SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND OF FOREIGN DOMESTIC WORKERS

By

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This thesis addresses the issue of foreign domestic workers. The government of Canada has been involved in the recruitment of people to perform domestic service for households since the turn of the century. The devaluation of domestic labour and increasing employment opportunities for Canadian women resulted in a constant shortage of labour to fill the demand. A variety of programs have been initiated to solve the "servant problem" culminating in the Foreign Domestic Movement in 1981. Within this policy foreign domestics are classified as a category of migrant labour and, as such, are formally denied citizenship rights. The majority of workers who come to Canada as foreign domestics under this program are Filipino women. These women often migrate to Canada as domestic workers due to limited options for employment in their home country. Their need to remain in Canada due to limited options in the Philippines, the lack of political rights in Canada, and the restrictions placed on workers who enter Canada under the Foreign Domestic Movement combine to situate these women in a position of dependence and vulnerability. In addition, live-in domestics perform devalued labour within an isolated work setting, and are often not included within provincial labour standards. These conditions keep wages depressed and lessen the ability to bargain for
improved conditions of employment.

The thesis problem is examined within an historic context. In addition to a literature review of the specific topic and related areas of gender and migrant labour, the data are from Statistics Canada, Employment and Immigration and the Special Collections Division of the University of British Columbia. The data shows: the labour market activity of Canadian women, the shift away from domestic service as other alternatives became open, the increasing number of dual income earning families, and the number of foreign domestics recruited to provide domestic service for Canadian households. Interviews with a variety of people draw out the particular factors leading to the reasons for the supply and demand of this group of workers. In addition, the interviews point to specific problems frequently experienced by women who work as live-in domestics.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Thesis Problem

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the social, economic, and political factors that influence the supply and demand of migrant domestic workers in Canada. It is shown that these factors structurally form, and institutionally maintain the powerlessness of foreign domestics. Specifically, the following questions are addressed: 1) Why are live-in domestic workers in demand by Canadian households, and 2) why is there a constant supply of labour willing to fill this demand.

Foreign domestics are currently recruited from abroad to perform live-in service for Canadian households. The nature of domestic service, migrant labour, and Canada’s migrant worker policy combine to locate foreign domestics in a position of powerlessness. In the past decade the state has responded to demands made by various interest groups to improve the situation of temporary domestic workers. Despite changes in the legislation that resulted from these demands the structural position of foreign domestics remains the same. The urgency of the problems that migrant domestic workers continue to encounter requires an examination of this group of workers.
Argument

Foreign domestic workers are presently employed by Canadian households to resolve the conflict between the need for an increased household income and continued domestic labour. The paid domestic worker performs work that is devalued. The workplace is personal and isolated and, as such, retains remnants of a servant class. The actual servant class in Canada declined at the turn of the century as shifts in capitalism opened new employment opportunities for those who previously had no other options. In addition, changes in capitalism replaced servitude with contractual employment and brought forth an emphasis on civil and political equality. This ideology emphasizes the right of the individual as opposed to the connotation of ownership present within feudalism.

The transition to advanced capitalism was slow and uneven, and although the indigenous servant class declined the demand remained. Women were recruited from abroad to solve the "servant problem". Areas of recruitment have varied historically. Those people who lack alternatives within their own country are forced to migrate in search for employment and higher wages. For these people domestic service was, and continues to be, an avenue for social mobility.

Migrant workers are formally denied political rights. They are recruited to fill a labour market need, and are a way in which the labour force may be increased without increasing
the population. Migrant labour in Canada is controlled through stipulations included on the temporary work authorization permit, initiated in 1973. The visa limits the length of stay of these workers to two years. Migrant workers in Canada, who perform domestic labour, must reside with their employer and are not permitted to change employers freely. These workers are, therefore, not free wage labourers. They are blatantly excluded from basic rights as workers and as people living in Canada. In cases where workers are forced to migrate from their home country due to economic need the dependency on the employer is magnified. Such is the case with domestic workers from the Philippines who frequently view domestic service in Canada as a step toward permanent settlement. The need to remain in Canada inhibits their capacity to bargain and situates them in a position of extreme dependence.

Theoretical Position and Literature Review

Domestic service is considered women's work and is devalued within a capitalist society. Those who are paid to perform live-in service encounter a specific set of problems because they are women, and because they are hired to fill low status, devalued labour (see chapter three). In addition, because the work is performed in the home it is often not considered "real" work.

Domestic unpaid labour has been given considerable attention in sociology by radical feminists and Marxists, and
most recently by Marxist feminists who have attempted an integration of the two frameworks. The debate between Marxists and feminists on the "woman question" centres around the appropriate analytic starting point. Marxists begin with the nature of commodity production and women's position in terms of relations of production. Radical feminists start with women's oppression in terms of their reproductive capabilities, the nuclear family, and male supremacy. Domestic labour as unpaid work, and therefore outside of direct relation to capital, and as work performed by women for men in the nuclear family became a topic of study for both Marxists and feminists.

This debate, which began in the late 1960's, examines women's unpaid labour in the home in relation to capitalist production. Those who participated in the debate recognized the void left by Marxist theorists who sought to explain contradictions in production and ignored labour that was not exchanged for a wage. The Left emphasized class inequality and class struggle, but neglected gender as an arena of inequality with a particularistic set of issues. Radical feminists, on the other hand, discussed women's oppression as ahistorical and failed to give proper attention to the material conditions underlying the specific form of gender inequality.

The dialogue on the relationship between women's sexual oppression and economic subordination under capitalism took place within the Domestic Labour Debate (1). Margaret
Benston, who is credited with beginning the debate, considered women's unpaid work in the home as productive labour. For Benston, domestic labour is functional to capital since production occurs at no cost. In addition, women who perform work in the home are an available, cheap labour force for capital during periods of expansion (Vogel 1983). Benston's argument fails theoretically because, in a Marxist sense, only labour that is exchanged for a wage can be value-producing labour. If labour is not exchanged for a wage no surplus value is extracted, and therefore it is non-productive.

Peggy Morton conceptualizes domestic labour in terms of reproduction. According to Morton, through domestic labour the labour force is maintained and reproduced. It is, therefore, functional to capital. Dalla Costa synthesizes domestic labour in terms of production and reproduction. She argues that domestic labour produces the commodity, labour power (Vogel 1983). Domestic labour is exchanged for a wage indirectly through the male wage. The male, who is paid the wage, is also paid for his wife's domestic labour. In this way both men and capital appropriate the labour power of women. The woman is dependent upon her husband for her portion of the wage.

The question of whether domestic labour is productive or non-productive, and the exact function it performs for capital became the central focus of the debate. The emphasis on this point detracts from questions that are specifically
gender-related and tend more toward a debate regarding Marxist categories. The question of why women’s capacity to labour is linked to domestic labour is largely ignored as is the connection between women’s paid and unpaid labour. The over-emphasis placed on conceptual categories formulated by Marx lead radical feminists to refer to Marxists as being sex-blind.

Feminists who concentrate on sexual oppression of women can, on the other hand, be accused of being class-blind for their lack of attention to class-related issues. The emphasis on the common experiences of women on the basis of their sex implies a homogeneity among women and minimizes differences on the basis of class. Clearly, the experience of being a woman is different for bourgeois and working class women because of the unequal access to socialized domestic services and control over reproduction. Having said this it remains the case that women, despite their class differences, usually bear the responsibility for child care and encounter structural barriers on the basis of their sex.

The division of labour within capitalism introduces the concept of patriarchy. For the purpose of this thesis, patriarchy is defined as a system of power within which women are kept oppressed and subordinate. Patriarchy is viewed as an ideology within which the gender construction of masculine and feminine is created and reproduced (Barrett 1980). This construction takes place within a specific time period and is
accompanied by a specific set of material conditions and social relations. Therefore, the form which patriarchy takes changes according to the mode of production. The location of the subordination of women within the capitalist mode of production may be found in the sexual division of labour: both paid and unpaid (Ursal 1986, Armstrong and Armstrong 1986).

This is contrary to the definition put forth by Firestone (1970) who links patriarchy with biological differences between the sexes, specifically the differences in the capacity for reproduction. Her argument is, in the final analysis, deterministic and leaves no room for political change. Millet’s argument in *Sexual Politics* (1970), though different from Firestone’s thesis, also locates the cause of female oppression in sex differences. However, she argues that male domination is rooted in the psyche and is learned behavior. Following this to its logical conclusion, Millet argues that sexual domination of men over women can be changed by educating both sexes, and changing attitudes and beliefs about appropriate gender roles. Millet’s conceptualization of patriarchy, while not deterministic, is idealistic. She neglects the material conditions within which the ideology of gender roles is constructed.

The following points can be extracted for the purpose of setting the context and theoretical framework within which temporary workers are discussed. Women have been traditionally responsible for domestic labour which is the location of
social reproduction. Social reproduction is defined as the daily maintenance and reproduction of the labour force. According to Marx, "The maintenance and reproduction of the working class is, and must ever be, a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital..." (1954, 537). Although domestic labour is required for the continuation of capitalism, women who perform the labour are subordinate because unpaid labour in the home does not directly generate surplus value. Domestic labour is, therefore, attributed low status within a society that is built upon the re-investing of surplus value. The ideology of patriarchy reinforces barriers to women in the paid labour force and their continued responsibility for domestic labour.

Temporary domestic workers perform domestic labour and must reside with their employers (see chapter three). Aside from the nature of the work performed and issues of gender inequality, paid domestic work also carries with it remnants of a servant class. Historians and sociologists have researched the topic of domestic service in England (McBride 1976), France (Chaplin 1978, Maza 1983, and McBride 1974), the United States (Strasser 1978, Katzman 1978) and Canada (Leslie 1974, and Barber 1980). Regardless of the country under discussion all sources indicate that those performing domestic service were from the lower class and were often migrants from rural to urban centres. Furthermore, it is the general consensus that servants were treated as subservient family
members and considered dependents. The working relationship was one of patron-client, as opposed to employee and employer, because of the personalized nature of the work. The domestic servant was expected to display traits of loyalty and deference in return for room and board.

The characteristics cited above created a social stigma attached to the work. This resulted in people moving away from domestic service when other jobs became available. In addition, rationalization and industrial development were accompanied by an ideology emphasizing individuality, hard work, and equality before the law. In contrast, conditions of servitude found in domestic service were part of a feudal system based on loyalty to the master or mistress in return for shelter and protection (Maza 1983). The ideology that supported the existence of a servant class began to dissolve with the changing conditions of production.

The current policy under which domestic workers enter Canada is known as the Temporary Work Authorization Permit. While the domestic labour debate took shape in the 1970's among academics, domestic workers on work visas received attention from interest groups and women's groups. A task force was formed in 1980 to study problems encountered by temporary domestic workers. This Task Force, entitled Domestic Workers on Employment Authorizations, is used as a secondary source of data along with other reports that document the problems of domestics on work authorizations permits

The temporary work authorization permit is part of Canada's migrant labour policy initiated in 1973. As migrant workers, temporary domestics encounter particular problems. Therefore, we must also consider the nature of this form of labour. Work by Burroway (1976), Castles (1986), Castles, Booth and Wallace (1984), Castles and Kosack (1985), Kosack (1976), and Sassen-Koob (1981) view migrant labour as integral to the continuation of the capitalist system. Workers who comprise the migrant labour force are conceptualized as a reserve army of labour in the Marxist sense. The reserve army is both a precondition and a consequence of capitalist expansion. The supply of workers in the reserve army increases competition for jobs which lowers wages. The low wages allow maximum surplus value to be extracted and re-invested into machinery. The new machinery increases efficiency and
production and lowers the need for labour power. Workers are made redundant, thus recreating a labour reserve. Conceptualizing migrant labour as a reserve army leads to the conclusion that migrant labour exists because it is functional to capital.

The reserve army of labour formed by migrant workers differs from the indigenous labour reserve in that migrant workers are denied political rights. The denial of rights equal to the indigenous population prevents collective bargaining and institutionalizes the potential of deportation. This, in turn, lowers wages for migrant workers. The depressed wages serve the interests of employers who have available a supply of low cost labour. The wage differential between the indigenous and migrant labour reserve fractionalizes the working class through increased competition which again lowers the bargaining power of labour.

Miles (1982) and Miles and Phizacklea (1984) refer to migrant labour as a racialized fraction of the working class. Exclusionary practices are invoked by indigenous labour to prevent migrant labour from undercutting wages. Racism develops out of this set of conditions. Race, as defined by Miles, is not a scientific or analytic category in its own right. Rather, it is a social construction devoid of any meaning outside of the material conditions within which it is produced and reproduced. According to Miles, race and class can not be separated since the meaning of race develops out of
class relations. People are associated with a particular "race" through shared visible traits (Miles 1982). Those labelled as a racial group are often attributed negatively valued characteristics. This process of labelling is used to justify the marginalized position of migrant workers (Miles 1982 and Miles and Phizacklea 1984).

The preceding discussion, while articulating the particular problems encountered by migrant labour, requires modification and clarification when discussing Canada's migrant worker policy. The studies previously cited focus on the western Europe guest-worker policy. A recent study by Boyd, Taylor, and Delaney (1986) shows that a straight comparison between migrant labour in Canada and western Europe is simplistic and negates characteristics particular to Canada. Their research draws attention to the heterogeneity within Canada's migrant worker population. These differences make it impossible to study migrant workers in Canada as a single unit of labour.

In addition to the limitation mentioned above there is another, more fundamental, problem in the thesis suggesting that migrant workers in Canada are used as a means to divide the working class. Domestic workers are recruited precisely because there are no Canadians willing to do the job. Those who migrate to Canada are part of an international surplus population made redundant by the uneven development of capitalism. However, because they are excluded from all other
types of employment except that which is stipulated on their visa, they do not compete with the indigenous work force, and therefore do not depress wages.

Phizacklea (1983) argues that migrant women are competitive among themselves. She maintains that migrant women are in a subordinate position in relation to indigenous labour (both male and female), and in relation to male labour (both migrant and indigenous). Migrant women form a particularly vulnerable category of labour. They compete for jobs within a marginalized sector of the economy. This competition, and the ease with which individual workers are replaced, prohibits a united effort to improve conditions of employment, keeps wages low, and working conditions poor.

In terms of migrant domestic workers in Canada the following points need to be made. As a category of migrant labour these workers are economically and politically excluded from rights as workers and as citizens. A common theme in the preceding discussion is the forced "decision" of workers to migrate. This is central in terms of understanding their vulnerable position. Within the population of foreign domestics, however, differences in reasons for migrating to Canada are evident. These differences place workers in varying conditions of dependence. For those who need to remain in Canada the capacity to demand proper working conditions and a liveable wage is non-existent. Since there is a constant supply of migrant domestics, employers do not have to improve
conditions of employment of those who vocalize complaints. In addition, those for whom staying in Canada is imperative are constructed as naturally appropriate for domestic work (see chapter four). Through this process those workers from countries where the need to migrate is present are constructed as suitable for domestic labour.

Methodology

The research for this thesis takes many different forms. The sources include: government manuals and statistics obtained from Statistics Canada and Employment and Immigration, interviews with two government officials representing the Foreign Workers Unit at the Canada Employment Centre and the British Columbia Employment Standards Branch, an interview with the organizer of the Domestic Worker’s Association, and interviews with six private agencies that recruit domestic workers for prospective Canadian employers. These sources of data are necessary for a well-rounded picture of background factors leading to the recruitment of foreign domestics and the current problems encountered by domestics.

Initially, I planned to interview domestic workers themselves. However, as I began the research my thesis took a different shape and the focus changed. The interviews no longer played a central part in my thesis. However, I still felt it was important to allow the women an opportunity to tell their own stories and relate their experiences. Towards
this end I contacted the Domestic Workers Association in Vancouver in late 1987 and attended meetings throughout the year. Through this organization I met domestic workers who were active in improving the position of others in their situation. I arranged to interview some of these women, but found they were reluctant to grant official interviews. Their vulnerable position in Canada made them wary of having their experiences in print. Though the interviews are not included for this reason the conversations I had with these women raised many points that otherwise would not have been considered.

The data collected from Statistics Canada, and Employment and Immigration are used to illustrate historical changes in the labour force activity of Canadian women - both in terms of participation in the labour market and changes in occupations. Employment and Immigration statistics demonstrate the numbers of temporary domestic workers entering Canada (and Vancouver specifically). This data is broken down by gender and country of residence. The data used in chapters three and four illustrate the historic, non-preferred nature of domestic service among Canadian women, and the increasing demand for this service by Canadian households. In addition, manuals that describe the Canadian immigration policy concerning temporary domestics and the British Columbia Department of Labour’s Employment Standards Act are used as primary data sources. These documents detail the policies that structure the working
experiences of temporary domestics in Canada and British Columbia.

The purpose of the interviews with the nanny agencies in the greater Vancouver area is fourfold: to ascertain 1. the process of recruitment 2. why certain countries are targeted as areas of recruitment 3. the number of requests for foreign domestics, and 4. the general profile of prospective employers. Though most of the interviews are not transcribed in the thesis, through them a number of unanticipated issues were raised. Finally, the interviews with government officials were conducted to clarify the labour and immigration policies that affect foreign domestic workers in Canada.

Contributions and Limitations of the study

This thesis makes a contribution to the existing literature on temporary domestic workers on two levels. First, the study clearly illustrates specific problems that are encountered by migrant domestic workers and the inadequacies in state policies formed to "protect" foreign domestics. It is shown that the nature of migrant work and domestic service combine to oppress those who work as live-in domestics. Problems encountered by these workers are structurally present and can not be entirely removed by policy changes. However, while not dissolving structural problems, legislative action can be taken to ameliorate the immediate problems present for these workers.
Secondly, the thesis draws out particular problems encountered by Filipino domestics. It is shown that the need to migrate because of conditions in the Philippines locates these workers in a particularly vulnerable position. Moreover, Filipino women, because of their need to stay are constructed as hard workers, loyal, and naturally appropriate for domestic labour. By drawing together the nature of domestic and migrant labour, and the specific problems with Canada’s migrant worker policy it is shown that Filipino women are in a particularly disadvantaged position.

These contributions are limited, however, as the data do not allow generalizations to be made. On the basis of this research the conclusions presented are tenuous. Interviews with the women themselves would have helped to detail particular and personal experiences. Extensive interviews would have been necessary to make any claims as to the differences in experiences of foreign domestics based on country of origin. As mentioned above women who work as temporary domestics were unwilling to disclose experiences in official interviews. In addition, numerous interviews would have been time consuming and potentially costly. Owing to a lack of finances and time this was not practical.

**Thesis Layout**

Chapter two addresses the changes in production and the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. It is shown
that the type of labour performed by domestic workers is defined as women's work and is devalued labour. Also shown is the present contradiction between paid and domestic labour and the affect of this contradiction on Canadian women. Live-in domestic workers are recruited to solve the problem.

Chapter three documents historical changes in the supply and demand of foreign domestic workers in Canada. Statistics are used to illustrate the changing participation of Canadian women in the labour market. It is shown that since the turn of the century domestic service has been non-preferred work among Canadian women, and that foreign workers have consistently been recruited to fill the labour market demand.

Chapter four addresses the issue of the current supply of live-in domestic workers. The availability of migrant labour to fill the demand is a result of the uneven development of capitalism on a global basis. The combination of the nature of migrant labour in general, and Canada's migrant labour policy in particular, structures the powerless position of temporary domestic workers in Canada. This chapter examines the specific problems encountered by live-in domestic workers in British Columbia. Contradictions between federal and provincial legislation are highlighted to illustrate further problems encountered by foreign domestics in this province. Finally, the majority of the foreign domestics coming into Canada are from the Philippines. The increase in Filipinos entering Canada on migrant work permits is examined. Through interviews
with private recruiting agencies it is demonstrated that Filipino women are attributed characteristics by these agencies that define them as best suited for domestic work.

Chapter five provides a synthesis of the factors that condition the position of temporary domestic workers. The nature of domestic and migrant labour, and the history of domestic service influence the present policies that are formed to control these workers. Based on the argument presented in this thesis solutions to the problems of domestic workers are offered.
CHAPTER II
DOMESTIC LABOUR

Introduction

Domestic live-in workers perform devalued labour and work in an isolated setting. This chapter shows the process through which domestic labour becomes devalued and the construction of domestic labour as women's work. The purpose is to illustrate the conditions under which paid domestic work takes place, and to identify the current need for "home-help".

The rise in accumulation and expansion of capital during the twentieth century has created a dependence on the wage form. Men and women are forced to enter the labour market in order to maximize the household income. This forced participation has the contradictory effect of freeing women to earn an income. The increase in the number of women entering the paid labour force presents a challenge to the patriarchal structure. The ideology of patriarchy defines women in terms of their capacity to reproduce. Within the social role of wife and mother women are constructed as the nurturing and care-giving sex.

While labour force participation by women alters this ideology somewhat, women's paid labour is considered secondary. Women are not absolved from domestic labour when
accepting paid employment, and are confronted with a dual responsibility. The contradictory demands of paid and domestic labour requires a solution to the problem. Live-in domestics provide an alternative for those who can afford them.

Women in Canada: Paid and Domestic Labour

Prior to capitalism goods were produced in the household for their use-value (Connelly 1978). Men, women and children were involved in the production of commodities. The family in this case can be seen as a social and an economic unit (Curtis 1980). With the onset of the industrial revolution the home gradually became a unit of consumption rather than the centre of production (see Barrett 1980). During this transition phase many women continued to produce goods in the home for purposes of sale until factory production became rationalized to the point where it was no longer economically viable to do so (Curtis 1980, Vogel 1978). The degree of household production differed among classes. Those women who were wives of the factory owners were in a privileged position and did not take part in production (Barrett 1980, 180).

The most significant change that occurs with the shift in location of production is the commodification of labour. In this type of arrangement the means of production and the resulting product are no longer owned by the producer. Instead the capacity to labour is exchanged for a wage which
represents the amount required for the subsistence and reproduction of the working class. This is of less value than that which is produced. The difference between the value of the product when it is sold and the cost of production, including the wage, is then re-invested so that capital continues to expand and profit is generated. The basis of the continuation of the capitalist mode of production, then, is the commodification of labour power (Marx 1954).

The labourer under capitalism is dependent upon the wage for subsistence. Likewise, members of the household who do not exchange their labour power for a wage are dependant upon the wage earner’s income. Historically, it has been the case that women and children are "provided for" through the man’s wage. Through this dependance an unequal power structure emerges and the subordinate position of women becomes entrenched. Compounding the inferior position of women in the family is the fact that domestic labour is not exchanged for a wage and does not stand in direct relation to capital. It is, therefore, devalued labour (Armstrong and Armstrong 1986). This division of labour is the material basis of patriarchy. The male wage is expected to cover the cost of daily and generational reproduction costs of the family. Female labour force activity is viewed as supplemental and is marginalized. This maintains economic dependence on the male wage earners income, and also creates a cheap, available source of labour for capital.
A second contradiction is evident at this point. Domestic labour, while marginalized, is necessary for the continuation of the capitalist mode of production since the household is the site of social reproduction and consumption. Social reproduction includes the daily maintenance of all household members, the socialization of children, and actual physical reproduction (Ursal 1986). Through this process labour power - both present and future - is effectively reproduced. The household is also necessary for capital as a site of consumption. This is a fundamental component of capitalism since in order for capital to expand people must consume that which is produced. In addition, it is the task of domestic labour to transform the commodity into consumable form. A contradiction in capitalism exists between the necessity of social reproduction for the maintenance of the social order and the simultaneous devaluation of domestic labour.

The position of women in the paid labour force is directly connected to their social role as domestic labourers. During the early stages of industrialization women and children were recruited along with men to fill the demand for a large labour force. At this time workers were not protected against long working hours and poor conditions. Factory legislation was eventually enacted, though initially it covered only women and children. This legislation can be viewed as a response to a crisis that was occurring in the family (Wilson 1977, Strong-Boag 1981, Curtis 1980). With
women working long hours the needs of the family were not being met and the labour force was not being effectively reproduced (Dickinson and Russell 1986). This coupled with the gradual leveling off of production and the decrease in demand for labour resulted in women moving back into the home and resuming domestic labour.

Labour legislation protecting women and children was also a result of working class struggle. However, the demand for factory legislation revolved around the protection of the family and was not an issue of the rights of women as workers. Female workers were protected, but as women first and workers second. The secondary emphasis placed on women as part of the working class struggle marginalized women and reinforced patriarchal ideology. Even when women participated in the labour market their proper sphere and primary responsibility remained the home and family (Crease 1988). Factory legislation covering women and limiting their hours of work resulted in further marginalizing female workers and increased their dependence on the male wage earner.

The onset of world war one drew more women into the labour force (Connelly 1978, Lowe 1980) The manufacturing of armaments and the decline in available male labour resulted in a shortage of labour. The media drive calling women to join the war effort altered the ideology that located women's natural role in the home as wife and mother. Strong-Boag (1981) notes that the campaign stressed the morality of women
serving their country. Women workers were identified in terms of a maternal role as protector of the moral order and not as workers with a commitment to the labour force. Limited day care was provided to support the shift in ideology. Once the war was over, however, the day care facilities were closed and women were displaced back into the home to resume their "natural" role as wife and mother (Strong-Boag 1981, 5).

The depression in the 1930's resulted in women once again returning to the home to resume domestic labour. During times of economic recession, in order to maintain the subsistence level of the family, women either work outside of the home to increase the family income or intensify domestic labour (Fox 1980). When work could be found women did both paid and unpaid labour. Their involvement in the work force was often in menial and non-preferred work due to a lack of alternatives (see chapter three). The onset of World War II once again drew women into the labour market to fill jobs vacated by men (Fox 1980). According to Connelly (1978) women have been used as a reserve army of labour during both the First and Second World Wars; recruited into the labour force when there is a surplus of jobs and displaced back into the home during economic downturns when jobs are scarce and unemployment increases.

The period following World War II was characterized by a period of capitalist expansion. As accumulation increased new markets were created to absorb the amount produced (Fox 1980).
One such market was the household. Many tasks once performed in the home were socialized. Convenience foods were available in the market place which reduced time spent on meal preparation. Laundry services were also commercialized, transforming this task into a profit making activity. The penetration of the market into the household had the dual effect of opening a new market for capitalists and also relieving women from some of the domestic labour which enabled them to work out of the home. It should be noted at this point that the ability to purchase commodities to ease domestic labour varies according to household income. Class divisions between women were apparent. For those who could afford them, devices that mechanized domestic labour allowed some women a degree of freedom over others.

The rapid expansion of the state resulted in an increase in service sector jobs, particularly clerical (see chapter three). These jobs were open to women and were characterized by low pay, no security, and a lack of benefits. They were often part-time and interfered minimally with domestic responsibilities. For this reason they were considered best suited for women (Lowe 1980). Additionally, the jobs were often mundane due to the specialization of tasks created by the taylorization of the labour process (Braverman 1974). Due to the factors associated with service sector jobs, there was a high rate of turnover among female employees. This reinforced the assumption that women did not have a strong
commitment to the paid labour force (Lowe 1980).

The position of women in a secondary labour market makes them vulnerable to economic shifts. As production slows the need for labour declines and the availability of employment drops. Jobs in the secondary labour market are kept deskilled and labour is often not unionized. Women workers are, therefore, particularly vulnerable to lay-offs. Furthermore, their jobs are frequently extensions of unpaid work performed in the home (Marchak 1986). Together with an ideology that women are the main care-givers in the family, women can be displaced from the labour force back into the home.

The result of women leaving the labour force is a decrease in the household income, which affects the level of consumption. The seriousness of this loss of income depends upon the wage of other family members and the number of dependent children (Wayne 1986). If the wage does not cover the subsistence and reproduction of the family a crisis occurs. In order for capitalism to continue people must be able to consume and reproduce. To mediate the crisis the state intervenes in the form of transfer payments and substitute wages (Dickinson 1986).

In households where both the husband and wife participate in the labour force and there are children at home a specific type of contradiction emerges. In this case the combined household income may cover the cost of reproduction of the
family which includes commodity consumption, but domestic labour, which is also necessary for the effective reproduction of capitalism, is problematic. This is particularly the case regarding child care. The cost of day care cuts into the household income. This added to the fact that the rest of the domestic labour must be done after the paid work day may make it more feasible for one parent to remain at home. The fact that domestic labour is considered women's work acts as a justification for gender-based wage disparities, and supports women as opposed to men leaving the waged labour force. The patriarchal structure of the nuclear family re-emerges in the sense that the male controls the household resources (Ursal 1986, Seccombe 1986).

Clearly, not all women have left the labour force. The problem of domestic labour remains acute, particularly in the area of child care. The state intervenes to resolve the contradiction as the state must be accountable to public demands. Fully socialized day care is costly to the state, and therefore unprofitable to capital since revenue is not generated back to the private sector. Recruiting migrant domestic workers is one way in which this problem may be solved to the benefit of the state and the household. Capital also benefits as both husband and wife are able to participate in the market place and consumption is maintained. At the same time the cost of reproduction of the labour force continues to be absorbed by the workers.
Paid Domestic Workers

Live in domestics perform non-preferred and devalued labour in an isolated work environment. The worker is dependent upon the employer for both a wage and living accommodations. Therefore, in a sense domestic workers exhibit characteristics of an unpaid housewife in that they are in a subordinate and dependent relationship. It could be stated at this point that live-in domestics are oppressed because of the entrance of Canadian women into the labour market, but such a statement would be both short sighted and inaccurate. It results in blaming women and obscures the underlying factors which lead to the powerless position of domestic live-in workers.

The current need for domestics arises under a specific set of conditions. It has been illustrated that the shifts in capitalism have influenced the labour market participation of women, partially commodified domestic labour and, created new consumer demands. These three factors have redefined the needs of the household and have resulted in a contradiction between paid labour and aspects of domestic labour which are not commodified or socialized. One such aspect of domestic labour which remains the responsibility of the household is child care. This problem may be resolved by live-in domestic workers. Domestics further ease the double-day for women as they remove the responsibility of domestic labour.

Hiring live-in domestic help is not new to Canada nor did
it develop along with capitalism. A servant class existed in Canada until the turn of the century. Domestics were an integral part of the running of homes and farms in both rural to urban areas. Industrialization and emergence of advanced stages of wage labour eliminated the servant class. Those who had previously performed the work left domestic service for other types of occupations. At the same time the need for a servant class declined along with the shift in location of production and the mechanization of domestic labour. Although the demand declined somewhat it still exceeded the supply. Since the late nineteenth century Canada has relied on immigrant labour to fill the demand. In the past decade the demand for live-in domestics has increased significantly resulting in a greater number of foreign domestics being brought into Canada. The following chapter provides a detailed account of the chronic shortage of domestic workers and the variety of responses developed to deal with the problem.
CHAPTER III
HISTORICAL SHIFTS IN THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND
OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

The recruitment of women from overseas to perform live-in domestic service in Canadian households has varied historically according to changes in the economy and the participation of Canadian women in the labour force. The degree of involvement of the federal government in the recruitment process also varies historically. This chapter provides an account of live-in domestic service in Canada since the turn of the century. Connections between the economic need for a greater labour force and the participation of Canadian women in the labour force are drawn. Also demonstrated is the fact that Canadian women have resisted domestic service and have moved into other occupations when alternatives became available. The void created in terms of domestic labour, particularly child care, necessitates government involvement. The degree of involvement by the state in recruiting foreign workers for domestic service is discussed in this chapter.

The chapter is divided by historical periods. The first section, 1880-1920, is a period of economic development in Canada characterized by urban growth and industrialization which drew women along with men into the market place.
Domestic servants were recruited from Britain to aid in running the farms, and also in the cities as maids for bourgeois families. The freeze on immigration during the war temporarily stopped the supply of foreign servants. The second period, 1920 - 1945, includes the labour force participation of Canadian women during the 1920’s, and the subsequent displacement back into the home with the onset of the depression. The decline of available employment for women resulted in a decline in the demand for foreign domestics. The third time period, 1945-1973, marks a significant phase in the labour force activity of women, particularly married women. The dramatic rise in female participation rates in the labour force is paralleled by schemes initiated by the Canadian government to recruit women from overseas as domestic workers for Canadian households. In 1973 the current policy under which migrant workers are recruited as domestics was initiated. Throughout the four sections attention is drawn to areas of recruitment of domestics, the ongoing devaluation of domestic work, and changes in government involvement in the recruitment of foreign domestics.

1880-1920

The late nineteenth century in Canada was marked by an increase in industrialization and an accompanying proletarianization of labour. The process of urbanization was uneven, however, and much of Canada remained rural for the
first half of the twentieth century. In the rural sector, the home continued to be an important cite of production. The unpaid labour of women and children was essential for agricultural production (Duchesne 1989). Domestic servants were also used to facilitate the maintenance of the household and production on the farm.

In the urban sector production began to shift from the home to the factory where labour power was bought and sold as a commodity. The centralization of production in factories is significant in that those who owned and controlled the means of production were able to exploit those forced to sell their labour power for a wage. The cost of production was kept to a minimum so that maximum surplus value was obtained. Socially necessary labour time was reduced by extending the hours of work and keeping wages low. Factory production required a large labour force, and workers were forced to enter the marketplace where their capacity to labour was exchanged for a wage. For these reasons household production declined and both men and women entered the labour force.

Women were employed in domestic service and in manufacturing, particularly in textiles. Despite the poor conditions of factory work - long hours and low pay - several studies indicate that Canadian women preferred factory work to domestic service (Barber 1980, Connelly 1978, Katzman 1978, Leslie 1974, Strasser 1978). Domestic service was attributed low status due to the association with servile work, and the
fact that those employed as domestics in the late 19th and early 20th century were primarily immigrant women and young Canadian girls who exchanged their labour for room and board and a low wage (Wilson 1982). Phillips and Phillips note that in the 19th century it was not uncommon for a "girl as young as seven to be indentured until the age of eighteen" (1973, 4). The live-in nature of domestic service was also a deterrent for women who had the choice to enter factory work. Lack of privacy and independence combined with the fact that there was no clear definition of the work day made the occupation undesirable (Strasser 1978). The relationship with the employer was personal as opposed to contractual which placed the servant in the role of a subservient family member as opposed to an employee. Social distance between the "mistress" and the servant was further maintained by relegating the least desirable chores to the servant (Leslie 1974). The decline of women willing to perform domestic service is supported by statistics on the labour force participation of Canadian women presented by Connelly (1978) and Phillips and Phillips (1983). These studies show that, in terms of the percentage of Canadian women in this occupation out of the total number of women in the labour force, domestic service fell from a high of 41% in 1891 to 27% in 1921 (Connelly 1978, 12). Considering that women were moving away from this occupation when alternatives became available leads to the conclusion that domestic service was non-preferred work.
In the early 1900's domestic labour was not socialized. The work was time consuming and labour intensive. Bourgeois households, or households that had capital over and above that which was necessary for subsistence, were in positions to hire domestics. Women migrating from rural to urban centres in Canada were available for employment in industry and domestic service (Connelly 1978, Leslie 1974). Despite the fact that Canadian women took positions as domestic servants there remained a shortage in relation to the demand. This demand for "home help" resulted in private and public efforts to recruit women from abroad. According to Phillips and Phillips, "by 1911 35% of all domestic servants were immigrant women" (1983, 2). The central area of recruitment during this time period was Great Britain (Leslie 1974). Young women were brought to Canada where they were granted landed immigrant status on the stipulation that they provide live-in service for an employer for six months (Leslie 1974). After this time they were permitted to leave the household and remain in Canada. McBride (1974) notes that women saw domestic service as a vehicle of social mobility through marriage.

Agencies for recruitment included the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.), and a variety of church organizations and women's groups. In 1894 the British Woman's Emigration Association formed in Britain to recruit and send young women to Canada as domestic servants. This served the dual purpose of helping to solve the problem of high
unemployment in the urban centres of Britain, and answered the demand for domestic servants in Canada (Barber 1980).

The British Woman's Emigration Association worked closely with agencies in Canada that placed the young women from Britain in appropriate households (Roberts 1979). The women who staffed these agencies worked on a voluntary basis. They emphasized the importance and sanctity of the home and the role of women as protectors of the moral order. Domestic servants were viewed as a necessary part of the maintenance of the household. The relationship between the "mistress" of the household and the servant can be likened to that of a tutor and apprentice. It was expected that the mistress of the house train the domestic as a proper wife and mother. This was considered essential as the servants were to become the wives and mothers of Canadian families. British servants in this way provided a nation-building function: the population in Canada would both grow and remain British (Roberts 1979). On another level, the concern of maternal feminists with regard to maintenance of the moral order can be viewed as resistance to change. The transition to industrial production, the emergence of a new middle class, and the increase in rationalization threatened the old order. The attempt to retain a servant class through recruiting women from Britain can be viewed as symbolic of the resistance to the changes that were occurring.

The federal and provincial governments played an active role in the recruitment process by opening up immigration to
women willing to come to Canada as domestics (Barber 1980). Agents working for Immigration aided in filling the demand for servants by placing new immigrants into households (Barber 1980). Open immigration policies meant an ongoing supply of domestic servants. This resulted in a depressing affect on wages, which in turn influenced the demand. The high turnover rate among domestic servants also helped to keep the demand constant and necessitated ongoing recruitment (Wilson 1982, 84).

The beginning of World War I closed Canadian immigration which meant an end to the recruitment of foreign domestic servants. In addition, the war drew more Canadian women into the labour force due to industrial expansion accompanied by a growth in the service sector and a decline in available male labour. In chapter one reference was made to active campaigns initiated by the government to encourage women to join the labour market and support the war drive. In addition, the state provided practical incentives for women to work, such as day care facilities (Phillips and Phillips 1983).

The increase in service sector jobs during the First World War attracted Canadian women who previously had limited options of industrial and domestic work. Table 1 shows the change in the sex ratio of Canadians employed in clerical occupations. For the years under consideration, 1901-1921, it is apparent that women remained over-represented in personal services, but also made steady gains in clerical occupations.
The percentage of women to men in the personal services category remained constant between 1901-1921. However, the percentage of female to male workers in clerical jobs increased steadily for those 20 years. Women rose from a representation of 22.12% in 1901 to 41.80% in 1921. In no other occupational category is there such a significant change in the distribution by sex. For the year 1921, clerical work represented the second highest job category for women relative to men - the first being professional. The literature on women's paid work in Canada suggests that these professional occupations were principally health related or teaching jobs for which women received less pay than men for the exact same work (Wilson 1982). Despite the constant sex distribution for personal services the entry of women into white collar employment can be taken as an indicator that women chose other types of employment as they became open to them.

1920-1945

The 1920's in Canada was characterized by another period of capitalist expansion. The increase in industrialization and the accompanying growth in the state service sector provided jobs for Canada's surplus population. Men who returned from the war resumed their position in the paid labour force. Women who had been recruited into the labour force at the onset of the war were displaced back into the home. This was accomplished by closing day care facilities that had been
opened to attract women into the labour force, and also by policies that heavily taxed working wives (Phillips and Phillips 1983). The ideology that women’s natural role was as wife and mother supported this shift.

Obviously not all women left the labour force. Table 1 shows that the sex distribution in the labour force remained constant between 1921 and 1931. The clerical sector which had grown during the war absorbed Canadian women, most of whom were young and unmarried (Phillips and Phillips 1983). It was generally assumed that participation in the labour force was temporary for women and ended when they married. Women represented a section of the labour force that was available to fill low skilled jobs. The deskilling process accompanied the increased division of labour and the specialization of tasks. The lack of training needed to perform low level clerical jobs supported the hiring of women who were not expected to stay in the labour force. Because of this expectation time was not invested in women in terms of training. Pay differentials between men and women for the same work were supported by the ideology of natural domestic responsibilities and the supplemental income of women (see chapter two). Women who were self-supporting or single heads of households were ignored.

The rationalization and specialization of tasks in manufacturing and the service sector restructured the labour force with the aim of increasing productivity and profit. This
process, as well as having a deskillling effect on the labour force, had an impact on the household and domestic labour. Surplus value was re-invested into the production of household commodities. The creation of this new market designed to absorb surplus capital resulted in the commodification of domestic labour. The production of goods and services had shifted from the home to the market place. Aspects of domestic labour were removed from the housewife and replaced by commodities. Unpaid services performed by women in the home were transformed into profit making activities for the benefit of private agencies. These jobs were mainly in the service sector, particularly personal service, such as hourly or day domestics. The service jobs occupied by women were extensions of their unpaid work in the home.

Given this scenario one would expect a decline in the demand for live-in domestic servants and a lack of recruitment efforts. This is expected to be the case because domestic labour was made easier and less labour intensive. Moreover, domestic workers were available on an hourly basis to help with cooking and cleaning which reduced the need for a live-in domestic servant. In addition, the increase in wage labour, rationalization of production, and the accompanying emphasis on contractual employer\employee relationships is expected to have some impact on the decline of a servant class. Previous research does support this claim in part (Leslie 1974, Wilson 1982). The emerging middle class and new services provided by
profit making agencies resulted in a trend toward hiring day labourers instead of live-in servants. The transition from domestic servant to domestic worker developed as a consequence of the penetration of market relations into the home. The depression of the 1930’s further exacerbated the trend toward a decline in the servant class in Canada.

Despite the decline in domestic service in the 1920’s Barber illustrates that the demand for domestic live-in servants still exceeded the supply in Canada. Canadian women were employed in clerical jobs, or were performing personal service jobs on a contractual basis. The reopening of immigration and new recruitment efforts guaranteed a supply of domestic live-in servants for those who could afford them. The degree of government supervision of domestic recruitment increased during the early 1920’s culminating with a new government organization known as the Women’s Branch, which was formed specifically to select and place British domestics (Barber 1980, 160). In addition, the government provided incentives to attract British women to Canada in the form of reduced passage fare, guaranteed employment, and financial assistance (Barber 1980). Despite government efforts there remained a lack of British women willing to come to Canada.

The supply from Britain had fallen. Emigrating to Canada was no longer considered an attractive option for British women. Based on historical material, diaries, and personal correspondence, Roberts (1979) notes that domestic service in
Canada was demystified. Instead of a vehicle for social mobility, domestic service in Canada was associated with poor working conditions and low wages. The demand for a servant class in Britain absorbed unemployed women who would have otherwise been potential recruits to Canada. To compensate for the decline in domestic servants, the Canadian government turned towards "non-preferred" countries of Eastern and Southern Europe. These women, unlike those from Britain, had to be sponsored by a Canadian (Barber 1980). The demand was constant because of the high turnover rate and the lack of Canadian women willing to take the jobs. Toward the end of the 1920's, the maternal feminist organizations that had been responsible for the placement of foreign domestics were replaced by government bureaucracies (Roberts 1979). In the decade between 1931 and 1941, information regarding the numbers of domestics recruited for service in Canada is scant. It can reasonably be assumed that the depression and the onset of World War II put a temporary halt to recruitment efforts.

During the 1930's, women, particularly those who were married, were actively discouraged from participating in the work force. Unemployment rose and women who worked were seen as taking jobs away from men. Considering that women's labour force participation was viewed as temporary, their wage seen as supplemental, their proper sphere believed to be the home, and their natural role constructed as wife and mother, women were displaced from the paid labour force into the home. Ostry
notes that,"... both public and private employers ... applied stringent regulations against the employment of married women" (1967, 34). Also in the 1930's, immigration was cut off which resulted in a decline of domestic workers. However, women who had to work were available to fill the demand due to a lack of alternative employment (4).

The early 1940’s witnessed a renewed interest in bringing Canadian women into the labour force. The decline in available male labour and the growth in the service sector that once again accompanied the war necessitated the recruitment of Canadian women into the labour force. The following excerpts from a report prepared by the Department of Trade and Commerce in 1942, entitled, "Reserve of Labour Among Canadian Women," clearly states the problem of a labour shortage in Canada and the role of women in filling this void.

There is abundant evidence to suggest that Canada's sources of labour supply among men is rapidly approaching depletion...future accretions to the nations labour force must come mainly from the ranks of women...

If the war is of long duration with the absorption of more and more men into the armed forces on the one hand, and, on the other an increasing tempo of war production, this source (married women) will have to be heavily drawn upon... the married women in this age group (15-44) in urban localities provides a labour pool practically untapped The employment of married women is hampered of course by the fact that, as a labour pool, they are extremely immobile.
Women were primarily absorbed in the service sector as they were during World War I. The full scale feminization of clerical work can be seen in table 1. Comparing the years between 1921 and 1941 it is illustrated that women overtook men in terms of representation in this job classification. This same table shows that the total percentage of women to men in the labour force increased by approximately 3% between 1931 and 1941. It can be inferred from this table that a greater number of women were entering the labour force in this time period, and that they were for the most part employed in clerical and service occupations. The age of women in the labour force also changed, as illustrated in table 2. This table shows the increase of older women in the work force from 1931 -1941. The rise in female labour force participation aged 25 - 34 and 35 - 44 implies a rise in the number of married women working.

Statistics provided by Wilson show a decline in the percentage of women out of the female work force employed in domestic service -"...1901 - 31%, 1911 - 26.9%, 1921 - 18.1%, 1931 - 20.2 %, 1941 - 17.9 %" (1982, 83). Although the proportion of women in domestic service declined it remained one of the largest job categories in which women were employed. The slight increase in the percentages in 1931 instead of a continuing decrease can be interpreted as a decline in other sources of employment for women in the 1930’s. Conversely, the decrease in percentage of women in
domestic service in 1941 may be an indicator of new employment opportunities. By the early 1940's there was an increase in the percentage of women to men in the labour force. Canadian women were still employed in the personal services jobs more so than men, but clerical work represented an important alternative form of employment (see table 1).

1945-1973

This time period is marked by a tremendous growth in the state services which resulted in an expansion of employment opportunities for women. Married women participated in increasing numbers as the labour market improved. Work traditionally performed in the home was increasingly socialized. This created paid employment for women. As the creation of new markets and commodities increased so too did consumerism. Pressure was exerted on women to enter the labour force as secondary wage earners. The rising costs of reproduction necessitated a dual income earning household.

The growth in clerical occupations accompanied the growing economy. Phillips and Phillips note that, as of 1951 "more than one out of every 5 women were classified as clerical" (1983, 31). Not only did clerical work represent a major employer for women, it also became increasingly feminized. Table 1 shows that in 1951 women represented 56.69% of the total employed in clerical work, and by 1961 the percentage had increased to 61.50. This indicates that men
were steadily moving away from these jobs, and that clerical work was becoming defined as women's work. These trends had started in the early 1920's. The table also shows that the percentage of women to men in the labour grew steadily from 1941 - 1961 so that by 1961, 27.31% of the total labour force was female. Finally, table 1 shows that the sex distribution for personal services remained substantially unchanged for the years 1941 -1961. Women consistently represented well over half of the total employed in this category.

Table 2 provides a breakdown of women in the labour force by age from 1921 - 1961. The percentages of women, years 14-19, remained stable throughout these forty years. However, the participation rates for older women increased with each decade. This is particularly the case for women aged 25-34 and 35-44. Phillips and Phillips (1983, 36) note that in the "1960's and 1970's almost one half of the married women in Canada were in the labour force". This is indicative of an increase in the number of married women in the work force, and an increase in the number of women with children performing wage labour.

It was mentioned above that the sex distribution in personal services remained skewed towards women for the years included in table 1. However, the actual percentage of women -out of the total female labour force - employed in domestic service declined form 17.9% in 1941 to 7.6% in 1951 (Wilson 1982, 83; Armstrong and Armstrong 1975, 373). The increase of
women in the labour force, the rise in the number of older women, the rise in the proportion of women in clerical occupations, and the decline of women in domestic service lead to the conclusion that domestic work declined in importance as a labour market activity for Canadian women as other options opened. The movement of women away from domestic service meant a decrease in the supply of domestics.

The lack of Canadian women willing to perform live-in service did not deter the demand. In 1955, the Canadian government initiated a foreign domestic worker policy known as the West Indian scheme (Silvera 1984, Turrittin 1975). Through this program women were recruited from the West Indies to perform live-in domestic service. They were granted landed status immediately with the provision that they remain with an employer on a live-in basis for a one year period. The demand remained constant as most of the women stayed employed as domestics for the minimum time required and then moved on to find other employment. The total number of West Indian women who came into Canada under this program from 1955 - 1965 was 2,690 (Turrittin 1975, 54). Networking between women in the West Indies and those that had come to Canada via the Scheme attracted more women to Canada as domestic workers.

The high turnover rate among domestic servants resulted in a constant shortage in relation to the demand. Table 3 ranks areas in which Canada experienced a labour shortage for the years 1968-1973. It is shown that the category of maids
and domestics represents the occupation with the highest labour shortage between 1968 and 1970. In the years 1970–1973 this category had been overtaken by other job classifications, but still remained one of the top five. It is clear that domestic work continued to be non-preferred among Canadian women as well as those who were recruited specifically to fill the jobs. The lack of protection under labour laws that characterizes work performed in the home is one of the reasons for the ongoing labour shortage in this area (see chapter four). The exclusion of domestic workers from labour standards prohibited those employed as domestics from bargaining for better wages (Peddlar 1982). The open immigration policies under which domestic workers were brought into Canada served to maintain a constant supply which further acted upon depressing the cost of this unit of labour.

1973–present

The trend toward married women in the work force continues in the 1970’s and 1980’s. Canadian women have made substantial numerical gains in the labour force. However, women continue to be disproportionately employed in certain jobs characterized by low wages, low status, and poor benefits. The percentage of married women and married women with children has also increased over the past 15 years. The rise in the labour force participation of married women with pre-school children raises the problem of child care.
Table 4 shows the numerical gains made by women in the labour force from 1970-1983. It is apparent that women entered the labour force at almost double the rate of men for these 13 years. Specifically, between 1970 and 1983, 2,860,000 women entered the labour market compared to 1,527,000 men. Table 5 illustrates the increasing trend toward working mothers from 1975-1981. There has been an increase in the percentages of labour force participation for all women with children. The largest percentage of women with children who work in the labour force are those with teenage children and no children under the age of six. It is reasonable to assume that this is the case because child care responsibilities are lessened. The lowest percentage of working mothers in the paid labour force is in the category of women with children under the age of three. It is clear that the presence of children has a strong affect on the participation rate of married women in the labour force. While this is true it is also noted that the percentage of working women with pre-school children is steadily rising - 31.2% in 1975 to 44.5% in 1981 (see table 5) - indicating that alternative forms of child care are being found.

Table 5 also allows a comparison of the effect of children on the labour market activity of men and women. It is clear that the presence of children is not a factor in the degree to which men participate in the labour market. Specifically, participation rates for males remain stable for
the years 1975 - 1983 and do not fluctuate according to the age of child(ren). Clearly, the presence of children has a differential impact on the career pattern for men and women.

The significance of a woman's contribution to the household income in the form of earnings is shown in table 6. For each two year period from 1971-1981, women consistently contributed approximately one third of the total household income. This same table illustrates the vast difference in constant dollars between the income of men and women. For each 2 year period the average female income is less than one half that of her spouse. When this is combined with the information presented in table 5, it seems clear that the wage differential has an impact on who will leave the labour force and be responsible for child care. Wage differentials are supported and justified by a patriarchal ideology which maintains the economic subordination of women (see chapter two). The information provided in table 6 makes it possible to observe the increased wages of both men and women. It is apparent that the average wage for women has risen steadily during the past decade. The rise in household income means that the option of paying for child care and other types of domestic services is becoming viable for a greater number of Canadian households.

State related jobs continue to absorb the increasing number of women in the labour force. Table 7 lists the top five occupations in which women were represented during
the period between 1975 and 1983. The top two job categories for women continue to be clerical and service. In 1975 only 6.9% of all men in the labour force were employed in clerical occupations compared to 36.1% of women. The percentages declined slightly for both groups by 1983, but the disproportionate representation on the basis of sex remained (6.4% of men in the labour force and 32.6% of all women). Women are also disproportionately represented in service categories (9.7% of all males in the labour force were employed in service jobs in 1975 compared with 16.6% representation of all women in the labour force. For 1983 these figures changed to 11.63% and 18.6% respectively). The service category is not broken down by occupation, and therefore the number of women specifically employed in domestic service can not be determined. However, table 8 does provide a listing of occupations in which women were most often represented in 1981. The list includes the job classification of cleaner which appears as number ten on the list indicating that the work is non-preferred.

In general, it can be seen that the participation rate of women in the labour force, particularly married women with children, has grown since the early 1970’s. In addition, the number of women entering the labour force as compared to men has also increased. Those women entering the labour force continue to be segregated in certain occupations that have come to be considered as women’s jobs. The disparity between
the wages of men and women, and a continued responsibility for
domestic labour results in an interrupted career pattern for
women. It can also be seen, however, that the percentages of
women with pre-school children entering the labour market is
increasing. The resulting contradiction between child care and
paid employment, and the burden of the double day for women is
readily apparent (5).

One way in which the contradiction may be resolved is
through hiring a temporary domestic worker. In 1973, the
Canadian government made it possible for households to hire a
foreign live-in domestic worker at relatively low cost (see
chapter four). Live-in workers resolve the crisis of child
care, and also perform other types of domestic labour. At the
same time that the private employer is benefitting from the
labour of the domestic worker, the pressure otherwise applied
to the state to provide adequate day care is lifted. Foreign
domestics are now recruited from a variety of countries under
a temporary work authorization permit (see chapter four).
Through this permit the state is directly involved in the
securing a constant supply of domestic workers.

Conclusion

Canada has historically relied on other countries to
solve the problem of chronic shortage of domestic workers. The
demise of the servant class in Canada accompanied the increase
in industrialization. As other options opened for women in the
work force those previously relegated to domestic service were able to find alternative employment. In an effort to meet the demand for servants, women who lacked alternatives in Britain were recruited to live and work as servants in Canadian households. The servant class was imported from abroad to maintain the old era. The transition to advanced stages of wage labour was underway, but not complete. Vestiges of feudal patterns of ownership still remained, among them the servant class.

As the twentieth century progressed, Canada moved towards a more advanced stage of wage labour. The demand for a servant class declined as did the number of women emigrating from Britain to Canada as servants. Though the demand fell it did not disappear. To compensate for the decline in available domestics in relation to the demand, the Canadian government turned to other areas of recruitment. The supply from these "non-preferred" countries existed because those emigrating saw Canada as both a way to escape poor conditions in their home country, and as a vehicle for social mobility in Canada.

In the last decade the demand for foreign live-in domestics has increased. As shown in this chapter the specific need arises from the increase dual income earning families. The fact that domestic workers perform all types of domestic labour including child care makes hiring a live-in domestic an attractive option. Currently, the supply of labour available to fill the demand comes primarily from the Philippines. The
following chapter provides an explanation as to why this is
the case. In addition, chapter four documents the nature of
migrant labour and the government policies that serve to
structure and maintain these workers in a vulnerable position.
CHAPTER IV
MIGRANT DOMESTIC LABOUR

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the factors involved in influencing the supply and demand of domestic workers under Canada's migrant worker policy. Section one outlines the nature of migrant labour and sets the context within which migrant domestic workers are discussed. Canada's migrant labour policy is the subject of section two. It is shown that Canada has a two-tier system which structures the conditions of migrant workers differently. Within this system domestic workers are located in the bottom tier. The temporary work authorization permit under which the domestic worker may enter Canada is discussed in section three. It is illustrated that the stipulations and restrictions on foreign domestics places this category of workers in a position of powerlessness. Pressure exerted on the federal government for change to the migrant worker visa has improved conditions somewhat, but migrant domestics remain in an institutionally marginalized position.

The problems imbedded in the federal policy are exacerbated by a lack of coverage for migrant domestics under provincial labour standards. In section four, British Columbia is taken as a case in point. Data are readily available from the Vancouver Canada Employment and Immigration office and the
Special Collections division of the University of British Columbia. It is illustrated that foreign domestics in British Columbia are excluded from certain sections of the Employment Standards Act which further entrenches their position of vulnerability. In addition, ambiguities and contradictions between federal and provincial legislation prevent migrant domestic workers from enforcing what limited rights they do have.

The last section is devoted to migrant Filipino women who represent the majority of migrant domestic workers in Canada. High rates of unemployment, low wages, and a decline in agricultural production caused by uneven economic development in the Philippines forces labour to migrate. Women migrate as part of a family strategy with the expectation that a portion of their wage is sent home to support the family (Trager 1986). The decision to migrate is viewed as a forced "choice" due to lack of alternatives in the Philippines.

It is common for Filipino women to work as domestics abroad. The option of applying for landed status after a two year period attracts many of these women to Canada. Achieving landed immigrant status depends, in part, on maintaining a positive immigration record. The conditions motivating women to leave the Philippines combined with the goal of gaining landed status places this group of workers in a position of extreme dependence on their employer. Excerpts from interviews conducted with six private recruiting agencies in Vancouver
are included. It is shown that the vulnerable position of Filipino women is accentuated through messages conveyed to the prospective employer regarding "natural" abilities and cultural attributes particular to Filipino women. Through this process Filipino women are constructed as suitable for certain types of domestic labour.

**Migrant Labour**

The constant labour migration across international borders is linked to the uneven development of capitalism on a global basis (Castles 1986, Castles and Kosack 1985, and Miles 1982). The accumulation of capital is dependent upon keeping the costs of production low so that maximum surplus value may be extracted and re-invested. In the search for cheap labour countries dominated by the capitalist mode of production may either move labour intensive industries to areas where labour power is inexpensive, or labour may be recruited to facilitate production in industrialized areas. (Castles 1986).

Industrialization in agriculturally based countries often results in urban expansion to the detriment of the agricultural sector. Those who live in rural areas migrate to the urban centers in search of employment resulting in a surplus labour force (Sassen-Koob 1981). The large scale unemployment means that competition for jobs is high, and therefore wages are kept depressed. This surplus labour force, attracted by opportunities for employment and higher
wages in other countries, is available to be recruited to work abroad.

Labour recruitment is particularly high during periods of capitalist expansion when increased labour is required for production and the indigenous work force is not willing to fill certain jobs (Castles and Kosack 1985). Similarly, during times of economic downturns, the flow of migration slows, and those employed may be deported back to their own country. Migrant workers are easily deported when no longer required because they are denied citizenship rights (Castles, Booth and Wallace 1984, and Miles 1982). The threat of deportation is a form of direct control over the labour force, which serves to depress the cost of wages and prevents the workers from bargaining for better conditions of employment. As a migrant worker the employee is assigned to work with a specific employer. In this sense migrant workers can not be considered free wage labourers as they are not "free" to sell their labour power to whomever they choose (Miles and Phizacklea 1984).

Migrant workers comprise a surplus labour force. The high rate of unemployment and low wages in the countries from which these workers are migrating results in a pool of mobile labour. The supply of workers further serves to keep wages low and working conditions poor. Wages of migrant workers are lower than those paid to indigenous workers because the cost of reproduction of the work force is not factored into the
The training, education, and the social costs of the migrant labour force are borne by the country of origin of the migrant worker. The host country need not supply an infrastructure for the migrant labour force in the form of schools, social assistance or appropriate housing (Sassen-Koob 1981). The dependent position of the migrant worker is enforced by the withholding of citizenship rights. In this case the worker is not only at risk of losing a job, but also of being forced to leave the country. Migrant workers facilitate the accumulation of capital, first, because they directly aid in the expansion of capital, and second, because their labour does not include the cost of reproduction. Hence, maximum surplus value may be derived.

**Migrant Labour in Canada**

The use of migrant workers depends upon the needs of private capital, and therefore varies historically and regionally (Miller 1986). Canada initiated a migrant worker policy in 1973 so that immigration could be controlled and labour market shortages filled (Manpower and Immigration 1975). Migrant workers enter Canada on a temporary work authorization permit. The visa applicant must apply from outside of Canada and must present an offer of employment to the Canadian embassy or consulate in that country. The offer of employment from a Canadian resident is a prerequisite for
entry into Canada as a migrant worker. The prospective Canadian employer must have already presented a request for a foreign worker to Canadian Employment and Immigration (Canada Employment and Immigration 1988, 50). All requests must be passed by an officer at the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (C.E.I.C.) before the offer of employment is made to a foreign worker. The officer is responsible for authorizing the request on the basis that there are no Canadians available or willing to do the job.

Once the C.E.I.C has authorized the employment request, and the offer of employment has been made, the visa worker is assigned to that employer for the duration of employment in Canada. If the worker for any reason has to change jobs, Employment and Immigration must immediately be contacted. If they fail to do this they risk being deported because they are then in the country illegally (Canada Employment and Immigration 1988, 20). When visa workers are unemployed in Canada they may be given help in finding another employer within the same field that is designated on their visa. If no job is available they may again be deported. Clearly, for migrant workers the threat of deportation is constant and results from restrictions on the visa and the denial of citizenship rights. This denial is an integral part of the temporary work authorization permit and is the central factor that maintains control over this unit of labour.

At this point similarities between the discussion of
migrant labour presented above and the Canadian migrant worker policy can be made. First, those who are entering Canada as migrant workers are filling a vacancy in the Canadian labour market. They are brought in to meet the demands of private employers, and frequently used to perform work that is non-preferred. Second, the visa restrictions on migrant workers limits their mobility in Canada making them an easily controlled labour force. This in turn eliminates their ability to bargain for improved wages and working conditions. They, therefore, represent a type of labour that is readily exploitable. In summary, the conditions under which migrant workers are employed in Canada institutionalizes their vulnerability.

In a recent study Boyd, Taylor, and Delaney (1986) argue that there are limits to comparing Canadian migrant workers to the guest-worker policy in Europe. The migrant working visa allows some people to migrate to Canada exempt from the restrictions cited above. This exemption may be allowed officially on humanitarian grounds. The aforementioned study notes that many of those who gain entrance into Canada under the clause for exemption perform white collar jobs for which there does not need to be a labour market demand. The exempt category also includes diplomats, lecturers, performers and others who do not meet the strict requirements of those who fall within the validated category. It should be pointed out that even under the exempted category the Canadian government
is still able to control the length of stay of the applicant, and therefore the worker remains in a vulnerable position (of course this is only true if the worker has a vested interest in staying in Canada). Nevertheless, there is a division in the migrant worker policy between those who are permitted into the country to accept "skilled" occupations and those that are recruited to answer Canada's labour market shortage in non-preferred jobs. In effect, Canada has a two tier migrant worker system. The subject of this thesis is domestic workers who migrate to Canada under the requirements of a validated visa. Labour entering Canada exempt from these requirements is omitted from the remainder of the chapter.

Migrant Domestic Workers in Canada

One of the principal categories of migrant workers in Canada since the initiation of the policy in 1973 is domestic workers, almost all of whom are women (see table 9). Recruitment of domestic workers from abroad is not new to Canada. Historically, people have been brought into Canada to perform domestic labour on a live-in basis. Originally recruitment centered on Britain and later moved to Eastern Europe and finally the Caribbean (see chapter three). The difference since 1973 is that domestic workers are officially classified as a particular category of labour required to fill a chronic shortage in a non-preferred occupation. Furthermore, migrant workers are denied citizenship rights. Prior to this
date foreign domestics were granted Landed Immigrant Status upon entering Canada, and therefore were guaranteed political rights equal to Canadian citizens. The disenfranchisement of foreign domestic workers results in an increasingly marginalized status of this type of labour and of those who perform it.

Domestic workers are one of the groups granted temporary employment authorization under the validated category, which means, by definition, they are filling non-preferred jobs. Domestics must have an offer of employment from a prospective Canadian employer and must then pass an interview with an embassy official before being given a visa. Those applying for work authorization permits are evaluated on relaxed point system criteria (6) including command of the English language, education or training, experience as a domestic worker and personal suitability (Canada Employment and Immigration 1988, 33). Assuming that they pass they are granted an employment visa and are allowed to come to Canada and work for the specified employer. Tying workers to an employer and an employment agreement before they leave their home country is a way in which labour may be effectively controlled before it enters the country (Bonacich 1972, Miles and Phizacklea 1984).

A domestic worker must also, as part of the restrictions on the visa, reside with the employer (Canada Employment and Immigration 1988, 49) and may not change employers without first obtaining consent from the Department of Employment and
Immigration. Before seeking new employment the domestic worker must present Immigration with a reference letter from the ex-employer called a Letter of Recommendation. The Letter of Recommendation is an updated version of the Letter of Release, the name of which implies release from servitude instead of termination of an employment agreement. The effect of the Letter of Recommendation on domestic workers who wish to change employers is stated below. This excerpt is from an interview conducted with the organizer of a Vancouver group working for the rights and protection of domestic workers,

"It's (the Letter of Recommendation) is starting to look strikingly like the old release letter except that Immigration is not calling it that anymore. Now what a domestic worker is supposed to get when she leaves her job is this Letter of Recommendation. The employer must say why this employment has terminated from their perspective. That has to be in there. They have to sign that. What happens, is a domestic worker goes to Immigration and looks for permission to seek new employment...if she does not have that letter of recommendation that talks about why she has left her employer they insist on being able to speak to the employer about why she’s left before they will give the domestic worker permission to look for another job... So you've still got the same situation. What happened before is that she was worried that Immigration was not going to give her permission to look for a new job because her current employer didn’t release her. Now she’s still worried about the same thing.

The fact that the work is done in the home, and that domestic workers are forced to live where they work has
ramifications regarding the length of the work day. Live-in domestic workers are available 24 hours and may be called upon to work at any time of the day or night. The isolation of the work environment results in insurmountable difficulties in monitoring the number of hours domestic workers are forced to work. This type of abuse may be endured by domestic workers if they fear losing their job and being deported from the country, or if they are afraid of jeopardizing their chances of gaining landed immigrant status. The following passages from Silvera's book, Silenced, supports these claims. All of the women interviewed by Silvera are from the West Indies and all came to Canada with the hope of staying as landed immigrants. The first interview cited illustrates the lack of privacy and erratic hours some domestics encounter,

"Right now my day begins at around 5:00 a.m. which is about when the baby wake up... I share a room with him... Around 6:30 a.m. I prepare breakfast for the husband...You know I'm on call 24 hours a day, like this baby now, sometimes I feel weak" (1984, 27).

Another of the domestic workers interviewed by Silvera stated similar experiences. The relationship between abusive treatment and endurance of such treatment out of fear of Immigration is also evident,

"You know, just because you live in the house they make you work like a horse all the time..."
I keep quiet because I don’t want to create any bad feelings with Immigration officers" (1984, 55)

Finally, the quote cited below clearly shows the contradiction between occupational setting and place of residence. The personal nature of the work creates problems in defining domestic service as "real" work,

"... it’s hard to tell yourself, ‘I’m only here to do this’ - domestic work - when really I am living here 24 hours a day. I feel as if this is my home. It is my home, this is where I live. It’s not like I come to work for them and then evening time I leave and go home. When you are living with them, they make you feel as if you really don’t belong, and where the devil do you really belong? It’s a funny thing to happen to us, because it makes us feel like we don’t know if we’re coming or going" (1984, 113).

The requirement of live-in service has an obvious impact on the lives of these workers. This particular stipulation on the work visa is designed to maintain control over temporary domestics. Because of this domestic workers lack privacy and freedom of movement. The state benefits in the following ways: by controlling migrant domestic workers, and by eliminating the responsibility for providing and maintaining an infrastructure to house them. In this way the overall cost to the state of recruiting migrant labour is minimized.

The temporary domestic worker is paid a monthly salary minus room and board. The salary varies from province to
province and is based on a minimum daily wage. This daily wage represents the minimum hourly wage of the province multiplied by eight (an eight hour work day). The issue of overtime for hours worked over eight per day, or weekly overtime for anything over 40 hours has been the subject of much debate and political struggle since the introduction of the policy. Deductions are taken from the pay checks of domestic workers for Unemployment Insurance and Canada Pension Plan. However, the domestic worker is prevented from collecting unemployment insurance while on a temporary visa because, by definition, she may not be unemployed and stay in the country. Canada Pension Plan contributions may be regained but it is difficult and time consuming which limits the numbers of people who attempt to collect (Arnopolous 1979). The state gains in the way of revenue without having to return any of the benefits. Table 10 shows, that for the years 1973 to 1979, the Canadian government gained a total of 11,288,751 in revenue from this group of disenfranchised workers.

In addition to the battle over hours of work there have been other issues raised by government task forces, women's groups and interest groups that formed in the particular interest of temporary domestics. When the policy first began in 1973 domestic workers were not allowed to apply for landed immigrant status from within the country, had virtually no protection under labour laws in any province, and no job contract (Arnopolous 1979, Silvera 1984). Intercede
(International Coalition to End Domestics' Exploitation) formed in 1979 in Toronto as a spokes-group for the rights of temporary domestic workers. Political pressure was exerted on the Canadian government to improve the position of these workers. Changes were made to the permit under which domestics could migrate to Canada. The new program certified in 1981 is known as the Foreign Domestic Movement (F.D.M.).

The F.D.M. made it possible for foreign domestics to apply for landed status from within Canada after a two year period. The temporary permit entitles the foreign worker to stay for one year after which time they must apply for a renewal. During the second year they may then apply for landed immigrant status. The applicant is assessed within the following categories: experience, command of the English or French language, financial security, skill upgrading, "social adaptation" and personal suitability (Canada Employment and Immigration 1988, 1).

There are several problems with evaluating migrant domestic workers according to these categories. In general the ability of a live-in domestic worker to rank highly in any of these categories is partially dependent upon the employer. In evaluating the experience of the applicant the Department of Immigration relies on letters of recommendation of the employer. As previously mentioned the Letter of Recommendation is in itself subjective and problematic. In terms of obtaining language training and skills upgrading the domestic worker is
dependent upon the employer to allow sufficient and appropriate time off so that courses may be taken. The second problem concerning skills upgrading is that the courses which migrant domestic workers are permitted to take are restricted. The temporary work visa stipulates that a migrant domestic worker may not take any university or college courses. They are permitted to take only continuing education courses or classes offered at community centres. Many of these courses are in the field of domestic service, thereby restricting the possibility of job mobility once landed status is granted. In terms of financial security the wage paid to domestics is minimal. In addition, many of the domestics support their families abroad, and therefore there is little likelihood of accumulating savings while in Canada on a work visa. The remaining two categories of "social adaptation" and personal suitability are judged by an Immigration officer during an interview. This mode of evaluation is discretionary and highly subjective. Despite the inadequacies in the process of evaluation a number of temporary domestics are granted landed status each year (see table 11). The data may be misleading, however, as the total number of foreign domestics who applied for landed status are not indicated. Therefore, there is no way to assess the number of people who were denied status.

The problems of abuse frequently encountered by domestic workers on employment authorizations were brought to the attention of the federal government by Intercede and other
interest groups. In response, the federal government issued a form originally called an employment contract. It specified the wage agreed upon, the hours of work required, specific duties, and living accommodations. This was designed to offer the foreign domestic worker greater protection. However, the "contract" is not legally binding as stated clearly in the Employment and Immigration manual,

while the EMP 2151 indicates wages and working conditions which the employer has agreed to provide, and the IMM 1102 grants permission to work as specified, neither constitutes a contract of employment (1988, 51).

To eliminate the confusion the government, as of July 1988, issued a new form which is signed by the employer and domestic entitled the Domestic Foreign Worker\ Employer Agreement (see appendix b). For the first time, under this new agreement, the hours of work are set at 40 hours a week with the provision for overtime. In addition, the Agreement eliminates the past expectation that the domestic worker provide two evenings of free baby-sitting service per week. While these new provisions are meant to benefit the domestic worker the agreement is not legally enforceable. The fact that domestic workers must still live with their employer and that they work in an isolated environment precludes any supervision of the conditions of employment. These factors make the changes in the legislation ineffective.
The demand for foreign domestic workers has been steadily rising since 1981. The official reason given for the Foreign Domestic Movement is that "there is a growing need among parents who are both joining the work force for . . . affordable, accessible, quality child care" (Canada Employment and Immigration 1988, 33). The temporary work permit ensures a constant supply of labour available to answer this demand. Table 12 indicates that the total number of issued and renewed visas for domestics increased from 14,292 in 1982 to 20,346 in 1987, and that the increase has been steady for each year from 1982 to 1987.

The government clearly sees the issuing of visas for temporary domestics as a viable solution to the demand for child care. The wages of domestic workers are depressed because of the restrictions imposed by the working visa. The demands exerted on the state for an improvement in the working conditions of temporary domestics changed legislation somewhat, but only superficially. Thus, the state appears to be responding to the demand of interest groups, but no real change has occurred. For those performing live-in domestic labour, work conditions remain poor and wages low. The interest of the bourgeois middle class is served in the sense that both male and female heads of household are free to earn a wage. This not only answers the immediate demands of the household, but also serves the interest of capital as consumerism is maximized, which in turn facilitates
accumulation.

The option of hiring a live-in domestic worker maximizes the earning potential of the household and increases the leisure time of the couple (7). This is the case since all domestic labour is the responsibility of the paid domestic. The following statement made by the owner of a private recruiting agency in Vancouver summarizes the reason why live-in domestics are in high demand,

"... both husband and wife are out there supporting the mortgage and... have babies as well. They all have to have a nanny or otherwise they can’t work. Either it’s live-in or it’s live-out or it’s day-care ... live-out costs more. The difference with day-care is that nobody does your housework. You have to drop the kids off, and you can’t be late coming home from the office or go and meet your husband for dinner. You can phone your nanny and say we’re going to be an hour or two late and would you please take care of the kiddies."

Migrant Domestic Workers in Vancouver

Issues and problems raised above regarding the powerless position of domestic workers are given closer attention in this section. The availability of data on labour standards legislation in B.C. allows a look at the poor coverage provided for domestic workers in this province. Interest groups within the province have lobbied the government for the inclusion of domestic live-in workers under the Employment Standards Act. This has resulted in changes which bring
domestic workers within various sections, but not all of the Act. Confusion between federal immigration laws and provincial labour standards at best makes the coverage confusing, and therefore difficult to enforce, and at worst results in a blatant lack of protection. The net result is a depression of wages.

Domestic Workers in British Columbia have historically been excluded from coverage within labour legislation and the Employment Standards Act (Peddlar 1982, 52-57). Since the early 1970's the government has been lobbied to change the legislation. In 1974, briefs were presented to the Standing Committee on Labour and Justice by the B.C. Federation of Labour and the Vancouver Status of Women regarding labour standards for domestic and farm workers. Both briefs note that domestic workers are denied benefits including: coverage under the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Hours of Work Act, and Annual and General Holidays Act (V.S.W.; box 39, file 25, 1974). These submissions to the Committee called for a recognition of the special problems faced by domestic workers.

In 1975, the B.C. Federation of Labour brought the same concerns to the Industrial Relations Board. The content of this presentation and the reply are stated in an article in the Province, a local newspaper, on June 4 entitled, "Fed. urges $4 minimum wage". The article is as follows,
"several briefs urged repeal of legislation that excludes farm and domestic workers from minimum wage protection.

"... Deputy Labour Minister James Matkin, who chaired hearing said this would be a matter for the legislature and not the Board (Industrial Relations Board). "Matkin added, however, that recommendations to include agriculture and domestic workers in minimum wage legislation have been made as a result of legislative committee hearings..." (V.S.W.; box 20, file 57).

In 1976 a women's interest group, Women Rally for Action, presented a brief to the British Columbia Members of the Legislative Assembly which again called of the provincial government to change labour laws to include domestic workers. They noted that, "domestic workers constitute one of the most disadvantaged and exploited sectors of the population" (V.S.W.; box 1, file 27b).

By 1983 the labour code had not been altered to include domestic workers under certain sections of Employment Standards such as, the Hours of Work Act, despite the pressure exerted for these changes during the 1970's. In a report entitled, "What This Country Did To Us It Did To Itself", Eleanor Watchel brought the concerns regarding lack of protection of domestic workers to the attention of the British Columbia Human Rights Commission. She noted that,

"... In reality, many women are paid less than the minimum wage .. and work considerably longer hours than indicated, and for no additional pay. "The stories of abuses are extensive : 15 -16
hour days; heavy work; racist remarks from employers; sexual harassment; little time off..." (B.C.H.R.C. 1983, 42).

The Domestic Worker's Union formed in 1982 to attempt to improve the conditions for domestic workers. Though this organization called itself a union it was not certified as domestics are not allowed to unionize. This group applied for a hearing in the Supreme Court of Canada claiming that lack of coverage under the British Columbia Employment Standards Act was a violation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Specifically, the union challenged the minimum daily wage for domestics instead of a minimum hourly wage. This is an important issue because domestics were not covered under the Hours of Work Act, and therefore were not paid overtime for hours in excess of 8 per day. The application for a case against the Department of the Attorney General was dismissed on the grounds that, "there was no violation of a common law right as domestics had contracted to work specified hours for specified wages." (Canadian Labour Law Reports 1984, 14,004). Though the petition was turned down the attempt indicates continued support for domestic workers in British Columbia.

Domestic workers continue to be denied coverage under Hours of Work Act (B.C. Employment Standards Act 1981 and the B.C. Employment Standards Bulletin 1987). However, the federal domestic worker\employer agreement indicates that the domestic
worker must be paid overtime for hours over 40 per week (8). It should be noted that a domestic worker almost always works over a 40 hours if she is hired to perform child care and adult household members are working. This is the case because the employers must travel to and from work. Assuming they too work an 8 hour day the time worked by a domestic worker must be more than 8 per day. Therefore, a domestic worker who is paid a minimum daily wage should almost always receive overtime. The frequency of long work days for domestic workers was raised during interviews with private agencies in Vancouver who recruit live-in domestics for Canadian households. The following excerpts involve the issue of payment for overtime. It is evident that the definition of the work day for domestics varies according to the agency as does the procedure for overtime compensation.

Agency 1: "We just tell the families that if you expect them to work over 40 hours give them extra or give them extra free time... um, it creates a lot of concerns for families - it’s crazy - it’s really unclear. What was happening before (the new employer\employee agreement) was that nannies were working 15 hours a day for minimum wage. I think they brought the new agreement in to change that... I don’t know if anyone enforces it. I’ve never known a nanny to enforce it yet. No one really knows what to do."

Agency 3: "When you talk to the Department of Labour they say that there is no set hours for a domestic."
Agency 4: "... most nannies work 8 - 10 hours a day because, if their employer is working they have travelling time. So... the salary is calculated on a ten hour day... when they sign the contract it tells them that they will be working so many hours. If they get here and they get wise, and talk to their friends they can fight for it (overtime). Chances are they'll lose their job and they'll go look someplace else 'cause the employers won't want to pay it."

Agency 6: "Manpower says domestics get overtime pay, but you call the Department of Labour ... they say they are not entitled to overtime pay. So there is some contradiction there... It is usually a 9 or 10 hour (work) day. You just can't get around that. I just say, 'well pay her a little more or give extra time off'. It is a give and take situation... I feel in most cases that it evens out."

The confusion over whether or not a domestic worker may receive overtime has been an issue of concern for the Domestic Workers Association (D.W.A.). The D.W.A. was formed in Vancouver in 1985 after the demise of the Domestic Workers Union. The D.W.A. attempts to publicize problems encountered by domestic workers, educates foreign domestics as to their rights in Canada, encourages them to take action against abusive employers, acts as an advocacy group on behalf of foreign domestics, and generally provides resources and support to those who work as live-in domestics. In a tape-recorded interview, the organizer of the group spoke to the issue of inadequate protection for domestic workers under Employment Standards,
"The most common problem is the lack of overtime protection in the Employment Standards Act. They can be made to work any number of hours in a day and still only receive the flat rate. They do end up working 12, 14, and 16 hour days ... they're working so hard they don't even have the opportunity to learn about their rights. We've thought about using Section 15 of the Charter (of Rights and Freedoms), the anti-discrimination clause, to argue that the section on overtime (in the Employment Standards Act) violates the Charter... We haven't done that because it takes a lot of money. Access (to the courts) is a real problem - they (domestic workers) don't have access (because the court system is costly). It's hard to monitor (the Agreement). There's no support for domestics at Employment Canada and they (domestics) are afraid to complain.

In an unrecorded interview with a senior official at the British Columbia Employment Standards Branch (B.C.E.S.B.) this point was raised. According to this representative from the B.C.E.S.B., the effectiveness of enforcing the overtime depends upon whether or not the federal agreement is considered legally binding, and therefore overrides the Employment Standards legislation. It was noted in the previous section that this agreement is not a contract and is not binding. Therefore, domestic workers are not guaranteed overtime pay. The domestic worker is given contradictory information regarding rights of employment in Canada. The lack of clarity, and the ambiguities between federal and provincial departments results in a continued lack of protection. This institutionalizes the powerless position of the domestic worker. The nature of the work, the requirement of live-in
service, and the lack of citizenship rights adds to their subordination and makes it unlikely that the temporary domestic worker would complain even if the labour laws were changed.

The organizer of the D.W.A. recalled a case of extreme abuse of a domestic worker. Part of the interview is included below to demonstrate the potential for abuse due to the isolated work environment and the problems encountered when the domestic worker vocalized complaints against her employers,

"One woman was never allowed out of the house and one of her employers, either the male or the female employer, was always in the house to keep as eye of her. She was not allowed access to a phone. The only phone was in the bedroom and they used to lock the door so she couldn't get to it. The woman (domestic worker) was assaulted for 18 months. She was assaulted on a regular basis by the male employer and verbally abused by the female employer and the children. She was forced to work 20 hours a day. She finally did escape the situation and criminal charges were brought. We did go to court and the charges were dismissed because the judge decided that the man was more credible than her. She had witnesses. There were the police who could testify as to the kind of aggressive and violent behavior they had witnessed in their dealings with him, although they hadn't personally witnessed any of the assaults that took place: There was a person who actually had seen the beatings and testified to that. She was never paid anything in the 18 months she had worked there - never paid anything. So she also had no money to escape. We brought an Employment Standards action on her behalf...Unfortunately, Employment Standards can only recover 6 months worth of wages and anything beyond that is beyond their jurisdiction. The problem in her case is that,
yes she could have gone to court and tried to recover the whole amount of money. However, because of the amount of money she would be asking to recover, she would have to go to County Court. In which case she would need a full-fledged lawyer, in which case it would cost money. In the end she had to end up settling for less money than even what she was owed for 6 months."

While this story of abuse is particularly severe it does draw attention to the isolation of domestic workers. These workers are vulnerable to crimes of domestic assault because they live and work in an isolated setting. They are economically and personally dependent upon their employer.

The demand for temporary domestic workers in British Columbia is increasing monthly. The numbers of requests for domestic workers and the numbers of foreign domestics entering the province have led to changes in Employment and Immigration procedures. In an unrecorded interview a senior official at the Foreign Workers Unit of Employment and Immigration in Vancouver stated that the processing of validated visas for domestic workers constitutes "at least one third of our workload". He also said that the Foreign Workers Unit had once handled renewals of temporary visas, but because of the volume of work the renewals now go through the Immigration office. Statistics provided during the interview and reprinted in Table 13 indicate the numbers of visas issued and renewed for foreign domestic workers on a monthly basis from October 1985 to April 1988. The figures show a constant rise in the number
of domestic workers entering and staying in the province. After April of 1988 the numbers declined somewhat. This is explained by the transfer of visa renewals from this department to Immigration.

The provincial data do not include a breakdown by source country. However, according to the official interviewed the majority of people entering B.C. under the Foreign Domestic Movement are Filipino. National data included in table 14 substantiates this claim. According to this table the Philippines is vastly over represented in 1987 in terms of both the number of new entrants and renewals. The combined total of entrance and renewals by source countries shows that there were 9,809 Filipino's as compared to only 1,774 people from England (the next ranked source country) who either entered Canada or renewed their visas under the F.D.M. in 1987. The department of Employment and Immigration officially states that the source country is regulated solely by employer demand" (Canada Employment and Immigration 1988, 2). This being the case the question can then be asked, why are Filipino domestic workers in such high demand? The next section answers this question.

Filipino Domestic Workers

Filipino women comprise a highly mobile and cheap labour force as a result of uneven economic development. The integration of the Philippines into the global economy has
resulted in urban industrial expansion for the purpose of export at the expense of rural development. The concentration of capital coupled with stagnation of the agricultural sector has given rise to a rural to urban population shift. The surplus labour available in urban centres, as a result of this pattern of migration, enables capital to pay low wages and lower the cost of production (Eviota 1986). Women comprise a large section of this surplus labour force. A lack of alternatives for women in rural areas forces them to migrate to cities where they are frequently employed in poor paying, temporary jobs (Eviota 1986, and Trager 1984).

The migration of women is seen as part of a family strategy as it is expected that a portion of the wage be sent home (Trager 1984). This pattern is not unique to the Philippines. According to Morokavic (1983) the migration of women form rural to urban centres is a common solution to the problem of uneven development within the newly industrialized countries. It is also common for women to be located in underpaid and part time jobs due to a lack of alternatives (Phizacklea 1983).

The high rate of unemployment resulting from the overpopulation in urban centres and the low rates of pay in jobs occupied by women creates an available pool of labour for core capitalist countries. The offer of work outside the country and the opportunity for higher wages are the factors behind labour migration. The further opportunity of gaining
landed immigrant status in Canada through migrating as a foreign domestic worker results in a steady supply of low cost domestic labour for Canadian households.

The recruitment agencies in Vancouver were asked to comment on the reasons why women enter Canada on temporary work authorization permits. Their responses support the literature on migration patterns of Filipino women. They also shed light on differences motivating women to work in Canada as live-in domestics according to country of origin.

Agency 1: They (Filipinos) want to come here because, um, in the countries where they are working offers them no chance of advancement and the working conditions aren't very good... compared to what they are in Canada. Ah, the average salary of teachers in the Philippines is $50.00 a month and if they're earning minimum wage here which gives them 462.00 a month in their pocket. I mean that's a pretty big increase... plus they send some of their money back home... So there's a pretty big incentive to come here and after 2 years they can apply for landed status... In three years I've only met one Filipino who told me she did not want to apply for landed status... I think all Filipinos, all women from the third world countries, um, this is a means to immigrate to Canada... On the other hand the Europeans, and the Australians too, are thinking of it more to perfect their English...and see another part of the world, and have a working holiday, and for some fun. They're not going to do the house keeping like the Filipino's do in general."

Agency 2: They (Filipinos) are here to stay. This is not necessarily true for Australians, New Zealanders, Europeans and British."
But, the girls from form third world countries, like the Philippines, are here hoping to have the opportunity to become Canadian. (Filipinos) .. feel that they are upgrading their life style and they can send money home. It is with the goal of coming to Canada and becoming a landed immigrant and being able to sponsor their family."

Agency 4: "Most of the Filipino, Trinidadian and Jamaican women are coming here for landed status. The Australian, New Zealand, European - no it's not their primary reason.. they don't have the goal of coming to Canada to immigrate...(Filipinos) get more here as a domestic that they do there as a nurse or a teacher."

Agency 5: "(Filipinos) want to leave (the Philippines) and make some money. It's more money then working as a teacher or any other job in the Philippines. You make more money in Hong Kong and Singapore than as a teacher in the Philippines. I have two sisters in Hong Kong. My youngest sister is a civil engineer who is working as a domestic in Hong Kong... Usually the Filipino families, it's not an obligation but they would like to send money back to their families -Everybody would like to get out. The men go to Saudi Arabia, the women go all over the world as nannies."

Agency 6: "I would say that the Filipino girls, they come with the plan of applying for landed status. The European girls, I think that they don't come with that plan. It is mainly that they come here for a year. They come for completely different reasons."

Connections may be drawn between reasons for coming to Canada and the likelihood of vocalizing complaints in the event that personal abuse or violation of the Agreement is experienced. The assumption is: if the goal is to achieve Landed Immigrant Status the domestic worker will fear
complaining in case she loses her job and/or is in disfavour with Immigration. This fear is well-grounded in light of the following excerpt from the Immigration manual,

"It is each domestic's responsibility to work toward achieving a satisfactory work performance rating from the employer; to integrate into the community and to establish themselves in Canadian society" (Canada Employment and Immigration 1988, 52).

The domestic worker is evaluated on the basis of work history and ability to assimilate into Canadian society. The effect of this expectation on the domestic worker is evident in interviews with the agencies. The agencies were asked to comment on the frequency of complaints put forth by domestics regarding conditions of employment and violation of the contract,

Agency 1: "The Filipinos don't like to complain to their employers"

Agency 2: "The Filipinos don't complain. They really want to stay here and can be treated very badly. I'm more comfortable with somebody who will pick up the phone and say this is what's wrong in the house... The Filipino's won't speak to their employers.

Agency 4: "It's a cultural thing... They (Filipino women) aren't used to talking about their feelings, you know, if they're being used or taken advantage of... Certainly they're wise to what they're supposed to be getting... They don't want to jeopardize themselves (with Immigration)."

Agency 5: "The (Filipino) girls are just new
over here. She wants to make a good impression to immigration. She doesn’t want to cause any problems. They don’t know any better."

The fear of Immigration and the importance of gaining landed status is echoed in interviews conducted by Silvera. Only three quotes are included to illustrate the point, but the desire to achieve landed status because of a lack of alternatives in the home country and the fear of immigration is a common theme throughout the interviews.

"Maybe if I go and complain they might tell me to go home. They might think I am a trouble maker. I am just sticking it out until I get my landed. But it is very hard work" (1984, 68).

"I know a lot of people say we shouldn’t come here and leave our children back home, but what else can we do. Our children have to eat... If I didn’t have to, I wouldn’t be here. At least here, I can send home money and clothes for them. At my age you can’t be too choosy, especially how I am on the work permit, it wouldn’t take anything for the government to deport me" (1984, 86).

"I just interested in saving my money to help my children and to get this landed here. I don’t know what to do. I know I not going back to Immigration to complain. For just the other day they deport a girl for changing her jobs two times in six months" (1984, 96).

Workers who perform live-in domestic service are referred to as domestics, nannies, and nanny-housekeepers. The various titles connote differences in status. The agencies were asked to elaborate on the meanings of these three terms including
the basis on which different titles are granted to workers within the F.D.M.

Agency 1: "... when a family wants a very professional, trained nanny they will hire an English nanny, but they can’t expect a lot of house-keeping. When they want somebody who will do light house-keeping, tidying, maybe preparing the evening meal, and lots of child care they’ll hire a European. If they want somebody who can do all the house-keeping and maybe they have babies or small children they’ll hire the Filipino’s ..."

Agency 2: "I think if you were talking about a Filipino you would probably use the term domestic, and if you were talking about Australia, New Zealand it’s nanny house-keeper, and if you were talking about a plain nanny it’s someone who only does the work for the children. If it was me they (employers) were talking to they would definitely know the difference because if you hired somebody that’s an N.N.E.B. (National Nursery Examination Board) form Britain and you ask her to do the housework she’s not going to do it for you."

Agency 3: "I would say that, uh, a real professional nanny is a girl that’s taken for instance, like, an N.N.E.B. course in England - They come out of England."

Agency 4: "A domestic is a general term for a nanny house-keeper\ cook\ driver whatever. A nanny, a true nanny is looking after the children only. A nanny house-keeper which is what most people are doing in the Vancouver area is looking after the children and doing the house-keeping"

Agency 6: "They all fall under the domestic category. Of course there is a difference. Like the British girls for instance, a lot of them are trained nannies. That means that they have an N.N.E.B. course which is a 2 year training program. Now they all work as nannies and do house-keeping so they are not classified as a domestic. As far as the law in Canada is
concerned they fall under the same category, but their duties are different."

It is clear that the title attached to the person performing the work varies according to country of origin. The element of training has an impact on the status attached to the person performing the work. Attitudes of professionalism and quality child care are associated with training and formal education. These are attributed to British "nannies" who have taken the N.N.E.B. courses. One would reasonably expect that live-in domestic workers from Britain would be in high demand since one of the primary reasons for hiring a domestic is a solution to the problem of adequate and affordable child care. However, according to the data presented in Table 5 this is not the case. The following responses indicate why Filipino domestic workers are preferred over women migrating from other countries.

Agency 1: "The Filipinos tend to be quite domesticated in their upbringing... it's their whole nature. They are a little more subservient, whether families want to treat them like that or not it's their whole nature - so families like that - they like to know that they are going to have someone who's going to be hard working... They're (Filipinos) are great with kids. They really like small children. They're very loving, they're very calm. A lot of families though with older children don't want Filipinos because Filipino's have a problem with discipline. They're too loving, they're not firm enough with the kids, but with young families they're great and so they have a big demand."
Agency 3: "Filipino people stay the longest. They don’t go out at night, they’re not as social. Young girls from Europe are lively. They put great input into the children, but they’re social animals. They don’t want be baby sitting. They’re out the door. They want to go out where Filipinos send their money home to their families. It’s a quieter living girl in your home, and not only that, they’re better house keepers and laundresses.

Agency 4: "The chances of having them fill their contractual obligations are much better, uh, the Filipino and Jamaican women, because most of them, 99.99% of them are working towards a future in Canada. They will be more loyal and more conscientious. Filipinos, you could eat off the floor they’re that clean. For some people that’s a priority. Filipino’s as a rule are very quiet people. They would not get overly friendly and, um, get friends with the extended family members and all of that.

Agency 6: "... If families have a new born baby and they want the house-keeping done Filipino girls are great with the house keeping. But, if families have school age children ... who are involved in other activities and they need to be driven. There needs to be a lot of interaction and (also) Filipino girls don’t drive. So in those cases most of the time a family will prefer to get a European girl.

This illustrates the connection between place of migration and title given to those who preform live-in domestic labour, as well as qualities that are attached to domestic workers depending on country of origin. Personality traits and "natural" abilities are attributed based on stereotypes. It is evident from these interviews that employers are made aware that Filipino women are willing to perform all aspects of domestic labour. Furthermore, the
message given is that domestic workers from the Philippines have a vested interest in staying in Canada, and therefore are likely to work harder and longer hours. The differences in reasons for coming to Canada on a temporary permit become significant in terms of the conditions of employment encountered by live-in domestics. Divisions are created among the migrant domestic population through labels and expectations.

The reasons for migrating to Canada are crucial to understanding how the Filipino woman becomes packaged as a domestic worker. A working visa and a chance to gain landed status in Canada presents a vehicle of mobility to Filipino women and their families abroad. This category of domestic workers represents an available pool of low cost migrant labour. Low wages and high unemployment in the Philippines forces labour to remain mobile and to migrate across international boundaries. Countries experiencing a labour shortage in particular areas of employment are able to draw upon this reserve which guarantees a supply of cheap labour. The relationship between the countries supplying migrant labour and those countries where specific types of labour is in demand is one of unequal dependency.

Conclusion

Characteristics ascribed to Filipino women who migrate to as domestic labourers serve as a justification for the work
they perform and the status they receive. They are considered to have personal characteristics which make them suitable for the most devalued of domestic tasks. The underlying causes of migration for these women are obscured. The Filipino domestic worker is constructed as appropriate for certain types of domestic labour as part of a social process. Reasons for migrating place them in a position of need and dependence. This in turn emphasizes the lack of power structurally in place due to the denial of political rights. The underlying causes of migration and the nature of migrant labour force Filipino women to accept poor working conditions (9).

This is interpreted by the agencies who work on the behalf of the employer, as "natural" personality traits of hard work, loyalty. The Filipino worker is then associated with subservience and obedience. The isolated nature of the work environment and personal connections between the domestic worker and the employer creates an environment where Filipino women are vulnerable to both the potential for personal abuse and violation of the Agreement. They are particularly vulnerable because of their need to stay.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

Several points have been raised in the preceding discussion. In general it can be stated that domestic workers, who migrate to Canada for the purpose of providing two years of service for private households, are at risk of experiencing abusive treatment. The work they are hired to perform is attributed low status and is associated with conditions of servitude. Domestic work has historically been performed by either unpaid housewives or servants, it is considered servile labour, and is often not defined as real work.

The increasing need for domestic help as greater numbers of Canadian women enter the labour force acts as a catalyst for a rise in the number of women migrating to Canada as domestic workers. Canadian women have historically resisted domestic service because of the reasons cited above. Additionally, the day to day reality of domestic work makes the job unattractive for those who have other options. Paid work in the home obfuscates the distinction between wage work and personal service. Privacy is non-existent and outside monitoring of work conditions is impossible. The worker is isolated from others performing the same labour, and therefore the possibility of forming work collectives is non-existent. If problems between the employer and the domestic worker
develop the onus is on the individual worker to complain. But to whom?

It has been repeatedly stated that the worker is dependent upon her employer for shelter, a job, and a positive reference to present to Immigration when applying for Landed Immigrant Status. It is unlikely, therefore, that the domestic will complain to the employer if she wishes to remain in Canada. In addition, the employer is in a dominant position and does not have to realize or validate the complaints presented.

The domestic worker may also vocalize problems to the Department of Employment and Immigration. This would seem to be an appropriate option since domestic workers are brought into the country on a visa issued by this government agency. The federal government department that deals with foreign domestic workers no longer has the time to handle complaints from visa workers, and instead refers them to the main Immigration office (see chapter four). It is unlikely, if they want to receive landed status, that domestic workers will contact Immigration in the event of problems with the employer. The stipulations included on the work visa allow for the possibility of deportation. This, coupled with the need to stay for many of these workers, makes it unlikely that they will go to Immigration to lodge a complaint against their employer.

The third option is to report a violation of the work
agreement to Employment Standards. It has been noted throughout that domestic workers are excluded from parts of the Employment Standards Act. Even if the complaint does fall under a section of the Act that includes live-in domestics, the chances are minimal that action will be taken. It is often the domestic's word against the employer. The final problem with lodging a complaint against an employer is that the domestic worker usually lacks the resources to take the employer to court. For these reasons the live-in domestic worker, who is in Canada on a temporary work authorization permit, is in a weak position vis-a-vis the employer and Immigration.

The ability for the migrant domestic worker to vocalize complaints is minimal, and the dependence on the employer is entrenched. The demand for migrant domestic workers can be understood in this light for two reasons. First, the indigenous labour force is unwilling to perform the work, and therefore an alternative source of labour is accessed. The use of foreign workers has been a solution to the chronic shortage of domestics since the turn of the century. Second, the nature of migrant labour and the temporary work authorization permit keep the wages of these workers depressed. The relatively low cost of live-in workers maintains the high demand.

The area of recruitment of domestics varies historically. In general, the supply originates in countries where there are few employment opportunities and no option except to migrate
in search of work. The reasons behind the migration of labour places this group of workers in a position of dependence. At present, the majority of foreign domestics in Canada are from the Philippines. Domestic workers are also recruited from various other areas, such as, the Caribbean, Great Britain, western Europe, and Australia.

According to the interviews transcribed in chapter four, women migrate as domestic workers for a variety of reasons. However, commonalities behind the decision to migrate are evident depending upon the area of migration. It was noted that the women who migrate from the Philippines do so as part of a family strategy. Conditions in the Philippines, and the lack of available options, necessitates the splitting of families in search of employment and higher wages. In this sense the migration of women from the Philippines can not be seen as a free choice. It is a decision made under a specific set of conditions. The chance of emigrating to Canada with the possibility of landed status after a two year period attracts many of these women to Canada.

It is important to consider the problems experienced by Filipino women as a structural, as opposed to a personal, or cultural issue. The causes of migration and Canada’s migrant labour policy clearly place those with a need to remain in Canada in a vulnerable position. Interviews taken from Silvera’s book, *Silenced*, allow comparisons to be made between domestics from the West Indies and the Philippines in terms of
their structural position in Canada. The women interviewed by Silvera typically came to Canada with the plan to apply for landed status. They frequently remained in work settings where they experienced poor conditions and treatment. In addition, they expressed a fear of complaining and confronting Immigration because they felt it jeopardized their chance of gaining landed status. In contrast to the situation motivating women from the West Indies and the Philippines to migrate, my interviews with the recruiting agencies and the Foreign Workers Unit make it clear that domestics from core capitalist countries migrate with the intention of returning to their home country. Since the need to maintain a positive immigration record is not as intense the degree of dependence on the employer is somewhat lessened.

**Policy Implications**

It has been argued throughout this thesis that domestic workers are located in a structurally powerless position. Therefore, changes to the existing temporary work authorization permit will do little to improve the position of these workers. The requirement of two years live-in service, and the pre-signing of the agreement before the domestic worker arrives in Canada serves to control these workers, and institutionalizes the dominant/subordinate relationship between the employer and domestic worker. Moreover, the fact that the agreement is not legally binding, means that the
domestic worker is not protected should the terms of the agreement be violated. On the other hand, the threat of deportation, and the personal relationship with the employer, prevents the domestic worker from exerting the same degree of freedom in breaking the "contract".

In light of the problems with the Foreign Domestic Movement it is suggested that the temporary work authorization permit be abolished. Foreign workers wishing to migrate to Canada as domestic workers should be granted Landed Immigrant Status immediately. Those who apply for the F.D.M. are evaluated within the criteria of the point system before being granted a work visa, and are given the chance to apply for landed status in Canada after two years. Therefore, it appears that the only reason for the conditional two year period as a migrant worker is to ensure that the worker remain in this type of employment. In this way the state manages to answer a public demand for paid domestic labour and adequate child care. The alternative is accessible, quality day care which is costly to the state. For this reason it is unlikely that the F.D.M. will be discontinued in the near future.

The continuation of the F.D.M. will continue to keep live-in domestic workers in a structurally powerless position. While recognizing this, certain changes can be made that may improve the daily living conditions of foreign domestics in Canada, and Vancouver in particular. First, provincial labour laws must be changed to include domestic workers under all of
the Employment Standards Act, including compensation for overtime. Those who perform domestic labour, whether on a live-in or live-out basis, must be guaranteed rights as workers. Although the enforcement of labour laws will remain difficult due to the nature of the workplace, the change in legislation may prevent some abuse from occurring. In addition, the coverage under labour laws may assist those who are in a position to vocalize and act on complaints. Third, the stipulation placed on the visa that dictates the types of courses domestics are permitted to take must be removed. Through this it may be possible for these workers to move away from domestic service once they achieve landed status. Fourth, migrant domestic workers should be made familiar with the limited rights they do have. The increasing number of foreign domestics necessitates a service to handle the special problems particular to these workers. Finally, the Employer\Domestic Worker Agreement should be a contract, and as such should be legally binding. As with changes to employment standards legislation the effectiveness of this is debatable. However, it at least gives some power, however slight to domestic workers.

Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis adds to the existing literature on migrant domestic workers by considering differences within the population based on country of migration. While this study
serves as a useful point of departure, an in-depth analysis is beyond the scope of this research. It is suggested that more work be done on this topic. The reasons why these workers are difficult to access is precisely why they should be given greater consideration. Their vulnerability and isolation necessitates continued consideration.

In 1981 the Temporary Work Authorization Permit was altered to allow domestic workers to apply for Landed Immigrant Status from within Canada. Chapter four shows that many visa workers migrate to Canada for this reason. The number of women gaining landed status after working two years as domestics is increasing, indicating that for many migration is viewed as a step toward permanent settlement. It would be interesting to monitor the program to see if the restrictions on migrant workers will tighten to reduce the number of migrant women permitted to remain in Canada. This would involve a review of Canadian immigration from a broader perspective.

Women's wage work in Canada is also an issue here and requires greater attention. The absence of adequate, socialized day care, and the federal government's lack of fiscal attention to this issue have serious ramifications regarding the participation of women in the labour market. As long as women continue to remain primarily responsible for child care they will encounter an interrupted career pattern, and will be secondary members in the labour force.
In light of the need for paid domestic labour, including child care, migrant domestic workers provide an important role for Canadian households that are in a position to afford them. However, like unpaid domestic labour, the work and the worker are devalued. The many disadvantages that live-in domestics potentially encounter necessitates continued research in this area.
ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. For a discussion and critical review of the domestic labour debate see Roberta Hamilton and Michele Barrett eds., The Politics of Diversity (Quebec: Basic Books Inc., 1986) and Michele Barrett, Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis (Great Britain: Redwood Burn Ltd., 1980).

2. The potential for collective bargaining is further diminished for domestic workers because they work in an isolated environment. The nature of the workplace prevents them from organizing as they are physically isolated from one another.

CHAPTER 2

3. For an explanation of dual labour market theory and, the secondary labour market in particular, as they relate to domestic workers see Louise Renaud, "A Study in the Persistence of Poor Working Conditions and Low Status: Immigrant Domestic Workers in Canada" (Carleton University 1984).

CHAPTER 3

4. See Gillian Creese, "The Politics of Dependence: Women, Work, and Unemployment in the Vancouver Labour Movement before World War II" In Class, Gender and Region: Essays in Canadian Historical Sociology, Gregory Kealey ed. (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History 1988), 134-138. Creese discusses the political and labour union activity of Canadian women during the 1930's. Although my thesis does not document the resistance of women to economic marginalization it is important to note.

5. Refer to chapter two for more information regarding the increasing need for a dual income earning household and the affect of this on women and domestic labour.

CHAPTER 4

6. The Point System was developed by the Department of Immigration in 1967. It consists of a set of criteria that is used to evaluate prospective immigrants to Canada. For a
brief, concise description of the point system see "Domestic Worker's on Employment Authorizations." (Canada Employment and Immigration 1980), 19-20.

7. The rate of pay for live-in domestic workers in Canada varies according to the number of people in the household. For live-in workers in British Columbia the salary range as of July 1, 1988 is as follows: the gross amount for four people in the household is $783.00 per month. Total income tax deducted is $65.75 and a further $225.00 is deducted for room and board. The resulting net salary = $462.40 per month. For each additional household member an extra $50.00 per month is added to the gross salary. This information was supplied through unrecorded interviews with officials of the Foreign Worker's Unit and the Employment Standards Branch.

8. The increase in leisure time is more a factor in the experience of women than men. See chapter one and two for a discussion on the unequal responsibility for domestic labour between men and women.

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APPENDIX A

Tables
Table 1: Percentage Distribution, of Women in the Labour Force, 15 Years of Age and Over, by Occupational Division 1901-1961 Censuses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women as a % of the labour force</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>42.49</td>
<td>44.16</td>
<td>54.09</td>
<td>49.47</td>
<td>46.09</td>
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<td>32.58</td>
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<td>45.14</td>
<td>50.14</td>
<td>56.69</td>
<td>61.50</td>
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<td>25.98</td>
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<td>38.34</td>
<td>40.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>24.81</td>
<td>25.49</td>
<td>24.05</td>
<td>18.70</td>
<td>19.04</td>
<td>18.74</td>
<td>16.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Service</td>
<td>71.70</td>
<td>66.76</td>
<td>68.70</td>
<td>69.55</td>
<td>72.85</td>
<td>64.13</td>
<td>66.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Female Labour Force Participation Rates By Age: Canada 1921-1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>14-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>34-44</th>
<th>45-54</th>
<th>55-64</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Major Occupational Shortages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Maids and Domestics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Maids and Domestics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Maids and Domestics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Garment Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Equipment Repairmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Equipment Repairmen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Labour Force Participation, 1970-1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women 000's</th>
<th>Men 000's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2,824</td>
<td>5,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2,972</td>
<td>5,667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>3,101</td>
<td>5,797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>3,303</td>
<td>5,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>3,477</td>
<td>6,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>6,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>3,836</td>
<td>6,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>3,996</td>
<td>6,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>4,239</td>
<td>6,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>4,420</td>
<td>6,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>4,638</td>
<td>6,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>4,851</td>
<td>7,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>4,926</td>
<td>7,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>5,084</td>
<td>7,098</td>
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</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participation Rates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>66.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With at least one child less than 3 years</td>
<td>85.2</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td>83.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without Children less than 3 years but at least one aged 3-5 years</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>97.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without children less than 6 years but at least one aged 6-15 years</td>
<td>96.4</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>97.1</td>
<td>97.1</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>96.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without children less than 16 years</td>
<td>95.2</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>95.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>71.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With at least one child less than 3 years</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without children less than 3 years but at least one aged 3-5 years</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without children less than 6 years but at least one aged 6-15 years</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without children less than 16 years</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without children less than 16 years</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>8,782</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>9,268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>3,207</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>3,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>9,984</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>10,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>3,993</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>4,128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Employment by Occupational Group, 1975 and 1983. (top five occupations for women included)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women as % of Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Largest Occupations of Women, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Total Labour Force (000's)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secretaries</td>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeepers</td>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salespersons</td>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tellers and Cashiers</td>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitresses</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Clerks</td>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typists</td>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaners</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Employment Authorizations Issued by Gender 1987.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>New Entrants</th>
<th>Extensions</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>7,990</td>
<td>11,854</td>
<td>19,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender not stated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,175</td>
<td>12,171</td>
<td>20,346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Revenue From C.P.P. and U.I.C. Premiums Paid By Domestics on Temporary Work Authorizations and Their Employers 1973-1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>527,472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1,049,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1,644,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1,999,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>2,159,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1,910,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1,996,969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11,288,751</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Total Landings of Foreign Domestics Processed in Canada and Abroad, by Top Ten Source Countries (1987).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Overall Total Landed</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>in 1987</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Republic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Foreign Domestic Movement: Issuance of Employment Authorizations 1982-1987

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New</td>
<td>4,327</td>
<td>3,569</td>
<td>4,390</td>
<td>5,021</td>
<td>6,875</td>
<td>8,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renewals</td>
<td>9,965</td>
<td>12,138</td>
<td>11,375</td>
<td>9,237</td>
<td>9,177</td>
<td>12,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14,292</td>
<td>15,707</td>
<td>15,765</td>
<td>14,258</td>
<td>16,052</td>
<td>20,346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Foreign Domestic Movement Validations Issued by the Foreign Workers Unit in Vancouver

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>F.D.M. Validations Issued</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>348 (417) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>357 (428)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>349 (419)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>310 (372)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>301 (361)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>371 (445)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Canada Employment and Immigration (unpublished data). Reprinted by permission of the Foreign Worker’s Unit.

*Figures after April 1988 do not include visa renewals. Bracketed figures are adjusted by 20% to include renewals.
Table 14: Employment Authorizations in 1987  
By Top Ten Source Countries: New Entrants and Renewals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Country</th>
<th>New Entrants and Renewals</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>9,809</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>1,774</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Republic</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                     | 15,574                    |      |
Other Countries           | 4,772                     |      |
Grand Total               | 20,346                    |      |

APPENDIX B

Domestic Foreign Worker\ Employee Agreement
PART I

Is the Foreign Domestic Worker related to the employer? YES  NO
If YES, please specify relationship: 
Number of persons living in the household: 

SALARY BEFORE DEDUCTIONS $ per month/ROOM & BOARD DEDUCTIONS $ per month

1. HOURS OF WORK: Normal hours of work will not exceed 40 hours per week, based on a 5 day work week. Employer agrees to provide two weeks paid annual vacation or 4% of the annual salary, as well as time off with pay for all statutory holidays. Any work in the excess of 40 hours weekly will be paid as overtime.

2. TRAINING ALLOWANCE: Employers will be required to:
   a) allow the foreign worker at least 3 hours per week, at a time that is mutually convenient, in addition to normal days of rest. This will enable domestic to follow a training program of self-improvement leading to self-sufficiency in Canada.
   b) the employer agrees to contribute, in addition to regular remuneration, $20.00 a month of the cost of training, whichever is the lesser, to help defray the cost of such training.

3. DUTIES:
   a) COOKING: (please underline compulsory duties and add any others)
      Preparation of breakfast, lunch, dinner  No cooking
      Wash dishes  Kitchen clean-up
      Special dietary requirements
      Assisting in catering/serving for in-home social functions
      Specify others: 
   b) CHILDCARE: List age of children: BOYS  GIRLS
      The employee will be required to escort children to school, medical appointments, lessons, etc. YES  NO
      Are there behavioral or health problems in the household? YES  NO
      If YES, please specify: 
      The employee will be required to supervise children's homework? YES  NO
3. c) TRAVEL: The employee will be required to travel? YES _____ NO _____

Will the employee be required to take charge of the household while employer is travelling away from home? YES _____ NO _____

(Please note: A domestic worker is considered to be working if required to be on the premises. Any hours in excess of 40 hours weekly will be paid as overtime).

4. HOUSEKEEPING: (please underline compulsory duties and add any others)

a) The employee will be responsible for:
laundry | sweeping | ironing | bed making | vacuuming
   dusting | washing floors, walls, windows | bathroom clean-up
   general tidying | picking up toys
   please specify others: __________________________________________________

Is this a shared responsibility? YES _____ NO _____ With Whom? ______

b) Underline major appliances to be used by the employee:
   stove | refrigerator | freezer | trash compactor
   dishwasher | gas burner | vacuum | microwave oven
   washer/dryer | other: ________________________________

Description of the apartment or house which is to be maintained: approximate square footage __________________ OR square metres ________________

Number of bedrooms ___________________ Total number of rooms ___________________

Please describe the employee's accommodation: ________________________________

5. ELDERLY OR HANDICAPPED CARE:

Is there a disabled person in the household? YES _____ NO _____

If YES, please specify what family member and the disability: ________________________________

Please underline compulsory duties: bathing; dressing; lifting; wheelchair assistance; incontinence; specify others: __________________________________________________

Is the employee required to give medication? YES _____ NO _____

If YES, please specify: __________________________________________________

6. MISCELLANEOUS:

a) Is the employee responsible for grocery shopping? YES _____ NO _____

b) Is the employee required to have or obtain a driver's license? YES _____ NO _____

c) Are both parents working outside the home? YES _____ NO _____

d) Is this a single parent household: YES _____ NO _____

If YES, is the parent Male ________ Female ________

e) Is the employee required to care for pets? YES _____ NO _____

If YES, please specify the number and kind of pets and the duties involved: ________________________________

I certify that the above information is accurate. I understand that the foreign domestic worker I have chosen is required to:

1. Be well experienced as a domestic worker (outside of her own home).
2. Have suitable references.
3. Have reasonable fluency in either of Canada's official languages.

SIGNATURE OF THE EMPLKYER ________________________________ DATE ____________

PART III: To be completed by the Employer

I have read the job offer and the job description and accept the terms and conditions as outlined.

SIGNATURE OF THE EMPLOYER ________________________________ DATE ____________

PART IV: For official use only.

I have examined this foreign worker document and have determined that the employment of this foreign worker under the conditions stated above will not adversely affect employment opportunities for Canadian Citizens or Permanent Residents in Canada.

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICER ________________________________ DATE ____________