



Jon G. Malek

FILIPINOS IN CANADA

Editor: Marlene Epp,
Conrad Grebel University College
University of Waterloo

Series Advisory Committee:
Laura Madokoro, McGill University
Jordan Stanger-Ross, University of Victoria
Sylvie Taschereau, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières

Copyright © the Canadian Historical Association
Ottawa, 2021

Published by the
Canadian Historical Association with the support of the
Department of Canadian Heritage, Government of Canada

ISSN: 2292-7441 (print)
ISSN: 2292-745X (online)
ISBN: 978-0-88798-317-7

Jon Malek B.A. and M.A. (University of Manitoba), PhD (Western
University). Jon currently teaches at the University of Manitoba.

Cover image:
Filipina garment workers in Holland departing for employment
in Canada, 1976.
Photographer: Perla Javate.

FILIPINOS IN CANADA

Jon G. Malek

All rights reserved. No part of this publication
maybe reproduced, in any form or by any electronic
or mechanical means including information storage and
retrieval systems, without permission in writing from
the Canadian Historical Association.

Ottawa, 2021

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

**IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY
IN CANADA SERIES**

BOOKLET NO. 38

Introduction

In 2012, the *Winnipeg Free Press* published a story with the headline “Can you say that in Tagalog?” reporting that, for the first time since Lord Selkirk arrived in the Red River Valley over 200 years ago, a non-European and non-Indigenous language was one of the two most spoken languages in the city, surpassing even French.¹ This was a result of the dramatic rise of Filipinos in Canada, whose population rose from 662,605 in 2011 to 837,130 in 2016, comprising 2.4 percent of the national population. This community is part of a larger diaspora that has grown to encompass over 221 different countries. According to the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), an office of the President of the Philippines, there were 10.2 million Filipinos overseas in 2013. This includes 4.8 million permanent migrants, 4.2 million temporary migrants, and 1.2 million irregular migrants.² Data compiled by the CFO indicate how far-flung the diaspora has become, with Filipino emigrants in the United States, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Malaysia, Canada, Australia, Italy, United Kingdom, Qatar, and Singapore.³ The Filipino community’s growth in Canada has been part of the shifting source of immigrants from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Up until 2020, the Philippines was Canada’s number one source country, with China and India next; it has since fallen due to the end of the Live-in Care Giver program, discussed later in this booklet. The significance of this community was recognized by the Canadian government in October 2018 when Parliament declared June, the month in which the Philippines declared its independence in 1898, as Filipino Heritage Month.

To understand and appreciate the Filipino community in Canada, it is vital to understand changing conditions surrounding labour opportunities in the Philippines. Just as early immigration to Canada

¹ The article seems to neglect the many Indigenous languages that were spoken in the Red River Valley within the same 200-year period.

² By the very nature of the title “irregular migrants,” which are those who migrate outside of the laws, regulations, or international agreements governing migration, these numbers are very difficult to track. Likely, this number is considerably larger.

³ This data is from 2013, the last year that the CFO published such data until such time that a new framework for the collection of data on Filipinos overseas is approved by the Philippine Statistics Authority.

met the labour needs of burgeoning industries such as agriculture, the railway, and mining, so too did the early Filipino community in Canada fulfill a labour supply in the healthcare, education, and garment manufacturing industries.

Demographic Profile of Filipinos in Canada

In 2010, the Philippines surpassed China and India as the top source country for immigrants to Canada and held that position until 2020, when it fell to third due to the end of the Live-in Caregiver Program in 2019. This decline suggests how important this stream was to Filipino immigration, but the continued status of Filipino immigrants also suggests how entrenched Canada is in Philippine emigration patterns. In 2020, the Philippines accounted for 38,614 immigrants, up from 28,572 in the previous year. These immigration flows have distinct geographic characteristics, both in terms of where Filipinos tend to settle, and under what immigration streams they enter.

Typically, studies of Filipino immigration have focused on Vancouver, Toronto, and Montréal, although in recent years Winnipeg has drawn the attention of scholars who note the unique characteristics of Filipino immigration to the Prairie urban centre. These four urban centres saw steady and significant growth from 1996 to 2016, as seen in Table 1. Table 2 shows that in 2016 Winnipeg had the largest Filipino community in Canada in terms of per capita immigration, even though it had the third largest population of Filipinos, behind Toronto and Vancouver. The per capita formulation of Filipinos in Toronto and Vancouver has become nearly half that of Winnipeg. From the period 1980-2009, Toronto received 48.4 percent of Filipino immigrants, while Vancouver saw 22.7 percent of arrivals, and Winnipeg 11.8 percent. While most cities with a significant Filipino population had large numbers enter through the Live-in Caregiver program from its inception in 1992 until its terminus in 2019, Winnipeg did not traditionally see arrivals through this stream. Instead, the community grew largely through other labour streams such as healthcare and the garment industry, and with family sponsorship and the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program.

Table 1 – Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) population of people with Filipino ethnicity.

Census Year	Vancouver	Winnipeg	Toronto	Montréal
1996	42,475	26,085	102,525	14,965
2001	57,025	30,095	133,675	17,890
2006	78,890	36,935	171,980	23,510
2011	120,645	56,675	230,075	30,215
2016	123,170	73,875	254,475	33,050

Table 2 – Canada’s largest Filipino communities in CMAs and their per capita ratio (2016 Canadian Census).

City	Filipino Population	Total Population	Per Capita
Montréal	33,050	4,098,927	0.81%
Toronto	254,475	5,928,040	4.29%
Vancouver	123,170	2,463,431	5.40%
Winnipeg	73,875	778,489	9.49%

Table 1 demonstrates the ordering of the largest Filipino communities in Canada, which has not changed in the twenty-year period listed. These numbers demonstrate that Canada, and these four CMAs, remain popular destinations for Filipino immigrants. Table 2 adds a different perspective to the population sizes in 2016 by highlighting the per capita concentration of Filipino residents. In this view, Winnipeg overshadows the other three CMAs.

Background in the Philippines

Sustained Filipino immigration to Canada began in the 1960s and increased in volume following the 1967 Canadian immigration reforms that removed the overt restrictions based upon race and geographical origin. The steady increase of Filipino immigration in this period was tied to economic needs in both Canada and the Philippines. Today, approximately 10 percent of the Philippine population works abroad

and their remittances — financial transfers to the Philippines — are responsible for 10 percent of the country's GDP. Since the 1970s, the Philippine state has relied upon overseas remittances to keep its economy afloat, a phenomenon that has resulted in a lack of willingness to enact meaningful reforms needed in the country's economy. Much of the Philippines' population is engaged in unsatisfactory and informal labour environments, leading thousands of Filipinos a day to leave the country to find work. Known in the Philippines as Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), many are working abroad on work contracts, with others seeking permanent residency and citizenship in countries such as Canada.

At the end of the Pacific War in 1946, the Philippines' immediate economic outlook was positive. Foreign investments were increasing while industry grew in the Philippines. However, problems stemming from land holding patterns resulting from the Spanish (1571-1898) and American (1898-1946) colonial periods, allowed Philippine elites to further expand their control of the economy, which remained largely agricultural. This gradual stagnation, exacerbated by the oil crisis of the 1970s, signaled the rapid decline of the Philippine economy. As the economy worsened, political insurgency in the south of the country led to increased domestic tensions.

This collapse of the postwar Philippine economy was linked to American economic intervention following the Pacific War, during which the Philippines was severely damaged. As for the postwar Japanese economy, the United States made capital investments in the Philippines that initially stimulated internal growth and led to a robust manufacturing and export industry. Much of this was a continuation of practices from prewar Philippines that promoted the production and export of raw goods needed for American industry, such as sugar, coconuts, abaca, timber, rubber, and pineapple. By encouraging a growing export-oriented agriculture and giving American consumer goods an advantage over locally produced goods, American economic policy in the Philippines severely stunted the development of a diversified internal economy.

At the same time as American investment in the Philippines was portrayed as supporting the country's reconstruction, these actions were also strategic to American interests in securing an Asian base to counter a perceived Soviet threat and securing economic interests in

the country's economy. For example, the United States provided 620 million dollars, of which only 120 million was actually devoted to the repair of the Philippines' infrastructure. The impact of this was not a restructuring of the Philippine economy, but rather a continuation of the same unequal distribution of land and wealth that was characteristic since the Spanish colonial period. By the mid-1950s, the economy experienced a slowdown in growth as many of the Philippine-based industries were unable to expand beyond a limited domestic market and to absorb an expanding labour force of about 700,000 new workers a year. With a failed internal economy, the Philippines was encumbered by a mounting balance of payments deficit from overseas borrowing, and throughout the 1960s the International Monetary Fund and World Bank intervened in the Philippine economy. Citing economic success in Korea, these institutions suggested that a policy of export-oriented industrialization would result in rapid industrial growth.

Under the presidential regime of Ferdinand Marcos (1965-1986), a number of measures were put in place to enact these changes. President Marcos experienced political resistance to some of his reforms, and some argue that this — as well as a series of attacks in the capital Manila by Philippine militants — led to the proclamation of Martial Law on September 21, 1972. This gave Marcos emergency and dictatorial powers that allowed him to unilaterally enact legislative and economic reforms. With constitutional hurdles removed from President Marcos' reform program, the accelerated expansion of an export-oriented industrialization was possible. Marcos also brought about a major reworking of the labour system within the country that relied upon the maxim that population migration is a 'natural' response to regional situations. During the period of Marcos' Martial Law presidency, which lasted until February 1986, a State Migratory Apparatus (SMA) gradually developed. This was a collection of government ministries and agencies that worked to facilitate the out-migration of Filipinos to find work abroad. Some argue that the SMA, far from government claims of allowing Filipinos the independence of choosing to work abroad, was a social pressure valve that allowed Marcos to forestall labour market reforms by funneling Filipinos out of the country, while benefitting from financial remittances of these overseas workers that stimulated the economy.

Since the period of Martial Law, the growth of the Philippine state migratory apparatus has continued, with the number of overseas Filipino workers reaching extraordinary levels. In addition to remittances comprising 10 percent of the annual GDP, the importance of Filipinos abroad is demonstrated by the existence of the Commission of Filipinos Overseas (CFO), a government body that tracks Filipinos living abroad, including those who have become citizens of other countries. The CFO prepares Filipinos for life abroad by requiring emigrants, temporary or permanent, to register for pre-departure orientation seminars to introduce information on travel regulations, immigration procedures, cultural differences with host societies, settlement concerns, employment and social security concerns, and the rights and obligations of Filipino migrants. The CFO also maintains active relationships with Filipinos living overseas, encouraging remittances and other overseas support. The combination of poor economic opportunities at home and a government system that encourages and facilitates labour migration has led to the development of what has been called an “ethos of labour migration.” This ethos, characterized by a willingness to migrate and a belief that overseas employment is the key to a better future, was fostered by the colonial history of the Philippines and was intensified by recent partnerships between states and employment agencies, including a number of Canadian provinces. It is this context of stunted economic development, and poor employment opportunities in the Philippines that has, in part, driven Filipino immigration to Canada since the 1960s.

Periods of Filipino Migration to Canada

Early Twentieth Century, 1904-1945

From the late nineteenth century until the 1960s, Canadian immigration policy explicitly limited the entry of Asian persons except in exceptional circumstances. The reasoning was rooted in the racist and xenophobic belief that they would be unassimilable into Canadian society and that their presence would cause tension in communities. This latter point meant, of course, that segments of Canada’s white population could not live alongside Asian neighbours. Canadian historiography has critically analyzed Canada’s period of Asian

exclusionary laws from the 1880s to after the Second World War, an era that included such notorious events and measures as: the Chinese Head Tax; Japan's "Gentleman's Agreement" with Canada, that implemented a voluntary quota of Japanese emigrants; the incarceration of Japanese Canadians during the Pacific War (1942-1945); and the Komagata Maru incident, in which a ship of economic immigrants from India were turned away from the west coast in 1914. What is less understood, however, is the place of other Asian ethnic migrants in this history of exclusionary laws. Most studies of Filipino migration tend to use the 1960s as a starting point, however, Filipino migration to Canada can be dated to at least 1890.

The Pacific coast of North America has long been a destination for Asian migration. Chinese and Japanese migrant labourers travelled along the coast seeking work in fisheries, canneries, forestry operations, and other growing industries. Filipinos were part of this history. Starting in the sixteenth century, Filipino men travelled to the Americas, first as seafarers in the Manila Galleon, a Spanish colonial link between its Philippine colony and Mexico, and then as American nationals following the annexation of the Philippine islands in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Sojourning — the temporary migration of workers — has a long history in Southeast Asia, and as European powers came to the region, skilled seafarers were used on trans-Pacific voyages between colonized regions in Asia and the Americas. As early as the seventeenth century, Filipino seafarers formed communities in Mexico, and after the annexation of the Philippines in 1898, many went to the United States to work in its agricultural industry.

Unsurprisingly, early Filipino immigration to Canada came through the United States after 1898. They were not an invisible group, but rather drew the attention of Canadian officials in the 1920s as immigration policy attempted to ban Asian immigration to Canada. Filipinos that were in Canada laboured in a variety of sectors. In British Columbia, Filipinos worked in canneries, forestry camps, and restaurants. An immigrant from the United States in 1922, heading to Quebec, was documented as a clerk, and had likely received education in the United States or at an American-established university in the Philippines. Thus, Filipino migrants in Canada provided a variety of labour, some requiring education and training.

Records suggest that Filipinos were in Canada by the 1880s, although they were listed as “Malays,” a wide-ranging term that was used to refer to Austronesian peoples, and would have included Indonesians, Filipinos, and other groups. It is likely these “Malays” were Filipino. Sources surely document Filipinos living along Canada’s west coast by 1890. Photographs portray one Benson Flores who lived on Bowen Island in British Columbia, with records stating that he was a beachcomber who ferried locals around the area and fished to make a living.⁴ Birth, marriage, and death certificates from British Columbia’s vital statistics indicate not only that Filipinos were settling throughout British Columbia, but that they were also marrying other Filipinos. That there were Filipino women to marry stands out, as Canada’s immigration policy at this time attempted to keep Asian women out of the country. This was to prevent Asian men from bringing their families to Canada or settling down to make new families, and thus become permanent residents, contrary to the expectation that most would be sojourners for only a few years.

The date of these early Filipino immigrants is also important as it predates the American annexation of the Philippines by at least eight years. The migration paths created by the colonial relationship are often cited as the beginning of Filipino immigration to North America, but this was evidently not the case. How or why these Filipinos settled along the British Columbia coast is not clear, but it is likely that Filipino seafarers traveled the Pacific Ocean alongside Chinese migrant workers. It may also be that Filipinos were part of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s sea otter pelt trade with South China.

As the number of Filipinos entering Canada via the United States increased following 1898, Canadian officials became alarmed. In 1929, an outbreak of spinal meningitis among Chinese and Filipinos led American officials to impose strict medical examination procedures at ports of embarkation. Canadian officials understood this as the United States moving towards a complete ban on immigration from China and the Philippines, leading the Chief of Canada’s Division of Quarantine to query A. L. Jolliffe of the Department of Immigration and Colonization that “in regard to the Philippines, is it not likely that many of them will turn to Canada?” Like Chinese residents in Can-

⁴ My thanks go to Mr. Joseph Lopez and Professor Jean Barman for pointing me towards these sources.

ada, the government presented Filipinos as a medically impure race, stating that they “live in the cities under unhygienic conditions,” reminiscent of terms used to describe Chinatowns in the early decades of the twentieth century. The Department of Immigration’s reply was that Filipinos, should they apply to immigrate at a British Columbia Port, would be denied entry under current exclusion orders along the Pacific coast.

That Filipinos were included as part of the so-called “Oriental Question” — the immigration of Asians to Canada — is clear in government documents. In a letter from 9 May 1930, government officials revealed how anxious they were about the number of Filipino migrants in the United States. As legal subjects of the United States, because of their colonial status, Filipinos were granted near-freedom of movement to the country, medical quarantine notwithstanding. Thus, while other Asian groups like Chinese and Japanese were barred by American legislation, migrants from the Philippines were still permitted. As the communique noted, however, in 1930 there was much tension between Filipinos, who tended to work on farms, and locals. Referring to the “Philippino [sic] invasion of California and Oregon,” Canadian government officials did not mask their sentiments. The author of the letter, who also owned a farm in British Columbia, wrote, “You will be surprised to hear that the advance guard is already in British Columbia and we have had applications from Philippines to work on my farm and I confess it is very tempting.” The ultimate solution to what was considered the “problem” of Filipino immigration was the creation of an Act to supersede the Chinese Immigration Act, which was referred to as the “Unassimilable Races Immigration Act.” The larger “problem” that the communique noted was that, without such an act, the Pacific coast would be overrun with four Asian nationalities — Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and Filipino. This Act was not implemented, as Canadian officials decided to take an individual approach to each nation.

Mid-Twentieth Century, 1946-mid-1960s

Prior to Philippine independence in 1946, Canadian relations with the region occurred through the United States government. Canadian companies, mainly life insurance, had vested interest in the Philippines, as did various Christian missions. Canada was one of the first

countries to acknowledge the independent Philippine state and to congratulate its first president, Manuel Roxas. By the 1960s, Canada and the Philippines were on welcome terms, magnified by the presence of approximately 100,000 Filipinos living in Canada. For Canada, trying to become a respected presence in the Asia-Pacific region, the Philippines became a political ally and trade partner, and served as Canada's point of contact for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). On the Philippine government side, Canada represented a political alternative to reliance on an alliance with the United States, their former colonial occupier.

The relationship between Canada and an independent Philippines grew tense on account of Canada's dogged discriminatory immigration policies towards Asians. While the Philippines was never targeted by restrictive Canadian policies as directly as China, Japan, or India, it was affected by extension of the Order-in-Council PC 1930-2115, that strictly limited Asian immigration. In the postwar period (1946-1962), two forces would eventually liberalize Canadian immigration policy. First, the booming Canadian economy saw various sectors expand, especially in urban centres that saw an increased demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour. Second, involvement in the international environment, which itself was changing, presented Canada with new pressures to liberalize its policies.

In 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated that immigration to Canada was not a right, but rather a matter of domestic policy. He claimed that "The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population...Any considerable alteration in the character of our population...Any considerable Oriental immigration would...be certain to give rise to social and economic problems." Trade and labour unions also echoed these views. Testifying to the Senate Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour (1946-1952), Percy Bengough of the Trade and Labour Congress stated, "It must be recognized that there are citizens of other countries who may be good brothers and sisters, internationally, but yet would not be acceptable as brothers and sisters-in-law to Canadians." However, the domestic sphere to which King had appealed in 1947 was turning on the status quo, with church groups, ethnic and community organizations, transport companies, newspapers, and academics advocating for enhanced immigration policies.

By the end of the postwar period, there was widespread recognition that immigration policies driven by explicit racism were no longer defensible, especially on the international stage. The reprehensibility of Canada's position internationally was not merely an issue of losing political face but resulted in real economic damage as demonstrated by the reciprocity policy of the Philippine government practiced throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s.

The Reciprocity Bill was first discussed in the Philippine Senate in 1959 and mandated that the Philippines deny entry to foreign nationals of countries which denied their own citizens permanent residency. While the bill itself did not name any specific countries, discussions in the Philippine Senate made it clear that Canada was the primary focus. As a result, the number of Canadians permitted entry was limited, and the applications to renew the permanent residencies of some Canadian businesspeople and missionaries were denied or delayed, the reason being that Filipinos were not granted the same privileges in Canada. The effects were noticed by the public, with the *Winnipeg Tribune* reporting in October 1951 that the Philippines had denied permanent residency to ten Canadians "as a retaliatory measure" to Canada's policies.

Eventually, Canadian officials came to terms with the fact that compromise might be in their best interests; given that Canada had recently set immigration quotas for India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, it became difficult to deny Filipinos a similar right while maintaining legitimacy internationally. The situation became increasingly embarrassing for Canada's Department of External Affairs as it pursued influence in the Asia Pacific region amidst newly independent and anti-colonial East and Southeast Asian states. These discussions, while favouring only a minor liberalization of policies, still met resistance. While immigration officials protested that these rights were granted to South Asians due to their British Commonwealth status, External Affairs argued this designation would not matter much, especially to other Asian nations. In suggesting that a quota of fifty Filipino immigrants a year be established, it was noted, "it would be unlikely that Filipinos would accept Canadian climatic conditions readily, even in British Columbia, where the Canadian winter is the mildest." The underlying concern to Canadian officials was that opening the gates to Filipino immigration would adversely affect the white Anglo makeup of Canadian society and would create domestic discontent amongst white Canadians.

This issue of reciprocity with the Philippines forced Canada to face the irreconcilable differences between its domestic policy of limiting Asian immigration and its growing international ambitions that were hampered by the animosities such policies generated. In addition to changing international conditions, including post-colonial states eager to exert their political leverage, there was increasing pressure within Canadian society for Canada's era of exclusion to end. Eventually, Canada's overtly racist policies toward Asian migration were eased and quotas were established. The growing demands of the Canadian labour market provided impetus for this move and benefitted from the entry of Philippine health professionals and educators in the 1950s and 1960s, followed by garment workers.

Late-Twentieth to early Twenty-first Century, 1967-2015

The arrival of Filipinos from the 1950s to 1967 created communities across Canada dominated by professional and educated immigrants. Initially, the number of newcomers was low due to immigration quotas that restricted yearly arrivals to Canada. After the implementation in 1967 of the Points System, which determined admissibility on the basis of language, education, work experience, and age, Filipino immigration increased steadily year by year. Vibrant Filipino communities and cultural organizations formed in major cities across Canada. These communities were characterized by a desire to integrate into Canadian society while maintaining their Filipino cultural heritage.

The Points System emphasized the educational attainment, professional development, and language ability of applicants, rather than racial and geographic origin, allowing better opportunities for Filipinos to immigrate to Canada. The application process was expensive, and those that were able to afford it had college or university degrees in fields experiencing demand in Canada such as healthcare and education. Indeed, many of the Filipino newcomers during this period were educated, articulate, and ambitious with their opportunities in Canada. The implementation in the Philippines of an American styled education system during the colonial period meant that many, especially in the healthcare profession, received education and training that was recognized internationally. Furthermore, the period of American colonial occupation saw English as the primary language of instruction in many higher educational institutions and was also taught to school children. At a time when

immigration from the Asia-Pacific region was increasing, Filipinos had an advantage over other nationalities by having a higher aptitude with one of Canada's official languages. As a result of the change to a skills and education-based immigration system, and as more Filipinos began to see Canada as an alternative to immigrating to the United States, the numbers of Filipino immigrants steadily increased.

Filipino Migration as a Labour Source

Throughout the 1960s, the deteriorating economic situation in the Philippines was converging with increasing labour demands in Canada. The growing number of highly trained professionals in the Philippines seeking work abroad provided an attractive source of labour for Canadian employers. Filipinos came to fill positions in high-demand sectors. A 1972 study listed the following as the top five fields of work: professional; clerical and secretarial; commercial and business; service occupations; and manufacturing and mechanical jobs.⁵ Filipinos worked as engineers and teachers across Canada, however, their greatest influence was as medical professionals, domestic workers, and garment workers.

Medical Professionals

Canada's first wave of Filipino healthcare workers arrived through the United States. During the 1950s and 1960s, Canada experienced shortages in healthcare and so began recruiting Filipino medical professionals in the United States. These Filipinos were in the United States under the Exchange Visitor Program that allowed Philippine nationals to study and work. At the end of their study period, they were allowed to apply for permanent residency, however they were required to leave the U.S. for two years before applying. As the demand in Canada for health care workers increased, those Filipinos required to leave the United States applied to Canadian hospitals. Because of their training and work experience, these healthcare workers were accepted and granted permanent residence in Canada. While some returned to the United States after two years, many chose to remain in Canada.

Applicants from the Exchange Visitor Program were viewed positively by Canadian officials and employers because they had experi-

⁵ The data presented in this research are aggregated and cannot be broken down into more specific job occupations.

ence either in the American post-secondary education system or work environment, often with a combination. There were many nursing schools in the Philippines established during the American colonial period that continued to follow an American curriculum acceptable to Canadian standards. In 1960, it was noted that other than the University of the Philippines, there was no school deemed to have an acceptable equivalency in the realm of Canadian medical schools. What this meant was that most Filipino doctors came from the U.S. via the Exchange Visitor Program, while nurses were frequently recruited directly from the Philippines. The recognition from government in 1960 that nursing could be a foothold to entry for those otherwise not admissible, as nursing was in need, was at once an indictment of the racial identity of these applicants as an undesired group, while acknowledging the dire need for their skills. In response to concerns Filipino nurses would flood into Canada, the Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration saw no issue “in view of [the] chronic and serious shortage of nurses in Canada.”

In May 1965, there were 400 nursing opportunities in Ontario alone. In July 1965, a team from the Ontario College of Nurses in Manila interviewed and approved the credentials of 250 nurses. According to a federal government official, who had been suspicious of the affair at its outset, “It looks like this has been a successful venture for everyone concerned.” The demand for healthcare professionals was acute in Winnipeg, and after receiving a significant number of Filipino nurses and medical doctors, hospitals across the city had significant Filipino healthcare professionals in the 1970s. Other centres such as St. Joseph’s Hospital in Toronto also received large numbers of Filipino healthcare professionals. During this period, many professional organizations had less stringent requirements to practice in Canada than exist today. For example, medical doctors had little to no difficulty having their Philippine credentials recognized in this period. In part, this was because many medical training institutions in the Philippines were established by the Americans in an effort to train professionals that could work in the United States.

The immigration of Filipino healthcare professionals to Canada became part of a larger phenomenon of emigration from the Philippines, a context where many nurses had difficulty finding employment. In 2012, approximately 200,000 registered nurses in the Phil-

ippines could not find work, and an additional 80,000 were about to graduate. The Philippines' state migratory apparatus marketed this group to foreign states, particularly under the presidency of Gloria Arroyo-Macapagal (2001-2010). Given that many nursing schools in the Philippines are based on an American curriculum, their graduates are highly sought after abroad, and active marketing of the state helps identify regions in the world where Filipino nurses can find work.

Domestic Workers

The immigration of Filipino caregivers occurred after a shift away from Black Caribbean workers, who were filling positions as health-care professionals and domestic workers in the 1950s. This was part of a process that saw a “gradual regression in both citizenship and labour rights for foreign domestics throughout the twentieth century” that, according to Rina Cohen, coincided with changes in the ethnic make-up of the workforce. Following the Second World War, white women of European descent, who were preferred by both government and employers, became less interested in domestic work, as other employment opportunities opened up. As such, Canada introduced a number of immigration schemes that targeted the Caribbean as a source of female domestic labour. Programs in the 1950s allowed a limited number of Black women from Jamaica and Barbados to work in Canada for a year or two but disallowed them permanent residence; after their contracts expired, they had to return home. Whereas white domestic workers were welcomed and allowed to stay in Canada permanently, Black Caribbean women were seen as undesirable in Canadian society beyond their economic service.

Under the West Indies Domestic Scheme of 1955, established between Canada and Britain to allow the movement of Black Caribbean women to Canada, these domestics could become landed immigrants, but the government reserved the right to expel any who were deemed undesirable. Beginning in the 1970s, Canada increasingly recruited Filipinas as domestic workers, a shift due in part to the Philippine government's state migratory apparatus that marketed Filipino workers abroad. Advertisements describing Filipino women as docile natural caregivers, along with diplomatic negotiations with receiving countries, led to Filipinos replacing Black Caribbean domestic workers. In 1981, the Foreign Domestic Scheme allowed domestics who had

worked for two years to apply for permanent residence, although this had to be done within Canada. This meant that if their work contract expired before a decision was made, they were forced to return home and abandon their application. This scheme was replaced in April 1992 with the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). After two years of domestic work, during which time the worker had to reside with the employer, workers were allowed to apply for permanent residence.

In 2014, the LCP was cancelled and then re-introduced as a pilot project with some changes. The decision to cancel the program completely in 2019, despite that it had become crucial to the Filipino community in Canada, was made by former Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s Conservative government. Jason Kenney, Minister of Employment at the time, alleged that the program had become “out of control” and had transformed into a pathway for family reunification. Kenney’s claim was that Filipino domestic workers were entering Canada to work for family members, however, research funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada around the time of these changes found no evidence for those claims. Between 1993 and 2019, 241,685 people were admitted to Canada under the LCP, including principal applicants and their spouses and dependents. The principal applicants were predominantly Filipino women. Table 3 demonstrates the popularity of this program and the general trend of increasing numbers granted permanent residency.

Table 3 – Permanent Resident Arrivals in Canada under Caregiver Programs, 1993-2019⁶

Year	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Arrivals	3010	4980	5457	4759	2730	2868	3261
Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Arrivals	2779	2627	1985	3305	4292	4552	6895
Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Arrivals	6118	10511	12459	13912	11248	9013	8799
Year	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Arrivals	17689	27230	18488	22248	17815	9800	2855

⁶ I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Philip Kelly for sharing this data with me.

The preponderance of Filipinas in the LCP was due to a number of factors. The Philippine state migratory apparatus has discursively created the Filipina domestic worker as one desirable over others in foreign countries. For many women who are able to take the six-month course required to be a caregiver, it is a potential route out of the Philippines to life abroad. In Canada, employers tend to hire Filipino women over men, who typically do not seek this stream of work. This gendering and racialization of Filipinas reinforces their image as compliant caregivers. The precariousness of life as a caregiver, as well as the racialized image created, has exposed many of the women in the LCP to abuse and vulnerability.

Since the implementation of the LCP in 1992, there has been a significant amount of research on the experiences of Filipina women in this program. Indeed, this is one of the most researched aspects of Filipino life in Canada, and can have the unintended consequence of presenting these women as a victimized population. The LCP was rightly criticized for the abuse and exploitation that Filipinas experienced. In particular, the 'live-in' requirement meant that Filipino caregivers had to live in the residence of their employer, even if the employer allowed off-site accommodations. This meant that the boundaries between work and life were blurred, and that these women were more easily exposed to emotional, physical, and sexual violence from employers. As members of the household, many were expected to do 'favours,' such as supervising children when their parents went out during non-work hours of the caregiver. Despite this criticism, it is also important to note that many Filipinas had positive experiences. Many developed real emotional connections to employers and their children, and after two years could leave the job as permanent residents.

Immigration through various domestic worker schemes has been crucial for the growth of the Filipino population in Canada. This stream also represented a dramatic rise of women as the initiators of immigration for Filipino families. Between 1993 and 2009, 34,237 of the principal applicants were single (65 percent), and research suggests that about one-third of the married applicants have not yet been joined by their husbands. Regardless, those primary applicants sponsored their spouses and dependents. Major Filipino communities such as Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal grew as a result of these programs, with nearly 25 percent of Filipino immigrants coming

through the LCP stream between 1980-2009. Winnipeg, however, differs significantly in the same period.

Garment Workers

In the 1960s and the 1970s, the garment industry in Canada was expanding and in need of workers. In Winnipeg, the garment industry increasingly targeted Filipinas as a source of labour. Many women and a very small number of men were recruited from the Philippines and, with the support of their employers, immigrated to Canada. These women often sponsored their families, creating a chain of Filipino immigration. Filipinas became a preferred source of labour to the extent that garment factories facilitated the movement of more than a hundred workers at one time. The movement of Filipina garment workers in the Netherlands to Canada during the 1970s and 1980s is an example of this chain migration. In the Netherlands, clothing factories were closing and hundreds working there were about to be forcibly returned to the Philippines. However, several factory owners worked to find new employment for these women, and connected with factories in Canada interested in hiring them. Winnipeg in particular sponsored hundreds of Filipino garment workers in the movement that has come to be called the “Netherlands Group,” although it consisted of several smaller groups over the years.

The Filipino garment workers were collectively flown to Canada in groups by up to one hundred recruiters. These groups of women were accompanied by Filipina social workers who were originally hired to help them acclimatize to life in the Netherlands; now, they joined these women on their journey to Canada. While some of these garment workers went on to other cities or countries, many, including their social workers, stayed in the first city they landed in, such as Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Montréal. This large-scale movement of garment workers had substantial effects on the Filipino communities into which they integrated by changing the class makeup. Garment workers were predominantly women, many coming from provincial regions in the Philippines. Many of the women who came were single but others, especially from the provincial regions, had large families. This latter fact was a concern of an immigration official who stated that many applicants were likely to sponsor family members. The education of these women varied as well. Each applicant had to be able

to demonstrate their capability with a mechanized sewing machine, though many did have college or university education. Given the opportunity for a rapid immigration processing, however, many Filipino women decided to apply as garment workers. On the other hand, government sources also indicate a concern that many were largely uneducated except for their ability to work a sewing machine and would likely never qualify for entry to Canada under normal circumstances. When they were settled in Canada, a series of sponsorships occurred, bringing over the husband and children, siblings and often parents, thus increasing the size of their communities.

Filipinos in Canada

Kinship and Family

Kinship networks, those formal and informal relationships that form extended families, have been crucial in the formation of the Canadian Filipino community, from families sponsoring relatives to social networks assisting with new immigrants' integration into Canada. In Winnipeg, the denser settlement patterns of Filipinos in the city's West and North end are due to the prevalence of family sponsorship, whereas in cities like Toronto and Ottawa, population is more diffuse as Filipinos settled near the areas they work.

In cities such as Winnipeg, where family sponsorship is high, traditional settlement patterns practiced in the Philippines are continued to a degree, at least in an immigrant's first few years in the city. In the Philippines, families often live in an ancestral home, sometimes building additional structures to make a family compound. In Winnipeg, individuals or families often live in the home of the family member who sponsored them and, when they are able, move into rented or purchased property nearby. Beginning in the 1970s, such concentrations were encouraged by the opening of Filipino businesses including restaurants and groceries. A stretch of Notre Dame Avenue near the Health Sciences Centre was given the moniker "Filipino Town" due to the prevalence of Filipinos in the area. While settlement patterns have shifted from the West end area of Winnipeg, these concentrations continue. With the opening of Filipino chain businesses in 2018 and 2019, a stretch of McPhillips Street in Winnipeg is affectionately called 'McPhilippines' in the Filipino community.

Most Filipinos who immigrate to Canada intend to send money remittances to family in the Philippines and to sponsor their immigration. Upon arrival in Canada, kinship networks are often already established that help newcomers integrate. These might be aunts or uncles, friends from the Philippines, or even their compatriots. In Canada, traditional multi-generational households are more difficult as North American residential architecture is designed for single family dwellings. While single immigrants may thus stay longer with families in Canada, those with families of their own are more inclined to find their own residence, although will often move near to their extended family.

In recent decades, the spread of the internet, cellphone technology, and social media have helped potential migrants in the Philippines learn about life in Canada before arrival. In Winnipeg, the social media group “Life of ‘Peg” was set up with the intention of connecting the Winnipeg Filipino community to people in the homeland who were intending to immigrate to the city, or had recently arrived. In this way, existing networks within the Filipino Canadian community help integrate newcomers to Canada by sharing information regarding life in Canada and how to navigate various social, economic, and workplace cultures.

In many cases, immigration is a familial act. Push factors are certainly active in the decision to immigrate, including economic precarity, poor social services, government corruption, and political motivations in the Philippines (such as Martial Law under Ferdinand Marcos), but concerns over one’s family is also a major consideration. In oral histories conducted by the author in Winnipeg, this was always a discussion point. Even families who were relatively secure in the Philippines thought it better to immigrate to a country like Canada, where their children’s futures might be more stable.

Filipino immigrants have been savvy negotiators of Canada’s immigration system in their attempts to reunite with family. In the Philippines, nieces and nephews are often treated as one’s own child, and Filipino family members in Canada will sometimes adopt these children in order to bring them to Canada. Provinces such as Manitoba, which have relied more heavily upon immigration for population growth, encourage family reunification through programs such as the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). From the period of 1998-2009,

family sponsorships accounted for 40 percent of Filipino immigration to the province since the Program was established in 1998. These movements are often multi-generational.

Economic Integration

A major motivating factor in Filipino migration is to support family members in the Philippines. As a result, Filipinos are eager to take up any work, sometimes having more than one job, to support themselves in Canada and send money home. Often, this desire to find work quickly results in Filipinos working in fields outside of their expertise and training, and in cities like Toronto are concentrated in low-paying sectors. In many ways this downward mobility is demoralizing, yet many still report to be happy with their life in Canada as they are able to fulfill financial obligations to family in the Philippines, and to provide a more secure future to their children in Canada.

Remittances

While many arrive in Canada with the intention to sponsor other family members, many still have responsibilities such as providing financial assistance to family and home communities in the Philippines. These responsibilities may be infrequent, like helping with a medical bill or home improvements, or regular, such as funding a sibling's education or supplementing household income. For more than a decade, such financial remittances have contributed 10 percent to the Philippine GDP. The act of sending remittances is accompanied by a myriad of emotions, such as love for family, a filial sense of duty and a sense of personal fulfillment for being able to support loved ones. Immigrating to Canada brings significant economic and social challenges to Filipinos, but they remain grounded in their families and communities in the Philippines.

In 2009, a total of 17.3 billion dollars US was remitted to the Philippines from its global diaspora, accounting for 10.8 percent of the GDP. This amount jumped to 33.5 billion dollars US in 2019. From Canada, remittance levels have been trending downward. Filipinos remitted over 2 billion dollars US to the Philippines in 2010, accounting for 10 percent of remittances in that year. This number went as low as 572 million dollars US, and in 2019 this had climbed up to 1.015 billion dollars US. The reasons for this decline are not clear, but may have to

do with the means by which remittances are sent, such as new mobile phone apps that make it easier than before to send money and bypass service fees. During 2020, while remittances around the world were in steep decline due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Filipino Canadians sent similar levels to 2019. According to the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), money remitted back to the Philippines is most often for the care and support of receiving individuals or families. Through the period 1990-2008, 71 percent of monetary remittances were for health care issues, 13 percent for disaster or calamity relief, and an additional 12 percent for the education of family members. Areas such as small-scale infrastructure and livelihood only accounted for 2 percent and 1 percent respectively of the total remittances.

Today, the Philippine economy relies significantly upon remittances from Filipinos overseas, a practice that began in earnest in the early 1970s. After 1972, when President Ferdinand Marcos declared Martial Law, he instituted several reforms aimed to encourage labour migration to deal with crushing poverty levels resulting from poor employment opportunities in the Philippines. Marcos made it mandatory that 50 percent of overseas workers' wages be sent back to the Philippines through official banks, thus giving the government access to foreign currencies, most frequently in US dollars, to help maintain a balance of payments with creditor nations. Much of this migrant labour went to the Middle East in search of so-called 'petrodollars' of the region's rich oil fields, but many looked for permanent residence in western countries such as Canada, Britain, and the United States.

The literature on remittances places the practice within a larger transnational context, in which the immigrant fulfills the familial obligation to help their families back home. While financial remittances play a major role in development programs in the Philippines, the practice also creates social capital for the sending party. While immigration to Canada often results in degrees of deprofessionalization amongst first-generation Filipinos, the ability to send money home on a regular or semi-regular basis conveys a sense of financial success in Canada. This can lead to misunderstandings, however, as families in the Philippines are given an impression through immigration recruitment campaigns and popular media that living abroad, including Canada, equals wealth. This can lead to constant requests for remittances, or the expectation that when families from overseas return to

the Philippines to visit, they bring many gifts, known as *pasalubong*. The truth is that for many Filipino Canadian families, the money sent back is earned by hard work and often through multiple jobs, thus emphasizing the familial affect that is involved in this historically sustained practice.

Non-Recognition of Credentials and Deprofessionalization

In the 1960s and 1970s, Filipino professionals, such as healthcare workers, engineers, and teachers, had much less difficulty having their foreign-earned credentials recognized than is the case today. Many who arrive in Canada find they are not able to immediately practice their profession, especially if it is a vocation guarded by professional organizations. For example, foreign educated and trained teachers, healthcare workers, and engineers need to have their credentials assessed by government or professional bodies. Those trained in information technology, however, have little difficulty having their education recognized by Canadian companies, especially if they have experience in the Philippines. For many, though, immigration to Canada has meant deprofessionalization, sometimes unexpectedly.

Since the 1980s, Filipino immigrants have experienced increasing downward mobility in their professional designation, credential non-recognition, and a concentration in low-paying sectors.⁷ High costs associated with immigrating to Canada today mean that most Filipino immigrants were middle class in the Philippines, often with college or university education and professional designations. As was the case with garment workers in the 1970s and 1980s, until its termination in 2019 educated Filipinos entered through the Live-in Caregiver Program, representing a professional step downward, because it allowed easier entry to Canada. It is difficult to follow what happened to such applicants after their two-year contracts expired and whether they attempted to find work in their field of training. In 2006, 41.3 percent of Filipino immigrants living in Toronto reported having a university degree, higher than other immigrant and even non-immigrant

⁷ Such as clerical, manufacturing, and healthcare. The latter category can be misleading as it includes doctors and nurses, but also lower-paying jobs such as nursing assistants, technicians, clerks, and maintenance staff. Research indicates a significant underrepresentation in higher paying fields such as managerial and supervisory roles.

groups in the Toronto area. An irony of the deprofessionalization of Filipinos in the Canadian workforce is that the rate of downward mobility is higher amongst those entering through the skilled worker program. Filipino social networks also have a role to play as they often serve as job search networks. Research done between 2006 and 2008 found that 44 percent of survey participants found work with help from friends and family. Because Filipino immigrants often want to find work immediately, they rely upon their friends and family to help them find jobs. This process also contributes to the concentration of Filipinos in certain low-paying sectors.

Nursing provides a good example of a profession that Filipinos found difficult to practice in Canada. The situation became complicated in the 1980s when professional associations across Canada tightened their requirements for credential recognition. While the Points System gives credit to graduates of nursing degree programs, thus creating an impression there will be work in the field, there are many barriers facing immigrant nurses today, even though their labour is needed. The crisis in the Canadian healthcare system during the COVID-19 pandemic stemming from staff shortages could have been alleviated had programs been implemented to utilize this unrecognized labour pool. Non-recognition of credentials, mixed with a lack of experience working in Canada, is the leading cause that foreign-trained Filipino nurses cannot practice in Canada. Nursing is governed by provincial associations that vet foreign-earned credentials, often requiring nurses to take a provincial licensing exam or register for additional courses, all of which are expensive for newcomers who often need to send money to family in the Philippines.

It is in these circumstances that Filipino, as well as other immigrant nurses, will leave their profession for other employment. A 2009 study on deprofessionalized Filipinos — those not able to work in their field of training — reported that 52 percent of participants listed non-recognition of their foreign credentials as the main factor for not working in their field of training. Participants in the study expressed frustration that the assessing boards in Ontario displayed alarming ignorance of strict professional standards in the Philippines. The same study found that 36 percent considered not just leaving Ontario or Canada, but even returning to the Philippines, in order to practice in their profession. One participant in my own research practices nursing in Win-

nipeg, even though in the Philippines and the United States he can practice as a medical doctor. Furthermore, the 2009 study found that Filipino workers had an employment tendency in lower-status occupations and that, even though there is a high-degree of integration into the wage-earning workforce, their wage levels are strikingly low.

The issue of deprofessionalization in Canada largely arises out of a long-standing disconnect between the immigration system, which awards points for education and professional designations, and professional organizations operating in Canada, that are often reluctant to recognize credentials from, and work experience in, the Philippines and elsewhere. Thus, while given the impression they will be able to work in Canada in their profession throughout their immigration application process, Filipino immigrants often must accept work that is a step down from their training. There is also a perception amongst Filipinos that the process is not transparent. Two applicants with seemingly similar education and experience in the Philippines may receive two different decisions on their credentials without much explanation as to why. Furthermore, even if a Philippine-trained immigrant's credentials are recognized, they face the problem of lacking "Canadian experience," a nebulous term seeming to imply that the immigrant is not familiar enough with Canadian society to fulfil a job's requirements.

The deprofessionalization of Filipino workers amounts to what has been termed "brain abuse." Far more than brain drain, in which highly trained professionals from a source country are drawn to emigrate to other states, "brain abuse" emphasizes that when talent is wasted through deprofessionalization, Canada, the immigrant, and the source country all suffer. In Canada, accrediting bodies such as provincial medical associations or government-controlled certification of teachers presents numerous hurdles. Significant cost and time is required to receive credit for education and work experience outside of Canada. For immigrants who have families in the Philippines and Canada to support, these are unaffordable luxuries. Thus, doctors become nursing aides or custodians in hospitals, teachers find work in coffee chains, and they are compelled to abandon their training and talent. This ultimately disadvantages each party involved: the Philippines suffers the loss of the trained individual; the individual experiences a deprofessionalization that affects their self-worth and level of economic integration; and Canada suffers because it does not benefit from the true potential of the immigrant.

Community organizations

From the early presence of Filipinos across Canada in the 1960s, cultural organizations have been a mainstay and strong supporter of preserving and practicing Filipino culture. The celebration and presentation of the Filipino language, various geographic regions, culture, costumes, and dances have been driving concerns within these organizations. Community organizations have been founding members of cultural festivals and are able to mobilize community resources in times of need. Yet, there have also been tensions arising from clashes in personality, political divisions, and difficulty in gathering large memberships.

The purposes served by Filipino cultural organizations have varied depending on the needs of the community. While these organizations are rooted in their local communities, many are affiliated with international organizations that emphasize the transnational aspects of the Filipino Canadian community. The Filipino Association of Ottawa was established in November 1966 because the community felt a need for a body to plan and organize social events such as celebrations for Philippine Independence Day on June 12. The organization's first set of officers was inducted by the Philippine Consul General Francisco Oira, who travelled from Vancouver for the ceremony.

There are several organizations focused on uniting Filipino professionals, such as nurses, teachers, engineers, writers and artists, and businesspeople. Other organizations serve charitable purposes, such as the Philippine Canadian Charitable Foundation. The Knights of Rizal, formed in the Philippines to promote the teachings and ideals of national hero José Rizal, has active chapters across Canada. Provincial organizations have also advocated for the concerns of Filipinos in their communities, and others like the Philippine Heritage Council of Manitoba serve to unite thirty-three independent Filipino cultural, religious, and advocacy organizations. Regional and hometown associations are also important community leaders and arise from what the editor of Toronto's *Balita* newspaper termed "transplanted regionalism." These groups represent the reality that Filipino identity has a national and regional influence. Many identify strongly with their provinces of origin, with nearly every Philippine province having at least one organization in Canada. There are also several Filipino organizations focused on community activism, such as Migrante Canada,

which is a member of Migrante International and has provincial chapters in Canada. This organization is a Philippines-based organization that advocates for the rights and dignity of Filipino labour migrants across the world.

While urban and provincial organizations have thrived, and international groups have proliferated, a unity of national organization has been difficult to realize since the 1970s. While the United Council of Filipino Associations in Canada (UCFAC) has existed for decades and has sought to bring together provincial organizations, this group has found itself locked in controversy, including one that led to the closing of a Filipino newspaper in Winnipeg in 1982, and has experienced periods of inactivity. The issue in 1982 surrounded the UCFAC's use of tax-funded cultural grants to hold national meetings, which some felt were not leading to real changes in the Filipino community. There have also been issues surrounding provincial organizations refusing to acknowledge the overall direction of UCFAC, even though this group organized several successful national conferences. A controversy in 1980 surrounding the Provincial Association of Manitoba led to the formation of a splinter group, the Barangay Filipino Association of Manitoba; this led to a substantial rise of participation with community organizations. While these controversies attracted frustration and ire in community newspapers, and led to rifts and divisions that often became deeply personal, these should not be seen as a dysfunction. Communities are not necessarily groups of consensus, and often disagreements can lead to changes.

In October 2018, the Canadian House of Commons declared June as Filipino Heritage Month, coinciding with the month of Philippine independence (June 12, 1898). This recognition was celebrated within the community as recognition of the significant number of Filipinos in Canada, and has energized the celebratory energy across the country. During the week of June 12 in Winnipeg, various Filipino organizations celebrate Heritage Week, culminating with the Philippine Independence Ball, that dates from the 1970s. The Ball represents how politicians in Canada target the Filipino community for support. Given that much of the community in Winnipeg is geographically concentrated in areas of the city, events such as the Independence Day Ball attract politicians from multiple levels of government, including city councillors, MLAs, MPs, mayors, and premiers.

Media

Media, in all forms, are crucial for community links, and transnational connections in the Filipino diaspora are invariably bound to these modes of communication. The first Filipino newspaper in Canada, the *Silangan*, began publishing in February 1977 and was followed by other newspapers across Canada. These papers included newswire stories from the Philippines, Canada, and across the world, and were forums for community discussion and debate. Newsprint media, as well as community radio and television stations, offered Filipinos in Canada an opportunity to consume news, commentary, and entertainment in the Filipino language. In the formative years of many Filipino communities across Canada in the 1970s and into the 1980s, these media outlets were often strong voices in their development.

With the development of internet communication in the 1990s, many Filipinos across the world took to online forms of communication with family members and other members of the diaspora. Listserves catering to Filipinos proliferated, and with the introduction of so-called Web 2.0 — a platform emphasizing user-generated content in the form of blogs or social media sites — Filipino diasporic communication increased dramatically. Social media, for example, allows for a cohort of students from a school in the Philippines to maintain close connections regardless of their physical location as these internet groups operate within a synchronous online geography. Countless instant messaging and video chat services allow family members in Canada and the Philippines to maintain visual contact daily.

These internet connections build upon experiences with cell phone technologies. The Philippines has very wide cellular service, at relatively affordable prices, that has allowed members of the diaspora to maintain near instant contact with family members and friends in the Philippines. In the Philippines, text messaging is often cheaper and more common than phone calls, and the ease of this form of communication continues in the diaspora. Thus, when cellular and SMS devices were combined with access to the internet with smart phones, the potential for instant communication greatly improved the communication of Filipinos around the world.

These news and social media outlets, and the various forms of technology that facilitate transnational connections, are complemented by Filipino entertainment networks that specifically target the Filipino

diaspora. In theatres across Canada, Filipinos can watch hit movies made in the Philippines as they are released in the Philippines. Two major global subscription television networks — The Filipino Channel and GMA Pinoy TV — allow Filipinos in the diaspora to watch the most recent *teleserye* (Philippine television dramas), news programming, and popular game shows.

Religious Practices

The Philippines is a predominantly Christian country, and in 2019 was the third largest Roman Catholic nation. Several other evangelical and Protestant Christian denominations are represented, such as Baptist, Pentecostal, Anglican, Methodist, and Seventh-day Adventist. The *Iglesia ni Cristo* is a non-trinitarian Christian church founded in the Philippines in 1914 and can be found amongst the global Filipino diaspora. The presence of Christianity results from centuries of Spanish colonization, that led to high rates of Roman Catholicism. Prior to Spanish colonization, Islam was widespread in the Philippines, and today there is a large Muslim population in the south of the Philippines. The Philippines has the largest number of Christians in Asia, and across Canada, Filipino Catholics have been credited with rejuvenating parishes experiencing sharp declines in numbers. Many churches, Roman Catholic and others, offer Filipino-language services for these high concentration communities. Filipinos are active participants in these congregations, serving as pastors or priests, readers of liturgy, altar servers, members of musical ensembles, and members of community outreach. Research on Filipinos in the United States indicates that such engagement in Christian church communities helps second-generation Filipinos realize their ethnic identity. For many Filipinos across the generations, their religious identity is important and suffuses several aspects of daily life.

Many Filipino households have small shrines, sometimes with collections of rosaries, statues of the Virgin Mary or Sto. Niño. The Sto. Niño is based upon a statue of the saint given by Ferdinand Magellan to Humabon, the Rajah of Cebu and one of the first indigenous Filipinos to convert to Christianity. One might also see mini-grottos in the yards of Filipino homes, with similar statues of devotion, a practice very common in the Philippines. José Rizal, a Filipino national hero executed in 1896 by the Spanish, said these shrines were so common that they were never absent from a Filipino home.

Religious lay organizations are also popular among Filipinos. These religious organizations may be centred around a parish church or focused on Catholic saints. Groups named after Sto. Niño, viewed by Filipino Catholics as a miraculous religious image, are particularly popular and reflect the Hispanic influences upon Filipino Catholicism. A popular Catholic lay-movement in Canada, which originated in the Philippines, is the Couples for Christ (CFC) movement. This is an organization that brings married Catholic couples together in fellowship, but also charity. Interviews by the author with members of CFC recount stories of how couples in Winnipeg were asked to help new families arriving from the Philippines settle into employment and living arrangements, or how a social media post in Vancouver mobilized a chain of members across Canada to help. Even non-religious cultural groups incorporate a degree of faith practice, with many Filipino events opening with either the Lord's Prayer or an invocation.

The influence of Hispanic Catholicism is apparent in the prevalence of bright and festive religious processions such as the *Santacruzán*, originating in the Philippines in the mid-1800s in honour of Saint Helen and her son, Constantine the Great, finding the True Cross. This religious procession was continued by Filipino immigrants in Canada, with major events occurring in Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s. Another popular Catholic devotion in the Philippines practiced in Canada is the *Pabá ng Pasyon*, or the Reading of the Passion. In this observance, a sixteenth-century poem narrating Christ's Passion is chanted without interruption during Holy Week. These processions are familiar to Filipinos who grew up in the Philippines, where other festivals such as those around the time of Easter fill the streets of cities and rural areas as faithful from several parishes perform their own parade, often carrying statues of saints.

Politics

Reflecting the involvement in community politics, Filipino Canadians are engaged in both Canadian and Philippine political affairs. The transnational ties that bound the community were revealed in the fall of 1972 when Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos (1965-1986) declared Martial Law. The community in Canada became divided over Martial Law, which lasted for fourteen years, as many felt that it was little more than an attempt of President Marcos to hold on to dictato-

rial power. Indeed, in the years following his ouster in 1986, Marcos and his circle have faced legal proceedings, with his estate in the United States seized to pay out settlements to victims of Martial Law. Today, there is no consensus whether Martial Law was good for the Philippines or not. Supporters of Marcos argue that his prolonged Martial Law helped awaken a failing Philippine economy into its “golden age” and that his hand was forced by terrorist activity in the Philippines. This economic narrative, that often brushes over the human rights abuses experienced by victims of Martial Law, was propagated by Marcos and his supporters. His critics argue that Martial Law was unwarranted and was abused by Marcos and his allies as an opportunity to maintain power and silence criticism through force and human rights abuses. The argument that the Philippine economy was saved by Marcos has also been contested. A study by Rappler, a Philippine news agency, demonstrated that it took twenty-one years to recover from the Philippine’s biggest decline in income which happened in 1983, near the end of Martial Law.

Interviews with community members in Canada indicate that there was fear even in Canada of speaking out against Marcos and his Martial Law regime. This might explain why there was a slow reaction to Marcos. When the *Silangan* paper in Winnipeg closed in 1982, the editor of *Balita*, a Toronto based Filipino paper, questioned why *Silangan* had never published editorials against Marcos. Although silent in the *Silangan*’s editorials, its editor was indeed very active in anti-Marcos movements, including the so-called August Twenty-One Movement (ATOM) that protested Martial Law and the apparent alignment of Winnipeg mayor William Norrie with Marcos.

Filipinos have been engaged in various levels of Canadian political life as well, often held up within the community as a significant accomplishment. In a survey conducted in 2006, Filipino Canadians stated they took their franchise in Canada seriously, and valued the difference between Canadian and Philippine elections such as a general lack of cheating, an absence of vote buying, and transparency of voting results. In the 1970s, a Filipino Canadian group of Liberal Party members organized support for Tony Ruprecht, an early political advocate of the Filipino community. After failing to win a seat in the federal election, Ruprecht successfully ran for a seat on the Toronto city council with support from Filipino constituents. The first Fili-

pino Canadian elected to office was Conrad Santos who won a seat on the Manitoba Legislative Assembly for the NDP in the Winnipeg riding of Burrows. Dr. Rey Pagtakhan, also of Winnipeg, was the first Filipino Canadian Member of Parliament, serving the as a Liberal MP for eighteen years. Dr. Pagtakhan was also the first Filipino Canadian Cabinet Minister from 2001-2004. The Marcelino family in Winnipeg has also held office. Flor Marcelino was the first Filipino Canadian woman elected provincially and served in the Manitoba NDP as the Minister of various offices before serving as the leader of the official opposition party from May 2016 to September 2017. Ted Marcelino was elected as a NDP MLA in 2011, and Malaya Marcelino in 2019. Tobias Enverga served as Canada's first Filipino senator, representing Ontario from 2012 until his untimely death in 2017. These and other leaders of Filipino Canadian politicians across Canada are celebrated by the community and held up as models to which Filipino youth can aspire.

In addition to being a politically engaged constituency, Filipino Canadians are also vocal advocates for various social justice causes both in Canada and the Philippines. This includes protests against the killing of journalists and activists in the Philippines, and the drug war waged in the Philippines by President Rodrigo Duterte, who was elected 2016. In a period of six months between July 2016 and January 2017, Amnesty International estimated that more than 7,000 Filipinos were killed. Within Canada, Filipino organizations frequently work to advocate for and protect the rights of Filipino temporary workers in Canada, as well as Filipino domestic workers. These activists, including groups such as Migrante Canada, are able to connect with international rights groups to draw attention to issues in Canada.

Culture

Like many ethnocultural groups in Canada, cultural preservation has been important in the lives of Filipino Canadians. Many are encouraged by Canada's policy of multiculturalism and are significant contributors to cultural life in their communities. Filipinos often take part in inter-cultural groups and friendship associations. There has been a common narrative in the community that the best way for Filipinos to contribute to Canada is to preserve, share, and practice their heritage.

Linguistic Retention as Cultural Preservation

The concern over maintaining Filipino culture in Canada is especially directed towards Filipino youth, and linguistic retention has had a major role in this endeavour. A columnist for a Winnipeg Filipino newspaper in December 1977 expressed this connection clearly:

There is an urgency to hold Filipino language classes for those Filipinos who want to re-learn the national language; for foreigners who are married to Filipinos; and more importantly, for those Filipinos who were born here. The purpose is sound and clear: to maintain our cultural identity. We are in a different environment. It's easy for our kids to forget our language. And the danger is that our next generation will be out of touch with our heritage.

In 2016, 58.9 percent of the Canadian Filipino community said their mother tongue was other than English or French (Table 4), and 28 percent stated that they spoke their mother tongue exclusively at home. In regards to cultural retention, in 2002 89 percent of the Filipino community stated that they identified strongly with their Filipino ancestry. As Table 4 demonstrates, regional languages remain dominant in Filipino homes, in addition to the national Filipino language; this likely has always been the case, with recent changes in census data collection revealing these numbers.

Table 4 – Philippine languages in Canada (2016 Census)⁸

Philippine Languages	Mother Tongues	Languages Spoken at Home
Bikol	1,790	290
Cebuano	19,890	7,210
Hiligaynon	6,885	2,205
Ilocano	26,345	9,125
Pampangan	4,040	1,200
Pangasinan	1,390	240
Tagalog/Filipino	431,380	213,790
Waray-Waray	1,110	310
Total	492,830	234,370

⁸ The Canadian Census conflates Filipino and Tagalog, although they are different languages. Tagalog is spoken within the region around Manila and although it forms the base of the national language, Filipino, other languages are also included.

As this table demonstrates, not only have Philippine languages been preserved within Canadian households, but there is a rich linguistic variety among Filipino Canadians. Filipino/Tagalog is the most common because it is the national language taught across the Philippines, but the presence of other regional languages indicates the importance these identities have to the cultural lives of respondents to the 2016 Census.

In addition to language, the Filipino Canadian community has upheld the importance of maintaining traditional Philippine values such as *paggalang* (respect), *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude), *pakikisama* (getting along with one another), and *bayanihan* (communal spirit). To many, these are seen as core to Filipino identity and since the formation of Filipino communities in Canada there was concern that these values would be lost to the youth. Preserving Filipino culture and values was a theme in a conference led by the Winnipeg Filipino community in 1977. During this community event, a workshop made a series of resolutions meant to encourage the preservation, practice, and education of Filipino culture. The insistence upon particular values has created some tensions between first generation immigrants and subsequent generations, such as *paggalang* (respect), which can be interpreted differently. Regardless, there is a general acceptance that these values are not just important to a Filipino identity, but that they represent some of the best contributions Filipinos can make to Canadian society.

Dance Troupes

Most Filipino organizations have a strong cultural component and include in their mandates the preservation and practice of their heritage. An expression of this desire are cultural performances such as folk dances, a practice transplanted from the Philippines, and which are often associated with community groups. Filipinos in Canada continued to practice these dances as a means of maintaining their heritage, while their public performances were a means to present themselves to other Canadians. As a result, Filipino cultural groups, especially dance troupes, frequently participate in multicultural events. Often, community groups have a dance troupe of their own, such as the Manitoba Association of Filipino Teachers Inc. whose group performs

at their events. In Winnipeg, Filipino groups such as the *Nayong Pilipino Pavilion* and the *Magdaragat* dance troupe regularly participate in Folklorama, the city's annual multicultural festival, of which the Philippine community was a founding member in 1970. In 1967, the group *Fiesta Filipina* performed a two-hour presentation at the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, eventually joining the Metro Toronto International Caravan in 1969. Participation in Folklorama gave rise to dance troupes *Magdaragat* and *Kayumangi*. Similar groups exist across Canada, including *Kababayang Pilipino* of British Columbia and *Fiesta Filipina Dance Troupe of Canada* from Mississauga. These groups emphasize the importance of youth involvement, and thus act as transmitters of Filipino culture to younger generations.

These community groups and their performances have thrived in the context of Canada's cultural diversity. As the community across Canada grew in the 1970s and 1980s, multiculturalism created excitement around ethnocultural spectacles in which Filipinos participated. These events allow ethnocultural groups an opportunity to define, or redefine, themselves through the discursive process of planning and curating scripts, dances, and cultural displays. As spectacles that are edited and curated, the final product often masks the lengthy organization process, and the multiple discussions that occur regarding how their ethnocultural identity is presented. In as much as these performances of identity are rehearsed and curated, the process of self-identification also has a public education aspect, introducing the larger community to basic Filipino cultural characteristics.

Conclusion

Filipinos are one of the fastest growing immigrant communities in Canada for a number of reasons. First of all, the years of American colonialism led to high levels of English literacy, and knowledge of English became tied to perceptions of economic prosperity in the 1970s and 1980s. Philippine government policies toward labour prioritized global labour needs since the 1970s and increasingly marketed its English-speaking workers overseas. This speaks to a second reason, the poor and unsatisfactory labour opportunities in the Philippines. The labour export policy of the Philippines resulted in government agen-

cies and a supporting industry of labour recruitment agencies that became prolific at preparing and exporting Filipino labour to the world. The labour export policy of the Philippines kept the economy afloat, but resulted in a constant exodus of Filipinos to destinations across the world, either temporarily or permanently, including Canada. This is a precarious system and will continue until the labour market in the Philippines is able to properly absorb Filipino workers. The precariousness of the system was shown during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020-21, during which time hundreds of thousands of Filipinos were repatriated from other countries, and those with overseas contracts were unable to leave due to travel restrictions. In Canada, too, many Filipinos suffered from job loss in industries hit hard economically during the pandemic.

A third major reason is demand for immigrants in Canada. It has long been a reality that Canada needs immigrants for its economy to grow, and this remains true in the twenty-first century. In the late nineteenth and into the middle of the twentieth century, Filipinos were not welcome in Canada, based upon their ethnic identity and geographic origin. Despite this, many early Filipinos in the last decade of the nineteenth century found their way into Canada where they lived and worked, forging the early bonds of the Filipino Canadian community. This community has permeated several Canadian industries, been active in all levels of Canadian politics, and have a long history of cultural organization. Filipino organizations have been sites of development and unity, but have also seen significant moments of community rupture and fracturing.

Filipinos in Canada have strived to maintain their Philippine heritage while integrating into Canadian society. For many, it is not an either-or situation; as one writer in Winnipeg's *Silangan* newspaper wrote in 1980, many view themselves as "a Canadian who is also a Filipino." Filipino Canadians today continue to face challenges in Canada, such as high levels of deprofessionalization, problems with accreditation of foreign-earned credentials, and navigating Canada's frequently changing immigration system. However, Filipino communities across Canada have created opportunities for entertainment, community engagement, activism, and labour, relying upon traditional social network systems to help family and friends immigrate to Canada and integrate into its society.

The history of the Filipino community in Canada is tied to converging factors at the international, national, and local level. Labour needs in specific regions across Canada were fed by corresponding levels of un- or underemployment in regions of the Philippines. Shifting immigration policies in Canada that gradually admitted Filipino immigrants coincided with an increasing emphasis on labour exportation in the Philippines. These developments were all part of wider, global phenomena that saw astronomical increases in migration flows and the creation of systems that allowed for the rapid movement of people worldwide. As policies continue to shift in Canada, the community will continue to grow, driven by needs in Canada and the Philippines.

Recommended Reading

Very few works have been published that assess the Filipino Canadian community in its entirety. The body of work on Filipinos in Canada is focused mainly on urban centres, and represents scholarship in multiple fields. Nearly all the literature focuses on Filipino immigration after the 1960s, with very little research on earlier periods. Thematically, researchers have tended towards labour market integration, such as caregivers and temporary workers, with an increasing amount of attention to Filipino activism and community history. More work needs to be done on the history of Filipinos in Canada. The following list is a brief introduction to the representative works on the subject.

Bonifacio, Glenda Tibe. *Pinay on the Prairies: Filipino Women and Transnational Identities*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013.

Buduhan, Cleto M. "An Urban Village: The Effect of Migration on the Filipino Garment Workers in a Canadian City." PhD Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972.

Chen, Anita Beltran. *From Sunbelt to Snowbelt: Filipinos in Canada*. Calgary: Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, 1998.

Coloma, Roland Sintos, Bonnie S. McElhinny, Lisa M. Davidson, John Paul Catungal, and Ethel Tungohan. *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing invisibility*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Del Rio-Laquian, Eleanor, and Aprodicio A. Laquian. *Seeking a Better Life Abroad: A Study of Filipinos in Canada, 1957-2007*. Manila: Anvil, 2008.

Fillmore, Catherine J. "Experiences of Migration, Settlement and Work Among Filipino Domestic Workers." *Oral History Forum d'histoire orale* 97 (1997): 39-70.

Guevarra, A. R. *Marketing Dreams, Manufacturing Heroes: The Transnational Labor Brokering of Filipino Workers*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009.

Kelly, Philip and Tom Lusi. "Migration and the transnational habitus: Evidence from Canada and the Philippines." *Environment and Planning A* 38, 5 (2006): 831-847.

- Kelly, Philip, Stella Park, Conely de Leon, Jeff Priest. "Profile of Live-in Caregiver Immigrants to Canada, 1993-2009." *TIEDI Analytical Report* 18 (March 2011): 1-16.
- Kelly, Philip F. and Cindy Maharaj. "Immigration Pathways and Next Generation Outcomes: Caribbean and Filipino Children of Caregivers." In Edward Grabb, Jeffrey G. Reitz and Monica Hwang, *Social Inequality in Canada: Dimensions of Disadvantage*. 7th Edition. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Malek, Jon G. "Silangan Rising: Crafting the Filipino Self and the Other in the Diaspora." *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 67, no. 1 (2019): 31-58.
- Marshall, Alison R. *Bayanihan and Belonging: Filipinos and Religion in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Rodriguez, R. M. *Migrants for Export: How the Philippine State Brokers Labor to the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY IN CANADA

Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada Series (previously titled Canada's Ethnic Groups Series) is designed to provide secondary and undergraduate students, historians, and general readers with concise histories of particular ethnocultural communities in Canada, their origins, development, and contemporary situation. The booklets are available in both French and English and include suggestions for further reading. Additional booklets are in the planning stages. The series is published by the Canadian Historical Association in collaboration with the Department of Canadian Heritage, Government of Canada.

1. J.M. Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada* | *Les Écossais au Canada*
2. David Higgs, *The Portuguese in Canada* | *Les Portugais au Canada*
3. W. Peter Ward, *The Japanese in Canada* | *Les Japonais au Canada*
4. D.H. Avery and J.K. Fedorowicz, *The Poles in Canada* | *Les Polonais au Canada*
5. Hugh Johnston, *The East Indians in Canada* | *Les Indiens asiatiques au Canada*
6. James W. St. G. Walker, *The West Indians in Canada* | *Les Antillais au Canada*
7. Bernard L. Vigod, *The Jews in Canada* | *Les Juifs au Canada*
8. Varpu Lindstrom-Best, *The Finns in Canada* | *Les Finlandais au Canada*
9. Jin Tan and Patricia Roy, *The Chinese in Canada* | *Les Chinois au Canada*
10. O.W. Gerus and J.E. Rea, *The Ukrainians in Canada* | *Les Ukrainiens au Canada*
11. K.M. McLaughlin, *The Germans in Canada* | *Les Allemands au Canada*
12. David A. Wilson, *The Irish in Canada* | *Les Irlandais au Canada*
13. J.I. Little, *Ethno-Cultural Transition and Regional Identity in the Eastern Townships of Quebec* | *Évolution ethnoculturelle et identité régionale des Cantons de l'est*
14. Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada* | *Les Italiens au Canada*
15. Reg Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy since Confederation* | *La politique canadienne d'immigration depuis la confédération*
16. Marilyn Barber, *Immigrant Domestic Servants in Canada* | *Les domestiques immigrantes au Canada*
17. Howard Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada since Confederation* | *Les enjeux ethniques dans la politique canadienne depuis la Confédération*
18. Michael D. Behiels, *Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985* | *Le Québec et la question de l'immigration: de l'ethnocentrisme au pluralisme ethnique, 1900-1985*
19. John Herd Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities during Two World Wars* | *Les minorités ethniques pendant les guerres mondiales*

20. Cornelius J. Jaenen, *The Belgians in Canada* | *Les Belges au Canada*
21. Yves Frenette, *The Anglo-Normans in Eastern Canada* | *Les Anglo-Normands dans l'est du Canada*
22. Franca Iacovetta, *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History* | *Les immigrants dans l'historiographie anglo-canadienne*
23. Martin Pâquet, *Toward a Quebec Ministry of Immigration, 1945 to 1968* | *Vers un ministère québécois de l'Immigration, 1945-1968*
24. Marcel Martel, *French Canada: An Account of its Creation and Breakup, 1850-1967* | *Le Canada français : récit de sa formulation et de son éclatement, 1850-1967*
25. Roberto Perin, *The Immigrants' Church: The third force in Canadian Catholicism, 1880-1920* | *L'Église des immigrants : les allophones au sein du catholicisme canadien, 1880-1920*
26. Frank Cosentino, *Afros, Aborigines and Amateur Sport in Pre World War One Canada* | *Les Noirs, les autochtones et le sport amateur dans le Canada d'avant la Première Guerre mondiale*
27. Carmela Patrias, *The Hungarians in Canada* | *Les Hongrois au Canada*
28. Louis-Jacques Dorais, *The Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese in Canada* | *Les Cambodgiens, Laotiens et Vietnamiens au Canada*
29. Royden Loewen, *Ethnic Farm Culture in Western Canada* | *Traits de culture des agriculteurs allophones dans l'ouest du Canada*
30. Mark McGowan, *Creating Canadian Historical Memory: The Case of the Famine Migration of 1847* | *Produire la mémoire historique canadienne : le cas des migrations de la Famine de 1847*
31. John Zucchi, *History of Ethnic Enclaves in Canada* | *Une histoire sur les enclaves ethniques au Canada*
32. Alexandre Freund, *Oral History and Ethnic History* | *L'histoire orale et l'histoire des groupes ethniques*
33. Caroline-Isabelle Caron, *The Acadians* | *Les Acadiens*
34. Lisa Chilton, *Receiving Canada's Immigrants: The Work of the State Before 1930* | *Accueillir les immigrants au Canada : le travail de l'État avant 1930*
35. Marline Epp, *Refugees in Canada: A Brief History* | *Les Réfugiés au Canada : un survol historique*
36. Dennis Molinaro, *Deportation from Canada* | *La Pratique des expulsions au Canada*
37. Jodi Giesbrecht and Travis Tomchuk, *Redress Movements in Canada* | *Mouvements de réparation au Canada*
38. Jon G. Malek, *Filipinos in Canada* | *Les Philippins au Canada*

Canadian
Historical
Association



Société
historique
du Canada

**THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY IN CANADA SERIES**

**1912-130 ALBERT STREET, OTTAWA, ONTARIO K1P 5G4
TEL. 613 233-7885 - FAX 613 565-5445
EMAIL: CHA-SHC@CHA-SHC.CA WEBSITE: WWW.CHA-SHC.CA**
