FINDING HOME: GEOGRAPHICAL LINKS BETWEEN PAID AND UNPAID WORK FOR TRANSNATIONAL CARE WORKERS IN TORONTO'S SUBURBS

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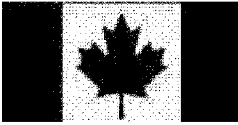

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Abstract

Contemporary migration has become increasingly transnational as migrants maintain linkages with their place of origin and, in many cases, with multiple places. Transnational practices and identities highlight the complex ways that contemporary immigrants negotiate home. This dissertation explores the ways in which transnational Filipina care workers construct home and a sense of belonging, here and elsewhere. In order to examine these experiences of belonging, I investigate the linkages between paid and unpaid work in various workplaces and places of residence. This research weaves together experiences of paid and unpaid work and the locations that (re)create their feminized, racialized and classed circumstances. .

To capture the intricacies of home for transnational Filipina care workers, I analyze the 2006 Canadian Census and Statistics Canada's Ethnic Diversity Survey. I elaborate on these data with in-depth interviews and focus groups with three groups of Filipinas: recent health care workers, recent live-in caregivers and well-established residents. The analysis takes place in the inner suburbs of Scarborough, ON and the outer suburbs of Markham, ON; two locations that are key immigrant reception zones. My methodology investigates how various qualitative and quantitative methods can be employed to better understand how the complex relations between paid and unpaid work in various places of residence and workplaces influence the construction of home for transnational care workers.

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Table of Contents

Abstract ii
Acknowledgements iii
List of Tables viii
List of Figures x
Chapter 1 : Introduction: Finding a Home 1
Introduction 1
Transnationalism, Geography and Identity Construction 4
Locating the Research 10
Research Questions 12
Plan of Dissertation 15
Chapter 2 : The Geography of Care: Migration and Unpaid Work 18
Introduction 18
Transnational Practices and Identities 19
Transnational Mothering 26
Filipina Migrants: Caring Labour 27
Miraflores: Revisiting Gender Roles across Borders 30
Ghanaian Women: New Roles 32
Astronaut Wives: Revisiting the Household 33
(Dis)locating Care 36
Immigration to Canada and Care Work 44
Moving Forward 50
Chapter 3 : Methodology and Research Design 53
Introduction 53
Building a Methodology: Considering Gender, Race and Geography 54
Researching Anti-Racist Feminism 54
Research Design 57
An Overview 57
Selecting Methods 59
A Snapshot of the Interview Participants 66
Reflecting on Methods 68
Quantitative Methods 68
Qualitative Methods 72
Discussion 75
Chapter 4 : Micro-Geographies of Filipino Settlement: Toronto, Scarborough & Markham 78

Introduction 78
Social Constructions of Immigrants in Canada 79
Section I - Toronto, CMA 81
Philippine-born, Toronto CMA 85
Section II - Scarborough 87
Philippine-born, Scarborough 91
Section III- Markham 93
Philippine-born, Markham 97
Conclusion – Threading Themes 99

Chapter 5 : Women and Care: Paid and Unpaid Labour 101

Introduction 101
Section I – Toronto CMA 102
Women's Paid Work Patterns 102
Women's Unpaid Work Patterns 109
Section II – Scarborough 114
Women's Paid Work Patterns 114
Women's Unpaid Work Patterns 119
Section III – Markham 123
Women's Paid Work Patterns 123
Women's Unpaid Work Patterns 128
Conclusion 132

Chapter 6 : Who Cares? Pushing the Boundaries of Work, Residence and the Commodification of Care 137

Introduction 137
Care Work and the Workplace 139
Caring Spaces: Residence and Work 143
Negotiating Unpaid Work among Our Own 150
Conclusion 152

Chapter 7 : Placing Home on the Map 155

Introduction 155
Conceptions of Home 156
Findings from the Ethnic Diversity Survey 159
Ethnic Diversity Survey - Transnational Practices 160
Ethnic Diversity Survey - Sense of Self in Place 164
Qualitative Findings 173
Live-in Caregivers 174
Healthcare Workers 183
Well-established Suburban Residents 186
Conclusion 190

Chapter 8 : Conclusions and Reflections **193**
Introduction 193
Synthesis of the Findings 193
Reflecting on Home 198
Moving Beyond Methodological Limitations 202
Finding Home 204
References **205**
Appendix A: Map of the Toronto CMA **234**
Appendix B: Female Live-In Caregivers Born in the Philippines living and working in Markham **235**
Appendix C: Female Health Care Workers Born in the Philippines living and working in Scarborough **236**
Appendix D: Well-established Philippine-born Female Residents of Markham **237**
Appendix E: Interview Survey and Questions **238**

List of Tables

Table 4.1 - Period of Arrival, Toronto CMA, 2006 82
Table 4.2 - Age Categories by Immigration Status, Toronto CMA, 2006 83
Table 4.3 - Place of Birth for All Residents, Toronto CMA, 2006 84
Table 4.4 - Place of Birth for Recent Immigrants Arriving Since 1991, Toronto CMA, 2006 85
Table 4.5 - Period of Arrival for Philippine-born (% by period of arrival), Toronto CMA, 2006. 86
Table 4.6 - Age Categories for Residents born in the Philippines, Toronto, CMA, 2006 87
Table 4.7 - Period of Arrival by Gender, Scarborough, 2006 88
Table 4.8 - Age Categories by Immigration Status, Scarborough, 2006 89
Table 4.9 - Place of Birth for All Residents, Scarborough, 2006 90
Table 4.10 - Place of Birth for Recent Immigrants, Scarborough, 2006 90
Table 4.11 - Period of Arrival for Philippine-born Residents, Scarborough, 2006 92
Table 4.12 - Age Categories for Residents born in the Philippines, Scarborough, 2006 93
Table 4.13 - Period of Arrival for Immigrants, Markham, 2006 94
Table 4.14 - Age Categories by Immigration Status, Markham, 2006 95
Table 4.15 - Place of Birth for All Residents, Markham, 2006 96
Table 4.16 - Source Country for Recent Immigrants Arriving since 2001, Markham, 2006 96
Table 4.17 - Period of Arrival for Philippine-born, Markham, 2006 98
Table 4.18 - Age Categories for Philippine-born, Markham, 2006 99
Table 5.1 - Education Levels for Women, Toronto CMA, 2006 104
Table 5.2 - Labour Force Participation, Toronto CMA, 2006 105
Table 5.3 - Unpaid Work, Toronto CMA, 2006 111
Table 5.4 - Unpaid Work for Female Philippine-born Care Workers, Toronto CMA, 2006 112
Table 5.5 - Level of Education for Women, Scarborough, 2006 115
Table 5.6 - Labour Force Participation, Scarborough, 2006 116
Table 5.7 - Unpaid Work, Scarborough, 2006 120
Table 5.8 - Unpaid Work for Philippine-born Care Workers, Scarborough CMA, 2006 121
Table 5.9 - Educational Attainment for Women, Markham, 2006 124
Table 5.10 - Labour Force Participation, Markham, 2006 125
Table 5.11 - Unpaid Care Work, Markham, 2006 129
Table 5.12 - Unpaid Work for Philippine-born Care Workers, Markham, 2006 130
Table 7.1 - Contact with family and friends for Women, Canada, 2002 162
Table 7.2 - Contact with Family and Friends for Philippine-born, Canada, 2002 162
Table 7.3 - Frequency of Contact with Family Outside of Canada for Women, Canada, 2002 .. 163
Table 7.4 - Sense of Belonging to Family for Women, Canada, 2002 165
Table 7.5 - Sense of Belonging to Ethnic or Cultural Group for Women, Canada, 2002 166
Table 7.6 – Sense of Belonging to Canada for Women, Canada, 2002 166
Table 7.7 – Level of Trust for people in Neighbourhood for Women, Canada, 2002 167
Table 7.8 – Level of Trust for people at work or school for Women, Canada, 2002 167
Table 7.9 - Feeling Uncomfortable for Women, Canada, 2002 169
Table 7.10 - Reasons for Feeling Uncomfortable for Women Reporting Discomfort, Canada, 2002 169
Table 7.11 - Discrimination in Canada, 2002 170

Table 7.12 - Frequency of Discrimination among Women Reporting Discrimination, Canada, 2002 170
Table 7.13 - Reason for Discrimination among Women reporting Discrimination, Canada, 2002 171
Table 7.14 - Places of Discrimination for All (Men and Women), Canada, 2002 172

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 – Connecting Paid and Unpaid Work for Transnational Filipina Immigrants.............. 14
Figure 1.2 – Exploring the meaning of home 15
Figure 4.1 – Citizenship Status for Philippine-born, CMA, 2006.................................. 87
Figure 4.2 – Citizenship Status for Philippine-born, Scarborough, 2006 92
Figure 5.1 – Full-Time Full Year Wages, Toronto CMA, 2006 107
Figure 5.2 – Part-Time Part Year Wages, Toronto CMA, 2006 108
Figure 5.3 – Distance to Work, Toronto, CMA, 2006 114
Figure 5.4 – Full-Time Full Year Wages, Scarborough, 2006...................................... 117
Figure 5.5 – Part-Time Part year Wages, Scarborough, 2006...................................... 118
Figure 5.6 – Distance to Work, Scarborough CMA, 2006.. 122
Figure 5.7 – Full-Time Full Year Wages, Markham, 2006 126
Figure 5.8 – Part-Time Part Year Wages, Markham, 2006 127
Figure 5.9 – Distance to Work, Markham, 2006.. 131

Chapter 1 : Introduction: Finding a Home

Introduction

Contemporary migration has become increasingly transnational as migrants maintain linkages with their place of origin and, in many cases, with multiple places. A transnational framework asserts that migrants foster and maintain linkages with multiple places, creating transnational social spaces which extend the idea of *home* to include more than one location (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Szanton-Blanc, 1992). Transnational identities are formed in multiple places and at the same time these *places* work to reinforce social identities. The ways in which people negotiate identities are place-based and reflect the changing nature of place (Ehrkamp, 2005). This study examines how recent transnational migration and transnational social fields are shifting the ways that migrants construct home.

There is exceptional merit in using transnationalism to examine how newcomers negotiate home and a sense of belonging. A sense of belonging constitutes a critical component of feeling at *home*. The construction of home involves establishing a sense of belonging at a particular place (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). A transnational approach to home and belonging challenges static and binary spatial notions of work and residence, home and away, citizen and outsider, permanence and temporariness. There is more to the representation of socio-spatial relations than pre-constructed and mutually exclusive scales such as the global, the local, and the city. Applying critical anti-racist feminist

geography to studies of transnationalism acknowledges that scales are socially constructed representations of space and that social relations are not confined within scales but instead they play out across them (Kelly, 1999). I argue that in order to understand the construction of *home* we should explore how social relations are constructed at various scales, as opposed to relegating issues of work and non-work, alongside status and belonging, to the distinct boundaries of the nation state, city or household. For transnational caregivers and those who mother abroad, this means examining the ways in which work is constructing and reproducing multiple scales which include the body, the household, the neighbourhood, the separation between the urban and suburban and the nation for example. In essence, one's experience of home is contingent upon diverse social relations that play out at various spatial scales.

A focus on transnational patterns is furthermore useful in challenging the conflation of home with the social relations that play out at the scale of the household or at the location of the residence. While many women's experiences of home are located within the residence and at the scale of the household, there is considerable merit in moving beyond static and normative notions of home. The construction of home is often rooted in a physical location but it is also created from non-material processes. Aside from its physical structure, a home is a place where social and emotional meanings are grounded (Papastergiadis, 1996; Rubenstein, 2001). The conflation of household and residence with home is challenged by transnational migration.

I highlight the fluid, imaginary and multi-scalar experiences of home for transnational immigrant women. This dissertation explores the ways that transnational care workers negotiate home, marked by a sense of belonging, here and elsewhere. In order to examine these experiences, I investigate the linkages between paid and unpaid work along with the relations between workplaces and places of residence in the suburbs of Toronto, Ontario. This research weaves together paid and unpaid work and the locations that (re)create their feminized and often racialized circumstances. I employ a definition of work that considers paid work (the capacity to labour and to sell one's labour power), alongside unpaid work (social reproduction necessary to support the means of production) (Vosko, 2000; Bezanson and Luxton, 2006). I focus particularly on the feminized and racialized circumstances of care work because they disproportionately affect women of color (England, 2010; Armstrong and Armstrong, 2004).

Care work (paid and unpaid) is often shaped by the sites where this work is performed (England, 2010). Suburban households embody gendered, racialized and classed relations. The location of the white middle-class suburb, away from the city, reinforces the socio-spatial separation of the residence and work. Traditionally, the dichotomous public/private spheres of the suburban household positioned women as managers of the domestic while men were positioned as the breadwinners of the household. This case-study of Filipina transnational care workers challenges conventional gender relations. The paid work of Filipina care workers extends the process of reproducing the family beyond the sphere of unpaid work. This research,

furthermore, explores how gender relations can be altered when social reproduction takes place transnationally. Transnational practices may bring non-familial relations and paid work relations into the location of the residence (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). An analysis that focuses on the intersection of residential and workplace locations is sensitive to the ways in which identities are reinforced and created in different places. At this intersection we can begin to understand how transnational processes are grounded in local places, and we can examine how transnational identities create new spaces of resistance (Waters, 2002; Levitt, 2001) or whether they work to solidify oppression (Man, 1997) from patriarchy, capitalism and racialization.

Transnationalism, Geography and Identity Construction

The concept of transnationalism is helpful in understanding the ways that newcomers create and negotiate home and identity. I draw on Massey's (1992) notion of place-making as an integral component of *home*. For her, place-making is a constellation of social relations that interact in a particular place. Transnational homes are unfixed, mobile and built on spatial imaginaries (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). A transnational perspective on home destabilizes its single location, and unsettles the fixity of feeling at home. This approach highlights the relational nature of home across space and time, which is created from material and imaginative geographies of belonging (ibid).

A transnational geography of home implies that ideas of home are spatially contingent, multi-scalar and span national borders (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). It is

shaped by power relations based on gender roles, race and class. Gendered relations can be challenged when examined across different scales and transnational spaces (Pessar and Mahler, 2003). Drawing on Doreen Massey's (1994) concept of 'power geometry', Pessar and Mahler (2003) create a framework of 'gendered geographies of power' in order to analyze people's social agency within multiple hierarchies of power that operate among and between scales and are distributed across transnational space.

In assessing experiences of home for transnational female immigrants, this research reflects on experiences of paid and unpaid work across transnational space. Drawing on these reflections, I ask in what ways do transnational practices (represented at varying scales) inform notions of home and a sense of belonging? Because transnational notions of home vary among groups of women, this research reflects on their diverse experiences of paid and unpaid work. The research is premised on the argument that gender is a critical relation that informs transnational migration (Pessar and Mahler, 2003) and therefore plays a key role in how female migrants assess home and a sense of belonging. However, gender is only one signifier of social location and can not be understood in isolation from other aspects of identity such as race, ethnicity and class (Baines et al., 1998). According to Anthias (2001), "[g]ender, ethnicity and class are primary social divisions involving distinctive relations of differentiation and stratification, which in relation to one another, provide the formation of both life conditions and life chances" (2001:846).Gender, ethnicity, race and class are historically produced social and cultural constructions and are therefore variable and contingent

(Anthias, 2001). According to Ng (1995; 1991) gender, race and class are overlapping systems of domination that inform us of how people relate to each other through productive and reproductive tasks.

In this dissertation, gender, defined as a set of social relations that inform and organize society based on constructed ideas of masculinity and femininity, is a critical lens for examining the migration of men and women (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994), especially their transnational migration (Pessar and Mahler, 2003). Gender furthermore informs how places are experienced (Massey, 1994) and gendered relations are reinforced between and among scales (Pessar and Mahler, 2003). Gendered transnational flows are shaped by processes that reinforce and sometimes challenge racialized and classed identities. Processes that reinforce racialization and class are historically specific, so that their meanings vary over time and space (Das Gupta, 2009). Constructions of identity and furthermore meanings of home, need to be examined within Canada's contemporary context as an immigrant receiving state and settler society with a history of British and French colonialism (Ng. 1991) and institutionalized multiculturalism (see Kobayashi, 1993). Canada's immigration system historically arose out of racially exclusionary intentions, and while current policies appear de-racialized they often perpetuate racialized, feminized and classed dynamics of immigration (Miles, 1989; Das Gupta, 2009).

Transnational notions of home are also shaped by the power relations that position certain groups in distinct ways (Massey, 1992). By challenging normative notions of

home, this research acknowledges the ways that gender, race and class can influence how some places are experienced in unhomely ways – which include experiences of marginalization, isolation and alienation. Race is especially critical in discussions of how home is experienced by transnational migrants in settler societies like Canada where discourses of racialization conflate 'immigrant' with a non-white outsider who is inferior to the hegemonic whiteness of the nation (Das Gupta, 2009). Modern nation- building was premised on racial superiority that privileged whiteness (Goldberg, 2002; Thobani, 2007). Canada's history of racial exclusion and white supremacy (Backhouse, 1999) has perpetuated white interests within its foundational principles, constitutional order and governance (Bissoondath, 2002; Fleras, 2010). These embedded assumptions about race and racial hierarchies are reproduced discursively and systemically, through Canada's immigration system (Li, 2003). Immigrants are often constructed as racialized subjects from less developed regions of the world, who have limited English language capacity (Kobayashi and Peake, 1997, Ng, 1999, Creese and Kambere; Li, 2003).

Although this research is sensitive to experiences of racialization and racism, I argue alongside Essed (2002) that these experiences are in fact embedded in the 'everyday'. Racism is not experienced continuously nor is it experienced similarly by different people. As a result it is sometimes difficult to identify when analyzed at an individual level (Essed, 1991). Everyday racism may include a few words exchanged or not exchanged, gestures, glances, tone of voice, rumors, coincidences, inclusions and exclusions. Individually, these instances seem odd and not overtly problematic and

cannot be classified as racism. However considered collectively they reveal a broader pattern of marginalization and racism for non-whites (Das Gupta, 2009: 19). Everyday racism is critical to the ways that transnational migrants construct home and a sense of belonging, since racism is often experienced in encounters that take place in workplaces and places of residence.

In the Canadian case, social constructions of race and gender are inextricably bound with class (Ng, 1990). Class is critically implicated in discussions about the international division of social reproductive labour and how these relations affect the construction of home and a sense of belonging. In capitalist societies, much debate around class revolves around the production of and access to economic resources. I take from Anthias (2001) that class is not merely a system for allocating economic resources but the relations of and construction of class also have social, cultural and symbolic facets. Therefore while class is often expressed as an unequal distribution of economic resources, the process of distribution is embedded in social and cultural processes that are influenced by gender and race. bell hooks (2000) argues that while race is often linked to gender, the public discourse fails to acknowledge that class conflict is already gendered and racialized. She writes that "[racialized women] can have the keys to the big houses as long as we are coming to clean and do the childcare. Neighbours tell me that the lack of diversity has nothing to do with racism, it's just a matter of class" (2000: 3). For Ng (1999), gender, race, ethnicity and class are not mere variables that describe determining

factors of social status, instead they are the very ingredients that make up the fabric of Canadian society.

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1990) has developed the concept of *habitus* to describe the context in which various forms of capital (economic, social, cultural and symbolic) are given meaning (Kelly and Lusis, 2006). These forms of capital influence class relations since social, cultural and symbolic capital can be converted into each other and into economic capital. The accumulation of economic capital can in turn contribute to a person's stock of social, cultural and symbolic capital thereby enhancing one's class position. Kelly and Lusis (2006) apply the concept of habitus within the context of transnational migration. For transnational migrants, economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital do not simply transfer to a new setting, instead the processes of valuation and exchange take place within a transnational social field or *transnationalized habitus*. For immigrants, class position is complicated because capital is (e)valuated differently at their origins and at various destinations.

Within an anti-racist feminist framework, I acknowledge the everyday, interlocking and relational experiences of racialized and classed women. I also consider these experiences within a broader political economy of care work, defined as a critical component of the paid and unpaid work involved in social reproduction. The construction of social identities and experiences of paid and unpaid care work that take place across transnational social fields inform the meaning of home and sense of belonging.

Locating the Research

The dissertation focuses on the ways that transnational migrants negotiate home and a sense of belonging here and elsewhere. In doing so, I focus on the experiences of transnational Filipina immigrants living in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). This research draws on a case-study of female Filipinas, in part because of their contemporary overrepresentation in care work (see Kelly and D'Addario, 2008) and their presence in Canada's live-in caregiver program (see Kelly, Park, de Leon, and Priest, 2011) . Much research about Philippine-born care workers in North America revolves around discursive representations of their identities (Pratt, 2004; England and Stiell, 1997; Kelly and D'Addario, 2008); broader colonial linkages (Espiritu, 2003) and global care chains (Parreñas, 2012; Arat-Koc, 2006). The literature on Filipina immigrants reveals high levels of transnational activities that include transnational household and employment strategies (Kelly, Astorga-Garcia, Esguerra and CASJ, 2009; Parreñas, 2005; 2010). The transnational activities of Filipinas challenge normative assumptions about suburban family life, employment, and residence. While there is a rich literature about the settlement and labour experiences of Filipinas (see Kelly et al., 2009; Pratt, 2004; Stasiulis and Bakan, 2002), this dissertation extends past studies in several ways. First, I add to previous research conducted by Pratt (2004) and Stasiulis and Bakan (2002) with a comparative study of Filipina experiences. While past research has examined the unique employment and residential experiences of live-in caregivers, this research compares three groups of Filipinas with diverse employment and residential

experiences: recently arrived live-in caregivers, recently arrived healthcare workers, and well-established Filipinas with long careers in Canada's diverse suburbs. The research examines Filipinas who arrived in Canada at different periods, for example, the care workers (live-in caregivers and health care workers) arrived in Canada within ten years of the research and the well-established Filipina residents arrived more than twenty years ago.

Second, this research adds to past research on Filipino transnational settlement by focusing on Filipinas who have settled in the suburbs of Toronto[1]. The inner suburban location of Scarborough, Ontario and the outer suburbs of Markham, Ontario are popular sites of settlement for the Filipino community. The suburbs are also increasingly critical zones for immigrant settlement (Murdie, 2008; Murdie and Teixeira, 2001). Immigrants have diverse settlement experiences in the suburbs of Toronto due in part to variations in the supply of affordable housing and the availability of social services between the inner and outer suburbs (Preston, Murdie, Wedlock, Kwak, D'Addario, Agrawal, and Anucha, 2009). By examining constructions of home in both locations, this research exposes the diverse experiences of suburban immigrants, moving beyond assumptions of conformity and homogeneity in the Canadian suburbs (Harris, 2004). Furthermore, this research

[1] Inner suburbs are those built from 1945 to the 1970s which include the former municipalities of Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough. The outer suburbs, also referred to by their area code as the '905 region' (Hulchanski, 2007) are those built since the 1970s and are located outside of the central city (CMHC, 2006).

acknowledges the variegated suburban experiences of immigrant women that sometimes challenge the normative gender relations often associated with suburban households.

Last, in order to extend past research on Filipina experiences of transnational migration, I examine the multiple ways that home is conceived and negotiated. In doing so and in order to capture the ways that both paid and unpaid work and workplace and places of residence affect experiences of home, I employ multiple methods. I analyze the 2006 Canadian Census data along with information from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003) and elaborate on these data with in-depth interviews and focus groups. By employing multiple methods to examine various aspects of settlement, I develop rich information about the complex and fluid experiences of home and sense of belonging.

Research Questions

My research examines the multiple meanings of home for transnational Filipina caregivers in the Toronto CMA. I examine the links between paid and unpaid work in various workplaces and places of residence and assess how these links affect the construction of home for transnational Filipina immigrants. My broad research question asks: **How do transnational female immigrants experience home in the Toronto CMA?** This research unsettles fixed notions of home. With attention to how transnational ties, households and employment are implicated in creating home, the research examines two sub-questions. The first question is: **What are the linkages between paid and unpaid work in various residences and workplaces for transnational Filipina**

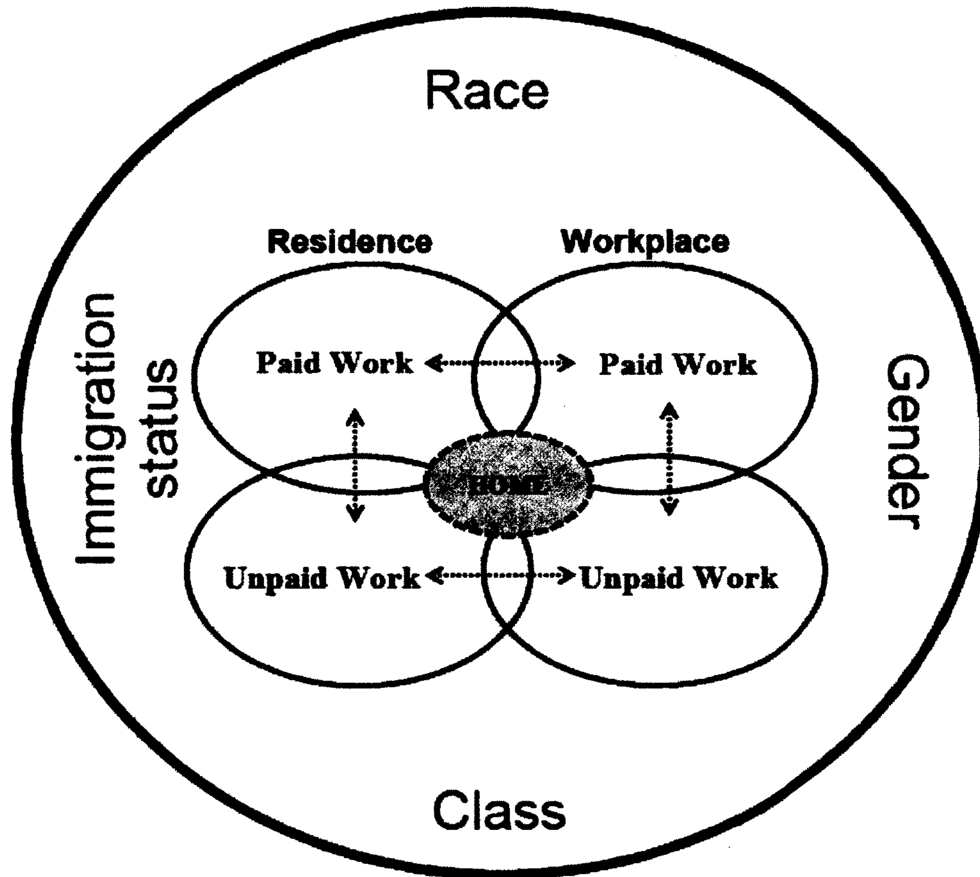
immigrants in the Toronto CMA? Experiences of work, both paid and unpaid, are shaped by the sites where work is performed such as the place of residence (England, 2010) or a healthcare institution (Das Gupta, 2009). I address these relations by drawing on census data and in-depth interviews with transnational Filipinas. By analyzing the links between paid and unpaid work in two suburban locations: Scarborough and Markham and within the Toronto CMA, the research is sensitive to the micro-geographies that shape women's experiences of paid and unpaid work. The analysis further explores the fluidity of women's conceptions of home in various residences and workplaces. For some care workers, the work place and place of residence are conflated which can blur the parameters of paid and unpaid work (see figure 1.1). Such links between the residence and work place can also reinforce the feminized, racialized and class-based nature of care work. This research explores how gendered relations and gendered hierarchies of power are implicated in home-making or in what Bowlby, Gregory and McKie (1997) refer to as 'doing home'. This research, however, is limited to the experiences of women, which can not wholly capture how gendered relations are reproduced in the household. Instead the aim is to examine three groups of women, capturing their diverse experiences. These varied experiences can suggest how some transnational care workers are challenging or reinforcing gender relations in multiple locations.

Figure 1.1 – Connecting Paid and Unpaid Work for Transnational Filipina Immigrants

	Paid Work	**Unpaid Work**
Place of Residence	• **Live-in Caregivers** • **Healthcare Workers**	• **Established Residents** • **Healthcare Workers**
Workplace	• **Established Residents** • **Healthcare Workers**	• **Live-in Caregivers** • **Healthcare Workers**

The second question is: **How do the linkages between paid and unpaid work in various places of residence and workplaces influence the experiences of home and a sense of belonging for transnational Filipinas in the Toronto CMA?** I examine how paid and unpaid work at different locations influence notions of home (see figure 1.2). I draw on the Ethnic Diversity Survey and in-depth interviews to investigate fluid and multi-scalar experiences of home. This question highlights the intricate strategies by which women from transnational households engage in care work and unravels the complex meanings of home held by transnational Filipinas.

Figure 1.2 – Exploring the meaning of home



Plan of Dissertation

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. I begin with Chapter 2 entitled, *The Geography of Care: Migration and Unpaid Work.* This chapter sets up the theoretical foundation for the dissertation highlighting the importance of geography and socio-spatial

relations for theories of transnationalism. From a geographical perspective, I review the transnationalism literature and explore the literature on transnational mothering. The latter part of the chapter examines the rise of global care chains followed by a discussion about the recruitment of domestic workers in Canada.

Chapter 3 describes and justifies the methods I have employed. The chapter commences with a discussion of the conceptions of gender, race, class and geography that underlie the research methods. The second section about research design describes my methods that include quantitative analyses of the 2006 census data and the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003) and content analyses of semi-structured interviews and transcripts from focus groups with Filipinas living in the Toronto CMA. The latter part of the chapter reflects upon the challenges encountered in both components of the research.

The research findings are reported in four chapters. Chapter 4 draws heavily on the 2006 census data to establish a general picture of migration and settlement by Filipinas in the Toronto CMA and within two suburban locations: Scarborough and Markham, Ontario. The chapter details feminized and racialized patterns of migration. It shows that the feminization and racialization of migration is more apparent in suburban locations and among those born in the Philippines.

Chapter 5 examines the paid and unpaid work of women in the Toronto CMA, Scarborough and Markham with particular emphasis on the experiences of Philippine-born women. This chapter compares Filipina participation in the paid labour market and in unpaid work (housework and childcare) with that of Canadian-born and all immigrant

women. The data indicate that women's experiences of paid and unpaid work vary across the two suburban locations in the Toronto metropolitan area.

Chapters 6 and 7 draw on the qualitative interviews and focus groups with recently arrived live-in caregivers; recent healthcare workers; and well-established residents. Chapter 6 examines linkages between workplace and residence. The interviews highlight how paid care work is personalized in residential spaces. The relationship between reproductive care work and residence has been reinforced by state shifts in welfare services and in immigration policies that have expanded the supply of foreign-born domestic workers. The findings confirm that the resulting rise in commodified care work continues to reproduce racialized and classed divisions.

Chapter 7 draws upon the qualitative interviews and the Ethnic Diversity Survey. The survey compares the transnational activities and sense of belonging among immigrant, visible minority immigrant and Philippine-born women. The interviews expand on the complex process of making a home and establishing a sense of belonging. Filipinas' narratives highlight the ways that various spatial scales such as the body, the residence, workplace, suburbs and the nation intersect with identity markers such as gender, race and class to inform a transnational sense of belonging.

Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation by summarizing the main arguments. A transnational geography of home is discussed that acknowledges the fluid meanings of home.

Chapter 2 : The Geography of Care: Migration and Unpaid Work

Introduction

Transnationalism destabilizes the idea of a fixed home. For transnational migrants, home is stretched to include multiple locations and meanings. For many transnational migrants, home is further complicated by the changing nature of paid and unpaid work. As the need for care work increases in industrialized economies, 'global care chains' are developing, which are intensifying uneven relations between people across the globe (Hochschild , 2000). Reproductive labour in one area of the world has concrete linkages to reproduction in another place (Parreñas, 2005; 2012). The international exchange of (paid and unpaid) care work is arguably reinforcing geopolitical inequalities by redistributing care resources from poorer regions of the world to industrialized states (Yeates, 2005). The international division of social reproductive labour is a geographical relationship that reinforces gendered, racial and class inequalities at varying spatial scales. The relationships among various aspects of identity (gender, race and class) influence the circumstances of care-giving, and as a result, a woman's position along the axes of social location will structure her relationship to care (Baines et al., 1998). Transnational care workers have a unique sense of home that is constructed simultaneously by social interactions at multiple locations, embedded within diverse workplaces and places of residence, and influenced by transnational household strategies.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the transnationalism literature in relation to home-making. I pay attention to the changing geographies and spaces of paid and unpaid care work, while exploring the ways that transnational migration, as a set of practices, can help us understand how these forms of work are feminized and racialized in various places. I ask, to what extent do the intersections of paid and unpaid care work for transnational migrant women affect their construction of home and their sense of belonging?

To examine these questions, the chapter begins with a discussion of transnationalism and its relevance to care work and notions of home. The chapter then brings together discussions of the links between transnational migration, and paid and unpaid work by delving into the literature on transnational mothering - women who care across borders. The review is followed by a discussion of emerging global care chains. The chapter progresses with a brief history of migration to Canada by domestic and care workers. This section ends with a discussion of transnational Filipina caregivers that introduces their unique circumstances in Canada. The chapter concludes by revisiting the research questions and situating them within the geographical literature on transnationalism and home.

Transnational Practices and Identities

As a conceptual lens, transnationalism opens up new ways of understanding how immigrants negotiate care work and a sense of belonging in multiple locations. The term

transnationalism was introduced and popularized by anthropologists, Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc (1992) and Rouse (2004) (see also Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc, 1994). For scholars of transnationalism, the settlement of contemporary migrants is different from that of those who arrived earlier, mainly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Earlier cohorts of migrants were assumed to cut social and cultural ties with their homeland and after an initial period of transition, adopt the economic, political, cultural and social practices of the receiving society. For recently arrived immigrants, maintaining social networks and activities in the host and sending society was commonplace.

Basch et al (1994) and Faist (2000) argued that through their daily activities and relations, transmigrants create *social fields* that span nation-state boundaries. Since their formulation, a great deal of attention has been paid to the theoretical importance of *transnational social fields* (see for example, Bailey at al. 2002; Faist, 2000; Levitt, 2001; Portes et al, 1999: Preston, Kobayashi, Siemiatycki, 2006; Willis and Yeoh, 2002) created through transnational activities and shaped by those who participate in practices that span borders and by those who are dependent on transnational practices (Levitt, 2001). The analysis of social fields indicates that transnational migration is not merely about maintaining linkages with two distinct places. Instead, the extension of a social field can be seen to enfold places into a web of relationships (Preston, Kobayashi, Siemiatycki, 2006). Roger Rouse (2004) uses the term *transnational migrant circuit* to describe these relations. For Rouse, the circulations of people, money, goods and

information have become so closely woven that they have come to constitute a single community spread across a variety of sites. Drawing on similar concepts of *social fields*, Jackson, Crank and Dwyer (2004) have argued that studies of transnationalism have underplayed the importance of *space* and the transformation of space that is critical in the evolution of transnational social forms. Rather than conceptualizing space as a passive backdrop to transnational social relations, the authors argue that space is constitutive of transnationalism in all its varying forms. The importance of bringing attention to space in studies of transnational migration is echoed in the emphasis on how notions of *home* are shaped by and through transnational social fields and transnational spaces in this study.

The term diaspora is infused with meanings of home. According to Walter (2001), diaspora refers to feeling at home while living in and identifying with another place. Clifford (1994) notes that at different points in history, societies moved in and out of diasporism depending on circumstances both with their host country and transnationally. Robin Cohen's (1997) work on 'global diasporas' provides a loose typology of diasporic experiences, which can help link experiences of migration with constructions of home and feelings of belonging and/or exclusion. These different forms of diaspora include: victim/refugee, imperial/colonial, labour/service, trade/business/professional, cultural/hybrid/postmodern (1997:179). For Cohen, the typology is linked directly to the experiences, forms and geographies of diasporas. These experiences are further explicated by Cohen's use of horticultural metaphors: the

gardening term *weeding* is used to describe the victim/refugee whose experiences are marked by expulsion; *sowing* refers to the scattering nature of the imperial/colonial; *transplanting* describes the digging up and replanting of the labour/service diaspora; the trade/business/professional diaspora is linked to *layering*; and the cultural/hybrid/postmodern diaspora is, to no surprise, described in terms of *cross-pollination*. While there are concerns about the applicability of the typology and its associated metaphors, Jackson, Crang and Dwyer (2004) argue that Cohen's metaphors speak to varying 'diasporic spatialities' (2004:4). The authors note that the typology speaks to the varying relations between movement and space and place for transnational migrants. For women living in diaspora, notions of home can be complex, accompanied by varied experiences of power and exclusion. The romanticization of home and return are in stark contrast to the everyday lived experiences in the places where migrant women's bodies are actually located. For migrant domestic workers, 'home' is often a site of performance where they are rendered outsiders and victims of oppression and violence (Yeoh and Huang, 2010; Huang and Yeoh, 2007).

Gender, as a set of social relations that organize migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994), is critical in discussions around home and transnationalism. Feminist scholars have argued that transnationalism, its processes and spaces are highly feminized and racialized (Gabriel, 1999; Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Pratt and Yeoh, 2003; Willis and Yeoh, 2002). Pratt and Yeoh (2003) argue that women move less freely in transnational social fields and their patterns of migration are more socially embedded. In addition to

gender, race and class play a key role in spatial mobility Feminist scholars have noted that people have varying degrees of access to and power over flows and places (Gabriel 1999; Massey, 1994 and 1993; Pessar and Mahler, 2003). Jackson et al. (2004) write that "[t]ransnationality is constituted through the dialectic relations of the grounded and the flighty, the settled and the flowing, the sticky and the smooth" (2004:8). Social fields are therefore not experienced equally by immigrants. Social fields are irregular, permitting the flow of some and preventing the passage of others. These irregularities in mobility have profound implications for notions of *home* and a sense of belonging. Mitchell (1997) argues that nation-state borders are not wholly disintegrating nor are they necessarily intensifying, instead she argues that they are porous- varying in flexibility depending on the *types* of flows. Furthermore, experiences of mobility and fixity vary across spatial scales. Yeoh and Huang (2010) argue that while some domestic workers are transnationally mobile, they experience disciplined forms of fixity at the scale of the household ('home'). While much recent feminist scholarship aims to account for such asymmetries in mobility, current debates around transnationalism and settlement are in many cases still blind to these gendered, racialized and classed geographies of power (Pessar and Mahler, 2003). Recognizing the power asymmetries that are implicit in transnational migration is a starting point from which this research seeks to assess how transnational women construct home here and elsewhere.

Transnational migration opens new ways of understanding the notion of belonging. Kelly (2003) argues that transnationalism, as an empirical phenomenon,

unsettles static concepts of nationhood, citizenship and ethnic identity. For Anderson (1983), the notion of nationalism is imagined because members will never know the rest of the nation's members and yet membership conjures the image that each member lives in a community with the others. This imagined sense of community amongst a group of people is integral to nation building. In addition to its imagined sense of community, Yuval Davis (1997) adds that the concept of the nation state is outright fictitious. The concept assumes a correspondence between the boundaries of the state and those who are accorded membership. For Yuval-Davis, groups that live within a state and who are not considered to be part of the nation have always existed. She argues that the purpose of this fictitious membership is to naturalize the hegemony of dominant groups and their access to the apparatus of the state. This process further marginalizes minorities as deviants in relation to those constructed as 'normal'. Her analysis, unlike many however, is not gender blind and Yuval-Davis notes that women in particular have been excluded regularly in discourses of the nation (ibid). Baines and Sharma (2002) argue that in Canada, nationhood is used as a strategy of exclusion and inclusion in order to define who is entitled to rights and protection. The construction of the foreign Other in Canada implies a person of color from the Third World who has a poor command of official languages and occupies lower positions in the labour market. This construction excludes white middle class professionals from Britain, Australia and the United States (Kobayashi and Peake, 1997; Creese and Kambere, 2003). They argue that citizenship is completely bound with notions of gender, colonialism, and the binary relation of self and Other

(Baines and Sharma, 2002). Transnational practices destabilize the static and linear relationships between subject, nation and citizenship, providing opportunities for transnational migrants to challenge gendered, racialized and classed identities.

In her analysis of these practices, Parreñas (2001) begins her discussion by drawing on the work of Joseph (1999) who argues that "citizenship defines identity – who you are, where you belong, where you come from and how you understand yourself in the world" (1999:162). Parreñas argues that for migrant Filipina domestic workers, home and a sense of belonging stem from a shared sense of dislocation. This dislocation of migrant care workers is created through a global "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) that transgresses the nation-state. Their transnational identities become further classed and racialized by the care work that they perform in different locations. Their sense of community as global workers precludes their full incorporation into any one nation state by virtue of the (transnational) work which has come to define their identities. While many refer to the Philippines as *home*, much of the construction of home is bound with state discourses around the inflow of foreign currency and outflow of migrant workers. Emphasis on national heroes who support the nation-building project in the Philippines promotes the migration of female care workers whose identities and ideas of home quickly become destabilized and redefined by notions of partial citizenship. According to Parreñas (2001), partial citizenship for migrant care workers diminishes the social reproductive rights for these women and their families. Filipinas' partial

citizenship raises issues around providing care for privileged families while they struggle to care for their own families in the Philippines.

Transnational Mothering

The meaning of home is further complicated by a transnational lens that destabilizes the assumed locations of both *home* (not always associated with one residence or household) and workplace (as separate from the place of residence). A number of studies have examined households that span two or more nation state boundaries (Arat-Koc, 2006; Baily, et al. 2002; Chiang, 2008, George 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Levitt, 2001; Ong, 1999; Parreñas, 2005, 2010; Pratt, 2004; Waters; 2002; Wong, 2000). These studies indicate that transnational arrangements often reinforce feminized and racialized assumptions about care work. Many scholars have found that these transnational arrangements include caring from a distance and mothering/ daughtering across borders. The term transnational motherhood describes the arrangements that unsettle normative ideologies of motherhood (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997) and expands the concept of 'motherhood' to include breadwinning across transnational space (Parreñas, 2010). Studies of transnational mothering raise questions about the ways in which the home is linked to the household and *who* is performing the care work.

The changing relationship between migrants and their *home(s)* is a key component of transnational migration (Al-Ali and Koser, 2002). Not only are homes located in

different places, but also the multi-scalarity of home is particularly evident in transnational migration, which involves negotiating notions of home within multiple neighbourhoods, nations and states. Moreover, as Parreñas (2005) has argued, "...contemporary transnational households have a different temporal and spatial experience from binational families of the past" (2005:317). Given the changing dynamics of migration, the experiences of parents and children vary tremendously (ibid).

The literature on transnational mothering provides insight into how experiences of home are negotiated through transnational practices. The following case studies reveal how female migrants negotiated their roles as wives and mothers over transnational spaces. The experiences of these women and the diverse strategies that they employ as mothers suggest the complex relationships between paid and unpaid work in the diverse locations where care work takes place.

Filipina Migrants: Caring Labour

Migration from the Philippines in the latter part of the twentieth century has been substantial and notably feminized, racialized and classed. Between the 1960s and 1970s, the Philippines was the source of large numbers of medical workers in Canada. A second wave of migration from the Philippines, commencing in the 1980s, consisted of domestic workers, who filled gaps in housekeeping, child and senior care (McKay, 2002). Recent migration amongst Filipinas is part of a transnational household strategy. According to Parreñas (2005, 2010), migrant mothers in the United States do not relinquish their care

roles as mothers, instead they struggle to nurture from afar. For her, care and social reproductive tasks that take place from a distance are controlled by employment conditions which are mediated by gender, race and class.

Parreñas (2005, 2010) and Pratt (2004) note that in the United States and Canada, respectively, monetary remittances play a key role in the maintenance of transnational families, and more so in the maintenance of intimacy. In her research on Filipino transnational households in the United States, Parreñas (2005) discusses remittances between mother and daughter as a way of staying in touch with daily familial life. In her study, about one half of migrant mothers were wary of their husband's behavior and spending, so their earnings were entrusted to another family member, usually a daughter, sister or mother. The co-management of the family's finances connects mothering to breadwinning (ibid). In addition to financial micro-management, Filipina migrants also use regular communication as a strategy to instill intimacy in transnational arrangements. Consistent contact with children maintains a bond between child and mother, despite the mother's absence. Regardless of their physical distance, mothers were still responsible for the nurturing of children (which included advice on health, education and meal planning) (Parreñas, 2005; 2010). Despite the breadwinning role that migrant Filipinas have adopted through the provision of financial remittances, Parreñas' (2010) research indicates that husbands are not redefining their roles as fathers by taking on more household work. Instead, female kin and other women left behind are taking on the additional responsibilities in domestic work and childcare. In her Canadian research,

Arat-Koc (2006) found that despite the significant aid that remittances played in their families' lives, mothers felt a profound sense of guilt and anxiety about the separation from their families. Serious health problems often followed long term separation. Interviews revealed that children were also affected negatively by the distance and separation (Arat-Koc, 2006).

Parreñas' (2005) research illustrates how technological advances are key to the maintenance of transnational households. Three factors influence access to and quality of communication. First, a migrant woman's occupation can influence her ability to communicate with family members. For example, nurses have more flexibility than domestic live-in workers and are more likely to be able to contact family members frequently since they do not work and live in their employers' places of residence. The second factor influencing a mother's communication is the country of destination. Domestic workers earn significantly less money in Gulf states than in North America and Western Europe where they have more resources with which to pay for communication. The final factor influencing the flow of communication is the uneven development of urban and rural areas in the Philippines. Rural areas have limited cellular phone service and internet access that are needed for transnational communication. Access to communication is critical for maintaining familial relations across borders. It allows migrant mothers to play a significant role in the daily reproduction of the household and nurturing of the family. These strategies and the tools used to maintain the household

work to reinforce conventional gender norms in the household as opposed to increasing the role of men in reproductive work (Parreñas, 2005; Asis, Huang and Yeoh, 2004).

Miraflores: Revisiting Gender Roles across Borders

Levitt's (2001) research examines the connections between Miraflores, Dominican Republic and Jamaica Plain, Boston. Levitt refers to these two places as *transnational villages* noting that the migration of Mirafloreñas has shifted social relations at the origin and destination. Prior to migration, women from Miraflores experience little economic independence. After arrival in Boston, migrant women often work outside the residence and have regular contact with educational, medical and government institutions. Levitt (2001) notes that women's ability to remit money and support their households may challenge prevailing gender relations. The story begins with the ways in which boys and girls in Miraflores are socialized to belong to distinct social spaces. Men are positioned as the financial supporters of the family, but are seen by women to be untrustworthy as husbands and fathers. As a result, women build strong social networks with other women, which become the key relations that support and assist in social reproduction. Women retain autonomy in their marriages by casting men as supportive actors. This context is critical to Levitt's analysis of gender relations and migration. Although Mirafloreñas *appear* to have little power, Levitt notes that gender relations are not as unequal as they first appear.

The impacts of migration are complex. Although migration presented opportunities for women to renegotiate gender roles, some women were not interested in changing power structures in their households and they were content leaving financial responsibilities and decision making to their husbands. For other women, a willingness to change was stifled by the lack of economic opportunities in Miraflores and by long entrenched gender norms. Levitt notes that in these cases incremental changes were apparent, men would help with housework behind closed doors and women would open small businesses. Although the sharing of child rearing with extended family and friends has been a common practice in Miraflores, the household dynamics change drastically when parents and children migrate. When parents travel to Boston to work and remit money, relationships between parents and children are compromised and parental authority is questioned. Long work hours and limited community support to help raise children place a strain on the family. Parents have less control over their children's lives and they spend very little time together as a family- a practice that is in stark contrast to life in Miraflores where the distinction between workplace and place of residence is unclear. In these ways, transnational migration alters experiences of home. Living transnationally, politically, socially, and economically, and creating communities that span borders has altered the fixed nature of home.

Ghanaian Women: New Roles

In a study of Ghanaian women in Toronto, Wong (2000) examines how women employ transnational practices to cope with disappointing socio-economic conditions after migration. Wong details the blocked labour mobility of Ghanaian immigrant women due to their inability as refugee claimants to obtain work permits, non-recognition of skills and education and lack of Canadian work experience. Faced with these obstacles, many women relied on social assistance and/or unstable and low-paying jobs that did not require work permits. These women's labour market experiences are often spatially constrained. Ghanaian women sought work close to their residences to fulfill childcare and domestic responsibilities (England, 1996; Hanson and Pratt, 1995) in some cases and due to spatial mismatch (McLafferty and Preston, 1999), in others.

Migration alters the gender division of labour among Ghanaian couples. Prior to migration, Wong's female respondents engaged in formal, paid work and controlled their own incomes. In Ghana, the husbands would usually provide for the family, while wives would earn extra money to cover the costs of childcare and their own personal expenses. After migration, many husbands had difficulty finding jobs and were unable to support the household. Prior to migration, Ghanaian women could rely on family and friends as an economic safety net. In Canada, women's participation in the labour market increased which necessitated a change in the division of labour, but Ghanaian husbands were unwilling to take on more childcare and domestic responsibilities. Some women were able to receive assistance from other family members, but few could afford to hire

domestic help especially to care for children. The lack of financial security in Canada encouraged long family separation in which mothering responsibilities were shared with family and friends in Ghana. Owing to economic and social insecurities, Ghanaian women were forced to organize new mothering arrangements through relationships that span national borders.

Wong's research revealed that in some cases, transnational community ties were contradictory in nature. Transnational networks allowed women to overcome some of the obstacles they encountered in Canada. However, these women were still responsible for supporting family life through remittances and regular contact. Ghanaian women's limited incomes coupled with the strain of sending remittances to family abroad constrained their mobility and prevented women from travelling to Ghana. While Wong's research focuses on the experiences of Ghanaian refugee claimants, her findings are also indicative of other racialized women's experiences. Her research highlights the relationship between women's experiences in the labour market and their efforts to juggle their roles as wives and mothers.

Astronaut Wives: Revisiting the Household

Astronauts work and live in the country of origin while other family members, often the wife and children, reside in the destination country. Drawing upon values from traditional Confucianism, Asian astronaut families often engage in a gendered household division of labour (Waters, 2001) that 'valorizes masculinity' and 'localizes' the female

subject (Ong, 1999). The familial relationship, Ong writes, is a form of isolation and disciplining for Astronaut wives. Chiang (2008) disagrees. She argues that astronaut households are more than an economic strategy and definitions of astronaut households have been over-simplified in the literature. The process of 'astronauting' often differs from one household to the next. Gender relations can vary from one context to another and households can span three places instead of two (Chiang, 2008).

Waters (2001) examines patriarchal relations within suburban Chinese astronaut households in Vancouver. Upon arrival in Vancouver, astronaut wives realized that they were suddenly responsible for domestic tasks such as cooking, childcare, housecleaning and finances that they had not done previously. These new responsibilities, alongside a career, are associated with dual-demands or the 'double day' (Luxton and Reiter, 1997). In her examination of middle-class Hong Kong women in Toronto, Man (1996) notes that immigrant women had a difficult time obtaining employment that matched their skills and education levels. Waters' findings corroborate these labour market experiences. This raises an interesting question about whether the astronaut arrangement hinders women's labour experience. Some of the women that Waters spoke with detailed feelings of joy as they were able to reconnect with their roles as mothers without being under the watchful eye of family members and husbands. Kobayashi, Preston and Murnaghan, (2011) found that some Hong Kong women welcomed the idea of a suburban lifestyle with its traditional gendered division of labor.

Chiang's (2008) research reveals that some women from Taiwan were able to live off family savings, so they did not look for employment upon arrival. Social organizations played a key role in the lives of Taiwanese astronaut wives. Unpaid forms of work such as volunteering helped women create social networks and also provided them with Canadian experience, which could be used to help obtain employment. In contrast, some women from Hong Kong reported feeling bored and isolated living in the suburbs of Toronto (Preston and Mann, 1997).

Astronaut households raise questions about the role of women as reproducers of their husbands' labour power. According to Peck (1996), the male waged worker requires the female labourer in the household to reproduce his labour power. Waters (2001) points out that within the astronaut family, the relationship between the women's unpaid labour and her husband's career is complicated. The suburban astronaut wife is in some sense obligated to fulfill the gendered role of the housewife, however the physical absence of her husband means that his daily needs are not part of her domestic work. The astronaut wife is not reproducing her husband's labour power in the traditional sense, but she is benefiting from his labour through the money that he sends. In fact, Waters found that the distance that occurs between husband and wife in the astronaut household is a fundamental way that some women subvert patriarchal control. The astronaut household arrangement challenges gendered imaginaries for some, while reinforcing patriarchal household norms for others. In contrast, Kobayashi, Preston and Murnaghan (2011) reported that for some Hong Kong women, a sense of belonging in Canada is dependent

upon achieving an idealized vision of a suburban lifestyle premised on traditional gender roles. Together, these studies suggest that, for astronaut wives, gender roles are re-negotiated in myriad ways through transnational practices.

* * * * *

Transnational household activities disrupt the assumption that the family is located in one place, which furthermore unsettles assumptions that mothering activities are confined to the domestic arena of the household or place of residence (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997). The above case-studies provide valuable insight into the ways that different immigrants engage in diverse transnational household strategies. These diverse strategies destabilize normative assumptions about women's paid and unpaid work and the locations of the workplace and the residence. These arrangements furthermore challenge the normative gendered division of labour characteristic of suburban households.

(Dis)locating Care

Care is a complex set of relationships that are produced and performed by paid and unpaid workers who are unrelated or family and friends. As a result of these fluid relationships, care is often seen as a reciprocal process rather than a linear or one-way process (Armstrong and Armstrong, 2004). According to Baines, Evans and Neysmith (1998) the interrelationships between dimensions of identity (re)produce circumstances of caring for women. A woman's social position along multiple axes will structure her

relationship to care - whether she provides informal care or is poorly paid by someone else to provide care (ibid).

The definition of care is closely aligned with that of social reproduction. Drawing on Braedley (2006), I do not define social reproduction as synonymous with care; however I understand care work as a key component of social reproduction. Care is therefore not used interchangeably with social reproduction, but instead to describe a key component of the paid and unpaid work involved in social reproduction. Social reproduction can be defined as the work required for biological reproduction, the reproduction of labour power which includes the necessary education and training, and also the reproduction of care needs (Bakker, 2003; Braedley, 2006). For Kate Bezanson, social reproduction encompasses the maintenance and care of society, which are mediated between the household, state, market, and third sector. Therefore, social reproduction is socially, culturally and politically determined (Picchio, 1992; Bezanson, 2006). State withdrawal from welfare and service provision has transferred care work from state-run and state-funded institutions to individuals and families, thereby increasing care work for households (Braedley, 2006).

While there is nothing inherent in the tasks associated with social reproduction or care work that necessitates that it be done by women, the organization of this work and the way that it is carried out is highly feminized (Bezanson, 2006). There is little evidence that there are physiological reasons behind women's propensity to care or men's more limited tendency to engage in care work (Armstrong and Armstrong, 2004). On the

flipside, there is evidence that girls are socialized to take on caring roles and also given greater caring responsibilities within the household (see for example Parreñas, 2005; 2010; Kelly and D'Addario, 2008). These forms of socialization are not restricted to girls' and boys' early years. Instead, the feminization of care work is shaped, created and reproduced within larger social relations, processes and structures (Armstrong and Armstrong, 2004). Armstrong and Armstrong (2004) argue that contrary to popular societal beliefs, there is nothing 'natural' about the role that women play in caregiving. The contexts in which women and care work are embedded matter more than the bodies themselves.

When examining the role that gender plays in care work, what matters the most are the unequal relationships, structures and processes that shape women as care workers and also devalue the care work itself (ibid). According to Mary Romero (2011), discussions of social reproduction that centre on the distribution of unpaid work between men and women fail to recognize the class and racial inequalities that are being reproduced as this type of work is increasingly commodified. While the employer and the domestic employee have childcare needs, the purchasing power of the employer exacerbates the unequal distribution of reproductive labour. Instead of challenging patriarchy and the unequal distribution of reproductive labour, hiring care workers merely shifts the work to racialized women who occupy positions of lower status (Romero, 2001; 2011). The production of a foreign-born racialized female labour force further reinforces the bifurcating class positions of those who purchase and those who perform care work.

American sociologist Arlie Hochschild (2000) argues that there is a growing crisis in care, which she refers to as a 'care deficit'. This global deficit is the result of changes in the private and public spheres. Within private life, a care deficit is occurring as a result of lack of assistance with care work given to working mothers (Hochschild, 1989; England, 1996). The deficit created at the public level has occurred as government support to families has decreased, forcing the family to be the main source for care. The result is a stalled gender revolution (Hochschild, 2000). Little about women's responsibility for social reproduction has changed and we have not seen sufficient workplace restructuring to give women greater flexibility to negotiate the demands of unpaid work. In short, the need for care has continued to increase, while the level of flexibility in the workplace has declined.

Global care chains link the paid and unpaid work of people across the globe (Hochschild, 2000). Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild (2008) argue that care chains are anchored in a 'commons' or a community of individuals who act in reciprocity with one another. Through the idea of a commons, the authors argue that the distorted and eroding family ties in the economies of the Global South support those of the Global North. Care therefore reinforces geopolitical inequalities by redistributing resources from less developed areas of the world for consumption by advanced industrialized states (Yeates, 2005). The redistribution of resources (re)produces an international division of social reproductive labour that is anchored in gender, race and class inequalities (ibid). Hochschild (2002) has furthermore referred to the extraction of care resources as

emotional imperialism that is rooted in inequalities between the Global South and North. Parreñas (2000) demonstrates that reproductive activities in one area have concrete linkages to reproduction in another place. In effect, women's migration connects and reproduces gendered, racialized and classed inequalities in sending and receiving states. Parreñas (2005; 2012) argues that female employers in developed nations are at the top of the hierarchy, domestic migrants at the centre, and those who care for migrant domestics' children are at the bottom. This hierarchy is described as the international division of reproductive labour.

Lawson (2007) argues for a critical assessment of care ethics to challenge neoliberal policies that intensify inequality. She calls upon geographers to question how unequal care relationships are reinforced spatially. Lawson's analysis of care ethics further challenges us to be aware and attentive to "...our own location within circuits of power and privilege that connect our daily lives to those who are constructed as distant from us" (2007:7). Doreen Massey (2005) argues that in our ordinary lives, we are all implicated in inequality, which is (re)produced through spatial interactions. We are called to take responsibility and challenge relationships in which we are positioned and through which identities are constructed (Massey, 2005). Raghuram, Madge and Noxolo (2009) draw on postcolonial interpretations of care to suggest that care be left open to the multiple meanings that it may take in various places. This propels us to stray away from the asymmetrical relations between vulnerable nations and those of the 'developed

world'. The authors thereby prompt us to rethink how spaces of care reinforce inequalities through relations of dependence and development.

The complex relations of global care work mean that women are negotiating paid and unpaid care work in varying ways and locations. According to Lutz (2008) migrant domestic work can be understood by analyzing and intersecting three regimes. First, migrant domestic work is influenced by gender regimes that shape the organization of social reproductive work within the household. Second, care regimes reflect welfare state regimes and determine how responsibilities for the welfare of citizens are distributed between the state, the market and the family. Last, migrant domestic work is shaped by migration regimes that determine the extent to which immigrants are encouraged or discouraged to migrate and whether they are granted employment (Lutz, 2008).

Canada provides an interesting case-study, which demonstrates how global care relations are grounded in and mediated through the retrenchment of the welfare state and changing immigration policies. The expansion of the welfare state in Canada after World War II created a buffer from the inequalities caused by the free market for the most vulnerable citizens (Evans and Wekerle, 1997). In the 1970s, when women's participation in the labour force began to increase, many women benefited from the provision of services that were once the responsibility of the household and also from a discursive shift that recognized that care is a vital societal responsibility (Luxton and Reiter, 1993). The expansion of publicly provided services provided care for children, the elderly and the disabled who previously had received care within the household. The

provision of services such as childcare, education, and healthcare also created a demand for labour in female-dominated occupations. Under these circumstances, many women's experiences of paid and unpaid work were transformed. High levels of unionization in the public sector where increasing numbers of women found jobs drastically altered women's position in the labour market by: increasing wages (both relative to men's and non-unionized women's wages); ensuring safer working conditions; and providing a range of benefits that had been unavailable to many working women (Luxton and Reiter, 1993). Welfare state policies were based on assumptions about rigid gender roles that emphasized women's responsibility for care work and men's responsibilities as the breadwinner. While the assumptions underpinning welfare state policies reinforced appropriate performances for men and women within the household, the policies also shaped gender relations by influencing women's access to employment and the availability of services that could assist with caring for dependent family members (Evans and Wekerle, 1997).

The erosion of the welfare state via neoliberal fiscal policies that began in earnest in the 1990s has affected all households and all Canadians, however, it has particularly exacerbated the tension between women's paid and unpaid work. In the 1990s, the federal government announced major cut-backs to provincial transfers that had funded healthcare, education and social services. Concerns about the escalating costs of healthcare in Canada have also led to the reshaping of healthcare services through processes of privatization, marketization and decentralization (England, Eakin, Gastaldo

and McKeever, 2007). In response to these concerns and the declining financial support from the federal government, 'cost-effective' healthcare reform has been instituted at the provincial level. In Ontario, residence-based care (home care) has increased as healthcare reform has sought cost savings by closing and merging institutions and encouraging early release from healthcare institutions for some patients and the complete deinstitutionalization of others. Neoliberal healthcare practices in Ontario include the introduction of private for-profit home care firms and requirements that all contracts to provide home care are awarded through a competitive bidding process in which for-profit firms compete with non-profit organizations. In response to decreased services that are subsidized by the federal and provincial government, the family, volunteers and non-governmental organizations are expected to take on more care work (England, 2010). Senior care has been particularly affected by healthcare reform. In Canada, the privatization of senior care has occurred in two ways; services for the elderly are increasingly being provided in private, for-profit facilities and these services are being paid for by the patient (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1996).

Women's increasing participation in the paid labour force also increased the demand for subsidized childcare. Despite government attempts in the 1980s to promote childcare, there is still no national childcare system and the supply of licensed child-care spaces does not meet the growing demand (Foster and Broad, 2002). Childcare in Canada has historically been marked by a philosophy of individualism, and approached as an employment issue where child care provision and parental leave are tied to

participation in the labour market (England, 1996). The retrenchment of state support has increased demand for services such as child and senior care that can only be satisfied through private, for-profit firms. These neoliberal policies have accelerated the commodification of care services.

With the growing need for childcare and healthcare services in an environment where publicly provided services are not expanding at the same rate as demand, the number of temporary foreign live-in care workers has increased. Immigration policies that recruit foreign care and domestic workers are part of broader state policies that perpetuate the gendered and racialized nature of care work. Care work is feminized, disproportionately affecting women. More recently, non-white immigrant women make up a growing work force of care workers employed in Canadian households. The following section will discuss the recruitment of foreign care workers in Canada, which is part of broader neoliberal state policies that provide privatized options to replace publicly funded care services.

Immigration to Canada and Care Work

Canada has a long history of migrant female domestic recruitment. In Canada, the immigration of female domestic workers has historically had class and racial dimensions (Boyd, 1997). During the second half of the nineteenth century, preference was afforded to female domestics from Britain who could perpetuate white middle class ideals (over less desirable and racialized Irish domestics) (Boyd, 1997). Until the late

nineteenth century, domestics were recruited from northern and western Europe while entry of eastern European women, who were perceived to be less educated, was restricted (Cohen, 2000). The Great Depression and Second World War reduced the flow of migrant labour and halted recruitment. However, the demand for domestic labour increased soon after World War II. Demand for domestic workers was so high that Canada opened its doors to many southern Europeans –namely from Italy, Spain and Greece (Daenzer, 1993). Around 1965, the state began to allow racialized women from Jamaica and Barbados to enter as domestic workers. Much of the justification for hiring racialized women revolved around the selection process that required good health, single status and training prior to migration (Cohen, 2001). Many of these women continued to work as domestics even after their contracts ended because racial discrimination and other obstacles in the labour market prevented them from taking advantage of other labour opportunities (Henry, 1968; Cohen, 2000). Daenzer (1993) argues that the inclusion of racialized women (Black Caribbean-born and Filipina) as domestic workers rendered immigration programs more regressive than inclusive with fewer protective measures and mobility rights.

The 1980s brought heightened conflict between domestic workers, employers and various governmental departments (Daenzer, 1993). The state response in 1980, led by Minister of Employment and Immigration, Lloyd Axworthy, resulted in a task force on immigration practices and procedures. The 1981 report confirmed that domestic workers were systematically disadvantaged (ibid). Later that year, the Minister's advisors

proposed that an attempt be made to balance the needs of Canadian families that faced a chronic shortage of domestic servants with the necessity to protect the increasingly racialized workers from exploitation. The taskforce recommended that foreign domestic workers be assisted in gaining permanent resident status. Daenzer (1993) reports two key policy outcomes. First, Canadian families would be guaranteed a steady stream of racialized female immigrants into foreign domestic service. Secondly, a limited number of domestic workers would be assured permanent residence status after entry into Canada. Most of these workers would have the opportunity to qualify for landed status following a specified period of servitude. This policy, known as the *Foreign Domestic Movement* (FDM), allowed approximately 67,000 domestic workers to gain entry into Canada between 1982 and 1990. The program was disproportionately female, only 2 to 3 percent of domestics were male. Source countries changed dramatically from the post World War II period when domestic servants were of British or European origin. By 1988, nearly 50 percent of domestic workers originated from the Philippines and less than 10 percent originated from the United Kingdom (Daenzer, 1993).

The FDM was subject to further policy changes in 1992 including being renamed the *Live-in Caregiver Program* (LCP). Taking from the former program, domestic workers would still be required to live in their employers' residences, enter and work in Canada under temporary status, and require permission from the Ministry before changing jobs. The new policy did add additional educational and training requirements,

including the equivalent of a Canadian high school education and domestic training prior to entry (Daenzer, 1993).

The LCP continues to be a racialized and feminized program in which Filipina migrants are over-represented. McKay (2002) reports that 72% of those who arrived under the LCP between 1990 and 1994 listed their country of origin as the Philippines. Of the Philippine-born immigrants who arrived in Canada under the LCP, 98% were women - generally between the ages of 25 and 44 years old at the time of landing (McKay, 2002). In 1989, approximately 12 percent of Philippine-born immigrants to Canada arrived under the LCP. By 2009 this number had increased to 40 percent (Kelly, Park, de Leon, and Priest, 2011).

Pratt (2004) provides a comprehensive analysis of the contradictions between the rights of Canadian citizens and the unequal treatment of workers- notably Filipina live-in caregivers. Pratt visits the multiple sites of policies that facilitate the exploitation of this highly racialized and feminized workforce. First, the promise of citizenship legitimates unacceptable labour conditions. Among Filipinas, the exchange of servitude for citizenship is commonplace. Second, there is a discursive rupture in the ways that the federal and provincial governments define live-in caregivers. The federal government is responsible for the LCP and the regulations governing migration, while the provincial government regulates employment standards. Pratt notes that for the federal government, live-in caregivers are temporary visa holders and for the provincial government they are employees. Caught between these two contradictory views, the work of live-in

caregivers is usually unregulated and often exploitive. Third, the "live-in" aspect of this work arrangement lowers the cost for employers, which makes private childcare affordable for middle-class parents. Living in an employer's residence dampens wages, tends to stretch the work day (without overtime pay), can make workers vulnerable to sexual (and other forms of) abuse and makes it difficult for an employee to challenge working conditions when her work space is also her residence (Arat-Koc, 1989; Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003). Lastly, the domestic worker is often described as a family member, thereby attaching a sense of familial obligation to the worker. This semi-familial relation is quite problematic since it locks the employee into obligation as a family member, however her role within the family is limited by her status as an employee (Arat-Koc, 1989; Pratt, Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003).

Pratt (2004) writes that Filipina caregivers are Othered in relation to European nannies. The European/Asian duality places Filipina domestic workers as most suitable for housekeeping and early childhood care while white European domestics are situated as more appropriate for child rearing owing to their higher levels of skills and education (see also England and Stiell, 1997). This distinction between White-European domestics and non-White/Asian domestics reifies a racialized hierarchy within feminized low-wage domestic labour. Pratt (2004) notes that the two groups operate with different sets of

rights, which leads to a wage gap favoring the European nannies who are less subjugated[2].

Stasiulis and Bakan (2003) criticize the notion that citizenship is based solely on a relation between a citizen and a single nation state. By virtue of being non-citizens, Filipina domestic workers are particularly vulnerable to abuse, violence and human rights violations. The authors write,

> "In the absence of a national childcare policy which might provide affordable public child care, the Canadian state subsidizes a privatized childcare service for its wealthier citizens, through recourse to immigration control. In effect the cost of this subsidized citizenship entitlement is borne by the poor, Third world female non-citizen (1997:123)

While Filipina domestic workers support their own families via transnational networks and flows, they are excluded from welfare and social security programs and basic human rights protection in Canada. The circumstances of their domestic work, their temporary status and promise of residency silences live-in caregivers and renders them largely invisible (Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003).

The devaluation of care work for many Filipina care workers occurs within contemporary suburban neighbourhoods. Historically built on patriarchal assumptions, the 'feminine suburbs' have perpetuated unequal relations between men and women and the devaluation of unpaid domestic work (Saegert, 1980). The rise in suburban women's

[2] In her interviews with nanny agents, Pratt (2004) found that nannies from the Philippines initially earned minimum wage while nannies from Europe and Australia made $100 more per month.

participation in the labour force has prompted a demand for domestic services and has accelerated the commodification of care services. The suburbs are increasingly places of work as well as places to live (England, 1993). Women who now provide domestic work for wages in the suburbs continue to experience the devaluation of domestic work (Pratt, 2003). Programs such as the LCP that recruit racialized women to carry out reproductive labour in the place of residence perpetuate, rather than eradicate, the gendered division of labour within Canadian suburban households, which in turn reproduces the devaluation of domestic work (Arat-Koc, 1989; Hsiung and Nichol, 2010).

The suburban experiences of transnational Filipina care workers challenge traditional linkages between home, domesticity and femininity. Their experiences reveal the diverse ways that households can stretch beyond places of residence and nation state boundaries. Home and sense of belonging for Filipina care workers are influenced by the circumstances of their migration and experiences of paid and unpaid work.

Moving Forward

Recent shifts towards global capitalism have altered the way that we understand social reproduction (Katz, 2001). Many of these changes are related to the eroding social contract, shifts towards privatization and the withering of the welfare state. Obvious outcomes of declining public support are the reliance on market-driven forms of social reproduction. These private options and their changing geographies have led to transnational chains of care that span multiple households, residences and state borders.

The Canadian state has expanded private care options through its immigration policies by facilitating the entry of foreign, racialized, female care workers. Increasingly, many care workers live and work in residential settings that are imbued with gender and class norms, ideas about morality and the ethics of care and domestic labour (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). The idealized imaginary of the middle class white suburban household is premised on a gendered division of labour with women maintaining households through unpaid domestic work (Hayden, 2003). Even though 'white' middle class women in Canada are more likely to engage in paid work than in previous decades, the feminized, racialized and classed assumptions around unpaid housework and childcare are reinforced through policies such as the LCP that keep care work in the residence. Foreign care workers in Canada possess a unique relationship to paid and unpaid work that manifests in the locations where this work takes place – a workplace that is also the place of residence.

The transnational literature provides a helpful point of departure with which to analyze how transnational care workers negotiate home and a sense of belonging. It unsettles notions of home – their locations, meanings and the ways in which they are constructed. This research draws on these nuanced ideas of home and questions how transnational Filipinas negotiate home in the Toronto CMA. More specifically, the dissertation examines the circumstances of migration that inform Filipinas' experiences of home by exploring the linkages between paid and unpaid work in various places of residence and workplaces for transnational Filipina immigrants in the Toronto CMA.

Assessing fluid relations between paid and unpaid work and their locations acknowledges the unique ways that these relations can inform home and a sense of belonging. The links between paid and unpaid work and the locations where these forms of work take place can also serve to reinforce the feminized, racialized and class-based nature of care work. The research therefore extends previous studies of transnational settlement by questioning how the linkages between paid and unpaid work in various places of residence and workplaces influence home and a sense of belonging for transnational Filipinas.

Chapter 3 : Methodology and Research Design

Introduction

The transnationalism literature reveals the feminized and racialized nature of care work performed by transnational immigrant women. The construction of social identities such as gender, race and class are embedded within experiences of paid and unpaid care work that take place between and across spatial scales such as the household and the state. This research examines how the links between the residence and workplace can reinforce the feminized, racialized and class-based nature of care work and how these experiences across transnational space can inform home and sense of belonging for immigrant women.

This research is epistemologically anti-racist and feminist. As a project in feminist geography, I take from Bondi and Davidson (2005) the goal of rethinking the relations between social location and place. Gender, race and class are mutually constitutive of one another and inherently rooted in the construction of place. These relations are critical when assessing how transnational immigrants negotiate home and a sense of belonging. However, research indicates that the recursive relationships between place and social identities are 'sticky' and not easily transformed (Bondi and Davidson, 2005; Jackson, Crang and Dwyer, 2004). The purpose of this chapter is to explore a methodology that is sensitive to the complex processes of place-making by transnational Filipina care workers.

The chapter is organized in three sections. The first section entitled, *Building a Methodology: Considering Gender, Race and Geography,* outlines the importance of incorporating an anti-racist feminist perspective in research projects that aim to examine how different aspects of social location are implicated in experiences of home and belonging. The second section details the research design and the use of a variety of methods that together capture the complexities of home and belonging. The third section of the chapter considers the obstacles and limitations of the methods, while the final section reflects on the efficacy of such methods when assessing a process as fluid and multifaceted as home-making.

Building a Methodology: Considering Gender, Race and Geography

Researching Anti-Racist Feminism

Kirby and McKenna (1989) have argued that how we, as researchers, go about conducting research is linked with how we see and understand the world. This research and its methods are premised on a feminist perspective that seeks to unsettle taken for granted assumptions about women's and men's places in society and within the social relations that structure society (Bondi and Davidson, 2005) and furthermore to move beyond gender as a central construct in feminist work in order to consider how gender intersects with other markers such as race and class (Moss, 2002). This perspective is sensitive to the ways that places are experienced differently by men and woman and how different men and women construct different places. By examining newcomers' paid and

unpaid work in different workplaces, this research highlights how transnational migrants construct homes.

Feminists have challenged the absence of women and their distinctive experiences in geographical research (Bondi and Davidson, 2005). Their research also highlights the intersectionality of social identities (Valentine, 2007; Hsiung and Nichol, 2010). The concept of intersectionality suggests that we no longer view forms of oppression as multiplicative or additive- that is, that one form of oppression can be added onto another. Within geographical scholarship, intersectionality brings to the fore the complexities of identities and the ways in which they are influenced by and implicated in place-making. This research is further informed by anti-racist geographical theory. In their work on spatial mismatch, Preston and McLafferty (1999) write that research is needed to better understand the connections among race, place and space rather than separating them. They argue that analyses of labour segmentation and residential segregation should take account of the intersectionality of gender, race and class.

Equally as important in anti-racist feminist research is the recognition of positionality as a critical factor in shaping research (Kobayashi, 2005; Rose, 1993). According to Kobayashi, (2005), positionality is more than the space that one occupies. Instead, it requires that research be active, engaged, and contested (2005:36). Reflexivity is a critical strategy in feminist research used to position oneself and to avoid the production of supposedly universal and neutral knowledge (Rose, 1997). Reflexivity is a means to develop situated knowledges that avoids the ever distanced god-trick (Haraway,

1991). Feminist geographers have acknowledged the difficulties inherent in the actual practice of reflexivity and situated knowledge. They note that the researcher still continues to reproduce her privilege by directing the research and controlling its dissemination (Gilbert, 1994; McLafferty, 1995; Rose, 1997). Rose (1997) argues that therein lies a contradiction when feminist researchers attempt to expose their position of privilege. As an inherently spatial paradox, transparent reflexivity nonetheless reproduces differences between the researcher and those researched. Differences are imagined as distances. Therefore, in the reflexive landscape of power between researcher and the researched, Rose (1997) argues that the relationship can be mapped in one of two ways, "...either as a relationship of difference, articulated through an objectifying distance; or as a relationship of sameness, understood as the researcher and researched being in the same position". She argues that a contradiction becomes evident since the latter is impossible and yet the former is unacceptable. Rose draws on McLafferty (1995) to illustrate that a connection between researcher and the researched is false, and yet creating that distance epitomizes "...that disembodied, god's-eye view from nowhere that such positioning was meant to refuse (McLafferty, 1995:438)". In the same vein, Kobayashi (2005) argues that a researcher's ability to recognize the transformative nature of positionality is insufficient to reduce power differences since the power to situate oneself, she continues, represents a form of privilege.

Research Design

An Overview

I have taken from Kirby and McKenna (1989) the idea of research as "... a continuous process that begins with a concern that is rooted in experience... [t]he researcher engages in a process of self-reflection as one of the participants in the process of creating knowledge" (1989:44). The authors suggest that at the outset of the research process, one should locate oneself within the general ideas of the project. By outlining the research concerns that arise from personal experiences, we map the parameters of the study. The authors continue by asserting that, "...in researching from the margins, your experience guides the way the research is done and how it is understood: your experience is at the *centre* of the research process" (Emphasis added, 1989:45).

I reflect on Kirby and McKenna's ideas around one's own experiences and the ways in which they influence future research agendas. Between 2003 and 2011, I was involved in a number of research projects, including my own academic research. During this time period, I conducted 120 interviews consisting of semi-structured interviews and focus groups, ranging from refugees at risk for homeless to care workers and key informants who were government officials and front line settlement workers. These experiences have inevitably informed this research. I appreciate how the interview and focus group processes created a space that allowed participants to inform the inquiry. The researcher can also discuss her own thoughts about the conversation with

participants. In this reflexive discussion, participants are given opportunities to correct any misunderstandings and the researcher is able to pose additional questions based on the participants' reflections (Falconer Al-Hindi and Kawabata, 2002). Optimally, there is a combination of set questions and interactive and spontaneous questions (Kirby and McKenna, 1989). When a more inclusive relationship is fostered between the researcher and participant(s), the information is far richer.

As a Master's student in Vancouver (2003-2005), I struggled considerably with classmates who discounted my desire to incorporate quantitative methods. The academic environment was hostile since many graduate students competed to have the most 'authentic', nuanced and critical perspectives on geography. Senior graduate students ridiculed my ambition as a feminist geographer to incorporate quantitative methods. Fellow classmates used jargon and confusing discursive tactics to argue that quantitative methods were synonymous with positivist research agendas that have contributed to and justified racial divisions and colonial agendas – comparing my work to the likes of 19th century craniometry.

From this experience, I am cautious about the ways in which quantitative methods in geography have neglected the experiences of certain groups (McDowell, 1992; Kwan, 2002). I draw on the works of Mei-Po Kwan, Sara McLafferty and Valerie Preston who all illustrate that quantitative methods can be critically employed by feminist geographers. Kwan (2002) argues that quantitative methods can help situate forms of knowledge in the context of social and economic relations. She furthermore opposes the

quantitative/qualitative dualist thinking, whereby methods are placed in opposition to one another. This masculinist binary tends to privilege one method over another and ignores critical quantitative methods that are consistent with feminist epistemologies (Kwan, 2002).

From these experiences, I have developed an appreciation for a spectrum of complementary and playful methods (Murnaghan, 2010). I stray away from employing over-used and under-theorized concepts such as 'mixed' methods, since they imply the use of inherently separate and contradictory methods. This research is epistemologically feminist – from that I make use of a number of methodological tools ranging from semi-structured interviews and focus groups to statistical analyses.

Selecting Methods

On the whole, I draw on the works of Stone (2000) who employs a 'lumping' method of analysis and Gluksmann (2000) who speaks of 'slicing' data. Like Armstrong and Armstrong (2004), this research is about both lumping and slicing. Lumping explores what is common across time and space and slicing exposes what is different and contradictory, particularly in women's experiences of paid and unpaid work.

The quantitative portion of the research is designed to establish a broad picture of racialized immigrant women's residential and work experiences. While I argue that there is no overarching immigrant experience, there is merit in drawing out general trends found among women and racialized immigrants. Assumptions about who constitutes an

'immigrant', however, do require some attention. Peter Li (2007) has argued that Canadian discourses around immigration are in fact 'race' discourses, which imply on the one hand support for cultural diversity, but on the other hand preference for certain newcomers on the basis of origin. Discussions of contemporary migration from 'non-traditional' source counties, according to Li, are used as an encoded means to refer to non-white immigrants as opposed to direct discussions of race. The term immigrant is therefore loaded with assumptions about racial background. After policy changes in 1967 which opened Canada's doors to non-European immigrants, references to those arriving 'recently' or from 'non-European' source countries are contemporary discursive markers of racialization. Discussions about immigrants' social and economic integration are in fact focused on the performance of racialized immigrants. Pendakur and Pendakur (2007) have argued that economic performance for ethno-cultural groups is not about their position as immigrants, instead it is about their position as racialized Canadians. Galabuzi (2006) argues that immigrant status has been racialized and the inferior status imposed on racialized people extends to all recent immigrants. Scholars have noted that the construction of an 'immigrant' is not readily associated with residents born in the USA, Britain and Australia, instead 'foreign-born' is bound with images of people from the third world, who are low-status and have limited capacity of the English language (Kobayashi and Peake, 1997; Li, 2003; Creese and Kambere, 2003). Throughout this dissertation, I am therefore cautious regarding the ways in which

discussions around immigrants' economic outcomes are discursively centred on the performances of racialized immigrants.

An updated snapshot of immigrants' socio-economic patterns using the 2006 census establishes a base for the interviews. Examining census data and 'lumping' groups of women and immigrants by virtue of their gender and nativity has provided an interesting starting point to show that women and racialized immigrants still have fewer economic opportunities. They are more likely to find themselves in unstable and less desirable jobs than Canadian-born and non-racialized men. The lumping analysis of the census data examined the following variables: period of arrival, age and place of birth. We can begin to 'slice' through these trends by analyzing the differences within groups of women- between immigrant and non-immigrant women, recent and well-established, racialized minorities and white women. While statistics can be dangerously interpreted and categories can work to reproduce racialized and gendered assumptions in society, establishing and understanding general social trends is a first step, and a necessary part of (albeit only one part of) social research. The slicing analysis of the census data examines how economic circumstances differ between Canadian-born women, immigrant women and Filipinas by examining education, labour force participation, occupations, earnings and unpaid labour.

The census data, furthermore, provided the opportunity to consider various geographical scales from the Toronto CMA to Scarborough – a borough of Toronto, and Markham – a municipality of York Region (see map in Appendix A). The geographical

locations were selected in part to explore the recent suburban settlement of immigrants within the Toronto CMA. The geographical locations also make use of the lumping and slicing method, where the Toronto CMA is selected as a 'base' geography (lumping) with which to compare (slicing) Scarborough and Markham, municipalities found within the CMA.

The Toronto CMA is the largest census metropolitan area in Canada with a population of 5,838,800 in 2011[3]. It attracts the highest proportion of immigrants landing in Canada – 40.4 percent of all new immigrants between 2001-2006 (Statistics Canada, 2008). The CMA provides a rich case-study in which to examine how the settlement experiences of transnational immigrants are influencing their constructions of home.

Fiedler and Addie (2008) argue that the economic and political relationship between the city and suburbs is highly complex. By selecting two suburban places I aim to take account of this complexity and to destabilize the city-suburb dichotomy. The inner suburb of Scarborough is located in the eastern part of the metropolitan area. This municipality is home to many foreign-born and visible minorities making up 68.1 percent and 67.4 percent respectively of the total population. Aside from its rich ethno-cultural diversity, Scarborough has been wrongfully labeled by media outlets as alienated and violent.[4] This post-war suburban municipality is in fact an exciting location to examine

[3] Census data for foreign-born in 2011 is not yet available, therefore the research is based on census data for 2006.

[4] For example see: Gillmor, D., The Scarborough Curse. Toronto Life, December 2007. For a critique see: Pinto, B., Scarborough's Bad Rap: Everyone knows Scarborough's reputation: it's desolate, dangerous and deprived. But is any of that true? Eye Weekly, November 28, 2007.

the resilience of high density immigrant communities. Markham is located in north eastern York Region and is the largest and among the fastest growing municipalities in the suburban region. It also has the highest proportion of foreign born in the region (56.5 percent). The two locations represent different phases of suburban development. The inner suburbs of Scarborough developed rapidly between 1945 and 1970, while the outer suburbs of Markham have developed more recently, since the 1970s (Hulchanski, 2007; CMHC, 2006).

I use these two locations as a researcher, although I speak of them as places that constitute my own *home*. I was born and spent my early childhood years in the east side of Scarborough; then lived the majority of my life in Markham; and now have returned to Scarborough. The geography of the research encompasses more than research sites for me. I am aware that both places are more complex than the political entities by which they are circumscribed.

The census data are complemented by the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) compiled by Statistics Canada in 2003. The EDS is the only nation-wide survey in Canada designed to assess how social background (ethnic and visible minority) affects social, political and economic participation in Canada. The survey provides a description of transnational behavior and sense of belonging for Filipinos and Filipinas on a much larger scale than qualitative research has provided to date.

* * *

The qualitative part of the research was designed to enrich and elaborate understandings of the general trends in the census. It gives women opportunities to narrate their own experiences of work and home. This phase of the research also makes use of the lumping and slicing method. Between August 2008 and August 2010, I interviewed thirty women born in the Philippines who were recruited from a variety of community-based organizations (Markham Federation of Filipino Canadians, Local Suburban Church) and through a snowball method (see Appendices B, C & D). It was important to speak to women who had similar ethno-cultural backgrounds and similar experiences of outmigration policies that target female healthcare professionals (see Kelly and D'Addario, 2008). These ethno-cultural experiences are enveloped with similar familial expectations regarding gender roles in the household and labour market for women in the Philippines (ibid). Interviewing Filipina care workers provides an opportunity to understand how gendered, racialized and classed relations are challenged or reinforced in locations where paid and unpaid work takes place. It was equally important to slice through the differences, particularly the economic and class-based variations among the groups of women. By interviewing Filipinas who arrived at different periods of time and under different socio-economic circumstances, the aim was to capture the varying ways that Filipinas experience class. These different class-based experiences reveal broader patterns of gender relations and racialization. The research is however limited to a case-study of women, and therefore can not fully capture how gender relations are reproduced in various locations. Instead the experiences of three

groups of Filipinas can expose the diverse ways that care workers renegotiate traditional gender roles and gendered work when they take place over transnational space.

The first group is comprised of Live-in Caregivers. These ten women who migrated to Canada under the federal Live-in Caregiver Program arrived less than ten years ago and worked in Markham, Ontario. The second group of Filipina women is comprised of ten recent migrant health care workers, who have also arrived within ten years and are currently (or have recently) lived and are employed in the health care sector in Scarborough, Ontario. The final group of women consists of ten well-established Filipinas living in Markham – all having arrived in Canada more than twenty years ago.

Each of the health care workers, well-established residents and live-in caregivers completed a short questionnaire about her personal background. The questionnaire was followed by a series of semi-structured questions that revolved around residence, paid and unpaid work, transnational patterns and one's own personal sense of home. The interview questions varied slightly to cater more specifically to each of the three groups of women (see Appendix E for the questionnaire and interview schedules). Owing to the time constraints experienced by live-in caregivers, seven caregivers were interviewed in two focus groups which are labeled as Focus Group 1 and 2 (see Appendix B). I also draw on information from a third focus group (Focus Group 3) with live-in caregivers in York Region in 2009[5].

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[5] Preston, V., Robert M., Wedlock, J., Kwak, M., Murnaghan, M., D'Addario, S., Logan, L., Agrawal, S. and Anucha, U. (2009). *Immigrants and Homelessness - At Risk in Canada's Outer Suburbs: A Pilot Study in York Region*. Report filed with Homelessness Partnering Secretariat, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada.

A Snapshot of the Interview Participants

Thirty Filipina participants discussed their experiences of paid and unpaid work, places of residence and work places. Their narratives alluded to how these experiences influenced their construction of home. Ten live-in caregivers talked about residing and working in Markham. At the time of the interviews, the live-in caregivers were between the ages of 27 and 49 years and had arrived since 2003 (Appendix B). Half of the caregivers had completed the 24 month live-in requirement and received permanent residence in Canada, while the remaining five were still in the process of fulfilling the live-in requirement. Consistent with previous research (Kelly et al., 2011; Kelly, 2006), the caregivers were highly educated and all caregivers had arrived with a post-secondary degree or diploma (Appendix B). Half of the caregivers had left behind a spouse and/or children in the Philippines, although all ten caregivers admitted to being in regular contact (at least weekly) with family and friends abroad. For nine of the ten caregivers, Canada was not their first destination after leaving the Philippines. The last place of residence for these nine caregivers was Hong Kong where they worked as domestic workers[6]. As mentioned in the interviews, some of the caregivers who had previously worked in Hong Kong chose to migrate to Canada because of the possibility of obtaining citizenship, providing them with the opportunity to sponsor immediate family members.

Ten healthcare workers discussed their experiences of working and living in Scarborough, Ontario. At the time of the interviews, the ten healthcare workers were of

[6] Eight of the ten live-in caregivers were recruited from the same social network.

working age, between 24 and 54 years old (Appendix C). These women had arrived between 1999 and 2009 possessing post-secondary education and training obtained in the Philippines. Half of the healthcare workers have a university degree in nursing from the Philippines, although none is employed as a registered nurse because their foreign credentials are not recognized. All of the healthcare workers work as either registered practical nurses (RPN) or as personal support workers (PSW). Eight of the ten health care workers identify as Filipina, these women have permanent status in Canada but have not obtained Canadian citizenship. When asked about their nationality, the two naturalized Filipinas identified as Canadian and Canadian-Filipino. Half of the health care workers are married and have children. Only one is divorced (Appendix C).

The ten well-established Filipinas living in Markham range in age from 49 to 81 years and migrated between 1965 and 1987 (Appendix D). Nine of the Filipinas are Canadian citizens, while the one Filipina who arrived in 1987 is a permanent resident. Only two Filipinas identify as Filipina and two identify as Canadian. The remaining six identify as Filipina-Canadian. Seven of the ten Filipinas arrived with a university degree from the Philippines and two obtained a post-secondary degree/diploma after arriving in Canada. Half of this group either works or worked in healthcare prior to retirement. The vast majority of the well-established Filipinas are married with children. Only one is single and one is divorced. Nine women have children.

In Canada, Filipina immigrants are over represented in healthcare and live-in care work (Kelly and D'Addario, 2008; Kelly et al., 2011). The interviews and focus groups

offered a comparative analysis of recent live-in caregivers, recent healthcare workers and well-established suburban Filipina residents. The narratives reveal diverse employment and residential experiences among Filipina care workers. These differences are sometimes attributed to period of arrival. Current care workers, both live-in caregivers and health care workers, have arrived within ten years while the well-established Filipina residents arrived more than twenty years ago. Varying experiences are also attributed to the sizes and locations of Filipinas' families, with small families and fewer children reported by live-in caregivers and healthcare workers. Family separation was more common among recent care workers whose husbands and children were often still in the Philippines.

Interviewing Filipinas with different ethno-cultural, social and economic circumstances provided an opportunity for understanding how home is constructed. The interviews reveal that there is not always a direct correlation between period of residency and permanency. Economic stability does not always translate into a strong sense of belonging. At times, the narratives reveal that home is sometimes constructed amidst the most unstable and temporary of circumstances.

Reflecting on Methods

Quantitative Methods

The use of census data was particularly challenging for a project that examines the construction of home. For the census, the location of *home* is conflated with the location

of the residence. One key aspect of this research is the multifaceted nature of home. Research that focuses on migration in the decades up to the Second World War often tells stories of permanent settlement (Murdie and Teixeira, 2003). Varying waves of European migrants are described as settling permanently and having limited ties with their places of birth. More recently, the proliferation of literature around transnational migration has destabilized notions of migrant fixity and complicated the idea of home. The census data capture a snapshot of the lives of Canadians who share a single dwelling. There is an assumption that a census family's dwelling is also its home.

> "Classification of census families (a census family is composed of a married couple or a couple living common-law, with or without children, or of a lone parent living with at least one child in the same dwelling) by the number or age group, or both, of children *living at home*" (Emphasis added. Statistics Canada, 2006).

The location of the dwelling is referred to as the home in multiple variables including home language, place of work and mode of transportation to work and unpaid work in the home.

Statistics Canada (2006) declares that "...for census purposes, every person is a member of one and only one household". Contemporary migration, with its multiple identities for migrants in multiple locations, challenges the assumptions around permanency. The census' inability to capture the rich texture of peoples' lives limits what we can actually learn from the data.

The census becomes even more problematic when examining the *family*. Households are divided between family and non-family households.

> Family household refers to a household that contains at least one census family, that is, a married couple with or without children, or a couple living common-law with or without children, or a lone parent living with one or more children (lone-parent family) (Statistics Canada, 2006).

The normative assumption here is that parents and children live in the same dwelling as one household. The census clearly defines any child living outside the household or home as not part of the family.

> "...those sons and daughters who do not live in the same dwelling as their parent(s) are not considered members of the census family of their parent(s)" (Statistics Canada, 2006).

This negates the possibility that parenting occurs across borders (see Levitt, 2004; Pratt, 2004; Wong, 2000; Waters, 2002). This notion of parents and children living in the same dwelling further reifies the nuclear household.

The assumption that children live in the household is repeated in other census questions. In the census, the presence of children refers to the number of children in the household (assumed to be the place of residence *and* home). This phrasing not only assumes that children and parents share a dwelling, but it further conflates the household with home by referring to children who reside at home as opposed to the dwelling itself. "Those persons with children at home are further classified on the basis of the age groups of all their children" (Statistics Canada, 2006). The normative structure of the family and household is further normalized by referring to all other non-blood related members of the family as *additional persons.* The contemporary literature about Canadian immigration and recent research around housing and homelessness acknowledge that

many newcomers share dwellings with multiple families (see Preston et al., 2009; Hiebert, D'Addario and Sherrell, 2005). The census definitions assume that one family resides in a *home* and all other residents are *additional*. These additional people are "...any household member who is not a member of the census family being considered" (Statistics Canada, 2006).

While the census provides rich data, it has a multitude of discursive assumptions and limitations. These discourses are practices that produce different forms of knowledge (Foucault, 1972). The census is more than an apparatus that counts heads, it is part of a broader set of historical practices that constitute and classify subjects as legal and bureaucratic categories, which serve the operation of the state (Caplan and Torpey, 2001). Through these practices of identification we come to be 'legible people' (Scott, 1998). Ruppert (2003) interprets the census as a practice of governing, and argues that the population is *constructed* rather than discovered. This touches on Foucault's (1994) reference to political technologies, by which individuals come to recognize themselves as part of a social entity and as part of the nation or state. These bio-political technologies make it possible to construct bodies and then to regulate these bodies, or the population. Ruppert (2003) argues that the Canadian census is a political technology that produces a specific knowledge of the population that can be acted upon by various state authorities. I argue that the census is also responsible for rendering some bodies *invisible*. The design of the census assumes and reifies normative household structures. It dis-'counts' transnational family arrangements. Ruppert notes, as a responsibility of citizens(hip),

the state's identification of the population through the census is "...a product of a political process and struggle with consequences for rights, representation and resources" (2003: Sec 1.14). The bodies rendered invisible by the Canadian census are likely marginalized members of society. The exclusion of bodies in the census reinforces the gendered, racialized and classed identities of these subjects.

In contrast to the limitations of the census data, this research recognizes that constructions of *home* are spatially contingent, multi-scalar and relational between material and imaginative processes (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). I argue that transnational practices challenge constructions of home as a static location rather than as a place in constant flux. By emphasizing home-making, I want to draw attention to the ways that home shapes feminized, racialized and classed identities.

Qualitative Methods

As the researcher, I have learned a tremendous amount, not only about the content of the research but also about how to write the research process - which questions ought to be asked, how, when and what content is best left out of the interview. For each group of Filipinas, the interview process differed. For the live-in caregivers and the healthcare workers, the work circumstances that I was examining created barriers to participation. Some live-in caregivers were reluctant to participate, as they were unsure if speaking about their experiences would affect their employment or their vulnerable status in Canada. The unstable working circumstances of many live-in caregivers make it

particularly difficult for these women to spend time at a location that is appropriate for an interview. With jobs in their employers' places of residence, their time away from their employers is extremely limited. As a result, some of the live-in caregivers were interviewed at work with their employers nearby, which inevitably influenced their descriptions of their work experiences. In other cases, interviewing live-in caregivers meant meeting them in weekend accommodations, one bedroom apartments that they shared with other caregivers. In still other cases, a focus group setting worked best for the participants.

Similar to the live-in caregivers, the unstable working conditions of many recently arrived health care workers also influenced the interviews. Partially as a product of their recency, the healthcare workers were often busy upgrading their medical skills and working temporary and unpredictable hours. Interviews often needed to take place during a lunch break or between shifts in a crowded cafeteria.

Trust and comfort were key themes that resonated in the interviews with the recently-arrived Philippine-born women. I was accompanied by two different people for the majority of interviews with the live-in caregivers and the healthcare workers. One female community liaison and former live-in caregiver put me in touch with seven of the live-in caregivers. She accompanied me to two focus groups and one interview which took place in weekend accommodation. She indicated that live-in caregivers had little trust in researchers such as myself. Her knowledge of the program, her recruitment

networks and her advocacy work in the community made her an extremely valuable mediator during the interview process.

The healthcare workers were recruited through a Filipino healthcare worker who works and lives in Scarborough. This liaison was present for all of the interviews with healthcare workers. I was initially concerned about the participants' ability to speak openly during the interviews. Before I could confront him about these issues, he stated that he was asked by the participants to sit in on the interviews, "...they are unsure to meet when they hear about a white female researcher. They are a bit shy about meeting alone". I saw uneasiness among the live-in caregivers and healthcare workers. Many participants noted that their discomfort revolved around their limited ability to speak English. For both groups, the liaisons worked to clarify questions and responses, which facilitated the interview process.

The interviews with the live-in caregivers and the healthcare workers differed markedly from those with the well-established residents of Markham. These interviews were scheduled well in advance and they were lengthy and uninterrupted. While I was often accompanied by someone in the community during the interviews with reluctant live-in caregivers and healthcare workers, the well-established Filipinas had no difficulty meeting by themselves in their suburban homes.

Discussion

This research is designed to assess the role that gender, race, class and geography play in how one constructs home. The scales of analyses that reinforce gender roles and racialized relations such as the household and workplace are not fixed, but instead are mere levels of representation (Johnston, 2000). Home for transnational female immigrants is influenced by fluid and contested work and residential spaces. Donna Haraway (1991) writes, "the topography of subjectivity is multidimensional, so therefore is vision. The knowing self is partial in all its guises, never finished, whole, simply there and original; it is always constructed and stitched together imperfectly..." (1991:93). Like the research process, discussions of home only surface as partial pieces.

The dissertation uses a variety of methods to examine transnational constructions of home. The use of census data proved to be challenging for a project that explores home and a sense of belonging because of its limited language around home and household. For the most part, in census data, the *home* is conflated with the location of the residence and the social relations of a household. This conflation reifies nuclear household structures and negates transnational family arrangements. The census may also exclude live-in caregivers. As an apparatus of the state, the census therefore renders transnational families and workers invisible.

The interviews and focus groups with Filipinas also proved challenging. Many of the participants were uneasy during the interviews owing to work circumstances (limited time) or the location of the interview - in the place of employment (the employer's

residence or crowded lunch rooms). On the other hand, well-established participants appeared at ease and willing to converse about their experiences. This raises a critical methodological question about the validity and consistency of the information gained through interviews. Should the research schedule be created to reflect the life circumstances of the participants? My position echoes Steven Flusty's methodological stance, that research "...is a drift work, a quasi-random walk across varied material and discursive terrains, following *their* lead and recording the journey, equipped with an array of devices for interpreting the world in relation to *my own position*" (Emphasis added. 2004:21). Home is complex and fluid, so it requires a research process that also acknowledges the multidimensional nature and the power asymmetries associated with home.

The partiality of understanding others' experiences and the research obstacles that I encountered have informed my understanding of home. They underscore the need for methods that respect participants' circumstances and allow them to shape the interview process. Much community-based research focuses on immigrant women (See Sherkin, 2004). Academic institutions work with community organizations and seek community voices and direct participation in the development of and implementation of research (Sherkin, 2004). The questionnaire in this research was co-created with the Markham Federation of Filipino Canadians. The association's committee members added and subtracted questions to the interview schedule based on their own experiences. Participants were vocal about the interview format (e.g. interviews versus focus groups) –

arguing that focus groups may offer safety in numbers for domestic workers (Pratt, 2002). Participants were also selective about interview locations (e.g. public versus private spaces) and their timing (e.g. during lunch break, weekends or late at night). Respecting participants' circumstance and allowing them to revise the research process is critical if we are interested in capturing participants' narratives.

Chapter 4 : Micro-Geographies of Filipino Settlement: Toronto, Scarborough & Markham

Introduction

The diverse patterns of immigration throughout Canada's history suggest that there is no overarching immigrant experience. There are, however, patterns of feminization and racialization among recent immigrants to Canada. Women and racialized immigrants often have fewer opportunities in the labour market than Canadian-born and non-racialized men. These feminized and racialized patterns of migration often result in unstable and insecure residential and labour market experiences. Little is known about the paid and unpaid work experiences of women in Toronto's suburbs. Their patterns of migration and their participation in paid and unpaid work are critical aspects of how transnational Filipina immigrants construct home.

In the following two chapters I draw on the 2006 census data to establish general patterns of migration, labour market trajectories and unpaid household work. I begin with a discussion of contemporary immigration policy to establish discursive linkages between racialized residents and immigrants. The chapter continues by highlighting the migration patterns of (racialized) immigrant women[7], specifically Philippine-born immigrants. The purpose here is twofold. First, the chapter highlights women's migration patterns which contextualize the paid and unpaid work of Filipina women.

[7] For the purpose of this study, the category of *immigrants* does not include non-permanent residents. When disaggregated by geography, the size of the non-permanent resident population is too small for comparative purposes.

Second, the research compares the experiences of immigrant women in two suburban locations with each other and with women in the entire Toronto CMA. The two suburban locations were selected because of their high concentrations of foreign-born residents. By comparing the immigrant populations in the two suburbs with each other and the metropolitan area, a complex geography of settlement emerges. The analysis reveals that feminization and racialization of migration is readily apparent in suburban locations.

Social Constructions of Immigrants in Canada

The history of Canadian immigration policy exposes assumptions about the 'immigrant' experience. The term 'foreign-born' and 'immigrant' are often loaded with racial implications. The founding of Canada as a confederation in 1867 marks a colonial union of two immigrant societies made of British and French settlers. The history of colonization by the British and French has established two dominant cultural and linguistics traditions in Canada (Li, 2003). In the decades following, an open door immigration policy applied to residents of Britain and the United States, with government incentives aimed at attracting Western Europeans. During the late nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth century, severe restrictions were placed on non-white immigrants. Non-white immigrants were perceived to be unable to assimilate into the fabric of Canadian society. Racial hierarchies were codified in law through exclusionary policies which included the Indian Act of 1876, the Chinese head tax under the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885, and the Continuous Journey policy of 1908

(Galabuzi, 2006). While immigration has historically been linked to labour shortages, immigration policy has, from the outset, used race as a basis to restrict non-white migration (Li, 2003).

The Post World War II period heralded more liberal immigration policies. In 1967, the federal government implemented a 'points system' for immigration selection that was designed to move away from overt racial preferences (Kobayashi, 1993). The new system enacted class-based preferences that ranked immigrants according to their human capital. Despite the departure from overt racial preferences, some scholars have argued that the new class-based system is nonetheless racialized and furthermore feminized (Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2002; Bannerji, 2000; Gabriel, 1999). The new immigration system undeniably altered the ethno-cultural and racial composition of Canadian society (Hiebert, Collins, and Spoonley, 2003). In this context of demographic change, the Trudeau administration enacted a policy of multiculturalism to celebrate various cultures within Canada's bilingual framework. The institutionalization of multiculturalism promoted ideals of integration – encouraging newcomers to maintain and celebrate their ethno-cultural diversity while adopting Canadian values and learning about other ethno-cultural groups. Despite its idealistic goals, scholars have critiqued the policy arguing that multiculturalism reifies racialized categories and invokes Othering between white and non-white citizens (Ang 2001; Kobayashi, 1999; Bissoondath, 2002).

Contemporary migration patterns can only be understood fully in the context of Canada's history of immigration and multiculturalism. Racialized preferences for

immigrants still inform current discourses and policies about migration. Scholars have argued that the popular conception of 'immigrants' refers to people of color from the Third World (Das Gupta, 2009; Kobayashi and Peake, 1997). Ng (1990) asserts that everyday discourses construct immigrants as people of color and people of color as immigrants. Galabuzi (2006) argues that the term immigrant has been redefined to refer to non-whites. Immigrant status has been racialized and subsequently the inferior status imposed on racialized people now extends to many immigrants. White immigrants for example, from Britain, the United States and Australia are not commonly perceived as foreigners (Kobayashi and Peake, 1997). Kelly (2003) argues that the census and other data bases contribute to generalizations that essentialize diverse immigrant identities.

With this introductory note of caution, the chapter describes the settlement of immigrant women in the Toronto CMA, Scarborough and Markham using 2006 census data. The data confirm the racialized and feminized patterns of contemporary migration. They also reveal the commonalities between the inner and outer suburbs and geographical differences in the immigrant population across the metropolitan area. These trends provide a base from which we can examine racialized and feminized involvement in paid and unpaid work.

Section I - Toronto, CMA

In 2006, the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) had 5,072,075 residents. The Canadian-born population accounted for nearly 53 percent of the total population,

while immigrants made up 47 percent of the remaining population. For immigrant[8] men and women, settlement in the CMA has been relatively recent with half of all immigrants (50.3) arriving since 1991, and 19 percent of all immigrants arriving between 2001 and 2006. For the entire metropolitan area, there are few differences in the periods of arrival for immigrant men and women (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 - Period of Arrival, Toronto CMA, 2006

CMA	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Before 1960	101,180	8.3	88,740	8.0	189,925	8.2
1961-1970	120,875	9.9	111,760	10.1	232,635	10.0
1971-1980	171,105	14.1	153,040	13.9	324,150	14.0
1981-1990	210,475	17.3	194,865	17.7	405,340	17.5
1991-1995	191,645	15.7	166,220	15.1	357,865	15.4
1996-2000	186,195	15.3	176,125	16.0	362,320	15.6
2001-2006	235,335	19.3	212,595	19.3	447,930	19.3
Total	1,216,810	100	1,103,350	100	2,320,160	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

A snapshot of the CMA population in 2006 reveals differences in the ages of immigrant and Canadian-born residents, due in part to the immigration selection system. More of the immigrant population than the Canadian-born population is between the ages of 25 and 54 years, reflecting the preference for working age immigrants in Canada's selection policies. As compared with all immigrants, recent immigrants are also more likely to arrive with young children – signaling that young families may accompany

[8] This group does not include non-permanent residents- persons who hold a work or student permit, or who claim refugee status

immigrants from 'non-traditional' source countries[9]. Recent immigrants (arriving between 1991 and 2006) are also the least likely to be over the age of 70 years reflecting the preference for youthful adult newcomers (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 - Age Categories by Immigration Status, Toronto CMA, 2006

CMA	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
0-14 years	809,545	30.3	130,060	5.6	130,060	11.1
15-24 years	437,610	16.4	228,390	9.8	192,475	16.5
25-39 years	552,970	20.7	543,745	23.4	383,870	32.9
40-54 years	506,375	18.9	693,285	29.9	316,595	27.1
55-69 years	228,325	8.5	462,705	19.9	99,600	8.5
70 years+	140,770	5.3	261,970	11.3	45,515	3.9
Total	2,675,590	100.0	2,320,160	100.0	1,168,115	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

The majority of immigrants settle in the three metropolitan areas of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. In 2009, the three CMAs were home to nearly two thirds of all immigrants landing in that year (CIC, 2009). Table 4.3 depicts the top ten source countries of all residents living in the Toronto CMA. Source countries have changed dramatically in the past fifty years. Small flows of immigrants from 'traditional' European countries such as Britain continue, however the main immigrant source regions have shifted to countries in South and East Asia such as India, China and the Philippines. There are few differences in source countries between men and women, with the small exceptions of those arriving from the Philippines and Jamaica. These sex differences

[9] A Non-traditional source country refers to any country excluding those in Europe and the USA. These countries were traditionally 'preferred' source countries for newcomers by the Canadian state. Peter Li (2007) has argued that discussions of 'non-traditional' source countries invoke racial discourse of the past.

reflect the feminized nature of care work that has prompted waves of Philippine and Jamaican born women to migrate to Canada. Filipina and Caribbean women comprise the largest groups of foreign domestic workers entering Canada (Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003).

Table 4.3 - Place of Birth for All Residents, Toronto CMA, 2006

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Canada	1,341,975	51.6	1,322,825	53.6	2,664,800	52.5
India	112,240	4.3	114,840	4.7	227,080	4.5
China	106,475	4.1	92,475	3.7	198,950	3.9
Philippines	81,905	3.1	54,940	2.2	136,840	2.7
Italy	65,275	2.5	66,555	2.7	131,830	2.6
United Kingdom	68,935	2.6	61,030	2.5	129,965	2.6
Hong Kong	54,875	2.1	49,865	2.0	104,745	2.1
Jamaica	55,710	2.1	39,435	1.6	95,145	1.9
Pakistan	42,565	1.6	46,255	1.9	88,820	1.8
Sri Lanka	43,495	1.7	43,555	1.8	87,050	1.7
Top Ten Total	1,973,450	75.8	1,891,775	76.6	3,865,225	76.2
CMA Total	2,602,985	100	2,469,090	100	5,072,075	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Source countries of men and women who are recent immigrants are more differentiated. Slightly greater proportions of men than women are arriving from countries such as India, Pakistan and Iran. Walton-Roberts (2004) has described the patriarchal transnational marital practices that take place in northern India. Arranged unions between women living in Punjab and non-resident Indian men residing in Canada unite Indian wives with Indo-Canadian husbands (see also Mohammad, 1999 for patriarchy and migration among Pakistani immigrants). Female-led migration, on the

contrary, is evident among women arriving from China in part because of 'astronaut' arrangements (see Man, 1997).

Table 4.4 - Place of Birth for Recent Immigrants Arriving Since 1991, Toronto CMA, 2006

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
India	78,760	12.8	79,145	14.3	157,905	13.5
China	75,620	12.3	64,875	11.7	140,495	12.0
Philippines	49,040	8.0	36,090	6.5	85,130	7.3
Pakistan	36,030	5.9	38,785	7.0	74,815	6.4
Sri Lanka	34,270	5.6	31,590	5.7	65,860	5.6
Hong Kong	26,930	4.4	24,385	4.4	51,315	4.4
Iran	16,900	2.8	17,740	3.2	34,640	3.0
Jamaica	17,615	2.9	13,390	2.4	31,000	2.7
South Korea	13,575	2.2	12,595	2.3	26,165	2.2
Guyana	14,215	2.3	11,255	2.0	25,470	2.2
Top Ten Total	362,955	59.2	329,850	59.4	692,795	59.3
Total	613,170	100	554,945	100	1,168,115	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Philippine-born, Toronto CMA

The Filipino[10] community in the Toronto CMA is diverse. In 2006, 136,840 residents in the Toronto CMA had been born in the Philippines. Philippine-born immigrants, as a group, are relatively recent arrivals with 62.2 percent arriving since 1991. In Canada, migration from the Philippines is feminized with more women migrating than men. The propensity for Filipinas to migrate is tied to broader

[10] The term 'Filipino/Filipina', in this research refers to those born in the Philippines, not those claiming Filipino ethnicity.

transnational household strategies (Pratt, 2004; Parreñas, 2010), ample local supplies of health care workers in the Philippines (Kelly and D'Addario, 2008), and a global demand for care workers in wealthy regions of the world such as Canada and the USA (Hochschild; 2000). In total, almost 60 percent of CMA residents born in the Philippines are women (Table 4.5). The high levels of female migration from the Philippines peaked first between 1991 and 1995 and then again between 2001 and 2006.

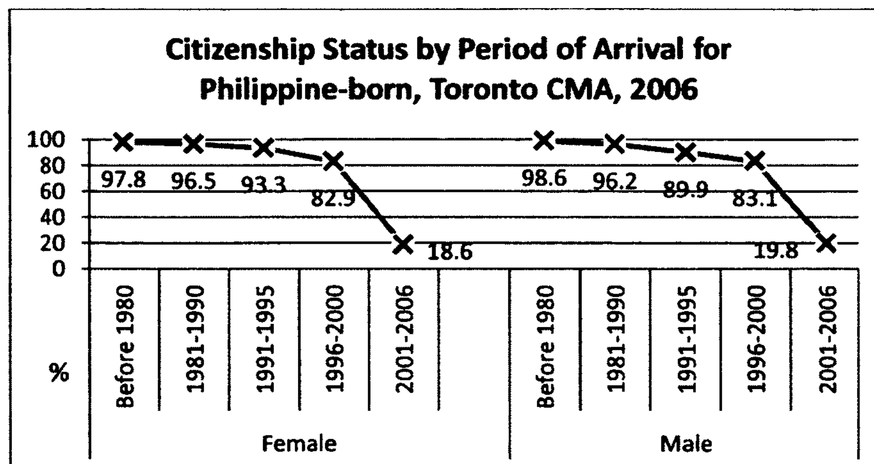
Scholars (see Pratt, 2004 and Stasiulis and Bakan, 2002) have documented the aspirations of many Filipinas to engage in care work in Canada so as to *eventually* obtain citizenship. These aspirations are tied to many women's desire to bring family members to Canada. The data indicate that naturalization levels are high for Philippine-born immigrants. In 2006, approximately 98 percent of those arriving before 1980 had naturalized. Even for those arriving recently between 2001 and 2006, almost 20 percent had obtained citizenship by 2006 (Figure 4.1).

Table 4.5 - Period of Arrival for Philippine-born (% by period of arrival), Toronto CMA, 2006

	Female		Male	
CMA	N	%	N	%
Before 1980	11,610	15.2	8,655	16.0
1981-1990	15,630	20.5	9,295	17.2
1991-1995	18,645	24.4	12,330	22.8
1996-2000	11,840	15.5	9,370	17.3
2001-2006	18,555	24.3	14,390	26.6
Total	76,275	100.0	54,040	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Figure 4.1 – Citizenship Status for Philippine-born, CMA, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Like many immigrants, the majority of residents born in the Philippines are of working age. In the CMA, 63.7 percent of Filipinas and 58.8 percent of Filipinos are between the ages of 25-54 years. The large numbers of working age Filipinas and Filipinos are due in part to the preference for working age immigrants in Canada's selection policies.

Table 4.6 - Age Categories for Residents born in the Philippines, Toronto, CMA, 2006

	Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%
0-14 years	4,485	5.5	4,530	8.2
15-24 years	7,420	9.1	7,295	13.3
25-39 years	23,275	28.4	14,650	26.7
40-54 years	28,925	35.3	17,645	32.1
55-69 years	12,970	15.8	8,145	14.8
70 years+	4,830	5.9	2,675	4.9
Total	81,905	100	54,940	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Section II - Scarborough

In 2006, the post-war inner suburbs of Scarborough had 602,700 residents, in which the Canadian-born population accounted for nearly 41 percent of the total population, while foreign-born residents made up 59 percent of the population. For male and female immigrants[11], settlement in Scarborough has been relatively recent. More than half of all immigrants living in Scarborough (57.3) arrived in Canada after 1991, and 21.2 percent arrived between 2001 and 2006 (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 - Period of Arrival by Gender, Scarborough, 2006

Scarborough	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Before 1960	9,185	5.0	8,265	5.1	17,450	5.0
1961-1970	13,545	7.4	11,270	6.9	24,815	7.2
1971-1980	23,655	12.9	19,875	12.2	43,535	12.6
1981-1990	33,195	18.1	29,170	17.9	62,360	18.0
1991-1995	34,315	18.7	30,370	18.7	64,685	18.7
1996-2000	31,400	17.1	28,760	17.7	60,155	17.4
2001-2006	38,325	20.9	34,915	21.5	73,240	21.2
Total	183,620	100	162,625	100	346,245	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

A snapshot of the total population in Scarborough reveals slight differences in age between immigrant and non-immigrant residents. As is the case for the entire metropolitan area, the Canadian-born population in Scarborough is comprised of a large number of youthful residents under the age of 25 years. The immigrant population

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[11] This group does not include non-permanent residents- persons who hold a work or student permit, or who claim refugee status

includes fewer residents aged 0-24 years. Foreign-born residents are more likely to be of working age. Similar to the entire CMA, very few recent immigrants arriving since 1991 are over the age of 70 years (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 - Age Categories by Immigration Status, Scarborough, 2006

Scarborough	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
0-14 years	89,300	36.2	20,700	6.0	20,700	10.5
15-24 years	41,450	16.8	38,260	11.0	32,565	16.4
25-39 years	40,015	16.2	81,245	23.5	62,265	31.4
40-54 years	36,760	14.9	102,505	29.6	54,005	27.3
55-69 years	21,505	8.7	65,470	18.9	18,740	9.5
70 years+	17,580	7.1	38,070	11.0	9,810	5.0
Total	246,610	100.0	346,250	100.0	198,085	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

The top ten source countries of immigrants in Scarborough differ from those for the CMA and for other major metropolitan destinations such as Vancouver and Montreal (Table 4.9). Of the ten largest source countries in Scarborough, only one is a 'traditional' European sending origin – the United Kingdom, a source for 2 percent of the Scarborough population. The small numbers of immigrants from Europe reflect Scarborough's recent emergence as a major immigrant reception zone (Murdie and Teixeira, 2001). The top ten source countries include China (10.1 percent), Sri Lanka (6.5 percent) and the Philippines (5.3 percent). These countries are also important sources of recent immigrants; China (22.4 percent), Sri Lanka (15.4 percent) and India (10.1 percent). Recent immigrants also include people from Afghanistan and Bangladesh

(Table 4.10). Similar to the CMA, approximately 60 percent of immigrants born in the Philippines and in Jamaica are women.

Table 4.9 - Place of Birth for All Residents, Scarborough, 2006

	Female		Male		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Canada	124,015	39.7	121,810	42.0	245,825	40.8
China	32,255	10.3	28,545	9.8	60,805	10.1
Sri Lanka	19,455	6.2	19,415	6.7	38,875	6.5
Philippines	18,100	5.8	13,640	4.7	31,740	5.3
India	13,700	4.4	14,175	4.9	27,870	4.6
Hong Kong	12,435	4.0	10,490	3.6	22,925	3.8
Guyana	10,370	3.3	8,570	3.0	18,940	3.1
Jamaica	9,915	3.2	6,425	2.2	16,335	2.7
Pakistan	6,315	2.0	6,675	2.3	12,990	2.2
UK	6,450	2.1	5,425	1.9	11,870	2.0
Top Ten Total	**253,010**	**80.9**	**235,170**	**81.1**	**488,175**	**81.0**
Scarborough Total	**312,685**	**100.0**	**290,020**	**100.0**	**602,700**	**100.0**

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Table 4.10 - Place of Birth for Recent Immigrants, Scarborough, 2006

	Female		Male		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
China	23,535	22.6	20,825	22.1	44,355	22.4
Sri Lanka	15,975	15.4	14,535	15.5	30,505	15.4
India	9,835	9.5	10,265	10.9	20,100	10.1
Philippines	10,905	10.5	8,960	9.5	19,865	10.0
Hong Kong	6,045	5.8	5,050	5.4	11,095	5.6
Pakistan	5,330	5.1	5,525	5.9	10,855	5.5
Guyana	3,645	3.5	3,105	3.3	6,750	3.4
Bangladesh	2,940	2.8	3,080	3.3	6,015	3.0
Jamaica	2,880	2.8	2,235	2.4	5,115	2.6
Afghanistan	2,345	2.3	2,165	2.3	4,505	2.3
Top Ten Total	**83,435**	**80.2**	**75,745**	**80.5**	**159,160**	**80.3**
Scarborough Total	**104,035**	**100.0**	**94,050**	**100.0**	**198,085**	**100.0**

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Philippine-born, Scarborough

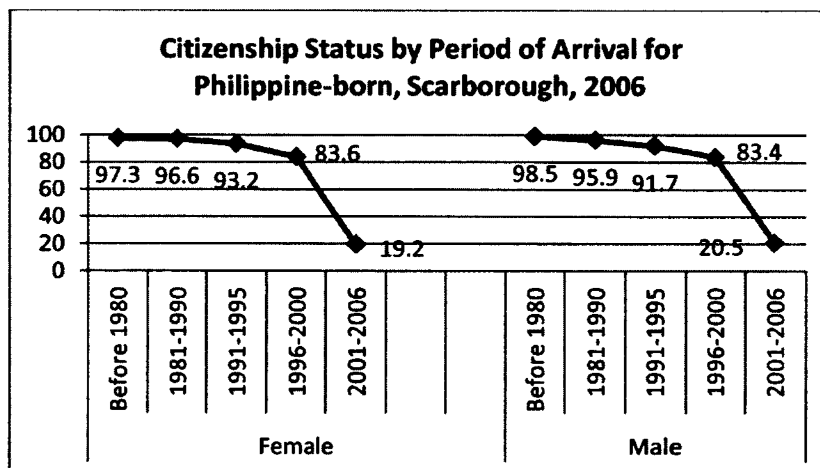
The Philippines is one of the top three source countries for immigrants settling in Scarborough. The 31,740 residents born in the Philippines make up 9 percent of the foreign-born population in Scarborough and 5.3 percent of the total population. While Scarborough residents make up 12 percent of the CMA population, approximately 23 percent of all Philippine-born residents in the CMA reside in Scarborough. Similar to the CMA, those born in the Philippines arrived recently with 66.7 percent arriving since 1991. The flow of Philippine-born immigrants is also highly feminized with more women (57 percent) than men, however high levels of female migration from the Philippines took place prior to 1995. Since 1995, slightly more Filipinos have arrived in Scarborough. Some of the Filipinos are arriving to reunite with the large numbers of Filipinas who migrated earlier (Table 4.11). Immigrants from the Philippines have high levels of naturalization, which are similar for men and women. Similar to the CMA, approximately 20 percent of Filipinos arriving between 2001 and 2006 had obtained citizenship while approximately 98 percent of those arriving before 1980 had naturalized (Figure 4.2). As is the case for the CMA, the rates of naturalization for Filipinas and Filipinos in Scarborough are higher than for all immigrants.

Table 4.11 - Period of Arrival for Philippine-born Residents, Scarborough, 2006

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Before 1980	2,575	14.8	2,035	15.1
1981-1990	3,970	22.8	2,440	18.2
1991-1995	4,390	25.2	3,325	24.7
1996-2000	2,740	15.7	2,225	16.6
2001-2006	3,770	21.6	3,410	25.4
Total	17,450	100	13,435	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Figure 4.2 – Citizenship Status for Philippine-born, Scarborough, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

The majority of residents born in the Philippines are of working age with 58.2 percent between the ages of 25 and 54 years (Table 4.12). The low numbers of Filipino and Filipina seniors, young adults, and children reduces the dependency ratio in Scarborough.

Therefore, Filipinos and Filipinas living in Scarborough have fewer dependents to support than the entire population.

Table 4.12 - Age Categories for Residents born in the Philippines, Scarborough, 2006

0-14yr	1,055	5.8	1,230	9.0	2,285	7.2
15-24yr	1,875	10.4	1,925	14.1	3,800	12.0
25-39yr	4,390	24.3	3,230	23.7	7,620	24.0
40-54yr	6,515	36.0	4,340	31.8	10,855	34.2
55-69yr	3,050	16.9	2,160	15.8	5,210	16.4
70yr+	1,215	6.7	760	5.6	1,975	6.2
Total	18,100	100	13,640	100	31,740	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Section III- Markham

The third location in this research is the municipality of Markham. In 2006, Markham had 260,755 residents. Similar to Scarborough, the majority of Markham's residents are foreign born. The Canadian-born population accounts for 42.6 percent of the total population, while immigrants make up 57.4 percent of the total population. For immigrant[12] men and women, settlement in Markham, as in Scarborough, has been recent, especially when compared to the Toronto CMA. More than half of all immigrants

[12] This group does not include non-permanent residents- persons who hold a work or student permit, or who claim refugee status

(52.6 percent) arrived since 1991, which reflects the outer suburb's more recent development (Table 4.13).

Table 4.13 - Period of Arrival for Immigrants, Markham, 2006

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Before 1960	3,020	4.0	2,845	4.0	5,865	4.0
1961-1970	4,945	6.5	5,005	7.0	9,950	6.8
1971-1980	10,995	14.5	10,780	15.1	21,770	14.8
1981-1990	16,635	21.9	15,625	21.8	32,260	21.9
1991-1995	16,520	21.8	15,240	21.3	31,760	21.5
1996-2000	13,750	18.1	13,170	18.4	26,920	18.3
2001-2006	9,990	13.2	8,880	12.4	18,875	12.8
Total	75,855	100.0	71,550	100.0	147,400	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

In Markham, foreign-born residents are predominantly working age as they are in Scarborough and the Toronto CMA. Compared with the foreign-born population, the Canadian-born population includes more children and young adults. The immigrant population has a larger proportion of working age adults. For example, 30.2 percent of Canadian-born residents are between the ages of 25 and 54 years, while 55.7 and 57.8 of immigrants and recent immigrants respectively fall in the same age category (Table 4.14)

Table 4.14 - Age Categories by Immigration Status, Markham, 2006

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
0-14yr	40,700	36.6	6,930	4.6	6,585	8.5
15-24yr	22,405	20.2	16,235	10.8	12,730	16.4
25-39yr	18,235	16.4	33,555	22.4	21,650	27.9
40-54yr	15,295	13.8	49,885	33.3	23,155	29.9
55-69yr	9,195	8.3	30,745	20.5	9,100	11.7
70yr+	5,245	4.7	12,340	8.2	4,335	5.6
Total	111,070	100	149,685	100	77,555	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

The top ten places of birth for all residents in Markham are similar to those in Scarborough (Table 4.15). Of the ten largest countries of birth, only one is a traditional European source country – the United Kingdom, which accounts for less than 2 percent of the Markham population. Instead, the foreign-born population in Markham comes mainly from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. The top countries of birth for all immigrants include Hong Kong (11.9), China (10.4 percent), India (4.6) and Sri Lanka (4.0 percent). There are only minor changes in source countries for recent immigrants arriving since 2001. Hong Kong is an exception. In 1997, Hong Kong was returned to China by the United Kingdom. In the preceding years, many residents of Hong Kong emigrated, unsure of the economic and political implications ahead. Once official colonial rule over Hong Kong ended, fewer residents migrated (Kobayashi, Preston, Murnaghan, 2011) (Table 4.16).

Table 4.15 - Place of Birth for All Residents, Markham, 2006

	Female		Male		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Canada	55,655	41.8	54,940	43.0	110,600	42.4
Hong Kong	15,765	11.8	15,135	11.9	30,900	11.9
China	14,480	10.9	12,640	9.9	27,120	10.4
India	6,145	4.6	5,955	4.7	12,100	4.6
Sri Lanka	5,140	3.9	5,400	4.2	10,535	4.0
Philippines	3,620	2.7	2,320	1.8	5,940	2.3
United Kingdom	2,500	1.9	2,275	1.8	4,775	1.8
Iran	2,005	1.5	2,200	1.7	4,205	1.6
Pakistan	2,005	1.5	2,075	1.6	4,080	1.6
Jamaica	2,165	1.6	1,865	1.5	4,030	1.5
Top Ten Total	**109,480**	**82.3**	**104,805**	**82.1**	**214,285**	**82.2**
Markham Total	**133,060**	**100**	**127,700**	**100**	**260,755**	**100**

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Table 4.16 - Source Country for Recent Immigrants Arriving since 2001, Markham, 2006

	Female		Male		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
China	3,010	30.1	2,505	28.2	5,515	29.2
India	1,400	14.0	1,220	13.7	2,625	13.9
Sri Lanka	850	8.5	750	8.4	1,595	8.5
Pakistan	565	5.7	455	5.1	1,020	5.4
Philippines	605	6.1	375	4.2	980	5.2
South Korea	460	4.6	510	5.7	970	5.1
Iran	425	4.3	460	5.2	885	4.7
Hong Kong	420	4.2	385	4.3	805	4.3
USA	215	2.2	215	2.4	430	2.3
Russia	205	2.1	140	1.6	345	1.8
Top Ten Total	8,155	81.6	7,015	79	15,170	80.4
Markham Total	**9,990**	100	**8,885**	100	**18,875**	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Approximately 80 percent of immigrants arriving in Markham before 2001 have naturalized as compared with 90 percent of immigrants in the CMA and Scarborough. Lower levels of naturalization in Markham may indicate stronger transnational linkages to places of birth and the impacts of state policies. Dual citizenship is not permitted in many countries in South and East Asia, so newcomers in Markham may be trying to maintain connections with multiple places. Markham seems similar to the ethnoburbs in Los Angeles (Li, 2006) noted for their transnational flows of capital and people. Certainly, landscapes of transnational businesses and organizations have been found in Markham and other outer suburbs (Murdie and Teixeira, 2001; Preston and Lo, 2000)

Philippine-born, Markham

The Philippines is a major source of immigrants in Markham as the sixth largest place of birth for Markham's foreign-born and the fifth largest source country for all recent immigrants living in Markham. In 2006, 5,645 residents of Markham had been born in the Philippines. This group made up 2.3 percent of the total population and 5.2 percent of the total recent immigrant population in Markham. Similar to the CMA and Scarborough, the flow of Filipino immigrants is feminized with greater numbers of women (59.1 percent) than men (40.9 percent). However, the Philippine-born population in Markham is more established than in the CMA and Scarborough with 46.9 percent of the Philippine-born population in Markham arriving prior to 1990 and 70.6 percent arriving before 1995. Recent Philippine-born immigrants are more likely to be living in

Scarborough or in other regions of the CMA, while those who arrived earlier have settled in Markham (Table 4.17). The high percentage of well-established Filipinos may indicate suburbanization of successful immigrants in the Filipino population (Murdie and Teixeira, 2001).

Table 4.17 - Period of Arrival for Philippine-born, Markham, 2006

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Before 1980	730	21.9	610	26.5	1,340	23.7
1981-1990	790	23.7	520	22.6	1,310	23.2
1991-1995	795	23.8	545	23.6	1,340	23.7
1996-2000	415	12.4	255	11.1	670	11.9
2001-2006	605	18.1	375	16.3	980	17.4
Total	3,340	100.0	2,305	100.0	5,645	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Similar to the CMA and Scarborough, the majority of immigrants from the Philippines who live in Markham are of working age between 25 and 54 years. With a more established Philippine-born population, higher proportions of Filipinos (26.5 percent) and Filipinas (24.3 percent) over the age of 55 years live in Markham as compared with Scarborough and the CMA. The greater numbers of Filipino/Filipina seniors in Markham may increase the need for senior care (Table 4.18).

Table 4.18 - Age Categories for Philippine-born, Markham, 2006

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
0-14 years	100	2.8	155	6.7
15-24 years	330	9.1	155	6.7
25-39 years	1,135	31.4	625	26.9
40-54 years	1,175	32.5	765	33.0
55-69 years	635	17.5	445	19.2
70 years+	245	6.8	170	7.3
Total	3,620	100.0	2,320	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Conclusion – Threading Themes

As the largest metropolitan area in Canada and the number one destination for newcomers, the Toronto CMA serves as an appropriate yardstick with which the other two locations can be compared. Migration is a central component of the growth and livelihood of the Toronto CMA. The foreign-born population in the Toronto CMA is the largest in Canada. Migration to the CMA and its municipalities has increased with 45.7 percent of the total CMA population born outside Canada. While this is an impressive percentage, certain suburbs within the CMA have much higher percentages of the population who are foreign-born. For example, the percentages for Scarborough and Markham, respectively, are 59 percent and 57 percent. The analysis indicates that the ethno-racial diversity of the Toronto CMA is unevenly distributed with large settlements of newcomers in Scarborough and Markham who are from non-traditional source countries such as China, India, Philippines and Hong Kong.

Scarborough and Markham were selected as field sites in this research owing to their large, diverse, and dense immigrant communities. The data confirm that the suburbs are no longer locations that house a primarily white, native-born-middle class population (Ray, Halseth and Johnson, 1997). Immigrants from the Philippines are an important component of the emerging urban diversity. The Philippines is the third largest country of birth for immigrants in the CMA and Scarborough and the fifth largest source country for Markham. Higher proportions of Filipinas than Filipinos live in both locations; Scarborough (57 percent) and Markham (59.1). However, the time of arrival for Philippine-born residents varies. Filipinos and Filipinas are a seemingly recent group with 65.6 percent having arrived in the CMA since 1991. In Scarborough, 60.3 percent of Philippine-born residents have arrived since 1991. In comparison, the Philippine-born community in Markham has longer residence in Canada with 70.6 percent of the population having arrived before 1995.

The following chapter will build on these migration patterns by examining the paid and unpaid work of Philippine-born women and comparing them with those of Canadian-born and all immigrant women.

Chapter 5 : Women and Care: Paid and Unpaid Labour

Introduction

Feminists have argued that gender, as a set of social relations, organizes migration and settlement experiences (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Pessar and Mahler, 2003). Furthermore, women's migration patterns are intricately tied to paid work and household strategies for accomplishing unpaid work. The previous chapter indicates that migration experiences vary between immigrant groups, between women and men and also across suburbs in a single metropolitan area. A comparative analysis of migration in the three locations of Scarborough, Markham and the Toronto CMA revealed a complex geography of settlement.

This chapter adds to the complex picture of settlement by examining the paid and unpaid work of immigrant women and Filipinas. Female immigrants have distinctive labour market experiences in Canada, where they face greater difficulties in the labour market than women born in Canada. On average, immigrant women have higher unemployment rates, lower earnings and lower levels of labour force participation than Canadian-born women (Tastsoglou and Preston, 2005; Preston and D'Addario, 2008). Immigrant women are also more likely to work in less skilled manual occupations than their Canadian-born counterparts who are overrepresented in professional and managerial occupations (ibid). Scholars have argued that family structure, particularly for women, affects participation in unpaid domestic work (Picchio, 1998) and, in turn, labour market

participation (Preston and Giles, 2004; Preston and D'Addario, 2008). In Canada, little empirical research has substantiated these linkages for immigrant women and little is known about how these relations take place in different residential and suburban locations. Less is known about how these linkages affect immigrant women's construction of home. This chapter examines more closely the links between the paid and unpaid work of Canadian-born and foreign-born women and Philippine-born women in the Toronto CMA, Scarborough and Markham. The analysis benefits from comparing work experiences among groups of women and also across locations. Examining the paid and unpaid work of Canadian-born women, foreign-born women and Filipinas exposes the limited economic opportunities of racialized immigrant women.

Section I – Toronto CMA

Women's Paid Work Patterns

Immigrant women are less successful in the labour market than Canadian-born women and foreign-born men (Preston and Giles, 1996; Tastsoglou and Preston; 2005). When compared with Canadian-born women, recent immigrants have lower earnings and higher unemployment rates (Preston and Giles, 2004; Frenette and Morisette, 2003). These economic difficulties, especially in the labour market, are greater for immigrant women than immigrant men. Preston and Giles (2004) found that the gap between the average earnings of immigrants and Canadian-born workers persists longer than it did in the past and the gap is largest for women who had immigrated most recently (Chard,

Badets, and Howatson-Leo, 2000). These economic challenges may be related, in part, to the educational attainments of foreign-born women that are bifurcated with disproportionate numbers of well-educated and poorly educated immigrant women (Preston and D'Addario, 2008). This bifurcation is also present in the data for the Toronto CMA, where higher percentages of immigrant women than Canadian-born women have not completed high school and immigrant women are more likely to have a post-graduate degree than Canadian-born women. Foreign-born women are also more likely than Canadian-born women to have a college or trades certificate.

The 2006 census validates past findings (Kelly, 2006; Hiebert, 1999) about the educational attainment of Filipinos and Filipinas. In general, education levels for this group far exceed those of Canadian-born and foreign-born residents. Many women born in the Philippines, 71 percent, have a post-secondary diploma or degree compared with 55.6 percent of women born in Canada. Very few, only 8.6 percent of Filipinas have not completed high school (Table 5.1).

On average, immigrant women have lower labour market participation rates than Canadian-born women, however rates vary depending on period of arrival, place of birth, education, fluency in official languages and visible minority status (Preston and D'Addario; 2008). The recent census data for the Toronto CMA corroborate these trends in labour force participation. For the Canadian-born and immigrants, working-aged (25-69 years) men have higher levels of labour force participation than women in the same age group (Table 5.2).

Table 5.1 - Education Levels for Women, Toronto CMA, 2006

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less than High School	164,255	263,115	6,620
	17.2	**22.8**	**8.6**
High School Diploma	270,610	282,305	12,960
	28.4	**24.5**	**16.7**
College/Trades Certificate	259,690	324,470	27,590
	27.2	**28.1**	**35.6**
University Degree	207,535	210,985	27,730
	21.8	**18.3**	**35.8**
Post Graduate Degree	51,635	72,670	2,515
	5.4	**6.3**	**3.2**
Total	953,730	1,153,545	77,420
	100	**100**	**100**

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Canadian-born women have higher rates of labour force participation than immigrant women. However, women born in the Philippines (81.4 percent) have exceptionally high levels of labour force participation. While foreign credentials do not always translate into higher earnings for immigrants, higher than average levels of education do seem to translate into higher levels of labour force participation for those born in the Philippines. The high levels of labour force participation for Filipinas are due, in part, to Canadian immigration policies. Many Filipinas migrated through the Live-in Caregiver Program, which ensured immediate employment and participation in the labour market (Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003). High rates of labour force participation for Philippine-born immigrants are also explained by obligations to family in the Philippines that necessitate the need for a "survival job" (Kelly et al. 2009: 22).

Table 5.2 - Labour Force Participation, Toronto CMA, 2006

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Canadian-born	516,785	79.0	137,175	21.0	653,960
Immigrants	607,110	67.9	287,420	32.1	894,530
Philippine-Born	53,065	81.4	12,105	18.6	65,170
[illegible]					
Canadian-born	555,080	87.6	78,625	12.4	633,705
Immigrants	669,655	83.2	135,550	16.8	805,210
Philippine-Born	34,875	86.2	5,560	13.8	40,435

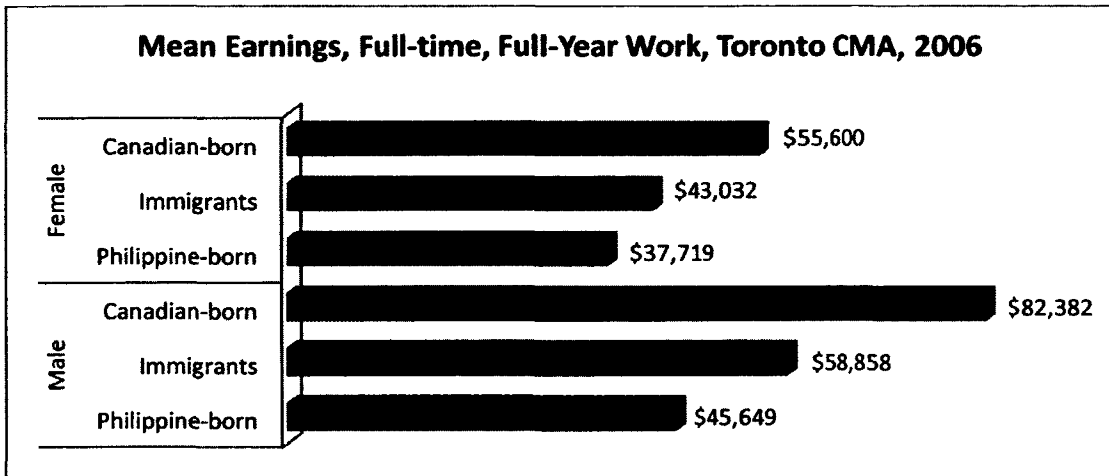
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

According to the dual labour market theory (Piore, 1979), there is a permanent demand for foreign labour in advanced industrialized economies. Local and native-born workers shun and are reluctant to take low wage and unstable work that has been historically occupied by women and youth. The structural demand for entry level jobs is met by foreign workers. The abundant supply of foreign workers willing to accept low paid and unstable jobs, owing to a relative increase in pay and status as compared to standards back home, perpetuates and reproduces the dual labour market (Arango, 2004). Because many immigrant women, especially racialized immigrant women, face substantial barriers to labour market participation including demanding domestic responsibilities, limited fluency in English and educational qualifications that are not recognized widely, they are overrepresented in low status and manual labour. Hiebert (1999, 2000) has argued that there is a 'triple jeopardy' where women, immigrants and visible minorities receive lower incomes (based on skill and educational attainment) relative to white males born in Canada. Immigrant women of colour are the most likely

to be locked into low-wage precarious work. However, not all women experience difficulties in the labour market in the same manner and their experiences vary among Canada's largest cities (Hiebert, 1999).

Once in the labour market, income disparities prevail between men and women whether they are born in Canada or foreign-born. Wages in Canada have decreased for female Canadian-born visible minorities and aboriginal women relative to white Canadian born females (Pendakur and Pendakur, 2002, 2007). In the Toronto CMA, wages vary tremendously depending on the permanency of the job and hours worked. Among those who worked full-time (more than 30 hours per week) and full year (between 49 and 52 weeks) in 2005, Canadian-born women ($55,600) earn less on average than Canadian-born men ($82,382) or immigrant men ($58,858). Immigrant women ($43,032) earn even less on average than their Canadian-born counterparts. Compared with all immigrants, those born in the Philippines have even lower average wages, with women earning $37,719 and men earning $45,649 (Figure 5.1). Kelly et al. (2009) have found that lower than average wages for Philippine-born immigrants are a result of low savings upon arrival that lead to rapid labour market entry into low paying fields that do not match training levels.

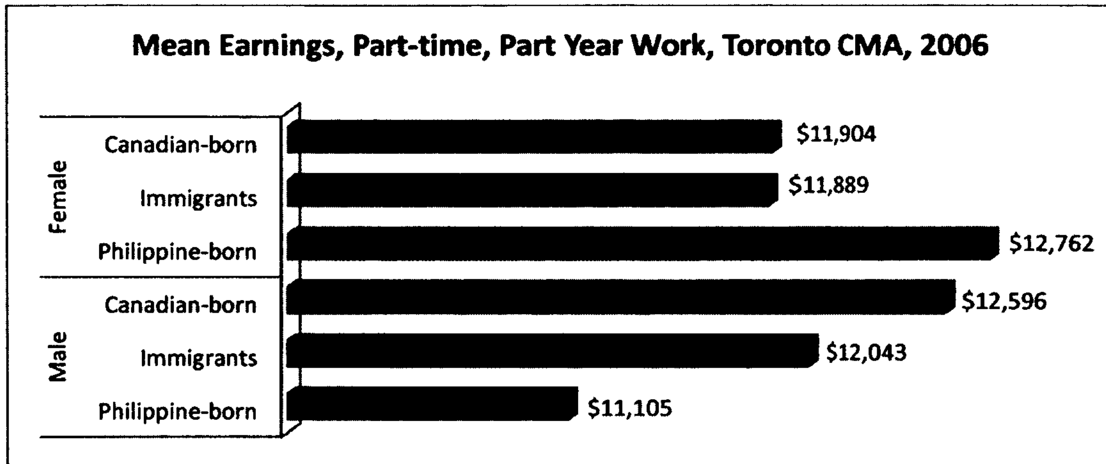
Figure 5.1 – Full-Time Full Year Wages, Toronto CMA, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Earning trends are different for non-standard forms of work. Among those who worked part time (less than 30 hours per week) and part year (less than 48 weeks) in 2005 the wage disparities between men and women are smaller than for full-time, full year workers. The earnings gap between Canadian-born women and immigrant women as well as the gap between Canadian-born men and immigrant men nearly closes for temporary or part-time work. Philippine-born women ($12,762) earn the highest average wages of all women working part time and part year (see figure 5.2)

Figure 5.2 – Part-Time Part Year Wages, Toronto CMA, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

The similarity in wages for men and women working part-time and-part year does not necessarily indicate an improvement for women. Armstrong (1996) explains that labour market restructuring that has reduced the number of full-time and stable jobs has led to a feminization of the labour force. With more 'women's work', jobs traditionally held by men have now come to resemble those traditionally held by women. As part time and part year work increases, wages are decreasing, there is little job security and shift work predominates. In essence, the feminization of employment does not mean that women's situation in the labour market has improved, but instead, the position of some men has deteriorated to resemble the labour market circumstances of women (ibid). Armstrong (1996) has also referred to this phenomenon as the 'harmonizing down' of work, while Vosko (2000; 2002) describes it as the gendering of jobs and associates it with the rise in precarious employment. For Vosko (2002), the feminization of

employment results in gendered precariousness due to convergence at the bottom of the labour market for women, immigrants and visible minorities.

Women's Unpaid Work Patterns

While the relationship between paid and unpaid work has been discussed at length in the literature (Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Luxton and Reiter, 1997, Hochschild, 1989; Pocock; 2003; McDowell; 2001 and 2005; McLafferty and Preston, 1996) very little research describes the relationship empirically. Some studies in North America show that women's labour force participation rates and paid work experiences are influenced by unpaid domestic work (Preston and Giles, 2004; England, 1996; McLafferty and Preston, 1996; Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Hanson and Johnston, 1985). For some women, labour force participation is constrained and fewer labour market options exist owing to domestic responsibilities within the place of residence. For this reason, I compare unpaid work done by Canadian-born, foreign-born and Philippine-born men and women. The data indicate different levels of engagement in unpaid work for immigrant and Canadian-born women. Furthermore, the analysis shows that levels of unpaid work vary across the Toronto CMA.

According to the 2006 census, Canadian-born and immigrant men in the Toronto CMA perform far fewer hours of unpaid housework than their female counterparts (Table 5.3). Immigrant women report the highest number of hours of unpaid housework performed per week. For women born outside Canada, 21 percent perform more than 30

hours of unpaid housework per week as compared to only 14 percent of Canadian-born women. Women born in the Philippines perform the fewest hours of housework; on average, 34.5 percent of Filipinas performed less than 5 hours of unpaid housework as compared to 25.7 percent for all immigrant women and 33 percent for Canadian-born women. The hours of unpaid housework reported by women born in the Philippines are closer to those of Canadian-born women than those of immigrant women (Table 5.3).

The majority of men and women do not perform unpaid childcare[13]. Canadian-born men do the least child care with 69 percent of Canadian-born men performing no hours of unpaid child care (Table 5.3). Similar percentages of Canadian-born women (62.5 percent) and immigrant men (60.2 percent) perform no hours of unpaid childcare. The data on unpaid childcare indicate that the work is feminized; women are more likely than men to perform childcare. On average, Canadian-born women perform fewer hours of unpaid childcare than all immigrant women. Filipinas stand out because they are less involved in unpaid child care than all immigrant women (Table 5.3).

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[13] These data include individuals whose children do not live in the same dwelling. As mentioned earlier, the census questions often assume intact nuclear families rather than the diverse living arrangements of transnational households. The difficulties of excluding people who do not have children at home may have affected the trends in unpaid child care. Since Filipinas are more likely than other immigrant women to work as live-in caregivers who are by necessity separated from other family members, the number who do no unpaid care work may have increased.

Table 5.3 - Unpaid Work, Toronto CMA, 2006

		No Hours		Less than 5hr		5-14hr		15-29hr		30-59hr		60+hr		Total	
	Housework	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Female	Canadian-born	81,325	8.5	233,370	24.5	310,710	32.6	194,355	20.4	95,025	10.0	38,940	4.1	953,725	100
	Immigrant	103,515	9.0	192,165	16.7	340,470	29.5	275,475	23.9	167,405	14.5	74,510	6.5	1,153,540	100
	Philippine-born	10,020	12.9	16,755	21.6	23,020	29.7	13,955	18.0	9,250	11.9	4,425	5.7	77,425	100
Male	Canadian-born	122,240	13.4	328,750	36.0	308,940	33.9	112,275	12.3	31,700	3.5	8,405	0.9	912,310	100
	Immigrant	137,150	13.2	301,900	29.1	362,170	34.9	160,295	15.5	57,995	5.6	17,040	1.6	1,036,550	100
	Philippine-born	6,090	12.1	13,780	27.3	17,085	33.9	8,055	16.0	3,775	7.5	1,625	3.2	50,410	100
	Childcare	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Female	Canadian-born	596,515	62.5	76,075	8.0	72,470	7.6	58,715	6.2	59,510	6.2	90,445	9.5	953,730	100
	Immigrant	624,955	54.2	108,560	9.4	136,950	11.9	105,210	9.1	83,585	7.2	94,285	8.2	1,153,545	100
	Philippine-born	40,580	52.4	9,190	11.9	9,650	12.5	6,595	8.5	5,505	7.1	5,900	7.6	77,420	100
Male	Canadian-born	629,855	69.0	83,355	9.1	82,660	9.1	56,950	6.2	34,645	3.8	24,845	2.7	912,310	100
	Immigrant	623,805	60.2	130,485	12.6	140,855	13.6	77,840	7.5	38,865	3.7	24,705	2.4	1,036,555	100
	Philippine-born	26,130	51.8	7,395	14.7	7,420	14.7	4,690	9.3	2,785	5.5	1,990	3.9	50,410	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Philippine-born care workers[14] in the CMA have distinct patterns of unpaid work. Filipina care workers perform the fewest hours of unpaid house work, 39.5 percent of Filipina care workers perform less than 5 hours of house work per week, even more than the 34.5 percent for all Philippine-born women. The majority of Philippine-born care workers (56.1 percent) also perform no unpaid child care (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 - Unpaid Work for Female Philippine-born Care Workers, Toronto CMA, 2006

CMA	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No Hours	3,600	18.8	10,760	56.1
Less than 5hr	3,965	20.7	2,265	11.8
5-14hr	5,240	27.3	2,265	11.8
15-29hr	3,105	16.2	1,410	7.4
30hr+	3,260	17	2,475	12.9
Total	19,170	100	19,170	100

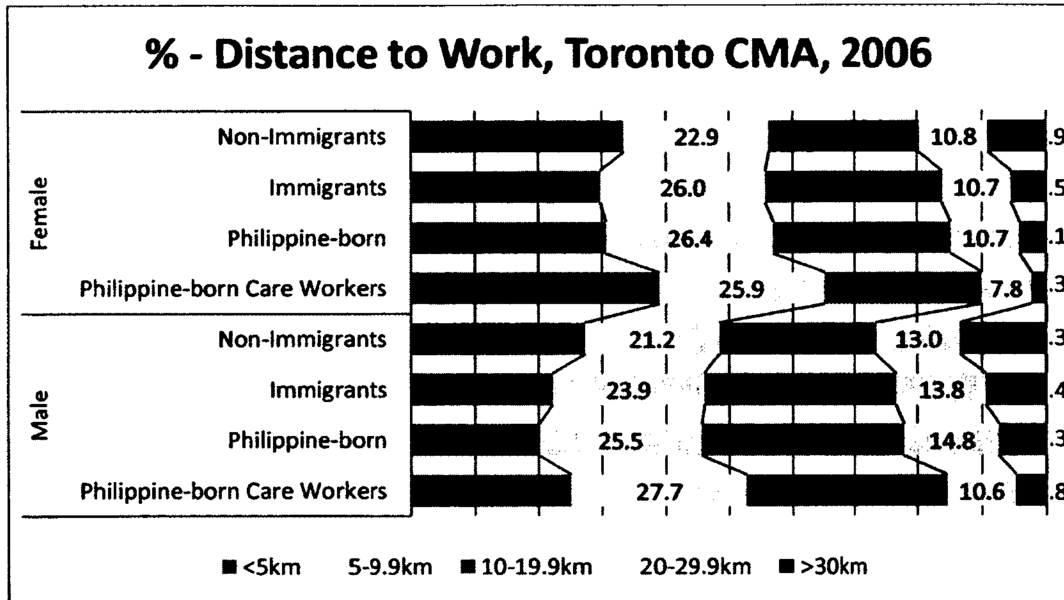
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

These data indicate that the higher than average levels of labour force participation among Filipinas may not be as constrained by unpaid domestic work as those of Canadian-born and immigrant women. The data further suggest that Filipinas may be renegotiating unpaid domestic work. High rates of labour force participation and low levels of unpaid work for Filipinas challenge conventional suburban views of women. Therefore, suburban Filipina experiences do not reflect the traditional suburban households marked by women's unpaid domestic labour and limited involvement in paid employment (Saegert, 1980).

[14] The occupations defined under care work include non-diagnostic health care professionals and occupations that are engaged in tasks associated with social reproduction.

Geographical access to work for women is sometimes influenced by place of residence (Kain, 1968; Preston and McLafferty, 1996 and 1997; Hanson and Pratt, 1995). The household division of labour and differences in access to transportation between men and women significantly constrains job searches for some women. As a result of these constraints, women tend to search for jobs near their places of residence (Hanson and Pratt, 1991). Women are more likely than men to decrease travel times to work in order to accommodate household and child care responsibilities (England, 1996; Hanson and Pratt, 1988). Figure 5.3 details the percentages of immigrants and Canadian-born residents travelling different distances to work in the Toronto CMA. More women than men travel short distances to work. This is especially the case with female Philippine-born care workers; 39 percent travel less than 5 km to work compared with approximately 30 percent of all Filipinas and immigrant women and 33.5 percent of Canadian-born women. Despite lower than average levels of unpaid work, Filipinas are finding employment close to their places of residence. The data also indicate that 39 percent of Filipina care workers travel less than 5 km to work, which includes the higher than average number of Filipina care workers who reside in their workplace.

Figure 5.3 – Distance to Work, Toronto, CMA, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Section II – Scarborough

Women's Paid Work Patterns

In Scarborough, nearly 60 percent of the population is foreign-born, with more than half of all immigrants arriving since 1991. Immigrant women's post-secondary educational attainments are higher than those of Canadian-born women, which is not the case in the metropolitan area (Table 5.5). Compared with Canadian-born women and all immigrant women, women born in the Philippines have even higher levels of post-secondary education. Of the Philippine-born women living in Scarborough, 70.4 percent

have a college diploma or university degree as compared with 41.5 percent of Canadian-born women and 46 percent of all immigrant women.

Table 5.5 - Level of Education for Women, Scarborough, 2006

		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	18,575	40,580	1,685
Less than High School	%	23.1	23.4	9.9
	[illegible]	26,625	46,355	2,875
High School Diploma	%	33.1	26.7	16.9
	[illegible]	21,490	50,960	5,820
College/Trades Certificate	%	26.7	29.3	34.2
	[illegible]	11,925	28,895	6,175
University Degree	%	14.8	16.6	36.2
	[illegible]	1,930	6,910	480
Post Graduate Degree	%	2.4	4.0	2.8
	[illegible]	80,550	173,705	17,040
Total	%	100	100	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

The census data in Scarborough corroborate earlier trends in labour force participation for men and women in the Toronto CMA. For residents between the ages of 25-69 years, each group of men has higher rates of labour force participation than their female counterpoints. Overall, labour force participation rates are lower for all women living in Scarborough (70.2 percent) than for those in the Toronto CMA (76.1 percent) (Table 5.6). Lower rates of labour force participation for women in Scarborough are characteristic of the'feminine suburb' (Saegert, 1980), which hinged on a gender division of labour that *places* women in the private sphere of the residence (England, 1993).

Immigrant women have lower rates of labour force participation than Canadian-born women. However, in Scarborough, as seen in the CMA, women born in the Philippines stand out because of exceptionally high labour force participation rates of 77.3 percent that are higher than for Canadian-born women (69.3 percent) and for all immigrant women (64.2 percent). High levels of labour force participation for Filipinas are, in part, explained by their higher than average entry into Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program. Higher levels of labour force participation for Filipinas may also result from fewer domestic responsibilities. Many live-in caregivers are not caring for their own families or households. The low rates of participation in unpaid work may also indicate other family members are doing unpaid work for the household, but the census data do not allow us to explore this possibility.

Table 5.6 - Labour Force Participation, Scarborough, 2006

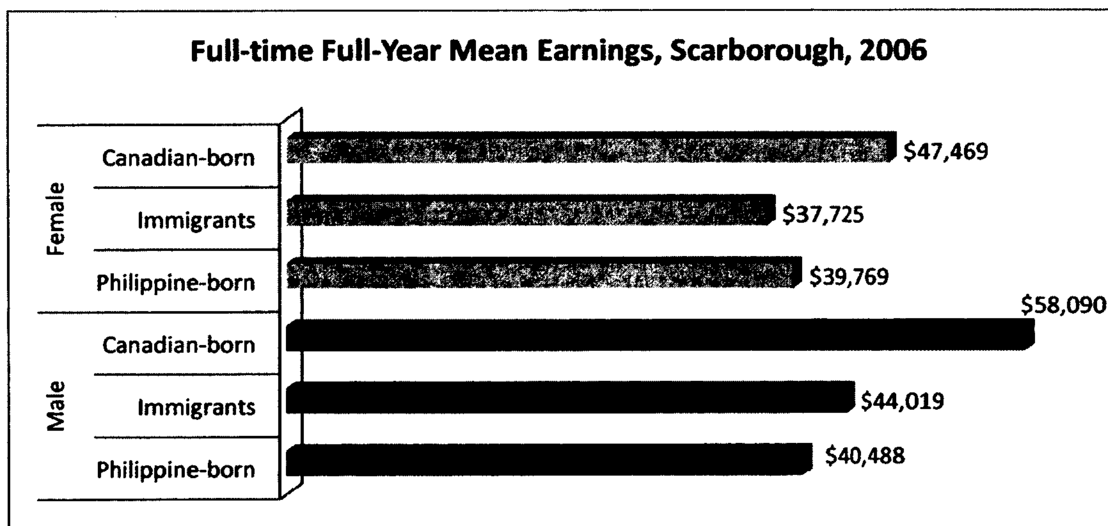
	In the Labour Force		Not in the Labour Force		Total
FEMALE	N	%	N	%	N
Canadian-born	48,540	69.3	21,490	30.7	70,030
Immigrant	97,765	64.2	54,425	35.8	152,190
Philippine-born	12,240	77.3	3,585	22.7	15,825
MALE	N	%	N	%	N
Canadian-born	51,430	73.8	18,275	26.2	69,705
Immigrant	104,245	77.1	31,045	22.9	135,290
Philippine-born	9,345	80.2	2,305	19.8	11,655

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

In Scarborough, full-time full year and part-time part year wages for all men and women are lower than in the entire CMA. As found in the CMA, women in Scarborough have lower full-time full year mean earnings than men and Canadian-born residents have

higher earnings than the foreign-born population. Mean wages for Canadian-born women who worked full-time and full year[15] in 2005 are $47,469, less than the mean wages of Canadian-born men ($58,090). Canadian born-women did, earn more than the average immigrant man who had annual earnings of $44,019. Immigrants born in the Philippines have lower wages than all immigrants with Filipinas earning $39,769 and Filipinos earning $40,488. On average, Filipinas and Filipinos working full-time and full year do not receive adequate economic returns from their high levels of education and high rates of labour force participation (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4 – Full-Time Full Year Wages, Scarborough, 2006

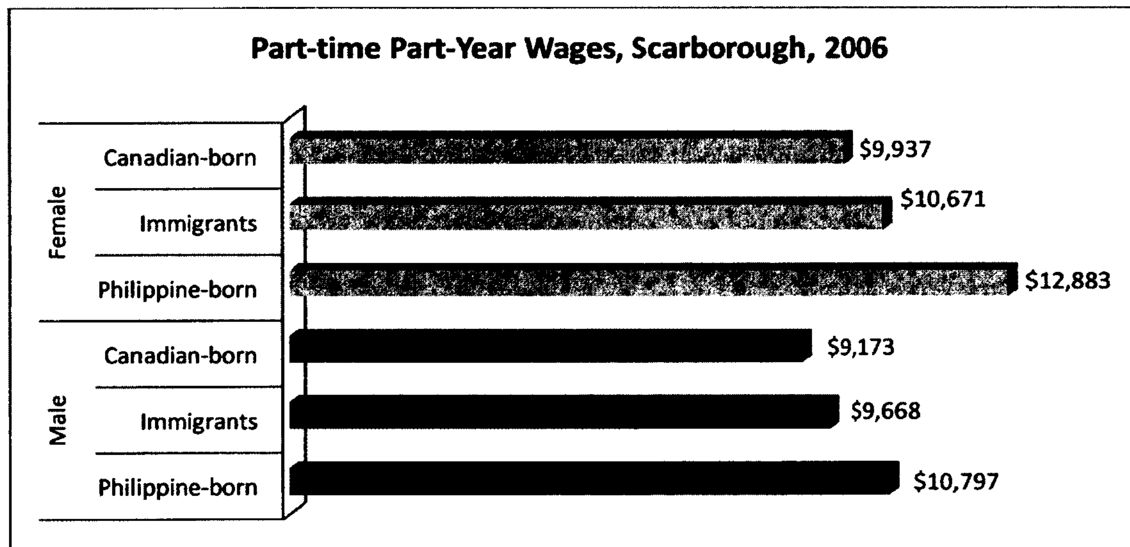


Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

[15] Full-time full year is calculated as having worked more than 30 hours in a week and between 49 and 52 weeks in 2005.

As we saw for the CMA, different earnings patterns emerge for those working part-time and part year[16]. The disparity between men and women closes all together and Philippine-born women with mean earnings of $12,883 have the highest part-time, part year wages of all the groups being studied in Scarborough (Figure 5.5). The earnings gap between Canadian-born women and immigrant women as well as the gap between Canadian-born men and immigrant men nearly closes. The increasing feminization of employment (Armstrong, 1996), means some men's labour market circumstances are beginning to resemble those of women. There is a convergence of male and female labour market experiences for part-time part year work (Bakker, 1996) (see figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5 – Part-Time Part year Wages, Scarborough, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

[16] Part-time part year is calculated as having worked less than 30 hours in a week and less than 48 weeks in 2005.

Women's Unpaid Work Patterns

Among residents of Scarborough, like all those in the CMA, Canadian-born and immigrant men perform far fewer hours of unpaid housework than their female counterparts (Table 5.7). Between groups of women, more immigrant women than Canadian-born women report many hours of unpaid housework. For women born outside Canada, 21.8 percent perform more than 30 hours of unpaid housework per week as compared to only 13.9 percent for Canadian-born women. At the other end of the spectrum, more women born in the Philippines perform the fewest hours of unpaid housework – 32.5 percent of Filipinas performed less than 5 hours of housework as compared to 26.2 percent for all immigrant women. The high percentages of women born in the Philippines reporting few hours of unpaid work is closer to that for Canadian-born women than to that for all immigrant women.

As is the case in the CMA, the vast majority of residents in Scarborough do not perform unpaid child care[17]. Canadian-born men perform the least unpaid child care. Canadian-born women are more likely to perform no hours of child care than immigrant women or Filipinas. In Scarborough there are few differences in the percentages of women from each group who perform the most child care (Table 5.7).

[17] These data include individuals whose children do not live in the same dwelling. As mentioned earlier, the census questions often assume intact nuclear families rather than the diverse living arrangements of transnational households. The difficulties of excluding people who do not have children at home may have affected the trends in unpaid child care. Since Filipinas are more likely than other immigrant women to work as live-in caregivers who are by necessity separated from other family members, the number who do no unpaid care work may have increased.

Table 5.7 - Unpaid Work, Scarborough, 2006

		No Hours		Less than 5hr		5-14hr		15-29hr		30-59hr		60+hr		Total	
Housework		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Female	Canadian-born	8,035	10.0	19,575	24.3	25,130	31.2	16,635	20.7	8,025	10.0	3,150	3.9	80,550	100
	Immigrant	16,365	9.4	29,180	16.8	49,775	28.7	40,560	23.3	25,855	14.9	11,970	6.9	173,705	100
	Philippine-born	2,035	11.9	3,505	20.6	5,340	31.3	3,130	18.4	2,000	11.7	1,035	6.1	17,040	100
Male	Canadian-born	11,510	15.0	26,755	34.9	24,895	32.4	9,525	12.4	3,195	4.2	875	1.1	76,760	100
	Immigrant	20,660	13.6	41,265	27.2	52,785	34.8	24,325	16.0	9,655	6.4	3,160	2.1	151,845	100
	Philippine-born	1,680	13.5	3,215	25.9	4,350	35.1	1,845	14.9	945	7.6	375	3.0	12,410	100
Childcare		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Female	Canadian-born	53,745	66.7	6,300	7.8	6,180	7.7	4,065	5.0	3,665	4.5	6,595	8.2	80,550	100
	Immigrant	94,945	54.7	16,330	9.4	20,340	11.7	15,145	8.7	12,585	7.2	14,360	8.3	173,705	100
	Philippine-born	8,565	50.3	2,225	13.1	2,390	14.0	1,395	8.2	1,180	6.9	1,280	7.5	17,040	100
Male	Canadian-born	56,865	74.1	6,575	8.6	5,880	7.7	3,335	4.3	2,185	2.8	1,920	2.5	76,760	100
	Immigrant	91,070	60.0	18,925	12.5	20,930	13.8	11,365	7.5	5,815	3.8	3,740	2.5	151,845	100
	Philippine-born	6,360	51.2	1,915	15.4	1,915	15.4	1,125	9.1	665	5.4	430	3.5	12,410	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

The involvement in unpaid work by female Philippine-born care workers living in Scarborough is similar to that of Filipina care workers in the CMA. While Canadian born women (34.3 percent) are likely to perform the least number of hours of housework (less than 5 hours per week), the percentages of women born in the Philippines (32.5 percent) and Filipina care workers (30 percent) reporting less than 5 hours per week of housework are comparable to those of women born in Canada rather than to those for all immigrant women (26.2 percent) (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8 - Unpaid Work for Philippine-born Care Workers, Scarborough CMA, 2006

	[illegible]		[illegible]	
Scarborough	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No Hours	390	10.5	1,765	47.4
Less than 5hr	725	19.5	485	13
5-14hr	1,200	32.3	585	15.7
15-29hr	655	17.6	280	7.5
30hr+	755	20.3	605	16.3
Total	3,720	100	3,720	100

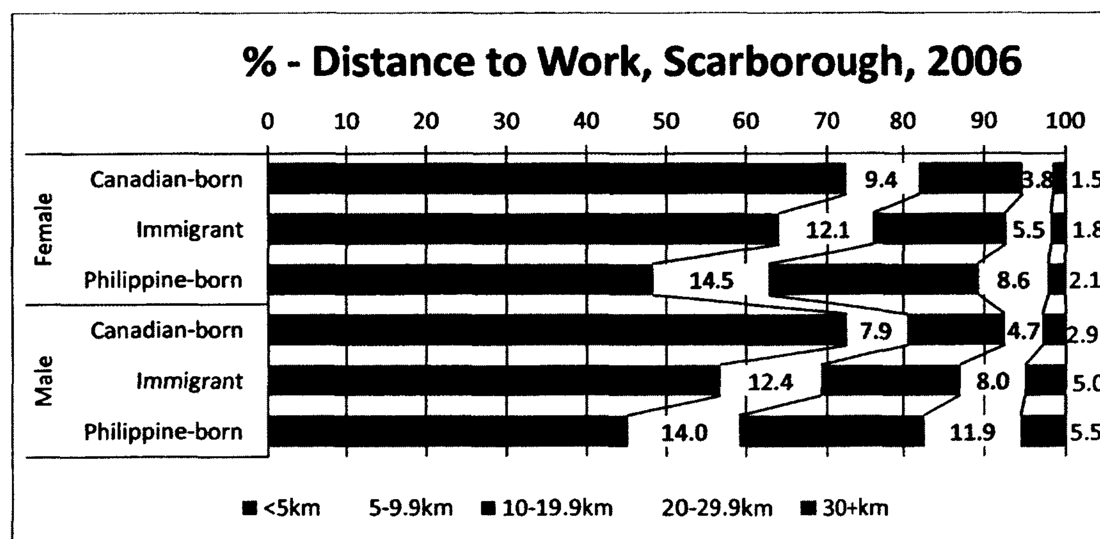
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

In Scarborough, distances travelled to work are shorter than in the CMA, indicating that the Scarborough labour market is more local than the metropolitan labour market (Figure 5.6). Residents of Scarborough work closer to their places of residence than all metropolitan residents. The short distances travelled by Scarborough residents are likely due to the density of commercial and industrial work places in Scarborough. As well, the transportation infrastructure in Scarborough, which includes bus and

underground subway services and the Scarborough Rapid Transit, is well developed as compared with that in outer suburbs of the CMA.

The shortest distances travelled to work are similar for men and women. Equal percentages of Canadian-born men (72.6 percent) and women (72.6 percent) travel less than 5 kilometers to work. Gender does not influence distance to work, rather it is affected by place of birth. Immigrants, both men and women, are likely to travel further to work on average than Canadian-born men and women. Immigrants born in the Philippines travel even greater distances than all immigrants. For example, 37.1 percent of Filipinas travel more than 10 km to work as compared with 23.7 percent of foreign born women and 18 percent of Canadian-born women. The data indicate that Canadian-born residents are more likely to be employed locally than immigrants and Philippine-born residents.

Figure 5.6 – Distance to Work, Scarborough CMA, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Section III – Markham

Women's Paid Work Patterns

In Markham, immigrant settlement has been relatively recent with more than half of all immigrants arriving since 1991. Contrary to Scarborough, women's educational attainments are slightly higher for Canadian-born women than for immigrant women in Markham (Table 5.9). Only 15.8 percent of women born in Canada have not graduated from high school. Canadian-born women (26.5 percent) are more likely than immigrant women (20.7 percent) to have at least one university degree. The educational attainments of Filipina immigrants in Markham are consistent with the trends in the CMA and in Scarborough. This group is the least likely to have failed to graduate from high school (6.5 percent) or to have a post graduate degree (3.7 percent). Indeed, Filipinas are very well educated almost three-quarters, 74.8 percent, have a post secondary degree or diploma compared to 51.3 percent of Canadian-born women and 48.1 percent of immigrant women (Table 5.9). A larger percentage of Filipinas living in Markham have a post-secondary education than in the CMA (71 percent) and Scarborough (70.4 percent), perhaps because of their longer residence in Canada (Chapter 4).

As is the case in both the CMA and Scarborough, men have higher rates of labour force participation than women in Markham. Men living in Markham also have higher rates of labour force participation than their counterparts in Scarborough and slightly higher rates than those living in the entire CMA. Men born in the Philippines (86.4

percent) have higher participation rates than all immigrant men (83.7). In Markham, Canadian-born women (78.5 percent) and immigrant women (68.5) have higher rates of labour force participation than either group of women living in the CMA and Scarborough.

Table 5.9 - Educational Attainment for Women, Markham, 2006

		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less than High School	N	5,710	15,010	230
	%	15.8	20.3	6.5
High School Diploma	N	10,265	19,320	520
	%	28.4	26.2	14.8
College/Trades Diploma	N	8,975	20,275	1,300
	%	24.8	27.4	36.9
University Degree	N	9,575	15,300	1,335
	%	26.5	20.7	37.9
Post Graduate Degree	N	1,605	3,965	130
	%	4.4	5.4	3.7
Total	N	36,130	73,870	3,520

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Women born in the Philippines have high rates of labour force participation (80.6 percent) especially when compared to the same group of women living in Scarborough (77.3 percent) (Table 5.14).

Higher than average rates of labour force participation in Markham may be explained by housing stress (Bunting, Walks and Filion, 2004). Bunting, Walks and Filion (2004) argue that the inner and outer suburbs house disproportionate numbers of housing-stressed households. In the outer suburbs, real estate is often expensive, the

supply of rental units is small, and there is a dependence on automobile transportation. As a result high rates of labour force participation in the outer suburbs are required to sustain homeownership. Preston et al. (2009) found that the shortage of rental housing has forced many immigrants in the outer suburbs into homeownership. The increasing levels of immigrant homeownership, and its subsequent costs, in the outer suburbs of Toronto may explain why labour force participation rates in Markham are relatively higher for immigrants and Canadian-born than in the inner suburb of Scarborough or the entire CMA. The longer average Canadian residence of Filipinos in Markham may also translate into more successful labour market integration (Gilmore, 2008).

Table 5.10 - Labour Force Participation, Markham, 2006

		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Total N
Female	Canadian-born	17,360	78.5	4,760	21.5	22,120
	Immigrant	40,700	68.5	18,700	31.5	59,400
	Philippine-born	2,375	80.6	570	19.4	2,945
Male	Canadian-born	18,165	88.2	2,435	11.8	20,605
	Immigrant	45,835	83.7	8,950	16.3	54,785
	Philippine-born	1,585	86.4	250	13.6	1,835

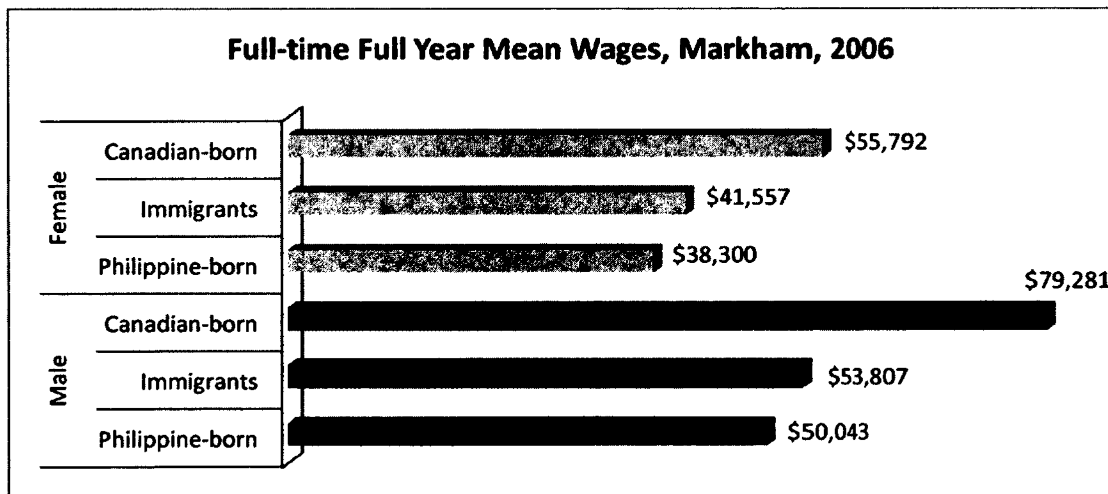
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Income disparities prevail between men and women and also between those born in Canada and the foreign-born. In general, mean full-time, full year wages are higher for people living in Markham than for those living in Scarborough. Despite higher wages overall, for those who worked full-time and full year in 2005, Canadian-born women ($55,792) earn far less than Canadian-born men ($79,281) but slightly more than

immigrant men ($53,807). Unlike the small margin between Philippine-born men and women in Scarborough, Filipinos working full time and full year ($50,043) earned considerably more than their female counterparts in Markham ($38,300) (see figure 5.7).

The deteriorating circumstance of some men's work is particularly evident in Markham. As noted earlier, the harmonizing down of men's work contributes to working circumstances similar to those in jobs dominated by women (Armstrong, 1996). Restructuring has eliminated some men's jobs and altered other jobs traditionally occupied by men feminizing them with more part-time hours, shift work and low wages (Armstrong, 1996). Bakker (1996) argues that this shift is revealing class and racial differences among women, however the data imply that these divisions are also evident among men who are engaged in non-standard employment.

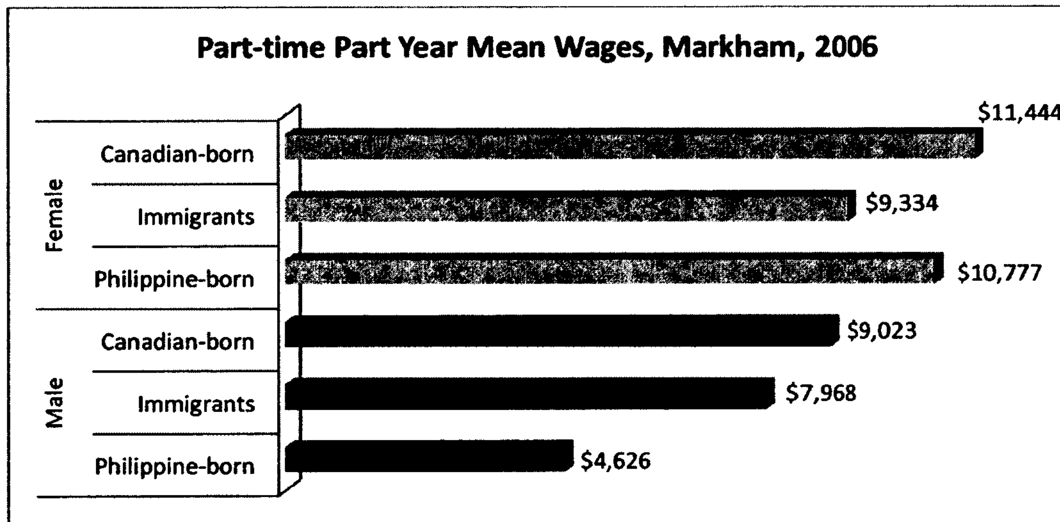
Figure 5.7 – Full-Time Full Year Wages, Markham, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

When comparing those who worked part-time and part year in 2005, women living in Markham tended to earn more than men. Canadian-born women earned $11,444, more than the average $9,023 earned by Canadian-born men and the $9,334 for immigrant women. Immigrant women who worked part-time part year also earned more than foreign-born and Canadian-born men. Philippine-born women ($10,777) earned even higher mean wages than immigrant women and all men working part-time part year. Filipinos working part-time and part year earned the lowest wages, $4,626 on average (see figure 5.8). The data indicate that in Markham men are most affected by feminized employment; this is especially true for Filipinos.

Figure 5.8 – Part-Time Part Year Wages, Markham, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Women's Unpaid Work Patterns

Just as in Scarborough and the CMA, Canadian-born and immigrant men perform far fewer hours of unpaid housework than their female counterparts. More immigrant women reported many hours of housework per week. For women born outside Canada, 19.8 percent did more than 30 hours of housework per week as compared to only 12.7 percent of Canadian-born women. Almost one third of women born in the Philippines, 32.8 percent, performed the least housework, compared with only about one quarter of all immigrant women, 26.6 percent. The hours of unpaid housework reported by women born in the Philippines are closer to those of Canadian-born women than to those of immigrant women, the same pattern found in Scarborough and the entire metropolitan area (Table 5.11).

As reported for the CMA and Scarborough, the majority of men and women in Markham do not perform unpaid child care[18]. Canadian-born men perform the least unpaid child care, with 70 percent doing no unpaid childcare and another 10 percent doing less than 5 hours per week. Higher percentages of Canadian-born women, 63.6 percent, perform no hours of child care compared with only half of immigrant women, 51.1 percent.

[18] These data include individuals whose children do not live in the same dwelling. As mentioned earlier, the census questions often assume intact nuclear families rather than the diverse living arrangements of transnational households. The difficulties of excluding people who do not have children at home may have affected the trends in unpaid child care. Since Filipinas are more likely than other immigrant women to work as live-in caregivers who are by necessity separated from other family members, the number who do no unpaid care work may have increased.

Table 5.11 - Unpaid Care Work, Markham, 2006

		No Hours		Less than 5hr		5-14hr		15-29hr		30-59hr		60+hr		Total	
Housework		**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Female	Canadian-born	3,880	10.7	10,100	28.0	10,740	29.7	6,830	18.9	3,350	9.3	1,230	3.40	36,130	100
	Immigrant	6,595	8.9	13,100	17.7	21,360	28.9	18,340	24.8	10,530	14.3	3,950	5.35	73,870	100
	Philippine-born	400	11.4	755	21.4	1,045	29.7	670	19.0	450	12.8	200	5.68	3,520	100
Male	Canadian-born	5,320	15.5	13,185	38.5	10,860	31.7	3,670	10.7	970	2.8	235	0.7	34,245	100
	Immigrant	8,380	12.2	21,190	30.8	23,965	34.8	10,680	15.5	3,785	5.5	885	1.3	68,885	100
										30hr+					
	Philippine-born	165	7.6	625	28.9	755	34.9	360	16.6	260	12.0	NA	NA	2,165	100
		No Hours		**Less than 5hr**		**5-14hr**		**15-29hr**		**30-59hr**		**60+hr**		**Total**	
Childcare		**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Female	Canadian-born	22,980	63.6	3,430	9.5	2,960	8.2	1,935	5.4	2,090	5.8	2,735	7.57	36,130	100
	Immigrant	37,770	51.1	7,595	10.3	9,510	12.9	7,775	10.5	5,825	7.9	5,395	7.30	73,870	100
	Philippine-born	1,915	54.4	400	11.4	425	12.1	310	8.8	220	6.3	225	6.39	3,520	100
Male	Canadian-born	23,975	70.0	3,420	10.0	3,110	9.1	2,030	5.9	1,005	2.9	710	2.1	34,245	100
	Immigrant	38,890	56.5	9,465	13.7	10,320	15.0	5,895	8.6	2,815	4.1	1,495	2.2	68,885	100
	Philippine-born	1,095	50.6	300	13.9	365	16.9	250	11.5	120	5.5	35	1.6	2,165	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Philippine-born care workers in Markham are similar to their counterparts in the CMA and Scarborough. A high percentage of Filipina care workers (40.5 percent) perform the least number of hours of housework (less than 5 hours). Philippine-born care workers (10.1 percent) and Filipinas (12.6 percent) are least likely to perform more than 30 hours of unpaid childcare (Table 5.18). The literature on the suburbs and domesticity asserts that suburbanization assumes a strict gendered division of labour.

Similar patterns of unpaid work across all three locations imply that the gendered division of labour does not vary considerably from the city to the suburbs.

Table 5.12 - Unpaid Work for Philippine-born Care Workers, Markham, 2006

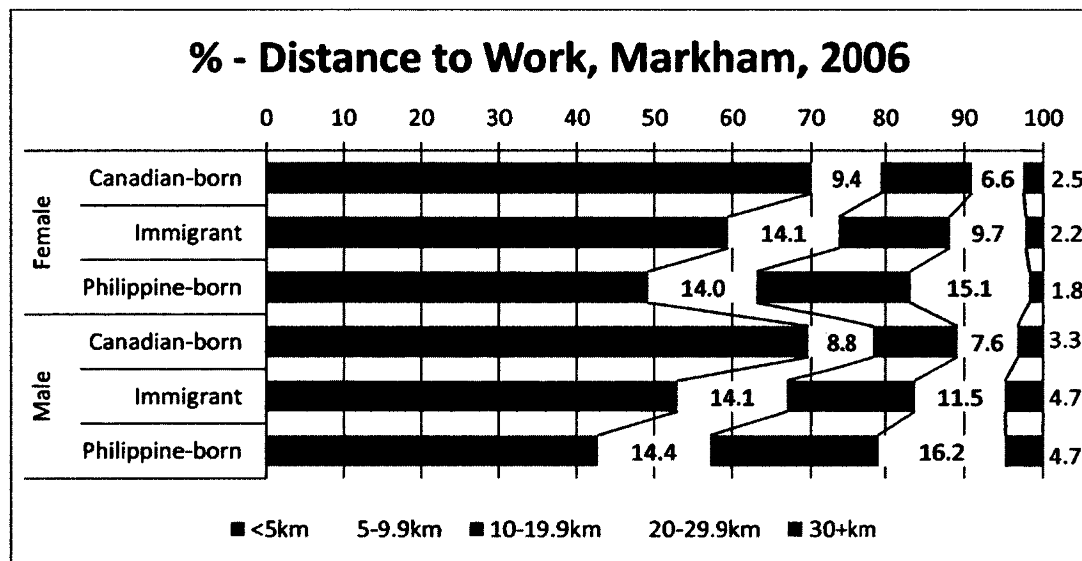
	[illegible]		Childcare	
Markham	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No Hours	150	19	400	50.6
Less than 5hr	170	21.5	95	12
5-14hr	175	22.2	140	17.7
15-29hr	165	20.9	75	9.5
30hr+	130	16.5	80	10.1
Total	790	100	790	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

In Markham, commuting distances for Canadian-born men and women are similar (see figure 5.9). Approximately 70 percent of Canadian-born men and women travel less than 5 kilometres to work. When compared to Canadian born and immigrant women, Filipinas travel the longest distances to work. 16.9 percent of Filipinas travel

more than 20 kilometres to work, a larger percentage than for men and women born in Canada or all foreign-born. Philippine-born men (20.9 percent) are the only residents more likely than Philippine-born women to travel over 20 kilometers to work. The greater distance travelled to work by Philippine-born residents in Markham indicates that the workplace is often far from the place of residence. The concentration of hospitals in the city of Toronto may explain the greater distances travelled by Filipinas and Filipinos who are over-represented in healthcare occupations (Kelly and D'Addario, 2008). Greater distances to work for Philippine-born residents may reduce the time available to perform unpaid domestic work in the household.

Figure 5.9 – Distance to Work, Markham, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

Conclusion

Geographical variations in women's paid and unpaid work are matched by geographical differences in women's educational attainments. In Scarborough, more foreign-born women have postsecondary education than Canadian-born women. In Markham, fewer immigrant women have post-secondary education than Canadian-born women. While these differences are slight, the educational attainments of Philippine-born women exceed those of immigrant women and Canadian-born women in both suburbs. In Markham and Scarborough, 78.2 percent and 73.2 percent of Filipinas, respectively, have a post-secondary education. According to a recent report on live-in caregivers, the educational level of Live-in Caregiver Program applicants has increased over the years and is much higher than for other immigration categories (Kelly, Park, de Leon, and Priest, 2011). Educational credentials translate into higher labour market participation rates for Philippine-born women. Filipinas have higher participation rates in Markham (80.6 percent) and Scarborough (77.3 percent) than either Canadian-born or all foreign-born women.

The 2006 data corroborate past evidence (Kelly, 2006; Hiebert, 1999) that the educational credentials and high labour force participation rates of Philippine-born women do not translate into wages equivalent to those for Canadian-born and all immigrant women who also work full-time and full year. Lower than average wages for Filipinas are consistent across both suburbs and the CMA. Kelly et al. (2009) found that high rates of labour force participation and low average wages are due to a combination

of financial vulnerability upon arrival and familial obligations abroad, which necessitate rapid entry into the labour market resulting in deprofessionalization. When we examine the relatively low wages for part time workers, Philippine-born women earn more than the average and in most cases more than all groups of men in all three locations.

Women`s labour market experiences and wages are sometimes influenced by their involvement in unpaid work in the household. While the gender division of unpaid work has changed slightly (Sevenhuijsen, 2003), women consistently perform more hours of unpaid housework and child care than men in all three locations. A comparative analysis of unpaid work in the two suburbs of Markham and Scarborough indicates that Philippine-born women perform less unpaid housework than all immigrant women. Their hours of unpaid housework are as low as those reported by Canadian-born women. Compared with other groups of women, few Philippine-born women perform much unpaid childcare. As a subgroup, Philippine-born care workers are likely to perform the least unpaid work. Lower levels of unpaid work performed by Filipinas may be explained partially by their higher than average participation in the Live-in Caregiver Program. Employed as live-in caregivers, Filipinas are more likely to have absent partners and children than other groups of immigrant women. As a result, they are less likely to engage in unpaid work since they reside in their employers' residences, and social reproductive tasks are paid work hours. Social reproduction may in fact be occurring across borders with the help of family and friends in the Philippines.

Lower than average levels of unpaid work may also signal a renegotiation of gender roles within the household. Literature on suburban women and domesticity reveals that the paid employment of suburban women has historically been affected by their efforts to manage the domestic and private sphere of the household (Saegert, 1980). The data suggest that suburban Filipina immigrants are more likely to be employed in the labour market and less likely to be engaged in unpaid household work than Canadian-born and foreign-born women in Markham and Scarborough. Migration, therefore, may improve a women's social position in the household if it improves her access to wage labour, control over earnings and her contribution in household decision making (Pessar, 1984). Espiritu (1999) argues that Filipina health care workers who migrated to the USA were in a relatively strong position to modify traditional patriarchal relations in the household. In the past few decades, Filipina healthcare professionals have been a sought-after group in the USA and have had the opportunity to migrate as principal applicants, with their husbands and children migrating as dependents. As principal applicants, Filipinas are more likely to find employment commensurate with their skills and experiences than their husbands who often face downward occupational mobility and limited job opportunities. In the USA, Filipinas are often the main wage earners in their households. Espiritu (1999) notes that Filipina healthcare professionals work long hours, which means that husbands assume child care and household responsibilities in their wives' absence. The racist and sexist preference for immigrant female labour has enhanced women's employability relative to men's and has therefore changed women's

role from that of dependent to that of the household breadwinner (Espiritu, 1999). While traditional gender roles may be challenged due to migration, the census data do not provide enough evidence to suggest that Filipinos are assuming higher levels of unpaid domestic work compared to the unpaid hours worked by Filipinas in the CMA, Scarborough and Markham. When compared to their male counterparts, Filipinas are still performing more hours of unpaid work than Filipinos in all three locations despite the women's higher than average rates of labour force participation.

The literature on migration and care work also indicates that immigrant women have limited options for dealing with unpaid domestic work (Beneria, 2008). In Scarborough and Markham, Philippine-born men are more likely to engage in fewer hours (less than 15 hours per week) of unpaid household work than Philippine-born women. While Filipinos may be engaging in relatively more unpaid work over time, the data still reveal that Filipinas are doing more hours of unpaid housework and childcare than Filipinos. The increasing rates of labour force participation for Filipinas and relatively low levels of unpaid work performed by Filipinos is consistent with literature on the 'double shift' (Hochschild, 1989) or 'double day' (Pocock, 2003). The double workload refers to the combined expectations placed on women in the paid labour market and the responsibilities of unpaid work in the household. Grahame (2003) has argued that current discourses about women's work/life balance are premised on the experiences of white, middle class women. Racialized immigrant women are, instead, faced with managing 'triple responsibilities' of unpaid work, paid work and job re-training. As a

form of unpaid work, employment training programs are influencing immigrant women's paid labour market experiences and unpaid work in their places of residence. The linkages between paid and unpaid work (including retraining programs) and the locations where these forms of work take place may influence how transnational immigrant women construct home and a sense of belonging.

Lower levels of unpaid domestic labour for Filipinas in the Toronto CMA are not wholly explained by higher levels of unpaid work performed by Filipinos, nor are they due to high rates of employment as live-in caregivers, an occupation that often means women's families are abroad. Are Filipinas finding ways to renegotiate their unpaid work? In care work, especially in healthcare occupations, workers face long hours, 'graveyard' shifts and consecutive shifts with few breaks in between (Espiritu, 1999). Owing to demanding paid work, Filipinas' capacity to perform unpaid housework and childcare in the place of residence is reduced. Fewer unpaid work hours for Filipinas, relative to Canadian-born and immigrant women, may not however be the result of less overall unpaid domestic work performed in the residence. Some Filipinas hire other Filipinas to perform unpaid household work to further establish and maintain professional careers.

The following chapter will explore the connections between paid work and the location of the residence for three different groups of Filipinas. The narratives signal the complex links between paid and unpaid work and residence, and how these relations help inform home and a sense of belonging for transnational Filipinas.

Chapter 6 : Who Cares? Pushing the Boundaries of Work, Residence and the Commodification of Care

Introduction

As social policy in Canada becomes neoliberalized, responsibilities for social reproduction have shifted from the state to the private sector (England, 2010). The erosion of the welfare state with its reification of the household as a space of care work and an immigration class that supplies cheap workers to perform domestic work within places of residence- transforms the intricate spatial linkages between work place and residence. The blurring of work and residential spaces reinforces feminized, racialized and class differences.

The geography literature has long acknowledged the connections between the locations of work and residence. Feminist geographers argue that gender, race, and class are mutually constituted, rather than separate dimensions of social identity, and together they influence residential and workplace relations (McLafferty and Preston, 1996; Hanson and Pratt, 1995). Some women's domestic responsibilities have placed them at a disadvantage within the labour market; spatially restricting their job opportunities (Hanson and Pratt, 1995). In the United States many white women work near their places of residence to accommodate domestic work, while domestic work has less impact on the work trips of minority women (Preston, McLafferty and Hamilton, 1993). In

Canada, less is known about the linkages between paid and unpaid work and their locations for racialized women.

This chapter explores the paid and unpaid work done by Filipinas in different workplaces and places of residence in the Toronto CMA. I draw on semi-structured interviews with three groups of Filipinas in order to explore how paid and unpaid work influence the relations between residence and workplace. These narratives reveal the precarious nature of care work and the complex connections between places of residence and workplaces. Precarious employment often provides limited social benefits and job security, low wages and high risk of ill-health, which are shaped by social location, social context, employment status and forms of employment (Vosko, 2006). The precarious aspects of care work (insecurity, unstable hours and pay) and their position as racialized female workers place many Filipinas at a disadvantage in the labour market, given the tendency to undervalue traditional feminized work (England 1993; Pratt, 2003).

A person's sense of belonging is often informed by social relations that are constructed in different places; the workplace, the place of residence and the neighbourhood. I pay attention to the ways in which work is in itself constructing and reproducing multiple scales that include the body, the household, and the neighbourhood. The experience of feeling 'in-place' – is a social relation that is more than a relationship with the state, it is contingent upon a variety of actors and therefore plays out differently in different places. The relations between places of residence and work establish a

broader geographical context for examining how transnational immigrants construct home and a sense of belonging.

Care Work and the Workplace

Healthcare workers in Scarborough discussed how identity and paid care work intersect. Baines et al. (1998) argue that the intersections of identity such as gender, race and class, (re)produce circumstances of caring. These signifiers of social location structure a woman's relationship to care (ibid). Liz is a 48 year old personal support worker who works part-time through a temp agency in Scarborough, Ontario. She has been in Canada with her family for more than three years. Although she is a permanent resident, she struggles to feel at home in Canada. During one of her placements in a nursing home, Liza discussed the abusive power dynamics between herself and various other health care workers.

> The difficulties is dealing with people at work, I struggled a lot with my ego, I'm a hard working person, I can work physically but I can not tackle when my ego is hurt, when someone needs some help and they're so demanding...I'm still adjusting, at least I recover a little bit but it's difficult, at first I ended up just going to the washroom and crying....now they are still sometimes saying, like oh I'm just a nursing assistant in here, and no matter how hard the job I have to do it because they might kick me out. (HC6)

Liza's experiences reflect the reality that 'everyday' (Essed, 2002) racial harassment is perpetuated by management and co-workers (Das Gupta, 2009). Das Gupta argues that for healthcare workers, racism in the workplace is not continuous or overt, instead specific instances take on a racial tone. According to her findings, racialized healthcare

workers are often assigned the heaviest, dirtiest and most dangerous jobs unlike white healthcare workers. These experiences are reflective of a 'racial division of reproductive labour' where women of color tend to take on more laborious forms of work in institutional settings (Glenn, 1997; Parreñas, 2012). For Liza, her experiences of racism in the workplace marked her subordinate class position relative to other health care workers who held higher status positions.

Fran, a 54 year old personal support worker also discussed the difficulties that she faces in the workplace. Owing to her race and skin color Fran is perceived by patients as unfit to care.

> I encountered in the nursing home in a unit and I was forced to learn their language because if you don't learn their language then you can't communicate with them and you can't do their care. I observe about them the way of being racist. Especially in the nursing home and if you don't belong to their skin color they say don't touch me, I don't need your help. (HC07)

Das Gupta (2009) similarly found that racialized healthcare workers were marked by their skin color as 'dirty' and 'polluted' by patients who were steeped in racial ways of thinking. This form of racial marking takes on heightened significance in a space where patients are fighting germs and seeking to become healthy.

The relation between work and identity was also raised by Darlene, a 25 year old registered practical nurse who is employed part-time as a community personal support worker. The ethno-cultural preference of home-care clients for Filipinas reinforces the racial, class and gendered dimensions of care work.

> I am also a [personal support worker] and I go from house to house. Sometimes you have a feeling that maybe they are kind of rude and you don't know what there is or if you get harmed, but most of the people are nice. They are Canadian and they are pleasant and they really like Filipino workers and they say there is a difference between workers...the majority of the clients in the communities always get Filipino workers. One of them used to ask for Filipino workers, but then the agency said you can't do that because it's a kind of discrimination, you can't choose (CW10).
> Q: Why do you suppose they prefer Filipinos?
> They just like doing their job. In our culture it's too normal to take care of the elderly, it's part of our culture to take care of people who bring you up in the world. (CW10)

Darlene's experiences tap into stereotypes associated with Filipina care workers that construct them as docile, domesticated and compliant (England and Stiell, 1997). In some respects these stereotypes have helped Filipinas obtain work, however they also limit social mobility and channel Filipinas into subordinate occupations (Pratt, 1999). Kelly et al. (2009) found that limited financial resources upon arrival for Filipino immigrants necessitate rapid entry into the labour market resulting in deprofessionalization and/or employment in fields that do not match their previous levels of training. Previously a nurse in the Philippines, Darlene is currently working as an in-house personal support worker. Darlene's inability to find work commensurate with her education and skills has her questioning her safety when her job takes her into the private residences of patients.

Since the 1970s, moving care into the location of the residence has been an important aspect of healthcare reform aimed at minimizing public expenditures (England, 2010). Care work, performed mainly by women in the place of residence often involves

completing other domestic work (National Canadian Women's Network, 2002). A trained Registered Nurse in the Philippines, 38-year old Anna entered Canada as a dependent. Currently working as a registered practical nurse, Anna recounts her experiences working as a personal support worker in the residence of a female patient with Parkinson's disease. While she was not required to live in the patient's household, she noted that having to work in the patient's residence complicated the job.

> They treat you like slaves...As a caregiver they are asking you to do the laundry, asking you to do the washing and you're only paid $9 per hour, that's [pay for] light duty. (HC03)

Anna's experience reveals the assumptions attached to care work. As a healthcare worker she is expected to take on other domestic responsibilities, often as a result of racist and classed assumptions of servility, inferiority, and being 'lower than' whites (Das Gupta, 2009). For Anna, health care work in places of residence complicates the parameters of paid care work and reinforces the racialized and feminized nature of care work. Darlene's and Anna's experiences of working in client's residences reveal that care work done in residences can increase the precarious nature of care work. Home-based (or residential-based) care work has different work relations than a formal institutional setting. In 'home care', discourses about intimacy, affective labour and ideologies about family become even more potent (England, 2010).

Caring Spaces: Residence and Work

Canada's neoliberal response to the care crisis is privatized in a double sense; it occurs in the private sphere of the residence and it is financed privately by the individual (England, 1996; 2010). The residence is literally written into the 'live-in caregiver program' (England, 2010). In their candid conversations, live-in caregivers spoke about the precarity produced when places of residence become workplaces. In residential spaces, the definition of 'care' blurs to include all tasks associated with social reproduction. The government of Canada's website boasts:

> The Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) brings qualified caregivers to Canada in situations where there are no Canadians or permanent residents to fill available positions. Live-in caregivers are individuals who are qualified to work without supervision in a private household providing care for children, the elderly or people with disabilities. (CIC, 2011)

In 2009, two members of Citizenship and Immigration Canada spoke at a private workshop in a York Region church, located in a suburb outside the city of Toronto, to an audience of nearly one hundred caregivers. The agent spoke honestly about the limits of work included in the program.

> The written contract is very important, you have to keep it with you and as was mentioned before that is a legal binding document and on that contract it is going to say: what are my duties, what are the hours I work, how much am I getting paid, over-time- when is that put in? That contract will explain to you exactly what you and the employer have agreed upon. So it's very important that when you start working if that employer says that we're going to change around the contract- well you can't just change around the contract. I've heard of cases where the nanny started working and she has to take care of the dog and mow the lawn and clean the windows...oh yeah and childcare may be in the

afternoon for a couple of hours. That was not what was in the contract...Your primary duty has to be care for a child, or care of a senior, or care of someone disabled. If you're taking care of a senior or a disabled, well you'll be helping them around the house and with daily chores –they may be unable to do so, but the primary reason why you were hired and working and what was approved by Service Canada was primarily to care for an individual. *You are not hired as housekeepers-you are hired as live-in caregivers to care for in the home.*

A recently arrived live-in caregiver, Patricia, recounted her experiences in her first place of employment, which lasted for only two weeks. She was required to work from 7am to 11pm without any over-time pay. Patricia's employer required her to take full medical responsibility for her daughter at all hours of the night. Patricia's live-in situation meant that she had to play the role and take the responsibility of a parent.

> My employer was really mad and talking really bad things against me and I quit because of her daughter because she had a peanut allergy and I don't know how to inject her and if something happen to her it would be my fault because my employer said that I have to inject her on the side of her leg. I don't know because she taught me how to do it with the epipen and I was scared. One day at 3 o'clock in the morning I was woken up because my employer knocked on the door because I have to [inject her] and bring her to the hospital and so I called 911.... she was scared...and the girl was shaking and her face was red and I didn't know what to do because the only thing that I could do is to call 911 and my employer was looking for the epipen, I was scared because I don't know how to inject her. And by the time that I wanted one day off and I said to my employer can I go to Toronto to meet my friends and she said you cannot go because if you go then you may not want to come back here...she was scared - my job was a nurse like that. (CW07)

Another recently arrived live-in caregiver, Sandra, felt overwhelmed by the lack of boundaries that she faced as a care worker. Aside from caring for four children, working overtime without pay and being responsible for housework, Sandra was also

asked to be a private tutor to the children, which made her feel very uncomfortable. For this caregiver, all forms of work within the household fell under the definition of 'care' work.

> When I came here I went directly to my employer, those who sponsored me from Hong Kong. So I was taking care of four kids...a big family and a big house. Usually every day I take them to school. I start at 7:30am to prepare their breakfast, get ready for school and asked to prepare the clothing for school. Because the mother is very busy I work until about 9:00pm. 7:30am until 9:00pm. The hardest part is because we work such long hours and [I do] all the housework, laundry, cleaning, vacuuming everything. But the hardest thing is the tutor. It's the tutoring because it's hard to ask them to do their homework. (CW04)

Overlapping residential locations and work places conflates commodified care work with social reproduction. Isabel, a live-in caregiver working in Markham, also recalled the blurring boundaries of care work. Isabel was 'released upon arrival' a term used locally in Toronto to describe live-in caregivers that arrive in Canada and discover that they do not have an employer. This is usually the case when live-in caregivers pay exorbitant fees to local recruiters[19]. Isabel lived with her recruiter for sometime until she was matched with an employer in Markham

> The first family that she gave me was a family of five. I worked from 7:30am to 8:30pm and [with] the six-month-old baby and she is expecting me to clean and do all the beddings of all the five bedrooms and all of the rooms in the kitchen and clean the floor and I have a six-month baby to take care of and so it was so hard for me. After two months working with that family I decided that I have to leave because it's too hard, I can't live

[19] In March 2010 (after interviews were conducted) new legislation was passed, Bill 210 - Employment Protection for Foreign Nationals Act (Live-in Caregivers and Others). The Bill is designed, in part, to protect live-in caregivers from having to pay illegal recruiters and employers large fees to find employment.

> like this for two years or three years of my life just for my papers so I told them I can't do it-working from 7:30am to 8:30pm that's 13 hours without rest or without overtime. You're just crazy going up and down with the baby and working and wherever I go I have to bring the baby with me-cleaning the bathroom and the baby is still there, a six-month-old baby. (CW10)

Pratt (2004) and Stasiulis and Bakan (2003) have argued that the "live-in" aspect of the Live-in Caregiver Program lowers the cost for employers, which brings privatized childcare within the reach of the middle-class home. Living in an employer's residence also stretches the work day without overtime pay, which in effect dampens wages. Recall that the census data in Chapter 5 showed that Filipinas earn the lowest average wages for full-time full year employment. Living arrangements in which the work space is also a place of residence makes it difficult for a caregiver to challenge working conditions. This is the case with Kay, a recently arrived live-in caregiver working and living in Markham for a single male employer and his young daughter. The employer has partial custody of his daughter, which means that she lives with him for seven days every other week. The employer approached a former Filipina live-in caregiver who matched him with Kay. During our interview, Kay was accompanied by her employer and it appeared that her responses were crafted to gain the approval of her employer. When asked about her hours of work she looked to her employer for a response.

> CW06: When [my employer] is working I don't mind about the time because I understand what he needs because it's just two of them. So it doesn't matter what time (laughs)... [he] said seven days working.
>
> Employer: Her schedule is different. When I went to hire one I said, because of the situation, I needed somebody for seven days straight and on the other week she can take her 4 days off because you're

> supposed to have two days per week off. You're supposed to have a typical working week five days and then two day's but this is what I need so she works seven days straight and then is off for four days. She puts in a lot of hours that first week and so the second week....

The constant undercutting of wages and stretching of unpaid work hours is tolerated because of the promise of attaining citizenship *some day*. Census data analysis in Chapter 4 revealed that levels of naturalization among Philippine-born residents are high. During one focus group the expansion of care work and the abusive work conditions were rationalized as a *temporary* means to an end.

> CW07: They ask for [babysitting] and so I do it for free. She's in the office Sunday and Monday and so every Saturday night she asked me to babysit and go without pay. Because they say every once in a while they need to go out sometimes.
> CW08: That is the problem with these employers is they're abusive because they know that the people are under contracts.
> CW07: And we need the papers and so we have to do whatever. Like 24 months or 36 months because if you change employer then it takes time. It takes time to process the papers or you're losing the time. (FG02)

Care work in the place of residence reinforces gendered and racialized divisions of social reproductive work. This arrangement expands the notion of commodified care work to include all domestic work and reifies the residence as a location where care ought to occur. The recursive relationship between the social and the spatial aspect of care work is a critical component in the creation of precarious work spaces.

Workers do not always recognize that transforming the place of residence into a workplace jeopardizes their employment circumstances and sense of belonging. Linda's experiences are exemplary in this regard. Linda spoke positively of her experiences as a

caregiver to an elderly woman. She expressed a sense of belonging - her living conditions were adequate and she felt she had been accepted as a family member. Her intimate relationship with the family meant that her job description stretched to include cooking and joining the family for meals along with 24-hour care of the elderly grandmother. When asked about her hours of work she replied,

> I'm not the type of person to calculate hours the most important thing is that they treat me like family so I don't calculate really. Most of the time I would say that I really did work more than the required number of hours. Because as I said I treat them like my second family and I treat the old lady like my grandmother so if she calls me in the middle of the night, I get up. (CW01)

Linda's experiences reflect the unspoken expectation of 'emotional labour'. This form of work is integral in social reproduction, however it is often invisible and overlooked (Hsiung and Nichol, 2010). Linda was then asked whether she was required to work on the weekends. She responded,

> I had weekends off but on the Saturday and Sunday I don't normally go anywhere, I still stay there and I just do part-time in the neighborhood. So in the neighborhood they're all friends now. (CW01)

Linda's decision to do part time care work during the weekends points to the challenges of maintaining social networks in the suburbs. Some live-in caregivers alluded to feelings of isolation in the suburbs. Social networks for these caregivers were limited to those maintained with family and friends abroad. Mary, a live-in caregiver living in Markham, was recruited by an aging Filipino couple with the help of her uncle. She spoke of the flexible hours that she worked and the variable pay that she received. When asked about her friends in the vicinity, she replied that Tita Rose and Tito John

were her only friends (referring to her employers as aunt and uncle). She continued to speak about the neighbourhood and described it as vast and then compared it with Scarborough, where she sometimes travelled to see a companion.

> It's too far here, you need a car or the bus...in Scarborough where I travel it only takes two buses, but from here it takes too far. It's very easy in Scarborough but here it's so big. (CW02)

In the outer suburbs, the locations of work and residence often isolated live-in caregivers, leaving them little to do in their time off other than to work. The geography of live-in caregivers' placement by unregulated recruiters is also critical. A local settlement worker suggested that in the outer suburbs recruiters isolate live-in caregivers from each other and from services available in the city of Toronto. As a result, caregivers working in the outer suburbs experienced a spatialized form of victimization.

> I know some caregivers are living in the outer suburbs and they don't have as much information compared to those caregivers living in the Toronto area and downtown. So that kind of information about their rights, or that there is a hotline for live-in caregivers. There are a lot of caregivers that are being victimized by illegal recruiters and they're coming from the suburban areas....I think the recruiters will often find an employer within the suburban area because for example it is quite difficult for the Canadian government or the Philippine government to trace them because it's quite far. And if your recruitment agency is downtown it is easy for the media or the Philippine government to ask what happened...they don't have the office they are just a person without an office since they don't have a license. (KI-CCSYR)

Care workers in outer suburbs such as York Region face great difficulties challenging working conditions. Many of the live-in caregivers spoke of their limited social

networks and the live-in requirement leaves few opportunities for care workers to challenge their working conditions.

Negotiating Unpaid Work among Our Own

Well-established suburban Filipinas tell a different story about work and residence and about negotiating paid and unpaid work. The census data analysis in Chapter 5 revealed that Filipinas performed less unpaid domestic work than all immigrants in the Toronto CMA, Scarborough and Markham. For some Philippine-born residents of the outer suburbs, hiring Filipina live-in caregivers was a key strategy to alleviate the strain associated with unpaid work. These stories illustrate the unique class dynamics between Filipinas. To reduce demands of social reproduction in their own households, some established Filipinas relied on the low-wage work of recently arrived immigrant Filipinas. This strategy allowed some Filipinas to offset their own experiences of deskilling and deprofessionalization. To improve their own class position as racialized (care) workers, some Filipinas took advantage of the subordinate class of their live-in counterparts.

Filipina employers, however, did not always recognize that live-in caregivers were in a subordinate position. Instead, the transnational recruitment of these caregivers was seen as a means to enhance the status and class position of the live-in caregiver. Although caregivers face diminished cultural capital through occupational deskilling, they also benefit from higher earnings in Canada, particularly relative to earnings in the

Philippines (Kelly and Lusis, 2006). For many Filipinas, going abroad is also a way of acquiring cultural capital that in turn enhances their class position in the Philippines. However according to Pratt (2003) through their everyday practices, middle class employers reinforce the view of domestic care work as undervalued and poorly paid.

Mona, a long time Filipina resident of Markham, and her husband have resided in the suburbs of York Region for 18 years and have had several Filipina live-in caregivers to help them care for their mentally and physically disabled son. While the caregivers have cared for her son, Mona also mentions the extra domestic responsibilities that her live-in caregiver performs.

> I have a [Filipina] caregiver and she does a lot of the household stuff for me. I am very busy, so [housework] is on and off and if I have a caregiver then I don't spend a lot of time maybe helping tidy up because I also want to look after [my son] and not give her totally the care [work]....and I am also doing volunteer work, a lot of volunteer work so I am in and out of the house. (MF01)

One Filipina healthcare worker, another long established resident of Markham, found herself recruiting and hiring Filipina live-ins to care for her children. For Val, having someone else care for her young children and manage the household enabled her to pursue a successful career as a registered nurse and afford a house in the suburbs. Hiring a caregiver from the same ethno-cultural background added an additional class dimension to the already gendered nature of social reproductive labour.

> I decided to get a nanny from our country so I sponsored my niece who has been wanting to come over to earn a living and after two years she became a landed immigrant and I can't have any control of keeping her in the house and so I got into the business of caregiving placement, training and developing- being a nurse I could do that. I hired a [Filipina] caregiver from

> Spain and she stayed with us for a long time even when she got her landed status. And I enjoyed that because I could work more hours and I can do extra work because there is somebody to rely on in the house. (MF06)

Lena is an elderly Filipina resident of Markham. She resides with her sister and her husband and a live-in caregiver from the Philippines. Lena's sister has hired a caregiver to care for Lena, although the robust senior admits that the caregiver was actually hired to do the daily household work. She confided that the caregiver is also required (without extra pay) to assist her sister and brother-in-law with the maintenance of their business in the city of Toronto.

> This is our second caregiver, the one that I had before did everything in the house...my sister got one under the table...I cannot afford to sponsor her...so I cannot apply for her, right, and my sister is applying and they don't have any kids...so right now they have applied for me and she is the one who is paying. (MF05)

The stories of Val, Mona and Lena- all well-established Filipinas in Markham, illustrate the class dimensions of negotiating paid and unpaid care work within the Filipino community. The transfer of domestic responsibilities to other women within the same ethno-cultural group complicates care work. The transfer of care work also raises questions about how Filipina employees and their employers establish a sense of belonging in Canada.

Conclusion

The literature acknowledges the household as a critical scale where social reproduction takes place (Mitchell, Marston and Katz, 2003; Marston, 2000). The

commodification of domestic work, especially childcare, is centred on the household (Gregson and Lowe, 1995, McDowell, 2001; 2005 and Pratt, 2003). Women's paid and unpaid work has been influenced by the restructuring of work via neoliberal policies and simultaneous changes in state welfare provisions. The commodification of social reproduction exacerbates divisions between those who can and cannot afford domestic services. This gap is evident in the Filipino community where some Filipinas provide domestic services as low-wage workers while other Filipinas hire these workers. The state reinforces the household as a care-ful place, particularly in Canada where foreign worker programs such as the Live-in Caregiver Program have expanded.

The narratives highlight the intricate connections between place of residence and workplace. For many care workers, the place of residence is also a workplace, and for live-in caregivers in particular, the workplace is also a place of residence. The linkages between these two locations expand the notion of 'care' work to include a wide range of tasks associated with social reproduction. Formal healthcare workplaces can also be unsafe spaces for racialized females, especially when clients and co-workers express racist views. Moreover, healthcare workers find that working in places of residence adds additional complexities by adding social reproductive tasks to the job description.

By expanding federal immigration programs such as the Live-in Caregiver Program, the state plays a key role in commodified care work. The interviews suggested that care work performed in the place of residence blurs the distinction between paid and unpaid work. The census data analyzed in Chapter 5 indicated that Filipinas were less

likely to perform unpaid domestic work than other immigrant women. The interviews reveal that while some live-in caregivers and health care workers were paid to perform domestic work, many were expected to take on this work without pay or overtime compensation. The suburbs, especially their feminized spaces, tend to be a location where care work is poorly paid. The devaluation of domestic work is due to its invisibility in the residence (Pratt, 2003).

The transfer of domestic responsibilities by well-established Filipinas to recent Filipina live-in caregivers also reveals intriguing class dynamics between employer and employee are changing. Some Filipinas were able to further their own career goals by relying on the cheap labour of recently arrived Filipina live-in caregivers. The interviews suggest that the complicated relations between places of residence and workplaces may have profound implications for how transnational Filipinas construct home and a sense of belonging. The following chapter will elaborate on how these experiences are constructed.

Chapter 7 : Placing Home on the Map

Introduction

How do we understand *home* when it is not here nor there, when it is locatable and yet based on floating images, or when home seems to be an impossible journey? Transnational identities are formed in multiple places and at the same time these *places* work to reinforce social identities. This chapter explores how the relationships between place of residence and workplace are influenced by transnational practices and identities, and how they in turn affect a sense of belonging and *home*. I discuss both a sense of belonging and the sentiments of home, since the former is an integral component of the latter. *Home* is more than a location; it is a fusion of a sense of belonging with a particular place (Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

The literature on the geography of residence and workplace acknowledges that the relationship between where one works and where one lives is a critical intersection through which we can examine how transnational migration influences and is influenced by place-making. I draw on Massey's (1992) notion of place-making as an integral component to understanding various notions of *home*. For her, place-making is a constellation of social relations that interact in a particular place. Home and a sense of belonging move over space and are negotiated in new places. Home includes intra-household interactions and may also include the surrounding neighbourhood (Hanson and Pratt, 1988). An analysis that focuses on the intersection of residential and

workplace locations is sensitive to the ways in which identities and places are reinforced/ created at different spatial scales. At this intersection we can begin to understand how transnational processes are grounded in local places, and we can furthermore understand how transnational place-based identities (Ehrkamp, 2005) are capable of creating new spaces of resistance (Watters, 2002; Levitt, 2001).

Conceptions of Home

I begin with the premise that to understand place, we need to understand how places are interrelated with notions of home and self-identity. This perspective originates from Doreen Massey's (1992; 1994) notion of place. I draw on Massey's work to argue that place making is always engaging; it comprises ongoing processes of construction and renegotiation. By the same token, identity formation is inextricably bound with place-making. When places are conceptualized as static, identities are also perceived to be static. Once we conceptualize identities as fluid and shifting we can see how places are constantly being (re)constructed and (re)negotiated. Therefore *home* is constantly negotiated and in a process of re-construction. I see the creation of home and place-making as processes that are in constant flux alongside the identities that are embedded in their creation(s). Critical to discussions of home is the notion of *sense of place*. While this seems similar to place-making it differs in a very important way. Sense of place refers to the ways that individuals represent places. Smart and Smart (1996) write that places are stories, stories that we tell about spatial locations and their social significance.

It is through the telling of these stories that we constitute place. The stories will often have overlapping and contradictory meanings. And in many cases some stories are heard more loudly than others and some versions negate other versions. Patricia Ehrkamp (2005) talks of place-based identities in which people insert their belonging and sense of self into particular places. This has the effect of negotiating and creating new places of belonging. For Ehrkamp, identities need to be considered in the context within which they are embedded and furthermore they reflect the changing nature of place. The relationship between identity and place is therefore fluid since the circumstances under which places are created are inherently unfixed.

In their exploration of a critical geography of home, Blunt and Dowling (2006) define *home* as both locatable in certain places and also a spatial imaginary. They draw out three components of a critical geography of home. First, the authors note that home is both material and imagined. Home can often be located in a particular place but it can also be comprised of feelings about home. The latter implying that home is a place where social meanings are grounded. Second, home is implicated in a nexus of identity and power. People's sense of themselves is produced through experiences of home, which in turn are produced out of relations of power. This draws on Massey's (1992) notion of power geometry where people are positioned differently and experience places differently. This is particularly the case for women and (racialized and classed) newcomers where experiences of home are entwined with one's subordinate social location. For migrant care workers, home is laden with power relations that spatially

constrain and construct them as the migrant 'Other'. The everyday power struggles that take place within an employers' household produce 'home' as a variegated space where power relations are continuously reproduced (Yeoh and Huang, 2010; Huang and Yeoh, 2007). Lastly, home is multi-scalar and its definition is porous. The spatiality of the home and a sense of belonging are not just contained within the residence but are constructed across multiple scales from the body to the household to the city, the nation and the globe (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). Examining home for immigrant women within a suburban context reinforces the need to challenge conventional associations of home with the domestic, the feminine and the private sphere. The suburban 'home' is based on patriarchal assumptions concerning gender roles, where women's private domain is marked by consumption/reproduction, family and domesticity (England, 1993). The suburban experiences of transnational care workers expose the diverse ways that domestic work can stretch beyond the location of the residence and how reproducing family life can span beyond immediate family members and their home-spaces (Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

This chapter draws on the experiences of Filipina immigrants to investigate the various meanings of home. I first draw on data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003). This section focuses on transnational patterns and sense of belonging in Canada for Filipinas. These data for Filipinas are compared with those for all foreign-born women and all visible minority immigrant women in Canada. The purpose here is to explore the connections between sense of belonging and transnational practices in Canada. The

transnational household strategies of Filipina immigrants are informed by paid care work that takes place in Canada. The census data analysis (Chapter 5) revealed distinctive work patterns for Filipinas in the metropolitan area: exceptionally high rates of labour force participations, low average wages and few hours of unpaid domestic work. Involvement in paid and unpaid work further informs home, here and elsewhere. The second section draws on the qualitative interviews and focus group material conducted between 2008 and 2010 with three groups of women born in the Philippines. The women were asked to comment on their residence, experiences of paid and unpaid work and their ideas about *home*. In many cases, sentiments of home were entangled with workspaces and various places of residences (employer's residence and temporary residences). Recall that the narratives in Chapter 6 exposed the intricate connections between place of residence and workplace, which often result in precarious employment circumstances for care workers. This chapter adds to the previous findings by highlighting the very close linkage between the construction of *home* and involvement in paid and unpaid work.

Findings from the Ethnic Diversity Survey

The Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) was a post-census survey administered by Statistics Canada in 2002 to approximately 42,000 Canadians over the age of 15 years (Statistics Canada, 2003). The survey was designed to examine ethnic and racial identities in Canada and their influences on civic participation. The sub-sample used in

this research draws only on the responses of foreign-born Canadian residents. To focus more specifically on the ways in which Filipina immigrants construct home, this group of women is compared to all foreign-born immigrant women and all visible minority immigrant females. The comparisons with all immigrant women and visible minority immigrant women, in part, draw on the findings of previous research that utilized the EDS. Ray and Preston (2009) report that the racialization of minorities in Canada influences levels of comfort and discrimination. For this reason, the analysis situates the experiences of Filipinas relative to those of all immigrants and to visible minority immigrants who are more likely to have experienced racialization. In specific situations where culture and gender may play a role, Filipinas' experiences were compared with those of Filipinos. The three groups of women were analyzed on a national scale since the sample of Filipinas was too small to be disaggregated at more detailed geographical scales[20]. At the time of the survey in 2002, Statistics Canada reported that there were 2,716,080 immigrant women, 1,313,610 visible minority immigrant women and 136,110 Filipinas in Canada.

Ethnic Diversity Survey - Transnational Practices

The transnational literature is helpful in understanding new ways of negotiating a sense of self and home that span multiple locations. The lives of many contemporary immigrants, especially Philippine-born immigrants are transnational (Kelly et al. 2009;

[20] See Ray and Preston, 2009 for an analysis of the EDS at an urban scale.

Pratt, 2004; Parreñas, 2005; 2010). The data in Chapter 4 showed feminized migration patterns for those born in the Philippines. According to the EDS, Filipinas have high levels of contact with family and friends both in the Philippines and in Canada. When compared with all female immigrants in Canada and all visible minority immigrant women, a higher proportion of Filipinas (67.5 percent) have regular contact with family and friends in the Philippines and in Canada (Table 7.1). Compared with Philippine-born men, more Filipinas (29.7 percent) have regular contact with family and friends outside Canada (Table 7.2). Nearly one in three Filipinas, 29.7 percent, has contact only with family outside Canada. The limited contact with family in Canada for Filipina women may reflect their involvement in the Live-in Caregiver Program since many of these women migrate to Canada alone leaving partners and children behind in the Philippines. The separation can lead to feelings of isolation and loneliness (Stiell and England, 1997; Grandea and Kerr, 1998). Long and unpredictable hours of servitude in an unfamiliar residential neighbourhood can also limit Filipinas' local contacts. The narratives in Chapter 6 revealed that residing and working in the outer suburbs were isolating for care workers, providing few opportunities to build social networks. However recent technological improvements such as mobile phones, prepaid phone cards and the internet have facilitated transnational communication, easing and increasing communication between caregivers and family/friends back home. Transnational mothers have found methods of parenting across borders through text messages and phone calls (Vertovec, 2009; Parreñas, 2005)

Table 7.1 - Contact with family and friends for Women, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Contact with family outside Canada only	688,120	26.6	356,890	28.5	37,270	29.7
Contact with family inside and outside Canada	1,581,280	61.2	800,280	63.9	88,240	67.5
Other	312,790	12.1	96,070	7.7	5,170	2.8
Total	2,582,190	100	1,253,240	100	130,680	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

Table 7.2 - Contact with Family and Friends for Philippine-born, Canada, 2002

	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Contact with family outside Canada only	18,410	23.9	37,270	29.7
Contact with family inside and outside Canada	58,630	76.1	88,240	70.3
Total	77,040	100.0	125,510	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

When compared with all female immigrants and visible minority immigrant females, Filipinas (27.7 percent) are more likely to have frequent, at least weekly, contact with family abroad (Table 7.3). Regular contact with family in the Philippines is consistent with other evidence (Pratt, 2004; Parreñas 2005; 2010) that indicate how women who migrate as domestic workers engage in transnational mothering.

Table 7.3 - Frequency of Contact with Family Outside of Canada for Women, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
At least once a week?	252,000	17.5	165,300	19.6	23,810	27.7
At least once a month?	381,120	26.4	243,150	28.9	25,400	29.5
At least 3 times a year?	235,780	16.3	144,450	17.2	9,880	11.5
Once or twice a year?	308,920	21.4	177,950	21.1	17,310	20.1
Not at all?	265,620	18.4	110,560	13.1	9,590	11.2
Total	1,443,440	100	841,410	100	85,990	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

Past research that has illustrated the highly transnational nature of Filipino settlement (Kelly et al. 2009; Pratt, 2004; Parreñas, 2010), is often based on small samples. The EDS is based on a relatively large sample and confirms the highly transnational nature of Filipino migration reported in previous case studies. According to Vertovec (2009) high levels of transnational practices have a substantial impact on life course strategies, cultural and social reproduction, and sense of belonging. Furthermore, transnationalism has the potential to challenge static identities (Hyndman and Walton-Roberts, 2000) and can unsettle concepts of nationhood and citizenship (Kelly, 2003). The following section will further explore notions of home by examining sense of belonging as revealed through the EDS.

Ethnic Diversity Survey - Sense of Self in Place

Feelings of discomfort and discrimination in accessing housing, jobs and public services shape geographies of inequality for many groups in Canada (Kobayashi and Peake, 2000; Peake and Ray, 2001, Ray and Preston, 2009). According to Reitz, Bannerjee, Phan and Thompson (2009), discrimination, a perception of unfair treatment (Ray and Preston, 2009) based on race has been a key factor in the reception and settlement of recent immigrants to Canada. Racial discrimination continues to play a central role in immigrants' access to adequate housing, employment and social services. Discomfort, which refers to feelings of being different or 'out of place' as a result of ethnicity, race, culture, accent or religion also shapes immigrants' experiences in Canada (Ray and Preston, 2009; Dion, 2002).

In Canada there is a close relationship between racialized and gendered social identities and precarious employment (Cranford and Vosko, 2006). Immigrant women of color are the most likely to be in low-wage precarious work (Pendakur and Pendakur, 2007; Hiebert, 1999, 2000). The census data analysis in Chapter 5 revealed that immigrant women and Filipina immigrants earn lower average full-time, full year employment wages than Canadian-born women and all groups of men. Little, however, is known about how racialization and discrimination in labour and residential outcomes in Canada inform immigrants' sense of belonging and home in Canada.

When asked about a sense of belonging to their families, immigrant women and visible minority immigrant women had similar responses. Nearly all women born in the

Philippines, 97.2 percent, claimed to have a strong or very strong sense of belonging to their family, slightly more than the percentages of all immigrant women (93.5 percent) and visible minority immigrant women (92.2 percent) (Table 7.4). Filipina women also had the strongest attachment to their cultural or ethnic group. More than 80 percent of women born in the Philippines (81.3 percent) had a strong or very strong connection to their ethnic group compared with only 61 percent of all immigrant women and 67 percent of visible minority immigrant women (Table 7.5). Filipina women also had a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than other foreign-born women. These data are consistent with earlier findings from the census that reveal high levels of naturalization among Filipinas and Filipinos. More Filipinas (91.4 percent) reported a strong or very strong sense of belonging to Canada, compared with 85.7 percent of all female immigrants and 82.4 percent of visible minority immigrants (Table 7.6). Higher levels of involvement in transnational practices are occurring alongside a strong sense of belonging to Canada for Filipina immigrants. On the surface, the linkages that Filipinas maintain with family and friends appear to have a positive if not neutral effect on settlement in Canada.

Table 7.4 - Sense of Belonging to Family for Women, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		**Visible Minority Immigrants**		**Philippine-born**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
1 to 3 - Not strong at all	169,000	6.6	96,820	7.8	3,610	2.8
4 - Strong	235,450	9.2	133,950	10.8	10,760	8.3
5 - Very strong	2,166,790	84.3	1,012,420	81.4	114,860	88.9
Total	2,571,250	100	1,243,170	100	129,240	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

Table 7.5 - Sense of Belonging to Ethnic or Cultural Group for Women, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 to 2 - Not strong at all	415,350	16.7	142,740	11.8	8,570	6.9
3- Somewhat strong	551,980	22.2	254,480	21.1	14,780	11.8
4 - Strong	520,920	21.0	299,950	24.8	35,810	28.6
5 - Very strong	992,660	40.0	509,910	42.2	65,860	52.7
Total	2,480,900	100	1,207,090	100	125,020	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

Table 7.6 – Sense of Belonging to Canada for Women, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 to 3 - Not strong at all	364,660	14.3	216,130	17.6	11,050	8.6
4 - Strong	514,700	20.2	266,070	21.6	32,520	25.3
5 - Very strong	1,665,870	65.5	747,460	60.8	85,130	66.1
Total	2,545,230	100	1,229,670	100	128,700	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

When asked about their levels of trust, visible minority immigrant women were less likely to trust people living in their neighborhood. Fewer visible minority immigrant women, 20.7 percent, than all immigrant women (29.9 percent) and Filipinas (28 percent) believed that people in their neighborhood can be trusted a lot (Table 7.7). When asked about levels of trust for people at work and school, Filipinas were also more likely than all immigrant women and visible minority immigrant women to respond with the highest level of trust (Table 7.8). Home and a sense of belonging are, in part, produced out of relations that take place at the scales of the neighbourhood, school and workplace. The

survey reveals that trust exists at these scales for Filipina immigrant women at higher levels than for all visible minority immigrant women and even all immigrant women.

Table 7.7 – Level of Trust for people in Neighbourhood for Women, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 to 2 - Cannot be trusted	291,600	11.8	190,800	16.0	17,500	13.7
3 - Somewhat be trusted	701,200	28.3	402,630	33.9	44,110	34.6
4 - Can be trusted	745,750	30.1	349,170	29.4	30,170	23.7
5 - Can be trusted a lot	739,810	29.9	246,760	20.7	35,770	28.0
Total	2,478,350	100	1,189,360	100	127,540	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

Table 7.8 – Level of Trust for people at work or school for Women, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 to 2 - Cannot be trusted	182,110	10.0	122,390	12.3	10,340	8.8
3 - Somewhat be trusted	480,640	26.5	305,080	30.8	33,580	28.7
4 - Can be trusted	652,410	36.0	353,700	35.7	35,950	30.7
5 - Can be trusted a lot	497,720	27.5	209,920	21.2	37,120	31.7
Total	1,812,880	100	991,090	100	116,970	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

As mentioned earlier, discomfort refers to feeling different or 'out of place' as a result of ethnicity, race, culture, accent or religion. Nearly half of all Filipinas reported never feeling discomfort in Canada. The proportions of Filipinas who have experienced discomfort in Canada are similar to those for visible minority women. Approximately thirty percent of Filipinas and visible minority women reported feeling discomfort sometimes or all of the time. The vast majority of Filipinas report discomfort rarely or

never (Table 7.9). The narrative emerging from the EDS for Filipinas reveals involvement in transnational practices, strong sense of belonging and low levels of discomfort. The high levels of comfort among transnational Filipinas may be linked to benefits associated with transnational practices such as involvement in social networks that extend beyond the immediate neighbourhood (Wong, 2000; Pratt, 2004), increased economic opportunities and financial resources (Li, 2006; Zhou and Tseng, 2001); and the opportunity to challenge circumstances that arise because of race and class identities (Basch et al, 1994; Levitt, 2001) and renegotiate fixed territorially-based identities such as race and ethnicity (Vertovec, 2001).

Of those women who reported feeling discomfort, nearly half saw their language and accents as sources of discomfort in Canada (Table 7.10). Discomfort around language and accent for racialized women has been linked to broader processes of exclusion by marking women as 'immigrant', non-white with low-language competency (Haque, 2012; Creese and Kambere, 2003). 'Foreign' accents[21] are used to decipher suitable national subjects. The Othering that occurs as a result of foreign accents is linked to social exclusion and may hinder access to job opportunities and full participation in society thereby affecting immigrants' sense of belonging (Creese and Kambere, 2003). Discomfort around language was raised by participants during the interviews. Visible minority immigrant women (29.9 percent) and Filipinas (25.2

[21] A "foreign" accent, according to Creese and Kambere, is socially defined so that British or Australian English accents do not seem to provoke the same treatment as the African immigrant women the authors interviewed.

percent) were less likely to identify race and skin color rather than language and accent as sources of discomfort in Canada.

Table 7.9 - Feeling Uncomfortable for Women, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 to 3 - All of the time to sometimes	503,560	19.3	351,840	27.8	35,950	28.1
Rarely	402,440	15.4	240,510	19.0	28,840	22.5
Never	1,701,280	65.3	671,750	53.1	63,300	49.4
Total	2,607,280	100	1,264,100	100	128,090	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

Table 7.10 - Reasons for Feeling Uncomfortable for Women Reporting Discomfort, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Your ethnicity or culture	202,200	22.8	117,930	20.3	11,930	18.7
Your race or skin color	192,360	21.7	174,360	29.9	16,140	25.2
Your language or accent	437,940	49.5	263,650	45.3	32,010	50.1
Your religion	52,610	5.9	26,420	4.5	3,860	6.0
Total	885,120	100	582,350	100	63,940	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

The low levels of discomfort experienced by visible minority immigrant women and Filipinas are consistent with their experiences of discrimination in Canada. Approximately one third of visible minority immigrant females, 34 percent, and Filipinas, 33.5 percent, reported having felt discrimination in Canada (Table 7.11). Among this minority who experienced discrimination, almost two-thirds of visible

minority immigrant females (63 percent) and Filipinas (61.3 percent) reported having experienced discrimination often or sometimes (Table 7.12).

Table 7.11 - Discrimination in Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	574,330	22.1	425,160	34.0	42,470	33.5
No	2,019,350	77.9	826,550	66.0	84,310	66.5
Total	2,593,680	100	1,251,710	100	126,780	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

Table 7.12 - Frequency of Discrimination among Women Reporting Discrimination, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Often or sometimes	335,140	58.8	265,720	63.0	26,050	61.3
Rarely	234,380	41.2	156,260	37.0	16,420	38.7
Total	569,520	100	421,980	100	42,470	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

While language and accent were frequent reasons for feeling discomfort, they were not frequent reasons for discrimination. Half of Filipinas (50.4 percent) and nearly half of all visible minority immigrant women who experienced discrimination (46.1 percent) reported that skin color and race were its causes (Table 7.13). Drawing on the Ethnic Diversity Survey, Reitz et al. (2009) also found that discrimination for visible minority immigrants is more likely to be linked to issues of race than to other markers of identity such as language and religion.

The places where discrimination took place varied little between all immigrants and visible minority immigrants, with discrimination taking place most often at work (Table 7.14). The work place was the main location for discrimination experienced by Philippine-born residents, however far more of the Philippine-born (54.9 percent) experienced discrimination in the work place than all other immigrants (36.8 percent) and visible minorities (35.4 percent). The narratives in Chapter 6 exposed experiences of racism in the workplace for care workers. For Filipinas who have higher than average occupational segmentation (Hiebert, 2000), harassment and 'everyday' racism (Essed, 1991) are well documented in the healthcare workplace (Das Gupta, 2009).

The data reveal that for Filipinas, levels of belonging in Canada and trust at the scales of the neighbourhood and workplace are high. These findings are accompanied by relatively low levels of discomfort and discrimination. However for Filipinas who have experienced discomfort in Canada, language and accent were likely the cause. As well, the small portion of Filipinas who had experienced discrimination attributed it to race and skin color, particularly in the work place.

Table 7.13 - Reason for Discrimination among Women reporting Discrimination, Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Race or skin color	205,340	37.0	190,330	46.1	20,480	50.4
Language or accent	150,840	27.1	90,800	22.0	8,190	20.2
Other (Ethnicity, Culture or Religion)	199,470	35.9	132,090	32.0	11,970	29.5
Total	555,640	100	413,210	100	40,640	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

Table 7.14 - Places of Discrimination for All (Men and Women), Canada, 2002

	All Immigrants		Visible Minority Immigrants		Philippine-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
On the street only	88,790	8.6	65,260	8.4	4,020	5.3
In a store, bank or restaurant only	114,010	11.0	83,120	10.7	5,750	7.5
At work or when applying for a job/promotion only	382,280	36.8	275,320	35.4	42,040	54.9
Multiple places or situations	375,510	36.2	299,560	38.5	19,430	25.4
Other	77,590	7.5	55,120	7.1	5,290	6.9
Total	1,038,180	100	778,380	100	76,530	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003

The Ethnic Diversity Survey data provide a national sample for examining the transnational practices and feelings of belonging among immigrant, visible minority and Filipina women. When compared with other groups of immigrant women, Filipinas appear to have strong transnational ties to family and friends in their place of birth (Philippines). While this practice is evident from other case studies (Pratt, 2004; Kelly et al, 2009; Parreñas, 2005; 2010), the data are helpful in establishing the extent and nature of transnational ties for a much larger sample.

Transnationalism is a geographically-fluid practice that can shed light on immigrants' sense of belonging. When compared with other immigrant women, Filipinas in Canada have a strong sense of belonging to family, their ethnic group and to Canada. The production of transnational social spaces that span multiple places through a web of relationships (Faist, 2000; Jackson et al., 2004) informs a sense of belonging that goes beyond a locatable home. These social spaces are (re)created at varying scales such as the neighbourhood and workplace. According to the EDS, Filipina immigrant

women are likely to have high levels of trust for others in these places. Feelings of belonging and trust are consistent with low levels of discomfort and relatively infrequent experiences of discrimination. Transnational practices present wider conditions that affect the construction and negotiation of identities (Vertovec, 2001). Re-imaging notions of self in new spatial contexts further complicates and re-informs the boundaries of belonging and feeling at *home*.

The following section will expand on these themes and examine the varying facets and scales of home by drawing on the qualitative interviews with three groups of Filipina immigrant women: recent live-in caregivers; recent health care workers; and well-established residents.

Qualitative Findings

Place(s), particularly those we equate with home, are fluid and imbued with meaning. Home is both material and imagined. Similarly Ehrkamp (2005) has noted that places are not static nor are they containers that hold within themselves the base for identity construction. At the same time the desire to locate home in a particular place and also to define home based on the sentiments that one may hold implies that home is a constructed place where social meanings are grounded (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). As Massey (1994) has argued about identity and place, the desire to define the meaning of place is bound with the desire for fixity and security of identity. A rooted 'sense of place', therefore provides stability and a reliable reflection of one's identity in an often

chaotic world – a process the author refers to as 'romanticized escapism'. Place-based identities are contextual, however, and should be seen in relation to the flux of situations in which they emerge (Ehrkamp, 2005).

Live-in Caregivers

As part of the live-in caregiver program, care workers are required to live in the shelter provided by their employers. At the same time, they are not *obligated* to work beyond the regular week. As a result, live-in caregivers are often in a difficult situation where they feel obliged to find alternative accommodation for the weekend. For others, the idea of having two days away from their employer is welcome. During a focus group, I asked four live-in caregivers about the apartments where they live during the weekends. They responded by describing the ways that a separate place from their workplace (and residence) can be transformed to remind them of *home*. This conversation was interesting because while they referred to their home (in the Philippines) as a bounded and static country that the four of them shared, their references to their weekend residences were highly personal. The apartment served as a location where these four women would come and go; this place was quite fluid and dynamic. The small suburban apartment was a place where the caregivers could feel at home again. Blunt and Dowling (2006) draw on the works of Zandy (1990) who writes that home is an idea, a geography where the desire to *belong* and the feelings of 'Otherness' end. The home is a place where people struggle together, a place to escape in order to survive (ibid). The

caregivers echoed this sentiment that home, as a locatable sense of belonging, provides the potential to escape from the constraining conditions of work.

> CW07: We pay for the weekends [here]...$120 each a month.
> CW08: It's a place to stay.
> CW09: Where you can release all your stress.
> CW07: Enjoy and dance.
> CD09: And eat Filipino food and cook Filipino food.
> CD08: My employer is Jewish so I eat kosher, always kosher. We love to eat rice but in our employer's house we always eat bread and macaroni, pasta.
> CW09: So when we come here for the weekend it's always rice!
> (FG02)

Blunt and Dowling (2006) note that home can be a site of tension and conflict for domestic workers especially around food. Home is connected to one's sense of smell and taste. For many live-in caregivers the practice of cooking is regulated by employers. A sense of national belonging, according to Blunt and Dowling (2006), is constructed through 'home'-cooking in spaces beyond the residence.

Access to adequate housing is key for newcomers' sense of home. The limited salaries of Filipinas revealed in Chapter 5 coupled with obligations to remit money abroad (Kelly et al. 2009; Pratt, 2004) may hinder caregivers' access to housing for their two days off. During another focus group, one live-in caregiver recounted her experiences of finding a place to live on the weekends. By virtue of the program's restrictions, her ability to access adequate housing was stifled.

> During the first year when I came over here. I rent one of the apartments along Eglinton. And we are living there exactly 8 live-in caregivers. We live there every weekend so we're paying separately [from] the employer right. If you can see that place it's a basement. No emergency exit...we provide our own mattresses because the landlord just leaves us with old

> mattresses. That's why when the first time we came into that apartment we just used the boxes, just to sleep on that night. (FG03)

Live-in caregivers also spoke of the less tangible qualities of home. Doreen Massey (1994) writes of a tendency for place to be a *romanticized escapism.* She argues that while time is often equated with movement and progress, space and place, however are often interpreted as stasis and reaction. Linda, a former live-in caregiver, discussed negotiating home in Canada. As a permanent resident, Linda planned to sponsor her husband and three children. Her sense of home was literally 'rooted' in her family life, related to the location of her family and entwined with work. Her sense of self and home is linked to ideas of work.

> For me, my sense of home is in the Philippines. Maybe if my daughter comes, but if my daughter does not come then of course you can't feel complete because there is something missing. My *root* is there. For me, I still have a lot of goals, I still have a lot of dreams that I haven't achieved. I still want to help a lot of people, I want to have a scholarship foundation [in the Philippines]- that's my dream. And in order to achieve that you have to work hard, right. Even if my family comes and they start working, I will not stop because I still have to fulfill and achieve those dreams. (CW01)

Consistent with Cohen's (1997) diaspora typologies and use of horticulture metaphors, the metaphor of 'rooting' was used to describe home during one focus group. This metaphor quickly directed the conversation onto the topic of paid work. The live-in caregivers agreed that they were rooted in a particular place, however re-rooting is necessary in order to support and care for family in the Philippines.

> CW01: The roots is there [in the Philippines]
> CW03: Yes, the root.

CW04: So you still have to go back unless you *pull the root*
CW01: The roots is still there
CW03: Because it's hard to get a job there, a good paying job
CW04: With a good salary
CW03: Even if you're college graduate
(FG01)

The census data analysis in Chapter 4 showed feminized patterns of migration among Philippine-born immigrants in all three locations. The length of residence required to obtain permanent residence and apply for citizenship in Canada takes a toll on live-in caregivers separated from their husbands, children and other family members. Three live-in caregivers confirmed the difficulties they experienced having been separated from family.

> CW04: The waiting period especially for families [is a problem]. For singles there's no problem because once they get the open permit then after a month or two they get their permanent residency but how about for people with families
> CW03: It's just the waiting time, two years it's a long time
> CW01: Because she always communicated with her husbands that is why they don't have many problems
> CW04: Yes every day, every day on the phone
> (FG01)

During a workshop for Filipino live-in caregivers, one settlement counselor addressed the room about family separation. The caregivers nodded, shed tears and agreed with the speaker as he helped to illuminate the ways in which their temporary status and roles as caregivers influenced the ways in which they experience *home*.

> You have family back home and you come here as a nanny, a caregiver, a helper or a worker and you come here- first you go through Hong Kong for 3 or 4 or 5 years and then you come to Canada after 2 or 3 or 4 years. So 5 plus 4 equals 9 so for 9 years you have left your family behind.....when you're watching a movie, and you want a bathroom break, eat something, you pause it, you go and then you go back and you turn it on, you continue what you were seeing the last time. But if you don't put it

> on pause and you go for ten minutes, half an hour, you come back and you've missed the story. Now, families are like this. When you miss your family, in your mind and in your heart you put them on pause, you're expecting this is what they are when you've left them. You see them again, you expect the pause to continue. But what you need to realize is that they have moved on, they have grown not only physically, but experientially (KI-SA).

The live-in caregivers spoke not only of the material and non-material aspects of home, they also spoke of *un-homing* experiences. People's sense of themselves and home are produced by the intersection of identity and power (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). Massey's (1992) ideas of power geometry are important in our discussions around how people experience home and how this is informed by one's social location- this is particularly the case for recent female immigrants and especially so for temporary migrant caregivers. Feelings of belonging are affected by unhomely practices that are experienced in places usually associated with home (Huang and Yeoh 2007; Stasiulis and Bakan, 2003; Arat-Koc, 1989; England and Stiell, 1997).

During one interview, Kay was *accompanied* by her employer to discuss her experiences here in Canada. Her responses may have been crafted to suit the approval of her male employer. When asked about her perceptions of life in Canada, Kay began to speak about her discomfort speaking English. Recall that the Ethnic Diversity Survey showed that, of those who felt uncomfortable in Canada, approximately half of Filipinas felt discomfort was a result of their language and accent. In response to her comments, her employer added to the conversation (re)affirming an Us/Them divide.

> CW06: Yeah it's difficult because we can speak English but we have different dialects it's very different like the accents so sometimes when

somebody talks to you and maybe you're not familiar with the accents and for you it's like, come again? It's different it's very tough too.
Male Employer: We have a lot of trouble communicating. *They* are a little more free spirited where as *We* are little more reserved. But she has pretty good English, it's just once in a while.

The survey also indicated that levels of trust in the workplace were high for Filipina immigrants, however during one focus group a live-in caregiver began to speak of her fears and lack of trust at work. Her body had become a site where she felt that the insecure nature of her work and residential life played out (see Huang and Yeoh, 2007). Fear associated with work, residence and the body intersect to inform her sense of place and home.

When I was on trial there in my second employer, I observed one night when I was sleeping around 11:25pm, the guy employer, he opened the door so I'm shocked. I just pretended. I could not sleep because I was afraid. Maybe something happen to me so the following day I told the wife. 'You know Susan, you know why, around 11:25pm your husband he opened the door without knocking the door. You know I'm scared, I'm afraid.
Translator: She prayed to God that nothing happens to her if the guy is drinking. He might attempt to enter her room.
You know imagine he told me you take care of me and I take care of you. Oh my God. You notice you're happy? Oh yeah I'm happy because I'm working here. I'm just taking care of the kids. He's always thinking you take care of me and I take care of you. So you know I give you money for $20 because you're honest and then he told me you give me hug. (FG03)

Some live-in caregivers discussed the disempowering experiences that they experienced with their recruiters. Of the ten live-in caregivers interviewed, six arrived in Canada through the help of unaccredited recruiters. Of these six caregivers, four arrived in Toronto and were deemed "released upon arrival" or without an employer. For these

caregivers, recruiters threatened their sense of belonging by jeopardizing their chances of working in Canada and eventually obtaining citizenship. According to the live-in caregivers, unaccredited recruiters will often withhold legal documents until exorbitant fees are paid[22].

> CW07: The agency is here and she promised us an employer and when we come here there is no employer. So she gave us to another family and we work there without a permit and she said they were going to process but sometimes it's two months or three months already. And the bad thing is that we still have to pay $5400 which is big money for us and you work hard for it and it goes to the agency.
> CW10: And for the newcomers they keep the passport
> CW07: Yes like me, my passport and my working permit are with the agency
> (FG02)

Settlement workers also spoke of the propensity for caregivers to migrate to Canada through the use of illegal recruiters. One Filipina settlement worker in the Markham area discussed the frequent issues around illegal recruiters- many of which use transnational linkages to employ caregivers from the Philippines in Canada.

> There is a so called A to A from airport to airport, so if a caregiver in the Philippines is able to talk to a recruiter there and they ask her to pay like $5000 and then she will be able to come here to Markham in November, when she arrives she will be told that the employer backed out, sometimes they were asked to come back and sometimes asked by employer to stay in the apartment...sometimes for a long time, and they sometimes never see the person that they talked to before and the payment is gone (KI-CCSYR).

[22] Bill 210 - Employment Protection for Foreign Nationals Act (implemented after interviews were conducted) is also designed to prohibit illegal recruiters and employers from retaining workers' documents such as passports and visas.

She was then asked to comment on the recruiters themselves –whether they were men and women within the Filipino community.

> Some of the recruiters are not Filipino but most of them are Filipino, there's no regulating body that will oversee whether the practices are ok, so anybody can be a recruiter....there are a lot of stories about this and it's really true. And because you have the intention of coming here you have to pay right away and assume that [the recruiter] can be trusted because she's a Filipina in Canada. (KI-CCSYR)

The labour representative of the Consulate General's office also discussed the frequency of third party recruiters used to match employers in Canada with care workers in the Philippines

> What we find unacceptable from the Philippine government perspective [about recruiters] is it's being done in contravention to agreements in place between the Philippine government and the Canadian government. The logic behind the prohibition of third parties charging Filipino workers is because the need is on the Canadian side. They need the additional help in the form of temp foreign workers.
> (KI-CON)

In addition to illegal recruiters working both in the Philippines and in Canada, Filipinas seeking to migrate are often in contact with family and friends in Canada. The high rates of labour force participation among Filipinas discussed in Chapter 5 can be attributed to transnational connections (Kelly and D'Addario, 2008). Established transnational contacts, as shown through the EDS survey, influence the creation and maintenance of social spaces. After getting married and receiving her teaching degree in the Philippines, Joy decided to look for employment abroad. Her migration to Canada

was facilitated by friends living in Canada. When asked how she found her employer, Joy responded,

> Through my friend. My mom has a friend here and she brought me there to this family that they were looking so I went there and had an interview with her, you know, and I said okay, I'll come and I want to see the employer because I'm interested and I need my paper to do my 24 months so I went there and had an interview and I was hired and I got the job. (CW05)

Mary also spoke of being in contact with her employer, whom she now refers to as her aunt (Tita). She was put in contact with her current employer through her uncle and was guided through the process of applying as a live-in caregiver by her future employer. She described being overwhelmed at times by the paperwork, however her transnational connections with her employer assisted her through the process.

> I asked my uncle if there was a chance to go to Canada and what is the easiest way to go. He said you should talk to Tita (aunt) Val, he introduced me to Tita Val and before I really didn't know her at all. It was hard processing in the Philippines, it took four years, a lot of paper work. (CW02)

One live-in caregiver, Linda, is now informally matching live-in caregivers who have arrived without employment with households requiring domestic labour. In some cases she hears about willing Filipinas still in the Philippines and attempts to match them with employers seeking a live-in.

> Every time they need part-timers or they need caregivers, the first person they'll think about is me, so they'll call me and for me because I meet a lot of caregivers outside of work and sometimes they come here and they're "released upon arrival" so when employers call and I have these caregivers and so I give them the numbers and tell them to go for an interview. (CW01)

Live-in caregivers revealed the diverse experiences of belonging and home. The interviews highlight the material and imaginative facets of home. The narratives further indicated the multi-scalar nature of home. For many live-in caregivers, a transnational sense of home is informed by circumstances of work, residence and the state.

Healthcare Workers

For recently arrived Filipina health care workers, constructing notions of home is also a complicated process involving material and intangible aspects at the scale of the residence, neighbourhood and workplace. Martha arrived in Canada seven years ago as a live-in caregiver and studied on weekends to become a personal support worker, a profession in which she is now employed. Her employment is critical for her to remit $1000 monthly to the Philippines to support her husband, two children and extended family. When asked about her sense of home, she responded:

> Home? That depends on the situation. For Christmas time I long to be in the Philippines it's different from here, you can feel Christmas even if it's September or October, it's true. But for work, it's here, always here in terms of work. And in terms of emotions, home is in the Philippines because my kids are there. (HC02)

While the location of the *home* is not always easy to pinpoint, the (material) pieces that make up sentiments of home are sometimes easier to locate. Lee, a 36 year old registered practical nurse has been in Canada for only two years and yet expresses her feelings of

belonging in Canada owing to the location of her son. When asked if she would return to the Philippines, Lee replied,

> Maybe when I retire. For now I'll stay in Canada. Philippines is *more* like home. I'm from the Philippines, of course, and my culture is *there* and it's difficult here, but I also feel at home because my son is here. (HC09)

For Darlene, a part time registered practical nurse working in a healthcare placement agency, her sense of home has changed over the years. While she feels most at home in Canada, her sense of belonging has in part been shaped by her involvement in her church. Her involvement in the church began as a child in the Philippines and her family was able to create a local congregation once in Canada. The church services are held in members' residences. After the monthly service, members cook and eat together while discussing and supporting one another. Darlene noted that the religious group has proved to be a valuable network for Christian Filipinos to find work.

> There is an evangelical mission and they use one of the houses in the area ...once a month we go there and after that we bring food and do potluck so it's connected to them. And it becomes a network for work, like for me who works part time, they can recommend you. It's mainly Filipinos...and we've been a part of it even since back home, since I was born. (HC10)

As is the case for many others, the location of *home* for Lauren is fuzzy and spans two locations in Canada and the Philippines. As a mother of three and a part-time personal support worker, Lauren is currently upgrading her foreign credentials to qualify as a nurse in Canada. Her constructions of home are influenced by the demands of a

'triple work day' consisting of unpaid work, paid work and employment re-training (Grahame, 2003). Her aspirations for building a home *here* are closely tied to work.

> I haven't been home for a while, I miss the Philippines...I feel like this is my home, like I belong here, although I have future plans to go back to the Philippines but for now I'm thinking of the present right now because I have a lot of plans like [school and work] that haven't happened yet. (HC08)

The EDS indicated that Filipinas that have experienced discrimination in Canada attributed it to their skin color and race. When 48 year old Liz was asked about her feelings of belonging in Canada she discussed her experiences of discrimination in the workplace after arriving in 2007. Her feelings of trust with coworkers were complicated by class struggles within the work place.

> They call this multiculturalism but there is racism here. I can feel that, I can feel racism between Filipinos to Filipinos, you expect this white lady to be more demanding or bossy to you because they belong to this country originally but I find that the Filipinos is more racist to other Filipinos. It's very visible. I can deal with it from patients but I have difficulties when it's my coworkers. (HC06)

Interviews with recent Filipina healthcare workers reveal that home is bound with circumstances of work, which is intricately linked to their feminized, racialized and class positions. While many have obtained Canadian citizenship, healthcare workers still speak of partial permanency and an incomplete sense of home in Canada. The interviews further complicate the relationship between citizenship and a sense of permanency.

Well-established Suburban Residents

The census data analysis (Chapter 4) indicated that Filipinas residing in Markham had arrived before Filipinas living in Scarborough and the Toronto CMA. For some Filipinas, longer residency in Markham provided a more stable notion of home in Canada, and yet for others the longer tenure did not translate into a strong sense of belonging. When I spoke with Mona, a retired teacher, she described home not as a place that encompasses cultural traditions or even one that relates to any national affiliation (Philippines and Canada), instead her sense of home was directly related to the location of her son. His disabilities mean that his activities are limited to their residence in Markham. Her sense of home is rooted in the residence where her son is located and has expanded from there to include friends, as opposed to her other family members in the Philippines.

> This is his home, and to move [my son] -to transfer him out would be a traumatic experience for him. This is Home-home.
> We have friends especially with the prayer group...sometimes you go to them more than your own family, we've gone through a lot of friendships and even hard times so we help one another, there's someone you can go to in times of need. (MF01)

In Chapter 6, Mona revealed that the housework was performed by her Filipina caregiver, which gave Mona the opportunity to pursue a professional career and to volunteer at the local church. Her experiences with paid and unpaid work and the location of her suburban residence have influenced her construction of home.

Maria, a local bank teller, also discussed her sense of belonging as being connected with the location of her family in Canada, although she still referred to the

Philippines as *home*. Her experiences of home reveal contradictions in how one locates home and how one refers to sentiments of home.

> MF02: My case is different from [my husband] because my whole family is here. My dad passed away here…
> Husband: Actually we don't plan to go back
> MF02: My mom is here and there is seven of us brothers and sisters and we're all here, but with him he still has family and I have my aunts and uncles and cousins *back home…. so my sense of direction is better here than there.*
> Husband: When you go back even for a visit, when you go there it's not my home anymore. Canada is my home.

Race and ethnicity have been critical aspects in the social construction of the suburbs, which have historically been inhabited by white native born middle-class populations (Ray, Halseth and Johnson, 1997). Post-war suburbs were perceived to be the ideal place to raise a white middle class nuclear family (England, 1993). In Canada, racialized immigrants are challenging the stereotypes associated with the typical suburbanite (ibid). Two well established Filipinas in Markham referred to their children's experiences with racism in the suburbs when discussing their sense of belonging in Canada. Shelly is a retired nurse with two daughters in their late twenties and Val is also a retired nurse with three boys in their twenties living at home. Both Shelly and Val have well-established networks in Markham and in their faith communities. These healthcare workers locate their sense of belonging in Canada where they have respectively resided for 39 years and 38 years. When asked about their experiences of feeling *at home* they both referred to their children's' difficulties adjusting to life in a predominantly white suburb.

> When we first came to Markham we came from Scarborough which was so multicultural. We came here and my daughter went to the elementary school for her last year and she was the only *oriental* in the school, and everyone was Caucasian...I don't know if they really liked it. (MF07).

> When we first moved here, we were the very first minorities on the street. Of course my kids were young and all the kids on the street were all white Canadians and they can be mean because they don't know better. When we moved to the house my kids were very young and one day my kid came to me and said, mom they're calling me a Paki kid. I said, what's that? I asked the boys why they had to say that and they were boys that didn't even live in our street. So I told them that we were Filipinos and not Pakistani. They didn't know much about our culture. (MF06)

For many Filipinas the location of family is often a key aspect of feeling in place or at home. Serena arrived in Canada through the live-in caregiver 23 years ago and now resides with her husband and teenage daughter. She spoke about her family and life in the suburbs as though there was 'something missing'. She recounted how others felt as though she had achieved material wealth, however her notion of feeling at *home* is comprised of more than just the size and location of her house. Her sense of home revolved around her ability to articulate herself and her faith in the Philippines. Her discomfort around the English language reflects earlier findings from the EDS that showed that half of Filipinas who reported feeling discomfort in Canada cited language as the reason.

> Most of my friends are nannies like me, of course, they say the same birds flock together, so I am in a category of what I am doing. I do not have friends like, but most are still at my level, living in an apartment and if they come here to my place- they are so happy to see that I have a house and three people in this kind of house, for them is a huge house, for them, because it's only three of us. So they are so happy, but honestly I told them, I said I don't feel at *home*. I want to go back home [to the Philippines]. I don't feel at home at all- *there's something missing in me. Not because of my family, because here I cannot do want I want to do,*

like talking to you I have to think first what this word is in English, I can not deliver in a way that they will understand me. Back home I can say anything I want without thinking or translating to English and also I want to go home because I want to preach the word of God in my own way....so that's the reason why I don't feel at home here. (MF04)

The well-established Filipina residents of Markham also spoke of the ways that they contributed to assisting newcomers by providing (transnational) support and settlement assistance. Val, a well-connected retired Filipina nurse began informally tapping into her transnational links with care workers in the Philippines. She travelled back and forth recruiting care workers. In some cases she would match unemployed care workers with aging members of the Filipino community.

At one point I rented a house [in Markham] and I connect with [the hospital] to bring people there for a short term respite, people who don't have anybody at home, they can bring that person to my home for a few weeks until they recover, so I connected with the [hospital]. But I only ran it for a year because I don't have the staff and I ended up doing the work. (MF06)

In Chapter 6, Val discussed hiring Filipina live-in caregivers to care for her three children and manage the household. This arrangement enabled her to pursue a career as a registered nurse and volunteer. By paying a caregiver to perform some of the work of social reproduction in her place of residence, Val was able to engage in both paid work (as a nurse) and unpaid care work (as a volunteer). Stories such as Val's explain, in part, the relatively low levels of unpaid domestic work for suburban Filipinas discussed in Chapter 5.

Mina is a 66 year old seamstress who also engages in unpaid community work as a volunteer at the Markham Federation of Filipino Canadians. She discussed informal

systems of support within the Filipino community in Markham. She felt that it was critical for established members of the Filipino community to help newcomers both before migration and after.

> A relative [from the Philippines] phoned me and said that I don't know anybody there, can you accommodate us…my role was to welcome them. We formed a workshop for the newcomers to help them in terms of where to find jobs, and rent housing you know also help them in terms of what to expect and language too and some of them want to encourage their relatives to come here too for caregiving. (MF08)

Well-established Filipinas discussed feeling at home as an ongoing process. While these women have resided in Canada, as citizens, for a long time, their permanence is not necessarily associated with feeling in place or at home. Instead their experiences reveal that a sense of belonging and home are, in part, created through a long process of negotiating one's identity – which include expectations about their roles as women and their constructions of both race and class. Their experiences point to the complicated relationship between permanence and feeling at home.

Conclusion

Home is multi-scalar and its definition is porous. The spatiality of the home and sense of belonging are not just contained within the place of residence but are constructed across multiple scales from the body to the neighbourhood to the city, the nation and the globe (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). Places are neither containers that serve as platforms for the construction of subject positions and identities; nor are places static.

Being produced and reproduced in social processes and relations at different scales, place lies at the intersection of different spaces and moments in time (Ehrkamp, 2005).

Chapters 4 and 5 revealed that Filipino migration is feminized, marked by distinct patterns of paid and unpaid work. Filipinas' experiences of migration and work are challenging conventional assumptions about gender, race and class in the suburbs. These everyday links between paid and unpaid work in turn, are significant in how Filipinas construct home. The EDS provided a broad picture of the transnational practices of Filipina immigrants in Canada. These linkages and spaces confirm what past literature has suggested anecdotally. The survey further illustrated the complicated process of feeling *in place* or at home. Filipina immigrants claim a strong sense of belonging to their family, ethnic affiliation and to Canada. These women also have high levels of trust for people in their neighbourhood and in the workplace. These positive sentiments however are balanced by feelings of discomfort and experiences of discrimination on the basis of accent/language and race/skin color, respectively.

Negotiating home here and elsewhere is therefore complicated, fluid and highly spatialized – transmuting across scales. The suburban experiences of care workers challenge conventional dualistic constructions that position home as separate from work, production and the public sphere (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). The interviews with three groups of Filipina immigrants illustrate the complex and intersecting process of negotiating home and a sense of belonging. Variables related to time such as period of arrival and immigration status do not necessarily translate into a sense of permanency

and belonging. The interviews illustrate that experiences of belonging are in constant flux and in fact are experienced uniquely within the spatial context that they are represented. Experiences embodied at various spatial scales such as the body, the household, workplace, suburbs and the nation intersect with identity markers such as gender, race and class to (re)inform a sense of belonging and *home*.

Chapter 8 : Conclusions and Reflections

Introduction

This dissertation has explored the ways in which transnational care workers negotiate home and a sense of belonging. Relations between paid and unpaid work are spatialized- varying across work places. The socio-spatial relationships between paid and unpaid work often reproduce social inequalities which in turn affect immigrant women's sense of belonging and home.

The ways in which people negotiate identities are place-based and reflect the changing nature of place (Ehrkamp, 2005). As Blunt and Dowling (2006) point out, home and belonging move over space and are negotiated in new places. For transnational care workers, a sense of belonging and home are influenced by their involvement in paid and unpaid work in various workplaces and residential locations. Transnational practices complicate the notion of home. Notions of home are also experienced and negotiated differently by immigrants in different suburban locations.

Synthesis of the Findings

Chapter 2 located the dissertation within a broad literature concerning transnational migration and paid and unpaid care work. The chapter focused on the changing geographies and spaces of paid and unpaid care work, while paying particular attention to the ways that transnational migration, as a set of practices, is associated with

the feminization and racialization of care work. The chapter began with a discussion of transnationalism, a set of practices, which influence constructions of home. Transnational mothering is a strategy that destabilizes static notions of household and home, and a review of recent case studies revealed the feminized, racialized and classed nature of care work. This dissertation highlights the importance of transnationalism as a conceptual lens for examining immigrants' constructions of home. Along with Al-Ali and Koser (2002) and Blunt and Dowling (2006), I advocate for a transnational geography of home, one that recognizes the multi-scalar, multifaceted and mobile attributes of home. I add to the authors' work by examining how home is influenced by the specific contexts of transnational migration. For transnational care workers, these circumstances include, but are not limited to, the relations between paid and unpaid work in various workplaces and places of residence. The literature on transnational mothering in Chapter 2 furthermore suggests a break in normative assumptions that confine home to the place of residence. This literature also raises interesting questions about the locations of paid and unpaid work. For many transnational migrants, social reproduction extends beyond the scale of the household and is undertaken by a variety of actors.

The dissertation is premised on anti-racist feminist practices that consider the varied experiences of immigrant women, especially women of color. In Chapter 3, I outlined the design of the research and questioned the effectiveness of quantitative and qualitative methods in examining a fluid process such as how one negotiates home. In using census data (2006) and the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003), I am cautious about the

implications of exploring experiences for 'immigrants' and 'foreign-born', since these terms are imbued with assumptions regarding gender, race and class. The census furthermore is not wholly equipped to explore the homes and household arrangements of transnational households. The conceptions of home, household and family that underpin the census assume nuclear household arrangements. This chapter also detailed the obstacles faced when conducting qualitative interviews with care workers. The precarious nature of live-in and healthcare work, which include unstable hours and shifts, limited my ability to conduct qualitative interviews.

The research findings were presented in four chapters. Chapter 4 highlights data from the 2006 census that describes Filipino/Filipina settlement in the Toronto CMA and in two suburban locations: Scarborough and Markham, Ontario. In this chapter, I began by reviewing selected aspects of Canadian immigration. After establishing contemporary migration patterns, I investigate settlement within the Toronto CMA. Past research suggests a gender imbalance in Philippine-born immigration (Kelly et al., 2006). The updated census data confirms this pattern in the metropolitan area and furthermore indicates that the gender imbalance also exists in the two suburban locations. The data also reveal that period of arrival matters – with greater numbers of well-established Filipinos/Filipinas who arrived before 1991 living in the outer suburbs of Markham. This chapter sets the local context for examining patterns of paid and unpaid work.

Previous studies found high levels of deprofessionalization and low financial returns for Filipinos and Filipinas in Toronto (Kelly, 2006; Kelly et al, 2009). In chapter

5, the 2006 census revealed that these trends persist. Filipinas still migrate with high levels of human capital and have the highest levels of labour force participation when compared with Canadian-born and immigrant women. However, their education and participation in the labour force is not reflected in their wages. This research shows that Filipinas experience downward social mobility in the Toronto labour market regardless of where they reside. The narratives corroborate findings from Kelly et al. (2009) that de-skilling takes place among Filipinas, in some cases, due to an obligation to financially support family abroad that prompts many to settle for a 'survival job'. The data also reveal that Filipinas perform fewer hours of unpaid domestic work than average for immigrant women. In this respect, Filipinas are similar to Canadian-born women. It is also noteworthy that these patterns of unpaid work appear in both suburbs and among recently arrived and well-established Filipinas. Lower than average levels of unpaid domestic work may be explained in two ways. On the one hand, higher than average levels of participation in live-in care work for Filipinas may mean that they are performing domestic work for pay in someone else's place of residence. Without their own places of residence, unpaid housework and childcare are not performed. Any unpaid social reproductive work performed transnationally is also not recorded. The second explanation draws on Espiritu (1999). Owing to a high demand in North America for female care workers, some immigrant women may have been able to renegotiate household gender roles. Women's increased power derived from their contributions to family finances means that more men may be taking on unpaid domestic responsibilities

in the household. The absence of Filipino husbands in this research prevented the possibility of exploring how unpaid work is (re)negotiated among household members.

Chapters 6 and 7 detailed the findings of the qualitative interviews and focus groups with three groups of suburban Philippine-born women: recent live-in caregivers; recent health care workers; and well-established residents. Chapter 6 explored the linkages between places of work and residence. Some health care workers raised the racialized and classed dynamics of care work, which intensified for those who worked in clients' residences. The blurring of care work that occurs when the locations of workplace and residence overlap is a key theme for live-in caregivers. The intersection of residence and work, for some, expands notions of care work to include all aspects of social reproduction. This expanding definition of work heightens the unstable and often unsafe conditions associated with care work. Isolation in the suburbs sometimes reinforced the precarity of live-in care work.

However in some instances, caregivers are recruited through transnational connections to help well-established Filipinas improve their own class positions. For some Filipinas, hiring a Filipina live-in caregiver was a useful way to offset the challenges of combining paid and unpaid work. In some cases, this arrangement also allowed Filipinas to take on other forms of unpaid work such as volunteering in the community. This strategy was useful in transforming the class position of these women, and potentially those of their caregivers. The class position of caregivers working for Filipina employers is not always perceived to be subordinate. In some cases the

transnational recruitment of caregivers is a means to enhance the status and class position of the live-in caregiver. Despite deprofessionalization and relatively low wages, the re-valuation of social, cultural and economic capital for transnational migrants provides opportunities for them to alter their circumstances (Kelly and Lusis, 2006).

Chapter 7 highlighted the findings from the Ethnic Diversity Survey, which confirmed high levels of transnational behavior for Filipinas in Canada. Nevertheless, the survey indicated that the majority of Filipinas feel a sense of belonging to both their ethno-cultural community and also within Canada at large. The interviews contextualized the survey by expanding on the complex process of place-making and sense of home. The discussions with Filipinas highlighted the ways that various spatial scales such as the body, the residence, workplace, suburbs and the nation intersect with identity markers such as gender, race and class to inform a transnational sense of belonging. As the interviews with some transnational care workers suggest, arduous working conditions prompted some to recreate ideas of home by reconstructing a location where the desire to *belong* and the feelings of 'otherness' no longer exits (Zandy, 1991). The narratives reveal that negotiating home is a multifaceted and multi-scalar process.

Reflecting on Home

The eroding welfare state and the restructuring of employment associated with contemporary neoliberal capitalism have influenced profoundly women's paid and unpaid work. Care services provided by the market reinforce the divisions between those

who can pay for commodified care services and those who provide these services as low-wage temporary workers. As the demand for childcare and healthcare services continues to expand, the presence of foreign care workers, especially live-in caregivers, increases. The expansion of the live-in caregiver program raises questions concerning the role of the state in reinforcing the household as a care-ful space. By expanding foreign worker programs like the LCP, the state reduces the impacts of its failure to develop a national childcare policy and funding reductions that have weakened the healthcare system. At the same time, the location and precarious nature of live-in care work reproduce the gendered, classed and racialized divisions of such labour. The analysis shows that the circumstances of care work have profound implications for how some transnational migrants, particularly those who are live-in care workers, construct home.

Transnationalism is a valuable concept that moves away from fixed notions of home and belonging. For transnational immigrants, the distinction between home and abroad, here and there, becomes less obvious and difficult to maintain (Guarnizo, 1997; Ali-Ali and Koser, 2002). The construction of transnational social fields (Faist, 2000) affects one's sense of belonging and home. Transnational social fields also affect the negotiation and reproduction of social identities (Vertovec, 2009). These social identities play out across varying locations and spatial scales informing migrants' sense of belonging and construction of home.

Everyday routines and practices of transnational families have profound implications for gender relations (Ali-Ali, 2002). Traditional gender relations may be

altered when women migrate to become the breadwinners of the family (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Moreover, when households span multiple places of residence, transnational families are often required to renegotiate traditional gender roles. In this research and for some Filipinas, the place of residence is often a paid workplace rather than the location of unpaid domestic work. Women's social status is likely to improve through the migration process mainly as a result of access to employment and control over income (Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Espiritu, 1999; Vertovec, 2009).The census data reveal that for Filipinas, labour force participation is relatively high and compared with other immigrant women, levels of unpaid domestic work are relatively low, perhaps contributing to the high levels of transnational activities, indicated by the Ethnic Diversity Survey. These findings suggest that transnational practices may influence both paid and unpaid work. More specifically, the data may indicate that transnational practices are shifting the locations at which care work is being performed. These trends challenge normative gender relations embedded within the archetypal suburban household, thereby destabilizing notions of home.

Transnational care workers' roles within a broader 'global care chain' (Hochschild, 2000) and within an international division of social reproductive labour (Parreñas, 2012; Yeates, 2005) have obvious significance for racialized and classed identities. In Canada, care work is increasingly racialized and non-white workers are often relegated to positions with the heaviest workload and most dangerous conditions (Das Gupta, 2009). In Chapter 6 and 7, some Filipina care workers found that instances

of racism and discrimination in the workplace stifled their sense of belonging. However, the Ethnic Diversity Survey revealed that the majority of Filipinas did not experience discrimination in Canada. According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey, high levels of transnational behavior and high levels of attachment to Canada are associated with low levels of discomfort or discrimination. On the flipside, racism and discrimination, especially in the workplace, are often not continuous or overt nor are they experienced similarly by everyone (Essed, 1991). Since everyday forms of racism are not perceived to be overly problematic, they are often not classified as racism at all. The low levels of discrimination reported by Filipinas in the survey may be a reflection of how experiences of racism are difficult to identify and embedded in the 'everyday'.

Transnational practices that have the potential to influence constructions of gender and race, also have the potential to influence class position. Class is inextricably bound with constructions of race and gender and also critically implicated in discussions of home. Recall the different experiences of affluent Filipinas in Markham and deprofessionalized recent care workers in Scarborough. While, arguably, class is reflected in access to economic resources, this access is often transferred from other forms of social, cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). More importantly the transfer of these forms of capital takes place in various ways for transnational immigrants. The census data reveal that Filipinas have ample human capital as measured by educational attainment but still receive below average wages. Limited access to economic resources for Filipinas relative to Canadian-born women and other immigrant

women does not necessarily indicate a subordinate class position. For some Filipinas, employment and low wages in Canada still enhance status among family and friends in the Philippines (Kelly and Lusis, 2006). Renegotiating class positions within transnational social fields also complicates notions of home. Factors that suggest downward social mobility such as a low status occupation and low wages in one location do not always translate into a sense of temporariness and dislocation. Similarly, economic stability and homeownership do not necessarily translate into a sense of permanency and belonging. Settlement experiences varied for Filipinas living in the inner suburbs of Scarborough and outer suburbs of Markham. Like the place of residence and workplace, the suburbs are also fluid places that influence the construction of home.

Moving Beyond Methodological Limitations

The research methods were designed to capture the multifaceted ways that transnational immigrants construct home. Information from large databases like the Canadian census is inherently limited. Embedded in the census are assumptions about households as a singularly located social formation and also the conflation between place of residence and home. Exposing these limitations is a first step in moving past narrow definitions of home. Since the completion of the census analysis in 2010, the government of Canada has eliminated the mandatory long form census questionnaire[23]. Without

[23] The information previously collected by the long-form census questionnaire was replaced by the voluntary National Household Survey conducted in 2011.

these census data, research that examines paid and unpaid work and the locations where they take place will be severely restricted. Moreover, the census provides us with the opportunity to examine these data at varying geographical scales, comparing data between places. This research reveals that quantitative methods, such as a census analysis, can be helpful in discussions of home because they have the potential to expose broader patterns of migration and (paid and unpaid) work - integral components of home-making for transnational care workers.

The interviews and focus groups offered another valuable perspective on home that addressed the shortcomings of the census information, providing nuance and insight into the links between paid and unpaid work. However, interviews and focus groups can also be limited in scope. For example, the participation of live-in caregivers and healthcare workers was constrained by the circumstances of their care work. Interviews and focus groups therefore provide only a partial perspective on home. The limited and partial narratives reveal that exploring the experiences of paid and unpaid work in places of residences and workplaces are useful in understanding the construction of home and sense of belonging. Research on home may also benefit from interviews that include multiple household members. Interviewing husbands/partners and children can provide a more ample discussion of how gender relations are influenced by transnational migration. Interviews with more people involved in constructing home may provide a richer understanding of home.

Finding Home

Transnationalism has nuanced our understanding of contemporary migration. Through the lens of transnationalism, home is seen as material and imaginative, fluid and multifaceted, playing out across and among various spatial scales. This research questions taken-for-granted assumptions about the relationships between paid and unpaid work and the locations where these forms of work take place. In doing so, this dissertation exposes the need to nuance our understanding of relations that take place at the scale of the residence and work place in discussions of home for transnational migrants. A transnational geography of home destabilizes the assumed locations of the *home* (not always associated with one residence or household) and the workplace (as separate from the place of residence). In challenging normative notions of home, we also acknowledge the ways that gender, race and class also influence how places are experienced and how home is constructed. These relations play out in different ways across diverse spatial scales such as the residence, workplace, the suburbs and the nation state. For transnational Filipina care workers, home is unhinged from a singular household and place of residence. The construction of home is instead fluid and contingent on a variety of scales that are related to the circumstances of migration. A transnational home is therefore always unfixed, mobile in its meaning, vacillating between here and elsewhere.

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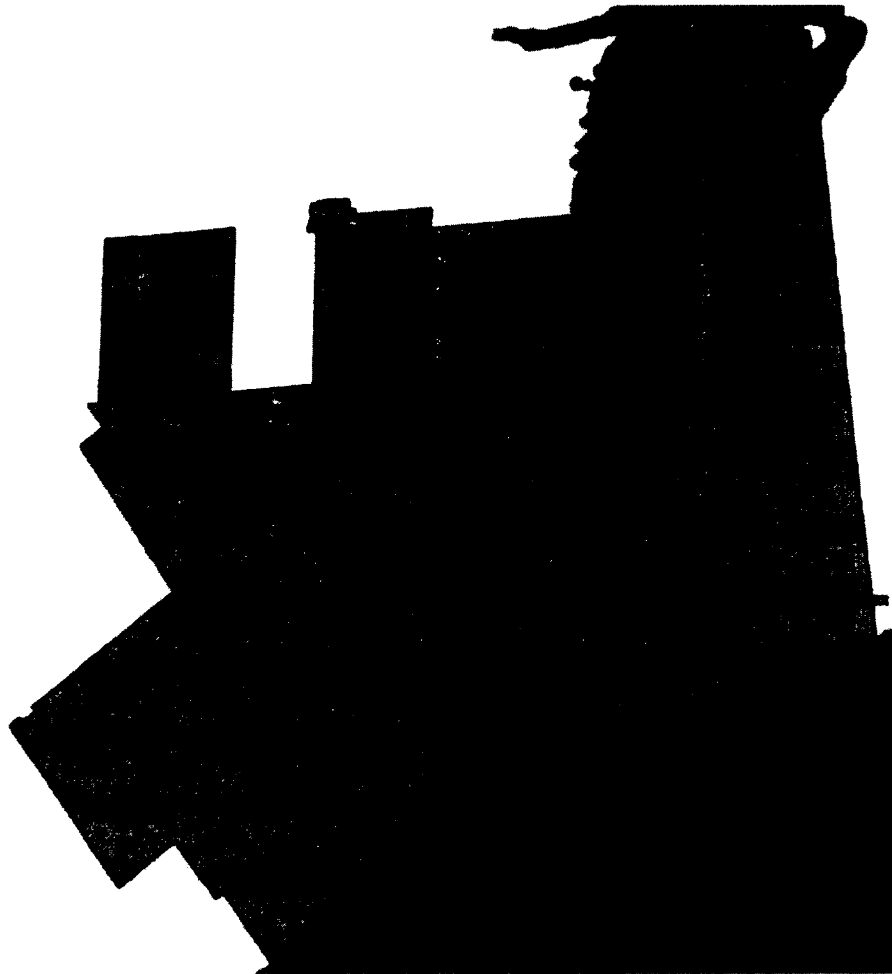
Appendix A: Map of the Toronto CMA



Source: http://prod.library.utoronto.ca:8090/cgi-bin/maplib/cma.pl

Appendix B: Female Live-In Caregivers Born in the Philippines living and working in Markham

Code CW	Focus Group	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] Philippines	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] of Residence
CW01	-	Linda	49	Batangas	University Degree in Sociology (PH)	2004	Permanent Resident	Married	3	Hong Kong
CW02	-	Mary	38	Quezon City	College Diploma (PH)	2008	Permanent Resident	Single	-	Philippines
CW03	#1	Deanna	42	Batangas	University Degree in Psychology (PH)	2003	Permanent Resident	Married	2	Hong Kong
CW04	#1	Sandra	33	Laguna	University Degree in Science (PH)	2006	Permanent Resident	Single	-	Hong Kong
CW05	#1	Joy	31	Badan Pilar	University Bachelor in Teaching (PH)	2006	Permanent Resident	Married	-	Hong Kong
CW06	-	Kay	35	Manilla	Technical Training in Computer Sciences (PH)	2007	Temporary Work Visa	Separated	1	Hong Kong
CW07	#2	Patricia	33	Ilo Ilo	University Degree, Food Technology (PH)	2006	Temporary Work Visa	Married	2	Hong Kong
CW08	#2	Fran	33	Davao	University Bachelor of Science (PH)	2008	Temporary Work Visa	Single	-	Hong Kong
CW09	#2	Arnel	28	Capiz	University Bachelor Degree (PH)	2008	Temporary Work Visa	Single	-	Hong Kong
CW10	#2	Isabel	27	Cebu	University Bachelor Degree in Teaching	2008	Temporary Work Visa	Single	-	Hong Kong

*Names of participants have been changed.

Appendix C: Female Health Care Workers Born in the Philippines living and working in Scarborough

Code: HC	Name*	Age	Place of Birth in the Philippines	[illegible] Education	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] Status	[illegible] Status	No. of Children
HC01	Melina	25	Tayug	Bachelor in Nursing (PH)	RPN	Nursing Home	2006	Permanent Resident	Single	-
HC02	Martha	41	Cebu City	Less than University Degree in Computer Science (PH) Degree in PSW	PSW	Private Caregiver in Nursing Centre (previously LIC)	2002	Permanent Resident	Married	2
HC3	Anna	38	Manila	Bachelor Degree in Nursing (PH)	RPN	Nursing Home	1999	Canadian Citizen	Single	-
HC4	Rita	24	Manila	Bachelor Degree in Nursing (PH)	PSW	Medical Placement Agency	2008	Permanent Resident	Single	-
HC05	Julia	46	Manila	Bachelor Degree in Nursing (PH)	RPN	Nursing Home	2009	Permanent Resident	Married	-
HC6	Liz	48	Musbute	University Degree(PH) College Certificate (CA)	PSW	Medical Placement Agency (Previously LIC)	2007	Permanent Resident	Married	3
HC7	Fran	54	Pampanga	College Diploma (PH)	PSW	Nursing Home	2002	Permanent Resident	Divorced	3
HC08	Lauren	46	Bacolod City	University Degree in Marketing (PH)	PSW	Medical Placement Agency (Previously LIC)	2006	Permanent Resident	Married	3
HC9	Lee	36	General Santos	University Bachelor Degree (PH)	RPN/ PSW	Nursing Home Hospital	2007	Permanent Resident	Married	1
HC10	Darlene	25	Quezon City	High School (PH), College Diploma in Nursing (CA)	RPN	Home Healthcare Placement	2003	Canadian Citizen	Single	-

*Names of participants have been changed.

Appendix D: Well-established Philippine-born Female Residents of Markham

Code: MF	Name*	Age	[illegible] Philippines	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	No. of Children
MF1	Mona	64	Lucena	Bachelor Degree (PH) Teaching Certificate (CA)	Retired Teacher	1965	Canadian Citizen	Married	1
MF2	Maria	56	Batangas	Bachelor Degree in Commerce (PH)	Bank Teller	1974	Canadian Citizen	Married	2
MF3	Teresa	64	Ilagan City	Bachelor Degree in Nursing (PH)	Retired Nurse	1967	Canadian Citizen	Divorce	2
MF4	Serena	51	Negros Occidental	High School (PH)	Automotive Assembler	1987	Permanent Resident	Married	2
MF5	Lena	81	Manila	University Degree (PH)	Retired	1971	Canadian Citizen	Single	-
MF6	Val	67	Manila	Bachelor Degree in Nursing (PH)	Nurse	1968	Canadian Citizen	Married	3
MF7	Shelly	62	Calinog	Bachelor Degree in Nursing (PH)	Retired Nurse	1969	Canadian Citizen	Married	2
MF8	Mina	66	Laguna	Bachelor Degree in Education (PH), Bachelor Degree in Social Work (CA)	Seamstress	1968	Canadian Citizen	Married	2
MF9	Gloria	61	San Rafael	High School (PH) University Degree in Teaching (CA)	Retired Teacher	1970	Canadian Citizen	Married	2
MF10	Grace	49	Luzon	High School (PH) College (CA)	RPN	1981	Canadian Citizen	Married	3

*Names of participants have been changed.

Appendix E: Interview Survey and Questions

Structured Interview Questions

Place of Residence-Workplace Relations & Meanings of Home

Individual demographics:		
1. Year of birth: ___________	2. Country of birth: ____________	3. Town or city of birth: ____________
4. Gender: ________	5. Number of children: ________	6. Ages of children: ____________
7. Highest level of education attained: ☐ less than HS ☐ HS ☐ Technical training/College ☐ University ☐ Postgraduate degree		
8. Marital status: ☐ single ☐ married , year of marriage __________ ☐ divorced/separated ☐ widowed		
9. Nationality (list if more than one):		
10. Year of immigration: __________________	11. Last country you lived in before Canada: __________	
12. Category of immigration: ☐ Independent ☐ dependent ☐ refugee ☐ business class ☐ other		
13. Current status: ☐ landed immigrant ☐ Canadian citizen ☐ dual citizenship ______________		
14. Your main reasoning for migrating to Canada: ☐ work/business ☐ family ☐ education ☐ political ☐ other: ______________		
15. City that you first lived in: ________________	16. City that you now live in: ______________	
17. What are the circumstances that you immigrated under: ☐ I came alone ☐ I came with my spouse/parents/ children/relative(s) specify: ______________		
18. First language: _______________	19. Main language spoken at home: ___________________	
20. Other languages: ______________________________		
Residence:		
21. Please describe your current housing status: ☐ owner/ co-owner ☐ renter ☐ other: ______________		

22. Postal code: ___ ___

23. How long have you been at this residence for: ____________

24. How many people live in you household in the following age groups:
under 15 _____ age 15-24 _____ age 24-44 _____ age 45-64 _____ age 65 and older _____

24. Annual household income:
☐ less than $20,000 ☐ $20,000-$39,000 ☐ $40,000-$59,000 ☐ $60,000-$89,000 ☐ $90,000 or above

25. How many bedrooms are in your home: ________

26. How many bathrooms: ________

27. Can you describe other places of residence that you have lived in since moving to Canada:
____

Unpaid work:

28. How many hours per week are spent on the following work in the house:
housework childcare senior care other: ___________

Work:

29. Are you:
☐ self employed ☐ employed FT/PT ____ ☐ unemployed - seeking/not seek work ______ ☐ retired

30. If employed, what is your current occupation/job: _____________

31. Postal code: __ __ __ __ __ __

32. Which category does your occupation fall under:
☐ managerial ☐ professional ☐ sales ☐ service ☐ clerical ☐ manual (construction or industrial)

33. Please list an other jobs that you have held in Canada starting with the most recent:
____

34. Last occupation/job you held before coming to Canada: ________________________________

35. Do you think that your current job is:
☐ below your level of skill/training ☐ appropriate to your level of sk/tr'g ☐ above your level of sk/tr'g

36. Current occupation of spouse (if applicable): ______________________

Commute:

37. Distance between place of residence and work: ________km

38. Mode of transportation: ____________________

39. Time spent on traveling: _______________min/hr

40. Cost of travel per week: ____________________

Connections:

41. In what ways do you stay in contact with people in countries other than in Canada:
Country: ________________

☐ telephone ____ times per month ☐ email ____ times per month ☐ mail _____ times per month Country: ______________ ☐ telephone ____ times per month ☐ email ____ times per month ☐ mail _____ times per month
42. Who do you keep in contact with most frequently (check all that apply): ☐ immediate family ☐ extended family ☐ friends ☐ employer ☐ co-workers ☐ other: ________
42. How often do you travel to places that you have lived in: Country ____________ Number of times visited per year ________ Country ____________ Number of times visited per year ________
43. Do you remit money back home: ☐ no ☐ yes: to where ______________ approximate amount per month __________

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Place of Residence-Workplace Relations & Meanings of Home

A. Migration history

-Can you begin by telling me a bit about your migration history?
-Did you arrive here from your place of birth or did you live in other places aside form your place of birth?
-Can you discuss the circumstances around your move to Canada?
-What prompted you to move to Canada?
-Who did you migrate with?
-Did others join you afterwards?

B. Transnational Networks

I would like to talk a bit about the connections that you have maintained with other places outside of Canada since your move here.
-What places do you stay connected with?
-How often and with whom do you stay in touch with?
-How do you stay connected to other places? What modes of communication do you use (E.g.. Telephone, email, mail etc.)
-What are the major reasons for staying in touch?
-Do you plan on going back to these places?

C. Place of Residence and Neighbourhood

-Can we now talk about your experiences of moving into this house and neighbourhood?
-Can you talk about the transition after moving to Canada and into this house?
-How did you find this house/neighbourhood?
-Could you tell me about the neighbourhood?

-What are the things you like about it?
-What are the things you dislike about it?
-What were your perceptions of the community before you moved here?
-Can you tell me about yours and your family's involvement in the neighbourhood? (Socially, politically, children's involvement, et cetera)
-Do you have many friends and family in the neighbourhood or near by?
-Where do the children go to school?
-How do you feel about the school they are attending?
-Do they like going to school there?

D. Paid and unpaid Work

Work, both in and outside of the house, can play a large role in one's settlement experiences. Let's now talk about your paid and unpaid work experiences?
-Can you tell me about your job here?
-Is this work different from the work you did before you came to Canada? If so, how?
-How did you find your job (e.g.: family/friends, recruitment agency)?
-Do you enjoy the work that you do?
-Can you tell me about who does the work in the house? (eg: housework, childcare, elderly care)
-How many hours? And who is responsible for this work?
-Have the responsibilities changed over time and how?

E. Meanings of Home

-Given your connections with other places/countries and also your feelings about your neighbourhood/community here, let's talk about your sense of home in general.
-Where do you feel at home?
-What makes you feel at home in each of these places?
-How has your sense of home changed since you moved to Canada?
-How does the location of your place of residence (currently, in the past and in the future) impact your sense of home?
-How does the work that you do impact your sense of home?