

“NANNIES STRIKE BACK”: THE REPRESENTATION OF LIVE-IN CAREGIVERS AND  
THE LIVE-IN CAREGIVER PROGRAM IN THE MAINSTREAM AND ETHNIC PRESS

by

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## **Author's Declaration**

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**ABSTRACT**

Utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study examines the representation of live-in caregivers (LC) and the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP), between 2007 and 2013, in eleven mainstream Canadian newspapers (N=32) and five Filipino-Canadian newspapers (N=31). It contributes to the extant media analyses on the LCP by including the perspective of the ethnic press and, thus, the voices of LC, LC advocates, and members of the Filipino community. It also examines the recent hype surrounding the emergence of au pairing as a suitable caregiving option for Canadian families in light of the declining number of LC following the April 1, 2010 reforms to the LCP. This study concludes that the mainstream Canadian press portrayal of LC and their children is congruous with the “Problem Approach,” while that in the ethnic newspapers is congruous with the “Agency Approach” providing a space to both empower LC and resist negative mainstream portrayals.

**Key words:**

Live-in caregiver program; ethnic newspapers; mainstream newspapers; Filipino-Canadians; critical discourse analysis.

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Finally, I would like to note that the title for my MRP, “Nannies Strike Back,” is from a 2010 article in *Atin Ito News Feature*, which was utilized in my analysis.

## **Dedication**

I would like to dedicate this Major Research Paper to my grandmother, Fotini.

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## **Chapter 1: Introductory Comments**

### **Introduction**

Canada has relied on overseas domestic workers since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Childless British women were the original source of domestic workers; however, as demand outweighed supply, the Canadian government turned towards European women, which was followed by Caribbean women under the Caribbean Domestic Scheme of 1955. The 1980's saw a shift in source countries as more Filipinas entered Canada due, in part, to the Philippino government's labour export economy and high unemployment rate (Steill and England 1999, 46-47). The present-day Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) allows foreign caregivers with proficiency in one of Canada's official languages, a high school diploma, and caregiving training to enter Canada under a temporary work permit and acquire permanent residency, and eventual Canadian citizenship, after completing two years of full-time, live-in caregiving. According to Karas (1997), women comprised 84% of participants in the LCP based on 2002 data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (as cited in Oxman-Martinex, Hanley, and Cheung 2009, 5). Filipinas comprised 95% of LC entering Canada under the LCP in 2006 (Pearson 2008, 10) and in the past twenty-five years over 125,000 women have entered Canada as live-in domestic workers (Hodge 2006, 61).

The LCP has been scrutinized by academics and activists on numerous fronts. As temporary workers, LC do not have access to the general labour market; instead, they must work as live-in caregivers, are unable to sponsor immediate family members to come to Canada during this two-year period, and must reside in their employer's home (Carens 2008, 432-433). After this two-year period of mandatory live-in caregiving, LC can apply for permanent residency. However, during this period, LC do not have access to the legal rights and protections afforded

to citizens or permanent residents under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Valiani 2009, 2). Unlike a public corporation or a ordinary workplace, the home is a space that is not regulated by the state (Grande and Kerr 1998, 10) and, as Valiani (2009) points out, the fact that working conditions go unchecked exacerbates the vulnerability LC face and increases the likelihood of their being abused, overworked, and underpaid by Canadian employers (14). To make matters worse, a LC who experiences abusive or exploitative working conditions cannot simply walk out on her employer because she would face deportation to her country of origin; instead, she must find a new employer and, in turn, obtain a new temporary work permit, which consequently restarts the “24 month clock of live-in work” and protracts the achievement of permanent residency (Valiani 2009, 11-12).

The Philippino economy is dependent on a labour export economy and it actively markets its nationals as patient, humane, among other qualities that are desired by foreign corporations and families seeking to hire “affect labourers” (Ty 2012, 52-53). These factors, coupled with the influx of Filipinas as domestic workers, have “contributed to the perception of Filipinas in Canada as migrant domestic workers rather than professionals, entrepreneurs, or intellectuals” (Ty 2012, 56). Ty (2012) argues that academics who, for instance, focus on Filipinas as domestic workers rather than as lawyers, doctors, engineers, and among other professionals, “[constructs] a kind of collective identity” that is essentialist, fails to highlight the complexity and diversity of the Filipino-Canadian community (55, 62), and consequently reproduces the idea that Filipinas (or Filipinos) are “naturally” inclined to do “affective labour” or caregiving of various sorts. Ty’s concerns centre around the notion that continuing to write about Filipinos and Filipinas in a narrow manner has the potential to perpetuate stereotypes rather than challenge them.

However, this research project aims to overcome concerns raised by Ty (2012) and fills a gap in the current academic literature in two ways: by including the mainstream newspaper representation, and an analysis of the ethnic newspapers' representation of LC and the LCP between 2007 and 2013 (more specifically May 1, 2013), which disrupts the prevailing narrative surrounding Filipina LC as passive, docile workers because it provides a space for them to voice their perspectives. Although the Filipino-Canadian press has dealt extensively on this topic, there has not been much scholarly work on the ethnic press as a site of resistance for LC, LC advocates, and the Filipino-Canadian community to voice their grievances against this labour migration program and, thus, challenge the representation of LC found in mainstream Canadian newspapers (April Lindgren, personal communication, February 28, 2013).

Thus, this study aims to compare and contrast the representation of LC and the LCP, in addition to the growth of the Filipino population in Canada, the children of Filipina LC, and the emergence of au pairing, in the mainstream Canadian and Filipino-Canadian newspapers between 2007 and 2013 (more specifically, May 1, 2013).

### **Dissemination**

In terms of dissemination, this study will be of interest to budding journalists as well as those interested in the LCP. Perhaps some journalism students might want to better understand the role of ethnic newspapers as a tool of resistance for the Filipino-Canadian community, LC, and caregiver advocates. The research highlights the fact that newspapers might discuss a particular topic, but the ideologies, subtle and not so subtle language, and use of particular voices, or lack thereof, produces a "total package" that shapes the public's cumulative understanding of a particular demographic. As Cox (2007) explains, "...representations of things that are in circulation, for example in the media, are important in influencing how meanings are

read” (285). As the mainstream newspapers construct a particular narrative, it becomes, over time, accepted as fact and truth. The process of untangling these narratives is important so as to understand what is being said “between the lines.”

### **Researcher Self-Disclosure**

I have come to understand that the researcher is not a neutral tool but invariably implicated in the research design and analysis (Ravitch and Riggan 2011, 51-52). My academic interests during my graduate and undergraduate studies at the University of Toronto centered on the nexus between crime and gender. Thus, upon entering the ISS program, I did not have a specific topic for my research project, although I wanted analyze gender in some way. In the fall semester, I completed a presentation for a course on indentured labourers from India to the Caribbean, during which I proposed the following question to the class: Is Canada’s LCP comparable to or a form of modern-day indentured labor as Macklin (1999) argues? Based on this initial interest in the LCP, I subsequently completed a research paper for another ISS course on transnational mothering as it relates to Canada’s LCP. It was also during the fall semester that I was introduced to CDA as a methodology in a third ISS course. Thus, my research topic was the culmination of my initial, general interest in gender and knowledge gained through course work. The idea to utilize the “Problem Approach” and “Agency Approach” (Dansereau-Cahill 2010) as a theoretical underpinning in an analysis of the mainstream and ethnic newspapers’ representation of LC and the LCP emerged through research during the second semester.

On a final note, I think it is also important for future readers to know that I do not personally know any LC, meaning I am emotionally detached from this subject position. My interest in this topic stems from its intersectional nature as it weaves an analysis of gender, immigration, temporary foreign workers, and language into a complex yet neat box. Lazar (2007)

notes that it is problematic “when (white) scholars from the north (or west) make authoritative knowledge claims about communities in the south” because it can produce neo-imperialism (155). Moreover, it can also be problematic to “[research] a community that is not one’s own... when the direction of expertise flows from traditionally privileged groups at the centre to subaltern groups” (155). Additionally, it can also be problematic when research is not undertaken in collaboration with the locals “but from an external position of authority” (155). While these points are important, my inclusion of Filipino-Canadian newspaper articles sought to address the aforementioned concerns.

## **Chapter 2: Background**

In this Chapter, I will introduce my literature review, which centred on Canada's live-in caregiver program, au pairing, and nanny agencies. This literature helped establish the theoretical perspective employed in this analysis, specifically Dansereau-Cahill's (2010) "Agency Approach" and "Problem Approach," in addition to helping shape my research questions that are outlined in the Inquiry section.

### **Literature Review**

#### *Media Analysis on Live-in Caregivers*

Inouye (2007, 2012) conducted a media analysis of the representation of both the LCP and Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) in 335 Ontario newspaper articles, in 31 different newspapers, between 1987 and 2007. Inouye (2007) examines the "ways in which people who come to Canada as migrant workers are "ideologically constructed" in the mainstream Ontario newspapers and how journalists are complicit in reproducing dominant narratives by neglecting to criticize unfree labour programs (1, 5). Her study focused on the paradigms of neoliberalism, nationalism, and citizenship discourses embedded within Canadian newspaper articles (Inouye 2007, 8, 33). For instance, in an Editorial from the *Toronto Star* the reporter maintains that "a live-in caregiver is a necessity" that allows Canadian families to pursue careers and "for many people in developing countries the chance to work in Canada is a dream" (44). Underlying this rhetoric is neoliberalism as Canadian families must find their own child or elder care provider (44). Moreover, this passage demonstrates that the needs of Canadian families are prioritized because the LCP allows Canadian women to work outside the home. Lastly, the negative features of the LCP are concealed because of the opportunity it provides foreign caregivers to send home remittances (44).

As unfree labour migrants, caregivers and agricultural workers face and endure similar hardships, which makes a comparative analysis of these two programs favourable; however, key differences exist. Firstly, as Basok (2000a) explains, “Landless and poorly educated heads of families with no alternative sources of income are... preferred” under the SAWP because they are a more reliable demographic for farmers (224). In other words, they are more likely to “put-up” with difficult working conditions because they lack employment alternatives in Mexico and need to send money back home. In contrast, LC are required to possess a high school diploma to qualify for the LCP and be proficient in English or French. Secondly, agricultural workers remain in Canada up to eight months and must return home at the end of their contract (Basok 2000b, 91), thus rendering their migration “circular” in nature rather than permanent (Hannebry 2012, 13). Although many return to the same employer year after year (Basok 2000a, 232), SAW do not have the option of attaining permanent residency. In sharp contrast, caregivers who arrive under the LCP can attain permanent residency after completing two-years of full-time, live-in caregiving. Thus, in comparison to Inouye’s (2007, 2012) approach, this study aims to present an in-depth analysis of the representation of LC and the LCP in the mainstream Canadian and Filipino-Canadian newspapers.

#### *Citizen-Employers’ “Conditional Love” Towards Live-in Caregivers*

A key theme in Inouye’s (2012) study are “[statements] of love” expressed by citizen-employers towards their domestic worker, prompting her to ask what this love really means and what accounts for this tendency to express love (573). Inouye (2012) concludes that “the love expressed towards [LC] come with particular conditions, and is rather unconditional” (573-574). However, the use of the word “unconditional” is a misnomer because Inouye finds that unfree migrants are viewed as deserving of love from their employer *only* when they are obedient and

hardworking, demonstrating the conditionality of this professed “love” between an employer and his or her caregiver (580).

Despite this issue, Inouye’s study (2007, 2012) was included in this analysis because it provided a basis from which I devised my own research questions. For example, Inouye’s study (2012) found that between 1999 and 2000 Ontario newspapers reported on a domestic worker, Leticia Cables, who faced deportation orders for violating her work permit by taking on a second job, prompting the media to construct her as “the nanny who worked too hard” (580). Cables was deported to the Philippines but was granted re-entry into Canada on Christmas Eve 2000, which Inouye concludes helped construct Canada as a generous nation while concealing the indentured conditions associated with the LCP (581). Cables’ employer, Deborah Kruhlack, is quoted as feeling broken hearted over Cables’ impending deportation which she equates to losing one’s best friend (581). Inouye points out that the newspaper reports did *not* interview Cables to see if she shared these sentiments about her employer. Inouye also argues that Kruhlack’s emotions were disingenuous and owed to the fact that she was losing an employee whose labour made it possible for her to have a career (581). Cables’ presence in these reports, or lack thereof, pointed to the need for me to examine the role ethnic newspapers can/serve for the Filipino-Canadian community when it comes to various issues surrounding the LCP.

#### *Live-in Caregivers as Victims, Agentic, or Agentic Victims?*

Dansereau-Cahill (2010) conducted informal, open-ended interviews to examine the settlement of four LC in Toronto. She outlines two competing theoretical frameworks: the “Agency Approach” emphasizes the activism and resiliency of LC, while the dominant portrayal of LC in the extant academic literature is, according to Dansereau-Cahill, congruous with the “Problem Approach” since LC are portrayed as victims of neoliberalism and patriarchy (9-10).



At the same time, this binary is rigid in that LC are either engaged in activism to resist the oppressive macro-structures associated with the LCP or disempowered. For instance, Dansereau-Cahill (2010) initially describes LC as in “a crisis of being uprooted, isolated, and in legal limbo,” but utilizes interview data to challenge their portrayal as disempowered and isolated in the academic literature (27). With this in mind, perhaps some LC oscillate between these two polar states or are, what I will term, “agentic victims” in the sense that they are cognizant of the drawbacks to the LCP, such as lengthy family separation and the live-in requirement, but are stuck between a “rock and a hard place”, as the saying goes, and choose to become a caregiver because of the lack of opportunities in the Philippines.

Based on these interviews, Dansereau-Cahill (2010) finds that “these women are not hapless victims” but engage in community activism “to break the isolation [inherent to the LCP]” (41-42). Dansereau-Cahill concludes from her interview data “that these women are not hapless victims by focusing on the agency and activism they use to break the isolation...” associated with the LCP (42) which is congruous with the “Agency Approach.” For instance, the sample developed networks with other Filipina LC that enabled them to socialize and participate in community events, activism, and organizations for LC (37-38). Religion was another key theme that emerged from her interviews and it gave her sample strength during difficult times with an employer (33-34). The quotations the author provides do not necessarily suggest that these women attend Church to form a support network to combat the loneliness associated with the LCP; instead, religion seems to be a personal or private matter that is used as a coping mechanism deployed during difficult moments. Another theme that emerged is what Dansereau-Cahill terms a desire for “normalcy” since her sample sought activities outside their job as a LC, such as volunteering within their community, pursuing education, and going to clubs with friends

(36-37). Dansereau-Cahill's study was included in this literature review because this comparative analysis of the mainstream and ethnic press aims to "tease out" and contrast the presence and/or absence of the "Agency Approach" and "Problem Approach" in the mainstream and ethnic press' coverage of the LCP and LC.

*Racialized Stereotypes of Live-in Caregivers by Nanny Agencies*

Pratt's (1997) interviews with ten nanny agencies in Vancouver, British Columbia examined the racialized notions nanny agencies possess and how they act upon, and thus perpetuate, particular stereotypes of Filipino, British, and European caregivers in providing services to Canadian families. Nanny agencies function as intermediaries between LC and Canadian families seeking to hire a caregiver since they match a LC with a family based on the family's needs and, often, the agency's racialized notions. This study revealed that although Filipinas are perceived to be uncivilized and unable to discipline children, they were viewed as willing to do housework, unlike British or European caregivers (162-164, 167). In contrast, British women were viewed as professional "nannies" because they complete two-year nanny programs (163). European women were perceived to be "a pleasure to have in your house" and "cultured," meaning "they'll teach your children more" than a Filipina housekeeper (163-165). Pratt notes that the material consequences of such perceptions are that wages for European nannies were higher than those of Filipinas "not only [because of] superior training, but also to their sense of entitlement and race" (168). Interestingly, the author concludes that Canadian women who employ Filipinas perceive them as uneducated and uncivilized because it justifies the latter's low wages. In addition, this rhetoric prevents Canadian families, especially mothers, from recognizing they have hired "low-priced, well-educated labour" which would evoke feelings of guilt and call into question "the morality of working mothers" in the Global North as

“a well-trained Filipino woman is staying at home with young children and the Canadian mother is not” (172-173).

Steill and England’s (1999) case study of 18 current or former Filipino, Jamaican, and British domestic workers employed in Toronto similarly addresses the stereotypes of these three national groups which are gendered, raced, and classed (43, 45). As in Pratt’s (1997) study, the placement agencies Steill and England (1999) interviewed held similar stereotypes regarding Filipina “housekeepers” and English “nannies,” while Jamaican domestic workers were perceived to be aggressive and difficult employees (44, 48, 55-56). Interestingly, the authors found that domestic workers also internalize and engage with these stereotypes to differentiate themselves from fellow domestic workers. For instance, a Jamaican domestic worker, Cynthia, explained that, unlike Filipinas who lack proficiency in English, she is able to express her concerns and objections to particular working conditions, prompting her to conclude that she does not consider herself to be as exploitable as a Filipina (48-49). However, when Cynthia stood up for herself it is, in turn, interpreted by placement agencies as “aggressive” rather than as exercising agency to thwart exploitation. It is paradoxical, however, that Steill and England (1999) only quote Jamaican domestic workers and omit to directly quote Filipinas, thereby perpetuating the very stereotype they describe: the docile Filipina LC who does not complain about her working or living conditions in contrast to the “vocal” Jamaican domestic worker.

As Matsaganis, Katz, and Ball-Rokeach (2011) explain, “In general, the ethnic media have the capacity to raise awareness about issues not addressed in the mainstream media” (17). As Reese (1990) argues, “Journalists, having internalized ‘commonsensical notions of who ought to be treated as authoritative,’ ‘accept the frames imposed on events by officials and marginalise the delegitimate voices that fall outside the dominant elite circles’” (as cited in Richardson 2007,

36). van Dijk (2000) notes that the words of those not in power are dismissed as irrelevant while the words of those with power are viewed as truth (as cited in McGregor 2003). van Dijk (1993) notes that the discursive strategies of those in power are given more attention than those who resist discourses that maintain inequality; moreover, “minorities or other dominated groups simply will hardly be allowed to provide a totally different version of the ‘facts’...” (250, 265). As Ojo argues (2006), the domination of Canadian media by “a few white conservative rich men” had led to an unfair representation of minorities (347). The above omission in Steill and England’s (1999) study, coupled with the comments by Reese, van Dijk, and Ojo, highlighted the importance of examining the ethnic newspapers so as to include voices that are oftentimes marginalized in the mainstream Canadian newspapers.

#### *Leaving the Children of Live-in Caregivers out of the Field of Psychology*

Vahdat (2011) examines the omission of the children of LC from the field of psychology, which owes to the raced and classed nature of this academic discipline (2, 9-11, 48-49). Interestingly, while the author explains that these children are omitted from the field of psychology, she does explain why she chose not interview children (or young adults) whose parents are current or former LC so as to understand the issues of separation they face(d). Perhaps this omission owed to time constraints, the red-tape surrounding ethnics approval, or sampling issues, though such as study would have ensured that these children are not “passive” or a “subject being studied,” and would have allowed them to actively voice the pain of separation due to the structural features of the LCP.

The theoretical framework Vahdat employs centres on Bowlby’s “Attachment Theory” within the field of psychology. Bowlby conducted research on children who were separated from their mother or orphaned as a result of the bombing in Britain during WWII. He concludes that

consistent emotional bond is important for children, that abrupt separations are emotionally harmful for children, and recurrent separations are even more harmful because children may develop “problematic personalities” or “psychopathological problems” (12-14). Vahdat acknowledges that Bowlby’s theory has been challenged by feminists because it blamed working mothers for their children’s personality problems, emerged as women were entering the workforce, and gave fathers a “pass” in childrearing (15-17). At the same time, “Attachment Theory” has the propensity to remove the agency of children who, despite being separated from their mother, do not develop behavioral problems because of the presence of other supportive family members. This is an issue Parreñas (2002) takes up in her analysis of the Philippine media’s vilification of Filipinas who go abroad to work and, thus, are viewed as challenging traditional gender role expectations.

Vahdat also argues that not only is psychological research on the children of LC that is lacking, but there is also a need for researchers to conduct research on the separation and personality issues of Canadian children who are separated from their LC following the termination of an employment contract, among other reasons (27, 49-50). This is an interesting gap in the literature, though Vahdat’s point presents some issues. First, Vahdat acknowledges that the field of psychology *excludes* racialized, marginalized children. Thus, a study of Canadian children who have experienced separation from their caregiver would continue the tradition of studying privileged demographics over marginalized ones. Second, Bowlby’s theory specifically relates to biological mothers whereas LC are employees who are hired to care for a child, though they may, and often do, work for the same family for years. Third, it is arguable that the hardships Canadian children experience as a result of being separated from their caregiver is something that these children can overcome given the likelihood that another

caregiver will be hired. This is a sharp contrast to the separation experienced by children in the Global South who are separated from their mothers for years under the LCP. Fourth, Vahdat neglects to consider that if a study was conducted on Canadian children who were separated from their LC and the results were congruous with Bowlby's theory, this could serve to vilify LC for causing harm to Canadian children. Such an implication would further serve to vilify Filipina caregivers as in Parreñas' (2002) study. With this said, Vahdat's study was included in my literature review because it made an unsupported claim I sought to address in my research project, specifically that the "mainstream media is generally mute about live-in caregivers and their children" (46).

#### *Au Pair caregivers*

Au pairing is touted as a cultural exchange program in which young people can be "part of the family" and learn about the host country's culture and language (Cox 2007; Hess and Puckhaber 2004). Those interested in coming to Canada as an au pair can do so under the International Experience Class (IEC) (because there is no designated au pair visa program) provided they meet certain requirements: between the ages of 18 and 30 (or up to 35 years of age for some source countries) from the list of countries with which Canada has an arrangement under the Working Holiday category; among a number of other requirements that vary by source country. In comparison to LC, au pairs are given an open work permit allowing them to work for more than one employer, are given an allowance, are expected to do *some* housework, and it is generally a short-term stay (six to twelve months).

Cox (2007) surveyed and interviewed au pairs working in London, England to learn about their migration and work experiences in Britain (286). Cox's (2007) data provided insights into the consequences of the sexualized images of au pairs in the British media, namely issues

surrounding their safety when they reveal to British men their profession (291). Interestingly, this sample tried to counter this sexualized image in various ways. For instance, they stated they did not spend much time or money on their appearance and preferred to spend money on language classes. They also emphasized their status as students who arrived in Britain to work, learn English, and enjoy British culture rather going out to meet men (291-293). This article was included in this literature review because of the claims put forth by an often-cited au pair proponent regarding the supposed demise of the LCP and rise of au pairing for Canadian families seeking caregiving options.

The negative experiences of Hess and Puckhaber's (2004) sample serves as a basis from which to assess the way au pairing is described in the Canadian mainstream newspapers. Their study of 10 au pairs (prior to their departure from Slovakia, during their stay in Germany, and then after their one-year visa had expired) (67) revealed that these Slovakian youth were eager to go abroad as au pairs because of several expectations: the opportunity to experience German culture and learn the German language (68); that they would to be treated like a "big sister," and thus like a member of the family, rather than as an employee (69); and that they would share housework with their host family (69). Instead, they complained about their long and irregular work schedules, poor accommodations, many responsibilities, and the fact that meals were prepared by host families without consideration for the au pair's preferences (72-74). Hess and Puckhaber (2004) note that the "official image of the au pair placement as a form of cultural exchange helps disguise the nature of the work involved and ensures that the working conditions are only minimally regulated, thus meeting the needs of host families" (75).

Similarly, Geserick (2012) interviewed German and Austrian youth (1 male and 23 females, between the ages of 18 and 23) to ascertain what motivated them to become an au pair

in the United States (53). The study found that “...the childcare aspect is almost never the primary motivation” (62) and only 4 out of 24 respondents noted becoming an au pair was as their primary motivation for going abroad (59). This finding prompts the author to conclude that becoming an au pair was “a vehicle to transport these young people to their major aims” (60). The sample’s desire to leave home, travel, visit the U.S., learn English, and experience a new culture were the key “pull factors” (54-57, 60). Geserick (2012) notes that some respondents choose to become an au pair “without much a priori reflection...” (61), which likely owes to their youthfulness and inability to appreciate that childrearing/caregiving is a big and serious responsibility. This article was included in this literature review to compare the reasons au pairs quoted in the Canadian press put forth for coming to Canada.

### **Theoretical Perspective**

Dansereau-Cahill (2010) argues that the “Problem Approach” is “the dominant framework from which scholars have analyzed the situation of live-in caregivers and tends to pathologize LC and portrays them as powerless to shape their future” (10). She argues this portrayal is rooted in neoliberalism and patriarchy since LC are perceived to be “caught in a web of macro-economic and societal forces leaving them powerless to shape their future in their new country” (18). Dansereau-Cahill argues that the neoliberal policies of the 1990s, with its focus on economic rationalism and individual responsibility, thwarted the implementation of a national childcare policy (10, 12-13), which in turn created a need for foreign caregivers. Furthermore, Dansereau-Cahill maintains that not allowing LC to work for more than one Canadian family or outside their employer’s home is indicative of a desire to “control and possess their female and racialized employee” (15). In contrast, the “Agency Approach” “centers on the activism and resiliency displayed by LC to adapt and shape their future in Canada” (9). This perspective holds



that despite the fact that the structural features of the LCP “have rendered these women isolated, dispensable, and exploitable,” such “hardships have also led to creative ways to [cope]” (18). As she points out, this is congruous with the social phenomenon known as “agency” or one’s ability to change their life circumstances rather than being a victim of it.

Resistance, according to Dansereau-Cahill, is one of the three forms of agency (the other two being Social Capital and Resiliency) and has been applied to settlement workers who, for instance, choose to provide service to individuals who do not meet eligibility criteria (22). Resistance likewise emerged as an integral component of my analysis of the ethnic press. For the purposes of my study, resistance refers to opposing or challenging the portrayal of LC as servants, passive, or victims, and their children as troubled, which is indicative of Dansereau-Cahill’s “Agency Approach.”

### **The Inquiry**

Based on this review of the literature, these are the specific questions this analysis of the mainstream and ethnic press’ representation of LC and the LCP set out to address: (1) How have live-in caregivers and the LCP been represented in the mainstream Canadian (i.e., the “Problem Approach”)?; (2) How have caregivers and the LCP been represented in the Filipino-Canadian newspapers (i.e., the “Agency Approach”)?; (3) Are the children of LC absent from the mainstream Canadian newspapers? If not, in what ways are they discussed?; (4) Are the children of LC absent or present in the ethnic newspapers? If yes, in what ways are they constructed?; (5) Are the Filipino-Canadian newspapers a site of resistance that allows LC, LC advocates, or members of the Filipino-Canadian community to voice their grievances regarding the LCP?; (6) Are the Filipino-Canadian newspapers a tangible site for community activism and mobilization with regards to the LCP?; (7) Do the Filipino-Canadian newspapers disrupt the narratives

surrounding the LCP and LC that is found in the mainstream Canadian newspapers?; (8) Do the ethnic newspapers examine news stories or topics related to the LCP that are omitted from the mainstream press?; (9) Does au pairing harken back to a retrogressive preference for white, European domestic workers?; (10) How is Canada and the Philippines portrayed in the mainstream and ethnic press?; and (11) How are caregivers' spouses portrayed in the mainstream and ethnic press?

### **Chapter 3: Research Methods**

This chapter introduces readers to the methodological approach undertaken in this comparative analysis of LC and the LCP in the mainstream and ethnic press, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It also addresses and rebuts some of the most common criticisms of this methodology. Moreover, this chapter explains the scope of the study and how data was collected, organized, and selected for analysis.

#### **Methodology**

This study takes a qualitative approach by utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the Canadian and Filipino-Canadian newspapers' construction of LC and the LCP as well as the children of LC, the rising Filipino population in Canada, the turn to au pairing, among other themes. In a nutshell, Fairclough (1995) defines CDA as

an analytic framework – a theory and method – for studying language in its relation to power and ideology. This framework is seen here and throughout as a resource for people who are struggling against domination and oppression in linguistic form (as cited in Poole 2010, 142).

Moreover, CDA as “a theory and method of newspaper analysis” provides an “interpretation of the meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meaning from it” as in the case of content analysis (Richardson 2007, 15). CDA’s goal is to reveal the assumptions and use of selective language that goes unnoticed by the general public (Poole 2010, 140). Power relations are also an integral interest of CDA since this methodology “engages with, analyses and critiques social power and how this is represented in the news” (Richardson 2007, 29). As Wodak (1996) notes, CDA “is not concerned with language or language use per se” (as cited in Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter 2000, 146) but “aims to link linguistic analysis with social analysis” by examining “the relationship(s) between discourse, and its social conditions, ideologies, and power relations” (Richardson 2007, 45).

Archer and Berdahl's (2011) discussion of content analysis, however, provided valuable guidance for this study. These authors distinguish between "structural features" of a text, such as who wrote the article, its length, and the location of the article in the newspaper, and its "substantive features," including manifest and latent content (213). Manifest content refers to what is blatantly said, while latent content is harder to measure because it is more subjective and involves analyzing the implied meanings of text, images, words, or symbols (213). Additionally, as Richardson (2007) explains, "With discourse analysis, the unit of analysis is the text (as a whole) and hence analysis should ideally combine a discussion of what the text represents and excludes... rather than on a sentence-by-sentence basis" (58).

As Richardson's (2007) book explains, CDA can be undertaken in a multitude of ways since it is not a "homogeneous method, school, or paradigm" (45), such as a "lexical analysis" (examining the choice and meaning of words in newspaper articles; examining "indexical meaning" (the way individuals are introduced in newspaper articles); examining "transitivity" (the relationship between actors and how actions are represented in a text); examining "rhetorical tropes" (the use of hyperboles, metaphors, metonyms, among others), and the list goes on. Thus, while CDA might on the surface appear to be more of an art form than a "science," it is, in actuality, a complex methodology undertaken by linguists.

A key criticism of CDA is that scholars committed to this methodology have "an explicit commitment to social action and to the political left wing" by "empowering the powerless, giving voice to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs" (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000, 449, 454). Moreover, there exists the concern that "[a]nalysts project their own political biases and prejudices onto their data and analyze them accordingly" (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000, 456). As van Dijk (1993) explains, the work of

critical discourse analysis is political because it seeks “change through critical understanding” of discourse employed by “power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone, or ignore social inequality and injustice” (252). Here, it is important to note that Western Marxism served as the foundation for CDA (Carvalho 2008, 162), which explains why this methodological approach is considered to document the tension between the oppressed and oppressors (Hammersley 1997, 245). However, I concur with Kress’ (1990) contention that CDA is not less scientific than other methodological approaches but perhaps “more so for being aware of its own political, ideological, and ethical stance” (85) (as cited in Hammersley 1997, 240). CDA is, therefore, inherently political in its approach and goals, namely to “not only understanding the world- and especially the world of discourse - but also to [change] it” (van Dijk 1995, 436) by “[providing] an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality” (Dijk 1993, 279). Yet, Hammersley (1997) notes that this is a significant undertaking and that van Dijk does not explain “the nature of the desired change” (245).

Despite this, critical discourse analysis undertakes a worthwhile endeavor because not only is oppression or inequality overt or visceral, but it can also be “discursively enacted and reproduced dominance” (van Dijk 1995, 435). In other words, “dominance may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear ‘natural’ and quite ‘acceptable’” (van Dijk 1993, 254). Richardson (2007) explains,

there is a dialectical relationship between the consumption of journalistic texts and social practices: readers decode the meanings of texts using knowledge and beliefs of the world, and these texts go on to shape (through either transformation or reproduction) these same readers’ knowledge and beliefs (45).

Without inquiry certain representations become understood as “truth” rather than socially and discursively constructed and perpetuated. In other words, if we change the way we talk (or write)

about a particular marginalized group, perhaps this will lead to more substantive changes as Fairclough (1992) suggests (as cited in Richardson 2007, 28-29). As Wodak (1996) explains, CDA holds there is a reciprocal relationship and influence between texts/language and society/social structures, and vice versa (as cited in Titscher, Stefan, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter 2000, 146). As Titscher, Stefan, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter (2000) succinctly state, discourse analysis therefore refers to an analysis of relationships between language use and the wider social structures (149).

Other critics undermine the need for critical discourse analysts and the legitimacy of these scholars. Jones argues "...we have all been busily criticising (publicly or privately) everybody else's words and deeds quite happily from as long as we can remember without any help from the descriptive linguist or critical discourse analyst" (340). His argument points the need to frame such "criticising," which CDA does provide given that there are many different approaches to conducting a study utilizing CDA (i.e., Fairclough, Wodak, van Dijk, among other notable CDA practitioners) as well as "types" of CDA that are theoretically diverse (i.e., Foucauldian CDA, Feminist CDA, and so on) (van Dijk 2001, 353).

Jones (2007) also argues "...there is no method of linguistic analysis in the world that can tell us whether we should take a particular utterance as a question, what the question is about, what the answer might be, or whether and how we should answer it at all" (342). This implies that just because a critical discourse analyst says that a particular text reveals gendered notions, for example, we should not accept it as "truth." Instead, Jones neglects to recognize that CDA does not intend to say that a particular text is gendered, for instance, but it is a method to essentially "read between the lines" to unearth the ideologies embedded in text, speech, and images. As Poole (2010) notes, "the interpretations offered by critical discourse analysts can

never be taken as final” and “no matter how exhaustive the linguistic description of a text, the Critical Discourse Analyst can never indisputably ‘reveal’ a particular discourse at work” (147). In other words, CDA provides an analysis of language rather than a positivist approach with concrete facts and figures. Jones also states that “people can be racist, words cannot” (342), which is reminiscent of the belief that “guns don’t kill people, people kill people.” Invariably, words are not neutral or value-free, but carry particular ideologies, which is a theme that emerges in the data with regards to the so-called “quiet” growth of the Filipino-Canadian population.

### **Scope**

Inouye (2007) chose Ontario newspapers because, as she explains, LC and SAW are mostly found in this province (40). However, agricultural workers are concentrated in rural, farming regions in Ontario, while LC are employed across Canada in both rural and urban centres. Accordingly, the scope of this research project is wider as it examined mainstream and ethnic newspapers from across Canada to reflect the above nature of the LCP.

Furthermore, Inouye (2007) points out that “there is an increasing tendency for the expression of commercially popular perspectives” in the journalistic field so that journalists feel pressured to produce articles that will “ensure a certain employment security” so that articles “reflect the ideologies of the owners of the media conglomerates for which they are writing” (17, 20). Moreover, she points out that the mainstream Canadian media is “becoming concentrated amongst fewer conglomerates, and that the ownership of these conglomerates constitutes a particular set of the ruling class that is aligned with conservative (pro-capitalist) ideologies...” (19). Inouye (2012) explains that the “ownership of news media corporations in Canada remains largely concentrated in the hands of conservative ideologues” and she concedes that “it is unrealistic to conceive of the press as a source of anti-oppressive, counter-capitalist oppositional,

radical ideas and experiences” (578). At the same time, it is important to note that journalists do in fact challenge injustices through their work, such as the *Toronto Star*’s 2011 reporting on elder abuse in Ontario nursing homes, Lindsay Kines’ 2009 reports in the *Times Colonist* on housing conditions and the resultant health concerns in First Nations reserves on the Northern tip of Vancouver Island, or the *Toronto Star*’s 2002 series on racial profiling by Toronto police.

Additionally, Inouye notes that migrants

remain outside of any type of national dialogue that might originate from the [mainstream] media. At the same time, as a result of their limited access to the production of media, they remain outside of the dialogue that informs the mass media (Inouye 2007, 104).

These two points highlighted the need to examine (1) the ethnic press as a corollary to the mainstream media and (2) whether and how the Filipino-Canadian newspapers and journalists challenge the mainstream newspapers’ narratives and portrayal of LC and the LCP. My assumption entering this research project is that ethnic newspapers are small-scale organizations, sometimes composed of freelance journalists who perhaps possess more “freedom” in their reporting. Another hypothesis I had was that ethnic newspapers that employ reporters from within their ethnic community are more inclined or committed to challenging dominant ideologies surrounding the LCP, directly quote LC as opposed to their citizen-employers, and are critical of the raced, classed, and gendered portrayal of LC and LCP. This analysis included five Filipino-Canadian, English language newspapers (See Appendices 2 and 4).

The approach to collecting newspaper articles was also wide in scope. Firstly, I did not solely focus on metaphors, for instance, as some critical discourse analysts do. Instead, I wanted to look at the “complete” picture to gather an adequate amount of data. Secondly, my temporal scope is meant to “pick-up” from where Inouye (2007, 2012) left off. In this way, this study examines newspaper articles from the mainstream Canadian and Filipino-Canadian newspapers



between 2007 and 2013, more specifically May 1, 2013. It is interesting to note that Inouye (2007, 2012) included the 2009 Ruby Dhalla scandal in her analysis even though it fell outside the timeframe of her study. Magdalene Gordo and Richelyn Tongson were hired in 2008 to care for Dhalla's mother, but in 2009 these LC accused the former Liberal MP and her family of mistreatment, namely having their passports seized and illegally hired, required to work long hours, completing non-caregiver work like washing cars and shining shoes, among other allegations (Leslie 2009). This inclusion is problematic because, as Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) note, critics suggest critical discourse analysts engage in "selectivity, partiality, and prejudice in their data analysis" (455) by "cherry picking" the articles that align with their political beliefs or thesis. With this being said, although the Dhalla incident fell within the temporal scope of my research it was not included in this analysis because both Inouye (2007, 2012) and Gilliland (2012) examined this rather sensationalized event.

### **Data Collection and Tools**

Data collection of mainstream Canadian newspaper articles took place between May 1<sup>st</sup> and May 3<sup>rd</sup> of 2013. The two databases that were utilized to collect newspaper articles from the mainstream newspapers were Canadian Newstand and Factiva. The data was filtered by a particular timeframe (01/01/2007 to 01/05/2013) and by country (Canada). The following key terms were entered in these two databases: live-in caregiver program, caregiver program, caregivers, LCP, and au pairs. This process yielded a total of 181 articles.

Prior to reading this large set of data, I created a list of broad categories that emerged from my review of the extant literature on LC. These categories were gender (of LC and their female, Canadian employers); the nation (the Philippines and Canada); fathers (namely, the

spouses of LC); the children of LC in the Philippines; and racialization. After a second reading, a total of 32 articles were selected for analysis (See Appendix 1).

Data collection of Filipino-Canadian newspaper articles took place between June 13<sup>th</sup>, 2013 and June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2013. The five ethnic newspapers that were chosen in this analysis were English-language newspapers that were available online with a search bar for ease of data collection: *Atin Ito News Feature*; *Balita*; *FilipinoCanadian.ca*; *The Filipino Post*; and *The Philippine Reporter* (See Appendix 4). The following key words were entered into the respective search bars of the aforementioned newspapers' websites: live-in caregiver program; LCP; nanny; nannies; domestic workers; au pairs; and temporary foreign worker program. The timeframe utilized for data collection was the same as the one that was utilized for the collection of articles from the mainstream Canadian newspapers (01/01/2007 to 01/05/2013). This initial search yielded a total of 84 articles.

In addition to the aforementioned broad categories, I developed a list of categories that I expected to emerge in the ethnic newspapers: ethnic newspapers as a site of resistance to mainstream narratives regarding the LCP; the emergence of au pairs; the "Problem Approach"; the "Agency Approach"; and the children of LC. After a second reading of the data, a total of 31 newspaper articles were chosen for analysis (See Appendix 2).

### **Data Organization**

Once I collected the large, initial set of newspaper articles, the data was first sorted into folders in my computer that were labelled by source. I chose to print all the articles (181 articles from the mainstream newspapers and 84 articles from the ethnic newspapers) because I am more comfortable reading, commenting, and highlighting on a hard-copy rather than on the computer screen. I kept the aforementioned list of themes on hand while reading the articles. Each theme

were ascribed a color (i.e., the theme “au pairs” was ascribed the color purple; the theme “the nation” was ascribed the color green; the theme “the children of LC” was ascribed the color yellow, etc). In this way, when evidence of au pairing, for instance, emerged in a newspaper article, it was highlighted purple and a purple post-it note placed next to key areas in the text. The use of colored post-it notes made data organization more efficient as well.

Following this time-intensive process of color-coding themes, a more purposive sorting of the data was conducted by sorting articles into folders that were based on themes, both ones that were initially expected to emerge based on the literature review as well as unexpected ones (i.e., folders labelled “au pairs”; “Filipino youth”; “racialization”; “metaphors”; “the nation”; and so on). During this process, articles that fell outside of my research questions or did not have sufficient content were eliminated. This process helped me arrive at the final amount of data utilized in this analysis (See Appendix 3).

## **Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion**

In this chapter, I outline and critically analyze five themes that emerged in both the mainstream Canadian and Filipino-Canadian newspaper articles utilized in this study. While four themes (the role of LC within the Canadian family; the children of LC; racialized descriptors of Filipinas; and au pairing) were anticipated based on the aforementioned review of the literature, the growth of the Filipino-Canadian population was an “unanticipated” one that emerged in both the mainstream and ethnic press. Subsequently, I address an unexpected theme that emerged in the mainstream Canadian newspapers, specifically human trafficking, which is another macro-structure that therefore aligns with the “Problem Approach.” Finally, this chapter concludes by examining how the Filipino-Canadian newspapers examined in this study serve as a site to both resist racialized, gendered, or negative portrayals of Filipina caregivers and the Filipino-Canadian population more generally, as well as a potential resource by informing caregivers of proposed or actual amendments to the LCP.

### **Common Themes in the Mainstream and Ethnic Newspapers**

#### *The Role of Caregivers within the Family*

In the mainstream press, a total of five (M3, M6, M11, M13, and M22) out of 32 articles likened the relationship between employers and their (children’s) caregiver as one between a (married) couple. In contrast, the idea that LC are “part of the family” was not as prominent in the ethnic newspapers as it emerged in only one (F16) out of the 33 articles from the Filipino-Canadian newspaper articles examined in this study.

M3

- A LC named Elena Bautista explains that she calls the two children she cares for, Ellie and Jacob, “my children.”

- “When she [Bautista] leaves Ellie and Jacob [the children she is paid to care for] in Toronto they are very upset. And when the time comes to say goodbye again to her [own] daughters... they are devastated too. “Your kids are crying and so are you. You have to turn your back and plug your ears.”

#### M6

- “Ms. Del Mundo is the children’s nanny, or, as their mother, Melissa Fox-Revett, would say, “the default dad.””
- “Ms. Del Mundo has been with the family since the eldest was just three months old, she’s almost like a companion.”
- Fox-Revett states she is reluctant to let her nanny go since “It would be like saying to my kids, “You don’t need your father any more.””
- An employer named Michelle Kelsey explains “I look at her [her children’s former nanny] like a great aunt, or grandma, to my kids.”

#### M11

- Tova Rich, owner of Family Matters Caregiver Inc., states “We charge a fee because we work really hard for the girls. You’re a matchmaker. You have to work for both sides.”

#### M13

- “Nanny state; We wanted her to become part of our family, but she understood boundaries and wasn’t there to be friends” (Headline).

#### M22

- Manuela Gruber Hersch states “Hiring an overseas live-in caregiver you have never met is like marriage without dating – the relationship needs the right chemistry to work.”

F16

- In a March 2009 address in Downsview, Ontario, Minister Jason Kenney stated: “we love and respect your [live-in caregivers’] hard work, so much so, that after, we invite you to stay and be part of our Canadian family.”

### **Discussion**

Minister Kenney’s remark (F16) emerged during an address to around 200 caregivers and LC advocates regarding the four years LC now have to complete their requirements as of April 1, 2010. In response to this reform Terry Olayta, a caregiver advocate and head of the Caregiver Resource Centre, noted that the reform was welcomed because they would help LC attain permanent residency, but fell short of “what we would like as landing on arrival.” Minister Kenney’s remark suggested that Canada generously grants caregivers the opportunity “be part of our Canadian family” upon completing their requisite hours. This ignores the time consuming nature of acquiring permanent residency and suggests the government is doing LC a favor, which is debateable since the continuance of the LCP means the government does not have to implement a universal childcare program.

Similar to Inouye’s (2007) findings, employer Michelle Kelsey explains she thinks of her children’s nanny “like a great aunt, or grandma, to my kids” (M6). Although Kelsey’s nanny no longer works for her family, their nanny who is not quoted in this piece resided in Kelsey’s basement for a couple of years, although she went to work for another family, and continues to babysit “because she loves the kids and wants to see them” according to Kelsey. Kelsey’s former nanny, however, is not interviewed in Howard’s article so readers must accept the employer’s view that it is love that motivates this nanny to continue to babysit four years after she left this employer instead of more practical reasons, such as loneliness and a lack of family or friends

nearby. Interestingly, LC Elena Bautista's comments blur the lines between her own, biological children in the Philippines (her two daughters) and the children she is paid to care for in Toronto (Ellie and Jacob) by calling the latter "my children" (M3), thus demonstrating that a caregiver can consider their "clients" to be part of their family.

In sharp contrast, article M13 is interesting because although the Filipina LC, Susan, is not interviewed, the author of this article and Susan's employer, Neilia Sherman, explains that the former was uninterested in "hanging out" with her employers in the evenings because she "understood boundaries" between employer and employee. Susan wanted to be independent, which was something Sherman did not wholly appreciate, though she respected, because she wanted this LC to be warmer and more talkative. This story was refreshing because it demonstrates that Susan had a life outside her work as LC and she was also capable of asserting her preferences and having them respected by her employers, which is congruous with the "Agency Approach."

Another theme that emerged in the mainstream press is that the relationship between employer and caregiver is likened to that of a couple. The claim put forth by Hersch, President of the Association of Caregivers and Nanny Agencies (ANCA) and often-cited *au pair* proponent, that hiring a LC without meeting her first is like marriage without dating (M22), is meant to suggest that this is not a logical choice. It is also meant to bolster the role nanny agencies play in "matching" both parties (the Canadian employer and caregiver), as Tova Rich explains (M11), in light of the April 1, 2010 changes to the LCP which has "decimated" this industry. Howard's article (M6), however, takes this theme one step further as it commences by stating that "Ruby Del Mundo has three kids, ages 10, 13, and 16." This gives the impression that these three children are Del Mundo's own, biological children when she is, in fact, their paid caregiver. Del

Mundo's employer, Fox-Revett, goes on to describe Del Mundo as the children's "default father," which sheds light on the length of time these two women have spent together over the years, which prompts Fox-Revett to call Del Mundo "a companion." Howard, however, does not interview Del Mundo in this article so it is unclear whether or not Del Mundo considers these descriptors ("default dad" and "companion") to be a compliment or an additional, emotional burden.

Howard's article also addresses Professor Geraldine Pratt's research finding, namely that Canadian mothers believe that the appropriate length of time to employ a nanny is two to three years because "Otherwise, issues of attachment come up that can be good, but are also problematic" (M6). This is reminiscent of Vahdat's (2011) discussion of the separation issues Canadian children experience when their LC finishes their contract. Yet, Howard's article raises an important issue that he does not address. Fox-Revett explains that her nanny, Del Mundo, does not want to leave the family, has turned down bookkeeping courses, and works at the Fox-Revett's restaurants. Although Del Mundo may be content with her decision to work at these restaurants, Fox-Revett's comment raises the issue of whether caregivers similarly experience separation issues after working for the same family for a long period. In other words, it is possible that attachment issues are not unidirectional or solely experienced by Canadian children whose caregivers eventually leave. Attachment issues, fear of "moving on", and anxieties about being on one's own may affect or hinder a nanny's career advancement.

#### *The "Quiet" Growth of the Filipino Population in Canada*

The growth of Canada's Filipino population was discussed in three out of 32 mainstream Canadian newspaper articles (M16, M17, and M24) and in two out of 31 articles in the Filipino-Canadian newspapers examined in this study (F1 and F22).



M16

- “Quietly and without fanfare, the Philippines has become Canada’s largest source country for immigrants and temporary foreign workers, combined.”
- “It’s like a herd. Everyone was leaving [the Philippines]”; “The two sisters were part of a bulge of skilled and non-skilled temporary foreign workers that is key to the Philippines outpacing China and India as our largest source of newcomers”; “Temporary workers are coming in droves...”; and “This growing critical mass of compatriots makes Canada an especially attractive place for new migrants.”

M17

- “The Filipino factor; The Philippines has quietly become Canada’s largest source of immigrants” (Headline).
- “If you pick up furniture in a warehouse, grab coffee, check into a hotel, call the nanny, do renos, get an X-ray, sit on clean stadium seats, need power restored in a snowstorm or seek help for a payroll problem, you have likely met a few of these [Filipino] newcomers.”

M24

- “A quiet rise to the top of immigration rolls” (Headline).
- “...Filipinos have settled in Canada in a way that tends to minimize their profile.”

F1

- LC, mostly females, “[represented] the bulk of overseas Filipino workers in Canada,” but the demand for skilled workers, as well as health care workers, owing to the nation’s aging population, is “changing the face of Filipinos in Canada.””

- A report by SIAST indicates that because the language of instruction in the Philippines is English “Filipinos have a better capacity than most other countries and are thus in high demand.”

F22

- “The more, the merrier! I think it’s generally good for all Filipino-Canadians.”

### **Discussion**

All three articles in the mainstream Canadian newspapers that addressed the rise of the Filipino population in Canada (M16, M17, and M24) utilized subtle, racialization through the use of the word “quietly” to describe the fact that the Philippines has surpassed mainland China, India, Hong Kong, and Taiwan as Canada’s top source countries for immigrants in a manner that has seems to have evaded notice. The adjective “quietly” is given meaning when one considers the stereotypes that some nanny agencies, and even other nannies, possessed with regards to Filipina domestic workers in Pratt (1997) and Steill and England’s (1999) studies. Interestingly, notably absent in both ethnic newspaper articles that address this issue is this subtle, racialized term to describe this demographic trend.

Friesen’s (M25) note- that there is no identifiable Filipino ethnic enclave so that the settlement pattern of Filipinos is dispersed- further suggests that the growth of this demographic has been one that “just crept up on us.” Additionally, Lee-Young’s article (M16) uses a slew of idioms to describe the migration from the Philippines to Canada as one that is large-scale and seemingly unstoppable. In contrast to Friesen, articles M16 and M17 explain that the growth of this population owes to newly created federal and provincial programs that Filipinos are entering, such as the PNP and CEC. While the list of professions in M17 is extensive, it is problematic

since the professions listed are mostly service jobs that, as Ty (2012) discusses, are stereotypically associated with Filipinos.

While Friesen suggests that much of the growth of the Filipino-Canadian population “is due to Filipino dominance of the caring industries,” (M24), the ethnic press provides a robust explanation for this trend: this demographic has qualities, like proficiency in English, and qualifications that are desired by employers in Western Canada, in addition to Canada’s shortage of workers and Canada’s declining birthrate and aging population (F1). The fact that an official from the Philippines Overseas Labour Office identified a demand for Filipino workers commencing sometime in 2006 challenges the so-called “quiet” or unanticipated growth of the Filipino population in Canada.

The questions that emerge from Friesen’s article include: Why is it problematic that the number of Filipinos has risen without anyone supposedly noticing? Would it have been preferable for the Canadian government and general public to be made aware of this trend? In contrast, however, the author’s tone in the FilipinoCanadian.ca article (F22) is upbeat and optimistic, which is congruent with the mandate of this source (See Appendix 4). The author lists numerous, positive aspects of the increasing number of Filipinos in Canada: Filipinos already in Canada will be able to network with more fellow Filipinos; the price of Filipino food will likely decrease; newcomers will be able to interact with fellow countrymen who can help ease the former’s integration into Canadian society; Canada will, in turn, gain workers; and the Philippines will receive a portion of these workers’ salaries in the form of remittances that support families as well as the Philippine economy. Interestingly, Friesen’s article does not consider the positive, long-term benefits of the increasing number of Filipinos in Canada.

### *Language Choice Regarding Filipina Live-in Caregivers*

A total of four out of 32 articles (M3, M13, M21, and M27) in the mainstream Canadian press utilized physical descriptors to describe Filipina caregivers. In contrast, one particular article out of 31 in the ethnic press (F5) utilized a similar descriptor but in a manner that differed from the aforementioned articles. Three articles out of 32 articles (M3, M5, and M32) in the mainstream press described Filipina nannies in ways that the literature attempts to challenge, namely as commodities, as suited for work in the “affect economy” (Ty 2012), and as docile. A total of eight out of 32 articles (M3, M7, M9, M10, M13, M14, M19, and M20) in the mainstream Canadian press utilized infantilizing language to describe Filipina caregivers.

#### M3

- Mavin describes her interviewee, Bautista, as “a small, quiet 41-year-old who speaks English well, albeit with a halting Filipino accent.”
- “The Bautistas are hardly unique. Eight million Filipinos work overseas today, lured from home by developed world wages.”
- Audrey Guth, founder of Diamond Personnel, states that “They [Filipina nannies] come from an incredibly nurturing culture... Filipina nannies are perceived as the gold standard – reliable, somewhat deferential to their employers and willing to follow instructions to a T.”
- A Toronto resident whose children are cared for by a Filipina adds, “One reason everyone wants a Filipina nanny is because everybody else in the neighborhood has one.”

M5

- In a Letter to the Editor, Kayume Baksh states “Filipinas are not usually vocal in complaining about their situations because it is in their culture to remain silent in spite of unreasonable and sometimes unacceptable conditions.”

M13

- Sherman describes her interviewee’s Filipina LC, Susan, as “a tiny slip of a woman.”

M20

- “Edelyn Pineda... is just one of 5,000 women who land in Canada every year. Like Pineda, most are escaping poverty at home, and are lured with the promise of citizenship and a better life. What they find all too often, though, is unemployment, poor housing and intense loneliness.”

M21

- Ryan discusses the documentary “The Nanny Business” and states “You can see the [Filipina] nannies on the subway, in stores and in parks, most often wheeling strollers with other people’s children. And with rare exceptions, they are pleasant and unassuming women, usually sporting small, shy smiles.”

M27

- Keung states that “In death, the diminutive Filipina [Juana Tejada] left a giant legacy...”

M32

- Moore notes that “we [Canada] is hiring from an increasingly wide range of sources, prompting the question: Who’s your nanny?”
- Moore states “The movie Mary Poppins was only seven years old when I was born, and a supernatural Julie Andrews-engaged by the children of the ultra-wealthy, pre-First-

World-War-London family- was probably everyone's iconic image of a nanny. A couple of decades would have to pass before the Edwardian umbrella-borne Mary was supplanted in the collective Canadian imagination by the hard-working contemporary Filipina nanny, suddenly ubiquitous on middle-class suburban streets and in playgrounds... A new economic order had arrived, and hiring a nanny was now within reach for the only moderately affluent Canadian family.”

- Moore states that “Manuela Gruber Hersch has often fielded concerns from thoughtful potential employers about not wanting to “exploit” live-in caregivers coming from difficult situations... Hersch reminds potential employers that “these women from the Philippines want to be hired and they are good workers, good nannies, they’re good with children.”

F5

- Soriano writes that “Tejada likewise succumbed to her own battle but eventually won a war or actually winning the war for all foreign caregivers.”

### **Discussion**

While Filipina LC might, in actuality, be petite in size, one must ask, what function do these seemingly innocuous descriptions by mainstream Canadian newspapers serve? What are the consequences of describing, and continuing to describe, Filipina LC in this manner? It is arguable that some journalists rely on stereotypical notions or descriptions (i.e., that Filipinas are small in stature) to make a particular issue discussed in a newspaper article understandable to readers. This involves giving readers what they expect to read about the Other or a particular ethnic group based on the images we hold in our collective imaginations. As Richardson (2007) notes, “the production of texts... always has at least one eye on the imagined or target consumer

and the kind of texts that they would prefer to read” (41). This is problematic because the use of such descriptions becomes, over time, a short-hand for a particular group so that *all* Filipinas are perceived to be small, quiet, docile, and passive.

In contrast, Keung (M27) and Soriano (F5) examine the story of Juana Tejada, a Filipina LC whose application for permanent residency was rejected because she was diagnosed with stage 4 lung cancer in 2006 and consequently failed the second medical test that LC were obligated to complete, which prompted orders for her deportation (Keung 2008). Soriano writes that “Tejada likewise succumbed to her own battle but eventually won a war or actually winning the war for all foreign caregivers” (F5) since she became the face of a successful campaign that led to the elimination of the second medical exam LC had to complete up until April 1, 2010 (M27). Keung (M27) and Soriano’s (F5) tone suggests that this LC was not a victim of her disease, nor was she intimidated by the two unsuccessful bids to remain in Canada. Instead, her perseverance, along with the support of her friends, family, and many Filipino organizations, led to the elimination of the two-step medical exam required for LC seeking permanent residency. Soriano concludes his piece by declaring Tejada “woman of the year 2008” for her efforts in reforming the LCP. Together, these articles on the “Juana Tejada law” thereby resist the notion that someone who is “small” in stature cannot achieve big things.

The use of the word “lured” (lured by phantom employers, by unscrupulous nanny agencies, by the promise of permanent residency via the LCP, or from the Philippines) are plentiful (M3, M7, M9, M10, M13, M14, M19, and M20) in the mainstream newspapers. It is a problematic term because it is infantilizing language that implies that these vulnerable individuals, lacking agency of their own, were “tricked” into leaving the safety and security of their families and homeland for what turned out to be bogus caregiving jobs, much like a child

who is lured into, for instance, approaching a stranger's car with the use of a puppy. Hewitt's description of Pineda's story (M20) also implies that countless, naive women have been "duped," which removes the agency of LC who choose to go abroad to earn a living and provide for their family and thus feeds into the "Problem Approach."

Audrey Guth's comments (M3) reinforces the stereotype that Filipinas, nurturing, and the care industry are inextricable. This passage is also reminiscent of Inouye's (2007) analysis of a 1992 article in *The Ottawa Citizen* that "essentializes personality traits of all workers" by relying on racialized ideologies of Filipinas (49). While Baksh is sympathetic to the difficult conditions LC face as workers and offers his voice in support of allowing Juana Tejada to remain in Canada after failing the second medical test, his belief that a Filipina LC's unwillingness to complain about difficult working conditions owes to the Filipino culture (M5) serves to pathologize Filipino culture.

The comment by the unidentified Toronto resident in article M3 also likens Filipina nannies to a commodity that's in vogue rather than a skilled, individual worker. It is interesting that Moore states that Canada is hiring nannies from a "wide range of sources" rather than a "wide range of source countries" (M32) as her choice of words reduces caregivers to a commodity from a particular "source" rather than a particular country, which is reminiscent of the rhetoric in the advertisements in Pratt's (1997) article. Further to this point, Moore also draws a sharp distinction between the iconic image of Mary Poppins and today's faceless, nameless Filipina nanny, who in the eyes of the general public has escaped poverty in the Philippines and arrived in Canada so as to send home remittances, attain permanent residency, and sponsor her family. While Mary Poppins is a cheerful, Disney character, the stereotypical image of the Filipina LC is hardly glamorous and aligns with the "Problem Approach." Finally,



Moore is careful not to suggest that Filipinas are “naturally” suited to caring, but she interviews Hersch who rehashes this racialized notion.

*Filipino Youth and the Children of Live-in Caregivers in Canada*

While Vahdat (2011) states that the “mainstream media is generally mute about live-in caregivers and their children” (46), my research yielded 5 out of 32 articles from the mainstream Canadian newspapers that addressed the separation issues the children of Filipina caregivers experience (M1, M2, M4, M8, and M18). While this demographic is not absent from the mainstream media, they are presented in a rather one-dimensional manner. In comparison, there were only two articles out of 31 that addressed Filipino youth and the children of LC (F21 and F23).

M1

- UBC Professor Geraldine Pratt explains that “Nothing positive can come out of nine years of family separation [for LC and their children].”

M2

- “Mother of fatally stabbed Filipino youth criticises live-in caregiver program” (Headline).
- Joyce states the “...caregiver program that often separates workers from their children for years.”
- Joyce writes that “Ponte and Mildred German, spokeswoman for the Filipino Canadian Youth Alliance, strongly suggested the program... indirectly led to Deward’s death.”

M4

- Leah Diana, spokesperson for the Kalayaan Centre, states “When the youth are sponsored to come to Canada as the children of domestic workers there is cultural shock from being uprooted from the Philippines...”
- Diana adds that “The stories that are coming out are that not only is there social alienation within the family because of not knowing each other and the years of separation and the trauma of separation... in the education system they [Filipino youth in Canada] face social alienation and there is a lack of understanding... about how to educate them...”

M8

- Vicky Policarpio, a LC who reunited with her son after 11 years, states “What we realize now is that these kids are sacrificing for being victimized” and “The first stage of reunification is very hard.”
- Martha Campo, an LC advocate, states “They [Filipino children and youth reunited with their LC mothers in Canada] get into drug use, gangs. They’re bullied at school for their English. They assert themselves and answer back. They’re not the kids their mothers thought they would be.”
- Taylor adds, “Their mothers are different, too: independent breadwinners who long ago abandoned their traditional submissive roles.”

M18

- Hansen states that Professor Geraldine Pratt “puts the blame for the emerging dropout pattern [among Filipino youth] squarely on the trauma of the “separation experience,” which gives rise to family conflict.””

F21

- Vivero contrasts his own upbringing to how he perceives youth are raised today. He also discusses the child-rearing issues that parents encounter.

F23

- “Researchers have gathered disturbing evidence that suggests Filipino youth in Canada do not always reach their potential and have the highest dropout rate...”
- The Filipino Centre Toronto “has long been aware of this issue [the high dropout rate of Filipino youth]. Its youth programs such as the Homework Club, the Outstanding Student Awards and soon-to-start language program for the young Filipino newcomers deal with this particular problem...”

### **Discussion**

To begin with, Joyce (M2) is careful not to say that Daisy Ponte, the mother of 15 year-old Deward Ponte who was fatally stabbed in 2008, “blames” the LCP for this tragic event and, instead, uses the word “criticizes” in the title (M2). As the article explains, Daisy Ponte arrived in Canada in 2000 as a LC and reunited with her son (and daughter) in 2005. In describing how Ponte and Mildred German, a spokeswoman for the Filipino-Canadian Youth Alliance, view the LCP’s role in the death of Ponte’s son, Joyce states the pair “strongly suggested the program... indirectly led to Deward’s death” rather than “blamed” the LCP. Joyce includes the word “often” in his discussion of the separation caused by the LCP, which implies that the LCP does not “always” separate mothers (and fathers) from their children in spite of the structural features of the LCP: LC are not able to bring their family with them to Canada and can only sponsor family members upon completion of their requisite hours of full-time, live-in caregiving and after attaining permanent residency. However, even after this is achieved, costs of transportation can

further delay reunification. Joyce's timid approach is perhaps indicative of the fact that this journalist is uninterested in presenting a more critical view of the resultant harm that can occur when children are separated from their parents under the LCP.

Joyce's timid approach is particularly interesting (M2) in comparison to Professor Geraldine Pratt's pointed approach in her discussion of the long-term impact of the separation experienced by the children of Filipina LC (M1 and M18). Census data from 2001 and statistics from the B.C. Ministry of Education revealed that Filipino boys have a high school dropout rate of 40%. Children from the Philippines also have a generally low grade point average when compared to other immigrant and Canadian-born teenagers (with the exception of Vietnam) (M18).

Taken together, the comments by LC advocate Martha Campo and the author of article M8, Taylor, are reminiscent of Parreñas' (2002) study since not only have Filipina workers become more independent after many years of being on their own, but their children have changed for the worse (M8). Policarpio's comments (M8) also imply that it is not only LC who sacrifice by leaving their children so as to work abroad, but their children likewise make sacrifices, perhaps sacrificing their childhood or relationship with their mothers, and that they are "victims" because of the structural features of the LCP. Their tone suggests that the children of LC who are reunited with their mothers are "troublesome," which aligns with the "Problem Approach." As Carvalho (2008) notes, "Silence can be as performative as discourse" (171) and the fact that Martha Campo and Taylor neglect to mention any "success stories" of Filipino youth who have succeeded despite the numerous aforementioned odds and being separated from their mother further paints this demographic in a wide-brushstroke.

Similarly, the long list of maladies Leah Diana identifies with regards to Filipino youth who are reunited with their mothers is overwhelming (M4). The fact Sherlock neglects to suggest any changes to the LCP that could ameliorate these maladies makes it seem that Filipino youth who have been separated from their mothers *are* “troubled” and that it is unknown what can be done to resolve this “problem” until the community forum (that the article discusses) is complete. However, an obvious policy suggestion would be, as Professor Pratt recommends elsewhere, to grant LC permanent residency upon arrival, thus allowing for speedy family reunification (Hansen 2010). Unlike the general tone of Sherlock’s article (M4), D’Orazio’s tone suggests that Filipino-Canadian youth are not “doomed” to be unsuccessful in school given her choice of language, such as “Filipino youth in Canada do not always reach their potential” and “It would seem...” (F23). The discussion of the Filipino Centre Toronto’s youth programs further reveals that the community is not only aware of the academic challenges and barriers facing some Filipino-Canadian youth, but is taking steps to address this.

In contrast, Vivero’s article (F21) does not address the issues D’Orazio or the 5 articles in the mainstream Canadian press discuss. Instead his article is one that an immigrant or newcomer parents, irrespective of their ethnic background, can relate to. This is not to suggest that Vivero is not personally or journalistically concerned with the academic success of Filipino-Canadian youth, but perhaps indicates that the academic issues facing Filipino youth who have been reunited with their parents in Canada is just one of many, rather than all-encompassing, for Filipino-Canadian parents and the community more generally.

One must ask, however, what function does this pessimistic view of LC’s children serve? In order to make sense of why the Filipino community might “cling” to a “Problem Approach” description of their youth, it is necessary to consider Elizabeth Berlant’s theory of Strategic

Essentialism within feminist debates. This theory posits that a degree of essentialism is beneficial for collective organizing around issues that affect all women (Stone 2004, 135, 140-142). For the purposes of this MRP, the essentialist identity that is ascribed to LC's children, namely one that is troubled as a result of family separation and faces difficulty in school, may be beneficial in the sense that, when deployed strategically by community advocates and prominent academics, like Professor Pratt, can bring about positive, legislative changes for LC, their children, and the larger Filipino community in Canada.

### *The (Supposed) Rise of Au Pairing and Demise of the Live-in Caregiver Program*

Six articles out of 32 in the mainstream Canadian press (M22, M28, M29, M30, M31, and M32) and one article out of 31 in the ethnic press (F31) address claims put forth by Manuela Gruber Hersch regarding the future, or lack thereof, of the LCP as well as the benefits associated with hiring an au pair.

#### M22

- Hersch claims that “Jason Kenney intentionally soured the demand side, therefore many families are shying away from hiring live-in caregivers. That is the reason caregiver numbers are dropping.”
- Hersch states that “The changes implemented [by the government] have decimated the placement industry in Canada and many agencies have closed or are just hanging on. The industry needs placement agencies to be widely available to caregivers to offer information, guidance and follow-up on placements, as well as aiding the caregiver to find suitable replacement employment should they find themselves without a position. Canadian families also need agencies to hire much-needed senior caregivers, however the financial risk associated is simply too great for many.”

- Hersch states “It is common for live-in caregivers to use a Canadian family to be a stepping stone to get to Canada and then leave to work in a large city or closer to friends or relatives...”
- Hersch states that “When Minister Kenney announced details of these changes [to the LCP] in December 2009, he described them as “balanced and fair,” yet he has only succeeded in moving all the risks and costs, previously held by caregivers, over to the Canadian family.”
- Hersch concludes “The live-in caregiver program needs genuine further improvement to make it balanced for caregivers and Canadian employers.”

M28

- Hersch states that “Hopefully an au pair program in Canada will alleviate some of the backlash to the failing (live-in caregiver) program, help Canadian families and open the cultural door to many young people willing to move to Canada from a broader base of countries.”
- Hersch suggests that au pairing “could even breathe new life into the live-in caregiver program.” Hersch states “I can see a family hiring an au pair, really liking her and perhaps the au pair could re-apply on the (live-in caregiver program).”

M29

- Keung explains that “Instead of waiting endlessly to get a nanny through the federal government’s red-tape-ridden foreign caregiver program” the couple quoted in the article chose to hire a young German au pair on a working holiday visa for their seven year-old daughter, Lily.

- Kerstin Littin states “It’s much easier [to hire an au pair], much more flexible. Why wouldn’t you do it?”
- Keung states that “It is that [Kerstin Littin’s] perspective that casts doubt on how well the cumbersome live-in caregiver program (LCP) is serving Canadian needs- or even how long it will continue.”
- Keung explains that “Stoeger [a German au pair] earns \$600 a month and works 25 hours a week, doing light cleaning and keeping Lily company.” Stoeger is subsequently quoted as saying “I love spending time with kids.”
- Hersch maintains that “Au pairs will be the next new wave, since the government has intentionally made hiring a live-in caregiver too costly, complex and frustrating for Canadian employers.”
- Jack Hompes, chair of the Amsterdam based international industry group, states that “An au pair returns the favors like childcare for the possibility to stay with the host family. While staying there, the au pair will learn about Canada and take that experience home.”

M30

- “Worried the government’s once popular foreign live-in caregiver program is becoming a dismal failure, nanny matchmaker agencies are beginning to tune in to the possibilities of “au pairing.””
- “It’s [au pairs] are thought to be a low-cost, low-risk alternative for Canadian parents...”
- Hersch states that “Looking at the declining stats, the future of the live-in caregiver program is questionable.”
- “Gruber Hersch sees this [the introduction of an au pair placement program in Canada] as a win-win for fed-up families and young adventurers.”



M31

- Au pairing is thought to be a “low-cost” form of childcare because the au pair applies for a working holiday visa at a Canadian consulate abroad and usually pays for their own transportation and insurance costs.
- Hersch also states “The Germans would love to come throughout the year. They love travel, they love Canada...”

M32

- Stephana Bobey Poulsen states “[I]t felt wrong to take a woman from her family to look after ours... We wanted someone younger than a lot of the Filipina nannies I’ve seen, someone who is here simply to enjoy Alberta and expand her own horizons.”

F31

- “IEC Program Supplanting Troubled Caregiver Program” (Headline).
- “Currently Canada is experiencing a huge shortage of local live-in nannies and thus any applicant with a valid IEC and a medical is fundamentally guaranteed a job.”
- “The critical shortage of local applicants has increased the demand for nannies especially since Citizenship and Immigration Canada released over 15,000 open work permits, many of which worked as caregivers and the vast majority left the caregiving industry. This undoubtedly caused the caregiver industry to plummet.”
- “Despite the increasing demand for alternative childcare options, Immigration Minister, Jason Kenney, has made it abundantly clear that he has no plans whatsoever to rectify the Live in Caregiver Program.”

## **Discussion**

My review of the mainstream Canadian newspapers revealed that the Canadian government has attempted to mend the LCP by initiating and installing a number of reforms. As Minister Jason Kenney stated in 2009, “I wanted to mend the program, not end it” (Kennedy 2009). Federally, a telephone hotline was established in 2009 to allow LC to report abuse or exploitation. In that same year, Ontario banned agencies from charging caregivers placement and recruiting fees and anyone caught charging caregivers could face a fine up to \$50,000 and a year in jail. Additionally, Canadian employers must now cover transportation costs, medical insurance, workplace safety insurance, and any fees paid to recruitment agencies in hiring a LC. In 2010, thanks to Juana Tejada’s efforts, the second medical exam LC had to undergo in order to apply for immigration was eliminated. Moreover, LC were granted an open-work permit upon completing their requisite hours of live-in caregiving, which allows them to take another job outside of this sector and move out of their employer’s home while waiting for a decision on their permanent residency application. In 2011, LC were given up to four years to complete their two-years of full-time, live-in caregiving. Additionally, employers who violate the terms of the LCP will have their names and addresses posted on a government website, which makes them ineligible to hire foreign workers for two-years.

Despite these reforms to the LCP, some have paradoxically suggested the LCP has run its course and will eventually be replaced by au pairs. In article F31, Hersch concludes by claiming that Minister Kenney has no intention “whatsoever” to reform the LCP, which is unconvincing given the aforementioned reforms. In M30, Hersch comments on the future, or lack thereof, of the LCP seems authoritative since she claims to have examined “the declining statistics.” Yet, it is not unclear what statistics (i.e., government, anecdotal, etc) she examined. Hersch’s confident

claim in M29 is another attempt to convince readers that the LCP has run its course and that “Au pairs will be the next new wave” in childcare options for Canadian families. Another claim Hersch repeats (M22 and M29) is that the Canadian government “has intentionally” made hiring a LC prohibitively expensive. However, this remark seems unconvincing given Minister Kenney’s desire to mend the program rather than end it. Moreover, Hersch neglects to explain why the Canadian government would deliberately “[sour] the demand side” to the detriment of Canadian families in need of caregivers. Interestingly, Hersch insists that the LCP “needs genuine further improvement” because, as she concedes, the slew of changes that were introduced to the LCP “[moved] all the risks and costs, previously held by caregivers, over to the Canadian family” and “decimated the placement industry in Canada” (M22) because they were, prior to the 2008 *Toronto Star* investigation and the April 1, 2010 changes to the LCP, charging LC exorbitant fees. It therefore appears that nanny agencies were content with the status quo because it was better for their bottom lines.

Despite these ambiguities in Hersch’s arguments, it becomes clear that Hersch is keen on making the public aware of au pairing. The title Hersch’s article in *The Filipino Post* (“IEC Program Supplanting Troubled Caregiver Program”) is indicative of her desire to paint au pairing as taking the place of the LCP (F31). In M31, Hersch states that “The Germans would love to come throughout the year” so as to suggest that there exists a pool of eager travellers willing to provide childcare services to Canadian families (if only the Canadian government would increase the number of holiday working visas it granted). Hersch also claims that these youthful, world travellers-turned-au pairs could “inject” some life into what she sees as an aged, twenty-one year-old LCP (M28). Hersch’s remarks are, however, mere musings since it is unclear whether an au pair could transition into the LCP. Hersch also claims that the introduction

of an au pair placement program in Canada would be a “win-win for fed-up families and young adventurers” (M30). Although the LCP was meant to function as a labour program (Pearson 2008, 11) rather than an immigration program (Pratt 2008, 222, 229), it invariably allows a couple thousand women from disadvantaged parts of the world to enter Canada each year (Carens 2008, 434). Hersch’s remark makes it clear that the personal and financial interests of Canadian families and young travellers-turned-au pairs are prized by over the immigration interests of women from the Global South who rely on the LCP to enter Canada and, in turn, sponsor their families. Their voices are marginalized in Cohen (M30) and Hersch’s analysis of the potential introduction of an au pair system in Canada as Cohen fails to interview current or former LC to ascertain their perspective on how this so-called “low-cost, low-risk alternative” would affect their immigration prospects.

In this way, it is important to inquire what is motivating Hersch to “[spearhead] industry efforts to establish a self-regulating au pair association in Canada” (M31)? What is motivating Hersch’s push for “...alternative options [to the LCP]” (F31)? As Marna Martin, president of a placement agency called Trafalgar Personnel, notes “Many unscrupulous agencies closed their doors after the [April 1, 2010] reforms [to the LCP]... because they could no longer charge exorbitant fees to both caregivers and families” (Proudfoot 2012a). It is in the interest of saving this sector, and bolstering their bottom line, that Hersch aims to convince Canadian readers that au pairing is the next big “thing” and that the above agencies can provide Canadian families with a plethora of essential, indispensable services (“information, guidance and follow-up” as articulated by Hersch in article M22) when hiring an au pair.

However, the validity of Hersch’s claims and predictions regarding au pairing are debateable and are, unfortunately, not scrutinized in articles M22, M28, M29, M30, M31, and

M32. In January of 2013 the federal Foreign Affairs and Citizenship and Immigration departments stated that the government has no intention of creating a dedicated au pair program in Canada (M31). Moreover, according to Minister Jason Kenney, LC are increasingly coming to care for the elderly rather than children and the LCP will continue to be an “eldercare program” as the population ages (Proudfoot 2011b). Ivy Bourgeault, Chair in health human resource policy at the Canadian Institutes of Health at the University of Ottawa, maintains that those who care for the elderly face additional challenges and demands that those caring for children do not. Caring for the elderly is, according to this expert, more physically and emotionally demanding as caregivers can be left alone for extended periods of time without reprieve (Proudfoot 2011a). It is therefore questionable whether au pairs can or will replace the LCP as the former are ill-trained to provide care for elderly or disabled Canadians.

A key advantage to hiring an au pair is that it is faster and cheaper to hire in comparison to a LC as Kerstin Littin, who hired an au pair for her seven year-old daughter, Lily, explains (M29). Her rhetorical question (“Why wouldn’t you do it?”) draws the reader in and makes one reconsider hiring a LC. Jack Hompes’ remark (M29) implies that au pairing is not seen as “work” since he describes the childcare component of the au pair’s work as “returning a favor” to the family for allowing her to reside in the employer’s home. The child Stoeger takes care of is only seven years-old and thus needs constant supervision (M29), but the description of the German au pair, Stoeger, as “keeping Lily company” (M29) suggests that the au pair is like a friend who enjoys spending time with another friend. Ultimately, this rhetoric is meant to paint a binary between au pairing as a “relaxed,” pleasant, cost-effective childcare option and the LCP as a time-consuming, “cumbersome”, and pricey option. This binary between these two childcare options is also evident in article F31 through Hersch’s use of hyperboles.

Stephana Bobey Poulsen's decision to hire an au pair from Quebec rather than a LC hints at another benefit with this childcare option (M32), namely avoiding the guilt associated with hiring a Filipina LC who is commonly perceived as having been "taken" from her family and homeland to work for and raise another woman's children. This perception removes the agency of LC who choose to come to Canada via the LCP. Another mother of two, Aliya Dhanani, echoes Poulsen's sentiment (M32). Dhanani explains that she pays nearly double for a live-out nanny who is a Canadian resident from Colombia because "...I just wouldn't feel right hiring a person who was so dependent on me" (M32). Taken together, Poulsen and Dhanani suggest that a LC from the Philippines, unlike a young, adventure-seeking au pair, comes to Canada with "baggage" rather than simply to enjoy a new culture and way of life and is, consequently perceived as an added emotional or financial "burden" for the employer.

Interestingly, in article F31 Hersch defines "au pairs" as "...a French term for "equal"". This definition implies that this is a childcare option that ascribes to the principles Canadian families, like Dhanani and Poulsen in article M32, would be supportive of, such as egalitarianism between employee and employer, unlike the stereotypical notions surrounding those employed through the LCP: gendered, racialized, impoverished women from the Global South who leave their own children to care for those of a Canadian family. Hersch adds that "...Canada would be the highest paid country for au pairs," which further suggests that Canadian families can rest assured that by hiring an au pair they are not be taking advantage of a foreign workers as is the perceived case when it comes to hiring someone via the LCP.

A common argument put forth in favor of au pairing is that it is a "low-cost, low-risk" childcare option (M30). Au pairs apply for a working holiday visa at a Canadian consulate abroad and s/he usually pays for their own transportation and insurance costs as well (M31). In

contrast, Canadian families are required to pay for a LC's transportation costs, medical insurance, and any recruitment fees associated with their arrival. Hersch, however, adds to this argument by stating that the reforms to the LCP that required Canadian families to cover the aforementioned costs have put them in a financially vulnerable spot since they could be used by "less-than-serious" foreign caregivers as a means to enter Canada (M22). In sharp contrast, the "low-risk" rhetoric associated with the au pairing option is less convincing. Cohen's article neglects to mention that, unlike LC, au pairs do not have six months of formal training to prepare them to care for an infant or child(ren). While many live-in caregivers have experience raising their own children, in addition to the aforementioned formal training, au pairs are often young, high school graduates with little childcare experience. It is interesting to note that the six newspaper articles that addressed au pairing did not address the potential consequences of children left in the care of an untrained or inexperienced au pair.

Instead, au pairs are touted because they are considered to possess cultural and linguistic capital that could potentially be passed on to the child(ren) in their care. Bahna (2006) notes that families chose to hire an au pair because of they expect their child will be exposed to "quality" leisure activities, such as playing word games in a foreign language, from a recent school graduate from another country (as cited in Geserick 2012, 52). In this same vein, Hersh explains there is high demand for au pairs from France and Spain because parents want their children to learn a second language (M31). However, if a child gets injured while playing, will speaking a second language better equip the au pair? Would not such an injury or accident cost the family employer more, both emotionally and financially, than any money they could save by hiring an au pair in the first place? This inexperience, in turn, challenges the "low-risk" rhetoric regarding au pairs. It therefore appears that some proponents have given insufficient consideration over the

quality of care au pairs can, in fact, deliver. The six articles that addressed the topic of au pairs neglect to consider the fact that LC possess linguistic (English or French language proficiency) and cultural (at least a high school education) capital in order to qualify for the LCP.

Consequently, Canadian parents, journalists, and au pair advocates like Hersch do not seem to recognize or value the capital that LC from the Global South hold and can potentially pass on to Canadian children.

Furthermore, Hersch adds that “Hopefully an au pair program in Canada will... open the cultural door to many young people willing to move to Canada from a broader base of countries” (M28). Implicit in this remark is the suggestion that the LCP has become synonymous with Filipinas, but the introduction of “world’s oldest cultural exchange program” (as is described by Keung in article M29) will bring caregivers from around the world rather than one source country, namely the Philippines. Her comment also implies that there is an exchange of cultures, languages, and ways of life between a Canadian family and a youthful traveller-turned-au pair, and vice versa, which is viewed as mutually beneficial for both parties. This, in turn, suggests that LC, in comparison, do not “exchange” their cultures, languages, and ways of life with their employers and are, instead, here to “take”: take up space in the family’s home, take up permanent residency and eventual Canadian citizenship, and take an income to send back home.

### **The “Problem” versus the “Agency Approach” in the Mainstream and Ethnic Newspapers**

The “Problem Approach” emerged in one out of 32 articles (M12), while two articles (M19 and M25) are indicative of the “Agency Approach.”

In contrast, three out of 31 articles in the Filipino-Canadian newspapers (F9, F27, and F30) discussed gatherings held by LC to address various issues related to the LCP demonstrating that the ethnic press serves as a site of community mobilization and is, thus, indicative of the



agency of LC. Another topic that emerged in two out of 31 articles (F6 and F14) in the ethnic press was the 2008 investigation by a *Toronto Star* journalist, Dale Brazao, into a number of Ontario nanny agencies that were found charging caregivers up to \$10,000 for jobs and employers that did not exist (F7). More specifically, these two articles addressed the Filipino-Canadian community's reaction to the aftermath of Brazao's reporting, namely the Ontario government's ban on fees charged to LC by recruiters as of April 1, 2010.

M12

- “The exploitation of nannies has a long, dreary history; “Vulnerable caregivers too often have nowhere to turn when employers take advantage of them” (Headline and subtitle).
- “For several generations, Canadian families have relied on foreign domestic workers to care for our children and to keep our homes in order. Although the rules have changed over time, the exploitation has never ceased.”
- “As recent news stories have revealed, at every step nannies are subject to exploitation.”
- “The victims have no one to turn to. The employment agencies are not properly regulated and there is no procedure that allows them to register a complaint against the agency.”

M19

- Eleanor R. Laquian's Letter to the Editor responds to Darah Hansen's portrayal of LC: “I disagree that the two tear-jerkers cited, about Abe Delacruz and Juliet Tadeja, are “the stories of caregivers” in this country.””
- “Since the [LCP] started in 1992, there have been many success stories about caregivers performing much needed services. They are proud of their hard work and do not wish to be portrayed as objects of pity and their children as potential problems.”

- Laquian concludes that Hansen’s article “perpetuates the negative stereotype and misinformation about caregivers by highlighting their failures rather than successes. Caregivers realize the difficulties in working here, but believe the future of their family is worth the sacrifice.”

M25

- After Josephine Eric acquired immigrant status she pursued her university education, completed a PhD, and helps run the Migrant Workers’ Family Resource Centre.

F6

- Member of Provincial Parliament for Eglinton-Lawrence, Michael Colle, “said he was inspired to take action by the recent *Toronto Star* investigation...”

F9

- “We still remember the words of Fely Villasin, chair of the International Association of Filipino Patriots and one of the community leaders: “We were involved because an injury to one is an injury to all of us... A just society does not happen overnight. It is the fruit of many labours, working together in an organized manner... Some progress has been made not because we waited, but because we researched, we lobbied...”

F14

- The Publisher of *Atin Ito News Feature* addressed the “howl of protest from certain members of the community press that questioned why the award [a Citation from the Philippine Ambassador to Canada] has to be given to a “foreigner” [Dale Brazao] and not to “nanny advocates” in the community...”

- “Indeed, if the Toronto Star had not picked up the story of our workers and brought the abuses against them to the consciousness of the public, would Canada's policy makers have come up with the recently announced labour reforms?”
- “Does anybody in the PPCO, or the whole PPCO itself, or any individual, or group in our Filipino/Canadian community for that matter, honestly say they possess the necessary political muscle or clout to move the government officials to act on the workers' abuses, as Brazao and the Star did?”

F27

- The “First Caregivers General Conference” was aimed at understanding the factors that hinder caregivers’ participation in nation building and to develop solutions to situations caregivers face.

F30

- Following the first assembly of caregivers on September 24, 2011 “a caregiver delegation hand carried a petition for relief to Immigration Minister Kenney, which resulted in the release of 14,000 open work permits in mid-December” of 2011.

### **Discussion**

The title of the Opinion piece by Lorne Waldman, a Toronto lawyer specializing in immigration law, sets the tone for the remainder of this piece (M12). His remarks imply that caregivers have always been exploited, which erases the strides that LC and LC activists have made to reform the LCP, undermines the formal and informal efforts undertaken to ameliorate working conditions, and therefore paints the LCP as an inherently exploitative program and LC as isolated, helpless victims. Waldman does not provide anecdotal evidence of a caregiver client

he has assisted in his career as an immigration lawyer, which further pushes the caregivers he describes into a passive, victimized position in need of an authoritative male voice for rescuing.

The discussion of the *Toronto Star*'s investigation in articles F6 and F14 illustrates that contrary to Inouye's (2012) view, that "it is unrealistic to conceive of the press as a source of anti-oppressive, counter-capitalist oppositional, radical ideas and experiences" (578), the mainstream Canadian media is not always ignorant to the plight of marginalized groups and it *can* be a source of anti-oppressive efforts. As MP Colle explains, Brazao's 2008 investigation was a key reason he pushed for a private member's bill to re-instate the licensing of nanny agencies in Ontario (agencies were regulated and licensed until Mike Harris' last term in 2001) as well as ban nanny agencies from collecting fees from these workers. At the same time, Brazao's investigation aligns with the "Problem Approach" in that caregivers and nannies were perceived and described as victims in need of investigative journalism to rescue them from unscrupulous nanny agencies.

Nevertheless, why were the *Toronto Star*'s reports able to bring about positive changes for caregivers? Are reports and concerns by newspapers like the *Toronto Star* given more weight and credibility because it is, in comparison to the ethnic press, considered an "unbiased" source in its reporting of issues that affect a particular ethnic community? Are the concerns and issues raised by the ethnic press regarding the LCP ignored? Soriano takes up these questions in another piece. He writes

The Filipino community and even us the so-called ethnic media have been harping on these issues for so long ago but obviously, because we come from the derogatively and looked upon "ethnic media", all of our complaints and pleadings fell on deaf ears (F3).

This pessimistic perspective, however, neglects to consider that the ethnic media offers ethnic communities a space to debate issues and, in discussing possible solutions to an issue, serves to

mobilize the community (Matsaganis, Katz, and Ball-Rokeach 2011, 16). As Matsaganis, Katz, and Ball-Rokeach (2011) explain, ethnic media serves a multitude of purposes for a particular community, including being “an independent voice” for the community to “represent themselves in their own words” (76). As shall be discussed later, the Filipino-Canadian newspapers examined in this study served as a tangible site to resist negative stereotypes and narratives.

Thus, Laquian’s Letter to the Editor is particularly refreshing because she provides a strong voice in support of the agency Filipinas exhibit; although they are cognizant of the difficulties associated with the LCP, namely separation from family, there are women who choose to come to Canada through the LCP in light of the alternatives. She also resists Darah Hansen’s claim, that “separation trauma” is the primary cause of high dropout rates among Filipino students in Canada (M19), which pathologizes Filipino children who are separated from their mothers working abroad. Instead, she attributes the high dropout rates to poverty and the poor quality of education these children receive in the Philippines (M19). Unlike Waldman’s article, Laquian’s Letter to the Editor resists the “Problem Approach” by rejecting the portrayal of LC as “objects of pity and their children as potential problems” and her view of the LCP and LC is therefore congruent with the “Agency Approach.”

Hernandez’s article (F9) further reminds readers that domestic workers have not been passive victims since mobilization to improve the situation for domestic workers predates the LCP. In 1979, domestic workers hand-delivered a petition seeking landed immigrant status for foreign domestic workers to then Immigration Minister Lloyd Axworthy, which subsequently led to foreign domestic workers being able to apply for landed immigrant status in 1981. While the second annual FOCAA conference provided a space for LC and LC advocates to address the lengthy processing times for LC’s permanent residency applications as well as the controversial

live-in requirement, article F30 also highlights the fruits of collective, community-based action as 14,000 open work permits were granted in December 2011 following the delivery of a petition to Minister Kenney by a caregiver delegation.

The story of Josephine Eric in *The Hamilton Spectator* also aligns with the “Agency Approach” (M25). Eric, the eldest of nine children, gave up her university scholarship so as to provide for her family abroad. She left the Philippines to work as a nanny in Belgium for two years and eventually arrived in Hamilton at the age of twenty. Her employers forced her to work 14-hour days without overtime pay and threatened to deport her when she asked for the money. Although she found a new employer, Eric decided to leave the caregiving industry to pursue her university education (an undergraduate degree from the University of Calgary, a Master’s from McMaster University, a Master’s degree from the University of Toronto, and a doctoral degree in 2011). Her doctoral thesis led to the creation of the volunteer-run Migrant Workers’ Family Resource Centre, which provides support to immigrants, especially caregivers, in difficult situations. While Eric’s achievements are inspiring for current caregivers and Canadians more generally, her story was an anomalous one in the mainstream Canadian newspapers, which consequently reinforces the “Problem Approach” associated with the LC.

### **A New and Unexpected Theme in the Mainstream Press**

#### *Human Trafficking*

An unexpected theme that emerged from three (M20, M21, and M23) out of 32 articles in the mainstream Canadian newspapers discussed the trafficking of nannies, which was a theme that further aligns with the “Problem Approach.”

M20

- Hewitt discusses journalist Susan McClelland’s documentary, “The Nanny Business,” and the latter calls the situation “caregiver trafficking.”

M21

- Joelina, a Filipina featured in the documentary “The Nanny Business,” “arrived to find she had no job and was forced to live in her agent’s basement for nearly three months – along with 16 other nannies. When her employer finally found her a job, she was forced to work 18-hour days for far below the minimum wage.”
- “At the core of the problem is the fact that nannies just keep coming.”

M23

- “The Mounties draw a useful distinction between human trafficking (usually sex workers) and human smuggling (hired by migrants and refugee claimants). The end result is often the same: a thriving trade in prostitutes and an underground market in indentured workers, many of whom must toil for years to pay off extraordinary debts...”

### **Discussion**

Joelina’s story (M21) provides readers with a visual description of the housing/conditions some women have faced after entering Canada under the guise of a nanny position, which is reminiscent of the conditions those embroiled in sex or human trafficking face. These articles subsume the mobility of women under the LCP under the larger, global phenomenon of human trafficking, which is another macro-structural force in addition to the ones (neoliberalism and patriarchy) Dansereau-Cahill’s (2010) identifies in the “Problem Approach.” This is not to suggest that the two are *not* linked, but to point out that coupling these two narratives (caregiver hopefuls who are taken advantage of by unscrupulous nanny agencies, and women and girls,

most often Eastern Europeans, who are taken advantage of by traffickers) amplifies the victimization of Filipinas entering Canada under the guise of the LCP. Coupling these two narratives further serves to portray caregivers as passive victims who have been “rescued” by the investigative reporting of a journalist. Interestingly, Ryan notes that “More than once, the nannies plight [in the documentary “The Nanny Business”] is referred to as “caregiver trafficking,” which seems a sadly apt description” (M21), which serves to link these two phenomena together (migration and trafficking). At the same time, Ryan suggests that the problem lies in that “nannies just keep coming,” which is problematic in that he “blames” these women rather than criticizing the unscrupulous agencies and individuals involved in, and behind, such schemes.

### **Filipino-Canadian Newspapers as a Site of Resistance**

#### *Resisting Racialized Language*

Three (F2, F8, F27) out of 31 newspaper articles in the ethnic press resisted racialized descriptions of Filipina caregivers in Canada and overseas Filipino workers more broadly. Interestingly, all three articles that addressed this theme were written by Soriano in *Balita*.

F2

- Former Secretary of Tourism in the Philippines, Dr. Mina Gabor, suggested that Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) should be renamed “Overseas Filipino Specialists” (OFS), while recruiters should be called “Human Resources Providers” (HRP).

F8

- “Reports in the various mainstream media said there is “rampant nanny poaching across Canada especially in the Greater Toronto [Area].” How can some people be insensitive to



the plight of nannies especially Filipina caregivers... Comparing them to animals and plants.”

- “What’s wrong with nannies that look for other jobs and employers to [pursue] their personal development and fulfill their ambitions? They cannot remain a nanny forever.”

F27

- Hong Kong journalist Chip Tsao reportedly called the Philippines “a nation of servants.” In response, Soriano writes “Today, Filipinos all over the world serving as caregivers or nannies have given the term [servants] a new meaning and most importantly, dignity. A typical Filipino caregiver is almost always a college or university diploma holder, fluent in English and universally known for their competence.”

#### *Resisting the Claims put forth by Nanny Agencies*

A total of four (F18, F19, F20, and F29) out of 31 newspaper articles in the ethnic press resisted various comments and claims put forth by Manuel Gruber Hersch, President of the Association of Caregivers and Nanny Agencies (ANCA).

F18

- “Recruiters’ claims pooh poohed” (Headline).
- ANCA said that a survey of their members indicated that their business declined by 70-90%. In response, Terry Olayta of the Caregiver Resource Centre said this statistic owed to the fact that “...workers and employers have gotten wise to their nefarious practice of bilking the vulnerable workers of their hard-earned money and are now finding ways and means to arrange employment directly, instead of using third parties for the purpose.”

F19

- “Nannies strike back” (Headline).

- “Noting well-coordinated efforts of recruiters and employment agencies -- including hiring public relations firms -- to counteract recently announced labour reforms on their business, several groups of caregivers in the Greater Toronto Area are banding themselves together...”

F20

- “Canny nanny tag irks caregivers” (Headline).
- Olayta states “I challenge the statement [by Manuela Gruber Hersch in Tom Godfrey’s *Toronto Sun* article] that caregivers who are in the program act intentionally to be fired.....they are (held to) a strict timeframe and there are many other issues a worker has to watch for...to successfully finish the program.”
- Olayta states, “ACNA’s demonizing caregivers is an attempt to silence the voices of the organized, informed, educated and strong-willed caregivers.”
- “ACNA is playing fast and loose with statistics, Rica P., who came from Mindanao in the Philippines, commented. Just because Ms. Hersch said a caregiver stood up [to] an unnamed Alberta family does not mean a large number of caregivers are doing the same.”
- “As to the reported 600 nannies changing employers last year [according to Hersch], Olayta said that “workers (in) any part of this country when submitted to degradation, abuse and exploitation, has... the right to exercise their right to protect and help themselves.””

F29

- “Olayta says, ultimately, an au pair can’t compensate for the responsibilities a caregiver is expected to take on, such as the everyday housework of cooking and cleaning.”

### *Resisting Mainstream Claims Regarding Filipinos in Canada*

One article (F4) out of 31 in the ethnic press examined particular claims by media reports regarding Filipino Canadians' participation in politics and employment outcomes.

F4

- Cecilia Diocson, Executive Director of the National Alliance of Philippine Women in Canada, stated “It is not that Filipinos do not care about politics, yet many are struggling for daily survival to become active in organizations.”
- Several Filipino-Canadian organizations criticized Wally Oppal, British Columbia's then Minister Responsible for Multiculturalism and Attorney General, for his comment during a CBC radio report that Filipinos are coming to BC as professionals, including as nurses.
- Diocson argues that “...nurses are not granted any occupational points under Canada's immigration system, which is why many Filipino nurses are trapped in the [LCP]...”

### *Resisting the Perceived Hierarchy of Immigrants: Live-in Caregivers versus the CEC and PNP*

Three out of 31 articles (F24, F26, and F30) mention, in part, the perceived hierarchy and the disparity between those entering Canada via the LCP versus the Canadian Experience Class (CEC) or Provincial Nominee Program (PNP).

F24

- Terry Olayta states “If CIC (Immigration Canada) can process permanent residency applications for some immigration streams in less than a year, there is no reason that it could [not] do the same for caregivers.”

F26

- “The reason oft-given for the long wait for open [work] permits, and another longer wait for “landing”... is the large number of applications to be processed. Which is

unconvincing, given that the government has now opened new immigration streams with faster processing times.”

F30

- Marian L., a LC who has not seen her husband and two children in the last six years, states “If they [CIC] could process permanent residency applications for the Canadian Experience Classes (CEC) and Provincial Nominee Programs in just a few months, there is no reason why the authorities cannot do the same under the LCP. You will note that our [LC] papers have been processed by Immigration even before the start of... our [entry into the] LCP and our progress monitored.”

### **Discussion**

Although Dr. Gabor’s comment (F2) was likely intended to elevate the position of Filipino workers to “specialists,” in addition to professionalizing the image of recruiters by labelling them “human resources providers,” an NGO quoted in Soriano’s article suggests the term “specialist” would be a misnomer because the type of jobs migrant workers take on are typically ones that are not commonly viewed as requiring specialized training or “professional.” More importantly, one must consider the inadvertent consequences of such a designation. Could the term “Overseas Filipino Specialist” reinforce the racialized notion that Filipinos are “specialists” in the caring industry, for instance?

Soriano also resists the mainstream Canadian media’s description of caregivers as being “poached” by Canadian families (F8) due to the shortage of caregivers because this description likens these workers to animals and plants, or helpless victims, rather than workers who are *choosing* to leave their employer or the caregiving sector. His tone is congruous with the “Agency Approach” since he points to the fact that caregivers are “free to do as they wish,”

including leaving the caregiving sector and their employer's home after completing the requirements of the LCP and obtaining an open work permit. Soriano also notes that caregivers are oftentimes educated and skilled professionals with diplomas and degrees, meaning these workers have much (more) to offer Canadian society.

Finally, Soriano not only takes offence to the marker "a nation of servants" (F27), but he resists this narrative. He states that Filipino caregivers around the world are not lowly servants by pointing out that they are often fluent in English, educated, and skilled workers. Soriano also points out parts of Hong Kong's history, namely that Hong Kong served its colonial masters until they were granted independence in the 1990s, whereas the Philippines gained its independence in 1898 by revolting against the Spanish, so as to "take a jab" at the journalist, Chip Tsao.

Terry Olayta, a staunch LC advocate, resists several claims put forth by the Association of Caregivers and Nanny Agencies (ACNA), which is the organization Manuela Gruber Hersch is president of. To begin with, in an article aptly titled "Recruiters' claims pooh poohed," Olayta expresses disdain for the claim that nanny agencies have experienced a substantial decline in business because of the April 1, 2010 changes to the LCP (F18). Instead, Olayta states that their businesses' have declined because Canadian families "have gotten wise to their [nanny agencies'] nefarious practice of bilking the vulnerable workers of their hard-earned money" and are thus bypassing the services of nanny agencies by arranging for the employment of a LC on their own. Additionally, in what is fittingly titled "Nannies strike back" (F19) Olayta discusses the action taken by the Ontario Alliance of Caregivers (OAC). They banded together several caregiving groups to inform caregivers of the April 1, 2010 reforms (in addition to informing them of the way certain agencies have been circumventing the ban on charging placement fees)

and to counteract the ACNA's news releases that "[questioned] the wisdom of the labor reforms..." in an attempt to prevent these reforms from coming to fruition (F19).

Furthermore, Olayta resists the "doom and gloom" narrative Hersch expresses regarding the fate of the LCP. To begin with, Olayta and Paez (F29) argue that au pairing is not a panacea for Canadian families by presenting three shortcomings: they have few responsibilities, like little housework and cooking, in comparison to a LC, "can't provide the stability and continuity that children need" because they work for a family for a short period of time, and are unsuitable for eldercare. Olayta also argues that Canada's aging population and the need for dual-income families will continue the need for LC and the LCP (F18). In this way, Olayta quietens the hype surrounding au pairs and puts this caregiving option into perspective.

The article appropriately titled "Canny nanny tag *irks* caregivers" (F20) addresses the claims put forth in an article by Tom Godfrey in *The Sun*. Olayta resists what she terms "ACNA's demonizing caregivers" who choose to leave their abusive employer, which is a perspective that aligns with the "Agency Approach." In Godfrey's article, Hersch utilized an example of an unnamed nanny who deserted her unidentified Alberta employer after arriving in the airport, which irked caregivers because it "distorted" their situation and painted them as (mis)using the LCP and a Canadian family to enter Canada. Article F20 incorporates the voices of three Filipina LC, Magna L., Rica P., and Merle C., along with LC advocate Terry Olayta, who resist the various claims Hersch puts forth in Godfrey's piece: that the cost of bringing a caregiver is \$5,000; that the ban on nanny agencies charging LC fees created a "loophole" in the LCP that allows unscrupulous LC to enter Canada on a Canadian family's dime; that LC are trying to be fired so as to allow them to work elsewhere; and that LC are abandoning employers. As Magna L. explains, Hersch's claims stems from resentment towards the April 1, 2010 reforms

that no longer allow agencies to “[rake] [in] millions on the back[s] of impoverished and vulnerable workers.” Not only are these caregivers cognizant of the perception surrounding the LCP and LC in the mainstream Canadian newspapers (like Godfrey’s article), but they mount a compelling defence against Hersch’s oft-cited claims.

Diocson’s comments (F4) demonstrate resistance to dominant media and government narratives regarding Filipino-Canadians. To begin with, she resists the notion that Filipinos are uninterested or apathetic towards politics by pointing to macro-issues, perhaps poverty, that affects or hinders this demographics’ political participation. Minister Oppal’s comment to the CBC neglects to consider the importance of the participation of Filipino-Canadians in local, community-based organizations since participation of this kind can lead to political participation. Diocson also resists Minister Oppal’s claim that Filipino nurses in British Columbia are able to find work in their field by pointing to systemic barriers, accreditation issues, and the points system as key hindrances. Finally, Diocson resists the British Columbian government’s narrative, namely that “the relationship between BC and the Philippines was a “mutually beneficial relationship.”” This perhaps refers to the fact that Canadian employers profit by paying these workers meagre wages, meaning the relationship is *not* mutually beneficial.

To shift gears, articles F24, F26, and F30 suggest that there is a hierarchy amongst immigrants, namely those under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program as LC versus other immigration streams, that is felt by LC and LC advocates. Marian L. (F30) points to the unfairness surrounding the disparity in processing of permanent residency papers as some LC workers have waited upwards of seven years, while those arriving through the CEC or PNP have their permanent residency cards ready “in just a few months.” The voice of this LC demonstrates that she is not a passive victim, but is aware of the processing times of newcomers under other

immigration streams. Moreover, Marian L. is quoted during a gathering of caregivers at a parkette on Family Day, which demonstrates that caregivers are not isolated victims; instead, they have collectively mobilized to make their grievances visible to both the public and bureaucrats with the aim of bringing positive reforms to the LCP. Marian L. and Olayta's comments (F24 and F30) thereby beckon the following question: What accounts for the delay experienced by LC in processing open work permits, permanent residency, and family unification applications? Elsewhere, Olayta provides a possible response. Olayta is described as having

observed that the federal government would seem to view the LCP as a low-skilled worker program, hence the seeming aversion to provide quicker processing times for landing, "while other skilled worker immigration streams are fast tracked to just a few months."

"This view and treatment of caregivers is just plain wrong," Olayta said. The government has upgraded the requirements for LCP participants in the early 90s so much so that most of them now are college graduates and professionals. And of course, caring and tutelage of the young, as well as nursing care... "require high and specialized knowledge and skills..." (F28).

Thus, the Filipino-Canadian newspapers emerge as a site to raise sharp criticisms of the government's claim that the delay in processing various applications for LC owes simply to backlog in the system.

### **Ethnic Press as a Potential Resource for Live-in Caregivers**

Despite Soriano's pessimism (F3), the Filipino-Canadian newspaper articles surveyed in this project serve as a potential resource to LC, as well as the broader Filipino-Canadian community, by making them aware of the proposed or new changes to the LCP. To begin with, article F10 addresses the then newly introduced, toll-free hotline that aims to provide LC with advice regarding their rights under the Employment Standards Act as well as a space to report incidents of abuse or exploitation; moreover, the actual number is provided in the article, so it can serve as a potential resource for those in need. Articles F13 and F17 address various



proposed or actual changes to the LCP and are written by credible sources (F13 is written by a certified immigration consultant, and F17 are written by an immigration lawyer) whose contact information is provided in the event a caregiver or employer has follow-up questions. Article F11 is a particularly informative piece written by a barrister, solicitor, and notary public, Maria Deanna Santos, PhD. Santos offers readers, both those unfamiliar with the LC and those familiar with it, a comprehensive look at the LCP by addressing its main features, key issues (i.e., family separation LC experience and de-skilling of Filipinas, proposed reforms, as well as recommendations to improve the LCP).

Second, not only do the ethnic newspapers discuss changes to the LCP, but they also put them under closer examination. Arellano (F15) examines the Juana Tejada law that eliminated the second medical exam LC had to complete up until April 1, 2010. According to Rafael Fabregas, a caregiver advocate and lawyer,

...the amendment will not apply to new entrants to the LCP and that caregivers who are already in Canada will still have to pass the second medical examination before being granted permanent residence (F15).

In other words, “It is not until the year 2012 that all caregivers will have the full benefit of the Juana Tejada law, according to Fabregas...” In this way, Arellano’s article demonstrates that the reform was not an instant “win” since it excluded some caregivers for a period of time.

Third, the ethnic press does not pose a biased source of information that presents its compatriots as victims and Canadian employers as villains. Buyco-Corpus’ article (F12) offers a balanced portrayal of caregivers. The author notes that

Sure there are abusive employers and [Ruby] Dhalla’s nannygate has made such type of employers aware that they cannot abuse the system...

However at the other side of the spectrum, we have nannies who have abused the system. We have nannies who discriminate employers (no Muslims, no Chinese, no Jewish, no Middle Eastern, no blacks, no Jamaicans etc). We have nannies who work live in and are on their mobile phone most of the time chatting with friends during working hours. We have nannies who use employers personal things...

Thus, Buyco-Corpus does not blame Canadian employers *carte blanche* for the abuses experienced by LC as she points out that there are legitimate, honest ones. Nor does she paint LC as victims as she points to the unethical practices committed by some LC. Instead, she concludes that the system should be improved by “slightly [licensing] agencies dealing with employers and nannies and all types of workers” because she believes that it was the lack of licensing that brought about problems. Ultimately, these three points demonstrate that the ethnic press should not be viewed as second-rate, but as a potential resource, as a source of critical information, as well as a balanced source of information.

### **Summary of Main Findings**

The following summary recaps the main findings of this examination of the representation of LC and the LCP in the mainstream and ethnic press.

1. How have LC and the LCP been represented in the mainstream Canadian newspapers?
  - Filipina LC were described utilizing racialized and gendered notions in the mainstream press, while the LCP has been described as a failing program.
2. How have LC and the LCP been represented in the Filipino-Canadian newspapers?
  - Certain journalists like Soriano resisted various negative and/or racialized notions about Filipina caregivers and the Filipino-Canadian population more generally. Moreover, LC and LC advocates have questioned the lengthy processing time experienced by LC in comparison to other streams of immigrants, have mobilized to reform the LCP, and pointed to the downsides of the au pairing option Hersch advocates, which aligns with the “Agency Approach.”
3. Are the children of LC absent from the mainstream Canadian newspapers? If not, in what ways are they discussed?

- The children of LC, and Filipino-Canadian youth more generally, were not absent from the mainstream Canadian newspapers. However, they are discussed as having a significant high school dropout rate as well as issues upon being reunited with their mothers after years of separation so that their representation aligns with the “Problem Approach.”
4. Are the children of LC absent or present in the ethnic newspapers and how are they constructed?
    - The children of LC were present in the ethnic newspapers articles; however, the articles that addressed this theme were rather general in comparison to the mainstream press.
  5. Are the Filipino-Canadian newspapers a site of resistance that allows LC, LC advocates, or members of the Filipino-Canadian community to voice their grievances regarding the LCP?
    - Yes, the ethnic newspapers examined in this study allowed LC and LC advocates to raise their perspectives, concerns, and resist various claims regarding the future of the LCP; benefits of au pairs; “quiet” growth of the Filipino-Canadian population; speedy processing of applications for certain immigrants in comparison to LC; and political participation, or perceived lack thereof, of Filipinos in Canada.
  6. Are the Filipino-Canadian newspapers a tangible site for community activism and mobilization with regards to the LCP?

- Yes, ethnic newspapers examined in this study revealed the historic and contemporary activism undertaken by caregivers and advocates to reform various features of the LCP.
7. Do the Filipino-Canadian newspapers disrupt the narratives surrounding LC and the LCP that are found in the mainstream Canadian newspapers?
- Yes, see answer to research question 5.
8. Do the ethnic newspapers examine news stories or topics related to the LCP that are omitted from the mainstream press?
- While “human trafficking” emerged as an unexpected theme in the mainstream newspapers that aligned with the “Problem Approach,” new topics were not identified in the ethnic press during data collection.
9. Does au pairing harken back to a retrogressive preference for white, European domestic workers?
- The cultural and linguistic capital of au pairs was consistently identified by select au pair proponents and Canadian families, but it was not a blatantly a racial or racist preference.
10. How is Canada and the Philippines portrayed in the mainstream and ethnic press?
- Although data for this theme was collected, it was ultimately omitted from my analysis due to time constraints, and because Inouye (2007) and Gilliland (2012) addressed it in their analysis.
11. How are caregivers’ spouses portrayed in the mainstream and ethnic press?
- This theme was omitted from analysis because of insufficient data.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusions and Future Research**

### **Conclusion**

This study set out to compare and contrast the representation of LC and the LCP in both the mainstream Canadian and Filipino-Canadian newspapers. A total of 63 newspaper articles (32 in the mainstream and 31 in the ethnic press) between 2007 and 2013, in 11 mainstream Canadian newspapers and 5 ethnic sources, were included in this analysis. A comparative approach was valuable because, as Carvalho (2008) suggests, it allows one to examine “alternative depictions” of the same issue, which can “enhance the critical reading of news discourse and help identify the specific discursive traits of a given news outlet” (171-172).

Similar to Dansereau-Cahill’s (2010) finding that “these women are not hapless victims” (42), the data examined in this study revealed that the Filipino-Canadian newspapers provide a space for LC, LC advocates, as well as members of the Filipino-Canadian community to voice their views and to resist racialized portrayals of Filipina LC, Filipinos-Canadians, Filipino overseas workers, as well as the challenge supposed demise of the LCP. Ethnic newspapers also serve to mobilize, inform and, in turn, empower LC of proposed or actual changes to the LCP. As Ojo (2006) notes, the ethnic media “provide safe nests for people of their respective communities” (352) to perhaps debate, criticize, and resist policies and narratives that affect them. In this way, the representation of LC in the ethnic press was deemed to be congruous with Dansereau-Cahill’s (2010) “Agency Approach.”

In contrast, the mainstream Canadian newspaper articles examined in this study rehashed racialized notions of Filipina nannies and LC that Pratt (1997) and Steill and England’s (1999) studies address in the context of nanny agencies. Nanny agencies in the above studies possessed and perpetuated these stereotypes to meet the desires of their Canadian families/clients;

similarly, in light of the aftermath of the April 1, 2010 reforms to the LCP, it was also financial interests that motivated select advocates and organizations like ACNA to push for au pairs, though this caregiving option presents drawbacks that are, generally speaking, unaddressed in the mainstream press. Furthermore, contrary to Vahdat's (2011) claim, the children of LC were not absent from the mainstream Canadian newspapers. Unfortunately, however, the one-note portrayal of Filipino youth and LC's children, as well as the nexus between human trafficking and the migration of Filipinas, was deemed to be indicative of the "Problem Approach."

It is also important to note that CDA is meant to reveal power relations within text. As per Lukes' (1974) "faces of power," the second (of the three) face of power holds that social groups with power use the media to "defend and promote their vested interests" (as cited in Richardson 2007, 31). Van Dijk (1993) maintains that those with power and dominance have "privileged access to discourse and communication" while the perspectives of those with less power are quoted less often or ignored (255, 260), which, in turn, affects how the rest of society interprets the world (255, 257-258). This is evident from the fact that certain individuals are more often quoted in the mainstream press, namely Manuela Gruber Hersch as well as Canadian families, rather than LC who are directly affected by changes to the LCP and the rise of au pairing. McGregor (2003) notes that CDA aims "to make the voice of the marginalized legitimate and heard and to take the voice of those in power into question and to reveal hidden agendas and motives that serve self-interests, maintain superiority, and ensure others' subjugation," which is the key role played by the inclusion of the ethnic press in this analysis.

As Richardson (2007) states, "The work of mainstream journalists mediates the relationship between ruling class ideology and news content (Murdock, 2000) and supports the hegemony by naturalising, or taking for granted, the inequalities of contemporary capitalism

(Gitlin, 1979)” (36). On the other hand, the 2008 investigation into nanny agencies by *Toronto Star* journalist Dale Brazao challenges Inouye’s (2012) demonstrates that the mainstream press/journalists can support LC in achieving greater agency and, thus, challenges Inouye’s (2012) claim that the mainstream press is not a site of “anti-oppressive, counter-capitalist...” forces (578).

In terms of my initial research questions, questions 1 and 2 from my inquiry section were satisfactorily answered because of the abundance of data in which LC were presented in ways that were congruous with the “Problem Approach” in the mainstream newspapers and in ways that were akin to the “Agency Approach” in the ethnic press. Question 3 was a theme that, according to Vahdat (2010), would not emerge in the mainstream media; however, it did emerge as the children of LC as well as Filipino youth were presented in negative terms, which is congruous with the “Problem Approach.” Question 4 was also answered, although the content of the two articles in the ethnic press that addressed the portrayal of the children of LC were not as substantive as the ones in the mainstream newspapers. Questions 5, 6, and 7 were satisfactorily answered since the ethnic press, in comparison to the mainstream press, was a site where LC and LC advocates could resist various claims, racialized portrayals, as well as inform readers about their efforts to reform the LCP. This was therefore taken as further evidence of the “Agency Approach.” Question 9 dealt with the racial underpinnings of the turn to au pairs, which was somewhat answered. The cultural and linguistic capital of au pairs was consistently raised and, although this was not a blatantly racist preference, it could be interpreted as a subtle form of racism, which is reminiscent of Henry and Tator’s (2002) discussion of “new racism” (23). As was previously mentioned, questions 8, 10, and 11 were omitted from analysis for various reasons.

Ultimately, this study concludes that the way Filipina LC, the future of Canada's LCP, au pairing as a caregiving option for Canadian families, the children of LC in Canada, and the growth of the Filipino population in Canada were discussed in the mainstream press was, on the whole, congruous with the "Problem Approach." The Filipino-Canadian newspapers examined in this Major Research Paper provide a space for LC, LC advocates, and members of the Filipino-Canadian community to voice concerns, resist racialized descriptions, and mobilize, which is indicative of the "Agency Approach." The ethnic press also acts as a useful resource to inform LC of proposed or actual changes to the LCP.

### **Future Research**

At the start of my research project, I hoped to collect and critically analyze the images that accompany articles in the mainstream Canadian newspapers in light of the two articles I read in my literature review. Pratt's (1997) article includes 4 advertisements from a sample of nanny agencies that are not analyzed by this author. The ads include statements like "*Choose: British Filipino, New Zealanders, and other Nationalities*" and "*Local or Order Overseas,*" which implies that "acquiring" a LC is akin to acquiring a commodity given its impersonal nature. Moreover, the Filipina body becomes one that is filled with a particular meaning: a servant who is willing to endure difficult or abusive living and working conditions without complaint because of the commonly held notion that she needs to send money home and hopes to attain permanent residency after completing two years of full-time caregiving. Not only are Filipina LC in these advertisements described as "one-in-the-same" and devoid of personal identity, but it is the consumer or Canadian family's interests that nanny agencies aim to meet.

Unlike Pratt (1997), Cox (2007) conducted a content analysis of 52 images in 30 British au pair agency websites that are utilized by families, mostly mothers, seeking to hire an au pair.



One au pair agency, for instance, attempted to deemphasize the sexualized image of these workers by selecting images for their website in which the au pair's body is covered by a child who is the subject of the feminine, domesticated, and blonde/white au pair's gaze (287-289). Cox's theoretical framework is nestled in feminist discourses in which the white, European au pair body has become synonymous with femininity and sexuality, while the racialized migrant domestic worker's body is "read" or interpreted as masculine, inclined to back-breaking, demeaning work (Cox 2007, 283-284). Thus, these images construct certain notions of au pair femininity: the European au pair body in Cox's study possessed dominant femininity while the above migrant domestic worker's body is congruous with pariah femininity (Charlebois 2011).

Here, it is important to note that when I completed my proposal, I wanted to utilize femininity theory, specifically dominant femininity, hegemonic femininity, and pariah femininity as my theoretical perspective to analyze the representation of Filipina caregivers, Canadian women who employ LC, and au pairs in the mainstream and ethnic newspapers. However, during data collection it became clear that rather than a complex portrayal of different femininities, the mainstream and ethnic press were presenting divergent portrayals of LC as the former's was more aligned with the Dansereau-Cahill's (2010) "Problem Approach" and the latter with the "Agency Approach."

With all this said, the images from the mainstream Canadian newspapers were not available on the two online databases I utilized for data collection, meaning I had to forego this initial idea. In terms of future research directions on the representation of the LCP and LC, it would be particularly interesting to conduct a CDA of the representation of these workers and this labour program in various community-based arts project, such as the community comic book *Kwentong Bayan: Labour of Love* by Toronto-based artists Althea Balmes and Jo SiMalaya

Alcampo. The comic book's illustrator, Balmes, explains, "What we're trying to do is document the lives of Filipino live-in caregivers but in a more positive way. So we're talking about how they're resisting the exploitative structure of the LCP..., and also how they create community while all of these struggles are going on" (Kwentong Bayan: Labour of Love 2013). Time constraints, coupled with the fact that a 10-page mini-comic is scheduled to be published in the Fall of 2013 and the full comic book will be launched in 2014, did not permit me to include such an analysis.

Additional future research that has not been explored by the extant media analysis on the LCP could include interviews with an editor and/or journalist with the ethnic and mainstream Canadian newspapers. Again, time constraints did not permit me to conduct interviews for this research project, but this methodological approach would allow journalists to discuss the role ethnic newspapers serve for a particular community as well as its role as a site to resist mainstream portrays and narratives. It would also allow these professionals the opportunity to discuss and account for the differential presentation of Filipina caregivers, the supposed demise of the LCP and rise of au pairing, the children of Filipina LC in Canada, as well as the "quiet" rise of the Filipino-Canadian community more broadly.

**Appendix 1: Mainstream Canadian Newspaper Articles**

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Coding</b>
Cori Howard	The steep price of becoming a ‘dollar mommy’	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	16-Oct-07	M1
Greg Joyce	Mother of fatally stabbed Filipino youth criticizes live-in care program	<i>The Canadian Press</i>	01-Feb-08	M2
Duncan Mavin	The nanny economy: Elena Bautista spends her days with a Rosedale family to provide for her own children 13,000 kilometres away	<i>The National Post</i>	23-Feb-08	M3
Tracy Sherlock	Filipinos plan forum	<i>Richmond News</i>	6-Jun-08	M4
Kayume Baksh	Nanny earned right to stay	<i>Toronto Star</i>	10-Jun-08	M5
Cori Howard	A nanny from the cradle to the grave	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	15-Jun-08	M6
Dale Brazao	Nanny sent to work as underpaid servant; After paying agency \$4,500 for family placement, caregiver was shipped off to illegal job at inn	<i>Toronto Star</i>	22-Sep-08	M7
Leslie Ciarula Taylor	High cost of looking after others’ kids; Filipina nannies support their own families back home and find they are estranged when their children come here	<i>Toronto Star</i>	3-Jan-09	M8
Dale Brazao and Robert Cribb	‘This is Trafficking’	<i>Toronto Star</i>	14-Mar-09	M9
Dale Brazao and Robert Cribb	Critics want crackdown as nannies exploited	<i>Toronto Star</i>	17-Mar-09	M10
Robert Cribb and Dale Brazao	Victory for our nannies; Province finally agrees to crack down on recruiters who exploit foreign caregivers	<i>Toronto Star</i>	2-Apr-09	M11
Lorne Waldman	The exploitation of nannies has a long, dreary history; Vulnerable caregivers too often have nowhere to turn when employers take	<i>Toronto Star</i>	18-May-09	M12

	advantage of them			
Neilia Sherman	Nanny state; We wanted her to become part of our family, but she understood boundaries and wasn't there to be friends	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	8-Jun-09	M13
Dale Brazao	Exploited nannies win fee battle	<i>Toronto Star</i>	21-Oct-09a	M14
Dale Brazao	Nannies victory is complete: Anti-exploitation law passes	<i>Toronto Star</i>	11-Dec-09b	M15
Joanne Lee-Young	Canada draws a growing number of Filipinos; Government programs are attractive to foreign workers – and many opt to stay	<i>The Vancouver Sun</i>	12-Jun-10	M16
Author Unknown	The Filipino factor; The Philippines has quietly become Canada's largest source of immigrants	<i>The Vancouver Sun</i>	12-Jun-10	M17
Darah Hansen	Tears today hoping for a better tomorrow; The migration of women from the Philippines to Canada to serve in domestic roles separates families for years	<i>The Vancouver Sun</i>	14-Jun-10	M18
Eleanor R. Laquian	Filipinos believe families are worth their sacrifices	<i>The Vancouver Sun</i>	23-Jun-10	M19
Katie Hewitt	Reality Check / The Nanny Business	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	2-Jul-10	M20
Andrew Ryan	Canada: the nannies' state of uncertainty	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	7-Jul-10	M21
Manuela Gruber Hersch	Live-in caregiver program is unfair to families	<i>The Province</i>	31-Aug-10	M22
Editorial	Trafficking in People	<i>Toronto Star</i>	15-Sep-10	M23
Joe Friesen	A quiet rise to the top of immigration rolls	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	19-Mar-11	M24
Author Unknown	Josephine Eric	<i>The Hamilton Spectator</i>	15-Oct-11	M25
Manuela Gruber Hersch	Caregiver option too risky for most	<i>The Windsor Star</i>	18-Nov-11	M26
Nicholas Keung	TV drama highlights 'celebrated caregiver': Dying Filipina nanny compelled Ottawa to change	<i>Toronto Star</i>	18-Nov-11	M27

	immigration law			
Tobi Cohen	Au pairs eyed to ease child-care needs; Shortage of foreign nannies could open door to European-style system	<i>Times – Colonist</i>	18-Oct-12	M28
Nicholas Keung	Too Tough to get a nanny? Au pairs offer a short-term solution	<i>Toronto Star</i>	19-Oct-12d	M29
Tobi Cohen	Nanny shortage could lead to ‘au pairing’; Youngsters billet with families and take care of kids	<i>Calgary Herald</i>	20-Oct-12	M30
Tara Carman	Strict quotas hamper child-care options	<i>The Vancouver Sun</i>	21-Jan-13	M31
Jacque Moore	Who’s your Nanny?	<i>Calgary Herald</i>	1-Feb-13	M32

**Appendix 2: Filipino-Canadian Newspaper Articles**

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Coding</b>
Author Unknown	Demographics of Fil-Cans Change, widen	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	1-Aug-08	F1
Tenny F. Soriano	OFWs or OFS?	<i>Balita</i>	16-Oct-08	F2
Tenny F. Soriano	Proposed Nanny Act of 2009; will it stop exploitation?	<i>Balita</i>	4-Jan-09	F3
Author Unknown	Growing Filipino community in Canada still faces major obstacles to successful integration, says advocacy group	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	23-Feb-09	F4
Tenny F. Soriano	Juana and Kiko: “Kababayan natin”	<i>Balita</i>	16-Mar-09	F5
Author Unknown	‘Charge ‘em’ – As Feds mull ‘blacklisting’ agencies in wake of nanny expose	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	31-Mar-09	F6
Author Unknown	Ontario puts blame on Feds	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	31-Mar-09	F7
Tenny F. Soriano	Now who’s “A nation of servants”?	<i>Balita</i>	16-Apr-09	F8
Carmencita R. Hernandez	Jobs, Equity and Equality- Filipino Women: Strength in Organizing	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	21-Apr-09	F9
Author Unknown	Ontario sets up helpline for caregivers, ‘snitchers’	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	30-Apr-09	F10
Maria Deanna Santos	The Live-in Caregiver Program: Issues, Trends and Updates	<i>The Philippine Reporter</i>	15-May-09	F11
Marissa Buyco-Corpus	The Live-in Caregiver Programme revisited	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	30-May-09	F12
Don Collantes	Improvements to the live-in caregiver program	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	27-Dec-09	F13
From the Publisher	Corrigenda	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	28-Jan-10	F14
Faye Arellano	Juana Tejada Law excludes thousands of caregivers	<i>Balita</i>	2-Feb-10	F15
Author Unknown	Caregiver new rules on April 1st	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	28-Mar-10	F16
Henry Moyal	Key changes to the Live-In Caregiver program as of	<i>Balita</i>	30-Apr-10	F17

	April 1, 2010			
Author Unknown	Recruiters' claims pooh poohed	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	29-Aug-10	F18
Author Unknown	Nannies strike back	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	31-Oct-10	F19
Author Unknown	Canny nanny tag irks caregivers	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	24-Jan-11	F20
Anthony Vivero	Bringing UP Children in this era	<i>Balita</i>	1-Feb-11	F21
FC Staff Writer	Philippines is now Canada's top source of immigrants	FilipinoCanadian.ca	21-Mar-11	F22
Aida E. D'Orazio	Filipino youth dropout rate, highest in schools	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	30-May-11	F23
Author Unknown	Kenney pharisaical on nannies?	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	30-Jul-11	F24
Author Unknown	Caregivers convene Sept 24	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	2-Sep-11	F25
Editorial	Kenney turns his back on caregivers	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	29-Nov-11	F26
Tenny F. Soriano	Are Nannies Prey and Fair Game	<i>Balita</i>	16-Feb-12	F27
Author Unknown	Caregivers 2nd confab	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	29-Jul-12	F28
Beatrice Paez	Will au pairs replace caregivers	<i>The Philippine Reporter</i>	9-Nov-12	F29
Author Unknown	Ontario caregivers gather in parkette for Family Day	<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	29-Jan-13	F30
Manuela Gruber Hersch	IEC Program Supplanting Troubled Caregiver Program	<i>The Filipino Post</i>	27-Feb-13	F31

**Appendix 3: Break-down of Newspaper Articles by Source**

**Mainstream Canadian Newspapers**

<b>Name of Newspaper</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>
<i>Calgary Herald</i>	2
<i>The Hamilton Spectator</i>	1
<i>Richmond News</i>	1
<i>The Canadian Press</i>	1
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	6
<i>The National Post</i>	1
<i>The Province</i>	1
<i>The Vancouver Sun</i>	5
<i>The Windsor Star</i>	1
<i>Times – Colonist</i>	1
<i>Toronto Star</i>	12
	Total: 32

**Filipino-Canadian Newspapers**

<b>Name of Newspaper</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>
<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	19
<i>Balita</i>	8
FilipinoCanadian.ca	1
<i>The Filipino Post</i>	1
<i>The Philippine Reporter</i>	2
	Total: 31



**Appendix 4: Background on Ethnic Newspapers**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>History</b>	<b>Content</b>	<b>Distribution</b>
<i>Atin Ito News Feature</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded in 1976</li> <li>• Considered to be Canada’s longest running Filipino community newspaper</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not specified</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Published monthly in both English and Filipino</li> <li>• Distributed free to stores, medical offices, travel agencies, among other areas in the Greater Toronto Area, Ottawa, Windsor, Hamilton, and Niagara Falls</li> <li>• Readership estimated to be 75,000 Filipino-Canadians (Atin Ito News Feature 2006).</li> </ul>
<i>Balita</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded in 1978 by journalist Ruben J. Cusipag</li> <li>• Based in Toronto</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Covers local and Filipino events, as well as entertainment, social and political commentary</li> <li>• Includes contributions from writers in the Philippines, the United States, and Canada</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Published twice per month</li> <li>• Distributes 15,000 copies per issue in Toronto, the Greater Toronto Area, and Hamilton (Balita 2013).</li> </ul>
FilipinoCanadian.ca	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not specified</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Our focus is on “good” news. We’d like to focus more on stories about success, inspirational stories, rags to riches etc” (Filipino Canadian 2013).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not specified</li> </ul>
<i>The Filipino Post</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Launched in 2007</li> <li>• Published in Vancouver</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leading English-language newspaper for Metro Vancouver’s Filipino community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Published weekly</li> <li>• Distributed free of charge throughout Metro Vancouver (The Filipino Post 2011).</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “[provides] Filipino news and views from a Canadian perspective”</li> </ul>	
<i>The Philippine Reporter</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Published since 1989</li> <li>• Based in Toronto</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Features community news from the Philippines and stories about Filipinos in Canada and the United States</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Published twice per month</li> <li>• Distributed free of charge to Churches, restaurants, and stores frequented by the Filipino community as well as during community events (The Philippine Reporter).</li> </ul>

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