Spaces of Belonging: Filipina LCP Migrants and their Practices of Claiming Space in Toronto

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography
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Much current literature on women and migration tends to approach the study of migrant domestic workers as victims of global capitalism—or according to Parrenas’s evocative phrase as “servants of globalization”—from one of two vantage points. The first vantage point focuses attention on how the conditions of exit in various sending countries make overseas domestic servitude one of the few employment opportunities available for many women (Parrenas 2001). The second draws attention to the ways in which these migrant women experience stratification—along the lines of gender, race, and class—as part of their settlement experiences in their host countries (Pratt 1998). Both of these vantage points reinforce aspects of the “servants of globalization” discourse in that they pay relatively little attention to the coping practices of migrant domestic workers. In order to extend the thesis beyond the “servants of globalization” discourse, this thesis examines the coping practices that migrant Filipina domestic workers develop in their efforts to create communities of affirmation, care, and belonging.
**Acknowledgements**

I dedicate this thesis to the courageous Filipina women who emigrated from the Philippines to find work in the Greater Toronto Area. These women made and continue to make many sacrifices in order to ensure a better future for their children. I am grateful for the time that I spent with many of these women. I look forward to what I hope is a long and fruitful alliance between us.

I wish to extend my warmest thanks to my joint supervisors, Professors Deborah Leslie and Rachel Silvey. Thank you for sharing your invaluable insights with me and encouraging me to pursue an advanced degree in Geography. I am equally thankful to both of you for your patience, kindness, and overall enthusiasm for this thesis project. I also wish to thank Professor Alan Walks for his intellectual support and feedback. I also wish to express my sincerest thanks to my mentor, Professor Monica Boyd. Many thanks for exposing me to the literature on women migrants, sharing your time and wisdom with me, and offering me unconditional support throughout the past four and a half years. Finally, I thank Marianne Ishibashi and Jessica Finyalson for their administrative guidance and support.

A special thanks goes to both the Geography Department at the University of Toronto as well as CERIS - the Ontario Metropolis Center for their generous financial support.

Finally, I also would like to thank my colleagues in the Geography Department, including Hilary Ferguson, Kate Parizeau, Brian Hracs, and Jim Delaney, for all of the writing and moral support, as well as my non-academic friends, especially Jacqueline Dyer-Vivian, Laura Montgomery, Laura Baird, Brianna Robertson, Stephanie Silver, and Stacey Jablonski, for helping me see the big picture. And of course, I am incredibly grateful to my wonderful and supportive family, including the Palmer’s, Dacey’s, and La Rocque’s. My sincerest thanks to all.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Thousands of middle-class women emigrate en masse from the Republic of the Philippines each year as low-waged labour migrants. Many of these migrant women gain entry into Canadian cities by applying to the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP). The LCP is a visa-entry program that recruits women. In the past two decades the majority of women participants in this program originate from the Philippines (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2007). They come to Canada to work as live-in caregivers, maids, and nannies for Canadian families. There are two main advantages for these middle-class Filipina women who often worked as teachers, nurses, and administrative assistants in the Philippines (Parrenas 2001; Pratt 2004) to seek employment in Canada under the Live-In Caregiver Program (Pratt 2004). First, these migrant women can make important economic contributions to their communities of origin (Pratt 2005). Saskia Sassen (2002) conceptualizes this type of economic mobility pattern as a survival circuit (see Chapter 2 for a further discussion of “survival circuits”). Second, the LCP provides an opportunity for all candidates to become eligible to apply for permanent resident status after they work for 24-months within a 3-year period. Once Filipina LCP migrants acquire permanent resident status, they can sponsor family members from the Philippines, and thus bring them into Canada (Pratt 2004).

Despite these two main advantages for Filipina women to work in Canada under the Live-In Caregiver Program, Rhacel Parrenas (2001) refers to these migrant women—as well as to those who work in non-Canadian geographic regions—as “servants of globalization.” The “servants of globalization” discourse underscores a common argument that exists in most feminist literature on migrant female domestic workers. The recurrent argument is that the “contemporary outmigration of Filipina and their entrance into domestic [servitude] is a product
of globalization” (Parrenas 2001:11). Specifically, the historical economic restructuring of the global labour market increased the demand for low-waged labour migrants in post-industrial countries. That is, the economic restructuring of the 1970s and 1980s increased the number of high-income, professional managerial employment positions available, particularly for women (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). While many professional women entered and continue to enter the labour market in advanced capitalist countries at unprecedented rates, many of these same women and their families increasingly hire foreign-born women to work in the privacy of their homes as live-in caregivers, maids, and nannies. Given that these foreign-born migrant women, who work in more than 130 countries, perform similar roles as domestic workers in the same labour market position (i.e. the secondary tier labour force), they face comparable outcomes to one another (Parrenas 2001). One outcome that these migrant women experience in their host countries, according to the “servants of globalization” discourse, includes their treatment as “cheap” and easily expendable labourers.

Aside from Parrenas (2001), scholars from a wide range of fields including Geography, Law, Political Science, and Sociology also make important contributions to the growing body of literature on migrant Filipina domestic workers (for examples, see Anderson 2002; Boyd 2003; Hochschild 2000; Macklin 1994; Palmer 2007; Pratt 2004). Much of this current literature on migrant domestic workers tends to focus on how the processes of globalization interact with

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1 A lot of employment positions also became available for women during the 1970s and 1980s in large part because of the women’s movement.

2 There are additional factors at play that influence economically-privileged women to hire foreign-born domestics. Such factors include the reorganization of neighbourhoods and families (for example: nuclear households rather than multi-generational represents a potential loss of support from extended kin, including grandparents) and neoliberalizing pressures.

3 By “cheap”, I refer to how domestic work—in many postindustrial countries—is seen as a job that requires very few skills. Since there is a positive correlation between the more skills required for a job and the wages one earns for that same job, domestic work is low paid. Thus, domestic workers have come to be seen as low-waged, unskilled labourers (Pratt 1998), which in turn justifies their position as “cheap labourers” who are easily replaceable.
gender and racial inequalities to produce a dispensable collection of “cheap” migrant women. For instance, Hochschild (2000) conceptualizes the migration processes and patterns of migrant Filipina domestic workers as “global care chains.” According to Hochschild (2000), global care chains refer to how thousands of women from economically-disadvantaged countries who migrate abroad are uprooted to wealthier countries as low-waged labour migrants in order to care for the young, sick, and elderly. She presents global care chains as uni-directional (Hochschild 2000; Yeates 2005) in the sense that she sees these migrant women as solely providing care to those children who they are paid to supervise in their host societies. As I show in Chapter 2, the global care chains model reinforces aspects of the servants of globalization discourse in that the model solely attends to the structural processes of the migration patterns of Filipina LCP migrants. In other words, the global care chains model does not give attention to the nuanced and multiple geographies of the migration processes of LCP migrants in the Canadian context. In addition, the global care model does not attend to how migrant women rely on new social networks in their destination countries to help them cope with their experiences of working as domestic workers; nor does the model attend to if and how these same migrant women are recipients of care.

Given the focused perspective of the global care chains model in describing the narrow distribution of flows of care, a pertinent question is left unanswered. The question asks how LCP migrants cope with family separation, indentured labour, and their perceived lack of access to social capital in their host cities. Or a broader question asks how these migrant women cope with their experience of working as domestic workers in foreign cities. I intend for my thesis to investigate how LCP migrants cope with their experiences as domestic workers in Toronto. By investigating the coping practices of LCP migrants, I hope to enrich our understanding of the global care chains model.
The “servants of globalization” discourse also gives attention to how migrant Filipina domestic workers often experience stratification as part of their labour market experiences in their host societies. Bridget Anderson (2002), Grace Chang (2000), Nicole Constable (2002), and Rhacel Parrenas (2001) all make significant contributions to the servants of globalization discourse by arguing migrant domestic workers experience alienating, exploitative working conditions, gender oppression, and racial inequalities in their host societies. For example, Anderson (2002:107) describes how many caregivers are required to perform dehumanizing labour, including “cleaning cats’ anuses, flushing employers’ toilets, scrubbing the floors with toothbrushes three times a day, or standing by the door in the same position for hours at a time.” In addition, Constable (2002) provides insights into the many rules and regulations imposed by numerous employers of migrant Filipina domestic workers. A few extreme examples of these rules include the following: (1) they have to take daily baths before going to bed; (2) they must wash their own clothes separately from their employers and their employers’ children; and, (3) they can only write letters to their friends and families on their holidays, as opposed to on the weeknights (Constable 2002).

Although Pratt (2004) argues that it is important to share these narratives of exploitation and indentured servitude in both academic and policy circles, such a narrow focus tends to reproduce a sorrowful and limited representation of Filipina domestic workers as nothing but helpless “servants of globalization.” Gibson et al. (2001) argue that this common representation of migrant domestic workers as victims of global capitalism has roots in an essentialist perspective and consequently leaves little space for more complex understandings of the ways in which these women participate in shaping their own life trajectories. For example, the focused perspective of migrant domestic workers as oppressed labourers ignores certain aspects of their agency. The analysis of Gibson et al. (2001) echoes Mohanty’s argument (1991) that Western scholarship often implicitly characterizes women from “third world” countries as exploited and
powerless. Further, Cohen (1991:211) argues that these types of representations influence our perception of ‘third world’ women as “defeated victims of selfish and greedy oppressors.” The problem with the potency of the servants of globalization discourse is that it produces specific subjects, namely Filipina domestic workers, who come to believe that they inherently represent a pool of “cheap” and expendable labourers. Gibson et al. (2001:382) argue:

[one way to] counter the needy victim representation is to portray these women in terms of their assets and capacities, that is in terms of the assets, monetary and non-economic, that they acquire via the migrant work experience and the capacities they posses to effect change, through both personal and community empowerment.

Casting Filipina LCP migrants in a different light from the servants of globalization discourse is important in large part because it increases the realm of possible ways of perceiving these migrant women (Gibson et al. 2001).

In this thesis, I aim to enlarge the realm of possible ways of understanding these migrant women. I intend to do so by adding to our understandings of the global care chains model. In an effort to enrich our knowledge of the geographies of the global care chains model, two broad questions inform this research: (1) What sorts of geographies are embedded in the global care chains model; and (2) How does attention to the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants enrich our understandings of the global care chains model? To answer these questions, this research has the following objectives:

- To understand how Filipina LCP migrants cope with their experiences of exclusion at various scales across Toronto;

- To understand some of the key sites and spaces of the social networks of Filipina LCP migrants; and,
• To revise the geographical elements of the global chains model by showing how Filipina LCP migrants create new spaces of care communities in Toronto.

In order to achieve these research objectives, I conducted 30 in-depth interviews with migrant Filipina women who hold jobs as domestic workers across some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods, specifically the Annex, Bloor West Village, and Riverdale. As I discuss further in Chapter 3, I chose to conduct fieldwork in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods in large part because there are lot of Filipina nannies, according to many of the research participants, who occupy these spaces.

1.1 OUTLINE OF THESIS

In this thesis, I argue that Filipina LCP migrants develop two common practices of claiming space in their efforts to redress the structural and social exclusion that they encounter at various scales across Toronto. These scales of exclusion range from household to community levels, as well as from individual to national ones. Structural exclusion operates when societal structures systemically deny individuals and/or groups of individuals from access to various institutions or resources (Whitley 2005). The Live-In Caregiver Program reproduces structural exclusions that are manifest at the household, community, and national scales. For instance, the LCP determines both the housing and labour market geographies of LCP migrants. First, the LCP requires that all LCP migrants live in their employers’ houses for a minimum of 24-months within a 36-month period. Research shows how many employers of Filipina LCP migrants expect their employees to “render themselves invisible through their spatial practices” (Bakan and Stasiulis 1997:14). By creating an environment that requires the performance of invisibility, the employers of migrant domestic workers reinforce their foreign-born employees’ subject positions as “Other”, which deepens the sense of non-belonging for these migrant
women in their employers’ houses. And in terms of how the LCP shapes the labour market geographies of LCP migrants, the program prohibits live-in caregivers from assuming additional jobs and thus excludes them from occupational mobility in local labour markets. In this thesis, I draw attention to two of the coping practices that LCP migrants develop in their efforts to mitigate the effects of the structural exclusion that they encounter in city spaces across Toronto.

In this thesis, I also argue that by paying attention to the coping practices of LCP migrants, gender and migration scholars can gain a deeper and fuller understanding of the nuances that exist in the global care chains model. That is, I hope to show how LCP migrants utilize their everyday spaces—playgrounds, the houses of their employers, and their own weekender apartments—in an effort to create communities of care. In examining how LCP migrants play an active role in the social reproduction of their migrant communities within host countries and particular spaces within homes and cities, I depart from how a global care chains model which imagines a linear and uni-directional flow of care from low-income origin countries to higher-income destination countries (for a more thorough critique of the global care chains model, please see Chapter 2).

I divide the remainder of this thesis into 4 chapters. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the global care chains model, the “servants of globalization” discourse, and migrant domestic workers. I also draw on Melissa Wright (2006) and bell hooks (1990) in order to enrich our understandings of the global care chains model. Specifically, I turn to Wright’s (2006) work on the resignification of “third world” women factory workers and hooks’ (1990) conceptualization of homeplace in order to develop my argument that LCP migrants create spaces of care communities. Chapter 3 outlines the research design of this thesis. I explain my rationale in choosing to conduct fieldwork in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. In addition, I explain the recruitment techniques that I utilized to find a sample of thirty migrant Filipina domestic workers. The chapter also examines how my research positionality informs my
understandings and interpretations of the working and living conditions and experiences of Filipina LCP migrants.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed account of my research findings. Based on these findings, I argue that migrant domestic workers congregate together in public spaces and co-rent weekender apartments in an effort to create communities of both care and belonging in their everyday spaces. I first show how LCP migrants’ practices of congregating together in public spaces deepens their social networks; in turn, these same migrant women draw on their established networks in order to co-rent weekender apartments. By developing a range of coping practices, LCP migrants play active roles in the (re)production of their own spaces of belonging. However, I also wish to avoid romanticizing the coping practices these migrant women develop. In order to avoid creating an idyllic representation of Filipina LCP migrants, I discuss how their coping practices do not function outside of existing power structures and inequalities. In sum, Chapter 4 also argues that the coping practices of LCP migrants can have both negative and positive effects in the sense that while their strategies help them deepen their networks, these same strategies also reproduce aspects of their segregation from dominant members of Torontonian society. Overall, the findings in this thesis enrich our understandings of the geographies of the global care chains model. By paying attention to the LCP migrants who construct a homeplace by co-renting weekender apartments—where they can provide care and support to one another—I intend to modify the geographies of the global care chains model, as I discuss in more detail in the following chapter.
CHAPTER TWO: THE GEOGRAPHIES OF MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Most current literature on women and migration tends to approach the study of migrant domestic workers as victims of global capitalism—or according to Parrenas’ evocative phrase as “servants of globalization”—from one of two vantage points. The first vantage point focuses attention on how the conditions of exit in various sending countries make overseas domestic servitude one of the few employment options available for many women (Parrenas 2001). The second draws attention to the ways in which these migrant women experience stratification—along the lines of gender, race, and class, coupled with their status as temporary migrants—as part of their settlement experiences in their host countries (Arat-Koc 2001; Pratt 1998; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). One of the objectives of this literature review is to investigate these two dominant approaches in current literature. A second objective is to discuss the ways in which I intend for my thesis to extend the analysis of migrant domestic workers beyond the “servants of globalization” discourse.

The intent of this literature review is to treat the pre-migration phase and the post-migration period not as two independent phenomena, but rather to treat the two phases as interconnected. This approach to understanding the links between the pre-migration and post-migration phases relates to Castle and Miller’s (2003:21) argument that migration is a “process which affects every dimension of social existence.” That is, in order to gain insight into the complexities of these migrant women’s livelihoods and migration processes as a whole, we need to understand the migration flows of Filipina domestic workers holistically. Specifically, the examination of migrant domestic workers in the pre- and post-migration phases captures both the complexity and continuity of the “servants of globalization” discourse at play in both labour
sending and receiving countries. Simultaneously, an understanding of their migration as a process rather than as an event permits insight into the complex dimensions of these migrants’ subjective experiences, dimensions that extend well beyond victim narratives and reveal textured stories of human agency.

In order to review the literature on migrant domestic workers, the following literature chapter is divided into the following key sections: Section 2.1 first outlines the key theoretical concepts that are pertinent to this thesis: (1) intersectionality; (2) social networks; and (3) multiculturalism. Section 2.2 examines the two primary migration theories that gender and migration scholars draw from in an effort to explain why Filipina women emigrate en masse from the Philippines. The two main migration theories are the historical structural approach and the global care chains model (Parrenas 2001; Hochschild 2000). Section 2.3 reviews the current literature on the alienating working conditions, gender oppression, and racial inequalities that these migrant women routinely experience as part of their settlement in their host societies. Section 2.4 highlights how my thesis contributes to current literature on migrant domestic workers. Specifically, the thesis examines the strategies that migrant Filipina domestic workers develop in their efforts to create spaces of belonging in Toronto. By looking at how these migrant women claim both private and public space, I hope to extend the discussion beyond the “servants of globalization” discourse. In an effort to achieve my research objectives, I review the literature on agency along the lines of work by bell hooks, Melissa Wright, and Geraldine Pratt. Specifically, this literature review examines hooks’ conceptualization of homeplace, as well as Wright and Pratt’s work on resignification. Finally, I conclude the literature review by raising a series of questions that are currently under-researched in the literature on gender and migration. My aim is to investigate the answers to these research questions in both the findings and final chapters of this thesis.
PART ONE: BRIEF REVIEW OF KEY THEMES

2.1 KEY THEMES

In this section, I review several key concepts—specifically, intersectionality, social networks, and multiculturalism—that arise repeatedly throughout the thesis. The goal of the review is not to further our understanding of these particular concepts; rather, the goal is to define these concepts because they emerge throughout the thesis in exploration of some of the complex experiences of Filipina LCP migrants in the context of Toronto.

2.1.1 Intersectionality

The theoretical concept of ‘intersectionality’ is a fundamental principle in feminist thinking (Collins 1999; Brown and Misra 2003). Intersectionality signifies an “interlocking system of race, gender, and class” as constituting a “matrix of domination” (Collins 1999). Collins’ (1999) and many other scholars (example: Shields 2008) argue that intersectionality is about how gender identity for a person or a community is also always simultaneously about race and class; and vice versa. Further, Brown and Misra (2003) argue that social identities influence the organizing principles in various social contexts, such as – in this study - the interactions that take place between Filipina LCP migrants and their employers at neighbourhood parks. Throughout this thesis, I draw on the theoretical concept of intersectionality in an effort to show how two groups of individuals embody a set of relationally produced identities and inequalities at the scale of local playgrounds and schoolyards in some of Toronto’s neighbourhoods.

2.1.2 Social Networks
In this section, I briefly review how the concept of ‘social networks’ is understood in relation to the literature on immigration and settlement incorporation. After I review the concept of ‘social networks’, I draw on the important work of Silvey and Elmhirst (2003) in an effort to show how social networks can be empowering to some, while simultaneously disempowering to others. Finally, I conclude this brief discussion on social networks by showing how I intend for my research to explore the social networks of Filipina LCP migrants in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods.

In Monica Boyd’s (1989) survey article, she refers to social networks as personal relationships that are based on kin, family, friends, and community. According to Boyd (1989:639), social networks play significant roles in the settlement phases of migration in that they are “important conduits of information and social and financial assistance.” That is, the social networks of migrants provide them with social capital, which facilitates their incorporation processes in their host societies (Browning and Rodriguez 1985). Further, Massey et al. (1987) argue that over time, some migrant networks evolve into mature ones and they also develop ethnic associations that provide organized support to newcomers. In addition, Ryan et al. (2008) discuss how recently arrived migrants integrate into tight-knit communities of expatriates who share the same countries of origin. For example, Hagan (1998:55) argues, “Communities with mature networks provide newcomers with emotional and cultural support and various other resources, including initial housing and information about job opportunities.”

In this thesis, I intend to explore the participation of Filipina LCP migrants in their social networks and the benefits that participation in such networks generate.

Curran and Saguy (2001), as well as Silvey and Elmhirst (2003) challenge the argument that all recent immigrants join and thus participate in well-established migrant communities upon their arrival into their host societies. For example, Silvey and Elmhirst (2003) argue that social networks can provide access to resources to some, while these same social networks
simultaneously exclude others from access to those same sources of capital. Parrenas (2001) specifically examines the migrant Filipino/a community in Los Angeles. By revealing that migrant domestic workers encounter social exclusion from their larger Filipino migrant community in L.A., Parrenas (2001) avoids romanticizing the Filipino/a community. Nonetheless, while Parrenas (2001:198) is careful not to idealize the Filipino/a community as a whole, she creates an idyllic representation of Filipina domestic workers: “solidarity emerges only among the subgroup of domestic workers and not the community as a whole.”

Parrenas’ (2001) findings can be understood in relation to Mahler’s argument that inter-conflict among sub-groups of immigrants is rarely taken up in the literature.

In Chapter 4, I hope to show how my findings support the argument that internal stratification exists among domestic workers in their host societies. I also hope to show how my research on Filipina LCP migrants corroborates Hondagneu-Sotelo’s (1994) work on undocumented Mexican domestic workers. Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994:138) argues, “[While] social ties play an important role in resettlement […], the social transactions among these women have both negative and positive dimensions.” Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) further argues that internal stratification can exist within the social networks of Mexican domestic workers. She also points out that there are divides between literate and illiterate domestic workers, as well as between those who have legal status and those who are undocumented. I want to extend this discussion on social networks and internal stratification by examining the prominent tensions that exist among the Filipina LCP migrant population in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. In addition, I intend to discuss the ways in which these various tensions manifest themselves in playground spaces.

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4 It is worth noting, however, that Parrenas (2001) does draw attention to Filipina domestic workers who choose not to participate in social networks. She argues that they stand out among domestic workers and often are seen as greedy or unhelpful. Parrenas’ (2001) represents these accounts of migrant women who choose not to participate in social networks as randomized and also as the exception to the norm. I intend to show how the tensions that exist among Filipina LCP migrants in Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods are much more complex than what Parrenas’ (2001) analysis suggests.
2.1.3 Discourses of Multiculturalism and Integration

Much recent literature on immigration examines how the inclusion or exclusion of temporary migrant workers, as well as immigrants into Canadian society, can be understood in relation to the ongoing project of Canadian nation-building (see Abu-Laban and Stasiulis 2000; Hiebert and Ley 2003; Li 2003; Mahtani 2002; Pratt 2004; Sharma 2006; Veronis 2007). For example, dating back to the late 1960s and 1970s, Canada’s immigration policy, which is one way in which the country’s nation-building project comes to life, shifted from a preferred/non-preferred binary in the selection process to the adoption of a ‘multiculturalism within a bilingual framework’ policy (Abu-Laban 1998; Hiebert and Ley 2003; Kymlicka 1998). According to Hiebert and Ley (2003), the espousal of a multiculturalism policy is a sharp departure from the prior expectation that newcomers to Canada conform to or assimilate into the dominant Canadian society.

Multiculturalism within the Canadian context is seen as a set of efforts aimed at actively striving towards achieving diversity (Mitchell 2004). That is to say, Mitchell (2004:642) refers to multiculturalism as the “philosophy and policies related to a particular mode of immigrant incorporation as well as to the rights of minority groups in society to state recognition and protection.” However, multiculturalism does not always reach full maturity on the ground. For example, Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002) indicate that many academics criticize the policy for merely celebrating difference, rather than for actually effecting structural transformation on the ground. According to Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002), the policy of multiculturalism has yet to effectively tackle systemic racism in Canada. Hence, the discourse and policy of multiculturalism carries implications beyond a mere celebration of difference.
Beginning in the early 1990s, however, Abu-Laban (1998) argues that the Canadian Government moved away from a multiculturalism framework and towards a dominant discourse of integration. Unlike the policy of multiculturalism, integration is seen as less threatening by the dominant members of English-speaking Canadian society in large part because the integration discourse implies that Canadian society is monolithic rather than a “multiplicity of cultures with no shared common core” (Abu-Laban 1998:202). That is, Abu-Laban (1998:202) argues dominant society tends to view the integration discourse favourably because “within the use of the term integration, a binary is established between (implicitly monolithic) Canadians/Canadian values/Canadian society on the one hand and all newcomers/immigrants on the other.” In view of this perspective, Abu-Laban (1998) sees the discourse of integration as an alternative to multiculturalism. Nonetheless, the dominant discourse of integration also has its own set of drawbacks. For example, Li (1998) points out that cultural differences are viewed as obstacles rather than as advantages to integration processes within Canadian society. Another critique made against the dominant discourse of integration is that academics and policymakers routinely and narrowly measure ‘successful’ integration by examining the socioeconomic differences that exist between foreign-born persons and native-born Canadians (Li 2003).

Therefore, both the discourses of multiculturalism and integration raise important questions of nation-building practices and ideas of who belongs to the Canadian nation-state. Throughout the thesis, I show how Filipina LCP migrants further complicate these ideas of identity, space, and belonging. That is, I intend to show how these migrants complicate such ideas by reviewing the literature on their experiences of non-belonging and by sequentially investigating how they create spaces of belonging in their host city of Toronto (see Chapter 4).

PART TWO: SERVANTS OF GLOBALIZATION LITERATURE
2.2 FILIPINA LABOUR DIASPORA

The first vantage point from which gender and migration scholars routinely seek to explain the Filipina labour diaspora examines how the historical and structural conditions in the Philippines underpins Filipina women’s migration abroad (Hochschild 2000; Parrenas 2001, 2008). Briefly, the historical-structural approach assumes that migration can only fully be examined in the context of historical analysis of the broader structural changes underway in a specific social formation (Sukamdi and Haris 2000). In terms of the Philippines, the outmigration of women is seen to result from the country’s legacy of colonialism, coupled with the shift from an import-oriented market to an export-oriented one (Parrenas 2001, 2008; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). That is, the country’s histories with both American and Spanish colonialism shape the current economic fabric of the Philippines. For example, despite the Philippines having full independence for more than 60 years, abject poverty remains. In addition, there are few employment opportunities in the formal economy. In many ways then, the inadequate social welfare nets continue to be one of the consequences of long-term colonial rule in the Philippines. Both Asis (2006) and Parrenas (2001) link the legacies of American and Spanish colonialism in the Philippines with the mass emigration of Filipina women.

Feminist theorists Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002), as well as Hochschild (2002) draw on the historical-structural approach to explain key aspects of the Filipina labour diaspora. For example, Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002:4-5) conceive the mass emigration of Filipina migrants to affluent postindustrial countries as an outcome of the unequal wealth and power between the Philippines and affluent postindustrial countries, including Canada and the United States:
In an earlier phase of imperialism, northern countries extracted natural resources and agricultural products – rubber, metals, and sugar, for example – from lands they conquered and colonized. Today, while still relying on Third World countries for agricultural and industrial labour, the wealthy countries also seek something harder to measure and quantify, something that can look very much like love [...] It is as if the wealthy parts of the world are running short on precious emotional and sexual resources and have to turn to poorer regions for fresh supplies.

Thus, according to Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002), northern countries are mobilizing low-waged labour migrants from poorer, less developed countries, such as the Philippines, to gain reproductive capital. Similarly, Hochschild (2002:17) conceptualizes the mass emigration of Filipina migrants as a result of unequal relations between poor and rich countries: “That yawning gap between rich and poor countries is itself a form of coercion, pushing Third World mothers to seek work in the First World for lack of options closer to home.” Hence, Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002), as well as Hochschild (2002) interpret the unprecedented movement of Filipina women to work as live-in caregivers, maids, and nannies in a range of wealthy countries as a care drain.

In addition, gender and migration scholars, such as Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) and Parrenas (2008) draw on the historical structural approach in a nuanced and feminist way. For example, rather than examining the macro-level political and power differences that exist between nations, Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) and Parrenas (2008) demonstrate how economic inequalities exist between women of the global south and the global north.5 Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) refers to the economic differences between these two groups of women as a ‘new world domestic order.’ Parrenas (2008:41) offers an interpretation of the ‘new world order’:

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5 Lan (2006:4) takes this analysis further by arguing that “rather than reproducing a simple dichotomy between white employers and workers of colour, the multi-tiered flows of international migration expose inequalities among women in the global south.” In this argument, Lan critiques the common and singular representation of ‘third world woman’, which many Western feminist scholars cite, by drawing attention to the theory that class and racial hierarchies also exist in the global south.
[as a] flow of labour [that] calls our attention to new forms of inequalities between women, particularly care labour inequalities that result in the international division of reproductive labour of women purchasing care for their children from women with fewer resources in the global economy.

As a result of the economic differences that exist between women in the global south and women in the global north, the latter, according to Parrenas (2008) can afford to hire foreign-born, racialized women to provide domestic help in the privacy of their own homes.

Arguably, there are connections between the macro- and micro-level approaches to understanding how affluent, postindustrial countries mobilize low-waged migrant labourers from less developed countries, such as the Philippines. Both ‘global care chains’ and the ‘international division of reproductive labour’ are two conceptual and feminist models that attempt to bridge the macro and micro approaches in understanding the Filipina labour diaspora. Further, both models can be understood in relation to Lawson’s (1998) feminist approach to understanding migration in that she argues that structural inequalities are gendered and thus gender, as an organizing principle of society, needs to be fully integrated into migration theories.

The notion of ‘global care chains’ first emerged in the feminist literature on migration theory in the early 2000s. Since the initial conceptualization of global care chains, an ongoing conversation has been and continues to be exchanged among Hochschild (2000), Hochschild et al. (2008), and Yeates (2004; 2005). Each of the scholars examines how global capitalism underpins the globalization of care. That is, they show how globalization shapes the unequal distribution of care resources across the globe. Hochschild (2000:131) identifies global care chains as a “series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring.” The scales of global care chains, according to Hochschild (2000), can be local, national, or alternatively global; however, the general geographical patterns of global care chains are that they begin in a poor country and end in a rich one.
Hochschild’s (2000) work on global care chains makes two groundbreaking contributions to the current literature on Filipina domestics. First, she extends a Marxist critique of worker exploitation into the private sphere. Both theoretically and empirically, this ‘de-fetishisation’ of domestic workers shows how the global transfer of care cannot be disentangled from the processes of globalization. This is an important contribution given that Hochschild shows how care as a seemingly private and intangible quality is in fact a resource and thus the reorganization of the world economy affects the global distribution of care resources. Hochschild (2000:1422) explains how globalization increases “inequities in access to care.” For example, the reshaping of the world economy enables certain class-privileged women to purchase care resources from economically-disadvantaged women. Her second contribution to the literature is that Hochschild (2000) sets the stage for future empirical research, as does Rhacel Parrenas (2000), on transnational families by asking about the effects that Filipina emigration have on the children and husbands in their communities of origin in the Philippines.

In “Global Care Chains: Critical Reflections and Lines of Enquiry,” Yeates (2004) reviews the construct of ‘global care chains.’ Yeates (2004) recognizes the theoretical relevance of global care chains, yet she also argues that the concept requires further conceptual development. She argues, for instance, that the global care chains concept “presents the redistribution of care labour as one-way traffic, involving the transfer of emotional care labour away from the migrant’s child(ren) in the Philippines to the child(ren) whom she is paid to care for in the West” (2005:13). Building on Parrenas’ research findings, Yeates indicates that overseas migrant domestic workers who are mothers to children in the Philippines continue to provide care for the children—although in a new, transnational mode. Further, Yeates (2004:374) argues that the global care chains model requires strengthening by creating a “broader application to other groups of migrant care workers in different care contexts and over different historical periods.” Yeates (2004), therefore, suggests that future studies ought to
extend beyond the narrow analysis of migrant domestic workers by incorporating a diverse range of individual actors and household types. In this thesis, I intend to revise the global care chains model by showing how global care chains are not uni-directional. That is, I hope to show how global care chains are not a simple geography, but rather Filipina domestic workers’ care chains are more dispersed in terms of the places from which and to which care is given and received.

Agreeing that Yeates (2004; 2005) widened the conceptual applicability of the global care chains model, Hochschild et al. (2008:407) carry the conversation forward by “offering a conceptual picture of what it is that anchors care chains: the socio-emotional commons.” In their re-conceptualization of global care chains, Hochschild et al. (2008) argue that care capital is an important, yet often invisible component of social capital. By coupling the two forms of capital together, the authors suggest that care skills are in fact vital to the reproduction and socialization of families. Care skills according to Hochschild et al. (2008) are also important to the economic production of communities and nation-states. The crux of their argument is that care capital receiving countries, such as Canada and Singapore, are “eroding the commons of the South” (p. 418) by importing low-waged labour migrants from economically-impoverished countries. According to Hochschild et al. (2008), the redistribution of care resources carries drastic implications for the social reproduction and the economic production of the communities that experience an intense loss of care capital.

In a similar vein to the literature on global care chains, Rhacel Parrenas (2000; 2001) developed the second framework: the international division of reproductive labour. According to Parrenas (2001), the international division of reproductive labour is a three tier transfer of reproductive labour between the following groups of women: (1) middle-class women in receiving countries; (2) migrant domestic workers; and (3) women from economically-impoverished countries who cannot afford to migrate. Parrenas (2001) explains that
reproductive labour ranges from the completion of household chores to the socialization of children. In addition, Parrenas (2001) conceives the international division of reproductive labour as a structural process that determines the migration flows of Filipina domestic workers. One of the strengths of the concept of the international division of reproductive labour rests in its revelation that while gender can unite women, race and class simultaneously can also differentiate the everyday geographies of women.

By reviewing the literature on how gender and migration scholars draw from the historical structural approach, as well as feminist contributions to migration theory, I reached two conclusions. First, I noted that there is one subtle difference between the global care chains model and the concept of the international division of reproductive labour. The distinction is that global care chains focus on the redistribution of care resources and care capital; whereas, the international division of reproductive labour places emphasis on the labour migration of racialized women. Despite the subtle difference between the two models, both concepts describe the movement of migrant domestic workers as a structural process in which relatively little attention is given to the agency of these migrant women. In this thesis, I intend to enrich the understanding of the global care chains model by examining the complex and rich geographies of migrant Filipina domestic workers who build informal communities of affirmation, care, and belonging in the City of Toronto. I aim to show how attention to their coping practices play an important role in a nuanced understanding of the global care chains model.

Second, I conclude that the literature routinely characterizes Filipina migrants as victims of globalization. For example, the literature on the Filipina labour diaspora connects the chronic state of poverty in the Philippines with the feminization of emigration. This argument that links the composition of Filipina women’s migration flows with the ongoing poverty in the Philippines can be understood in relation to Saskia Sassen’s (2000; 2002) work on the
feminization of survival. According to Sassen (2000:536), the feminization of survival—or “survival circuits” (2002) refers to the argument that “households and whole communities are increasingly dependent on women for their survival.” She mentions how government debt creates additional stressors on women to find alternative ways to establish a sense of household security. Sassen (2000) indicates that such alternatives include these women finding employment in sex-segregated streams, including both domestic and sex servitude.

In addition, Sassen (2000) describes how national governments export women in order to gain foreign exchange, either through remittances or through profit-making activities like institutions that are set up to ship mail-order brides overseas. One effect of Sassen’s (2000) language is that her choice of words renders these migrant women as objects rather than as Subjects in that they are perceived to lack agency and coping skills. When the literature on domestic workers conceives of migrant women solely as objects, it reinforces our understanding of these women as “servants of globalization.” Further, migration and gender scholars who support Sassen’s (2000:503) claims that survival circuits are “developed on the backs of the truly disadvantaged” (i.e. women), often ignore understanding women, particular Filipina domestic workers, in relation to a framework that both recognizes and emphasizes the importance of their agency, decision-making abilities, and coping skills. Rather, the literature, and specifically the global care chains model, tends to emphasize how the chronic state of poverty in the Philippines geographically uproots and to a certain extent exports these women to affluent, postindustrial countries. In sum, my thesis attempts to refine the geographical elements of the global care chains model by showing how Filipina LCP migrants create new spaces of affirmation, care, and belonging in a variety of places across Toronto.

2.3 SETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS
The second way in which migration and gender scholars routinely construct migrant domestic workers as “servants of globalization” is by drawing attention to these women’s experiences of stratification in their host societies. Routinely, gender and migration scholars argue that migrant Filipina domestic workers’ experiences of non-belonging in their host societies stem from two sources of social exclusion: (1) exclusion from members of the dominant society; and (2) exclusion from the larger migrant Filipino community (Parrenas 2001; 2008). In terms of Filipina LCP migrants’ experiences of exclusion within the larger setting of Canada, the discourse of multiculturalism and integration offer strong explanations as to who “belongs” to the nation-state. For example, out of these two dominant discourses of multiculturalism and integration emerge a core set of ideas of who belongs within the boundaries of Canadian society. Sharma (2006:7) outlines how the “differences between indigenous people, citizens, immigrants, and migrant workers are organized through ideas of Canada being the home of some but not Others.” Thus, according to Sharma (2006:10), the nation occupies both a geographical space, as well as an “ideological space of belonging.” That is, the nation is seen to be home to some, while “Others”, such as –in this study– Filipina LCP migrants, are rendered “homeless” (Bannerji 2000; Sharma 2006). Bird (in Sharma 2006:12) argues that the “common experience of the homeless and the migrant is to be made to feel out of place.”

Migrant workers often “feel out of place” in public spaces across Canada. For example, as I discuss in Chapter Four, Filipina LCP migrants come to feel out of place in public spaces—such as at playgrounds and schoolyards—as well as in private spaces like their employers’ houses in large part because of the limited socio-spatial interactions that occur between them and dominant members of Canadian society. Specifically, LCP migrants’ experiences of racialization, which intersects with their national and ethnic identities, coupled with their marginal class status, further sets them apart from their employers and their employers’ friends.
Pratt (1998) provides an important example of how a Filipina domestic worker experienced the act of being racialized:

Its really difficult to integrate here because we’re mixed into other cultures, so at the bus stop, because we’re people of colour, [...] they’ll ask you: so you’re a nanny right? For me, they ask me, you’re Chinese! I say no, I’m Filipino, and then they’ll say you’re a nanny right? (Laughs). I find that racist, really (quoted in Pratt 1998:289).

Pratt (1998) discusses how Filipina women encounter exclusion from dominant Canadian society in large part due to the widespread and derogatory recognition—particularly among Canadian nations—of these migrant women as domestic workers. Therefore, given that Filipina LCP migrants have yet to achieve full ‘incorporation’—again according to Canada’s dominant discourse of integration—in Canada, they often experience social exclusion at smaller scales, including some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. However, unlike Pratt (1998) and Sharma (2006), I also show in Chapter Four how Filipina LCP migrants are in fact active participants in the production of creating informal spaces of affirmation, care, and belonging.

I also frame Sharma’s (2006) argument that temporary migrant workers become homeless within the Canadian context as a perspective that confirms aspects of the “servants of globalization” discourse. For example, Sharma (2006) highlights how Canada’s ongoing project of nation-building ideologically separates foreign, temporary workers from the dominant members of society. And, in this binary of temporary migrants and ‘citizens’, we come to realize that according to national discourses of identity, space, and belonging, temporary migrants, including LCP migrants, are conceptualized as victims of global capitalism. These women are treated as victims of global capitalism in Sharma’s (2006) research in that they are portrayed as homeless and thus ‘out of place’.

Gender and migration scholars also draw attention to how migrant Filipina domestic workers frequently encounter exclusion from the larger Filipino migrant community. For
example, Pratt (1998) shows how both domestic work and racial identity are inscribed onto Filipina women’s bodies and thus the link between Filipina and LCP migrant is ‘naturalized’ in Canadian society. Pratt (1998) then demonstrates how Filipino immigrants who immigrate to Canada with full citizenship rights routinely stigmatize Filipina women as ‘nannies.’ Many of Pratt’s (1998) focus group participants cited anecdotes of how Filipino immigrants cast Filipina nannies as outsiders in relation to their expatriate community. Hence, the social exclusion that these migrant women experience from this larger expatriate community often exacerbates their feelings of non-belonging (Parrenas 2001; 2008; Pratt 1998). However, what is under-researched in the literature on migrant domestic workers and what I thus intend to show in this thesis is how Filipina LCP migrants work together in their efforts to create spaces of belonging in both public and private spaces across Toronto (see Chapter 4).

2.3.1 Consequences of Non-Belonging

A great deal of current literature shows how migrant Filipina domestic workers’ negative settlement experiences connects to their subject positions as “Other” in their various host societies (for examples, see: Anderson 2002; Arat-Koc 2001; Cohen 2000; Pratt 1998; 2004). This body of literature that examines the negative consequences of foreign-born domestic workers’ non-belonging can be understood in relation to Sharma’s (2006:4) argument that “there is a materiality to the ‘differences’ between citizens […] and migrant workers and that this materiality is based on the relationship between ideas of nation and those of race, gender, and class.” In addition, we can understand the specific material consequences that the migrant women are vulnerable to by placing their settlement experiences in relation to four recurring themes that emerge in the literature on migrant domestic workers. The recurring themes are: (1) the collapsed boundaries between private and public space; (2) exploitative working conditions;
(3) the ways in which third parties generate economic capital based on the underpaid labour of these women; and (4) how their shared status as racialized women of colour from the Philippines routinely cements their occupational segmentation.

The first common theme in the literature that emphasizes the consequences of Filipina LCP migrants’ non-belonging in their host societies relates to the collapsed boundaries between where these migrant women work and where they live. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2009) requires all temporary migrants who enter Canada through the Live-In Caregiver Program to live in their employers’ houses for a minimum of 24-months within a 36-month period. Given the live-in requirement, Bakan and Stasiulis (2003) conceive of how Filipina LCP migrants’ employers’ houses then double as their residential and occupational space. As a result of the collapsed boundaries between domestic workers’ private, personal lives and their public, professional lives, much literature tends to recount how these same women experience entrapment and marginalization within their employers’ houses (Parrenas 2008; Macklin 1992). Parrenas (2008:100), who conducted field research on Filipina domestic workers in Rome, argues that these women often feel trapped and thus cannot help but see the “enclosed space of the employers’ home as a prison.”

An additional prison-like outcome of the live-in requirement is that employers can provide near constant scrutiny of their foreign-born domestic workers. Their employers’ scrutiny further exacerbates migrant Filipina domestic workers’ feelings of imprisonment. For example, Huang and Yeoh (2003) describe many employers as policing their foreign-born hired help. Parrenas (2008) posits that an outcome of many employers’ policing patterns rends privacy in the private sphere void. Arat-Koc (2001:12) adds to our understanding of the ambiguity that Filipina LCP migrants encounter between public and private space: “the live-in requirement collapses the boundaries between the workers’ workplace and personal, private life, often enabling employers who are dominant in the work relationship to also control and dictate
conditions of workers’ lives.” In addition, Macklin (1992:685) frames the status of migrant
domestic workers as “insiders/outsiders.” That is, as live-in caregivers, these migrant women
simultaneously are both part of and not part of the social structure (i.e. the “Canadian family”)
which they find themselves.

The second theme in the literature emphasizes that because these migrant women are not
thought to be fully part of the “Canadian family”, they are vulnerable to a range of exploitative
working conditions (Lan 2006; Parrenas 2001; 2008; Pratt 2004; Stiell and England 1997). For
example, Stiell and England (1997) specifically argue that the collapsed boundary between
Filipina LCP migrants’ sense of public and private space within the context of their employers’
houses often leads to exploitative working conditions. In the context of Filipina LCP migrants’
experiences of exploitation, the term ‘exploitative’ carries two important denotations: (1) unfair
wages; and (2) a degree of ongoing abuse. Unfair wages refers to an economic mismatch
between the number of hours completed in comparison to the total amount paid. The economics
of household labour is influenced by and in turn influences the social perception that domestic
work is low-skilled and invisible labour⁶ (Palmer 2007). The perceived insignificance of
domestic work, coupled with the relative invisibility of reproductive labour creates the spatial
conditions for an exploitative environment. Silvey (2004) discusses gender-specific types of
exploitation, which include sexual harassment and sexual assault, which are common to migrant
Indonesian women who are employed as domestic workers in Saudi Arabia. The powerful
anecdotes in Arat-Koc’s (2001) research demonstrate that the types of gender-specific abuses
that Silvey (2004) discusses are also common among foreign-born domestic workers in Canada.

⁶ Abu-Laban (1998) also points out how the federal government changed a large component of Canada’s
immigration policy by introducing the point system in 1967. Independent immigrants must score a minimum
number of points in order to be admitted under the independent category. Abu-Laban argues that because the Live-
In Caregiver Program is not covered by the point system, the policy implies that domestic work does not require
‘skills.’ Thus, the idea that domestic workers are non-skilled, or at the very most low-skilled, workers circulates at
both the policy level and the micro setting of community and household scales.
Thus far, I have examined two common themes in the literature that construct migrant domestic workers as “servants of globalization.” The two interconnected themes are how (1) the collapsed boundaries between their personal and professional lives render migrant domestic workers vulnerable to (2) exploitative working conditions. Now I will examine the third theme, which is how third-parties often generate economic capital from the vulnerability of these migrant women. Lan (2006) shows how recruitment and placement agencies, as well as training colleges, profit from the number of Indonesian and Filipina women who want to work overseas in Taiwan. While many organizations are legitimate (2006), there are some migrant institutions that are involved with human trafficking. A recent investigative series in the Toronto Star (2009), for instance, revealed how “nanny recruiters” create false immigration documents to lure migrant women into illegal and menial jobs under the pretense of a promised live-in caregiver position in Canada. The Toronto Star reporters also stated that many migrant women paid these corrupt recruiters a minimum of $5000 CAD. This example of how (corrupt) third-parties often benefit from the vulnerability of foreign-born women who want to enter Canada through the LCP reinforces the representation of these migrant women as victims of global capitalism in much current literature.

The fourth common theme in the literature on domestic workers emphasizes how Filipina LCP migrants’ shared status as racialized women of colour from an economically disadvantaged country routinely cements their occupational segmentation. For example, Pratt (2004) points out that Filipina LCP migrants’ experience de-skilling through the process of international migration. In the context of Filipina LCP migrants, I refer to de-skilling as a mismatch between the skills these women have acquired in their country of origin and their ability to practice these same set skills in Canada. For example, migrant Filipina domestic workers usually are trained as nurses and teachers in the Philippines, yet they are typically channeled into a range of destination countries as low-skilled live-in caregivers, maids, and
nannies (Parrenas 2001; Pratt 1998; 2004; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). The de-skilling process then also translates into a limitation of their skills and occupational experiences (Parrenas 2001; Pratt 1998). For example, Pratt (2004:38-9) argues, “[The] experience of coming to Canada as a nanny evidently narrows occupational opportunities long after the requirements of the [LCP] have been fulfilled.” Post-LCP Filipina migrants experience occupational segmentation (Hiebert 1997) in large part because potential employers view their Canadian work experience as mere ‘babysitting’ (McKay 2003).

Once conclusion that I can draw from reviewing the literature on the settlement experiences of Filipina LCP migrants is how the literature repeatedly emphasizes the “servants of globalization” discourse. For example, by focusing on a causal relationship between Filipina LCP migrants’ experiences of non-belonging in their host societies and their vulnerability to alienation and exploitation, little attention is given to more nuanced depictions of how these women claim space, and in some cases transform their everyday geographies. By showing how these women claim space, I intend to revise the geographic elements of the global care chains model. That is, I want to show the two primary coping practices that Filipina LCP migrants develop in their efforts to create informal communities of affirmation, care, and belonging across Toronto (see Chapter 4).

PART THREE: MOVING BEYOND THE “SERVANTS OF GLOBALIZATION” DISCOURSE

2.4 AGENCY

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7 I deliberately use scare quotes around the term ‘babysitting’ precisely because I think that babysitting should be more highly valued and more highly enumerated than it usually is in the Canadian context. I argue that babysitters should receive living wages in that they are skilled labourers and provide invaluable emotional support to young ones.
In an effort to move my thesis beyond the recycling of the “servants of globalization” discourse, I draw on the works of Melissa Wright (2006), Geraldine Pratt (2004), and bell hooks (1990). These scholars contribute to our understandings of agency, place-making, and claiming space in specific relation to feminism and spatiality. In addition, these concepts of agency, place-making, and claiming space are relevant to the studies of Filipina LCP migrants who work in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. For example, the argument that temporary migrant workers, such as Filipina LCP migrants, encounter experiences of non-belonging within the boundaries of Canada (Sharma 2006) captures only part of these migrant women’s narratives of identity, space, and belonging. The other part of their narratives, which I intend to share in this thesis, discuss how these women claim spaces of belonging in their host city of Toronto. I understand the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants to be an exercise of agency in that these migrant women empower themselves, but they do so within the structural constraints of both their labour market segmentation and visa status.

2.4.1 Melissa Wright and the Myth of Disposable Third World Woman

I draw on Melissa Wright’s (2006) work on the “disposable third world woman” in order to disrupt the dominant construction of Filipina LCP migrants in much recent literature as “servants of globalization.” Wright (2006) unpacks the myth of the disposable third world woman. According to the myth, a ‘third world’ woman is hired to work at a ‘third world’ factory precisely because of her assumed and ‘inherent’ dexterity, patience, and subservience. Within the span of approximately two years, this woman will evolve into an industrial form of living waste and will be replaced by yet another ‘third world’ woman. Within this myth of the disposable third world woman, there is nothing that or no one who can save her from her ultimate fate of disposability.
Paradoxically however, Wright (2006) indicates that while these women who work in ‘third world’ factories of global firms embody a form of industrial waste, they also produce valuable goods with their labour. Thus, in an oddly contradictory fashion, these women are in fact assets to the factories where they work in large part because their bodies, which are deteriorating, produce valuable goods. Further, according to Wright (2006), the myth, as a discourse, produces specific subjects, their spatiality, and their perceived (in)significance. That is, the myth determines a set of normative assumptions about women who are from the ‘third world’ and how these women are to be treated, how they should be behave, and what they should look like.

Wright (2006) also argues that the myth of the disposable third world woman carries material implications for these women’s livelihoods. For example, Wright (2006) argues that some factory managers in China use the myth of the disposable third world woman to justify paternalistic treatment of these women in part because the myth describes the women as simultaneously naïve and rebellious. In an effort to control these ‘disposable third world women’, factory managers often monitor women’s menstrual cycles, provide near-constant supervision of these women’s productivity levels, and restrict the mobility patterns of these women factory workers.

Wright (2006) emphasizes that these women who work in ‘third world’ factories for global firms come to believe that the myth of their disposability is true. That is, these women come to identify themselves as non-trainable, unskilled, and they also come to believe that upward mobility is not an option for ‘third world’ women factory workers. However, Wright (2006) eloquently shows how some of the women refuse to buy into the myth that they cannot be trained and that they must be forced to quit their factory jobs after two years of employment. For example, some of these ‘third world’ women do in fact come up with a set of strategies to empower themselves and to see themselves as valuable—rather than as disposable—to global
firms. By coming up with a set of strategies to empower themselves, these women prove that they can be trained and advance far beyond low-skilled, entry level positions that are all but too common for ‘third world’ women factory workers. For example, Wright (2006:94) argues, “In [advancing beyond low-wage and unskilled positions], [these women] expose the limits and failures of the disposability myth to control their fates.” That is, through a series of processes of resignification and formulating new identities, these women defy the myth of the ‘disposable third world woman.’ Yet at the same time that these women are able to resist and rewrite the myth of female disposability, these women can never fully function outside of power relations that are embedded not only in the workplace but also in the current structure of global capitalism. As Wright (2006:97) argues, the ‘third world’ women who rewrite new meanings onto their bodies do not experience an “all-out escape from systems of power.” Rather, the concept of resignification enables us to see how identities change across both time and space and how these women themselves actively participate in changing their identities.

The myth of the disposable third world woman and the servants of globalization discourse share several commonalities. First, both discourses convey a homogenizing representation of particular women as dexterous, patient, and attentive workers. Second, both discourses show how these particular women are controlled by a range of actors and institutions, including their employers, and are treated as expendable labourers. And finally, both discourses pay relatively little attention to the complexity and agency of these women and their everyday decisions. Yet, by paying attention to these women and their complex narratives of exclusion, agency, and claiming space, we can see how both the myth of the disposable third world woman and the servants of globalization discourse are not absolutely deterministic of the everyday geographies of women factory workers and migrant domestic workers, respectively. By reviewing Pratt’s (2004) work on the resignification of LCP migrants in formal spaces, I hope to
extend the conversation of the resignification of these women in privatized spaces, including their weekender apartments.

2.4.2 Geraldine Pratt and the Resignification of LCP Migrants

In *Working Feminism*, Geraldine Pratt (2004) discusses three hegemonic constructions of the identities of Filipina LCP migrants that play out in the Canadian context. The three dominant identities of these women, according to Pratt (2004:62) consist of “supplicant-pre-immigrant, inferior nanny, and immoral husband stealer.” These constructed identities play an active role in shaping the geographies of LCP migrants in urban centers across Canada. For example, the identity of a Filipina LCP migrant as a “proto-citizen, not-yet-immigrant” (Pratt 2004:41) shapes both her labour and housing geographies in Canada. That is, according to Pratt (2004), the visa category of temporary migrant is largely what structures the precarious working and living conditions of LCP migrants. Pratt (2004) argues that the promise of prospective citizenship status for LCP migrants legitimates labour conditions that the Canadian government deems unacceptable to Canadian citizens. One of the precarious working and living conditions of LCP migrants is that they must live in their employers’ houses for a minimum of 24-months within a 3-year period. Hence, the LCP determines the labour and housing geographies of LCP migrants in that LCP migrants lack choice in choosing both their labour market entry point and housing conditions upon arrival in Canada.

Pratt (2004:62), however, also argues that LCP migrants create new identities for themselves that challenge their sense of self as “supplicant-pre-immigrant, inferior nanny, and immoral husband stealer.” Pratt (2004) identifies two prominent ways in which Filipina LCP migrants reconstruct their identities in their efforts to empower themselves.
First, Pratt (2004:63) discusses how a “counter-discourse may emerge around the identity of consumer, as an individual with the rights and freedoms to consume.” Pratt (2004) shows how Filipina LCP migrants regularly congregate together in particular shopping malls in Vancouver during the weekends. Pratt (2004) speculates that consumer consciousness may empower LCP migrants to challenge their employers to comply with minimum wage provisions entrenched in the Employment Standards Act.

Second, Pratt (2004) argues that LCP migrants learn yet another identity at the Philippine Women’s Center (PWC) in Vancouver. According to Pratt (2004), through a series of educational workshops offered at PWC, many of these migrant women learn to understand themselves as exploited women from an economically-disadvantaged country. By coming together in the formal space of PWC, migrant women have the opportunities to provide support to each other and to organize together in an effort to lobby for change at the household, municipal, provincial, and federal scales of governance. The potency of Pratt’s (2004) analysis is that she shows how LCP migrants engage in a series of processes that broaden their self-identities as women who are more than “suppliant-pre-immigrant, inferior nanny, and immoral husband stealer.” In this thesis, I want to extend the discussion on the resignification of Filipina LCP migrants by examining how these migrant women reconstruct their identities in their everyday spaces, which primarily include their weekender apartments. I ask how these women simultaneously create informal communities of affirmation, care, and belonging and reconstruct their identities as complex women who exercise autonomy in their weekender apartments. I now turn to the bell hooks’ (1990) work on ‘homeplace’ in an effort to establish a further set of questions on the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants and the global care chains model. As I discuss in the findings chapter, I have found these practices of agency, resignification, and homeplace to be important to Filipina LCP migrants.
2.4.3 Homeplace

By drawing on bell hooks’ (1990) conceptualization of ‘homeplace’, I intend to show how Filipina LCP migrants simultaneously claim space and create communities of affirmation, care, and belonging within the same urban boundaries in which they also experience non-belonging. hooks (1990) shows how historically central the cultivation and maintenance of homeplace, also referred to as spaces of care, has been to African-American communities. First, hooks (1990) recalls her childhood memories of growing up a poor black child in a low-income, largely white, neighbourhood. She argues that black individuals could not learn to love themselves in a “culture of white supremacy” (p. 42). However, hooks points out that in was in the homeplace –most often cultivated and maintained by black women—where these same individuals had the opportunity to affirm each other, to grow and develop, and to heal the pains caused by white supremacism. In addition, hooks (p. 42) reveals:

[homeplace is a] site where one could freely confront the issue of humanization, where one could resist. Black women resisted by making homes where all black people could strive to be subjects, not objects, […] where we could restore ourselves the dignity to us on the outside in the public world.

Thus, bell hooks convincingly centralizes the importance of homeplace to African-Americans’ sense and experiences of identity, space, and belonging.

2.4.3.1 Homeplace and Weekender Apartments

In this thesis, I intend to examine if weekender apartments function as a type of homeplace to the Filipina LCP migrants who co-rent these types of spaces. In order to ask several research questions about whether weekender apartments can be understood in relation to hooks’
conceptualization of homeplace, I first review the small body of literature that has been done on
weekender apartments. I then ask my research questions.

The trend among live-in caregivers to co-rent alternative spaces on their days off first appeared in the literature in the late 1980s (see Cohen 1987). Since the initial conceptualization
of weekender apartments, Parrenas (2008), as well as Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) have made
important contributions to the discussion of Filipina domestic workers who co-rent weekender
apartments. For example, Stasiulis and Bakan’s (2005) research findings indicate that both LCP
migrants and their employers are willing to bend the full-time live-in – albeit both groups of
women have different motivations. LCP migrants tend to view co-renting weekender
apartments favourably, according to Stasiulis and Bakan (2005:91), because these migrant
women can “obtain some privacy and time away from what are often 24 hour on-call
obligations.” On the other hand, Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) assert that some employers of LCP
migrants might be flexible with the live-in component in large part because they often prefer to
have personal time with their families away from their domestic workers. The fact that
employers sometimes prefer to have time away from their live-in domestics reinforces the idea
that LCP migrants do not truly belong in their employers’ domestic spaces. Thus, the Live-In
Caregiver Program privileges Canadian employers by giving them the authority to influence the
geographies of Filipina LCP migrants.8

The number of live-in domestic workers who share an apartment on their time-off varies by
region. For example, Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) argue that more migrant domestic workers co-
rent weekender apartments in Canada than currently acknowledged by the Government of
Canada. Yet, Parrenas (2001:221) claims, “In general, most women are unfamiliar with the
process of renting apartments [in Rome].” However, those migrant Filipina domestic workers

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8 Although the employers can influence the geographies of Filipina LCP migrants, these migrant women choose where to spend their time-off.
who do co-rent apartments with others do so, according to Parrenas (2001:204), on the grounds that “apartments provide [these migrant women] an intimate environment where they spend many hours watching Filipino movies, playing mah jong and card games, and cooking Filipino dishes.” In addition, Parrenas (2001), as well as Stasiulis and Bakan’s (2005) research on weekender apartments indicate that Filipina domestic workers view these alternative housing arrangements as beneficial to both escaping the on-call demand of live-in work and creating an intimate space of their own. In order to contribute to this body of literature on LCP migrants and weekender apartments, my research asks the following questions: (1) what is the relationship between the practice of co-renting weekender apartments and Filipina LCP migrants practices of creating a homeplace of belonging and affirmation in the City of Toronto?; and, (2) how can attention to weekender apartments enrich the understanding of the global care chains model?

2.5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this literature review was to appraise current literature on migrant domestic workers. As stated earlier, most gender and migration scholars approach the study of migrant domestic worker from one of two vantage points. The first vantage point focuses attention on how the conditions of exit in various sending countries make migration for the purposes of domestic servitude the most viable option for women to earn money for their families. The second draws attention to the multiple ways in which these migrant women experience alienation, exploitation, and stratification in their host societies. Both of these vantage points reinforce aspects of the “servants of globalization” discourse in that they: (1) construct the identities of migrant domestic workers as sorrowful and helpless victims of global
capitalism; and, (2) pay relatively little attention to the coping practices of migrant domestic
workers.

One of my objectives of this literature review is to identify the topics and questions that
are under-researched in current literature on migrant domestic workers. The following is a list
of the main questions that are under-examined in current literature and thus are the main focus
of my thesis: (1) How do Filipina LCP migrants cope with their experiences of non-belonging?;
(2) Do these migrant women create spaces of care communities – and if so, where?; (3) Can we
conceptualize weekender apartments as a type of homeplace?; and lastly, (4) how does attention
to the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants add to our understandings of the global care
chains model? These questions are important ones to ask in that they will meet an additional
objective of my thesis, which is to enrich the understanding of the global care chains model. I
intend to add to the concept of global care chains by paying attention to the agency of Filipina
LCP migrants who work in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. That is, I intend to
examine the coping practices of these migrant women in an effort to show how they create
informal communities of affirmation, care, and belonging in their everyday spaces. The
following chapter, Research Design, outlines the methodologies that I use to investigate my
research questions.
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to enrich to the global care chains model. In an effort to enrich the understanding of the global care chains model, I ask the following research questions: (1) What sorts of geographies are embedded in the global care chains model?; and (2) How does attention to the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants add to our understandings of the global care chains model? In this chapter, I discuss the most relevant ways of investigating the answers to my research questions. Broadly speaking, I chose to utilize qualitative research techniques rather than quantitative methodologies. The strength of qualitative methodologies is that they “emphasize quality, depth, richness, and understanding instead of the statistical representativeness […] associated with quantitative techniques” (Valentine 2001:43). The qualitative research methods that I used to explore the answers to the research questions are: (1) semi-structured, in-depth interviews; and (2) participant observation.9

This chapter first discusses the research context. Given that both the spatial location – some of Toronto’s high income neighbourhoods – and the policy context – the Live-In Caregiver Program – play important roles in shaping the everyday geographies of Filipina LCP migrants in Toronto, this thesis examines both Toronto and the LCP in detail. Section 3.2 addresses my rationale for choosing to use semi-structured, in-depth interviews and participant observation in an effort to collect data. I also discuss the sampling techniques, structure of the interviews, locations of both interviews and participant observation, and how I analyzed the data. This section also addresses my positionality as a researcher. That is, I recognize that my perspective of what I learned from the research participants is shaped by my social identities and my previous knowledge that I gained from academic literature. Therefore, I cannot claim

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9 I will discuss the strengths and limitations of both semi-structured, in-depth interviews and participant observation in Section 3.2.
absolute objectivity in this thesis. I also recognize that I cannot claim absolute knowledge of the Filipina community in Toronto. Finally, I discuss two primary ethical issues that routinely arise when one conducts research on human subjects. Specifically, I discuss the importance of both obtaining consent from the research participants, and keeping the participants’ identities confidential.

3.1 RESEARCH CONTEXT

3.1.1 Location: Toronto

Broadly speaking, Toronto is an excellent region to conduct fieldwork on migrant Filipina LCP migrants in that Toronto is the most ethnically diverse city in the world, and the city tends to attract two types of migrants, who respectively are classified as high-skilled and low-skilled. Doctors, engineers, and academics characterize the former, while seamstresses, teachers’ aides, and domestic workers typify the latter. Southern Ontario, and Toronto in particular, tend to disproportionately attract LCP migrants from the Philippines. More than 50 per cent of the 6100 live-in caregivers who came to Canada in 2007 settled across this region (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2007).

Narrowly speaking, my rationale for conducting research on the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants who work in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods is twofold. The first main reason relates to the spatial dynamics of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. That is, given the densely populated and pedestrian-oriented spatial dimensions of some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods, regular interactions among migrant domestic workers are common, particularly at local playgrounds and schoolyards, during their working hours. In addition, Boyd (2003:10) argues, “In many North American […] cities, there are geographical locations where domestics routinely congregate when they are on off-hours.” These interactions
among domestic workers build relationships and foster social networks. One of my objectives of this thesis is to gain insight into some of the key sites and spaces of the social networks of Filipina LCP migrants.

In addition to Boyd (2003), I also draw on Pratt’s work (2003) in an effort to justify my decision to conduct primary research in Toronto, rather than in the outer suburbs of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). In Vancouver, Pratt (2003) notes a general pattern that mothers who live in urban areas tend to hire live-in caregivers; whereas, mothers who live in the outer suburbs generally rely on a wider range of childcare options, which include in-home privatized daycare. Pratt describes the urban/suburban childcare distinction as one where the former relies on an international labour supply and the latter makes use of localized labour. Pratt further argues that the absence of a migrant domestic supply of labour exacerbates the childcare care crisis in the suburbs of Vancouver. In terms of this thesis, I made the decision to conduct primary research in Toronto in large part because of Pratt’s (2003) findings that LCP migrants are more likely to work within city boundaries than in outer suburbs.

The second primary reason why Toronto is an appropriate region for me to conduct fieldwork is because I have extensive familiarity with the City of Toronto, including a wide range of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. In addition, I also have familiarity with a diverse range of domestic worker associations in the Greater Toronto Area. Such connections with these domestic worker associations, including INTERCEDE, have been beneficial in providing me with information about and access to Filipina LCP migrants throughout the duration of my fieldwork. Thus, in sum, Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods are an excellent location to study the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants in large part because of the large population size of Filipina migrants, coupled with my familiarity with the city, including its various catchments and community organizations.
3.1.2 Policy Context: the Live-In Caregiver Program

The Federal Government of Canada institutionalized the Live-In Caregiver Program in 1992 as a response to the critiques of the Foreign Domestic Movement. The Live-in Caregiver Program is unparalleled in global scope on the grounds that the program is the only one that provides foreign-born domestic workers with the opportunity to apply for permanent resident status upon their successful completion of the program. Therefore, many migrant women celebrate the policy. Despite this, academics and activists alike draw attention to the drawbacks of the LCP (Arat-Koc 2001; Pratt 2004; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). For example, the Live-in Caregiver Program requires eligible candidates to have a minimum of twelve years of schooling, six months of formal training, fluency in English and/or French, as well as live-in the employers’ houses for a minimum of 24-months within a 36-month period.

In addition, Cohen (2000) points out that while the Live-in Caregiver Program was introduced as supposedly non-discriminatory in scope, the program was and continues to be the site of much criticism on the grounds that it reproduces racist and ethnocentric ideologies. For example and according to Cohen (2000), the policy treats racialized women from economically-disadvantaged countries as less than first-class human beings in that the program does not provide these migrant women with access to full citizenship rights. Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) take this a step further by arguing that the Live-in Caregiver Program in fact institutionalizes unequal power relations between foreign-born domestics and their Canadian employers. They also argue that through the State’s implementation of the LCP, Canada simultaneously benefits from and contributes to the systemic exploitation of migrant women from economically disadvantaged countries. Thus, the Live-In Caregiver Program is an important aspect of this thesis in large part because the policy shapes both the employment and housing geographies of

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10 The Foreign Domestic Movement was a federal program designed to import women to work as live-in caregivers for Canadian families.
migrant women.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection spanned the course of four months from February 2009 to May 2009. I employed two qualitative techniques to gather data: (1) semi-structured, in-depth interviews; and (2) participant observation.

3.2.1 Semi-Structured, In-Depth Interviews

Social scientists, particularly feminist scholars, routinely employ qualitative interviews when conducting primary research (Reinharz 1992). My decision to utilize semi-structured, in-depth interviews is purposive. That is, I chose to make use of semi-structured, in-depth interviews for three main reasons. First, given the exploratory aspect of open-ended questions, semi-structured interviews are the best fit for my research questions in that they allow for unexpected themes to emerge (Valentine 2001). Second, unlike both structured and unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews have a degree of fixed order and yet they simultaneously accommodate flexibility (Dunn 2005). Third, semi-structured interviews generate a plethora of rich, in-depth information fairly quickly (Valentine 2001). Specifically in the case of my research questions, semi-structured interviews provide opportunities for the participants to discuss in rich detail how they develop a range of coping strategies in their efforts to create communities of belonging in Toronto.

The use of interviews as a mode of data collection carries limitations. For example, Valentine (2001) insists that the success of in-depth interviews largely depends on both the interpersonal and listening skills of the interviewer. Valentine (2001) also argues that inexperienced interviewers may not have the experience to know what questions are the most useful ones to ask. Although I identified with these limitations in the earlier interviews, I
developed two strategies that helped me to improve the overall efficacy of the interviews. First, I digitally recorded each interview rather than relying on note taking in an effort to enhance my listening skills (see below for a more thorough discussion of the merits of recording interviews). Second, I spoke with a variety of graduate students and faculty members at the University of Toronto about several of the initial interviews and the overall goals of my research project. By speaking with fellow colleagues, I deepened my abilities to ask the most appropriate questions.

3.2.1.1 Research Participants

Much of the analysis presented in this thesis is based on the accounts provided by a sample of 30 Filipina LCP migrants. Although several of the participants have completed the Live-In Caregiver Program and now have permanent resident status, all of the participants work as live-in caregivers. Therefore, in the interests of brevity, I refer to all 30 participants as LCP migrants largely because they all entered Canada through the LCP and they all continue to work as nannies for young children. The 30 participants work in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods, which include the Annex, Bloor West Village, the Beaches, and Cabbagetown. The research participants are in their early to late twenties, in long-term, heterosexual relationships with either their boyfriends or husbands, and come from middle-class families in the Philippines. Table 1.0 provides a more detailed overview of the 30 research participants, which includes their citizenship status, the neighbourhoods where they work, and whether or not they co-rent weekender apartments.

Table 3.0: Variables of Research Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Pseudonym</th>
<th>Length of Stay in Canada (as of May 2009)</th>
<th>Citizenship Status</th>
<th>Neighbourhood of Employment</th>
<th>Rent Weekender Apartments (y/n)</th>
<th>Location of Weekender Apartment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

44
For this MA thesis, I chose to interview 30 research participants. I decided to limit my sample population to 30 participants because unlike quantitative research that aims to be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Annex Location</th>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Rent Details</th>
<th>Current Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carmina</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>Permanent resident (P.R.)</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>No (does rent an apartment, but she rents that out to LCP migrants and lives at her employer’s house fulltime)</td>
<td>She rents an apartment at Bathurst and Finch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roselyn</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>P.R.</td>
<td>Glencarin</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheryl</td>
<td>1.5 years</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yonge and Finch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anita</td>
<td>&lt;1 year</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coco</td>
<td>4.5 years</td>
<td>P.R.</td>
<td>Cabbagetown</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kara</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Bloor West Village</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yonge and Finch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rena</td>
<td>1.5 years</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Eglinton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Applying for P.R.</td>
<td>Bloor West Village</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Eglinton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camille</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>P.R.</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>She rents an apartment fulltime and also rents it out to LCP migrants</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>2.5 years</td>
<td>Applying for P.R.</td>
<td>Beach</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Eglinton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theresa</td>
<td>2.5 years</td>
<td>Applying for P.R.</td>
<td>Bloor West Village</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>4.5 years</td>
<td>P.R.</td>
<td>Cabbagetown</td>
<td>Rent apartments fulltime; rents out to LCP migrants on weekend</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanie</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yonge and Finch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerry</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>P.R.</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes − lives out 7 days/week</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jody</td>
<td>&lt;1 year</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Beach</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danielle</td>
<td>&lt;1 year</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Eglinton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>&lt;1 year</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yonge and Finch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>P.R.</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Eglinton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sally</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lena</td>
<td>&lt;1 year</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Beach</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>St Claire West and Christie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mona</td>
<td>1.5 years</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Beach</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>St Claire West and Christie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>2.5 years</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Eglinton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>1.5 years</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yonge and Finch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marjorie</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Applying for P.R.</td>
<td>Parkdale</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamela</td>
<td>&lt;1 year</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanie</td>
<td>&lt;1 year</td>
<td>LCP migrant</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yonge and Finch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayla</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Applying for P.R.</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Eglinton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suzie</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Applying for P.R.</td>
<td>Annex</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bathurst and Wilson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### 3.2.1.2 Sampling

For this MA thesis, I chose to interview 30 research participants. I decided to limit my sample population to 30 participants because unlike quantitative research that aims to be
statistically representative of an entire population, qualitative research focuses more on the richness and depth of the encounters with the research participants (Valentine 2001). I also decided to use 30 participants because interviews require direct access to the research participants (Dunn 2005). It is time consuming to gain access to potential research participants and to subsequently interview them.

In order to gain access to 30 research participants, I employed two types of non-probability sampling: (1) convenience sampling; and (2) snowball sampling. Convenience sampling makes use of already-formed groups (Creswell 2003) and thus was chosen precisely because this technique enabled me to draw from my community connections, which included my prior internship at INTERCEDE – a domestic workers’ organization located in Toronto. My internship at INTERCEDE provided me with a few contacts to Filipina LCP migrants. While convenience sampling then helped forge initial contacts with potential research participants, snowball sampling generated a larger pool of participants. That is, snowball sampling enabled the participants to provide me with a list of potential research participants (Bryman 2004).

Both convenience and snowball sampling have similar limitations, specifically when compared to quantitative sampling techniques (Patton 2002). One limitation is that both convenience and snowball samplings are not statistically representative of all Filipina LCP migrants who work across Toronto (Bryman and Teevan 2005; Esterberg 2002). Another disadvantage of convenience and snowball samplings is that my sample population is smaller than would be the case if I used quantitative research methods. Despite these two drawbacks, the utility and potency of qualitative research rests on these purposive sampling techniques.

3.2.1.3 Structure of Interviews

Each interview lasted between 50 and 60 minutes. In the initial first few minutes of the interviews, I engaged in friendly conversation with the participants in an effort to establish a
sense of ease and comfort. My decision to begin each interview in such a friendly manner was chosen because of Douglas’s (1985) advice. He suggests that it is mutually beneficial to both the interviewer and the interviewee to engage in small chitchat with one another rather than “getting right into business.” Subsequently, I provided each participant with an information sheet that outlines the details of the study (see Appendix A). I also included a section in the information sheet where the research participants either accepted or declined their involvement in the research study.

I also asked for permission to record each interview. During my first interview, I brought my laptop with me and typed the participant’s responses. However, upon immediate reflection on that first interview, I felt that it was inappropriate to bring the laptop with me to future interviews for two main reasons. First, by using the laptop, I became more focused on typing than on listening to the research participant. I also was too busy looking at my computer screen to watch for non-verbal cues of the how the interviewee felt. In other words, by typing away at my computer, I assumed a passive role rather than an active one (Dunn 2005). Second, the presence of a large laptop drew too much attention to the power dynamics that are embedded in the research process. Therefore, in the subsequent interviews I chose to bring my small iPod, which I strategically placed in non-threatening locations. An additional benefit of digitally recorded interviews is that they “help compile the fullest recording” (Dunn 2005:96).

I chose to bring an interview guide to each interview in an effort to help remind me of specific questions and issues that I wanted to investigate. Dunn (2005) describes an interview guide as a list of general questions and issues that the interviewer wishes to discuss throughout the interview. He argues that two of the advantages of research guides are that (1) they provide a degree of flexibility, and (2) they also remind the interviewer to draw attention to outstanding issues and questions. Throughout each interview, I periodically glanced at the question guide to make sure that the interview covered all the necessary research trajectories. I also made sure
that the interviews accommodated for unexpected topics to emerge so that I could gain insight into unforeseen issues that are important to the participants.

I initiated preparations to close the interview after reaching the 55 minute mark. First, I reviewed the interview guide to make sure that all the important questions and issues were raised. If all pertinent inquiries were raised, I asked each participant if she had any final comments to make. If she did not, I thanked her for her participation in the interview. I reminded her that she had up to four weeks to withdraw from the project. I also told her that once I finished the thesis, I would phone her to see if she would like a summary of the results.

### 3.2.1.4 Location of Interviews

The research participants exercised much autonomy in choosing the location of the interviews. Given that the physical location of interviews influences the discussion that takes place between the interview and the interviewee (Eldwood and Martin 2000), I asked each research participant where she wanted the interview to be held. I then proceeded to name off a few examples, including local coffee shops, playgrounds, apartments, or employers’ houses. I never suggested that we have the interview in my office at the University of Toronto in large part because I did not want to construct an image of myself as an “expert” (Eldwood and Martin 2000). I asked the participants to choose because I wanted them to experience autonomy and empowerment in their relationship with me (Eldwood and Martin 2000).

I also recognize that the choice of the interview sites are significant in that they provide insight into the places that are important in the participants’ everyday geographies. Therefore, interviews function as more than an opportunity to collect information by asking questions, but they also provide opportunities for participant observation (Eldwood and Martin 2000). In regards to my own research, when the interviews were located in various weekender apartments, I made observations about the interactions that took place between the women. I also made
observations about their living spaces and how they furnish and adorn their apartments. For example, all six of the weekender apartments that I visited were adorned with pictures of their families from the Philippines. I also witnessed how these women care for each other by hugging one another, by laughing, by taking turns cleaning the apartment, and by affirming each other. By being a guest in their weekender apartments, what they said in the interviews about their apartments really came alive to me. In addition, by analyzing the micro-geographies of their living spaces, I gained both significant and special insight into the social geographies of weekender apartments.

3.2.1.5 Coding and Analysis of Data

After each interview, I transcribed the interview in order to help facilitate analysis (Dunn 2005). I typed each interview in the hour following each interview so that the interview was fresh in my mind. I purposively chose to transcribe my own interviews because the process of transcription enabled me to do some preliminary analysis. After transcribing all the interviews, I performed data reduction. Cope (2005) describes data reduction as a process of organizing large amounts of data into key themes. I organized the data into six key themes. The themes include Filipina LCP migrants and their (1) key sites and spaces that they occupy; (2) social networks; (3) practices of collectivizing labour; (4) language choices and space; (5) relationships with their employers in public and private spaces; and (6) their use of weekender apartments. I further organized the data on weekender apartments into the following subcategories: (1) why LCP migrants rent these types of apartments; (2) a comparison between living in weekender apartments and living at their employers’ houses; (3) spatial location of weekender apartments; and (4) the benefits of renting these alternative spaces. Once all the relevant data was categorized, I began building ideas of how the material could be understood in relation to existing literature on migrant domestic workers.
3.2.1.6 Positionality and the Role of the Researcher

The researcher’s positionality plays a significant role throughout the entire research process - from the research design to data collection to the actual writing phase. Positionality, according to Shrivastava (2006:212), signifies that the researcher’s perspective is indeed “shaped by the researcher’s unique mix of race, class, gender, nationality, sexuality and other identifiers.” Srivastava’s argument that my research perspective cannot be disentangled from my social identity speaks to the idea that I cannot make the claim that I was absolutely objective at any point of my thesis project. That is, given that the research process embodies a core set of relational values, power, and inequalities (Haraway 1988), I acknowledge that the interviews I conducted with the Filipina LCP migrants would have taken different forms and structures had I a different social identity, such as a fellow Filipina LCP migrant. Further, I understand my research to be a type of situated knowledge. Gillian Rose (1997:272) argues, “Knowledge is produced in specific circumstances and that those circumstances shape it in some way.”

The ideas of positionality and situated knowledges are important points for my own research insofar as I recognize that I cannot claim absolute knowledge of the Filipino community in Toronto. I equally would like to emphasize that I also cannot speak for the migrant Filipina women in Toronto’s gentrified neighbourhoods; nonetheless, I have worked diligently to present their views and perspectives with utmost respect and integrity. In addition, I recognize that this research, like most qualitative research, cannot be projected onto all the Filipino communities in Canada’s urban centers. With this in mind, I do, however, hope to provide insight into how Filipina women claim space across Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods and also across some of the city’s low-income, multi-ethnic neighbourhoods.

Similar to many feminist researchers, I also recognize the ethical and social implications
of overseeing research, as well as the ethical implications of participating in a researcher-researched relationship. Namely, unequal class positions and unequal power relations disproportionately benefit the researcher rather than mutually benefit the researcher and the researched (Esterberg 2002). To reduce the power differentials, I strove to remain cognizant of the differences that exist between myself — namely that I am a white, middle-class, well-educated, Canadian-born woman — and the research participants, who are, for the most part, both racialized and marginalized migrants in mainstream Canadian society (Stasiulis and Bakan 2005), I made sure to employ a number of strategies aimed at reducing, or at least not exacerbating, these inequalities and differences. Specifically, I made the research process as transparent as possible. For instance, I provided detailed information about my research goals and objectives to each of the participants before the interviews were conducted. I also told each participant that she could be given a copy of the interview transcript if she wanted and that I would be happy to make changes to the transcripts upon request. I also told the participants that once my thesis is finished\(^\text{11}\) that I would call each participant to see if she would like a summary of the results. There are three options for the participants who request a summary. That is, I can either hand deliver, email, or mail a summary of the results to each of the participants.

### 3.2.2 Participant Observation

Another common technique utilized by qualitative researchers is participant observation. Valentine (2001:44) describes participant observation as a “technique that involves living, working, or spending periods of time in a particular ‘community’ in order to understand people’s experiences in the context of their everyday lives.” I chose to use participant observation in an effort to use first-hand knowledge as an important source of data and to

\(^{11}\) I consider the thesis to be finished once I submit a finalized copy to the School of Graduate Studies (SGS) at the University of Toronto. Once I submit the thesis to SGS, I will immediately draw up a summary of the findings and phone all 30 of the participants.
supplement the information that I obtained from in-depth interviews (Kearns 2005). The benefit of participation observation is that unlike interviews, participant observation enables the researcher to gain a broader perspective of a particular community and the relationships within it. Also in contrast to interviews, participant observation allows the researcher to be present during the spontaneity (i.e. unstructured aspects) of everyday life (Kearns 2005). Hence, I utilized participant observation in an effort to produce rich details and descriptions of the everyday relationship between Filipina LCP migrants and their employers in public spaces, including playgrounds. One limitation, however, of participation observation, according to Valentine (2001) is that researchers can find it difficult to gain access to particular communities. I did not find that limitation to be a pertinent one to me insofar as playgrounds are public spaces that I could easily access.

3.2.2.1 Research Participants

The purpose of utilizing participant observation was to gain insight into the interactions that take place between Filipina LCP migrants and their employers and employers’ friends in public spaces, such as playgrounds. I gained access to both subgroups of women fairly easily. I accompanied the young boy who I babysat to the same playground spaces during the summer of 2008. Because of my status as ‘babysitter’, I was able to make connections with both subgroups of women – the mothers of the young children and also the LCP migrants who provided care to young children.

3.2.2.2 Choice of Location

I chose to conduct participant observation at a few playground spaces in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. The most pertinent reason why I chose to conduct participant observation at playground spaces is because there are a large number of both parents
and racialized nannies that occupy these spaces. Like most student researchers, I chose to conduct participant observation at playground spaces that were already familiar to me (Kearns 2005). An additional advantage of playground spaces is that they are easy to gain access to on an everyday basis. Easy access to playground spaces is made possible because they are publically owned spaces.

**3.2.2.3 Field Notes and Analysis of Data**

Researchers who take part in participant observation often make notes about the activities, events, and relationships between its members in a particular ‘community’ (Kearns 2005). The role of the participant observer is to be an active listener who aims to understand how participants feel about one another and the reasons why they act the way they do. During my own participant observations, I avoided asking questions. I did not want to manipulate the conversation or complicate the everyday interactions of the groups (Kearns 2005). I also made mental notes that I later jotted down in one of my diaries. I did not want to carry a notebook largely because notebooks might be disruptive to the flows of conversation between me and the members from each of the subgroups of women at the playgrounds (Kearns 2005). I also chose not to carry around a notebook because I did not want to be distracted from my interactions with and observations of both subgroups of women. I used the data that I collected from participant observation to inform my interview questions and also to help shape the main arguments of my thesis.

**3.3 ETHICS**

Researchers, and in particular those who work with human subjects, must consider the ethical implications involved with the research process, as well as consider how to treat their subjects throughout the entire research process. In terms of qualitative interviews, researchers
must obtain informed consent from each participant. Informed consent means that each participant freely agrees to participate with the research projects and that the researcher informs each participant about the potential risks involved in taking part in the studies (Esterberg 2002). In addition, Miller and Boulton (2007:2202) argue that informed consent is based on the “ethical principles of respect for the dignity and worth of every human being and their right to self-determination.” Given that I recognize the importance of both agency and self-determination, I made sure to obtain informed consent from each of the 30 research participants. To obtain informed consent, I provided a consent form to each participant. The consent form outlines the research questions, the goals of the project, as well as the agenda for the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A). Each participant was required to sign the consent form before the interview began.

One limitation of my informed consent form is that it presents participation in the research process as a black and white scenario. That is, the participants choose to either participate in the research project or they can choose to withdraw from the project at anytime. Upon post-interview reflection of my consent form, I found that it did not capture the complexity of consent and confidentiality. For example, during my interview with Carmina, she disclosed some personal information about her employer’s family. In the final minutes of the interview, she asked that I not mention anything about her employer’s family history in my final thesis, which I gladly agreed not to. In hindsight, I should have made it clear on the consent form that the participants can ask that certain issues that they raised during the course of the interview be omitted from the final project.

In addition to obtaining consent forms from all 30 research participants, additional careful ethical precautions must be taken when conducting qualitative research, particularly when one conducts participant observation. For example, according to Bryman and Teevan (2005), one difficulty that emerges in qualitative research is the issue of confidentiality. They argue that the
“rich detail and small number of subjects may preclude that protection” (p. 157). To minimize the potential risk of identification, I did not attach any identifying physical characteristics or unique social information to any of the research participants from the interviews or from the playground spaces. Further, I refer to each participant by a pseudonym.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter mapped out the methodological framework that I used for this thesis. The chapter discussed the research context, specifically the location and policy contexts, applicable to the study of Filipina LCP migrants who live and/or work in some of Toronto’s gentrified neighbourhoods. For example, I explained my rationale for conducting research on Filipina LCP migrants who live and work in Toronto’s gentrified neighbourhoods. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, given that gentrified neighbourhoods are pedestrian-oriented, LCP migrants have regular interactions with each other in public spaces, which include sidewalks, playgrounds and schoolyards. Therefore, I deliberately chose to conduct research in Toronto’s gentrified neighbourhoods in large part because I investigate—in Chapter 4—how these women benefit from regular interaction with other LCP migrants in public spaces.

Access to Filipina LCP migrants who live and work in some of Toronto’s gentrified neighbourhoods was achieved through both convenience and snowball sampling techniques. In terms of convenience sampling, I purposively made use of my prior internship at INTERCEDE in order to recruit research participants for my thesis. I drew on these connections for the initial interviews and then asked the participants to provide me with additional contacts to other Filipina LCP migrants. The willingness of the participants to provide contacts of their friends and acquaintances is acknowledged with much gratitude.

This chapter also provided my rationale in choosing to use open-ended qualitative interviews as the primary mode of data collection. I explained how open-ended questions
enable the researched to express their ideas, feelings, and opinions in their own words. I also stated that it is important for women, specifically those who are marginalized and thus often without voice—such as temporary migrants workers in Canada—, to be given the opportunity to speak in large part because their voices have been routinely ignored or misrepresented throughout history (Reinharz 1992). In sum, this chapter provided the rationale for the methodological framework I have purposively chosen to use for this thesis project.
CHAPTER 4: COPING PRACTICES OF FILIPINA LCP MIGRANTS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this investigation is to enrich the understanding of the geographies of the global care chains model. I intend to add to the global care chains model by examining the coping practices that Filipina LCP migrants employ in their efforts to create communities of both care and belonging in their everyday spaces. In order to achieve my research goals, I interviewed thirty Filipina LCP migrants who work in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. I also completed ethnographic observations at various playground spaces. In this chapter, I provide the detailed findings of my interviews with the thirty research participants, and I also provide some ethnographic depth and context based on participant observation. This chapter is organized around a core set of themes that emerged in the interviews. The core set of themes includes the two primary coping practices that the participants develop in their everyday spaces. The coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants include their practices of congregating together and co-renting weekender apartments.

Based on the findings, I argue that Filipina LCP migrants’ practices of congregating together in public spaces, particularly at playgrounds and schoolyards, deepen their social networks with one another. I discuss the benefits of their participation in these social networks, which include the exchanging of information with regards to various employment opportunities. I also draw attention to two common tensions that prevent some Filipina LCP migrants from active membership in the networks of Filipina migrant workers. I further argue how these migrant women draw on their established networks in order to co-rent weekender apartments. In conclusion, I show how these migrant women play active roles in the (re)production of their own spaces of belonging. I also show how their coping practices produce both negative and positive effects. For example, while their strategies empower them to resignify themselves and
formulate new identities as women who are more than “servants of globalization”; these same strategies also reinforce aspects of their segregation from dominant Torontonian society.

4.1 COPING STRATEGIES OF LCP MIGRANTS IN TORONTO

4.1.1 Congregating Together in Public Spaces

My knowledge about the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants is informed by several ethnographic observations. One particular observation from 2007 speaks broadly to how some Filipina LCP migrants cope with the exclusionary socio-spatial dynamics of playground spaces. That is, in the summer of 2007, I babysat a four-year old boy whose name is Alex. Almost every afternoon, Alex and I trekked to the same playground located in one of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. The majority of the children at the park were attended by their mothers, their mothers and their Filipina nannies, or solely by their Filipina nannies. It quickly became apparent to me that a socio-spatial pattern exists in relation to the interactions that took place at that precise playground between the mothers and the Filipina domestic workers.

For example, I made acquaintances with members from both groups of women. However, I noticed that the mothers of the young children at the playground kept to themselves, which often resulted in the Filipina women clustering together. I only once witnessed a mother depart from this unspoken social boundary. She did so by speaking to the Filipina woman who worked for her. And she only spoke to the Filipina woman because Alex (the boy whom I babysat) bullied her three-year old son. Prior to running over to us and yelling at the hired Filipina nanny that her son was not allowed to play with Alex, she chatted amongst her group of Anglo friends.
Immediately after scolding the Filipina woman for letting her son interact with Alex, the mother returned to her group of friends. Incidentally, that was also the last time I saw that distinct Filipina domestic worker at the playground. The ethnographic observations that I made at that playground showed me how some Filipina LCP migrants cope with the exclusion that they encounter in public spaces. They cope by congregating together in these same spaces.

In this section, I investigate more thoroughly how the socially constructed differences that exist between Filipina LCP migrants and their employers inform these migrant women’s everyday geographies. I am particularly interested in the geographies of Filipina LCP migrants at the scale of playgrounds and schoolyards in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. In addition, I show how these same migrant women transform their everyday geographies by congregating together and deepening their networks with one another.

I now approach the discussion of Filipina LCP migrants and their occupancy at playground spaces by first examining the City of Toronto’s (2009) Parks and Recreation Division’s mission statement. The mission statement speaks to one of the “official” policies of playground spaces. The mission of Parks and Recreation Division is to ensure that “people in the diverse communities of Toronto have full and equitable” access to some of the 833 playground spaces located across the city (City of Toronto 2009). Indeed, the mission statement reads as politically correct. As a feminist geographer, I am interested in how this policy comes to life at playgrounds in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods, specifically for Filipina LCP migrants.

I draw on Staeheli and Mitchell’s (2008) conceptualization of access in order to understand how Filipina LCP migrants experience playground spaces. According to Staeheli and Mitchell (2008:116), access is not a “simple matter of space being opened or closed at a given time, as a […] shopping mall might be. It is also a matter of how one enters a space, even if not physically barred from it. In this sense, access is conditioned by feelings of receptivity, of
welcome, of comfort (or by lack of all these feelings).” Staeheli and Mitchell’s (2008) argument is central to my findings of Filipina LCP migrants who occupy playgrounds spaces for two reasons. First, these migrant women congregate together at the opposite sides of playgrounds and schoolyards largely because they often feel socially excluded from meaningful interaction with their employers and their employers’ friends at such spaces. Second, their practices of self-congregation, which empower Filipina LCP migrants to feel welcomed and accepted by each other in said spaces, facilitate the deepening of their social networks. As I will show later, membership in the social networks generates benefits to Filipina LCP migrants in terms of these migrant women feeling supported and comforted; however, there are also tensions that exist among LCP migrants that prevent some women from full participation in these same networks. I also will show how LCP migrants draw on their networks in their efforts to co-rent weekender apartments.

The identity politics of Filipina LCP migrants in relation to the social identities of their employers carries socio-spatial implications, specifically at the community level. Migrant Filipina domestic workers often experience social exclusion at neighbourhood playgrounds and schoolyards across Toronto. For example, 22 out of 30 of my research participants informed me that they experience exclusion from the majority of the conversations that their employers and their employers’ friends engage in. Kerry, a young LCP migrant who works for a family in the Annex, says, “Mothers are hard to approach [at playgrounds and schoolyards]” and often “don’t answer us when we say hi.” Further, Julie states, “I don’t know if they [employers/mothers of children] are interested in me unless they need a job.” These types of interactions—employers really only engaging in conversation with Filipina LCP migrants when they are looking for contacts—are uneven and semi-reciprocal. That is, the employers and the employers’ friends often set the terms and conditions of the interactions that take place between them and the Filipina LCP migrants in public spaces.
The interactions that take place between LCP migrants and their employers shape the everyday geographies of the migrant women in public spaces. For example, the limited interactions between both groups of women often result in the spatial segregation of playgrounds and schoolyards. Kerry reveals that LCP migrants often are spatially segregated from their employers and their employers’ friends at various local playgrounds and schoolyards: “They [employers of LCP migrants] don’t like to stand and chat with us [LCP migrants] at playgrounds or schoolyards. So we go off to the other side and talk to each other.” 5 out of 30 of the participants also state that the mothers who occupy playground spaces routinely sit on park benches and watch the children from an approximate 2-metre distance. At the same time, the employers of Filipina LCP migrants often expect, according to only 3 of the 30 participants, that these migrant women be within an arm’s reach of the children who they care for at all times. A few research participants state that Filipina LCP migrants rarely watch the children from such a close distance. Rather, these migrant women, according to the participants, much prefer to chat together on the peripheral edges of the playgrounds far away from their employers. Charlotte laughs, “[the mothers] want us to be right next to the children always, but we don’t. We like to sit on the grass and watch the children far from the mothers and talk about our lives back in the Philippines.”

The socio-spatial segregation of local playgrounds and schoolyards in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods raises important insights into Filipina LCP migrants’ practices of congregating together. 17 of the 30 research participants informed me how they cope with the social exclusion –or rather with their lack of feelings “of receptivity, of welcome, of comfort” (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008:116)— they encounter at neighbourhood playgrounds and schoolyards. They cope by clustering together at opposite ends from where their employers situate themselves. Carmina indicates that she speaks on the behalf of many Filipina LCP migrants when she says, “When I am with employers, I am not comfortable. […] I stay away
from them at playgrounds. I rather be with my friends [who are Filipina LCP migrants].”

According to 24 of the 30 research participants, Filipina LCP migrants often feel uncomfortable around their employers and their employers’ friends. Jane emphasizes, “Sometimes employers are snobs.” These migrant women often stand amongst themselves and away from the other women in their efforts to cope with their feelings of unease and disdain towards their employers. For example, Anna reveals, “I want to sit with other nannies [at playgrounds and schoolyards] rather than my employer and her friends. […] I prefer to speak with nannies because they are friendlier and I feel like they are the same level as me.” That is, Filipina LCP migrants understand and accept each other in some of their everyday spaces across Toronto.

Filipina LCP migrants have regular interactions with their employers in privatized spaces, such as their employers’ houses. However, regular interaction between these two populations does not fully transfer over to public settings. The lack of meaningful and regular social interaction acts as a barrier to Filipina LCP migrants’ experiences of full belonging at the larger scale of Toronto. These migrant women cope with their lack of feelings of belonging by congregating together in public spaces in their efforts to create communities of belonging amongst themselves.

Filipina LCP migrants’ practices of congregating together often results in the deepening of their social networks with each other. In the following section, I will show how Filipina LCP migrants forge and sustain social networks with fellow Filipina LCP migrants in order to establish a web of mutual support. I discuss some of the key sites and spaces of their social networks, the benefits that such networks mediate, and two tensions that prevent some migrant women from full membership.

4.1.1.1 Social Networks of Filipina Migrant Workers: Key Sites and Spaces
Filipina LCP migrants’ practices of congregating together in public spaces deepen their social networks with each other. By the deepening of their social networks, I refer to how Filipina LCP migrants develop informal practices of creating and maintaining social networks of identity and support based on the common, intersecting grounds of their occupation, ethnicity, and spatial location (i.e. Toronto’s high income neighbourhoods). The networks of Filipina migrant workers are a specific type of social network in that they are networks of identity, support, and sociability.

I draw upon the theoretical concept ‘homophily’ to offer one explanation as to why Filipina LCP migrants tend to forge and sustain social networks with one another. Homophily refers to the perspective that people tend to have significant contact with individuals who mirror similar socio-demographic characteristics to themselves. As McPherson et al. (2001) discuss, homophily often occurs in an assortment of relationships, for instance in marriage, friendship, and in this study between Filipina LCP migrants. The reasons for homophily among Filipina LCP migrants include geographical proximity between these migrant women who work in Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods, socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, race, class, occupational status, and psychological factors, including common cultural preferences and tastes.

In addition, Granovetter (1973) argues that homophily stimulates stronger interpersonal ties. In terms of Filipina LCP migrants, Anita claims that she speaks on the behalf of many Filipina when she states, “From our hearts, we embrace Filipinas.” Further, 3 of the 30 participants were or currently are friends with LCP migrants who are not of Filipina descent. Jane discloses, “Actually I had one friend who is not Filipina in 2005. But we don’t have communication anymore.” Another participant reveals that some of her non-Filipina acquaintances include those who are Russian, Italian, Jamaican; however, she says, “[I’m] not
very close with them. Actually they are really nice, but we don’t have time to be so intimate with them” (Anna).

The Filipina LCP population in Toronto outnumbers the size of their non-Filipina counterparts (CIC 2007), which intensifies some aspects of their preference to build and maintain social networks with their fellow Filipina migrants. According to 17 of the 30 research participants, Filipina LCP migrants who live in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods have among the highest levels of access to the social networks of Filipina migrant workers that are located in the city. Anna shares, “There’s so many more Filipinas than other [Jamaican, Russian] nannies here [in the Annex]. All of us Filipinas network with each other. […] I don’t ask the other nannies for help, just my Filipinas.” In sum, the close proximity of Filipina LCP migrants in Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods, coupled with the sizeable population of Filipina LCP migrants enables this nanny population to build and maintain strong networks with each other.

4.1.1.2 Benefits of the Social Networks of Filipina Migrant Workers

Broadly speaking, Filipina LCP migrants forge and sustain social networks with each other in their efforts to create communities of belonging in Toronto. Their use of ethnic-specific networks enables Filipina LCP migrants to retain elements of their cultural identities that are important to them, share advice about their jobs, and learn about various employment opportunities. In addition, the social networks of Filipina migrant workers help empower these migrant women to overcome their feelings of boredom and isolation. This section examines these multiple benefits in further detail.

4.1.1.3 Cultural Identities: Language and Food Choices
Social networks often enable Filipina LCP migrants to retain elements of their cultural identities that 23 out of 30 of the respondents argue are important to them. Traditional language and food practices are two aspects of their cultural identities that are important to the research participants. In terms of language, the spatial proximity of Filipina women who work in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods, and social networks, Theresa says, “There are so many nannies here [Bloor West Village]. You feel like you are in the Philippines. I like it better that there are so many Filipina nannies […] We can speak Tagalog together.” According to Theresa, and an additional 25 of the 30 research participants, Filipina LCP migrants freely speak Tagalog with their fellow Filipina migrants. Charlotte declares, “Whenever I see another Filipina, I always speak Tagalog with her.” They prefer to speak Tagalog with each other because it simultaneously generates positive feelings and reduces feelings of homesickness. Carmina comments, “If I talk our language [Tagalog], I feel good.” Sara also shares, “speaking Tagalog with others prevents me from getting homesick.”

The social networks of Filipina migrant women also help these migrant women to overcome the exclusion that they encounter in their employers’ houses by maintaining their own culturally specific food practices. For example, I found that Filipina LCP migrants draw on their networks in their efforts to develop their own food practices. That is, 23 of the 30 research participants create alternative spaces away from their employers’ houses in order to prepare and consume the foods they like. They make use of alternative spaces, such as weekender apartments, in large part because they face exclusion from freely preparing and consuming foods of their preference in their employers’ houses. In terms of Filipina LCP migrants’

12 However, these women constantly have to negotiate which language is appropriate for which space: “We speak Tagalog with each other. In front of children, we speak both [English and Tagalog]. In front of employers, however, we speak English. Some employers, not ours, think we speak bad words when we’re speaking Tagalog, so we speak English. Further, many Filipina migrants do not want to come across as rude by speaking Tagalog in front of their employers: “Oh no no no don’t speak Tagalog in front of employers. Its not nice” (Stephanie). Yet by the same token, they often become reluctant to speak in English with their employers present. Over 50 per cent of the participants cited fears of mixing up their English words. Roslyn quips, “What if I say sex instead of shoes? That would be so embarrassing.”
everyday food practices, the live-in component typically means that the live-in caregivers eat breakfast, lunch, and dinner with their employers’ families. Although all 30 of the research participants prepare meals for the families, they do not exercise regular decision-making powers. That is, their employers’ dictate the food, recipes, and menus that the LCP migrants are then to buy, prepare, and consume. Julie exclaims, “She [the employer] always tells me what [food] to make for us [herself and employer’s family]. I don’t have much say, you know?”

LCP migrants frequently draw from their social networks in order to make alternative food choices with their fellow Filipina LCP migrants. For example, Stephanie shares, “I ask my Filipina friends who I meet at the playground if they want to go to Filipino restaurant together. We go often.” Further, Roslyn says, “Sometimes I like rice, so sometimes I go out for rice [with fellow Filipina friends who all work in the same neighbourhood].” 24 of the 30 research participants prefer to eat with their Filipina friends rather than eat with their employers because “it means eating rice without employers making faces” (Sara). Filipina LCP migrants routinely cope with their employers’ disdain towards their food choices by participating in Filipino-flavoured potluck dinners at various friends’ weekender apartments (Anita, Coco, Charlotte, Beth, Marjorie). Coco says, “Her [the employer] and the kids don’t like when I make my own food. So I say no more of this. I prefer to eat at my friends’ places [weekender apartments] where we all bring food to eat.” By preparing and consuming food in alternative spaces, LCP migrants play active roles in shaping the everyday geographies of their food practices.

4.1.1.4 Communication and Support Forum: Employment Opportunities and Sharing Advice

Two additional benefits of the social networks of Filipina migrant workers are that these networks help mediate the exchanging of information with regards to various employment opportunities and also facilitate the sharing of both personal and work-related advice. Consider
Julie’s experience with how her participation in the social networks of Filipina migrant workers facilitated the exchanging of information with regards to an employment opportunity for her sister. Julie works for a family in the Annex. In 2008, Julie and her husband became pregnant. She wanted to go on maternity leave for one year. Her employer asked Julie if she knew of a temporary replacement. Julie knew that her sister (Sally) wanted to come to Canada through the Live-In Caregiver Program. Therefore, she asked her employer to sponsor Sally from the Philippines. The employer agreed. Each of the 30 participants have similar experiences of how they themselves or a fellow LCP migrant who they know found work as a live-in caregiver through the use of such networks. Jane exclaims, “Like I have a few friends who were looking for a job. I asked my employer if they have some friends who are looking for nannies. And they hired them. I helped four friends.” Similarly, Rebecca states, “If [my] employer says, ‘I need a nanny’, you call someone, find out if she or someone she knows needs a job, then you give that contact to the employer. At the most, it takes a few days to find a job contact. Its easy.” In a similar vein, Roslyn reveals, “Monica told me ‘oh Roslyn, I have a friend who needs a nanny.’ Then I go to the park and find someone who doesn’t have a job and I hook them up.” In addition, the networks of Filipina migrant workers often provide a degree of job security: “If I lose my job, I can go to my nanny friends because nannies have lots of [job] connections” (Suzie). Similarly, Sara says that before she quits her “intolerable” job caring for five children, she is “starting to find another job through friends [who likewise are Filipina nannies].”

Social networks also help facilitate the sharing of both personal and work-related advice among LCP migrants. Roslyn states, “You will learn so many things from nannies. Like when you clean bathroom, use Product X. When nannies talk, they learn from each other.” Also, Carmina says that Filipina LCP migrants often approach her for advice on a range of issues, including their actual job experiences or about their legal statuses: “They tell me about their problems. I offer advice and they ask me about this and that. They ask about work permits and I
give them free advice. Nannies ask me questions. When I’m not sure, I tell them a better way to get clearer information is to call Immigration.” Carmina also encourages those who seek advice from her: “I always tell them to just stick through this. Right now, you don’t have a choice.” Overall, the social networks of Filipina migrant workers facilitate the sharing of information with regards to job opportunities and both work-related and personal advice among these migrant women.

4.1.1.5 Sociability: Overcoming Feelings of Boredom and Isolation

According to the respondents, a third common benefit to the social networks of Filipina migrant workers is that they help empower these migrants to overcome their feelings of isolation, boredom, and, in some cases, depression. Sam and Charlotte met at a local nursery school in the Annex. They found out that they live near each other and subsequently decided to take the children who they care for to nursery school together. They prefer to go together because of the social aspects. That is, these women enjoy each other’s company over a cup of coffee or lunch. Sam says, “If I am not busy, I stay here and we [her and Charlotte] will have coffee at Second Cup or Tim Hortons. We go out for lunch. We have sushi, McDonalds. We go out for lunch once a week. We have lots of fun.” By having lunch together at least once a week, these women are building meaningful relationships where they can overcome their experiences of isolation.

Filipina LCP migrants also draw on their social networks with other migrant women in order to arrange play dates. For example, Stephanie exclaims, “I make so many friends at the park. My friend asked if I wanted to join in on the play dates […] We all want to have play dates. Otherwise it [domestic work] is a bit lonely at times.” Charlotte explains what happens during most play dates that are arranged by Filipina LCP migrants:
During play date, the children have free play. We watch the children. We are the referees. We are chatting about life: the weather, tomorrow is yucky, are you fighting with your husband? We tease each other. We speak Tagalog during our play date. Play dates last all afternoon. We usually meet up for lunch and then depart just before dinner.

Play dates are enjoyable to Filipina LCP migrants in that the play dates create an opportunity for these migrant women to spend time with fellow LCP migrants. Furthermore, play dates create a forum for LCP migrants to provide emotional support to one another. Suzie explains, “During play dates, we can talk to each other about our problems – like if we are sad, or lonely for our families, or frustrated with our employers, you know? We understand each other. We help each other.” Suzie speaks to how her participation in the social networks of Filipina migrant workers help her overcome her feelings of loneliness.

23 of the 30 participants agree that the social networks of Filipina migrant workers help mitigate their feelings of loneliness. They feel lonely without their families who continue to live in the Philippines. They also miss the Philippines. Overall their use of ethnic-specific social networks helps Filipina LCP migrants create communities of care and belonging: “Its helpful to feel like a community. It helps get rid of homesickness. We are busy working five days, but at same time, interaction helps you feel more at home. It feels better. Helps get used to being without a family” (Theresa). In sum, Filipina LCP migrants draw on their social networks with one another in their efforts to cultivate communities of care and belonging among their fellow Filipina friends.

4.1.1.6 Tensions that Handicap LCP Migrants’ Access to the Social Networks of Filipina Migrant Workers

As the previous section showed, Filipina LCP migrants build and maintain social networks with each other. However, it is equally important to avoid romanticizing the solidarity
that is perceived to exist among Filipina LCP migrants in large part because not all of these migrant women fully participate in the networks. Rather, my findings indicate that tensions exist among Filipina LCP migrants and that these tensions often prohibit some of the migrant women from full access to the social networks of Filipina migrant workers. There are two common types of tensions that exist among Filipina LCP migrants. Both of which relate to: (1) Filipina LCP migrants’ length of stay in Toronto; and, (2) their employers’ opinions or rules as to whether these migrant women are allowed to associate with other domestic workers in public spaces. These two tensions often result in some of these migrant women encountering exclusion from access to membership in said social networks.

The first type of tension that exists among Filipina LCP migrants can be understood in terms of their lengths of stay thus far in Toronto. For example, Carmina, a Filipina LCP migrant who works in the Annex, says, “There are always two groups of nannies around: the newcomers and the ones who have been around for a long time.” Cheryl describes these two groups of nannies as “first-class migrants – those who have been in Canada for a longer time and have permanent resident status; and the second class migrants – those who are newcomers and quite cliquey.” Six of the research participants who have been in Toronto for at least the past four years agree that they do not perceive newcomers as friendly. Carmina, for example, utters, “Some [new] nannies think that they are hot stuff.” Coco also vocalizes, “Newcomers are cliquey. They are not as friendly. Newcomers are not friendly.”

In addition, Anna reveals a common fear shared by many of the more well-established and experienced LCP migrants: “the older ones think that newcomers earn more money.” However, 5 of the more recently-arrived participants refer to the established ones who have been in Toronto for many years as “snobby.” Rarely - in the cases that I examine - do the newcomers and the experienced establish useful networks in Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods that could mutually benefit both subgroups of women. Rena even frequently
advises newcomers to dissociate from the well-established migrants. She says, “They hurt your feelings. I tell newcomers not to smile at the ones who have been here longer.” The tensions that exist between recent arrivals and the more established Filipina LCP migrants often prevent some of these women from access to full participation in the social networks of Filipina migrant workers that exist in some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods.

The second common tension that exists among Filipina LCP migrants relates to how some employers do not want their domestic workers to associate with other caregivers in public spaces, such as schoolyards and playgrounds. Rose argues, “Many employers don’t want their nannies to interact with others. They think nannies are too chatty. Some nannies then choose not to talk to other nannies. Those ones are isolated.” Each of the various types of tensions that are common among Filipina LCP migrants limits their access to full participation in social networks. As a result of reduced participation in social networks, some migrant women often cannot draw on the social networks of Filipina migrant workers to learn about job opportunities, nor do they have full access to some of the additional benefits that these networks generate.

4.1.2 Co-Renting Weekender Apartments

Despite the tensions that exist among Filipina LCP migrants that frequently handicap their participation in their social networks with one another, 26 of the 30 research participants draw on these networks in their efforts to co-rent weekender apartments. Throughout this section, I will provide examples of how Filipina LCP migrants draw on their networks in order to co-rent weekender apartments. I further discuss the legality of weekender apartments, how they function, why LCP migrants choose to co-rent weekender apartments, and also the costs and sizes, and locations of said apartments.
4.1.2.1 Legality of Weekender Apartments and How they Work

The Live-In Caregiver Program requires that LCP migrants live in their employers’ domestic spaces on a fulltime basis until they either acquire permanent resident status, or alternatively, they face deportation from Canada. Under the Live-In Caregiver Program, LCP migrants are legally entitled to two days off. When these migrant workers are off-duty, they have full rights to go where they please. That is, they can travel, stay at a friend’s apartment, or even co-rent a weekender apartment. Therefore, while their employers’ houses are their permanent places of residence, LCP migrants are legally allowed to rent weekender apartments and stay there during their off-hours.

Several research participants explain how weekender apartments function. Carmina explains that since her arrival to Canada in 2001, she has worked diligently to save her income so that she could rent an apartment on a full-time basis. Although she continues to live at her employer’s house for the entire week, she rents out her apartment to Filipina nannies. She describes the process: “I have an apartment that I rent to caregivers. If they don’t yet have permanent resident status, they typically will rent an apartment from you. I rent a 2-bedroom apartment that they can use on the weekend. My caregivers [tenants] just stay on the weekend.” Carmina says that she rents her 2-bedroom apartment to 8 Filipina LCP migrants. There are a wide range of variations to the specifics of how weekender apartments operate; however, the general pattern is that once an LCP migrant acquires permanent resident status, she will rent an apartment on a full-time basis. She will then allow Filipina LCP migrants to co-rent her apartment during their time off on weekends.

4.1.2.2 Reasons to co-rent weekender apartments
According to the research participants, there are three common reasons why Filipina LCP migrants choose to co-rent weekender apartments: (1) to establish concrete personal space away from their employers and their employers’ children; (2) to (re)gain independence; and, (3) to escape the on-call nature of live-in domestic work. Jane shares how living her employer’s house often translates to working overtime: “Sometimes when you live-in, you work longer hours than you are supposed to.” Jane decided to co-rent a weekender apartment in an effort to avoid working unpaid overtime hours on the weekends. Sally also makes a case for why she chooses to rent an apartment with her friends: “I want peace and quiet. I don’t want to be disturbed. I want to get rid of the kids. Even with a private room, you can still hear the kids.” She further argues, “The kids go into my room. They broke through the locked door. They bother me. I am resting. It is noisy. When they play, they bang. On my day off, if they are not playing- well my conscious will say to intervene.” Sally finds that co-renting a weekender apartment enables her to have her a space truly of her own where her employers’ children cannot intrude. In addition, Carmina explains why LCP migrants rent her weekender apartment: “Because they have a little bit of freedom on weekends and they can do things. They have a place where they can be together and have a little social life.”

My findings corroborate Staisulis and Bakan’s (2005) argument that LCP migrants are able to temporarily avoid the pressures of constantly being on-call by co-renting weekender apartments. That is, sharing apartments enables LCP migrants to establish a physical distance between themselves and their employers on the days—or even hours—that they are not working. In having their own apartments, these migrant women no longer feel pressured to constantly be on-call. Further, creating a physical distance between themselves and their employers is invaluable to Filipina LCP migrants in large part because—and according to my research participants—they also experience peace of mind (as I will discuss later).
Nearly all thirty of the research participants expressed a preference to co-rent apartments with fellow Filipina LCP migrants rather than live in their employers’ houses. However, their low wages typically only enable them to rent weekender apartments. The cost of renting a weekender apartment, according to the research participants, generally varies from $75 to $150 CAD per month, as opposed to $800+ CAD for one month’s full rent. The reason why co-renting a weekender apartment is the cheaper option is largely because multiple migrant women share an entire apartment and thus they split the cost of the monthly bills. For example and according to the research participants, the average number of Filipina LCP migrants who share an apartment ranges from 5 to 7, regardless of the number of bedrooms. Furthermore, the general correlation is that the smaller the space – such as a bachelor or 1-bedroom apartment – the less expensive the rent. Alternatively, the more Filipina LCP migrants who occupy any given space, the cheaper the rent. However, Julie provides insight into the capitalist intentions of one nanny placement agent who rented out the basement of her agency business to many of the migrant women who she recruited from the Philippines:

Actually the agency helped me to apply here. She had a house that weekenders stay. She was Filipino. Everybody stays there on weekends. She charged $150 [CAD], not including food. We live in the basement with oh lots of people. I didn’t like that. That was trauma. Too many. It’s hard.

Six of the women who lived in the nanny placement agent’s basement decided to share an alternative weekender apartment together and thus left the overcrowded basement. In sum, Filipina LCP migrants who wish to co-rent a weekender apartment can only afford do so if they co-rent with multiple women.

13 Of course, the LCP also prohibits these migrant women from renting their own apartments or houses on a full-time basis until they acquire permanent resident status.
4.1.2.4 Location of Weekender Apartments

There is a spatial disjuncture between where Filipina LCP migrants work as live-in caregivers and where these same migrant women co-rent weekender apartments. For example, the thirty research participants who I interviewed work across some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods, which include the Annex, Bloor West Village, and the Village. Although the Annex is closest in proximity to the downtown core, the other neighbourhoods also are easily accessible to downtown Toronto. Each of these respective neighbourhoods is affluent. By contrast, Filipina LCP migrants routinely co-rent apartments in some of Toronto’s low-income, multi-ethnic neighbourhoods where there are large Filipino populations. According to my research participants, the most common neighbourhoods where they rent weekender apartments are located at Bathurst and Wilson, or at Bathurst and Eglinton.

4.1.2.5 Reaping the Benefits of Co-Renting Weekender Apartments

26 of the 30 research participants agree that co-renting weekender apartments generate positive outcomes. According to the participants, the four most common benefits of co-renting weekender apartments include: (1) the deepening of social capital; (2) increased spatial mobility; (3) earnings enhancement; and (4) increased privacy from their employers’ gazes.

4.1.2.6 Increased Social Capital

26 of the 30 research participants agree that co-renting weekender apartments helps them to overcome many of the emotional hardships associated with living in their employers’ domestic
spaces seven days a week. For example, co-residing at weekender apartments enable Filipina LCP migrants to have peace of mind. In addition, sharing weekender apartments also empowers them to overcome their feelings of loneliness. Anita, an LCP migrant who lives in her employer’s basement during the weekdays and co-rents a weekender apartment on her days off, argues that prior to moving out on the weekends, she “spent so much money on phone cards because I was always calling the Philippines. I was so homesick!” Now that Anita shares an apartment with four other Filipina LCP migrants, she feels like she is “living in the Philippines” (Anita). According to Anita, she feels like she is in her country of origin in large part because she and her roommates eat Filipino food and speak Tagalog. Anita reflects, “I am happy now that I am living out [of her employer’s house].”

In addition, Kerry shares, “I stay with my friends during the weekends before I live-out. There were four of us. We paid $75 [CAD] per month. I went there [to the weekender apartment] because I can make Filipino food during the weekends. You can see your friends. Sometimes you watch movies with them. Just relax and have fun.” Moreover, Anna states that she initially rented an apartment for herself to stay at during the weekends. However, her living accommodation changed when two Filipina LCP migrants received her phone number from a mutual friend at a playground in the Annex. They asked Anna if they could share her weekender apartment. Anna consented. She reflects, “Why did I let them come in? Well they had nowhere to go, no friends. It’s hard to have nowhere to go. So I said OK they are nice people, so I let them in. I didn’t charge them for the first three months, but eventually they said that we need to share the bills.” Anna asserts that she prefers living with fellow Filipina women in large part because “the companionship is good. It’s fun. You need company.” In addition,

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14 Only one participant cited that she preferred to live in her employer’s all for all seven days of the week. She exclaims, “On the weekends, nannies make a lot of noise. They wake up early” (Lena).

15 Kerry received permanent resident status and now rents an apartment with her husband and children – who she recently sponsored to come to Canada. She insists, “Now that my family come over here, I need space. I know we can save money [by renting out their apartment to fellow LCP migrants], but we need privacy to do personal things like husband-wife relationship.”
Marjorie reflects on the differences between living full time at an employer’s house and sharing a weekender apartment: “After 6:00, when you are live-in, you will stay only in your room, talking to the four corners of your room, stay there, and do nothing. And when you are live-out [on weekends], after work, you can go out, you can talk to anyone, you are relaxed, you have peace of mind.” As we can see by the insights of Majorie, co-renting a weekender apartment helps deepen the social capital of Filipina LCP migrants. In addition, Majorie reveals that sharing a domestic space with other Filipina LCP migrants also enhances her spatial mobility, which is the focus of the following section.

4.1.2.7 Spatial Mobility

Filipina LCP migrants often do not have free spatial range in their employers’ houses. For example, Stasiulis and Bakan (1997) show how these migrant women encounter exclusion from “family spaces”, which typically include family and living rooms. According to Staisulis and Bakan (1997), LCP migrants face exclusion from such spaces particularly on their “off-hours” when they are not cleaning their employers’ domestic spaces or providing care to the children. In addition, Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) argue that the modern design of Canadian middle-class homes usually does not provide physical separation for LCP migrants from their employers’ families in terms of architecturally designed nanny quarters. Moreover, migrant women often feel uncomfortable and/or unwanted living in their employers’ houses on a fulltime basis. Camille shares her experiences of living in her employer’s house: “It’s very sad. It’s hard. I am done with that. It created anxious feelings. You always feel nervous. I don’t know why.” As a result of her unease, Camille segregated herself to the basement, which she also hated: “I hated the basement. I was always sick – moldy and everything. I was sick every year. So when I get my papers, I said goodbye to my employers. I get my own apartment.”
According to the research participants, there is a stark contrast between their spatial mobility in their employers’ houses and in their weekender apartments: “In our apartment, we relax in our bedrooms, the family room. We are very comfortable everywhere in the apartment. I don’t feel segregated to my bedroom. That’s what it was like at my employer’s when I was a live-in [throughout the entire week]” (Pamela). Thus, given that weekender apartments are Filipina LCP migrants’ own spaces, these migrant women have a much higher degree of spatial mobility and freedom in comparison to the spatial confinement that they routinely experience in their employers’ houses.

As I showed earlier, the majority of the research participants argue that they have a limited sense of belonging in public spaces, including playgrounds and schoolyards, across some of Toronto’s high-income neighbourhoods. Filipina LCP migrants experience feelings of non-belonging in these public spaces in large part because they lack meaningful interaction with members of the dominant society. However, these same LCP migrants experience greater levels of spatial mobility at the neighbourhood scale if and when they co-rent weekender apartments in some of Toronto’s low-income, multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. For example, Julie reveals, “On the weekend, you can go anywhere [if you rent a weekender apartment].” Beth exclaims, “I feel like I can go more places when I am at my [weekender] apartment. I don’t feel pressured to tell my employer where I go and when I come back. I am independent, yes I am independent, you know?” Overall, 18 of the 30 research participants discuss how they experience increased spatial freedom in the neighbourhoods where their weekender apartments are located.

4.1.2.8 Earnings Enhancement

In this section, I argue that there is a positive correlation between Filipina LCP migrants’ access to weekender housing and their access to under-the-table employment opportunities. That is, weekender apartments provide more than mere alternative housing to LCP migrants;
they also function as interior spaces where these migrant women can network with each other and gain entry into the informal labour market.

As mentioned earlier, the Live-In Caregiver Program denies LCP migrants the right to take on alternative forms of employment during their tenure as live-in caregivers. That is, the LCP prohibits these migrant women from working additional part-time jobs. In doing so, the LCP entrenches their identities as low-skilled workers who are “naturally suited” for solely caregiver work in the Canadian context. In other words, LCP migrants have been told through the deskilling process that they cannot do any type of labour other than nanny work. Further, under the near-constant supervision of their employers, Filipina LCP migrants do not have the opportunities to take on additional jobs largely because when they are at their employers’ houses, they are pressured to constantly be “on-call.”

LCP migrants experience employment constraints and pressures in their employers’ domestic spaces. By contrast, weekender apartments are “spaces of escape” in that they function as a shared community where it is acceptable for a Filipina woman to expand her scope of employment opportunities. That is, Filipina LCP migrants challenge their identities as women who are “naturally-suited” only for nanny work in the Canadian context by working part-time during the weekends. For example, 22 of the 26 research participants who co-rent weekender apartments revealed that they or LCP migrants who they know clean houses and retirement homes on the weekends, and some work as waitresses at Filipino restaurants.16 Mayla exclaims, “The waitresses [of Filipino restaurants] were nannies before. And some [current LCP migrants] work under-the-table [pause] – most of them actually.” One woman even started an unofficial nanny placement agency: “I started a little business - a nanny business - bringing caregivers here and placing nannies here. It is not like I am doing it full time. A little bit of this

16 Of course, the pitfall of these additional jobs is that they do not provide meaningful economic empowerment to these migrant women who are economically marginalized in the Canadian context.
Carmina argues, “The reason I started my own agency to help Filipino caregivers to come here to Canada. […] I also needed the money so I could rent an apartment and then rent it out to other caregivers.” By taking on these additional jobs, LCP migrants resignify themselves and formulate new identities for themselves as independent, responsible, and smart working women.

The LCP migrants who take on additional jobs during the weekends either send that money home to their families in the Philippines, or alternatively save that money to use once they acquire permanent resident status. The participants revealed that once they gain permanent resident status, their saved money will go towards earning additional school certificates, sponsoring various family members from the Philippines, or alternatively, the money will go towards a down payment for a house.

4.1.2.9 Privacy from Employers’ Gazes

Filipina LCP migrants share a common concern about their lack of privacy in their employers’ houses (Pratt 1998). For example, Pratt (1998) argues that many employers of LCP migrants do not consistently provide adequate living space to their domestic workers. Inadequate living space materializes as a lack of privacy on the grounds that LCP migrants might not have their own bedrooms; or when they do have their own bedrooms, they are often without doorknob locks. One implication that arises from their lack of access to individual space is that their employers can regulate their mobility, snoop through their personal belongings, and “maintain or attempt to maintain control over the domestic workers’ space” (Pratt 1998:292).

According to the research participants, the employers of LCP migrants’ disciplinary techniques go beyond sole surveillance of their bedrooms. For example, Suzie shares her experiences of feeling uneasy around her employer: “When you are in the employer’s house,
you instinctively want to help them. You are always on your toes. You watch your employers. Or you stay in your bedroom, which is not comfortable.” Suzie then shares her experiences of co-renting a weekender apartment:

Here [at the weekender apartment] you can leave your bedroom and do whatever you want in the apartment. No one will bother you – you share jokes, memories, and laugh. You share stories about the employer – you can do that at your employer’s but you have to whisper in the bedroom at their house. You are not censored at the apartment. You have free will. It is a democracy here.

Suzie’s reference to her feelings of being censored at her employer’s house speaks to an additional way in which LCP migrants are governed. For example, the mere presence of their employers handicaps LCP migrants’ abilities to practice “free will.” Free will, according to Suzie, takes on multiple fronts, including one’s ability to experience spatial mobility, practice uncensored speech, as well as experience a degree of equality and mutual decision-making powers between roommates (i.e. participating in a “democracy”).

In addition, Jane argues that she experiences much more freedom and privacy at her co-rented weekender apartment that she shares with fellow Filipina LCP migrants: “There is more privacy at my own place. I have my own kitchen. I can wear whatever I want. I don’t have to behave in a certain way. At employers’, you have to minimize your noise.” Moreover, Anna argues, “We want to be who we are. You cannot be who you are at your employer’s house. You cannot mingle with them. They just want to talk about the kids. They are not interested in who we are.” That is, Anna shares how LCP migrants accept each other for who they are and take an interest in each other’s lives. They are autonomous, independent women who are more than nannies. By contrast, LCP migrants often see themselves as infantilized nannies at their employers’ houses in that they are dependent on their employers for room and board (Arat-Koc
Furthermore, the participants reveal how the mere presence of their employers is felt as a type of surveillance and governance.

For example, Jane reveals how she self-governs herself in a certain way, either by limiting what she says or what she wears, when she is in the presence of her employer. Jane’s practices of self-governance can be understood in relation to Foucault’s argument that disciplinary power “seeps into the very grain of individuals, reaches right into their bodies, permeates their gestures, their posture, what they say, how they learn to live and work with other people” (Foucault, quoted in Sheridan 1980:217). The majority of the research participants treat their weekender apartments as spaces of escape in the sense that when they occupy their weekender apartments, they are free from their employers’ presence and surveillance. More than that though, weekender apartments also foster an environment where Filipina LCP migrants can challenge their identities as “servants of globalization.” They challenge their identities by affirming and accepting one another, and performing their ‘identities’ as Filipina women who have families of their own back in the Philippines; as Filipina women who are migrant workers in Canada. That is, they can perform their multiple, complex, and shifting identities at ease in their spaces of escape. In sum, co-renting weekender apartments increases Filipina LCP migrants’ spatial mobility, offers a greater sense of privacy from their employers’ gazes, and provides an opportunity for these migrant women to work under-the-table.

4.2 CONCLUSION

The Live-In Caregiver Program produces particular subjects as de-skilled, non-citizen visa holders, shapes their housing geographies, and determines their labour market entry point (Pratt 2005). More than 90 per cent of LCP migrants are professionally trained women from the Philippines who cannot find decent paying careers in their country of origin. Therefore, they
enter Canada under the LCP as de-skilled and racialized migrant women in their efforts to earn money for their families. In coming to Canada as live-in caregivers, they regularly face the idea that they are merely “servants of globalization.” Yet, during my time spent with thirty Filipina LCP migrants at various coffee shops in the city, playground and schoolyard spaces, or at their weekender apartments, I found that these migrant women develop a range of coping practices in their efforts to redress their experiences of exclusion. They actively create spaces of belonging in both public and private spaces and they also temporarily resignify themselves as women who are more than “inferior nannies” (Pratt 2005:62). I also found that their coping practices, which include congregating together in public spaces and co-renting weekender apartments, simultaneously limiting in that they reproduce aspects of their segregation from dominant Torontonian society. In this final section, I will elaborate on the positive and negative aspects of the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants.

I first discuss how the coping practices of LCP migrants are beneficial in that they enable these migrant women to claim spaces of belonging. I also draw attention to how their coping strategies are simultaneously limiting in large part because their spaces of belonging are in largely feminized spaces. The two most prominent coping strategies of LCP migrants are their practices of congregating together in public spaces and co-renting weekender apartments. By congregating together in public spaces and by co-renting weekender apartments, Filipina LCP migrants play an active role in (re)producing spaces of belonging. That is, these migrant women cultivate a homeplace in their efforts build communities of reciprocated support and care and of belonging.

I extrapolate on hook’s conceptualization of homeplace in order to show how central these spaces of care and belonging are to Filipina LCP migrants – who are a marginalized group of women of colour in the Canadian context. Specifially, hooks (1990:47) argues, “For when people no longer have the space to construct homeplace, we cannot build a meaningful
community of resistance.” Her argument is paramount to my research findings. For example, my research shows how important ethnic-specific spaces of belonging are to Filipina LCP migrants. Migrant women claim these spaces of belonging by congregating together in public spaces and by co-renting weekender apartments. Once they claim these spaces of belonging, they transform such spaces into a homeplace – spaces where they accept one another, affirm one another, and support one another.

I also am cognizant that these women’s everyday geographies are disproportionately located in feminized spaces, such as their employers’ houses and their own weekender apartments. I am also aware of Sharma’s (2006) argument that feminization of the home does not necessarily empower women, but rather elevates the status of men who come to feel entitled to rely on the domesticated women’s homemaking practices. However, as I also hope to convey in the final chapter of the thesis, I take bell hooks’ (1990:44) conviction to heart: that is, in terms of the construction of homeplace, “[it] doesn’t matter that sexism assigned women this role. It is more important that they took this conventional role and expanded it to include caring for one another […] in ways that elevated our spirits, that kept us from despair.” Filipina LCP migrants construct a homeplace in their efforts to take delight in their own food practices, experience greater spatial mobility, and lead more autonomous and independent lives away from their employers.

I now discuss how the coping practices of LCP migrants are further beneficial in that they empower these migrant women to understand themselves as more than nannies. I draw on Melissa Wright’s (2006) theorization of resignification in an effort to show how LCP migrants resignify themselves and formulate new identities when they occupy their own spaces of belonging. As I showed in Chapter Two, Wright (2006) discusses how “third world” women factory workers regularly face the idea that they are inherently un-trainable, low-skilled, and

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17 In much feminist research, the household is seen as a feminized space (Osnowitz 2005).
disposable workers. This myth of women factory workers as inherently disposable “justifies” the near-constant manager surveillance and regulation. However, Wright (2006) also shows how these same women develop strategies in order to empower themselves in an effort to understand themselves as valuable rather than as disposable. Similarly, Filipina LCP migrants face the idea that they are only valuable to Canadian society as third-world nannies (read: patient, caring, and de-skilled)—or rather as “servants of globalization.” However, their coping practices of claiming spaces of belonging empower them to resignify themselves and formulate new identities as Filipina women who work in Canada. That is, when these women congregate together in public spaces or in their weekender apartments, they take on new roles and identities that depart from their demeaning and racist identity as “inferior nannies” (Pratt 2005:62.).

Finally, I examine how the coping practices of LCP migrants are limiting in that they reproduce Filipina LCP migrants’ experiences of segregation. As mentioned earlier, the Live-In Caregiver Program structures where LCP migrants can enter into the Canadian labour market – that is, in low-waged, de-skilled positions. The LCP also determines the housing geographies of LCP migrants in that they are temporary residents in their employers’ houses, which are often located in high-income neighbourhoods. In regards to these neighbourhoods, LCP migrants cite feelings of non-belonging and experiences of exclusion. Because these women do not feel like they belong in these neighbourhoods, they often feel pressured to take up residential space in alternative neighbourhoods, such as those located at Bathurst and Wilson. Since these migrant women lack financial capital, there are limits to where these women can afford to rent alternative spaces and many are pushed into co-habitation with fellow LCP migrants. Therefore, co-renting weekender apartments as a coping strategy in fact also reinforces their segregation from dominant members of Torontonian society and perpetuates their marginalized everyday geographies. In sum, the coping strategies of Filipina LCP migrants are empowering at the individual scale, but also reaffirming of their marginalization at the structural level.
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This final chapter of the thesis has three main objectives. First, I trace over the core argument that I developed in this thesis. Second, I show how my findings make contributions to the literature on gender and migration. Specifically, I discuss how my findings enrich the geographies of the global care chains model. And third, I draw attention to a few potential future research trajectories. One example of a future research study includes the examination of how current policies, such as the Live-In Caregiver Program, limit the spaces of care for and handicap the potential for care networks among migrant domestic workers.

5.1 REVIEW OF CORE ARGUMENT

In this thesis, I have argued that current literature on gender and migration tends to construct migrant domestic workers as “servants of globalization.” The “servants of globalization” discourse emphasizes how migrant Filipina domestic workers experience alienation, exploitation, and marginalization in both their home and host countries (Parrenas 2001; Pratt 2004; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). In Chapter 2, I argued that the focused perspective of the servants of globalization discourse is problematic insofar as it largely ignores questions of how these migrant women cope with their experiences of non-belonging in their host societies. That is, the servants of globalization discourse does not attend to how migrant domestic workers develop a range of coping practices in their efforts to create communities of affirmation, care, and belonging. In my quest to explore how Filipina LCP migrants cope with their experiences of exclusion, my thesis had the following objectives: (1) to understand how Filipina LCP migrants cope with their experiences of exclusion at various scales across Toronto; (2) to
understand some of the key sites and spaces of the social networks of Filipina LCP migrants; and, (3) to revise the geographical elements of the global care chains by showing how Filipina LCP migrants create new spaces of care communities in Toronto.

In Chapter 3, I outlined the two research techniques that I employed in an effort to understand how Filipina LCP migrants create communities of affirmation, belonging, and care in various spaces across the City of Toronto. First, I conducted in-depth, qualitative interviews with a research sample of 30 Filipina LCP migrants. I asked each participant a series of questions about how she copes with being a migrant domestic worker in Toronto. And second, I conducted participant observation in the spaces of both playgrounds and weekender apartments so that I could witness first hand how these migrant women provide care to and receive care from each other.

In Chapter 4, I discuss my findings in substantial detail. I found that Filipina LCP migrants cope with their experiences of exclusion by congregating together in public spaces and by co-renting weekender apartments across Toronto. Their practices of congregating together in the spaces of playgrounds and schoolyards deepen their social networks with each other. These same migrant women draw from their social networks in their efforts to build communities of affirmation, care, and belonging. Specifically, I found that the research participants create communities of care and belonging in their co-rented weekender apartments. In these alternative spaces, they resignify themselves and formulate new identities as women who are more than solely migrant domestic workers. That is, the research participants understand themselves as immigrant women who have a complex set of interests, identities, and relationships. In addition, I discussed how their coping practices are empowering at the individual level and simultaneously reaffirming of their marginalization at the structural level. That is, their coping practices of congregating together and co-renting weekender apartments do not necessarily lead to transforming structural inequalities that LCP migrants routinely
experience across various spaces in Toronto. For example, given that these women enter Canada as low-waged and low-skilled LCP migrants, there are limits as to where they can afford to rent weekender apartments. In addition, their coping practices do not necessarily enable them to gain richer and “higher-level” “skills.” Despite the limitations of their coping practices, I witnessed firsthand how Filipina LCP migrants do in fact create communities of care for each other. In the following section, I show how my findings of how LCP migrants care for another make contributions to the literature on migrant domestic workers.

5.2 CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LITERATURE

By reviewing current literature on migrant domestic workers and by conducting primary field research and interviews with thirty migrant women, I reached a major conclusion. I found that the geographies of the global care chains model are much more complex than what is appreciated in current literature. As I discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, Hochschild (2000:131) understands global care chains as a “series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring.” In other words, the global care chains model refers to how caregivers are (re)distributed within households and across nations as a result of the ongoing processes of globalization (Hochschild 2000; Parrenas 2001). As household dynamics change in advanced economies, economically-privileged families increasingly hire foreign-born women to work in the privacy of their homes as caregivers, maids, and nannies. A pertinent contribution of Hochschild (2000) and Parrenas’ (20010 work on global care chains is that the model connects the household to the nation-state. However, Yeates (2004) draws attention to one of the limitations of the global care chains model. She argues that the global care chains model implies that the redistribution of migrant caregivers is uni-directional in scope in that the emphasis is on how migrant domestic workers who emigrate from their countries of origin
provide care to children who live in affluent regions of economically-advantaged countries. Given that the global care chains model places emphasis on households and nations, questions of whether care is exchanged in a range of spaces among migrant domestic workers across the city of Toronto are ignored. That is, the global care chains model pays relatively little attention to the coping practices of migrant domestic workers and the model is inattentive to how their coping practices enable these migrant women to provide care to and receive care from each other in a variety of spaces.

My thesis has attempted to understand the global care chains model from the perspective of migrant women who are complex subjects. In other words, one of my goals has been to show the complexity of care spaces. My aim has been to show how attention to the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants can add to our understanding of the geographies of the global care chains model. I intended to enrich the geographies of the global care model by paying attention to the spaces of playgrounds and weekender apartments. Empirically, this thesis has found the importance of spaces other than households and nation-states for 30 LCP migrants. For example, by conducting participant observation in the spaces of playgrounds and weekender apartments, I witnessed the research participants affirm each other and care for one another. In addition, I learned from watching and listening to the research participants that they create and experience a sense of ethno-specific belonging in large part by cultivating a “homeplace” (hooks 1991). As I illustrated in Chapter 2, hooks describes how African-American women routinely construct a homeplace as a response to their feelings and experiences of non-belonging in dominant society. hooks (1991) argues that African-American women work together to create spaces of belonging and comfort in their domestic spaces in their efforts to nourish their spirits and heal the wounds of racism.

Similar to African-Americans who experience segregation in Canadian society, Filipina LCP migrants frequently experience alienation and exclusion in public spaces, including
playgrounds and schoolyards (Pratt 2004; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). In their efforts to redress their experiences of non-belonging, my research participants routinely claim space by cultivating a homeplace in their co-rented weekender apartments. However, Filipina LCP migrants construct a homeplace that is slightly different from the homeplaces of African-American communities. For example, Filipina LCP migrants cultivate a transnational homeplace unlike that of African-American citizens (hooks 1990). These migrant women experience a contemporary transnational mobility in the sense that they have migrated away from their homes (i.e. families) and their homeland (i.e. a variety of communities with the Philippines) to seek employment as domestic workers in a range of overseas destinations. Filipina LCP migrants create new spaces of belonging in their host cities. In these new spaces, they can create a sense of community with their fellow LCP migrants in their efforts to share their experiences of issues related to employment and separation from their families in the Philippines. They create a transnational homeplace by decorating their spaces to remind them of the Philippines, as well as invest in technologies that facilitate communication flows between Canada and the Philippines. For example, of the eight weekender apartments that I had the privilege to visit, all of the walls were decorated with framed pictures of their families who remain in the Philippines. The fact that Filipina LCP migrants construct transnational homeplaces is an important way for these women to retain their feelings of belonging to their country of origin, as well as to create a community of belonging in their host cities.

Another way in which Filipina LCP migrants’ homeplaces represent transnational spaces rests on the grounds that these migrant women are able to perform aspects of their cultural identities that are important to them within their weekender apartments. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the majority of the research participants implied that they feel as if they cannot be whom they are when they are in the presence of their employers. That is, many of the participants revealed that they have to consciously choose in which spaces it is appropriate to
speak Tagalog, as well as where and when they can prepare Filipino-flavoured dishes. However, at their weekender apartments, Filipina LCP migrants create spaces of ethnic-specific belonging and thus are able to perform aspects of their culture that they wish to retain, which include speaking Tagalog and preparing Filipino-inspired meals. Thus, their homeplaces are special and very much cherished spaces where these women can create a sense of belonging, as well as experience their claimed spaces in a transnational way. They experience their weekender apartments in a transnational way in that their homeplaces represent both aspects of the Philippines and Canada, as well as these women perform aspects of both Filipino and Canadian cultural identities.

Theoretically, my investigations of how 30 Filipina LCP migrants construct a homeplace in the City of Toronto has led me to question the oversimplification of the global care chains model. Currently, the global care chains model does not attend to how migrant Filipina domestic workers provide care for self and each other within their ethno groups in their diasporic locations. My thesis has found that there are spaces other than the household and nation-state where care is exchanged and received among migrant domestic workers. These consequential spaces include playgrounds, schoolyards, and weekender apartments. Hence, the geographies of the global care chains model are much more dispersed and complex than currently appreciated in the literature on gender and migration. In sum, by conducting fieldwork and in-depth interviews with 30 LCP migrants in Toronto, it has become clear to me that the ways in which these migrant women exchange care to each other in the spaces of playgrounds and weekender apartments is at least as important to them as are the spaces of the household and nation-states.

5.3 FUTURE RESEARCH TRAJECTORIES
My preliminary research on the coping practices of Filipina LCP migrants in the City of Toronto has aimed to enrich the geographies of the global care chains model. Like most research, my findings raise additional sets of questions that future research could explore. First, a larger scale study could probe these questions of how Filipina LCP migrants create communities of affirmation, care, and belonging with a data set that is more statistically representative of neighbourhood and city scales. For example, a larger scale study could examine if and how the trend among Filipina LCP migrants to co-rent weekender apartments can be understood in relation to one of the core models of residential segregation. Potential empirical questions include the following: (1) Geographically, where are weekender apartments most concentrated across the Greater Toronto Area (GTA); When do Filipina LCP migrants “move out” of weekender apartments and where do they move to? Theoretical questions include: (1) Does the trend to co-rent weekender apartments represent a current model of residential segregation; (1b) If not, can urban scholars develop a new theory to explain the housing geographies of LCP migrants in relation to their use of weekender apartments; (c) How can attention to the use of weekender apartments inform theories of the social geographies of the city and the global care chains model? The utility of a larger scale study is that it would be more statistically representative of the Filipina LCP migrant diaspora in Toronto unlike my current study.

A second future research trajectory could give attention to alternative economies (Gibson-Graham 2006) and the multiple ways in which Filipina LCP migrants forge alternative economies. Gibson-Graham (2006) utilize feminist theories to demonstrate how non-capitalist modes of production exist alongside capitalism. They also show how people engage in alternative economic practices, which include housework and bartering. In this thesis, I briefly examined how Filipina LCP migrants draw from their social networks in their efforts to collectivize labour. I noted that the research participants largely collectivized labour by arranging play dates. Future research could examine the multiple and varied ways in which
Filipina LCP migrants participate in “community economies” (Gibson-Graham 2006). The significance of this line of future research is that it shows how migrant women, who are represented as victims of global capitalism in much literature, develop a range of non-capitalist modes of production in their efforts to deepen both their individual and collective social capital and build communities of affirmation, care, and belonging.

A third potential future research trajectory could fruitfully engage questions about existing policy limitations and possible directions for positive policy change. For example, future studies of the Live-In Caregiver Program could examine the ways in which the spaces of care are limited by the LCP. The LCP requires that all LCP migrants live in their employers’ houses for a minimum of 24-months within a 36-month period. Currently, this housing requirement does not foster community building among Filipina LCP migrants, but rather the policy perpetuates aspects of their experiences of alienation and isolation from one another (Arat-Koc 2001; Pratt 2004; Staisulis and Bakan 2005). Important questions future studies might ask include: (1) How do the requirement of the LCP both support and limit Filipina LCP migrants’ access to social networks and care communities; and, (2) What changes would Filipina LCP migrants like to see regarding the LCP so that the policy is more conducive to their needs of giving and receiving care from each other. These questions are important ones to ask in that they will point to possible avenues for how the Live-In Caregiver Program could be changed so that it actively and productively supports care networks among LCP migrants.
REFERENCES


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Palmer, Katie. “Whatever Happened to Maria: an Expose on the Relationship between


Appendix A: Consent Form

Letter of Consent.
Title of Study: “A Spatial Analysis on Filipina Caregivers in Toronto’s Gentrified Neighbourhoods”.
Principal Researcher: Katie Palmer, MA Candidate at the University of Toronto

Name of Participant: __________________________ (please print).

I have been given and read the Letter of Introduction to me by the Principal Investigator conducting the research.
I understand that my participation in this study will last approximately one hour.
I understand that the purpose of the investigation is to determine if alternative spaces are being created by and for Filipina caregivers to maintain/strengthen their heritage and culture.
I understand that my participation in this study will bring only minimal risks or harms.
I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that individuals may withdraw from the interview at any time for any reason without penalty.
I understand that participants may ask questions of the researchers at any point during the research process.
I understand that there is no obligation for participants to answer any question that they feel is invasive, offensive, or inappropriate.
I understand that I will receive $15 compensation for my participation.
I understand that all personal information will be kept strictly confidential. My name will not appear in any publications stemming from research, nor will it be associated with any information I provide. No personal names will be mentioned in publications and reports other than fictional names.
I understand that the interview will be digitally-recorded pending my permission. I have the authority to refuse to be digitally-recorded.
I understand that the results of this study will be distributed in academic journals, conference presentations, and policy reports and that a summary of results will be made available to participants if they wish.

I give permission for our interview to be digitally-recorded.

As indicated by my signature below, I acknowledge that I am participating freely and willingly and I am providing my consent.

Signature of Participant: __________________________ Date: ________________

Please take one copy of this form with you for further reference. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact Katie Palmer, MA Candidate at the University of Toronto at katie.palmer@utoronto.ca

I have fully explained the procedure of this study to the participant.

Signature of Researcher: __________________________ Date: ________________