational or vocational, were available to you?

Finally, their opinions and thoughts were asked about in the in-depth interview questions that follow.

- 1) How do you see your experience being different from that of other immigrants? If so, how and why?
- 2) What types of educational opportunities should be made available to caregivers to help them transition from caregiving to other professions, which may help caregivers in upward social mobility?

4.5 Eva

The interview with Eva took place at my apartment, upon her request. She came to the apartment after her job, around 5:30pm. Eva was a woman of 40 from the northern part of the Philippines. She had eight siblings and she was the second oldest. She was single and lived by herself in a studio apartment in Montreal, Quebec. In the Philippines, she worked as a bookkeeper at a construction company for four years before she became a caregiver in Taiwan.

In terms of her educational background, Eva finished her four years at university and obtained a bachelor of science in accounting. As mentioned previously, the Canadian government did not recognize her diploma as a university degree because she earned her diploma in the Philippines. After becoming a permanent resident of Canada, she went to a government sponsored, full-time French school, and completing levels one to three. People who were approved for this program received an allowance of \$105 a week from the Quebec government at the time when she participated⁴. Subsequently, Eva went to Tremplin DEC for three months in order to prepare her to study in CEGEP, attending Marie-Victorin to obtain an Attestation d'études collégiales (AEC) in accounting and management. She studied for one and a half years.

⁴ Since August 1, 2017, students admitted to a full-time French course can receive a participation allowance of \$140 a week, regardless of their immigration category. (<http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/french-language/learning-quebec/full-time/index.html>)

At the time of the interview, Eva had been working in a private school (high school and CEGEP) as an accounting clerk for two years. She started as an intern as a part of completing her degree and continued to work there after she obtained her AEC. At the time of the interview, she was not attending any educational institution.

Eva had left the Philippines initially to be able to afford to buy medication for her father, and to fulfill what she felt was her obligation to help support her family. At first, she moved to Taiwan to work as a caregiver. Once in Taiwan, she heard about Canada's Live-in Caregiver Program and decided to apply. The employer in Taiwan insisted that she stay with them because Eva was the family's favourite employee, so she lied to them and said that she needed to go back home in the Philippines. In many countries, no matter how many years caregivers work, they cannot become permanent residents. Therefore, they can only work as caregivers.

Eva: "There are two options to go to Canada. I can apply directly in the Philippines (for the Live-in Caregiver Program) but it takes time. Three to four years. The other option was to go out and work outside of the Philippines and have experience of working as a caregiver at least for one year. So, I went to Hong Kong to work for one year and applied for the program directly from Hong Kong to Canadian Consulate. [...] so yes, mostly financial, the reason I chose to go to Canada to support my family. Because the financial situation of my country in the Philippines was not that good."

Initially, her overall thoughts about Canada were a good, until she "began to see the reality." She found herself experiencing various cases of discrimination. For example,

Eva: "I just went to a bank on my way here. I was trying to deposit a paycheck for the company I work for and they told me that it needed to be done by the owner. My name was right on the letter I had, which authorized me to do this transaction. Then why did they need

to see an owner? The bank clerk was also very hesitant to print out this transaction on the check book, too. I felt...really weird. I felt like this was one form of discrimination, I think.”

The barriers that she described, in terms of joining the labour market, and for upward social mobility, were the French language and the restriction under the Live-in Caregiver Program for school attendance. It was limited to up to six months unless it was a French course. Not being able to participate in any professional educational programs for two years kept her from learning new techniques and new software in the accounting field, which was her profession in the Philippines. For Eva, as soon as she became a permanent resident, she started her full-time French courses and moved on to CEGEP. However, Eva thought that this would be difficult for many caregivers if they were sending remittances to their family back home.

To find out about education programs, she went to SIARI⁵ and asked for information. The staff helped her to fill out the application, because it was written in French, to apply for a full-time French course at CEGEP Marie Victorin. She needed to apply for an allowance to study full time, which amounted to 105\$ a week. Just before she completed her level three French, CEGEP personnel informed students about the possibility of continuing their studies in several programs. That was how Eva chose the accounting program. In order to finish her program, she needed to find an internship. Because the responsibility of finding an internship fell on the students, many students had a hard time finding one. She claimed some of her classmates had been looking for their internship for more than six months, so she considered herself lucky to be able to find one. She found her internship through her employer, where she worked as a cleaner.

⁵ Le Service d'interprète d'aide et de référence aux immigrants (SIARI) is a community organization and intercultural non-profit organization whose mission and goal are to help and support the immigrants and refugees with their integration into Quebec society. (<http://www.siari.org/en/>)

Her employer introduced Eva to her friend who worked at the private school. She finished her internship at this school and continued to work there.

In terms of the policy change in 2014, Eva was not directly affected. She had already completed the requirements of working and living with an employer by 2011. During this employment, she took care of the eight children of her employer, as well as cleaning the house and cooking for them. However, she pointed out that the waiting period had changed after 2014. During her time working as a live-in caregiver, it was not uncommon to see other caregivers waiting for their permanent residency for five to ten years, and the waiting period kept fluctuating. However, the new 2014 change states that it will be processed within six months. Eva found that this was not fair.

About her life during the Live-in Caregiver Program, Eva explained:

“Life was very difficult with eight kids. Eight kids! It was orthodox Jewish family, so they wore all the same clothes. Imagine finding a pair of white socks in all different sizes. I was washing dishes as I rock one baby in a stroller with my foot, so the baby can take a nap. [...] There was a newborn baby in the house and the mother went back to work after one or two weeks without leaving any milk. She kept crying and crying... I really didn't know what to do. Mother was a teacher who worked nearby so she could come back once or twice a day. But still, it was a newborn baby! Not only weather in Quebec and homesickness but the feeling that I was a maid... it was really tough.”

In the summer, she went to New York State with the family she was working for. It was a community of orthodox Jews. The place they visited was in the middle of the forest and there were no buses or taxis. She stayed there for three weeks, working days, nights, and weekends. She recalled that the three weeks felt very long, and that she felt isolated and lonely.

Eva considered the fact that she was single without any child of her own was the primary reason she was able to study and move on to another profession. Also, if she had been sending remittances regularly, it would have been very difficult to commit to studying for any extended period of time.

Upon leaving the Live-in Caregiver Program, her transition to life in Quebec was a positive one. She felt relieved when she received an open work permit, which allowed her to work anywhere in Canada. After she received it, she held a cleaning job at a hotel as well as factory work, and she was able to gain general conversation skills in French. However, it was hard for her to return to her previous level of employment that she had in the Philippines as an accounting clerk. Not only it had been years since she had performed the job, her diploma was not accepted in order to get this type of job in Canada.

In terms of education and vocational opportunity, she thought that opportunities were available if a person looked hard for these opportunities. However, Eva found that a person's financial situation, language skills, and age were the biggest factors to determine whether they would be inspired to try for the opportunity. For example, Eva mentioned ALAK⁶, which helped immigrants to find jobs, prepare CVs, as well as provided free French courses. ALAK had visited the CEGEP Eva attended to introduce intern or job opportunities to the students there. Otherwise, she said she would not have known about this organization.

Eva reflected on the very different experience of immigrants who went through the Live-in Caregiver Program and those who came to Canada through the skilled worker program. She

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Créé en 1983, ALAC est un organisme à but non-lucratif dont la mission est d'informer, accompagner, aider et soutenir les personnes immigrantes dans leur processus d'adaptation et d'intégration socio-économique. (<http://alac.qc.ca/mission/>)

felt that the government and the employers did not see the caregiving job as a “real” Canadian job that counted. In fact, she did not write about her experience as a caregiver on her CV.

The follow excerpt from the interview highlights these feelings.

Eva: “No, I do not write about my job as a caregiver on my CV. Actually, I think it’s even a disadvantage. If I was an employer who is trying to hire a bookkeeper, I don’t know how I would react if I see someone’s experience as a caregiver or a cleaning lady. I’m afraid they would look down on me.”

Interviewer: “You know, I usually write down my experience as a caregiver on my CV but I think it’s because they treated me as a Japanese language teacher and I didn’t have to clean the house. My employer had other people to do that.”

Eva: “For me, I had to clean the house, cook and care for eight children.”

Interviewer: “So, you had a lot more work and skills to manage all of these things and still have to worry about being looked down upon by employers exactly because you had to do additional works such as cleaning and cooking.”

This is one example of caregivers being stigmatized by their own job experience as a caregiver. The more work they have to do, including house cleaning, cooking, and doing laundry, in addition to caring for children or elderly, the more their experience is looked down upon. These household chores are not considered a real job or as legitimate job experience. For her CV, Eva only wrote about her education in CEGEP and about the job experience in the Philippines as a bookkeeper. Although she felt embarrassed about having a long time gap on her CV between her work experience in the Philippines and her studies in Canada, she considered herself to be very lucky to finally have the “real Canadian Job experience.” Eva thought that French proficiency was the most important thing that caregivers needed in Quebec in order to

change their profession or to go back to the profession they had in the Philippines. However, she also thought that once caregivers had a child, the chance for upward social mobility ended. When caregivers are employed, they cannot afford to stop working in order to go to school if they are duty-bound to continue to provide support for their children and family.

An important improvement that Eva felt that needed to be made was an increase in the amount of allowance for attending full-time French courses. \$105 a week was too little to live on, especially when caregivers were sending home remittances, and since students were only allowed to work up to 20 hours per week. Another point she brought up was that these allowance programs and bursary programs were not widely known about in the caregiver community. Therefore, if there were information seminars in the Filipino community, or as a part of language courses, where many Filipino caregivers are in attendance, it would help them to be informed about the opportunities for bursary and allowance programs.

4.6 May

May was another woman of 40 from the northern part of the Philippines who was able to get permanent residency through the Live-in Caregiver Program. She was in Canada for eight years and now has a daughter who is one and half at the time of the interview. She lived with her husband and daughter in a one bedroom apartment in Montreal. I came to know her when we were both working as full-time caregivers in the same neighbourhood. Our interview took place over the phone. She apologized and said that, with her daughter walking now, she could hardly take time for herself, even on weekends. The only time available for the interview was when she was at work as a caregiver, while her employer's child was at a daycare, and she was at her employer's home cleaning and using a headset. After some initial pleasantries where she talked

about her daughter, and about how she and her family were looking for a bigger apartment, our interview started. May had also introduced me to another person I also interviewed.

In the Philippines, May was a teacher and an administrative clerk. She finished her bachelor's degree in psychology and also has a certificate for secondary school teaching. May had enrolled in the Master's program for guidance counselling and had completed several courses but did not finish it because she joined the Live-in Caregiver Program to come to Canada.

May: "I was working toward getting my Master's degree in guidance and counselling to be a counsellor. Now, look at me. A nanny! (loud laughter). The reason I went for the Live-in Caregiver Program? Because it was my childhood dream to live in the United States. Canada was only supposed to be a stepping stone before going to the United States."

Another reason, she said, was to help her family. It was her dream to build them a new house. May said her parents are generally "okay with money" since both of her parents were working. As previously mentioned, at the time of the interview she was working as a full-time caregiver. However, many hours were spent cleaning and cooking for her employer's family since her employer's child went to daycare during the daytime. She said she was lucky because she only took care of one child, and things were calmer due to this reason.

At the time of the interview, May was not pursuing studies in any educational institution. She was "way too busy" with her daughter and full-time work, that she could not even consider going to school at this point of her life. Before she had a daughter, she took a course called the Home Daycare Provider Program for 3 months at Centre 2000 Vocational Training School⁷. She

⁷ Center 2000 is a vocational training organization for adults. It prepares students for trades that are in demand on the job market. (<http://centre-2000.com/en/home-page/>)

had also gone to three French courses, at a Filipino community center, at SIARI, and at Centre Pauline Julien⁸. She claimed that she was still not capable of speaking French.

For May's overall thoughts on immigration to Canada, she considered the French language as the biggest barrier for any caregiver from the Philippines. Another point she made was that the education in the Philippines was not considered to be equivalent to that of Canada. This was a big barrier because the diploma she received in the Philippine became useless in Canada. In terms of the 2014 policy change, she was not directly affected by it because she had already become a resident in 2011. However, she felt that the people who were in the new caregiver program were lucky, because there was a clear rule that caregivers worked for eight hours a day.

May: "When I was a caregiver, you just work until you finish. Whether its 10 hours or 12 hours. Challenges and difficulties were there all the time. But I ended up working for one family for 5 years and 6 months. I finished working for 24 months with this family and applied for Permanent residency with my husband. It took 2 years and 10 months for him to arrive in Canada. It was a long waiting time but of course, we both know worse cases than ours."

During her time in the Live-in Caregiver Program, the toughest time was when she had to travel with the family. She felt like she was working for 24 hours a day because it was a different feeling when traveling with your family or friends then it is to travel with your employer.

May: "It made me feel miserable when your employers and their kids are having fun when I am here all by myself and my husband is still in the Philippines. It really makes you feel alone and you are not important. My employers were nice people. It's just hard not knowing the place and

⁸ Located in Cote des Neiges, Centre Pauline Julien offers French courses that fit to various needs of the students. (<http://centre-pauline-julien.csdm.ca/>)

when there is nothing that you are familiar with and you have to smile all the time. But it's ok. I survived!"

May still kept in touch with her former employer. The mother and three children even came for May's baby shower in 2016. May said her former employer was a very nice person as a friend, but as an employer, she was very strict, because she paid attention to details.

As May completed the Live-in Caregiver Program, she started considering taking some courses. As soon as she received an open work permit, she started going to the Home Daycare Program at Centre 2000. She finished the program, however she did not pursue a different career, other than working as a caregiver. May also planned to attend Vanier College, however with her husband's arrival from the Philippines, it never happened. She had to get an apartment and plan for his study. Upon his arrival, May started working both full-time and part-time as a caregiver, and did cleaning jobs a couple days a week. In the meantime, her husband studied machinery operation.

May felt that opportunities were available to some caregivers, but unless caregivers were very committed, and they made good financial plans, it was hard to pursue a life other than as caregivers in Quebec.

May: "Opportunity to study, I gave it to my husband. But it wasn't easy. He had to support his family as soon as he got to Canada. He is a breadwinner for his family. So, while he was attending school, of course, I was the one making money, supporting his family in addition to my side of the family, not to mention our living expenses here in Canada."

She felt that people who immigrated to Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program and those who landed in Canada as skilled immigrants have very different experiences. May considered that working as a caregiver for at least 24 months in Canada, prior to becoming a

permanent resident, limited their ability to change careers. Caregivers break away from their former profession for a long period of time. Many caregivers' families are expecting remittances, and with that, caregivers feel insecure about leaving their work. She compared her experience coming to Canada as a caregiver with the experience of her husband. He was able to go to school within a couple months after he moved to Quebec, and was able to fit into Canadian life and the labour market much more easily. May felt that her husband had more choices of the types of work he could do, and less stress in terms of the immigration process, since stressful immigration process was all behind for people who came to Canada as an immigrant. He was sponsored by his wife and gained permanent residency upon arrival. On the other hand, people who came to Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program needed to apply for permanent residency here in Canada, and the number of documents they needed to collect and complete (often for their husband and for their children, if they have any) became overwhelming and stressful, which left them little time for thinking about their career change and education.

May thought that in order to improve the occupational and social mobility of Filipino caregivers, the Quebec government should have given allowances higher than 105 dollars a week, (*now \$140). She felt that it was impossible to live on just over 400 dollars a month when she had to pay rent, food, transportation and so on. In addition, May would like for caregivers to be qualified to register for this allowance program as soon as they apply for open work permits and permanent residency, because in applying, it showed that they wanted to stay in Canada, and more than likely, they would. If they had to wait until they became permanent residents, it could take years before they could go to school for French, or register for the allowance program. Therefore, caregivers should be able to study French intensively as soon as they apply for open work permits, and not be restricted to part-time, lower level courses. In this way, when they

obtain an open work permit, they will have some confidence in speaking French, and be better prepared to explore the job market.

4.7 Isabella

Isabella was introduced to me through another participant, May. After exchanging several text messages, she requested to have an interview in a coffeeshop in Montreal. The interview took place on Thursday, as it is Isabella's only day off. After the interview, Isabella and her husband headed to a movie.

Isabella was 42 years old at the time of the interview. She lived with her husband, and had been in Canada for 12 years. Isabella finished her bachelor's degree in education, with a focus on home economics, in the Philippines. However, she has also taught biology, English, and Tagalog while teaching children in a small town in the Philippines. In Quebec, she went to French classes in order to obtain a certificate. She was able to complete level two French out of 12 levels. She recalled the reason she stopped taking French course was that she had to work on weekends and could not find weekday classes that fit her schedule. Caregivers often take Saturday classes, as the majority of them work long hours on weekdays, and employers request them to be flexible with their schedule. Just like May, she had attended Centre Pauline Julien for her French courses. She remembered that there was a French teacher who came from the Philippines, and that it was very helpful for her and other Filipino students to have someone who shared the nationality and background.

Isabella's reason for joining the Live-in Caregiver Program was coincidental because her aunt, who lived in Toronto, happened to know someone who had an agency for caregivers. They

were looking for caregivers at that time. Isabella was living in Singapore with her cousin when she was introduced to the program. When Isabella was teaching in the Philippines, her cousin, who lived in Singapore, had just had a baby and needed a caregiver for her child. Her cousin asked Isabella to come and assist her, and that was how she came to be working in Singapore. Living in Singapore was convenient for Isabella because the visa processing time to enter Canada from Singapore was much faster compared to the processing time from the Philippines.

Isabella's occupation was as a caregiver at the time of the interview. She had been working for the same family since she arrived in Canada.

Isabella: "It has been 12 years and running. Oh, my goodness. It's weird. When you are with a family for such a long time, it becomes part of you, too. I've known this family for longer that I've known my husband. I only got married to him in my 30s and he came to Canada in 2011."

After Isabella became a permanent resident, she sponsored her husband to come to Canada. It took about eight months for him to arrive.

Isabella was not enrolled in any educational institution at the time of the interview. She worked six days a week and thought it would be too much for her to also study.

On the topic of upward social mobility and its barriers, Isabella focused on her personality and her personal choices.

Isabella: "Of course, it's French and financial situation that made it difficult to change the profession. But if I look into it deeply, it's because I did not set any goal for myself. Like I said, I did not really plan to come Canada. Just by a chance, I had an opportunity to come here and it worked out, fortunately for me. But that is the reason I didn't set a long-term goal. I have friends who changed their career paths after they become a permanent resident. But for me, it was more like living day by day and I was content this way. Fortunately, I have a family (her employer)

who are supportive and generous. You have what you need. So, really, it was me who didn't set a goal. Because I think, if you set a goal, there is a way to achieve it. If you want to overcome the barrier, there is always a way. If French is an obstacle, you can move to other province. But I did not. I was satisfied and by nature, I am not very competitive. [...] I fell in love with the family and I think it's vice versa. My employers love me."

Her employers spoke English at home, and the children went to French schools.

Therefore, she never felt the need to learn French in her current environment.

Isabella sent remittances to her family in the Philippines, although it was no longer very frequent. Isabella's brother was an engineer, and her two sisters were nurses in the Philippines, however, it was still necessary for Isabella to occasionally send money to help. Her husband sent monthly remittances to his family to pay for internet, TV, and some other bills. She considered the reason for the necessity to send money to be that the cost of living and the cost of certain daily items was very high in the Philippines as compared to the income people normally receive.

Interviewer: "I remember I had a Filipino friend who was sending sugar to the Philippines from Canada. That really surprised me because the Philippines is the major grower of sugar cane. I think most of the sugarcane supply in Japan comes from the Philippines."

Isabella: "Oh yes, I used to do that. Processed sugar is very expensive in the Philippines. Once the sugarcane is harvested, it's all shipped outside of the country. Us Filipinos are unlucky that way, especially when it comes to the government and their policies. But this current government is by far the best so far. I know he doesn't have a good reputation outside of the Philippines but to us he is someone that is finally not corrupted. Most of us really like him for this reason. Of course, his ways are not agreeable to all of us sometimes."

As far as sending workers abroad, the 16th President of the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, does not seem to have a plan to change the current discourse.

Isabella considered the biggest problem with the Filipino government's policy to send workers abroad to be that the skills are being lost in its own country as people leave, looking for better income and better lives. However, she also thought that the skill loss has not been a serious problem because there were always "refills" for professionals, since the Philippines is a densely populated country.⁹

Isabella has not been directly affected by the caregiver program policy changes, since she had become a permanent resident before that time. Also, she did not feel that she had any challenges or obstacles particularly regarding the policy of the Live-in Caregiver Program. She said she was very lucky with the way her employers treated her. They did not count or keep track of the hours she worked. If they needed her, she worked extra hours and she recuperated them on other days. Isabella tried in-vitro fertilization multiple times in recent years, and when she could not work due to medical issues, her employers still paid her the same amount of salary.

When she arrived in Canada, her employers had two boys, a five year-old and a four year-old, and the mother was expecting a girl. A few years later, the mother became pregnant again. Isabella was taking care of four children for a while, and then her employers started looking for a second person to help. The second caregivers came and left, but she got along with everyone. The assistant caregiver, who had been with the family for three years, was a man who mainly drove the children around to school and activities, and did most of the cooking.

Although she acknowledged that her employers were very generous and understanding, when Isabella arrived in Canada, she experienced a very difficult time. She was taking care of

⁹ The current population of the Philippines is 105,633,254 as of Wednesday, December 13, 2017, based on the latest United Nations estimates. The median age in the Philippines is 24.3 years. (<http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/philippines-population/>)

two young boys and a baby. She had a crib in her room, so she could feed the baby during the night. Usually, the baby's last feeding was around 11pm and the first morning feeding was at 6am. Therefore, her work schedule was very long and not very flexible since Isabella needed to stay up until 11pm and get up before 6am. Isabella had been working on weekends for a long time and had only one day off, on a weekday. On weekends, the family usually went to their country house in North of Montreal, and Isabella was required to accompany them. Even at the time of the interview, she slept at her employer's house several nights a week.

Isabella: "All my friends say I need to stay more with my husband. But since he also works nights and understands that I am tired by night. Besides, I've known the family much longer than I've known him!"

She was planning to have two days off beginning next summer, since two of the children will be out of the house for college.

In 2016, she and her husband obtained Canadian Citizenship, which made it much easier for them to travel. Isabella usually traveled with the family of her employer, and in 2017, they went to Cambodia and Thailand, and she was able to take a side trip to the Philippines for a week. However, she predicted that this travel pattern would change drastically, now that there would only be two children traveling with their parents, and she did not see the need for her to accompany them anymore.

Just after obtaining her permanent residency, she was offered a job at a daycare. However, Isabella declined the offer. Not only was her employer paying much more, but she was also sending remittances with much more frequency. She said that even if she had wanted to go back to being a teacher or an educator, working at a daycare and participating in school courses

would have provided her with a significantly lower salary, which would have made it more difficult to keep up with the remittances.

At the time of the interview, her husband was applying to CEGEP to study administrative information technology. Isabella said that instead of her going to school, she would prefer that her husband went to school and got a Canadian education. She stated that women could find jobs anywhere, as long as they were not very picky, but men had less chances of finding a job if they did not possess a degree from Canada.

Isabella saw her experience as being a former live-in caregiver differently from other types of immigrants. If you had a “good” employer, a caregiver could become accustomed to the new country much faster and more easily. In addition, having a good employer would make it easier for the caregivers to prepare for the future and attempt something new, because there is no fear of not having a stable income during the time they look for a job or attend school. Isabella also stated that she had several friends who have come to Quebec as immigrants through the Skilled Worker Program. However, their transitions were generally not very smooth.

Isabella: “One of my friends has a nursing degree and has years of experience. She finally came to Canada and she was working at a chocolate factory! Wrapping chocolates. Finally, the owner of the factory fired her because he believed and told her that wrapping chocolates was not what she should be doing that he couldn’t stand watching her wrapping chocolates. She needed to focus on the things that can make her go back to be a nurse again. He actually helped her to find information where to call and go so she can start the process.”

Interviewer: “Do you know why she was working in the factory in the first place?”

Isabella: “You know, when you arrive here and you don’t have any resources, you are sort of lost. Especially, here in Quebec, you need to pass a nursing exam and French test for nurses. I think

she was overwhelmed. So, it's different, for us (caregivers) we have a job waiting for you and we sort of feel trapped being a caregiver but for skilled immigrants it's hard to jump right into working, especially language is an issue. Now, she's moved to Toronto, trying her luck there, to be a nurse. For the meantime, she is working at a nursing home for elderly people."

Her friend currently works for the nursing home twice a week and goes to school the rest of the week.

As to the question of what kind of educational opportunities should be made available to caregivers, Isabella answered that if caregivers were allowed to go school while they were in the program, it would help caregivers for achieving upward social mobility. With a temporary work permit visa, which includes the caregiver program, there is a restriction that the workers are not authorized to attend any educational institutions or vocational training courses unless it is a French course. Isabella felt that, if caregivers were allowed to attend school, even on a part-time basis, it would help them with their motivation, and would help them to not get completely separated from their former professions. It would give them experience and a diploma to prepare themselves for getting back into their field.

One thing Isabella wanted to point out was that some caregivers were completely happy with where they were, including herself. Sometimes she felt that other former caregivers mislabelled her. They told Isabella that she must find another profession because she could not be a caregiver forever.

Isabella: "One of my good friends, she is with some financial company, she and other people have been talking to me to join them. It's funny how former caregivers with new jobs mislabel you saying "oh, you can't be a caregiver forever. You have to do something different." As if I am unhappy because I am still a caregiver. But I really don't find it necessary in my life to change

this job. I am happy with my employer and where I am. So, here we are, 12 years of caregiving and still counting. My employer, the mom, recently told me “I can picture two of us sitting on rocking chairs on a porch sipping our coffee growing old together.” And I would joke with her where her husband would be. Of course, there are times I’m breaking up the fight between boys, wipe their faces, bathes them and all the chaos, but it becomes part of your life.”

4.8 Nora

Nora was a 39 year-old woman who I met in one of the French courses we both participated in, about six years ago. We kept in touch, contacting each other a couple times a year. After exchanging several messages, she came to my apartment and I conducted the interview. At the time, Nora was single and lived with her roommate in Montreal.

In the Philippines, Nora was a front desk receptionist at a ferry ship terminal. She would make announcements and check in the passengers. Nora had a bachelor of science in hotel and restaurant management. She studied for four years at university. After she received her permanent residency in Canada, she was enrolled in an early childhood education program at Vanier College in Montreal. At this CEGEP, she got an AEC, completing a one year program.

At the time of the interview, she worked as an educator in a daycare center and was working on completing 5,000 hours of experience to receive a DEC¹⁰ equivalent certificate. After she came to Quebec, Nora had gone to several French schools, such as SIARI, Centre

¹⁰ The Early Childhood Education program (DEC) is designed to train childcare educators to work with children from 0 to 12 years old. (<http://www.lasallecollege.com/social-sciences-and-education-school/dec-early-childhood-education-courses>)

Pauline Julienne and CLAM ¹¹. She believed that because she had attended these schools sporadically, her French improved very little.

Her reason for coming to Canada was simple: she had always been interested in coming to Canada. She said it was not for financial reasons; her parents and family were doing fine without much additional help. Unlike many other caregivers, she had applied to the Canada's Live-in Caregiver Program directly from the Philippines, as opposed to migrating to gain experience in other Asian countries or Middle Eastern countries, which would be counted toward their "one-year experience." Having one year of experience in caregiving or attending caregiving courses in the Philippines was a requirement for applying to the Live-in Caregiver Program. Those who were applying from the Philippines had to attend six months of training that specifically taught them how to be a live-in caregiver. After obtaining this certificate, caregivers could apply for a Canadian working visa in the Philippines. She waited over two years to get a visa. She considered that she received her visa very quickly as compared to some of her friends that waited longer than two years. This long waiting period in the Philippines posed a serious complication. When a prospective live-in caregiver applied for a visa at the Canadian consulate, they had to have a contract signed by their future employer that contained the employee's living arrangement, salary, vacation, and so on. However, many employers could not wait for two years for their caregivers to arrive. Sometimes, they chose to send their children to daycare. When the caregiver was needed to care for an elderly family member, the patient may pass away during the waiting period. Therefore, in many cases, employers gave up on bringing caregivers from abroad

¹¹ Carrefour de Liaison et d'Aide Multiethnique Service d'aide aux immigrants (<https://www.leclam.ca/>)

during the waiting period, and caregivers in the Philippines had to start their search for an employer all over again.

Nora also stated that many of the Filipino caregivers that migrated to Canada were not very poor in their home country. Many of them had jobs and a little savings, otherwise they would not have the resources required to pay for the initial expenses incurred when moving out of the country. Nora said that these people were motivated to come to Canada for “extra things” for their family, and if they have children, to provide them with a better education and a future in Canada. Many caregivers in Canada had helpers and maids in the Philippines. Therefore, initially, it was very hard for these Filipino women to become caregivers, doing the things that they were not used to doing themselves.

While Nora worked full-time as an educator at a daycare with one-year-old children, she also went to French classes on Saturdays. In the past, she had reached level three (out of 12) but she decided to start again from level two, because of a long break she took in between.

Nora: “All other educators in the daycare are bilingual. So, sometimes if some parents talk to me in French and I don’t understand, I feel very embarrassed. I started again from level two so that I would understand teachers a little better than I would in level three class.”

When Nora was asked about her overall thoughts on immigration to Canada, she was quick to describe the difficulty.

Nora; “It’s really difficult. All the paper work, interview, the doubt you have whether they would accept me or not, and finally, the payment for an application. All these things are huge stress. I got help from my family.”

Interviewer: “Your family in the Philippines or the family as in your employers?”

Nora: “My family in the Philippines helped me. We help each other out when one of us really need some financial help. The most difficult thing I remember was when I was looking for an employer in the Philippines, the Filipino government requires several documents to be signed by the employer. This requires employers to guarantee my safety and it will be their responsibility if something happens to me. Many employers abroad do not want to sign these documents especially when it’s imposed by the Filipino government because it’s not their government. I needed to convince my employer to sign these documents and it was tough. I can’t leave the country (the Philippines) unless I have these documents even if I was given a visa by Canadian government.”

In terms of barriers and difficulties, when she first arrived in Canada, she considered herself to be very lucky. Her employers (both the father and mother were psychologists) were “nice” and supportive, helping her become accustomed to Canadian and Quebec society. They encouraged her to go to French school and to visit the library to learn French. They usually had meals together as well.

As for the 2014 policy change, she was not impacted by that directly, since she had recently become a permanent resident.

One of her biggest challenges in being a live-in caregiver was being in a same place for the whole week, since she was not used to working this way. However, she liked the accommodations that her employers had prepared for her. She had a large bathroom and a bedroom, so even after she got her permanent residency, she lived and worked there until she started school. At the time of the interview, her employer’s children were 14 and five. They also had a part-time babysitter that they hired after Nora left. Another challenge was the long working hours. It was not exactly an eight-hour job. She usually started working at 7:20 am to prepare

breakfast and her typical day lasted until dinner and clean up was finished, which was around 7:30 pm. Nora also felt like she was on-call all of the time when she was at home.

Nora recalled that the transition from being a live-in caregiver to a student went smoothly, having done extensive internet research before she received her permanent residency. She knew what kind of options, in terms of schools and jobs, were available to her. She already knew she wanted to work in a daycare center with children, so she opted for an English language CEGEP program in early childhood education. She even had a plan b if she was not accepted by the CEGEP, which was to go to a private vocational school. Nora already knew that going to French CEGEPs was not an option for her, therefore, searching for an English CEGEP was quite simple since there were not many in Montreal. She also applied for bursary and loans and got both. Although she did not have to pay tuition fee to attend classes at CEGEP, she still needed support for her daily living expenses. Still, she felt very fortunate to be accepted by the CEGEP instead of private school because of the significant difference between the tuition fees charged.

In terms of financing her schooling she recounted the following.

Nora: "I got \$500 every month as a bursary but of course that's not enough. My rent was \$500.

So, whenever my former employer called, I went there to babysit to earn even for a little bit.

Also, because I knew that I want to go to school as soon as I become a permanent resident, I had put some of my salary aside. But the reason I could do this was because I was single. If I had my husband and children, just to go to school would be a huge challenge. So, I would say opportunities for study are available as long as you plan ahead."

As mentioned earlier, she also gets help from her family in the Philippines while she was attending school, in the event of any unexpected expenses.

When it came to the immigration process, Nora saw her experience as being different from other immigrants. She found it easier because she was single, and since she had not previously worked outside of the Philippines, she had less documents to collect for the immigration application. In terms of her work and education, she considered that her transition into the Canadian labour market went very smoothly, primarily because 1) she was single, 2) she had researched her school and job opportunities while she was in the Live-in Caregiver Program, 3) she had saved money for daily expenses while she was in the program, and 4) her current job as an educator in a daycare was in a same field as being a caregiver for children. She felt that if any of these conditions had been different, she would have had significant difficulty completing her education and finding a job that she wanted.

In terms of educational opportunities that could help with upward social mobility, Nora considered French speaking skills to be vital in Quebec. She felt that the most important thing to do was research and take advantage of what was available, such as going to CEGEP and receiving the financial allowance while taking the intensive French courses. However, she was also aware that the allowance would not be a sufficient financial support, especially if you have family members to think about and be financially responsible for. Nora believed that if there were a loan available specifically for people from the caregiver program, it might help more caregivers with family members to take on intensive French courses.

4.9 Vera

Vera and I met when we were neighbours. She lived in an apartment in Montreal with her husband and two daughters, both of whom were born in Quebec, Canada. After exchanging

several messages on the day of the interview, I visited her apartment. Her daughters, husband, and sister, who moved to Canada in August 2017, were also at the apartment.

Vera was a registered midwife in the Philippines. After high school, she went on to complete two years of training school to become a midwife. In Canada, Vera had only attended French school on Saturdays, for four hours at a time.

The reasons Vera cited for joining the Live-in Caregiver Program were to help out her family, and to have better life in Canada. She said that for many Filipino caregivers, it was a dream to finally “see the snow.” (According to Vera, it was a common expression among caregivers, as Canada was their final destination after working in many hot countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Saudi Arabia).

Before coming to Canada, Vera worked in Singapore as a caregiver for three years. They were usually called “maid” in Singapore, as there was little difference in job responsibilities between caregiver and domestic worker. Vera looked after a lady who was 85. She was bed-ridden, therefore Vera gave her oxygen, suctioned her airways every three hours, fed her through a tube, moved her from her bed to a wheelchair to go outside in the afternoons, and cleaned the house. She had to work or be on call 24 hours a day, and had no scheduled time off. She was directly employed by this lady, although her daughter was the one who managed Vera’s salary. The year after Vera left for Canada, the old lady passed away. Although those working conditions had been very tough, Vera still called her employer “nice” and a “good employer.” The daughter and granddaughter of the lady she cared for encouraged her to leave Singapore as soon as Vera got a chance to go to Canada. Vera trained them on how to feed the old lady and perform her other tasks. They were aware that as long as Vera stayed in Singapore, she had no chance of becoming something else, other than a maid.

Vera: “The daughter of the old lady said to continue what I started which was to apply for the Live-in Caregiver Program. She said ‘for us Singaporeans, our life is here and life cannot be much better in Canada, but you are Filipina, here people will always see you as a maid. If Canada is different, you should go.’”

Countries such as Singapore and Hong Kong do not give permanent residency to caregivers and domestic workers, no matter how long they work and live there.

Vera explained the reason she believes many Filipino women cannot stay in their country.

Vera: “For Filipino women, there are no jobs. It’s not about “what” you know, but it’s “whom” you know. If you know some powerful people, you are accepted. Even if you have no clue of the field, that’s OK. You are recommended by someone powerful. There is no clear connection between education and work. It’s only about the people that you know. When I worked as a midwife for four years, I did not get any salary. I did that so I can get a seniority. My family were the one supported me with daily expenses. After four years with no pay, I thought it’s enough. I had enough experience, but my career was not going anywhere. So, I decided to leave for Singapore. I just didn’t have luck in the Philippines. I did not meet anyone powerful.”

Referring back to the questionnaire, Vera stated that her current profession was a caregiver. Vera took care of two elderly people. They were parents of her former employer who were now her sister’s employers. Vera had worked for that family eight years, and at the time of the interview she had been taking care of their elderly parents for two years. During the time Vera worked for her previous employer, Vera got pregnant twice. Vera worked until she gave birth, and returned to work for them after her maternity leave.

Vera had not participated in any educational program since arriving in Canada other than French courses.

When Vera was asked about her thoughts on immigration to Canada, she said that back in 2005, it was quite easy. Vera came to Canada in September 2005 and started working for a family in St. Eustache, Quebec. She continued working for them for a total of three years, even after she got permanent residency. However, when her husband arrived from the Philippines, her employers recommended that she move to Montreal and start her own family. Besides, the children in this household were getting older. Vera remembered that she got her open work permit and permanent residency within one year, from 2007 to 2008. However, processing had slowed down since 2009. Her immigration interview, which was conducted partially in French, went well. Vera understood most of the things the interviewer was asking her. When she was asked a slightly more complicated question, she answered in French that she understood what the interviewer was asking, but it was difficult to express her answer in French. The interviewer was satisfied that she understood the questions. Living in St. Eustache had also been helpful, since it was not a big city like Montreal and it was a small French speaking community, she had more incentive to speak French.

Vera describes that the first struggle she encountered was a language problem. Her employers did not understand English very well, therefore, Vera was obliged to communicate using her “broken French.” She would write down things that she heard them say, even though she had no idea how to spell some words, so that when the same situation arose, she was able to communicate it in French. Vera said her biggest struggle and challenge has been going back to school and learning.

Vera: “When I go back to school, I have to start all over again from CEGEP. Even though I am a registered midwife in the Philippines who went through college and trainings, I am only equivalent with high school graduate in Canada. This thought of going to school with newly

graduated high school students when I am already in my 40s, always pulls me back from going back to school.”

Vera found that, although educational opportunities might exist, it would be very difficult to continue studying while having to care for her two children because she would have to stop working full-time.

Vera: “Even though you are not working, your bills are still there. So, when I finished the Live-in Caregiver Program, I decided to continue working as a caregiver. This was the only way for me to have money. You can’t take a break! Your bills won’t stop coming.”

Vera saw her experience with the immigration process as being different from other types of immigrants. While she considered it beneficial that she had already had experience living and working in Canada prior to becoming a permanent resident, she felt that caregivers encountered more limitations in terms of finding jobs. Spending two years or more away from your previous profession seemed too long of an absence to get back into it easily, especially if the caregivers needed to go back to college or university in Canada to meet their new country’s requirements. At the same time, Vera felt that she had grown so much as a person since coming to Canada. In the Philippines, she felt that she was not independent because her parents were always around. She finally felt somewhat independent after she came to Canada.

Vera believed that a lot more should be done in terms of educational opportunities for caregivers. She thought that there had to be more support for them to be able to return to their previous professions that they had in the Philippines. She also considered it unfair for the Canadian government to downgrade the credentials received by immigrants in the Filipino education system. She felt this resulted in many Filipinos having to start over from a lower level when pursuing work and education in Canada. This lead caregivers to having to spend more time

and money before being able to go back to their previous professions. Vera would also like to see more French courses offered at night, and felt that employers should not be able to interfere in their caregivers' class schedule. She has heard many cases where employers, in fear of losing the flexibility in their schedule, express that they do not want their caregivers to attend school.

4.10 Samantha

While I was at Vera's home, I also met with Samantha for the first time. Samantha worked as a caregiver and was the first person I was able to interview who had come to Canada after the 2014 policy change. Samantha spoke mostly about the policy changes and shared her experience as a live-in caregiver in Hong Kong.

Samantha described her account in Hong Kong of working as a caregiver for one family. Her story showed how important it is for the government to impose very strict regulations on the employers, and conduct inspections in terms of the living arrangement, schedule, and work hours of caregivers.

Samantha: "For the first three weeks, they were very nice. But after that, they started calling me stupid and crazy. From there on, I couldn't remember if my name was Samantha or stupid.

Everyday, they would tap my forehead as they called me stupid. I did not have my own room and ate noodles once a day. Never had breakfast. They just gave me one blanket to sleep on. I usually slept in the corridor next to the bathroom or in the dressing room at the entrance. I had to wait for my employer to finish his dinner and change into his pajamas around midnight and finally I could go to sleep."

She continued:

Samantha: “They would make me wear a necklace everyday with all the chores written down of what I’ve done for that day. It needed to be in a small font and I had to fill up the entire paper with all the chores written down. He would attach a paper and yarn together and I had to wear that everyday. I woke up at 5:30am everyday to prepare their breakfast. There was a husband, a wife, their children, and a grandma in the house and they each ate different things for breakfast. If preparing breakfast took longer than usual, I had to explain the reason. The grandma would take a pen and drew a line on the floor to check if I cleaned the floor everyday. My employer (the husband) would put a scotch tape on the floor on purpose to check if I kneeled and clean the floor. Never with a mop. I had to do it by hand everyday. You could still see that my knees are dark with bruises.”

Finally, after five months, Samantha’s family members persuaded her to leave this employment. She did this with the help of her aunt, who also lived in Hong Kong. Samantha then went to work for a couple from Spain.

Interviewer: “Are there organizations or governmental departments to whom you could report and ask for help?”

Samantha: “There are. But the problem was I did not have any proof to show them what was going on. The paper I had to wear like a necklace, at the end of the day my employer would take it and never left it with me. I’m sure he was aware that he could get in trouble if I kept it and made a claim. The day I told them I was leaving, he kicked me out of the house at 2:30am putting all my stuff in a garbage bag.”

It was not just the husband. When Samantha asked the wife if she could have a container to store some of her clothes, she refused to give her a plastic container, saying it was too expensive for her cheap clothes. Instead, she gave her a black garbage bag.

Samantha: “I felt like I was the toughest person on earth that day. I was trembling but refused to act on her meanness. I was the fifth person to work for them. Everyone else also broke the contract and left. He (the husband) told me that I was the first helper who could argue with him. I just needed to explain myself if they were angry with me, thinking that I didn’t work hard enough. He didn’t like that. He told me that I was stupid to argue with him. He always reminded me how much he had to pay the agency to bring me from the Philippines. Also, he would always criticize my country, how poor we were and how corrupt the government was. He always insulted the Philippines as if it is Filipino people’s fault that we have a corrupt government. For five months I was insulted and did not have a peaceful life.”

When her employer went on a small trip for five days to mainland China, they brought her one dozen eggs and two packages of noodles, which was supposed to be her food supply for five days. They checked all the inventory in the house, even counted the grapes that were in the fridge. Samantha did not know that they had done this, but she found it out when they confronted her due to one missing grape. There were seven cameras in the house: two were in a small bedroom, two were in the living room, one in the kitchen, one in the corridor, and one was in another bedroom. Samantha felt that they were giving her more work so that she could not sit down. All the clothes needed to be organized by color and placed on hangers, clothes needed to be folded exactly in the same size (they used a piece of cardboard to check the size), and when she cooked, all the vegetables needed to be cut in exactly the same size.

Samantha continued:

Samantha: “When they found a piece of hair on the floor, they would measure the length, so they would know whose hair it was. So, I always had my hair in a bun, so they won’t fall on the floor. Yes, I really had one of the worst families to work for. Of course, not all the employers in Hong Kong were bad. But the regulation for the living arrangement for caregivers were not there.

Houses in Hong Kong are usually very small because it's such a small city with so many people.

I had a friend who slept on top of the washing machine. Her body is on top of a washing machine and her feet were on a sink.”

Samantha's family begged her to leave her employers. Bad working conditions and lack of sleep and food inhibited Samantha's ability to think logically, however. Finally, she managed to find other employment with the help of her aunt and left the family.

Samantha struggled with the 2014 Caregiver policy changes made by the Canadian federal government. Samantha arrived after December 2014, and by that time Quebec was no longer complying with the federal caregiver program. At the time of the interview, she worked as a caregiver under a temporary working visa, however, this did not give her the right to apply for permanent residency after 24 months like the Live- in Caregiver Program would have. In the mean time, she was waiting to see if the policy would change again. Also, she is studying French in the hope that she might qualify as a skilled worker. At the time of the interview, her future in Canada was unclear due to the policy change.

Chapter 5 Findings

5.1 Observations from the questionnaire

In order of Interview	Profession in the Philippines	Profession in Canada	Children (Born in Canada)	Husband	Remittances	Education completed in the Philippines
Eva	Bookkeeper	Bookkeeper	0	No	Yes	4-year University
May	Teacher	Caregiver	1	Yes	Yes (Husband's family)	4-year University
Isabella	Teacher	Caregiver	0	Yes	Yes	4-year University
Nora	Receptionist	Daycare educator	0	No	No	4-year University
Vera	Midwife	Caregiver	2	Yes	Yes	2-year college+ training

Table 5 Findings on participants' background information

Although this research has a limited number of participants (see Table 2), there are several points to be observed. First of all, none of the participants worked as a caregiver in their home country. Secondly, of the five participants, there are only two who have changed their profession from caregiver after obtaining permanent residency - one to bookkeeper and the other to daycare educator. May, Isabella, and Vera continued to work as caregivers. As several participants pointed out, the fact that both May and Vera had children could be the reason it is more difficult for them to attend educational institution. Isabella chose to be a caregiver even though she had several chances to change her profession. Also, with the exception of Nora, all participants send remittances either to their family, or their husband's family. This is another

expense, in addition to rent and utility bills, which makes it difficult to be able to afford schooling.

Finally, one aspect which stands out is that the caregivers whom I interviewed are all highly educated. All of the participants had graduated from four year university, except for Vera who had gone to a two year college and had completed many years of training to become a midwife, an occupation that requires vast amounts of medical knowledge. In fact, she used her medical knowledge when she had taken care of a bed-ridden elderly woman in Hong Kong.

	Education in Canada including French courses	Education in Canada excluding French courses
Eva	Yes. Part time and full time	Yes. AEC in Accounting for 1 year
May	Yes. Part time in the past	Yes. Home Daycare Program for 3 months
Isabella	Yes. Part time in the past	No
Nora	Yes. At the time of the interview	Yes. AEC in Early Childhood Education
Vera	Yes. Part time in the past	No

Table 3- Findings on caregivers' educational pursuits in Canada

As seen in Table 3, all of the participants had attended French courses at some time, in the past or presently, and all of them had taken French courses while they were in the Live-in Caregiver Program. Only Nora decided to go back to take additional French courses out of necessity for her current job requirements as a daycare educator. When compared to Table 2, it is

observed that Eva and Nora, who had stopped working as caregivers and moved on to new professions in Canada, have several common experiences. Firstly, both Eva and Nora were unmarried and have no children. Secondly, they both had and have continued to study French after becoming permanent residents. Finally, they both have attended CEGEP for more than one year to obtain AEC, and were able to find jobs somewhat quickly after obtaining their certificates. This demonstrates the importance of having studied in Canada when looking for a job in another field.

5.2 Discussion from the findings: Being a woman

From the interviews, six themes emerge which define the limits and opportunities to the caregivers' social mobility. However, beneath these themes, there is one central theme which is that of "being a woman." Being a woman affects many aspects of the caregivers' lives.

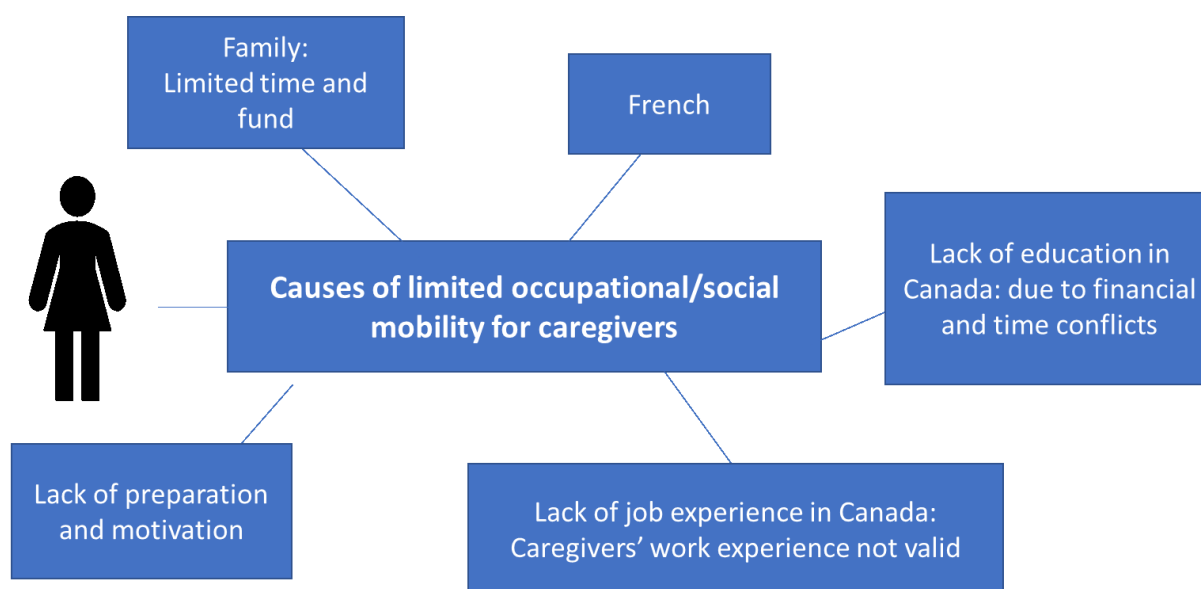


Figure 11- Causes of limited occupational/ social mobility for caregivers

Firstly, the limitations of the occupational and the social mobility for caregivers have to do with their gender. In fact, being a woman is what constrains and stigmatizes women in the first place, because many of the themes that affect caregivers have the underlying connotation that women should stay home and work domestically. As discussed in the literature review, caregiving and domestic work are considered “women’s work” because of the notion that, since women can give birth, caregiving should come naturally to them.

Also, there is still an antiquated, but longstanding notion that supports the traditional family structure where the husband fulfills his role as breadwinner by working outside of the home, and a woman’s role is to stay home or become a secondary worker in the home. The caregivers themselves also believe that it is easier for women to get a job in Canada, as long as they are not picky about the job they choose. Therefore, when their husbands come to Canada, women would rather provide the chance for their husbands to go to school for education and job training.

Finally, another hurdle that caregivers face as women, is that the experience of being a caregiver is not considered very useful and skillful for employment. This is due to the stereotype and perception held by society that caregiving does not require much skill, and that women become caregivers because they have no other skills and do not have any other type of profession. This belief, generally accepted by the public, also leads to the impediment of caregivers’ occupational mobility.

5.3 French

When caregivers first come to Canada, there are several major difficulties they face. In addition to being unaccustomed to the climate in Quebec, the first difficulty they face is the

language. All of the participants talked about the importance of this subject, and improving one's French has a big impact on their social mobility in Quebec. In other words, the social mobility of caregivers depends heavily on this skill. Perhaps it is one of the reasons that Quebec has stopped complying with the Federal government's new caregiver program. If caregivers remain in their role as a caregiver due to language issues, Quebec might not need the constant supply of new caregivers like the English speaking provinces.

5.4 Family

Both Eva and Nora mentioned that one of the reasons they could attend school after the Live-in Caregiver Program was that they were both single and did not have any children. Although none of the participants had children in their home country to support, May and Vera both had children born in Canada several years after they became permanent residents. They both stated that, at this point, with children, it was difficult to seriously consider going back to school in Canada because of the lack of time they could devote to their children and studying, as well as lack of funding for school.

One other characteristic that should be noted is that the husbands of all of the participants went to college in Canada. May mentions that she "gave" the chance and funds to her husband so that he could get a job in Canada. Isabella also said during the interview that women could work anywhere as long as they were not picky. Men on the other hand, without education or experience in Canada, would find it impossible to find a job. Therefore, it seems that when there were some funds available in a household, it was usually men who took the opportunities and went to school, and women usually remained as caregivers.

5.5 Lack of education in Canada

Another cause of limited occupational and social mobility for caregivers is their lack of Canadian educational credentials. As mentioned in the literature review, many employers tend to focus on the applicants with Canadian education as a pretext and disregard the diplomas and skills the women gained in their home countries. Therefore, caregivers are compelled to go to school in Canada to be able to change their jobs or resume their original careers.

The downgrading of their educational level is another problem. As shown in Table 1, the Canadian government usually subtracts one year from their years of education. Therefore, university graduates are demoted to college graduates and college graduates are considered as equivalent to high school graduates for the provincial government assessment of educational equivalency. One participant expressed her frustration, saying that it was not fair that their Filipino education was downgraded in Canada, and that it was hard to go back to college, studying with teenagers about subjects that they had already learned many years ago.

5.6 Lack of job experience in Canada

In addition to the lack of education in Canada, another obstacle that caregivers often need to overcome is the lack of job experience in Canada. Many employers do not regard having job experience from the Philippines and caregiving experience in Canada and other parts of the world as relevant experience. In fact, Eva talked about how she chose not to write down her experience as a caregiver on her CV when she was looking for an internship as a bookkeeper and accountant. She believed that listing “caregiver” as job experience would be a disadvantage, even though that was her only long-term experience in Canada. She had also temporarily worked on a cleaning crew in the past. She also omitted this experience in her CV stating that if she was

employer, she was not sure if she would like these kinds of experience from her potential employees.

This shows the stigmatization caregivers feel when they are looking for a job, other than caregiving. Their work experience as caregivers is not only viewed as unrelated but also is negatively perceived when attempting to enter a different profession. This means that the employers, and society in general, look down on caregiving and domestic work by judging the skills and experiences acquired in these vocations to be invaluable and unsuitable and, by extension, to view the person that way.

5.7 Lack of planning and preparation

In general, both planning and preparing for the future are difficult tasks for live-in caregivers, especially when their immigration status is temporary, and they work very long hours. With an unclear future, not knowing whether or when they can become permanent residents, it is hard to set a long-term plan. Also, whenever they need advice from places such as community centers, it is often out of reach because caregivers customarily work from early morning into the evening, and sometimes, weekends as well.

Both Eva and Nora, who have changed their professions after completing an educational program in Canada, had carefully planned for their futures while they were still working as a live-in caregiver. Eva, always motivated to go back to school, had scrimped and saved as much money as she could from her jobs as a caregiver and as a cleaner. As soon as she received her permanent residency, she enrolled in intensive French courses which facilitated her admission to CEGEP, and to her current job as a bookkeeper. Eva had visited local community centers, such

as SIARI, to get information on schools and how to enroll in an allowance program while attending intensive French courses.

Nora was also a planner. She had always imagined herself working with children, so studying early childhood education was a natural choice for her. She researched her options on the internet, seeking out a school that she would be qualified to attend. Nora also participated in the information session at the CEGEP. In order to finance her studies, she saved money while she was in the Live-in Caregiver Program, applied for bursaries, and asked for a little help from her family. In addition, during her studies she would babysit for her previous employer whenever they asked.

However, planning and preparing - especially for the financial aspects - are not very easy tasks. As for May and Vera, even though they did not have children when they became permanent residents, they had husbands that they had sponsored to come to Canada. Bringing another person to Canada means there are extra documents that must be prepared, and more fees. In addition, caregivers must wait much longer for their applications for permanent residency to be processed, especially when they are sponsoring another person. In the mean time, caregivers need to work and secure a new residence for their husband's arrival, since they live with their employers when they are here on their own. Both May and Vera gave their husbands an opportunity to go to school with their savings from their work as caregivers.

Chapter 6 Power relations using standpoint theory

By employing the standpoint theory, the complex practices of power and power relations that surround caregivers can be observed. The biggest oppressor in this case is the global economy and its effect in creating global inequality. Due to the vast amount of money that the Filipino government owes to IMF and the World Bank, the Filipino government has encouraged women in the Philippines to work outside of the country in order to obtain foreign currencies which caregivers send back as remittances. This dynamic makes Filipino women a disposable and replicable work force as they continue to leave the Philippines to work abroad with the support of the Filipino government. The countries with the more affluent populations create the immigration policies, making it easier for families to hire caregivers from abroad, and enabling the women of these countries to join the workforce without the stress of domestic and care work if they have children or elderly relatives. The problem is that families sometimes hire caregivers without adequate guidelines or preparation. As Samantha's story of her experience in Hong Kong illustrates, a lack of guidelines and preparation can result in miserable working environment for some caregivers.

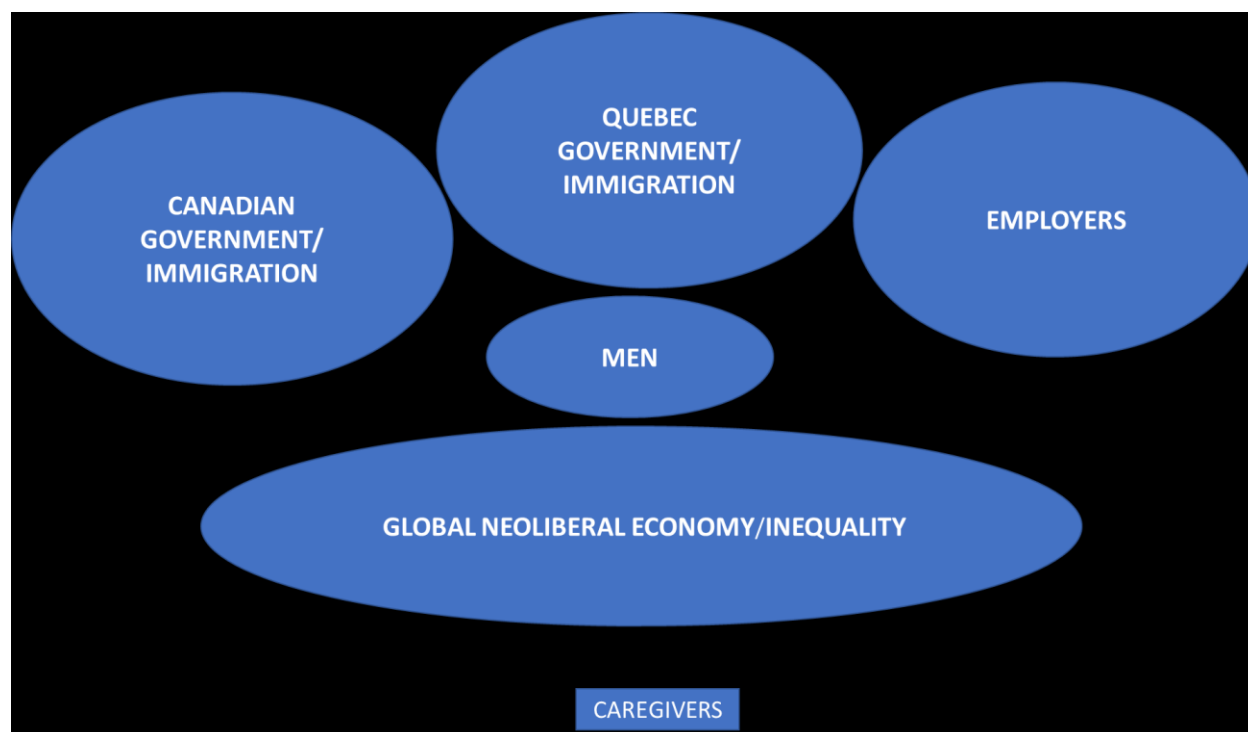


Figure 12- Power relations in caregiver issues

Secondly, the Canadian government is another player possessing power in this scenario. The Canadian government, especially when it comes to the immigration policies, can in many ways determine and change the lives of the many caregivers who are not yet permanent residents. Frequent changes in policy, such as the 2014 Caregiver Program policy change greatly influence the caregivers who were planning to apply for permanent residency. In addition, the long waiting period for reuniting with their husbands and children in Canada dissuade many caregivers from moving on to another profession, or to pursue studies at educational institutions. This is in part due to the anxiety and uncertainty of the future under these immigration policies.

The Quebec government plays a huge role in the caregivers' lives as well. Many of the governmental programs for immigrants, including French language programs, need heavy improvement to be more inclusive for caregivers and their scheduling situation. Also, by Quebec not complying with the federal government's new caregiver program, caregivers who are in

Quebec as temporary workers, such as Samantha, are in limbo. Many of them do not qualify as skilled workers, and their work and educational backgrounds do not automatically lead them to permanent residency.

The caregivers' employers have the most direct practice of power towards caregivers. Until caregivers can obtain open work permits from the government, employers will have the single most influence on the lives of caregivers. Not only on their quality of life, such as working hours and their boarding arrangements, but also on the determination of their futures, which is heavily dependant on whether employers are supportive or not. For example, Nora had very supportive employers when it came to learning and education. They encouraged her to go to the library, research schools, and learn French. As a result, Nora was ready to change her career path and had already completed several French courses by the time she finished her 24 months in the Live-in Caregiver Program. Unfortunately, there are many employers who do not allow their caregivers the time to go to French courses regularly. Many caregivers are "on call," even after their work hours are completed, especially when they live at the employer's home. Employers prefer that caregivers stay at home as much as possible so they can gain flexibility in their schedule. In the first couple of years caregivers work for them, the lives of caregivers depend almost entirely on their employers, and often times, caregivers are alone in Canada unless they already have family members or friends that have previously immigrated to Canada.

Finally, when it comes to caregiving work, men have the power over women. For many caregivers, when they first migrate to a new country, it also means that they are in some ways released from the gender role of performing domestic work and caregiving in their home, only to find themselves in the same situation, but performing these tasks for strangers abroad. Also, many domestic workers have sponsored husbands or started families of their own in Canada. For

these women, they work all day caring for a family and doing household work. In the evening, they have another type of work waiting for them at home, whereas financially privileged or working women - like the women in the families they work for - are released from domestic work. Most women have been unable to arrange a more equal division of the household work and care with the male members of the family. Instead, in some financially privileged households, women have come to depend on the transnational transfer of gender constraints to poorer women (Parrenas, 2000). In addition, caregiving work brings people together from very different background and cultures in a highly private and intimate space. This is especially true when domestic workers are hired with “live-in” conditions. Often, employers have to tackle the issue of how to welcome domestic workers into the family household, while simultaneously excluding them from the privileges of the household members (Moors, 2003).

In addition, there is the issue of feminine identity. Since domestic workers are hired to do traditionally “feminine” work, their female counterparts in their host family feel their identity threatened as a “wife” and “mother.” In severe cases, the employers impose rules on caregivers, such as no make-up allowed, requiring they wear their hair short, and even specifying how often they should, or can, shower. (Moors, 2003) Overall, gender plays a role, both in terms of the global sphere, and the very private sphere. Men are not usually in the picture when it comes to performing domestic work, including caregiving work. As Vera and May stated during their interviews, they spent their money investing in their husbands’ education so they could join the labour market with more fluid mobility, whereas Vera and May themselves remained in their jobs as caregivers, in addition to performing housework and bringing up the children at their own home.

Chapter 7 Recommendations

I have argued that the biggest oppressor in the caregiving profession is neoliberal paradigm which applies economic rules and social and educational spheres thus leading to a global economic system ever-increasing which creates global inequalities. Although raising awareness and getting people educated about problems can help in seeking justice many ways however, I am well aware that education, which is the focus of this research, alone, cannot solve all the problems created by neoliberal economy. To create a clear path for upward occupational and social mobility for caregivers, there are three main components that we must examine: individuals, community, and government. By looking at this issue on different levels, we can examine and tackle the obstacles to caregivers' upward social mobility.

7.1 Individual level

As for the individual level, the most important thing is to change people's perception towards caregivers. Often, they are seen as women without skills who did not have any other choice but to become caregivers. However, as the interviews have shown, caregivers from the Philippines are often highly educated and have valuable job experience from their home country. Considering caregivers as being without skills, disposable labour contributes to and limits the caregivers' social and occupational mobility.

As for the employers of caregivers, they need to gain an understanding of what their employees, the caregivers, are going through. Most of the time, caregivers immigrate to Canada without previous visits, knowledge of the culture, the French language (if they immigrate to Quebec), and the climate. If caregivers choose to live with their employers under the new policy,

caregivers need to have access to community centers, language schools, and advocacy centers. In addition, caregivers should not be automatically “on call” when they are at home. The line between work hours and personal time needs to be clearly drawn. Employers should participate in information sessions and be given brochures which can describe the details of caregivers’ rights and required boarding arrangement, as well as work hours and their vacation. It would be beneficial to also include information about Filipino culture, as well as the psychological aspects of the hardships caregivers face when moving to a new country.

General employers can be better informed of the complexity that many caregivers face. Caregivers have had different jobs in the home countries and have not been caregivers all their lives. Also, employers should recognize that caregiving experience is valid Canadian employment experience. Employers need to consider the skills and training caregivers have acquired in their home country, as well as understand that caregiving is valid job experience that requires certain skill sets.

The media can play a big role in changing people’s perceptions about caregivers. Even though, in general, the Canadian media does not report on the plight of caregivers - perhaps because of their immigration status or the somewhat “hidden” characteristics of caregiving - the media should make more effort to show the general population what caregivers go through. If everyone realizes that the Filipino caregivers have education and skills, and that they are in Canada mainly due to the global economic inequality, the perception toward them could change for the better.

7.2 Community level

Community centers that advocate for new immigrants and provide them with language courses can play a huge role in the lives of caregivers, especially for the first few years when caregivers move to Quebec and are trying to learn French. Usually, this is where a caregiver develops their network, finding friends and information about life in Canada and Quebec.

Unfortunately, on November 14th, 2015, the Caregiver Association of Quebec (AAFQ), the only organization in Quebec dedicated to advocate for domestic workers and caregivers in private residence, closed due to a drastic change in Quebec's immigration policy. The mission of AAFQ included advocating for better protection for domestic workers and caregivers, demanding the regulation of recruiting agencies, and raising awareness for the professional recognition of domestic workers and caregivers who work in private residences. This type of organization is sorely needed because even though there is no longer the Live-in Caregiver Program, there still are many caregivers in Quebec who work in private residences. Some are still fulfilling the requirements of the caregiver program, and some are working as caregivers and domestic workers in private residences even after they have received permanent residency. Therefore, caregivers need an organization which supports them and advocates for them. If AAFQ or a similar organization should be brought back, it should include education and workshops for the employers, workshops on the rights and available resources for caregivers, French courses that fits the caregiver's typical schedule, and immigration consultation services. This organization should also support the immigration process of the caregiver's family members and organize the movement toward better recognition and representation of caregivers.

In the meantime, community centers which mainly focus on the integration of immigrants in Quebec and Canadian society should try to serve a similar role. They should have a specific

workshop for employers who are considering hiring caregivers and former caregivers. As for French classes, they should offer courses that start much later than the usual time of 5:30pm, since many caregivers get off from work at a much later time. Perhaps it should start around 7:30pm, since many caregivers must wait for their employers to release them from their work, which is often after 6:30pm. Also, they should have make-up sessions and online courses in case caregiver cannot make it to the classes, instead of failing students. From the interviews, it was observed that caregivers tend to study French soon after they arrive in Quebec. However, after taking a couple of courses, they tend to stop going to school. One reason is that some of the community centers do not offer French courses past level two, due to lack of participation and enrollment. Community centers should increase recruitment to offer higher-level courses with a sufficient minimum number of the participants, but also, there should be some motivation for caregivers to not only to start, but to continue to learn French. Incentive programs and the granting of certificates would be useful in keeping the students motivated in learning French. As for employers, if caregivers are working full-time, they should not be allowed to intervene in their studies. However, there are many employers who demand that the caregivers keep their schedules very flexible. Therefore, it is important that the schedule of the French courses is also flexible.

To encourage fluid occupational mobility, community centers must assist in the transition as well. They should continue to offer assistance for applying to schools, both academic and vocational. They should also have resources for grants, scholarships, and loans. Caregivers need to be aware that the community centers have these resources and, therefore, these centers should announce these services on their website, post flyers in Filipino communities, and host workshops to ensure that caregivers are aware of these opportunities.

7.3 Government level (Canada and Quebec)

Provinces, other than Quebec, continue to receive caregivers through the new caregiver program. Although the “live-in” conditions have been removed, caregivers are required to work for a designated employer who is identified on their work permit. This means that even if a problem arises, caregivers would usually remain silent. Otherwise, caregivers could spend months looking for a new employer and then they must have the government change their work permit. In the meantime, they are not allowed to work. The solution to address this difficulty is to issue caregivers a semi-open work permit, where they are not bound to one employer and can work for different employers as long as they work as “caregivers” for the 24 months required. This way, caregivers could at least change their employers when there is a problem, such as bad working conditions or abuse. Most employers know that caregivers are reluctant to change their employers for the first 24 months, in order to be able to apply for the permanent residency as quickly as possible. This knowledge could lead to long and unpaid overtime, as well as mental and physical abuse. Anyone facing a serious problem at work would naturally want to change their work place. However, caregivers from outside of Canada do not have that freedom, unless they are prepared to go through an extensive process to adjust their paperwork, and endure a long waiting period without being able to work during that time. Therefore, it is necessary that they have that freedom to change their work place when problems arise, even if that work is limited to caregiving, during their first 24 months. In addition, the employers should have strict rules, with consequences, issued by the government to address preventing abuse, their boarding accommodation responsibilities if caregivers choose to live with the employers, the work hours, and vacations. There should be random inspections on workload and house accommodations as well.

Also, there is the issue of the educational equivalency assessment. For education received in the Philippines, one year is subtracted from the total years of education when being assessed, when compared to the education in Canada, even though the Filipino education model follows that of the United States. Therefore, even if caregivers have a college degree, they are considered high school graduates in Canada. The Canadian government and their assessment center do not explain the reasons for this in detail. On the Government of Canada website, it only states the reason as being “because of contextual differences between countries”

(https://www.jobbank.gc.ca/content_pieces-eng.do?cid=223). The Canadian government must be aware that this unmatched educational evaluation is preventing many Filipino immigrants from continuing their studies, especially for higher education. As Vera stated during the interview, it is not easy to study the subject you already know all over again, especially with classmates who are much younger.

Both provincial and federal government should be aware of caregivers’ financial needs as well. Many caregivers are breadwinners for their family, and it is hard to take a break from work to go back to school. Grants, scholarships, and loans specifically targeted to caregivers who have finished the Live-in Caregiver Program or Caregiver Program would be especially useful for those caregivers who aspire to change their profession.

As for the Quebec government, in order to assist caregivers to continue to study French, it should provide a better allowance program (as of 2017, it is \$140/week, \$560/month) for those who are studying French on a full-time basis. Also, depending on the level they reach, they should be able to qualify to receive some incentives. This could motivate learners to continue to study and reach a higher level of French fluency.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

Canadian caregivers from abroad are the embodiment of the neoliberal economy and global inequality. Caregivers arrive from the global South to perform domestic work in the richer global North. In order to support their family, and with the encouragement of the Filipino government, many educated women who are qualified to do various types of professional work become caregivers and domestic workers in richer countries. The economic inequality is so vast that even middle-class families in Canada can afford to pay for caregivers with support from the government. Immigration policies and programs like Canada's Live-in Caregiver Program, make it possible for all of the adults in a family to participate in the labour market by leaving the responsibilities of care of children or the elderly, as well as domestic work, to a caregiver. The recent changes, largely due to the neoliberal policies, where women from both the global South and North participate in labour market, are praised in this economic model, and other countries. Countries such as the Philippines are constant suppliers of caregivers and domestic workers who have become disposable and replaceable.

The Canadian government, by establishing the Live-in Caregiver program and the new Caregiver Program, has amplified issues such as family separation for caregivers, and abuses by employers. The separation of family members, especially with husbands and children, occurs when the Canadian government does not allow caregivers to bring even their immediate family members. All other visa categories, except for seasonal workers, allow principal visa holders to bring their family. Often, caregivers wait years before they can see their family again. Abuse occurs when the employer exploits the situation and rules the caregivers must abide by. Whether it is as a live-in or a live-out caregiver, many employers are aware that caregivers avoid changing employers when they are in the program so that they can apply for permanent residency as soon

as possible. If they do decide to change, caregivers must go through a lengthy process.

Therefore, it is important that caregivers have open permits when they land in Canada. Even if it is limited to caregiving jobs until they finish the required 24 months, being able to change their employers, for any reason, is a basic human right they should have.

After caregivers finish the required 24 months of working full-time as a caregiver, they must go through the immigration process, and when permanent residency is granted to them, some may choose to go back to school, and some will continue to work as caregivers. According to the interviews conducted in this research, there are several factors which influence this decision. Those who have husbands tend to continue to work as caregivers, because for them the immigration process is much longer. The uncertainty of when their husbands will arrive in Canada makes the preparation for living accommodations and other details of daily living arrangements more difficult, and it is a significant obstacle for them to take a break from work to go to school. These caregivers tend to give their husbands the opportunity and the money to pursue education because they believe that it is easier for women to find jobs. If the spouses of a caregiver can accompany caregivers when they first come to Canada, by the time they become permanent residents, they could be well-adjusted to Canadian society. This would facilitate caregivers' ability to go to school or participate in training programs.

Community centers should be bridges between educational institutions and the caregivers who want to change professions. They should hold workshops informing caregivers about the available schools, trainings, loans, and bursaries. As for French courses, community centers should have flexible schedules and online courses, since many caregivers work long hours and weekends. Both the Canadian and Quebec governments should have loans and bursaries specifically earmarked for caregivers, because many of Filipino caregivers are professionals with

skills and education from their home country. Aiding them in getting back into their former profession, or acquiring a new profession, would surely be beneficial to Canadian society as well.

As the effects of the neoliberal economic policies spread and increase, it is perhaps inevitable that more and more families will hire caregivers and domestic workers from abroad out of necessity. However, employers, government officials, staff at community centers, and the public must be aware of the challenges and hardships caregivers are experiencing, especially when it come to their professional identity. By being aware of the caregivers' standpoint, policies and assistance for them can be adapted so that caregivers can have the opportunity for better occupational and social mobility in their new home country.

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Appendix I



INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Problems Filipino caregivers continue to face after the closure of the Live- in Caregiver Program

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Researcher's Contact Information: Ph: 514-969-5254 email address: lilymaeda815@hotmail.com

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Source of funding for the study: N/A

You are being invited to participate in the research study mentioned above. This form provides information about what participating would mean. Please read it carefully before deciding if you want to participate or not. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of the research is to investigate the barriers, discriminations, and hurdles in lives of current and former Filipino caregivers after obtaining permanent residency in Canada. I will also look at what type of educational and/or vocational opportunities exist for Filipino caregivers. Also, I will especially focus on the kind of educational opportunities for Filipina caregivers if they want to change their profession from caregiver to other occupations.

B. PROCEDURES

If you participate, you will be asked to narrate the story from their lives in the past particularly focusing on these questions: 1) What has been the impact of 2014 policy change on your life? 2) What were the obstacles and challenges that you as a caregiver faced while you were in the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP, hereafter) and if the policy change has helped or created more problems for caregivers? 3) How do caregivers transition to life in Canada upon leaving the LCP? What types of opportunities, educational or vocational are available to caregivers? After that, I will conduct an in-depth unstructured interview asking 1) How do you see your experience being different from that of other immigrants? If so, how and why? 2) What types of educational opportunities should be made available to caregivers to help the transition from caregiving to other professions which can help caregivers in upward social mobility?

In total, participating in this study will take 1-2 hours.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

In terms of this research, it is not likely that there will be any risks or harms associated with the questions I will be asking.

However, you do not need to answer questions that you do not want to answer or that make you feel uncomfortable. I describe below the steps I am taking to protect your privacy.

This research is not intended to benefit you personally. However, I hope that what is learned as a result of this study will help better understand the situation of current and former caregivers in terms of the challenges caregivers must overcome in Canada.

D. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will gather the following information as part of this research:

- 1) Your profession in home country

- 2) Your educational background
- 3) Reason for applying for the Live-in Caregiver Program
- 4) Your current profession
- 5) Participation in educational institution
- 6) Your overall thoughts on immigration to Canada, the barriers and opportunities available to you for joining labor market and chances of upward social mobility.

We will not allow anyone to access the information, except people directly involved in conducting the research. We will only use the information for the purposes of the research described in this form.

The information gathered will be anonymous. That means that it will not be possible to make a link between you and the information you provide.

We will protect the information by keeping associated data in a locked cabinet where only I will have access to it. For digital information, I will protect it by storing them in my computer with a password. Once research is completed, data will be destroyed.

We intend to publish the results of the research. However, it will not be possible to identify you in the published results.

We will destroy the information five years after the end of the study.

F. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

You do not have to participate in this research. It is purely your decision. If you do participate, you can stop at any time. You can also ask that the information you provided not be used, and your choice will be respected. If you decide that you don't want us to use your information, you must tell the researcher before October 5, 2017.

There are no negative consequences for not participating, stopping in the middle, or asking us not to use your information.

G. PARTICIPANT'S DECLARATION

I have read and understood this form. I have had the chance to ask questions and any questions have been answered. I agree to participate in this research under the conditions described.

NAME (please print) _____

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

If you have questions about the scientific or scholarly aspects of this research, please contact the researcher. Their contact information is on page I. You may also contact their faculty supervisor.

If you have concerns about ethical issues in this research, please contact the Manager, Research Ethics, Concordia University, 514.848.2424 ex. 7481 or oor.ethics@concordia.ca.