Filipino Deprofessionalization: Explaining Immigrant Labour Market Subordination in Toronto

La déprofessionalisation des Philippins: explication de la subordination des immigrants sur le marché du travail à Toronto

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1. Introduction / Introduction

2. Immigrant Labour Market Integration L'intégration des immigrants sur le marché du travail

Barriers: // Barrières:

- Unfamiliarity with Canadian workplace
 & labour market practices;
- Employers' difficulties in assessing international credentials, work experience and occupation-specific language skills;
- Regulatory barriers to licensing in professions and trades;
- Racialization, discrimination and other systemic barriers in the Canadian labour market;
- General increase in competitiveness

- Le milieu de travail et les pratiques du marché du travail canadiens sont mal connus
- Les difficultés rencontrées par les employeurs dans l'évaluation des diplômes internationaux, de l'expérience de travail et des connaissances linguistiques reliées à l'emploi
- Les obstacles posés par la réglementation de l'accréditation des professionnels et des gens de métier
- La « racialisation », la discrimination et les barrières systémiques dans le marché du travail canadien
- L'augmentation de la compétitivité

Diversity across immigrant groups:	La diversité des groupes immigrants:
Time of arrival	 Période d'immigration
 Size and coherence of community 	Taille et cohésion de la communauté
 Class origins and assets 	Classes sociales et avoirs
 Immigration programs used 	 Programmes d'immigration
 Forms of racialization 	 Types de « racialisation »
Human capital	Capital humain

3. Research Design // Conception de la recherche

University-Community Research Collaboration // Collaboration universitaire-communautaire en recherche

Survey (2005-06): Philippine-educated immigrants, N=421 Sondage (2005-06): Immigrants éduqués aux Philippines, N=421

Focus groups (2006-08):

a) engineers, accountants, physiotherapists, nurses;
b) hotels, retail stores, manufacturing, clerical jobs, and ancillary jobs in the healthcare system

Groupes de discussion (2006-08):

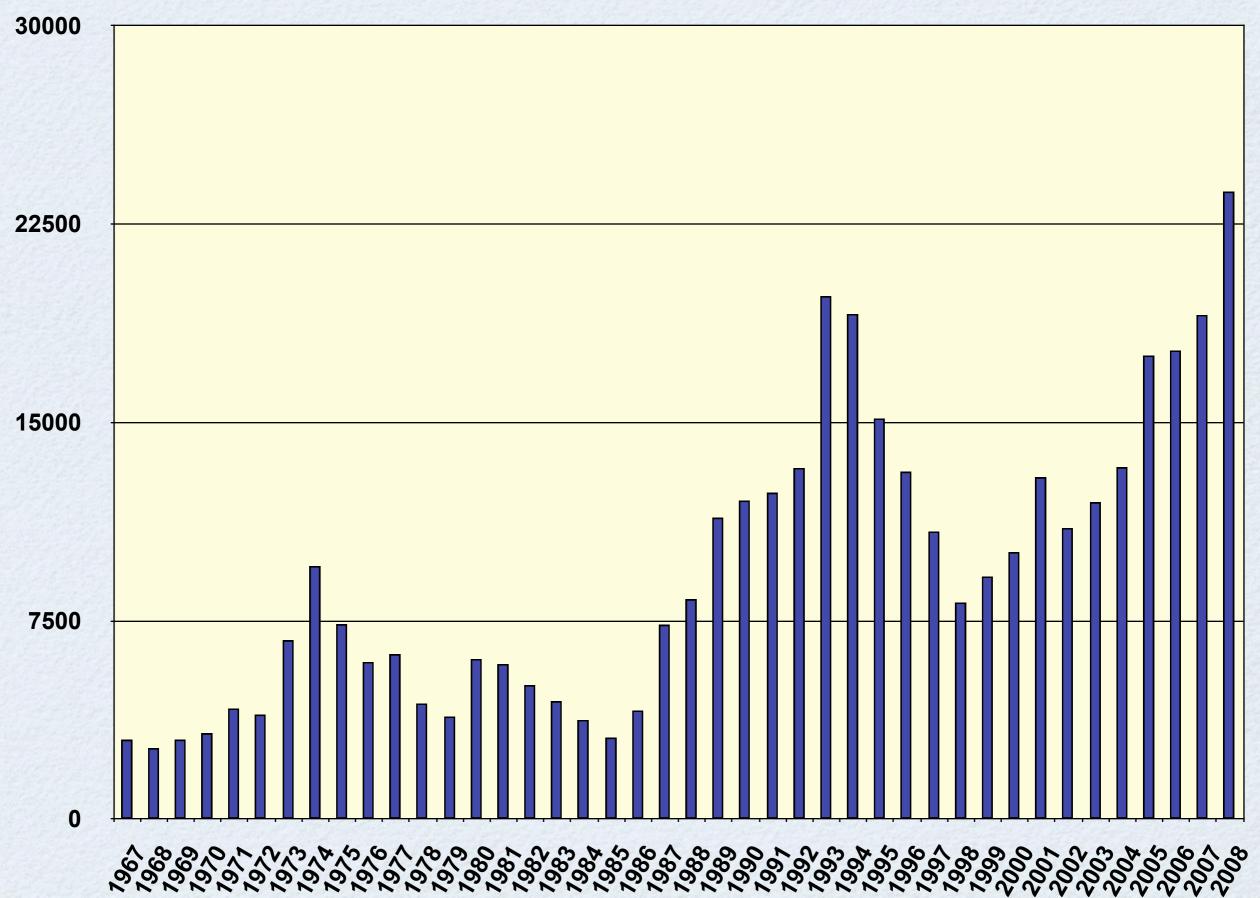
a) ingénieurs, comptables, physiothérapeutes, infirmier(e)s
b) hôtels, magasins de détail, industries manufacturières, emplois de bureau, emplois secondaires dans le domaine de la santé

4. Context: Filipino Settlement in Canada Contexte: L'établissement des Philippins au Canada

Philippine-born Immigrant Population in Canada, 2006

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

Filipino Immigrant Arrivals in Canada, 1967-2008



5. Labour Market Outcomes Résultats sur le marché du travail

• Occupational and sectoral segmentation Segmentation occupationnelle et sectorielle

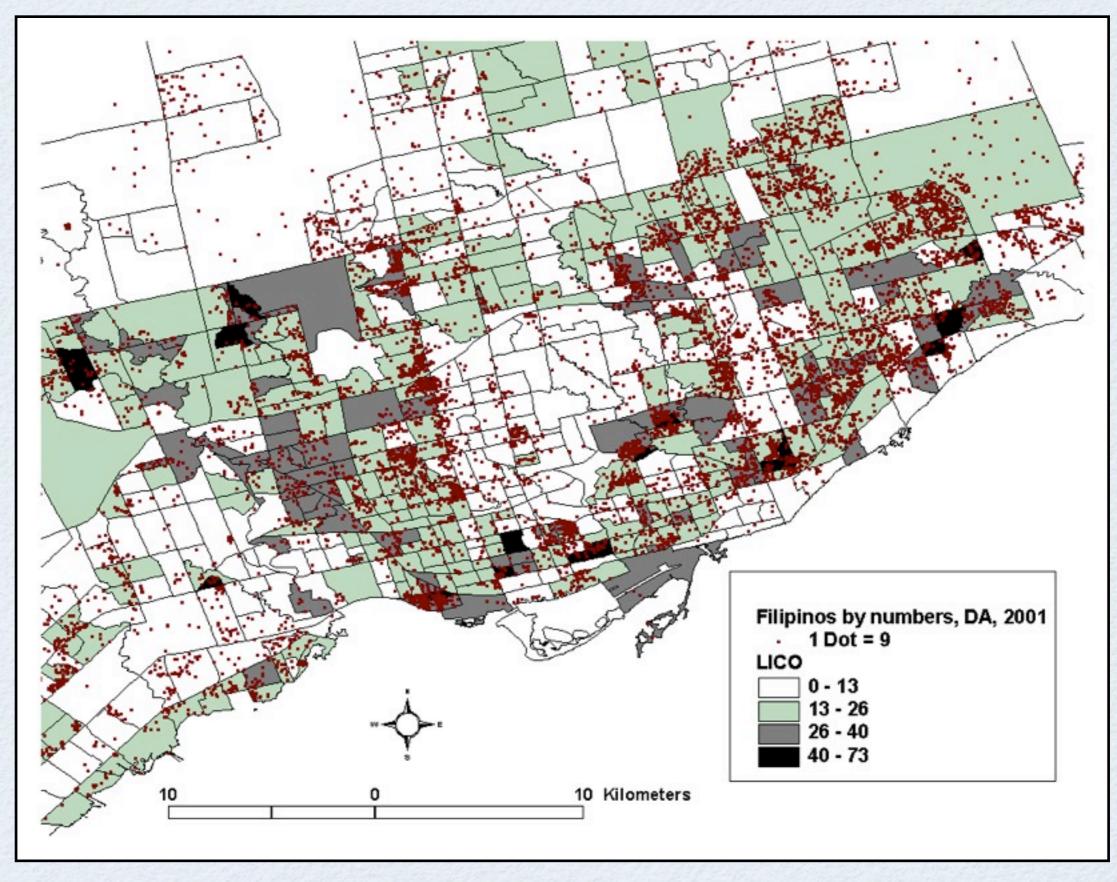
• Low waged occupations Professions à faible salaire

Mismatch between skill level and occupation
 Disparité entre les niveaux de compétence et les emplois occupés

Average Employment Income, full year, FT employment, by Gender, Period of Immigration, and selected Places of Birth, Toronto CMA, 2005.

	Mean Emp't Income (\$), pop'n 15+ w/ FT, full-year emp't income	Immigrated Before 1991	Immigrated 1991 to 1995	Immigrated 1996 to 2000	Immigrated 2001 to 2006
Female - born in					
PR of China	36,524	41,748	36,118	37,105	29,753
Female - born in				24251	
India	36,704	43,797	34,882	34,251	28,058
Female - born in Philippines	39,315	45,595	35,547	36,689	30,504
ALL Female immigrants	42,630	47,726	37,182	36,929	31,378
ALL- Female non-	,	.,,,	<i></i>		
immigrants	55,302				
Total Female					
Population	48,881				
Male - born in PR					
of China	47,222	54,127	46,794	48,143	37,869
Male - born in	40.104	50 (12	46 402	46.207	20.271
India	49,194	59,613	46,483	46,397	39,271
Male - born in Philippines	45,632	53,197	40,967	43,287	35,968
ALL Male immigrants	58,318	67,937	47,738	48,246	40,629
ALL- Male non- immigrants	81,606	,			
Total Male Population	69,912				

Filipino Population Distribution and Low Income Neighbourhoods in Toronto, 2001



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

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

Occupational mobility between the Philippines and Canada for survey respondents, by gender, 2005

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

Occupational mobility between the Philippines and Canada for survey respondents, by gender, 2005

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

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

		Average s landing (i	-	mon	erage ths to t job	% in related of st traini years lanc	to field udy/ ng, 4 after	labour year	loyed (of force), 4 s after ding	•	s after
Top countries of origin	Total N (weighted)	Μ	F	Μ	F	М	F	М	F	Μ	F
India	20, 980	\$20,300	\$28,700	2.2	4.7	51.9	29.2	90.6	82.4	18.2	12.4
China	25, 040	\$31,800	\$43,000	5.7	8.2	62.5	53.7	83.0	79.2	18.3	14.2
Philippines	11, 040	\$17,900	\$18,400	2.3	4.3	43.3	56.3	93.3	91.4	15.5	15.2
Pakistan	6, 170	\$22,000	\$28,800	2.3	5.2	47.8	32.1	89.1	77.3	17.5	13.1
Iran	3, 620	\$44,400	\$48,000	9.6	16.6	49.9	45.8	79.4	75.6	21.0	14.4
Sri Lanka	3, 040	\$18,400	\$21,600	3.5	12.8	50.7	35.5	-	71.4	17.9	11.4

6. Being from the Philippines: Financial Obligations and the "Survival Job" Venir des Philippines: Obligations financières et petits boulots

Family Income (from all sources) in the Philippines, 2003

Family Income (Pesos)	Approx. Equivalent in Canadian \$ (2003 exchange rates)	% of families
Under P10,000	under C\$249	0.18
10,000 - 19,999	C\$250-499	1.66
20,000 - 29,999	C\$500-749	4.16
30,000 - 39,999	C\$750-999	6.87
40,000 - 49,999	C\$1000-1249	7.8
50,000 - 59,999	C\$1250-1499	7.63
60,000 - 79,999	C\$1500-1999	13.38
80,000 - 99,999	C\$2000-2499	10.51
100,000 - 149,999	C\$2500-3749	17.23
150,000 - 249,999	C\$3750-6249	16.41
250,000 - 499,999	C\$6250-12499	10.86
500000 and over	C\$12500-	3.31

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

The Filipinos have extended family. For example, I help my sister back home ... Thinking about job security and family back home, you can't just ... That's why we need secure job and we will do anything to keep our job.

(Female respondent, authors' focus group with clerical workers, 2007)

Respondent 1: There was one at Hotel X ... trained at the front desk ... then they got rid of her.

Respondent 2: She's talking about a co-worker who was a room attendant. She asked management that she be trained in the process [of front desk work]... This is outside of the union. Not unionized....

Respondent 3: What gets me is that why isn't there a single room attendant who rose to the front desk. I haven't seen one at all.

Respondent 2: There is, but he has been terminated. [Laughter]

(Female respondents, authors' focus group with Filipino hotel workers, 2007)

• Little money for retraining/upgrading • Peu d'argent pour le recyclage/

- The quick survival job
- Supporting separated family back home
- Finance family reunification
- Obligations to repay debts at home
- Intensification of labour market participation
- Need for job security

• Petits boulots obtenus le plus rapidement possible

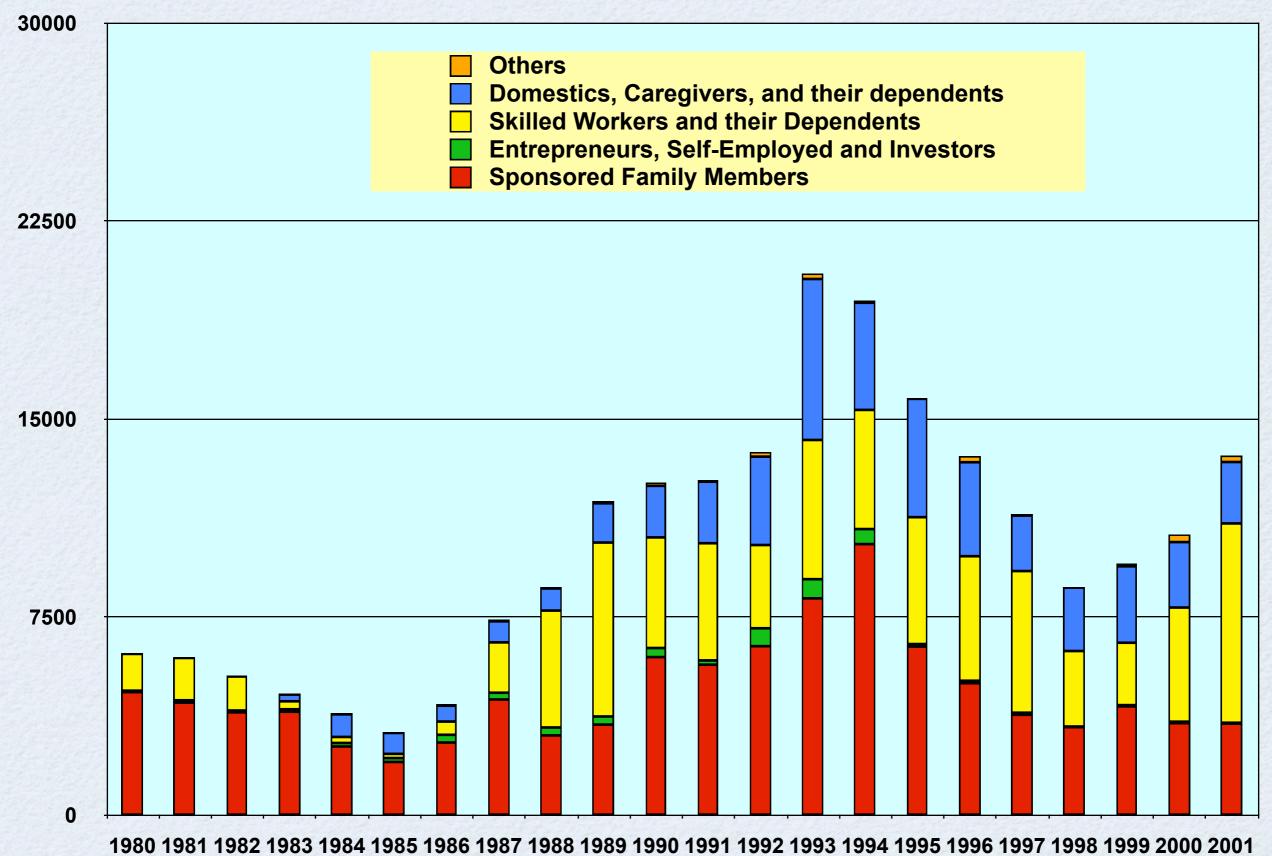
perfectionnement professionnel

- Soutenir les membres de la famille restés au pays
- Assumer les coûts du regroupement familial
- Obligation de rembourser les dettes au pays
- Intensification de la participation sur le marché du travail
- Besoin de sécurité d'emploi

All accentuated by extent of family separation and class origins at home.
 Ces effets sont accentués par l'étendue de la séparation familiale et les classes sociales

7. Immigration Programs Programmes d'immigration

Landing Categories of Philippine-Born Immigrants to Canada, 1980-2001



Occupational mobility between the Philippines and Canada for survey respondents, by gender, 2005

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Survey: // Sondage:

 73 respondents were 'graduates' of the LCP 	• 73 répondants sont arrivés dans le cadre du Programme
	des aides familiaux résidents
 79% had bachelors degree, or higher 	 79% avaient au moins un baccalauréat
 66% experienced clear degradation of occupation 	 66% ont vécu une dégradation marquée de leur emploi

The multiplier effect of the LCP... L'effet multiplicateur du Programme des aides familiaux résidants...

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

(Female respondent, authors' focus group with Filipino hotel workers, 2007)

8. Regulatory Barriers: Credential Assessment and Cultures of Practice Les obstacles posés par la réglementation: L'évaluation des diplômes étrangers et culture des pratiques Lack of country-specific awareness of programs and institutions: Les programmes et institutions des différents pays sont mal connus:

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

(Male respondent, focus group with Philippine-educated engineers, 2005)

Subjectivity and Cultural Specificity in Assessment: Subjectivité et spécificité culturelle de l'évaluation:

Respondent 1: There are other hidden criteria that are not mentioned the practical exam. Just knowing the answer to the practical exam won't get you a passing score. There are other hidden criteria.

(Male respondent, focus group with Philippine-educated physiotherapists, 2006)

9. Being Filipino: Cultures of Work and Racialization Être Philippin: Culture des pratiques et « racialisation »

> Filipino work cultures and 'promotability' Culture organisationnelle philippine et possibilités d'avancement

Racialization of Filipinos
 « Racialisation » des Philippins

Respondent 1: But Filipinos are regarded well, right? We work hard, we are conscientious, we're caring. And so that works for us in a lot of ways, but then there is the limiting way that that also works 'cause then we may not be perceived in terms of a managerial role.

Respondent 2: Because we are viewed, and perceived to be passive. That you don't speak up. You just keep on taking it and get it done, don't complain. So why would I move him if he is taking all of these responsibilities, same pay same everything, as opposed to I can give it to her, she complains all the time, for example. I see that in my workplace. And there are a lot of Filipinos in my area in data entry. And I have heard remarks. And even towards me, like if you don't speak up. So you really have to learn to speak up. And the data entry clerks, they were saying they don't speak up or complain, because everyone is scared, because they are a migrant here so you don't want to lose your job because you need that job. So you can't.

(Female respondents, authors' focus group with Filipino retail workers, 2007)

It happened not directly to me in my job, but it was typical stereotyping of Filipino women. When I applied at a bank to open an account, the account manager talked to me about my stay here. She asked "How come you came to Canada?" I said, "My wife petitioned me." The second question was, "Was she a nanny?" And I said "Yes, she was." And the third question "Who is now your employer? Are you working at Tim Horton's?" I said, "Oh, now I'm working in a manufacturing company." For her, it was nothing. For me, stereotyping is degrading.

(Male respondent, authors' focus group with manufacturing workers, 2007)

Respondent: No matter how hard your job is, how good you do your job or how fast you do it, they don't put you in higher positions. Only in the second level but not in the highest level. PK: What is your explanation for that? Respondent: Discrimination.

(Male respondent, authors' focus group with Filipino retail workers, 2007)

44.6% of survey respondents reported having experienced 'discrimination or unfair treatment in Canada whiles at work or when applying for a job or for promotion'

44,6% des répondants estiment avoir subi de la discrimination ou un traitement injuste au travail ou lorsqu'ils ont postulé pour un emploi ou demandé une promotion

10. Policy Recommendations Recommendations stratégiques

- Reducing time to family reunification (LCP and family reunification programs)
- Reduce up-front costs of immigration
- Consideration of specific settlement program needs of caregivers
- Ensure professional regulatory bodies are capable of assessing education, training and licensing in specific countries of origin
- Provide review/appeal procedures for professional upgrading assessments
- Financial assistance for educational upgrading and bridging programs

- Réduire le temps d'attente pour le regroupee de regroupement familial)
- Réduire les frais ment familial (Programme des aides familiaux résidants ou programminitiaux de l'immigration
- Prendre en considération les besoins spécifiques des aides familiaux résidants en terme de programmes d'établissement
- S'assurer que les organismes de réglementation sont capable d'évaluer l'éducation, la formation et la délivrance des brevets de certains pays d'origine
- Fournir des procédures de révision et d'appel pour l'évaluation du perfectionnement professionnel
- Fournir une assistance financière pour les programmes de perfectionnement et de préparation à l'emploi