

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA  
AN URBAN VILLAGE: THE EFFECT OF MIGRATION  
ON THE FILIPINO GARMENT WORKERS IN A  
CANADIAN CITY

by

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A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

OCTOBER, 1972



## ABSTRACT

Investigators of an immigrant population have traditionally viewed their subject of study from four points of emphasis, around which they have tended to form into exclusivistic schools of thought: disorganization, assimilation, reinterpretation and ethnicity. This study of the Filipino immigrant garment workers in a mid-west Canadian city was done with the four points of emphasis as guidelines. The preoccupation in this study was not to determine whether or not these immigrants were assimilating, reinterpreting, non-assimilating, or being disorganized since all of these happen to any migrant community in varying intensities. The focus, rather, of the present research was to determine the factors involved in the variations.

Further, these points of emphasis were seen to be related to the range of adaptive mechanisms open to an immigrant community and in the study an attempt was made to indicate the reasons why one, rather than another, adjustive mechanism was employed. Culture transplantation appears to be the likely option where there is extreme cultural diversity between the immigrants and the host society, while cultural assimilation seems to be limited to the minimum necessity. Reinterpretation and modification of culture items appear to be the likely adjustive options where similarity of

culture items are observed between the immigrants and the host population.

Thus, among the Filipino immigrant garment workers, the major adjustive responses to the disorganization effect of migration are cultural transplant of familiar home village values and culture items and total assimilation of factory work habits. And, as there is extreme diversity of culture between the immigrants and their host society, few cases of cultural reinterpretation and modification are found. This study should be seen as a contribution to the increasing pool of knowledge on Canada's and, in particular, Winnipeg's ethnic immigrant population. It is a discovery in process of a variant Filipino as well as Canadian culture.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my thesis committee:

Dr. J. Matthiasson of the Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, who, as thesis advisor, patiently guided me to complete this study. Dr. E.S. Burch Jr. of the same institution and Dr. C. Matthiasson of the Department of Anthropology, University of Winnipeg, members of the examining committee, provided suggestions to improve the thesis, the latter providing the invaluable female point of view. The reader should thank with me Miss T. Fitzgerald of the English Department, University of Manitoba, for generously giving of her time to make the thesis read smoothly and Mrs. S. Hampton of the Family Planning Association of Manitoba for expertly typing the thesis. I am thankful to the professors and fellow students of the Department of Anthropology whose big and little considerations made studying in a foreign land memorable. Dr. E. Sweet, the Head of the Department, has shown an encouraging interest in the completion of the thesis for which I am grateful. I thank my fellow Filipino immigrants in Winnipeg, both 'professionals' and 'garment workers', whose friendship was educationally as well as personally rewarding. Above all, I thank Mr. J. Gano and Mrs. G. Gano, my brother-in-law



and sister respectively, to whom this work is dedicated, for their financial as well as moral support in Winnipeg. I thank my parents and siblings who kept me informed from the home country and thus alleviated, in a large degree, my 'homesickness'.

To these persons and others who may have helped me I recognize an utang na loob or irrepayable debt of gratitude. The shortcomings in the thesis are solely mine and perhaps I should be all the more blameworthy for making them despite all the help that I received.

C.M.B.

TO JOHN AND GLIZ

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## CHAPTER I

### MIGRATION STUDIES

#### Relevance of the Study

Today's frontier is the urban center. The direction of human migration has reversed. Persons leave their rural homes and move to the nearest city and people from the relatively non-industrialized countries aspire to move to the relatively developed areas. The movement of peoples to the more developed countries is related to the fact of colonialism. The colonizers admit to their country persons from former or current colonies. Thus, the urban population has become increasingly heterogeneous.

The frontier for the Filipinos shifted from Spain and Europe when the Philippines became a colony of the United States at the turn of the century. The steady migration of Filipinos to the United States and later to Canada has resulted in the presence of Filipino immigrant communities in every major city of North America.

The Philippines is among the oldest field area of anthropologists. The first set of studies was concerned with the non-christianized highland communities but, since 1950, anthropologists have shifted their attention to the christianized lowland population. Studies on the

Filipino immigrant communities in the New World would provide a third set of comparative material on Philippine culture.

During migration the traits, institutions, and values of the migrating persons are placed in different conditions. The slow process of change that may hardly be noticed in the settled community is magnified. And the effect of migration would be expected to be maximal when the migrating persons differ maximally in background, physical features, values, and institutions. The resulting change "becomes a mode both of explaining and experiencing the working of the institution and its people and its milieu, including of course, its social and cultural milieu" (Bohannon, 1967: XVII-XVIII).

Present knowledge in the area of culture contact, change and persistence is still too general to be of any use. Manners has summarized the research in this field:

It appears that some parts of culture are 'more resistant than others'; that some changes are more or less disruptive of the total culture than others; and that some segments or groups of individuals within a society demonstrate different degrees of resistance to change (1956: 158).

The occurrence of a human migration should serve as an occasion to test and extend this general statement. Studies of Asian immigrants in North America is fragmentary. The literature on the Filipino immigrants is limited to the few articles listed by Lum (1969: 14).

The following migration study concerns the recent movement of working-class Filipinos in Winnipeg, Manitoba. They come from the bottom social stratum and the rural sector of the home country. The effects of migration to a Canadian city are expected to be much more pronounced among these garment workers than among the Filipino



educated immigrants known as 'professional'.

The study is based on participant observation. The general goal is to document the major effects of the movement. The main conclusion reached in this study is that these immigrant garment workers have formed into a close-knit community. They have set up networks through which interaction among the members is maximized and interaction with outsiders minimized. They have drastically changed in their rural work habits but they have, however, transplanted much of their home village values and patterns of behaviour. They continue to live their village life in a Canadian urban center. Hence the title of the study: AN URBAN VILLAGE.

#### Models in Migration Studies

A culture is situated if it refers to the total adaptive mechanisms accumulated by a human population in a particular environment, predicament, or opportunity. Movement away from this particular situation results in the displacement of culture. The displacement in turn results in stress, loss of identity, and the need to readjust on the part of the displaced persons.

Two related statements are offered as the underlying hypotheses of the study:

1. The intensity of stress, loss of identity, and the need to readjust is inversely proportional to the amount of familiar culture items retained, modified, reinterpreted, and acquired in the new situation.
2. The amount of culture items retained, modified, reinterpreted, and acquired is directly proportional to the degree of similarity between the former environment and the new place.

A number of models could be used in the study of an immigrant population. One model is the 'disorganization model' where the focus of study is the disintegration of culture items resulting from migration. A second model is the 'melting pot model' where the focus of study is the assimilation of the immigrant population. A third model is the 'reinterpretation model' where the focus of study is the retention of older ways by means of devious reinterpretations and identifications. A fourth model is 'ethnicity model' where the focus of study is the maintenance of a distinct ethnic identity by the immigrant population.

The pioneer studies by Thomas and Znaniecki exemplify the 'disorganization model'. They investigated the massive migration of Poles in the United States, relying heavily upon letters and life histories. With a grant of \$50,000.00, the authors offered ten to twenty cents for any letter received from Poland by an immigrant to the United States. They collected 754 letters occupying 800 pages of printed words. Znaniecki was himself a Pole and acted as a knowledgeable informant (Madge, 1962: 52, 54, 55).

The results of the Polish migration study were issued in five volumes between 1918 and 1920. They showed that the main effect of migration on the Polish immigrants was social disorganization. The conflict and lack of correspondence between the attitudes and values of the Polish peasants and those of the host American society were leading to the breakdown of Polish traditions and the demoralization of the immigrants. The family system which had persisted in the Polish countryside collided head on with the American system in which the individual looked after his personal interests, had a

career, and was paid for what he did. The results of the study also showed that the puritan ethic was breaking down the familial system in the Polish villages (Ibid.: 62, 79). In a later volume Thomas (1923) discussed the effects of social disorganization upon the individual Polish immigrant girl who had lost touch with her family and ancestral ties before becoming adjusted to, or assimilated by, the host society.

Handlin's migration study is another example of the 'disorganization model'. He studied the historical documents bearing on the thirty-five million newcomers to the United States in the century after 1820. The effects of migration upon these newcomers, according to Handlin, are broken homes, interruptions of a familiar life, separation from known surroundings, ceasing to belong and becoming a foreigner. To Handlin, immigration is a history of alienation and America is a land of separated men (1951: 3-6, 305). Other migration studies that exemplify the 'disorganization model' are those by Keesing, Hammond, and McAllister (1955), Richardson (1941), Van Arsdale (1966), Landa (1969), Miller (1967), Preston (1963), and Shepperson (1965).

The study by Warner et al. exemplifies the 'melting pot model'. The study concerns eight ethnic immigrant groups in an American city: Irish, French Canadians, Jews, Italians, Armenians, Greeks, Polish, and Russians. The result of the study was published serially in five volumes from 1941 to 1959.

Warner et al. observed that these different immigrant groups were in varied stages of assimilating into the American middle class.

The American city was a melting pot for the different ethnic populations.

There are three phases in this assimilation process:

1. The amorphous stage wherein there is as yet no community organization;
2. The stage of residential consolidation of family structures wherein appear ethnic stores and informal associations, church, school, and men's associations; and
3. The disintegration stage wherein the immigrant group loses its residential base and forms new association structures to maintain the community system.

In the view of Warner et al. the degree of approximation to the status of native is proportionate to the length of the immigrants' arrival in the city. The cultural traits of the ethnic immigrant which may have become symbols of inferior status eventually change in time. The physical traits which may have become symbols of inferior status will, however, be permanent according to them (Warner et al., 1963: 379, 410, 413). Other studies that exemplify the 'melting pot model' are those by Adamic (1940), La Violette (1945), Eisenstadt (1955), Kennedy (1964), Elkholy (1966), Fermi (1968), Hoff (1967), and Gordon (1964).

Herskovits' studies on the Negroes in the New World exemplify the 'reinterpretation model'. He had more than forty years experience in studying the effects of migration on the Negroes. He travelled to Africa and talked to villagers in the former areas of intensive slavery about their kinsmen in the New World.

Herskovits' main finding is that the New World Negroes have met the impact of European culture without complete loss of their ancestral

tradition and behaviour. Among the New World Negroes the part of culture most resistant to change (cultural focus) is in the area of the supernatural. Older ways are retained through devious reinterpretations. The Negroes in the New World have achieved an integration of their tradition and behaviour within the larger framework of Euro-American norms (cultural tenacity through enculturation). A substantial number of African customs have been carried over to Afro-American cultures without reinterpretations. Pure retention, however, is the exception and not the rule. African behaviour appears principally in reinterpreted form. The degree of reinterpretation varies from region to region. Above all it varies with economic status (1966: IX, X, 15, 17, 36). Other studies of the 'reinterpretation model' are those by Colson (1960) and the studies collected by Heath, Dwight, and Richard (1965).

The study by Glazer and Moynihan exemplifies the 'ethnicity model'. Their study concerns five ethnic immigrant groups of New York City: Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish. The main conclusion reached by Glazer and Moynihan is that the principal ethnic groups of New York City continue to maintain a distinct identity, albeit a changing one, from one generation to the next. From almost every country in the world there are enough immigrants in the city to make up communities of thousands and tens of thousands with organizations, churches, a language, some distinctive culture. Ethnicity, class, and religion are inevitably tied together. Ethnicity is the source of ethnic events through which the distinct identity is perpetuated. Religion and race will define the next stage in the evolution of the American peoples. The final form of the still forming American nationality with its mysterious processes is as yet unpredictable

(1963: V, VI, 5, 7, 315).

An immigration study by Gans is an excellent example of the 'ethnicity model'. Gans studied, by means of participant observation, the culture of working-class Italians in an American urban area. He found that the Italian working-class immigrants had adapted their non-urban institutions to the urban milieu. A number of Italian patterns of behaviour survived, although the over-all culture became that of the host American population. Gans made the practical caution that the culture being developed by the working-class Italians, urban villagers, could not be altered simply by providing them with middle-class services (1962: 269).

A recent study by C. Matthiasson on the culture of the Mexicans in a mid-western American city is another excellent example of the 'ethnicity model'. The Mexicans are becoming assimilated in the area of medicine, employment, and education. There seems to be slow assimilation in the area of language, ritual kinship practices, food habits, and family behaviour such as chaperonage of daughter and respect for elder. However, those of Mexican origin will not utilize the services of the social agencies. According to C. Matthiasson, the Mexicans will continue to solve their own problems within the family or seek assistance of affines and compadres as long as the traditional family pattern with strong ties among the members, affines, ritual kin, and compadres remain intact (1968: 4, 140).

Other examples of the 'ethnicity model' are the studies by Deetz (1969), Milton (1960), Brokensha (1963), Cable (1969), Barth (1969), Konnyu (1967), Rioux (1964), Rolle (1968), Lancaster (1963),

Lieberson (1963), Fischer (1960), Lee (1960), Peterson (1955), and Ablon (1970).

This study of the Filipino garment workers in Winnipeg was made with a combination of different models. Researchers using one model tend to form into schools of thought. This study was carried out with the hypothesis that these models are related to the different adjustive mechanisms open to the immigrant population.

In summary, the relevance of migration studies, and particularly of this study as a comparative material, has been indicated. The models of migration studies and examples of each have been briefly mentioned.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ANTHROPOLOGIST AS VARIABLE

#### The Anthropologist as Fieldworker

Vidich, Bensman, and Stein, in introducing their collection of personal accounts of fieldworkers, state that there is "no way to disentangle the research method from the investigator himself" (1964: vii). The recognition of the anthropologist as an important variable has been precipitated by the cases where anthropologists have studied the same community and presented opposing views. One celebrated case is Tepoztlan. Redfield and Lewis did independent research on Tepoztlecan life and character and wrote opposing accounts. Redfield was among the first anthropologists to point out the neglected variable:

There is no one ultimate and utterly objective account of a human whole. Each account if it preserves the human quality at all is a created product in which the human qualities of the creator - the outside viewer and describer - are one and the same....I think we must recognize that the personal and cultural values of the investigators influence the context of the description of the community....The greater part of the explanation for the differences between the two reports on this matter of Tepoztlecan life and character is to be found in the differences between the two investigators (1960: 136, 155).

Other anthropologists have made similar strong statements. Leach wrote that "the personal involvement of the anthropologist in his work is reflected in what he produces" (1961: 1). Mead pointed



out that

it is as a member of his own culture, as an individual with a particular tongue that he explores the cultural behaviour of others....The anthropologist needs to have brought into his awareness his own idiosyncratic version of his culture (1952: 345).

Nurge has written a picturesque description of the fieldworker as variable:

The fieldworker faces a constant problem of both selection in perception and selection in recording. A good deal is lost through cultural misconceptions and because we are not giant recording machines. A phenomenon happening before us has to pass through selective filters of eyes, ears, brain and experience. Then it is further extracted, abstracted, and funneled as it is channeled into a notebook and finally distilled on a card. Finally, at the end of the field term, the investigator takes home the card file and a host of memories and impressions and the arduous work of analysis begins (1965: 7-8).

The anthropologist as variable is recognized in the few personal accounts and reflections of fieldworkers. Notable and more comprehensive are those by Powdermaker (1960), Bowen (L. Bohannan) (1954), Lowie (1959), Adam and Pries (1960), Chagnon (1968), Gans (1962).

The anthropologist is a variable by virtue of his physical, historical, and cultural situation. The situating physical factors are age, sex, and skin color. Every community has definite rules and value conceptions regarding these factors and the anthropologist is hindered or helped depending on his physical make-up which he is unable to alter. The major historical situating factors are country of origin, school of training, and time of the study. Each community has definite attitudes towards other peoples at certain periods which may be an asset or handicap depending on the fieldworker's country of identification. In the field the anthropologist brings with him views

and emphases of his school and masters. The main cultural situating factors are language, food habits, clothing. With effort the anthropologist may become a 'native' in these respects.

An anthropologist may be able to combine the roles of scientist, spy, friend, alien, participant, and neutral observer as Langness (1968: 49) claims he can. Try as he may, the anthropologist will be unable to combine roles of male and female, young and old, black and white, native and outsider. He will need the help of anthropologists with different sets of physical, cultural, and historical equipment. The objectivity of a study will be proportional to the number of variedly situated investigators. N. Lurie has pointed out the need to expand the Judeo-Graeco-Roman-Freudian point of view which is represented in the bulk of anthropology literature (Conference, University of Manitoba, March 30, 1972).

#### Personal Background

My interest in human movement and culture contact is rooted, I think, in my life experiences in different cultures and sub-cultures. I was born of parents representing two varied ethnic cultures of northern Luzon. I was born and raised in my father's community in Ifugao and, at the age of twelve, lived with my maternal grandparents in Bontoc for two years. At the age of eighteen I moved to a relatively new Philippine city in Benguet where I lived and studied with others representing different non-christian as well as christianized ethnic groups of northern Luzon. At the age of twenty-one I moved to the country's most urban center and for seven years lived and studied with persons representing the major ethnic population

of the country. In October, 1968, I moved to Winnipeg.

Ifugao culture is composed of seven cultural variants: Kiangnan, Lagawe, Hungduan, Banaue, Mayoyao, Potia, and Lamut. Each culture variant is itself composed of several variants represented by a group of interacting villages. Gohang, my father's community, is one of the several that compose the Ifugao variant culture of Banaue. Gohang is composed of some twenty-three interacting clusters of small villages built atop each plateau just above the privately owned ricefields. Each cluster of houses is inhabited by ten to twenty families. The total population would be roughly 1,000. The village interaction is based on a recognized common blood kinship and the population is further grouped into blocks of families based on immediate family genealogy. Activities in the village are classed as male, female, and common. Male activities include carving ricefields from the mountain-side, repairing and readying of the fields for planting, cultivating the family forest and providing dry wood for fuel, house building, and basket weaving, carrying home the rice harvest, hunting, wine making. Female activities include planting, weeding, and harvesting the rice fields and swidden, and cloth weaving. Common activities include cooking, babysitting, pounding rice, poultry and swine, visit and vigil of the field water system.

The mountain sides and forests are criss-crossed by footpaths - some leading to the other variant Banaue communities. The differences between these variant villages increase with the distance from each other. One neighbouring set of villagers speak differently by rendering our ch as d, our guttural stop a as a heavy guttural k.

I recall one common pastime. With friends of my own age group (6 - 12 years), I would hide by the foot path at the approach of our neighbourhood villagers to catch their manners of speech. As soon as they passed by at a safe distance we would ridicule their speech habits and intonation. These variations among the neighbouring Banaue villages were common causes of fights among students coming from the different villages to study at the high school located at the 'central'. The different villagers converge every Saturday at the central to 'attend market' with their specialized products. With this weekly market interaction the populations are becoming more informed of each other's differences. This information is utilized to make the contact more intimate. Later, I visited these Banaue villages where I had isolated relatives that represented 'branches' of my family tree.

My father was among the first public school teachers in Banaue. He built the first western style house in his village: that is, multi-posted, with four rooms, sawmill floor boards and a galvanized iron roof. My family was among the first to become 'converted' catholics. Until the village chapel was built our 'modern' house served on occasion as the chapel. My family, however, maintained the four-posted, one room, reed-roofed pyramidal native house. My relative native priests continued to perform our share of the annual wealth and health cycle of animal sacrificial rituals. Not without great difficulty and opposition my family introduced several 'un-Ifugao' practices such as medicine, rat-poisoning, weed killers, chemical fertilizers, pig-pen, poultry house, and christianity.

I had the occasion to visit the other Ifugao variant communities

since I had paternal and maternal relatives who married into these communities. When my father became town mayor of Banaue my family had the closer experience of guests from these Ifugao variant communities or towns.

Bontoc culture has several variants, one of which is that of Barlig, my mother's community. Barlig is an altogether different world from my father's community or any of its Ifugao variants. The mountains are steep and rocky and it has a much longer cold, rainy, foggy period, making it perhaps the coldest spot of the country. The forest vegetation is mostly pine trees. The rice fields are built along the immediate river sides as the only possible extension is downstream and upstream of the main water system that has cut deep between the mountains creating a V-shape formation. The residential grounds are covered with fitting flat river stones to prevent erosion and in an attempt to gain ground stone walls are built steep and high with right angle corners and tongue-shaped stones are protruded from the stone walls in calculated foot-step direction.

The community formation and much of its cultural practices is perhaps best explained by the environmental factors. The reed-roof pyramidal pine-wood houses are built at the foot of the two steep mountains. Whenever possible, the houses are built next to each other and upwards into the mountain sides, making a large compact village. The village is sectioned and each village section is named according to its location in relation to the whole village, i.e. middle, upstream, downstream, level bottom, steep sides. Each section has its counterpart in the other side of the river. Each section has

approximately a hundred and fifty families.

The swidden gardens are permanent and passed on as inheritance. Both ricefields and swidden gardens are constantly fertilized with manure and easily decayed vegetation. Every inch of previous ground is planted either with coffee, wine sugar cane, or vegetables. Even the stone walls are planted with cabbage or sweet potatoes. The pig is housed in a five foot deep and often oblong-shaped pig pen. The pig pen tapers towards one of the four residential posts onto which a thick wood pig room is constructed. The pig pen is used as a defecating spot to supplement the nourishment of the usually castrated pig. The ducks and chickens are likewise housed at night in a thick wood compartmentalized box to keep them warm.

The residential house roof is extended as close as possible to the ground as the ground floor is used also as kitchen. Although there is a strong feeling of community-wide solidarity, the population is divided into several exclusive reciprocating feast and work kin groups. The extension of the reciprocating groups depends on whether the occasion for the gathering is the butcher of the family pig or just a few fowls. A vigil is kept for the dead for just a day or two - three if the dead person has reached the grand-parent status. A common burial ground has been dug into a rocky mountain side. Upon a fresh burial the grave is cleared of its earlier contents, and the bones remain simply shovelled out by the gravesides.

I learned the Barlig speech habits and intonations and also participated in the youngsters sectional stone-throwing war games and bird-catching expeditions. However, I was regarded as an outsider by my age groups, one from Ifugao (Isap-pu). A constant

cause of embarrassment for me was the fact that I was not yet circumcised. It is a Barlig practice to circumcise the growing youngster as part of the manhood initiation. The Ifugao ridicule such practice. Thus, upon my return to Ifugao I was constantly challenged by my age groups to 'show' and prove that I was still uncircumcised like them. I preferred to be excluded as an I-Baliga (from Barlig) than to put myself in a ridiculous position.

Baguio is a new but rapidly developing city within the Benguet area of northern Luzon. This was my first urban world. I recall myself standing in arrested awe atop one of the city hills as I looked down on the giant concrete buildings, the electric lights, the speeding trucks and cars, the hurrying faceless city populace. The immediate effect upon me was a frightful sense of being lost. It took me two years to master the street networks. In the city I lived and studied with other students from other ethnic groups. In our first year in the city we ventured out in groups and with those who came to the city earlier as guides.

At the city periphery the various gold mining plants are located where workers from the different ethnic populations are employed. A large portion of the city population comes from the lowland Iloko christian communities and the Iloko language is used as the lingua franca. The city is connected to the nearby ethnic communities by means of newly constructed roads. One transportation company maintains at least two or more buses each day for every major ethnic population. With this daily available transportation there has developed within the city several 'ethnic stations', i.e., city corners used for meeting,

waiting, conversing. The bus station serves as a common inter-ethnic corner. My classmates would often bring me into their ethnic stations. I felt more at home in the two ethnic stations, Ifugao and Bontoc, since I could understand and speak the language in both stations.

Manila, the four-century old crowded capital city was my second urban world. The immediate effect upon me as a newcomer to this city was that of disgust and despair. There was no escape from the choking foul air, the burning heat, and the deafening noise. I preferred to stay in-doors and read as this was the lesser ordeal. I had frequent headaches and dizzy spells. My general body strength gradually deteriorated. The thick surface of the palms of my hands and the soles of my feet peeled off. When my mother and grand-uncle were brought to this city they could not stand the foul air and insisted to be taken back home that same night.

The majority of the students with whom I lived and studied came from the nearby Tagalog provinces. They guided those of us from the other provinces in regular tours to their villages. I had a much more intimate contact with the city populace when I assisted in several parishes as part of the priestly training we were undergoing. The training included teaching, visiting slum areas and hospitals, distributing relief food and clothing.

The relatively new Canadian city of Winnipeg was my third urban world. My first airplane flight to this city was itself traumatic. The vast body of water below arrested my whole being. I trembled at the thought of being high up in unsafe space. It was always a relief whenever the airplane touched safe ground (Hongkong, Tokyo,



Vancouver, Winnipeg). As I took on different roles, jobs, residences, I came in closer contact with the city immigrant populations. This rich cultural mixture continues to fascinate me.

In summary, the anthropologist is situated by physical, cultural, and historical factors which may limit or help him in his fieldwork. For this reason, I have briefly indicated my personal background.

### Fieldwork

Much of the problems faced by the anthropologist doing ethnic study in an urban area stems from the fact that the urban population is much more ethnically composed. Participant observation is made much more difficult as each ethnic component is made 'invisible' with its members scattered residentially and occupationally. In this sense, the fieldworker who is a member of the ethnic urban community under study has a decided advantage.

To effect maximum participant observation I had four complementary courses of action: (1) hanging around those places frequented; (2) taking on varied jobs and roles; (3) changing residence areas; and (3) becoming a member of two residence groups.

I knew no garment workers through whom I could reach others. I knew the apartment block in which they were concentrated. It would be improper and fruitless to just knock and intrude. The proper and fruitful way is to locate an intermediary contact person. I found myself constantly bound by this important behavioural rule in Philippine society (Hollnsteiner, 1967: 210). Finding no contact person I went to some frequented and neutral place where one's reason for being there is taken for granted. These are the commercial

department and corner stores, churches, banks, airport, and recreation centers.

In these neutral places the garment workers go in groups that may range from two to one hundred. Certain neutral places have become meeting and waiting stations. At regular brief periods of the week the garment workers may converge in a neutral place and become 'visible' as a community.

The garment workers are in their factory from early morning until late in the evening from Monday to Friday. To be able to participate in their work experience and habits I worked in a garment factory for five months as a 'bundle boy'. Other garment workers found part time work in other jobs. For brief periods I worked in two downtown hotels as houseman in one and dishwasher in the other. On two occasions I worked as mail carrier and mail sorter. Lastly, I worked successively in two 'Nursing Homes' as an orderly.

I applied as an ordinary worker. Neither my various employers nor co-workers were aware of my research intentions. I merely told them I was a student and now looking for work. This was necessary. In this way I came upon certain information and experience which otherwise I would not have access to had I not been considered a fellow worker.

The cardinal rule in participant observation is to avoid influencing the event under observation. To comply with this rule I took on varied roles through which I had access to varied sets of data in a natural manner. I took care not to present myself in the role of a researcher as this would scare and invite resentment. An

earlier attempt to distribute a questionnaire was abandoned in the face of serious objection: "We are not quinea pigs!"

I made contact in various roles. Several garment workers were interested as to how they or their sponsored kin could further their studies. I was known as a university student and I acted as education informant. I was a researcher at the Department of Immigration and Manpower in the summer of 1970 and I became an informant on "how to sponsor". On two occasions I acted as legal counsel and interpreter in three of the first cases involving the garment workers. To some I came to be jokingly addressed as 'attorney'. Some of the garment workers knew me in my capacity as assistant priest in Manila. Some continued to address me 'Father'. I was called in to be an officer of their socio-religious association. I took on other roles: editor of the Philippine Association newsletter; barber; best man; ritual parent; foster father. Each year I was called upon to help in "making my income tax".

For a community-wide residential participation I found it important to reside in the areas of concentration. I resided in the south-end in 1968 to 1969. I moved to the west-end in 1970. From there I relocated to the north-end. As this area is close to the main residential concentration immediately north of the garment factory area it was not needed to relocate further.

For a much more intimate and continued participation I joined successively two residence groups in different residential areas. It is only with these intimate co-residence group members that I divulged my activities of "writing a book about us Filipinos in Winnipeg".

I established contact in a general pattern. In a neutral place I would greet the group of garment workers in Tagalog. Some of them would giggle and make the surprised remark: "I thought you were Japanese/Chinese!" (due to my slit eyes). I would follow up the jovially started conversation with the questions commonly asked on first contact: Where are you from in our place?; How long have you been here?; Where are you working?. They would ask me these same questions. The conversation was carried out in Tagalog. I would shift to Iloko as soon as I discovered an Ilocano among the group. The conversation would become much more relaxed and jovial when the topic concerned language differences. As we separated the group would chorus the normal parting courtesy invitation: "Come visit us". As I was interested in getting more fully acquainted with the group, I did not limit myself to the usual courtesy acceptance reply: "O-o". I would ask where and with whom were they residing. I would write down their telephone numbers and their names.

Equipped with these names and telephone numbers I would elevate the casual contact (kilala) to the friendship level (kaibigan). Over the telephone I would gather more information about the other members of the residence group. Before breaking up the telephone conversation, the member who answered the telephone would extend a more sincere invitation to visit them.

The visit to the residence group brings the contact to a higher level of intimacy. You become a member of their joking group (jokaran). You are allowed access to personal photo-albums, immigration passports,

and letters. Before ending the visit I would invite them to return my visit. Sincerity of the invitation is evidenced by giving your telephone and residence numbers and instructions on how you could be easily reached by bus. In Philippine society the onus to reciprocate the visit shifts to the last host.

Extended reciprocating visits bring the contact to a still higher level of intimacy. You become member of the 'boat' (barkada) group. The reciprocating visits are occasioned by the various weekend celebrations.

My main focus of participation was among the first Filipino garment workers that arrived in Winnipeg in 1968 and 1969. In the course of my participation I collected over 148 letters received by an immigrant worker from the home country. I gathered a few poems (tula) delivered on a celebration. One popular tula which has been copied and sent by several garment workers to their families is found in Appendix I. I was fortunate to be allowed access to a personal diary in which the first two years of a garment worker has been recorded. I set out to establish the 1968 and 1969 'flight groups', 'residence groups', and 'factory groups'. (Appendices II and III). I soon came upon the paradox that the fieldworker is later haunted by, that is, "what data not to collect" (Nurge, 1965: 4).

Before my unorganized notes could become an uncontrollable heap I formulated three conclusions around which I could organize the data:

1. The Filipino garment workers in Winnipeg have been broadly prepared in their migration by the western influences resulting from both Spanish and American

colonial contact in the home country. Their first migration and training as factory garment workers in the home country's most urban center have sufficiently equipped them to relate themselves to the Canadian working system.

2. The garment workers have reorganized themselves by means of three sets of network groups:
  - (i) Structural Units
  - (ii) Stratification Units
  - (iii) Behavioural Units.
3. The garment workers are adapting themselves to the new place by means of four mechanisms:
  - (i) Culture Transplants
  - (ii) Culture Assimilation
  - (iii) Culture Reinterpretation
  - (iv) Culture Modification.

The next three chapters are discussions of these three conclusions. Chapter III is a historical survey of the formation of the garment workers into an urban village. Chapter IV is an interpretative description and illustration of the social organization. Chapter V is a classification and brief description of the culture content. In a short concluding chapter the highlights of the study are recapitulated.

# CHAPTER III

## HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS: EMERGENCE OF A COMMUNITY

### Introduction

The historical factors and setting which feature in the formation of the Filipino immigrant garment workers into a close-knit community may be classified into (1) the pre-migration setting, (2) the migration movement, and (3) the post-migration setting. The pre-migration setting refers to (a) village background, (b) training in urban living, and (c) training in factory work. The migration movement refers to (a) 'America' as the image of the ultimate 'good life', (b) the recruitment process, and (c) Filipino immigrants 'abroad'. The post-migration setting refers to (a) types of Filipino immigrants in Winnipeg, (b) Filipino associations in Winnipeg, and (c) the Filipino garment workers and the host ethnic immigrant population. From these historical considerations the type of immigrant community and its ethnic or class boundaries are indicated.

### Pre-migration Setting

#### Village Background

The Philippines is an island world located south-east of China and north of Borneo and Australia and about five degrees of the equator. The over seven thousand islands that compose this world appear like an

upright dinosaur's skeletal system. The islands are grouped into three regions: Luzon in the north, Visayas in the south, and Mindanao in the extreme south. The total land area is 115,600 square miles. Fifty-four per cent of the total land area is cultivable. Only 880 islands could be inhabited and over a hundred of the islands are already inhabited. The population is unevenly distributed but would average seventy-one persons per square mile. Of the present thirty-eight million population the Negritos make up one per cent. More recent immigrants to the country such as the Chinese, the Indians (Bombay), the Europeans and Americans make up about ten per cent. Investigators generally agree that the island world was populated by three major migrations: the Negrito migration 25,000 to 30,000 years ago; the proto-Malay or Indonesian migration 5,000 to 600 years B.C.; and the Malayan movement 300 to 200 years B.C. There are two seasons within the year - the rainy season, roughly from June to January, and the dry season from February to May. The most recent attempt to relate the physical, geographic, and cultural knowledge of this island world has been made by Wernstedt and Spencer (1967).

The Filipino population has been in long and continued contact with Chinese profit-seeking merchants and Indian traders and teachers. Thus, the Chinese influence is concentrated in the economic sphere while that of the Indian is reflected much more in the field of language and religious beliefs. Three notable western influences have affected the Filipino population since the fourteenth century:

1. Islam in the fourteenth century, most visible among the Muslim communities in the extreme south.



2. Hispanic Catholic religion and culture since the fifteenth century, most visible in the Christian lowland communities of Luzon and the Visayas.
3. American government, education, and technology since 1900.

About ninety per cent of the population is lowland and Christian. The lowland and muslim population is approximately four per cent and the non-Christian highland population is roughly two per cent.

These continuing western influences may have significantly altered the material culture. The social organization, however, remains basically pre-western. These western influences are reinterpreted, incorporated, and absorbed into the indigenous culture. The Nydeggers (1963: 699) pointed out that it is reasonable to believe that the modern Ilocano is substantially similar to that of the first Christian millenium. Davis and Hollnsteiner (1969: 65), in their review of recent studies, pointed out that the folk-urban continuum does not apply in the Philippines for as much as 70 per cent of the total population is composed of rural smallholder-farmers who fit more or less the modern peasant typology. Nurge wrote :

Despite more then three hundred years of Spanish influence, fifty years of American influence, and some years of occupation by the Japanese Army, much remains of the indigenous pre-western society (1965: 22).

Philippine historians have presented a mistaken image of pre-western society. Scott (1969) exposed as forgeries the much cited historical documents as evidence of the existence of confederacies and codeces in pre-western Filipino society. Research into the pre-

western condition has been made difficult due to the systematic effort by the Spanish colonists to destroy native culture (Keesing, 1962).

Scott (1969: 141) has suggested a three-fold project of pre-western Filipino situation: (1) comprehensive reports on the archeological materials; (2) early Spanish accounts by Filipino scholars with knowledge of sixteenth century Europe; and (3) catalogue of specific materials and social culture of non-hispanized artifacts, ornaments, practices, superstitions, burials, and local government.

Investigators of lowland Christian communities have pointed out as indigenous certain culture items: utang na loob, a system of contractual obligation (Kaut, 1961); social structure and power (Hollnsteiner, 1967); intermediaries (Jacobson, 1969); family dyads (Nurge, 1965); child rearing (Nydegger, 1963); pregnancy and birth customs (Hart, 1965); illness etiology and social control (Lieban, 1960, 1962); and superstitious beliefs (Dichoso, 1967).

The Filipinos maintain a world view basically different from the western world view. Hsu pointed out basic differences between the world views of the Chinese, the Hindu, and the American:

1. The Chinese social organization is dominated by the father-son relationship which feed the situation-centered orientation of the Chinese culture expressed in the form of mutual dependence;
2. The Hindu social organization is dominated by the mother-son relationship which feed the supernatural orientation of the Hindu culture expressed in the form of unilateral dependence; and
3. The American social organization is dominated by the attributes of the husband-wife relationship which feed the individual-orientation of the American culture characterized by self reliance (1963: 233).

The Filipino world view is much like the Chinese and Hindu world views except for one basic difference. The Filipino has an egalitarian view of the sexes. The Filipino social organization is dominated simply by the parent-child relationship. Following Hsu's manner of description I present that

The Filipino social organization is dominated by the parent-child relationship which feed the situation-centered and supernatural-centered orientations of the Filipino culture expressed in the form of mutual dependence among kinsmen and unilateral dependence on the supernatural.

Descent in Philippine society is bilateral. The growing child learns to think of himself as related equally to the kin of his father and mother. Primary kins are always important. Non-primary kins are made significant through various alliance systems and mutual reciprocal services. Marriage is monogamous throughout the country. However, the 'mistress system' is not infrequently practiced. Residence practice is dictated by the need or sentiments of one of the sets of parents although the ideal is initial patrilocal residence with eventual neolocal residence. As to the child's socialization there is no limit, as Nurge observed:

It is not the parents, nor yet the parents and siblings, not yet the parents, siblings, and secondary kin, but all of these and tertiary kin and neighbours and any villager who comes into contact with the child who contributes to his socialization (1965: 63).

The Filipino concept of luck is related to the supernatural orientation of Filipino culture. One's concrete situation, whether good or bad, is one's foreordained luck which one is helpless to alter or bring about. Everyone is dependent on the supernatural, for his luck. One's fortunate situation is not due to merit and one's

unfortunate situation is not due to one's fault. Both situations are 'God's Will'. Nydegger wrote:

Luck is the tangible symbol of the unpredictability inherent in the real world. The concept of luck enables the Tarongan to resolve without conflict the classic antithesis of the west: enequality is accepted, yet people remain equal....A man's position is, in the last analysis, dependent on the vagaries of his uncontrollable, unpredictable, unearned luck....Luck is reversible-hence status (especially economic status) are held only tentatively (1963: 754-5).

Lieban observed that Sibulan, a Philippine municipality, is a Catholic community but there remains a strong residue to pre-Catholic and magical beliefs (1960: 128). This observation applies as well to the country's most urban center, Manila, where magical roots and herbs are sold and bought at the church grounds. Agoncillo is correct in his assessment that the phenomenal conversion of the Filipinos to Catholicism was due to the fact that they "saw nothing new in the Spanish religious faith but rather saw in it a reflection of their own" (1968: 41). The catholic priestly ideal of leaving father and mother is inoperative as the clergy is caught in the kinship network that dominates Philippine society. The young candidate for the priesthood is showered with care, food, money, and gifts by his family and kin and later as a priest he is surrounded by nieces and nephews to be supported in reciprocity for gifts received while in training. And the priestly rule of celibacy is silently put aside in favor of the social native value of having a progeny.

The American-introduced democratic system of government has been integrated into the indigenous kinship system. Allotment of power is based on kinship and political alliances. A look at the list

of candidates will reveal wives, brothers, uncles, nephews, daughters, sons, cousins or in-laws of those in the hierarchy of government. It is not infrequent to find that the mayor of the town is the son of the provincial governor who may be himself a brother, wife, cousin, in-law of a senator, congressman, or the president of the country. It is estimated that roughly fifty family corporations apparently not only control the economy but also dictate political powers. Everyone is intensely involved in politics as one's job and privileges are at stake. The elected heads of the political units wield much more power than their western counterparts.

The Filipino population is affected by western forces in varied intensities depending upon (1) the person's political unit of residence and (2) the person's social stratum. The orientation of the populace depends on the number of western/industrial systems present in their political unit of residence: Barrio (village), Bayan (town), and Ciudad (city).

The smaller political unit is a satellite of the larger unit. The number of western systems decreases sharply in the lower unit (Figure I). The western/industrial systems are concentrated in the Ciudad with an openly American orientation. The main western influence in the Bayan is the Catholic Church with an Hispanic orientation. The main western influence in the Barrio is the public elementary school. The orientation of the Bayan remains indigenous as evidenced in the power and prestige enjoyed by the faith healer, albolaria, the hilot, and the manguhula, fortuneteller. The city dweller, tiga Ciudad, is highly regarded as progressive. The town

dweller, tiga Bayan, however, is looked down upon as awkward and antiquated. The Barrio dweller, tiga Barrio, is thought of as illiterate and superstitious. With these value connotations of the political units population movement is towards the higher prestige political unit. Manila, the Ciudad par excellence in the country, is populated by immigrants representing every dialect and ethnic group of the Philippines.

Figure I. Political Units, Western/Urban Systems, and Orientations, Philippines:

<u>Political Unit</u>	<u>Western/Urban Systems</u>	<u>Orientation</u>	<u>Image</u>
Ciudad:	'government', university, bank, factory, hospital, printing, restaurant, hotel, theater, television, radio, airport, night clubs, telephone, electricity, department stores, English, cathedral.	American	Progress
Bayan:	parish church, town hall, high school, college (?), clinic, hospital (?), bus, store, theater (?), bank (?), radio, restaurant.	Spanish	Antiquated
Barrio:	public school, chapel, radio, corner store.	Indigenous	Primitive

The Filipino population is brought into western/urban values and culture items through the agencies of (1) the American oriented school, (2) the Spanish oriented Catholic Church, (3) the manufactured goods store, and (4) the factory.

The school system has been patterned after the American model: six years of primary and elementary grades, four years of high school, and several years of college or university. For every Barrio there is

one or more primary or elementary government school where free and compulsory education is offered. The young Filipino is taught English, writing, reading, arithmetic, and 'modern' living. The class materials are direct or adapted transplants from western authors. There is at least one secondary school in every Bayan operated either by the parish church, the government, or some rich family. The fee increases with each higher year. The parish high school tends to limit the students to children of well-to-do families due to its higher tuition fees. The public high school student pays monthly tuition fees of fifteen to twenty pesos (P). The expenses and the location limits secondary education to the Bayan populace. A college may be found in the larger towns but most of the colleges and universities are concentrated only in the larger Ciudad. The expense involved in college education makes it limited to children of the richer families. Often it involves a cooperative project of the family. The extent of kin-involvement depends upon the family's financial situation. Usually the first-born child is advised to take the 'shorter courses' such as dressmaking, typing, mechanic, teaching. The status courses such as law, medicine, nursing, engineering are reserved to younger siblings in order that elder siblings can contribute financially.

Every major Barrio has a Catholic chapel. A catechist is assigned to supervise the prayer meetings and religious teaching. Occasionally and during the feast of the Barrio patron saint the town parish priest or his assistant come to the Barrio to officiate in the socio-religious festivities. Every Bayan has a Catholic parish church ruled by the parish priest and an assistant. The church is filled up

during the Sunday services. During the festive period climaxed by the feast of the town patron saint the diocesan bishop may come from the Ciudad to administer confirmation. The town population is visibly augmented by the movement of the Barrio people to join in the few days of festivity. Every Ciudad has a cathedral church under the administration of the bishop. There are two main noticeable effects of the influence of the Catholic Church:

(1 ) western name, and (2) compadrasgo or ritual kinship. Upon baptism the child is named after a western saint as its personal patron and model. On the occasion of a wedding, baptism, and confirmation a ritual family kinship is established.

In every Barrio there is one or more corner store where assorted sari-sari, factory goods (candy, bread, soft drinks, clothing) are sold. Children are introduced to the sari-sari store early in life. Crying is appeased with bread and candy bought from the store while obedience is encouraged with "so that I will bring you to the store". Bread is special food for it is the American food and its consumption will make the child grow "like an American". The bigger stores are found in the Bayan where carpenter tools, kitchen ware, and small furniture are sold. Middle-men or agents and factory salesmen commute to and from the Ciudad regularly to supply these town stores. Only the large department stores are found in the Ciudad. The populace may not be able to buy the most sophisticated factory goods on display but they become aware of these through "window shopping". There are two main patterns of behaviour commonly observed in the store: (1) the haggling over



the prices, tawad, and (2) suki, a commercial patron-client relationship.

The factory plants and other developed business establishments are found in the Ciudad. The country's factories are concentrated in the cities that compose the Greater Manila Area (Manila, Quezon, Pasay, Caloocan). The bulk of the factory workers come from the nearby rural areas as the intensity of dislocation and the financial expenses involved are directly proportional to the distance between the home village and the city. Those residing in the extreme north of Luzon find it much easier to work in tobacco plantations and factories and in the various mining plants within the area. Those living in the Visayas have the sugar and coconut plantations more accessible to them. Those in Mindanao have easier access to the industries involving rubber, hemp, logging, pineapple, banana, iron, and manganese. In any case, the Barrio and Bayan populace have to migrate to find work in the Ciudad. These migrant workers are brought in to the city by factory manpower agents or by relatives already working in the city.

The movement of Barrio migrant workers to the Ciudad often takes the following pattern. The young Filipino works as a house helper, katulong, or babysitter, yaya, of a rich family, thereby getting initiated into 'modern' living. The worker later moves to the Bayan to look for the same work but with higher salary (P 15. to P 20. per month). Those in the upper social levels employ as many katulong and yaya as they can afford. Status increases with every additional family helper or babysitter. The worker is given free board and

lodging. From the Bayan, the worker soon finds himself sophisticated enough to move to the Ciudad and find work in the stores, restaurants, hotels, factories, and other urban systems. However, he may be unlucky and end up as a house helper of some wealthy family in the city. As a katulong or yaya in the distant Ciudad he is much more under the grip of his master, amo. The amo has an effective practice of keeping his house helpers by accumulating their wages for "safe keeping". Should the helper insist on going to his home village he is given just a portion of the accumulated salary to ensure his return. If he fails to return he forfeits the unpaid balance. His monthly wage may range from P 20. to P 40. with free board and lodging. He may be fortunate to have an amo who will recommend him to work in some factory or other establishment in recognition for long service.

The second most important factor involved in the intensity of the impact of western influences among the Filipino population is the sharp social stratification found in the Barrio, Bayan, and Ciudad. The range of educational attainment is directly proportional to one's social class. Based on the family annual income in pesos (P 6. 50 : U.S. \$1.), there are three social strata existing among the Filipino population:

1. 53 thousand families have an income of P 10,000.00 and over;
  2. 750 thousand families have an income of P 10,000.00 and below;
  3. 4.7 million families have an income of P 2,000 or P 200.00
- (Manila Times (MT), December 26, 1970, p. 4).

It should be noted that the average Filipino size is 6.8 children with a growth rate of 95 per cent. Every active Filipino (15-64 years) has one other Filipino dependent upon him (Sunday Times (ST), October 11, 1970, p. 16). The material items owned by middle income families in the cities and provinces are indicated in a survey conducted by the Joint Legislative and Tax Commission (MT, February 3, p. 4):

<u>Percentage of Households</u>	<u>Essential Items</u>
81%	toilet preparations, textile chiefly of silk, wool, nylon, synthetic fiber
56%	watches, clocks, luggage, bags, other carrying kits
25%	fountain pens and ball pens
10 - 23%	lighters, electric flat iron, phonograph records, radio, phonograph, working appliances, upholstered furniture
-1%	organs, washing machine, air conditioner, vacuum cleaners

There is little or no chance for increasing the family income due to the labor and employment situation. Of the 38 million Filipinos (MT, May 4, p. 5):

- 17 million are below 10 years
- 21 million is the potential labor force
- 8 million are in school or sick or old
- 12 million are in the labor force
- 6 million work full time (40 hours per week)
- 5 million non-full time
- 1 million are unemployed

The minimum industrial wage in 1968 was P 6.00 a day and increased in 1970 to P 8.00 for Manila and other first-class cities and P 7.00 in other cities. The minimum agricultural wage was P 3.50 and increased to P 5.00 (MT, May 8, p. 8). The lower wages in the non-urban centers and the fact that manufactured goods become more expensive as they leave the urban centers limit the middle income family expenses to strictly food items. A kilo of first-class rice sold at P 2.50 in Manila in 1968 and now sells at over P 3.50. A kilo of milk-fish, bangus, sold at P 4.00 and now sells at P 6.00. A kilo of pork sold at P 6.50 and now sells at P 7.50. Salt now sells at P 3.25 a ganta, a leap from P 0.65 in 1971 (MT, February 3, 1972). The grapes that sell at P 30.00 a kilo and the apple that sells at P 2.00 a piece are festive items even for the well-to-do families. Table I is a compiled list of jobs with the corresponding wage range (MT, April 2, 1971, pp. 16-17; March 9, 1972, pp. 1-2; Volume XXV, No. 218, p. 12):

Table I. Work Classification and Wage Range, Philippines, 1972:

<u>Work Classification</u>	<u>Wage Range</u>
doctor-----	P 400.00 to 500.00 per month
dentist-----	360.00 to 450.00
nurse -----	280.00 to 310.00
pharmacist-----	3,600.00 per year
teacher -----	2,544.00-3,408.00
stenographer-----	2,676.00-3,264.00
key punch operator-----	2,952.00-3,612.00
lino type operator-----	3,422.00-4,188.00
hand compositor-----	2,952.00-3,612.00
telegraph operator-----	3,464.00-3,984.00
radio technician-----	3,264.00-3,984.00
clerk, typist-----	3,000.00-7,200.00
postal worker-----	349.00to 240.00 per month
bus driver-----	5.70 to 9.50 per day
mechanic-----	11.00 to 15.00

Table I Work Classification and Wage Range, Philippines, 1972:

<u>Work Classification</u>	<u>Wage Range</u>
miner-----	P 10.00 to 15.00 per day
carpenter-----	11.00 to 15.00
factory worker-----	4.00 to 13.00
sugar cane planter-----	6.50 to 12.50
fertilizer applicator-----	6.00 to 11.25
plower-----	10.00 to 15.00
weeder-----	6.32 to 11.14
sugar cane cutters-----	6.82 to 13.93.

A significant number of workers in need of work settle for less than the wage range compiled above. The employer makes the job seeker sign on paper that he receives the legal minimum wage while actually receiving only half or a quarter of it.

The sharp social stratification is reflected in educational attainment and health care. Kalaw reported that

Only 14 out of every 100 students who enter Grade I ever get to fourth year high school. Only three go to college. In other words, 86 percent have to start fending for themselves before completing high school....Only 18 percent of our children who are of high school age are in school. Some 82 percent are out of school (1969: 9).

In a survey of the health situation in 1970 (MT, Volume XXV, Number 317, p. 15) it was found that

Sixty out of every hundred Filipinos who died in 1970 did not get proper medical attention; forty percent of the overall mortality were children below five years of age; sixty percent of the country's six million pre-school children is affected by malnutrition; one million are suffering from tuberculosis; pneumonia and intestinal diseases remained top killers of Filipinos.

There is a ratio of one hospital bed for every 723 persons (Nation, 1969, May 12, pp. 8-9). For 38 million Filipinos there are 15,000 doctors, a ratio of one doctor for over 26,000 (ST, Volume XXV, Number 311, 1971, p. 17). In a study of Laguna (a province south

of Manila), Mercado (MT, May 1971, p. 5) reported that the health situation is worse in the Barrio than in the towns and increasingly more serious for each child born after the first. However, even in the capital city of Manila

some one million live on 90 centavos a day. Forty-three per cent of Manila's population are slum dwellers. Instead of being urbanized they ruralize the cities (MT, January 1, 1971, p. 5).

There is every indication that the gap between the social strata will still widen. Seventy-five per cent of the tax collected is contributed by the 97.5 per cent of the population who own only 10 per cent of the nation's wealth. The 2.5 per cent of the population who own 90 per cent of the resources contribute 25 per cent of the tax collected (Indolos, 1969: 4). The top of the social pyramid is made up of some 500 millionaires, 200 of whom are sugar cane industrialists controlling three million people. At the apex are fifty family corporations that control the economy as well as dictate political powers (MT, Volume XXV, Number 230, p. 4).

In summary, through the agency of the Catholic Church the Filipinos are initiated into the western religious world. Through the agencies of the school, the store, and the factory they are introduced into the western and urban material world. The impact of the western forces on the Filipino depends on his political unit of residence and his social stratum. Although living in foreign masks, the Filipino (tao) retains his identity (Farwell, 1966).

### Training in Urban Living

The garment factories are concentrated in the Greater Manila area. The large and most developed factories are owned and operated by the American Jews. Some factories have branched out into the nearby Tagalog provinces. However, access to these factories is difficult for those Ilocanos in the extreme north of Luzon, more difficult for those from the Visayas, and extremely difficult for those living in the distant south in Mindanao. Of 166 Filipino immigrant garment workers in Winnipeg (Table II) 152 come from Luzon. Of these, 37 come from the Greater Manila area, 48 from Rizal (province adjacent to Greater Manila), 15 from Bulacan (approximately 25 kilometers north of Greater Manila), 14 from Cavite, 12 from Batangas, and 6 from Laguna (all Tagalog provinces south of Manila). The rest come from other more distant ethnic groups of Luzon: 7 from Pangasinan, 3 from Pampanga, 3 from Nueva Ecija, 2 from the Ilocos, and 2 from Genguet. Only 14 come from the Visayas. None come from Mindanao.

Table II. Political Unit of Origin of a Sample of 166 Filipino Immigrant Garment Workers in Winnipeg, 1968-1969:

<u>Region</u>	<u>Area/Province</u>	<u>Unit: Ciudad, Bayan, Barrio</u>
Luzon-152:	Greater Manila-37:	Manila-22, Quezon-29, Pasay-4, Caloocan-2
	Rizal-----48:	Paranaque-12, Makati-10, San Juan-3, Mandaluyong-3, Las Pinas-3, Taquig-2, Muntinglupa-4, Pasig-1, Fort Bonifacio-1, Navotas-1, Angono-1
	Bulacan-----15:	Valenzuela-11, Hagonoy-4, Paombong-3, Plaridel-2, Pandi-1, Obando-1, Meycuayan-1, Marilao-1

Table II cont'd.

<u>Region</u>	<u>Area/Province</u>	<u>Unit: Ciudad, Bayan, Barrio</u>
Luzon-152:	Cavite-----	14: Bacoor-5, Gen. Trias-2, Imus-2, Indang-1, Tanza-1
	Batangas-----	12: Talisay-4, Bauan-1, San Pablo-1, Tanuan-1, San Juan-1, Lipa-1, Agoncillo-1
	Laguna-----	6: Cabugao-2, Sta. Rosa-1, Binan-1, Calamba-1, San Pedro-1
	Pangasinan-----	7: Pazurrubio-2, San Carlos-1, Mabini-1, Bolinao-1, Binmalley-1, Villasis-1
	Pampanga-----	3: Tarlac-1, Moncado-1, Paniqui-1
	Nueva Ecija-----	2: San Isidro-1, Santo Domingo-1
	Ilocos-----	2: Loag-1, La Union-1
	Benquet-----	2: Baguio-2
Visayas-14:	Aklan-----	2: Banga-1, Balete-1
	Sorsogon-----	2: Bulusan-1, Barcelona-1
	Negrees Occ.-----	1: Bacolod-1
	Marinduque-----	1: Boac-1
	Camarines Sur----	1: Goa-1
	Iloilo-----	1: Miagao-1
	Mindoro Orient---	1: Nayan-1
	Mindoro Occ.-----	1: San Jose-1
	Capiz-----	1: Dumoa-1
	Antique-----	1: Pandan-1

Mindanao-0

Total: 166

166

Aside from regional distance, language and dialect variation is one major factor limiting inter-ethnic movement among the population.

There is in the country approximately 55 dialect groups and 137 sub-dialect groups of the Malayo-Polynesian language family. It is



questionable that all are mutually intelligible as the Nydeggers assert (1963: 701). Barton (1930: 30) is more accurate when he writes that

the difference between the languages of the same group is comparable to that between Spanish and Italian; while the languages of different groups compare as about Spanish and French.

Mutual intelligibility is proportionate with regional proximity among the dialect groups. Variation in pronunciation, intonation, and meaning may become localized to a point where mutual intelligibility is lost and a lingua franca is employed. Between regional languages such as Bisaya, Iloko, Pangasinan, Pampango, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Tagalog there is little or no mutual intelligibility. The most effective lingua franca throughout the country is English. Tagalog comes second as a lingua franca. English and Tagalog are taught in the schools throughout the country as a government attempt to establish mutual intelligibility. The non-Tagalog is therefore normally tri-lingual: his dialect, Tagalog, and English. The Tagalog remains bilingual: Tagalog and English. The Filipino becomes competent in more dialects and languages as he resides in more dialect or language groups. As indicated in Table III the majority of the immigrant garment workers are Tagalog-English bilingual. Those from the Ilocos and the Visayas are tri-lingual while those from Pangasinan, Pampanga, and Bicol are competent in more than three dialects and languages. Some learned Spanish as a helper or babysitter in a rich mestizo family. Competence of a language as used here may range from speaking and understanding to merely understanding and familiarity. As every language group is represented in Manila, the migrant workers and students that flock

to this crowded capital city become familiar with more dialects and languages.

Table III. Language Competence of a Sample of 167 Filipino Immigrant Garment Workers in Winnipeg, 1968-1969:

<u>Language Distribution</u>	<u>Language Competence</u>	
	<u>No. of Languages</u>	<u>No. of Speakers</u>
Tagalog-----167		
English-----167		
Iloko ----- 42	2-----	78
Spanish----- 19	3-----	63
Pampango----- 19	4-----	21
Bisaya----- 16	5-----	4
Pangasinan ----- 16	6-----	1
Bicol----- 10		
	Total-----	167

The migrant garment workers in Manila live in small groups of three or more. Those brought to the city by relatives often live with these relatives for the first months or year. Those coming from the farther areas may prefer to live with a Tagalog co-worker. The migrant workers from the nearby Tagalog areas go home on weekends while those living farther visit their home village only once in two or three months. Those living farthest go home once a year either on Christmas or on the home village feast in summer. Occasionally the Tagalog workers invite their non-Tagalog co-workers and room-mates to their communities on weekends.

An idea of the training of the migrant worker in urban life is indicated in the following account of a three-member residence group of garment workers prior to their movement to Canada in 1968. The account is made in the present tense as it applies as well to the

present situation among garment workers in Manila.

The three garment workers occupy a room four meters by five in dimension. Each person pays a rent of P 10.00 a month. The only furniture provided is a double-deck bed, a chair, and a small table. They provide their own one foot tall, hand pumped and petroleum fueled 'gas stove'. Groceries per person cost at least P 7.00 per week and seasonal food items are taken from the home village during the weekend family visit. The workers go to and from the factory by 'jeep' (American Army surplus jeepneys) which costs P 0.10 one way with no transfer ticket. Transportation by bus costs P 0.15 with no transfer ticket. The week's budget for five work days is at least P 2.00 per person. Many of those living in the adjacent towns and barrios commute daily to and from work by chartered chaperon (sundo) jeeps. 'Merienda' or snacks for the week may cost P 3.00. Thus, the week's budget per person living in the city would be a minimum of P 14.00.

With a minimum daily wage of P 6.00, the total earning for the week is maximally P 30.00 per worker. What is left of the weekly earning is brought home on weekends. Those who live farther from the city send their 'surplus' money home by mail or through friends, neighbours, and co-workers going to the home village. A relative or member of the family may come regularly during the year to get the migrant workers' accumulated savings. A member of the residence group stated that

If I do not buy clothing, do not go bowling, do not go to movies, picnic, or join the paluwagan (cash pool), I have P 15.00 left to bring home. I give P 10.00 to my mother. The P 5.50 I leave for my sisters and brothers and my transportation back to the city.

Aside from living in small groups, the migrant workers find other means to reduce the strain and expenses of living in the city. Cheaper food items are bought. The cheaper brand of rice sells at P 1.75 a ganta (four and a half pounds). One member revealed that "a person needs at least one and a half gantas to carry him through the week". Meat is bought rarely and in small quantities "sufficient to mix with the vegetable". Vegetables and fruits are bought cheaper in the home village. The common man's meal is cooked rice (kanin) and dried fish (tuyo). The residence group living not far from the factory may provide regular lunch to a number of co-worker customers who go home by chartered jeeps after work. In the words of an informant: "They want to look sexy so they are ashamed to hold anything except their bags". Lunch at the restaurants and canteens is P 1.00. The residence group of three give daily lunch (nagpapakain) to four co-workers each paying P 2.00 every week. The three workers prepare the meals in the morning before rushing to the factory. At lunch time they accompany their customers (suki) to their rented room. One member recalled: "We let our customers eat using the chair and table while we eat standing. All of us are sane this way". Another means of reducing the expenses is by making as few as possible home visits.

The members of the residence group gradually form into a quasi-sibling kinship. An immigrant garment worker received the following letter from a former co-residence group in the home country:

We are four companions, all working at \_\_\_\_\_. We are very very happy, as if no loneliness would ever come into our life. And we are like sisters who are alert to notice if one has a problem in order to solve it. And our house we rent is like the houses in the province as it has bamboo floors.....I am adjusting myself, I go home only twice a month to \_\_\_\_\_ unlike before, every weekend (my translation from Tagalog).

The weekly income often is unpredictably less than P 30.00.

The workers are sent home each time their 'operation' becomes 'weak'. Those caught by the weak style borrow money from those in the 'strong' style. A system of credit union has been established, paluwagan (literally, brightener) to meet this unpredictable situation. A group of co-workers form a paluwagan by contributing an agreed amount of their weekly salary to a cash pool. The members draw lots and alternate to receive the 'big money'. The rotation may shift to the most needy member. This practice is modelled after the village 'work gang' where a group of workers form a gang to cooperatively work in each member's field or project, especially in times of emergency, such as a swift harvest. The paluwagan is an important response to the worker's plight described in the letter quoted above:

You know our work now is weak (mahina). Other workers here work three or two days. By the Mercy of God, I am still working the full five work days of the week for the style I operate in is strong (malakas). As you know it depends on the style you are handling (hawak). But even though I work full five days nothing is saved as everything bought is dear (mahal).

In summary, movement to the city as migrant workers involves the first traumatic experience and training for urban living. To lessen the stress and expenses resulting from this village to city movement, the migrant workers live in small residence groups which

gradually develop into a quasi-sibling group. Another village-inspired response to the worker's unstable financial situation is the informal cooperative union, paluwagan.

### Training in the Garment Factory

Work in the village is carried on at an irregular speed and rest intervals are dictated by one's alternating lazy mood (tinatamad) or feeling of industry (sinisipag). The migrant worker has to make a drastic change in his village work habits. In the factory the migrant worker is trained to work at a steady speed with a regular time of starting, rest and termination.

The large garment factories are departmentalized and stratified. The factory personnel are uniformed to indicate rank, work day, and section. The buildings are spacious and well lighted; the electric sewing machines are clean and cloth-covered when not in use; the floor is well polished; the benches and shelves are well dusted; and the electric wiring is well hidden.

One factory (1969) has roughly 6,000 workers divided into departments. One department has 1,700 workers occupying a separate building and making brassieres, lace, stockings, and embroidery. Each department is managed by an American Jew with an office staff of seven Filipinos. The department manager controls 30 supervisors, each representing varied operations. Each supervisor commands 30 floor ladies. The floor lady is given a charge of quality controllers, revisers, inspectors, and operators. The operators are stratified on the basis of efficiency: speed workers,

regular workers, and casual workers. Speed workers accomplish more than the 'quota' and earn P 10.00 to 11.00 a day; regular workers produce the 'quota' and earn the minimum wage of P 6.00 a day; casual workers are on a six month training and observation period. They start with a daily wage of P4.00 with a monthly increase of P 0.10. The workers are ladies with the exception of the four inventory clerks, fifteen packers, two shippers, four mechanics, and two janitors.

Another factory owned and managed by an American Jew and his son has more status classifications. Three Filipinos serve as consultants. Under these consultants are the heads of the head supervisors. There is a head supervisor for every style department. Under the head supervisor are floor help supervisors who decide "who work and who go home, what style is to be done by what speed worker". There is one supervisor for each column of four or approximately fifteen operators. The supervisor decides in case of error, checks the bundles as to the correct size and number, calls in the mechanic when the machine breaks down, and records the production of the operator. The daily records of production of all operators are publicized with the intent to increase production competition. Those who do not make the quota are pushed harder or dismissed. The operators are stratified into (1) utility supervisors, (2) training supervisors, (3) speed workers (4) regular workers, and (5) casual workers. The utility supervisors are the best speed workers who act as assistants or substitutes for the supervisor. The training supervisors are speed workers who stand in line as

potential utility supervisors. The casual worker is allowed to continue if the report on the trainee states that "the trainee is cooperative". In each factory department there are two mechanics, one being the head mechanic, two bundle boys, one being the head, a fluctuating number of pressers and two janitors who work in the evening. For the whole factory plant there is a personnel staff, under the personnel manager, composed of a bookkeeper, two receptionists, fifteen accountants, four legal advisers, a doctor, a nurse, and a dentist.

In the first sample factory above, the supervisors, floor ladies, inspectors, and packers put on white uniform clothing. One informant remarked: "You would mistake them for being nurses and doctors and they walk with pride and behave like a somebody". The operators wear aquamarine uniforms on Mondays and Fridays. In the second sample factory, those in authority wear uniforms with different shades for each work day: yellow on Mondays, blue on Tuesdays, pink on Wednesdays, orange on Thursdays, and green on Fridays. Supervisors wear black coats and pink shirts. The mass of operators wear gray shirts and white coats.

The garment worker reports daily at 7:30 in the morning and terminates work at 4:30 in the afternoon. There is a mid-day lunch break of one hour from 12:00 to 1:00. A ten minute rest and coffee break is called after every two hours of steady work, one at 9:30 to 9:40 in the morning and another at 2:30 to 2:40 in the afternoon. A selected number of speed workers are asked to work overtime, at time and a half wage rates, on Fridays and Saturdays. Gifts, diplomas, and citations are annually awarded to the workers with the highest



production, perfect work attendance, and the best punctuality records. The garment worker enjoys higher prestige than most factory workers and other workers such as salesgirls, waitresses, and housemaids who receive less than the minimum wage. The garment worker is a qualified member of the public insurance system. Admittance to a garment factory is difficult and complicated as there exists a long list of waiting applicants in the major factories. The worker wears proudly the factory ring.

The applicant, in order to be employed, has to have the backing of a patron or contact person within the factory. The patron with insufficient authority seeks a co-patron in the higher ranks. Often the contact person is a blood or ritual relative. In the case of a non-related contact person or patron the applicant must be ready to reciprocate. This may mean the surrender of the first salary to the patron or the gift of food or personal services. An immigrant informant revealed that

I was recommended by a distant cousin. When I was admitted I had to invite the head supervisor during the Holy Week. My cousin had to rent a big motor boat. One head supervisor came with another supervisor and with their whole family. After the excursion they went home loaded with crabs, oysters, and bangus (milk-fish) all for free.

The patron-client system of admittance of workers has resulted in the social division of the workers into clusters of relatives and followers of those patrons in the hierarchy. An indelible debt of gratitude, utang na loob, towards the patron is regularly reciprocated by means of gifts and favors. The clients vie with each other to please the patron and to be recommended for promotion. The worker may

be mysteriously laid off or given fewer work days for failure to reciprocate. The applicant, however, must meet certain universal criteria. The client must be physically fit and 'make good' during the training period. There is no age limit. Those unmarried and with a high school educational attainment are preferred. Efficiency, production, attendance, and punctuality remain the main factors for continued employment and promotion. The whole set-up of the factory is geared towards training productive workers and screening out the unproductive (Figure II).

Figure II. Set-up of a Garment Factory in the Philippines, 1969:

<u>Managerial</u>	<u>Operational</u>	<u>Auxiliary</u>
owner and manager	utility supervisors	personnel manager
head of the	training supervisors	bookkeeper, receptionists,
head supervisors	speed workers	accountants, legal advisers
head supervisors	regular workers	doctor, dentists, nurse
supervisors	casual workers	mechanics, packers, pressers
		bundle boys, janitors

In summary, the migrant workers acquire a thorough training in factory habits in the garment factory. Various means are used to effect a drastic change from village to factory work habits. Efficiency, production, attendance, and punctuality are systematically implanted in the villager through the quota system, the hierarchy formation, citations, diplomas, and bonus gifts. Through the patron-client system of admittance, the new worker becomes a member of a cluster of relatives and co-clients through whose help the transition is made less traumatic.

## The Migration Movement

### America as the Image of Ultimate Good Life

The word 'America' evokes to the Filipino population the image of the ultimate good life. America is the home of rich and intelligent people. The American enjoys a high prestige among the populace and his services and patronage are preferred. The Filipino who has been to America shares in this image and prestige. The Filipino who has studied in America is considered more intelligent and efficient than the locally educated. The Filipino who has reached America has proven his wealth and the family who has a member in America shares this prestigious image. The members of the family become choice ritual sponsors. The Filipino who is in America becomes a hero to the family. Although absent he becomes much more involved in the affairs of the home family than before.

This popular image of America as the good life may have resulted from the western influences discussed in an earlier section. Several historical factors have contributed to the creation and persistence of this image. One is the fact of the mestizo Spanish/American-Filipino remaining the controlling political and economic elite of the country. The dominant European physical features in this biological mixture have become symbols of intelligence, wealth, and high status. Another factor is the still strong image of the American soldier as liberator from Japanese oppression during the last global war. This image continues to be bolstered by the popular action (bakbakan) 'Cowboy' movies. Another factor is the presence

in every major village of an elite group of Filipino-American citizens. These are retired veteran soldiers (pensionados) of World War I, Filipino retired or active 'U.S. Navy'. Their material wealth and their children's high educational attainment is evidently connected with their being 'American'.

The sudden improvement in material wealth and educational situation of families with a member in America is one more contributing factor. America is seen as the place where 'dollars' come from: "Good for them, they are better off for they have someone in America sending them dollars (nagpapadala)". The high financial expense, educational, and health requirement involved in going to America is another contributing factor. Only the very rich could afford to go to America. Only the highly educated (propesyonals) and the healthy could qualify for America. The majority of the poor (mahirap), and uneducated (walang natapos) are aware that America is not for them. Finally, the continued presence of Americans and Europeans in the country's top positions in government, church, commerce, and industry is another contributing factor. These western immigrants, missionaries, businessmen, and industrialists are augmented each year by tourists and adventurers. The common populace derive from these the image that the American has much money to spend.

In summary, there exists among the Filipino population the strong image of America as the source of the good life.

### The Recruitment Process

The Filipino goes to America with varying intents and purposes depending on his economic status. The very wealthy minority go to America on tour or for business trips. The educated middle-class or professionals (doctors, teachers, nurses, engineers, mid-wives) go to America as immigrants.

Those in the bottom stratum can go to America only as sponsored recruits. Those in the top stratum in the Filipino society control the export products to America. They send their children to be educated in America. They maintain their main bank accounts in America but they invariably return to the country after each business or pleasure trip. It is their American business connections that fix them on top of the Filipino social pyramid. The Filipino professionals go to America to work. They leave the country for two main reasons:

1. low wages in the country, and
2. lack of or inability of a political patron to influence employment.

The financial expenses of going to America may involve, as in education, the sale of valued property and contributions from siblings and relatives. The professionals go abroad in three ways:

1. They are admitted with an immigrant status on the basis of their needed professional training;
2. They are admitted as immigrants through the sponsorship of an employer by means of an acceptance letter; and
3. They are sponsored by a sibling, relative, or boyfriend / girlfriend who is already in America.

On very few occasions are Filipinos at the bottom social stratum admitted to America. Young Filipino males were recruited into the U.S. Armed Forces and Navy shortly after the turn of the century. In the 1930's male laborers were recruited to work in the sugar cane and pineapple plantations in Hawaii. Others were recruited also in this period to work in the fruit industry of California. The most recent recruitment of workers is the subject of this study; the recruitment of garment workers to work in the garment industry of Manitoba.

The recruitment of the garment workers was initiated by two Canadian representatives, one representing the government and the other representing the garment factory association in Winnipeg. They made arrangements with the Canadian Pacific Airlines (CPAir) branch in the Philippines to help in the recruitment. The Filipino CPAir agents further engaged the assistance of a Philippine travel syndicate, the Columbia Esquires. One travel agent had relatives working in a major garment factory. These relatives spread by word of mouth this recruitment news, balita. Co-factory workers in turn transmitted the balita to co-residence members working in other factories.

The recruitment news was not taken seriously at first. It was too good to be true. However, the recruitment rumor was verified in an advertisement in the newspapers. A giant bill-board was strategically placed by the front of a major garment factory with the advertisement printed in large English letters: WANTED SEWING OPERATORS ABROAD. APPLY: HOTEL FILIPINAS CANADIAN

PACIFIC LTD. The recruitment advertisement was still hard to believe as one garment worker informed me :

We could not believe. Only the rich and the professional could go abroad. Besides, we heard of many rackets. We were not sure if this was not a cover to recruit girls to become hostesses and prostitutes. So we made fun of the advertisement. We laughed and joked: "Let's go to Canada Dry (soft drink)".

A few garment workers followed up the advertisement and the credibility of the balita was increased. These found out that the recruitment was not "just for anybody who wanted". A series of tests and interviews had to be passed to qualify "like the professional applicants". The applicant was required to demonstrate sewing skill and pass the medical, aptitude, and English proficiency tests. The recruiting agents immediately cleared away the financial barrier:

Do not be afraid. You do not have to worry about the transportation ticket. It is the Canadian government which will pay.

The garment factory owners and managers in the Philippines came to know of the recruitment and feared the eventual drain of their best workers. They threatened immediate dismissal of any worker following up or showing interest in the recruitment. The recruitment movements and developments were, however, spread secretly among the workers. Cover-up reasons were given for being absent from work: "My mother got sick". An informant revealed:

We had to be careful for there were many other workers assigned to spy on us. Only after passing all the tests and receiving our passports did we resign.

The garment worker's recruitment differs in many ways from the recruitment of the professional. The following account is focused on the recruitment of garment workers in 1968 and 1969.

The garment worker applies in person at the CPAir office where two agents examine and interview the applicant. The early applicants spread to the following applicants that from their experience the ideal recruit is (1) unmarried and between the age of twenty to twenty-five, (2) high school student or graduate, (3) physically healthy, and (4) permitted by parents. Not a few got the cue and altered some facts in order to conform to the ideal. The applicants who pass the CPAir general interview proceed to take the machine test or 'trial'. The 1968 machine tests were conducted by the two Canadian representatives. In 1969 the trials were conducted by the two CPAir agents. In 1972 certain anomalies prompted the Canadian Consulate personnel to conduct the machine tests. An immigrant described the trial:

During the machine test we were observed as to how we stepped on the machine, then as to how we could sew. It lasted no more than five minutes at the industrial machine. There are three rooms. In the first room are the applicants. The second room is the test room where the machines are. You are sure you passed the test if you are asked to proceed to the third room. If you are led to another door you know you failed and that's the end of it. In the third room you are given the green paper (visa application form) which means proceed for your visas.

The applicant is then scheduled for the consulate interview. The interview is conducted by a ranking officer at the Canadian Consulate Office, often by the Consul himself. The applicant's personal data is reviewed. The intentions for going abroad are determined. Even the issue of personal physical virginity comes up in the interview. Those who were earlier interviewed instruct their following co-workers as to what answers to give. Four immigrants commented on their consulate interview:



Holding your application papers, \_\_\_\_\_ asked you if you are virgin or not. If you answer yes, they smiled and said, "We'll know about that".

The interview was strict. One was disqualified when she answered the question 'Why go to Canada?' with "From there it is easier to go to the States". So we told our friends to say "We like and will stay in Canada".

My companion was disqualified. She was 34 years according to her baptismal certificate. But it was found out by the Consul from an older record in \_\_\_\_\_ that she changed her age. She was really 40.

My co-worker was dropped when her real marital status was discovered. She said she was single. But she got caught in her answers. So we were advised that if you changed something, change all.

The consulate interview was an effective way to recruit workers approximating the ideal worker. Most of the tampering of personal data concerned the year and date of birth. In Table IV the ideal of the worker's age 'between twenty and thirty' is reflected from a sample of 152 garment workers.

Table IV. Age Concentration of a Sample of 152 Filipino Garment Workers in Winnipeg, 1968-1969:

<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>Birth Year</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>
1935-----	3	1940-----	12	1949-----	7
1936-----	3	1941-----	7	1950-----	2
1937-----	5	1942-----	10	1951-----	1
1938-----	4	1943-----	9	1952-----	2
1939-----	6	1944-----	20		
		1945-----	10		
		1946-----	15		
		1947-----	17		
		1948-----	19		
				Total:	<u>152</u>

Those who pass the consulate interview are then asked to take the medical examination conducted by an officially assigned doctor. In 1968 and 1969 one official doctor carried out medical examinations of all immigrant applicants for Canada. He had a staff of one nurse,

a receptionist, and an X-Ray technician. His three-room office was daily packed with applicants. As a waiting applicant in 1968 I overheard the official doctor revealing in a telephone conversation that he was examining an average of 80 applicants a day. No additional official doctor was assigned to the garment workers. The doctor's name has become a joke-word among the immigrant community. The mention of the examining doctor invites censure of the doctor. His name has become synonymous with being sick, and full of intestinal worms, or sexually abused. An immigrant described the medical examination:

You go there. First you fill up a form - names and personal data. Then your height, eyes, weight are examined and measured. Then your stool and urine. Afterwards, your blood, ears, and then the virgin test. After that you take an X-Ray.

Two informants commented on the 'virgin test':

Half-slip, bra, and panti are removed. \_\_\_\_\_ and a nurse gives a quick look, about three minutes an examination.

With me it took only a moment. I was having menstruation at that time. I was fortunate not to be touched. It was smelly!

From an unreserved informant's remark it appears that the CPAir agents also conducted the virgin test:

They really touch your parts. And not only the doctor. Even the CPAir agents touch your breasts and parts saying, "Are you sure you are virgin?"

Those who got delayed were rumored to be non-virgins as one immigrant related:

We know who was not virgin. Those who got delayed were already used-up (gamit na gamit). They become negatively publicized (bulgar na bulgar).

The common reasons given for the delays and repeat examinations were lung defects, malabo (blurred) and removal of intestinal parasites or 'gastric wash', bulati (worms). To the garment workers the medical examination was a painful ordeal. One informant told of their helplessness to do anything: "Often we were asked to repeat stool and urine examinations several times and you cannot do anything". Two popular cases are mentioned below, one indicating a common cause of disqualification, and the other hinting at the doctor's anomalous practices:

\_\_\_\_\_ was disqualified. She had X-Ray twice. She had blurred lungs. She had asthma. \_\_\_\_\_ was also disqualified. Everything was clear, even her urine test. Her X-Ray was clear. She also managed to come out of the age test. But she was disqualified because in the doctor's interview it was found out she had lung disease when she was nine years old.

The doctor prescribed a medicine for stool and \_\_\_\_\_ became allergic to it. She got swollen skin with spots and freckles all around. Her mother was going to sue the doctor in court through her contact person. The doctor sensed the danger. He helped her fix the papers so she could leave for Canada. He even helped her in her visa. He put everything O.K.

It should be noted that the informant garment workers quoted above talked freely of their medical experiences after I related my experience with the same doctor:

Before going for medical examination to the official doctor I had a thorough physical check-up at the San Juan de Dios Hospital. I was perfectly healthy. The official doctor, however, on examining me three days after claimed that I had defects with the urine and stool and needed treatment for parasites. I paid P 80.00 for the first medical examination. Then I went to the Ifugao General Hospital for another check-up and was found to be "carrying no parasites". I went back to the official doctor for repeat stool and urine examination and was found 'cured'. I paid P 20.00 for each repetition. The official doctor found that I was suffering from high blood pressure and had to take his prescribed medication. I went for another blood pressure check-up at

the Ifugao General Hospital and was found to be normal by the government physician who remarked, "You know what that means - grease money but don't give up for I have connections in Manila". I went back to the official doctor. My blood pressure was taken five times always with the same remark, "You cannot go to Canada as you have high blood pressure". I was ready to give up but requested a written statement of the medical finding. The doctor sensed my purpose and at the sixth blood pressure count I was found miraculously normal! The repetitions cost me a semester delay at the University.

The medical examination records are sent to the Canadian Office in Hongkong for final investigation and approval. This next phase in the recruitment process is characterized by the applicant's frequent visits to the CPAir office to inquire "if the medical reports have returned". These visits had to be hidden from the factory supervisors. In the words of an informant:

When asked for reasons for being absent we give the automatic answer, 'My cousin died'. But they suspected the real cause. But the Union was strong and we could not easily be dismissed. Instead we were advised to take a vacation. As soon as we felt sure and the passports had been given we resigned.

The CPAir agents then become the focus of the applicants' attention. They were considered in the beginning as helpful patrons, as one immigrant recalled: "At first they were my idols, quick to help". This positive impression became negative when the earlier applicants spread their knowledge that these agents were "extorting money and after beautiful virgins". The following applicants became cautious. An informant told: "We were always three in my visits to the CPAir. I had my three cousins with me". Word went around that "May isang nabuntis ng CPAir agent (There is one made pregnant by a CPAir agent)". The CPAir agents tried to allay these fears and denied the rumor. However, the first garment workers who reached

Winnipeg continued to caution the other applicants in the home country:

Be careful. Do not go alone with any agent. One of us has a child. There are many more who were fooled. But they are lucky not to get pregnant. Take care during the flight. The agent who will be the tour guide will try to select the most beautiful to room with.

An informant reported the reaction of the agents to this news from the first immigrants:

Do not believe the first ones. It is not true. You have no debt of gratitude. We just want to help you. It is our job. Don't listen to what the first ones say. We even helped them.

After the medical reports are approved and sent back to the Consulate in Manila the applicants are issued their passport papers. The 1968 applicants paid P 200.00 for the passport papers while the 1969 applicants did not pay anything. An informant related:

We in 1968 paid over P 80.00 for the medical and P 200.00 for the passport. P 90.00 went to the agent for the passport cost only P 110.00. Those in 1969 did not pay anything but the agents collected from them in many ways.

In delays, repetitions of medical examinations in one building and by a single doctor and the frequent visits to the CPAir, the garment workers have forged themselves into closely associating groups. The several village, dialect, residence, and factory groups have re-grouped into 'trial', 'interview', 'medical', and 'visit' groups.

The 1968 recruit workers kept their application, trials, interviews, medical examination, and visits unknown to their parents. They were sure of parental objection as their child is neither financially nor educationally qualified. They preferred to leave their parents undisturbed until "everything was sure". After securing the passport papers, an immigrant applicant informed her

parents thus:

I resigned and I went home. I was especially helpful. I told my mother first. I waited until my father was in a good mood. When my father and I were alone I started the conversation:

Father, how would you like to go to far away places?

That is good. But we are poor.

But father, how would you like your children to go to a far away place some day to earn money?

That would be good for the family.

Father, I am going to Canada to work. Here is my passport.

Where do you get the money to go there?

We do not pay anything.

The applicants' parents remained skeptical about their children going to America without educational qualifications and expenses. They feared that their daughters were being lured into an immoral life as prostitutes in exchange for free transportation. The strong opposition by the parents of the applicants that threatened the recruitment was reduced when the CPAir agents and the Canadian Embassy personnel arranged general conferences for both parents, relatives and the applicants. Seven members of a residence group of garment workers in Winnipeg recounted what transpired in these general consulate conferences:

(Consul) gave us instructions about the transportation and tried to make Canada beautiful in front of our parents. The CPAir agents repeated the information in Tagalog:

You pay nothing. You will even receive money as a start. And the grand fee (transportation) will be paid by the company (Winnipeg factory). The company will give you pocket money of \$120.00. You will pay back to the company \$5.00 weekly. You are under two years contract in the garment factory. You will not be dealing with light materials or bras like you do here. You will be making heavy heavy clothing. You will find it

harder. Your minimum wage will be \$1.25 per hour. By force you will be a member of the Union of the company. After two years you can transfer to another factory or to any other place. There is tax of five cents for every dollar you earn.

In Canada there is snow. It is very cold in December. But don't buy a coat here. It is cheaper there. Always take the bus at the bus stop, not like here. Ring the bell if you want the bus to stop and don't shout 'Para!' as you do here. In the stores there is no haggling with the storekeeper as you do here. The prices are fixed. You will not be fooled.

Consult the Immigration Office if you need help. If you need the Police because of some trouble just phone them. Do not just open your door. Many agents will come to your residence. Do not be flattered by them. For room and board do not worry. No crowding is allowed as you find here. There are many rooms for rent.

At the airport two Immigration Officers will meet you. They will take care of you and arrange for your accommodation.

When in Canada you can sponsor your dependents, brothers, sisters, cousins, and boyfriends.

The parents allowed their children to leave for Canada, not without great reluctance and anxiety. The information they got in the parent-children consulate conference of a decent recruitment was soon verified. Their children sent pictures and wrote immediately of their new luck in America. Through pictures they saw their children standing amidst plenty beside the open food-filled fridge. Their children were indeed in America as shown in their pictures playing with snow and wearing heavy clothing. Most important was the evidence of their children working as decent garment workers shown in the clear colored picture of their child sewing in the factory machine. They felt as they started to receive dollar checks regularly that their childrens' going to America would change their hard life.

The consulate general conference was an effective means of advertising the recruitment of more garment workers. Parents of non-applicant workers attended the conference. The conference information spread to the home villages. The parents' opposition was soon replaced by parental encouragement. The conference was an effective factor in uniting the immigrants families in the home country. The conference served as the initial initiation of the immigrants in their new world. Basic differences between their familiar home and their unfamiliar destination had been pointed out to them. In the consulate conference the immigrants were confirmed in their suspicion that the CPAir agents were exploiting them:

After the meeting we were surprised that the CPAir agents were asking us for all sorts of collection when the Consul went away. Many of us gave \$40.00 to \$30.00 for various reasons such as food, hotel, and stop-over tour even if we had not taken any. They will become rich quickly. But that is their luck. Never mind our money as long as we are here safely. We are now earning. And they can fool us no more. We still owe them a lot.

Before the successful applicants leave, farewell parties, despidida, are given by friends, relatives, blood and ritual parents in their honor. On the occasion of the despidida gifts are given "to remember me by", usually bags, clothing, shoes, and "all the luxuries". Monetary contributions are given "as our little help for your baon (provision) on the long way". The departing immigrant is reminded "not to forget us or change when you are away". The immigrant is requested to "write us even a piece and come back when you are already rich". Thus, the immigrant is bidden "Goodbye but not forever!". A few days before the scheduled flight the immigrants visit those who gave despidida to "thank you for your souvenirs, big help, and advice and



to look at you for the last time, for anything can happen and we may not meet again".

On the eve of the immigrant's departure the family gives the grand despidida. Relatives, neighbours, and friends attend to share in the "joys and sorrows of the family soon to be orphaned and the child soon to be isolated". The expected benefits from the child's departure are played up by the gathered visitors while the negative effects are played up by the family. The party is jovial on the whole as the visitors strive to dance and joke the whole night:

For sure you will forget us when you are in the rich land!

You will find a handsome Cano (Americano) and forget him (boyfriend)!

Eat and eat now for you will not find our food there! In America you will eat bread like the Americans.

When you come back you will be American and English speaking so that we will not understand your slang.

Within a few hours before the flight the gathered visitors split up and board the chartered jeeps and buses to chaperone (sundo) the departing immigrant. The fusion of several sundo groups from thirty different despidida parties makes the airport crowd almost impassable.

The last moments at the airport are occupied with tearful embraces with the immediate members of the family. After receiving the parental blessing (signing of the cross upon the forehead) and the departing prayer (The Lord be with you) and the final plea to be always the faithful child (magkapabait ka), the immigrant reluctantly breaks loose from the family and sundo visitors. The line of departing immigrants reappears as they head to board the airplane.

as the sundo crowd vigorously waves farewell. The sundo crowd breaks up only after the airplane has disappeared from sight. The visitors comfort the worried members of the family that their departed child will be safe. The parents of the departed immigrants promise each other to pass on any information they may receive from "our children abroad". The flight route normally taken is to Hongking, Tokyo, and Vancouver, the port of entry to Canada.

The first garment workers that landed in Winnipeg were met at the airport by the two assigned Immigration Officers and the officers of the Fil-Canadian Association, one of the two existing associations of Filipino immigrants at the time. After hearing welcome speeches from the early Filipino immigrants, the newly arrived Filipino garment workers were led to an old downtown hotel where they stayed for the first few days. The factory foremen and managers came to the hotel to pick who and how many garment workers would work for them on a trial basis. Then the immigrant flight group of about thirty split into smaller residence groups. The first residence apartment blocks were arranged beforehand by the Immigration Officers. These Immigration Officers asked the help of the Fil-Canadian Association officers to buy the basic kitchen and sleeping materials for the new immigrants. The money used for the purchase was advanced from the Manpower Training Section and later refunded by the garment worker according to items received.

The first garment workers who arrived in Winnipeg immediately took over the main responsibility of welcoming the new arrivals. As soon as they found their way to the stores, they discovered that the

items bought for them by the "professionals" (Filipino educated immigrants) were much cheaper than the price they were asked to pay back. Immediately they bought or loaned necessary articles for the new arrivals. They brought Filipino food to the hotel where the newly arrived garment workers were being temporarily accommodated. They also secured residence groups for them. An immigrant reported that

As soon as we found our way, we took it upon ourselves to welcome and help each other.

The recruitment of workers was done through other means. This resulted in the existence of different layers of recruit workers. There are now five main layers and two minor ones. Each layer represents the range of possible recruitment forms.

The first layer is composed of the 1968 recruitment (Table V). This totals 114 divided into five flight groups. After six months of trial work, proven efficiency, and ability to live in the new environment, these recruit workers are granted landed immigrant status. Not only do they pave the way for the recruitment of more workers, but they also take an active part in helping the arriving garment workers. Thus, they are referred to as the 'trial' and 'mother' layer. Many of the members of this layer are in fact addressed as 'Mommy'. There are eight males in this layer who arrived in Winnipeg within the short span of one month. Twenty-five carry native family names while eighty-nine have western names.

Table V. 1968 Filipino Immigrant Garment Workers in Winnipeg

<u>Flight</u>		<u>Sex</u>		<u>Arrival</u>		<u>Name</u>	
<u>Group No.</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>October</u>		<u>Native</u>	<u>Western</u>
One	30	1	29	1		4	26
Two	30	0	30	8		5	25
Three	30	3	27	15		9	21
Four	16	2	14	23		6	10
Five	8	2	6	31		1	9
<hr/>							
Total	114	8	106	31 days		25	89

The 1969 garment workers make up the second layer (Table VI). They total 289. They arrived in Winnipeg in ten flight groups within a period of two months and eight days. They entered Canada with landed immigrant status. There are seven males in this layer who, like the males in the first layer, are skilled garment cutters. A significant number of forty-nine workers in this layer have indigenous family names. This is indicative of their more distant Barrio origin and low social stratum: the more distant from the city and the lower the social status the more native names found.

Table VI. 1969 Filipino Immigrant Garment Workers in Winnipeg

<u>Flight</u>		<u>Sex</u>		<u>Arrival</u>		<u>Name</u>	
<u>Group No.</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Native</u>	<u>Western</u>
One	40	0	40	June	25	7	33
Two	30	1	29	July	2	5	25
Three	29	0	29		9	6	23
Four	30	3	27		16	2	28
Five	30	1	29		23	4	26
Six	29	1	28		30	4	25
Seven	30	0	30	Aug.	6	4	26
Eight	30	0	30		13	5	25
Nine	23	0	23		20	7	16
Ten	27	1	26	Sept.	3	3	24

The third layer is composed of sponsored siblings, cousins, and spouses (Table VII). These immigrants were sponsored individually by the early factory sponsored workers in 1968 and 1969. The sponsored worker is referred to as 'sponsor' while the sponsoring worker is called 'nag-sponsor'. The factory managers and the familiar CPAir Filipino agents encourage and help the early immigrant workers to sponsor their sisters and brothers or boyfriends who are experienced factory workers in the home country. The sponsoring immigrant handles all major expenses and responsibilities. In this layer there is a substantial number of brothers and boyfriends. The extremely imbalanced sex ratio among the early immigrant workers is becoming corrected by the continuous arrival of small groups of sponsored brothers, nephews, and boyfriends.

A significant number in this layer have attained a higher level of education than the early immigrant workers. Several are teachers and commerce graduates in the home country. Some have worked in the factory previously and have quit work to study under the support of their 1968 or 1969 immigrant sister. The educated brothers or boyfriends are often younger siblings selected by their family to pursue further education under the cooperative support of working elder siblings. They reluctantly work as bundle boys and factory or hospital workers as they are unable to find employment in their area of training. They prefer to work rather than stay at home and be supported by the sponsoring sister who has done, in their view, "a lot by sponsoring". It is customary for the sponsored immigrant to take over the payment of the "ticket" (transportation fare) loan.

A significant number of the early immigrants have sponsored more than two. Usually the sister and brother are sponsored before the spouse. As of September 1971 over 160 sponsored workers had arrived in Winnipeg. These were "taken" (kinuha) by 137 early immigrants. Of the 160 sponsored in the sample 84 are sisters, 41 are brothers, and 29 are boyfriends or husbands.

Table VII. Sponsor/Sponsored Distribution Among the 1968-1969 Filipino Garment Workers in Winnipeg as of September, 1971

<u>Sponsor Distribution</u>				<u>Sponsored Distribution</u>				
<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Sponsors</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Boyfriends</u>	<u>Family</u>	<u>Total</u>	
<u>1968</u>								
One	--- 30 --	14 -----	7 -----	5 -----	2 -----	1 -----	15	
Two	--- 30 --	16 -----	7 -----	7 -----	4 -----	0 -----	18	
Three	--- 30 --	7 -----	4 -----	3 -----	0 -----	0 -----	7	
Four	--- 16 --	9 -----	8 -----	1 -----	2 -----	0 -----	11	
Five	--- 8 --	2 -----	1 -----	1 -----	1 -----	0 -----	3	
<u>1969</u>								
One	--- 40 --	11 -----	8 -----	5 -----	2 -----	0 -----	15	
Two	--- 30 --	4 -----	2 -----	2 -----	0 -----	0 -----	4	
Three	--- 29 --	11 -----	10 -----	1 -----	1 -----	0 -----	12	
Four	--- 30 --	14 -----	5 -----	6 -----	4 -----	3 -----	18	
Five	--- 30 --	5 -----	3 -----	1 -----	1 -----	1 -----	6	
Six	--- 29 --	10 -----	4 -----	2 -----	4 -----	1 -----	11	
Seven	--- 30 --	11 -----	7 -----	1 -----	3 -----	0 -----	11	
Eight	--- 30 --	8 -----	8 -----	3 -----	1 -----	0 -----	12	
Nine	--- 23 --	9 -----	6 -----	3 -----	2 -----	0 -----	11	
Ten	--- 27 --	6 -----	4 -----	0 -----	2 -----	0 -----	6	
<hr/>								
Total	--- 412 --	137 -----	84 -----	41 -----	29 -----	5 -----	160	

The fourth layer is made up of those workers recruited by means of job-acceptance letters (Table VIII). They are referred to as simply "job acceptance". The early workers secure from their factory managers

letters of job acceptance for their distant relatives, friends, and co-workers in the home country. The recommender or patron sends these letters to the recommendee or client. The client normally handles the expenses in securing landed immigrant status. As soon as the client is ready, the patron sends the transportation fare. Often the patron borrows money from fellow workers to put in his bank account. In this way the patron qualifies to borrow money for the client's transportation ticket from the bank. The 'guarantee-loan' money is returned with no interest after it has served its purpose. The early clients join with the 'sponsor' immigrants in small flight groups of five to ten. One patron may have as many as fifteen clients. The CPAir agents later help the patron by securing transportation tickets for the numerous clients to be paid back on a fly-now-pay-later agreement. And the employer issuing the letters of job acceptance assists in providing pocket money of \$50.00 to be paid back by the client at a rate of \$5.00 each month. Some employers send patrons to the Philippines to assist the clients in securing landed immigrant status. In a personal communication a factory manager revealed that over 500 job-acceptance recruit workers will have arrived in Winnipeg by the summer of 1972. The arriving client workers are accommodated by their patrons and the patrons ask the help of friends.

Table VIII. 1972 "Job-Acceptance" Filipino Immigrant Garment Workers in Winnipeg

<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>Group Size</u>	<u>Arrival</u>
One	20	March 20
Two	31	April 14
Three	45	April 15
Four	60	May 7
Five	30	May 13
Six	32	May 20
Seven	60	May 27
Eight	40	June 3
Nine	30	June 10
Ten	40	June 17
Eleven	45	June 24
Twelve	30	July 8
Thirteen	15	July 12
Fourteen	30	July 19
Fifteen	20	July 22
Total	532	

The 1972 newly arrived workers are on a two-year work contract with the employer who issued the job acceptance letters. They are paid \$1.65 per hour. According to several 1972 informants, the recruitment cost per worker is as follows:

- P 6.50 -- per application form or 'trial'
- P 100.00 -- first medical examination
- P 400.00 -- passport book
- \$ 20.00 -- hotel (Hongkong or Tokyo)
- \$ 710.00 -- transportation fare (\$29.60 monthly payment for two years)

According to several educated immigrants the normal cost of migration to Winnipeg, whether worker or professional, is as follows:

- P 90.00 -- medical examination
- P 110.00 -- passport book
- \$ 500.00 -- transportation fare

The application forms are given without charge and the flight hotel accommodation is included in the transportation fare. An informant



made the following remark on being told of the big difference between the legal cost and the actual cost:

Why like that. Just because we are not educated they want to fool us. They really make much money on us. That we are fellow Filipinos do not mean anything to them.

The fifth layer is composed of those workers who have worked for two or more years in Holland before coming to Winnipeg. They are called simply 'Holland' (Table IX). The work contract in the Holland garment industry is for two years and can be renewed once. The workers enter Holland with only a work visa. The community they form in Holland is very similar to a temporary work camp as can be seen by a description of a work camp given by one 'Holland' worker:

We were two groups, all in all 120. We lived in one big residence. There was 'Ma'am' (Filipino social worker). Our rooms were next to each other and Ma'am took care of the grocery, of the laundry, of everything. She does them by phone. All expenses are deducted from our pay. We played nearby. We attended parties of the Holland workers and Filipino professionals there. Ma'am assigned the cooks and cleaners by turns. We had a Dutch chaplain. We enjoyed. But there is more money so we did not renew our contract. \_\_\_\_\_ (Winnipeg garment factory representative) came to Holland and gave us contract. Some of us went home first before applying to Winnipeg. There are at present (September 1971) two groups in Holland. We write them. They are applying here after their two year contract.

Another 'Holland' worker made the following comment:

Here in Winnipeg you are forced to be on your own. You buy your own grocery. You find your own rooms. You are free to go anywhere. It is more exciting here.

Several 'Holland' garment workers have finished their college education. Many have transferred from the factory to work as nurse's aids while a few have moved to Toronto to look for 'office work'.

One 'Holland' worker revealed a common practice: "I am a teacher but applied as a garment worker in order to be accepted abroad".

Table IX. 'Holland' Filipino Immigrant Garment Workers in Winnipeg  
As of May 1972

<u>Flight Group No.</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Date and Year of Arrival</u>
One -----	16	March 13, 1969
Two -----	12	November 17, 1969
Three -----	5	December 18, 1970
Four -----	6	February 19, 1971
Five -----	20	November 7, 1971
Six -----	14	March 1972
<hr/>		
Total -----	73	

The first minor layer is composed of the sponsored sisters and brothers of the educated Filipino immigrants in Winnipeg. A number of 'professionals' sponsor their siblings after having first sponsored their spouses. These sponsored siblings and boyfriends are themselves educated and experienced teachers or accountants. Finding no employment in their field of training, they train as factory workers. Although they belong to the middle-class social stratum and are used to house helpers, they have to do their own cooking and laundry in the new place. A few find work in the garment factory as typists and receptionists but they feel isolated and frustrated because of their unexpected traumatic experience. They are vocal in their plan to go back "after earning transportation fare". Only two, however, have returned to the home country so far.

The second minor layer is composed of those who entered Canada as tourists. They are referred to simply as 'tourist'. These, too, have attained a higher level of education than the majority of workers and belong to the middle-class social stratum. This layer has been slightly augmented by tourists who have come to Canada after fulfilling

some work contracts in the U.S. Navy. These are referred to as 'Navy'. Most of these tourists are males. Several have married with an early garment worker before the expiration of their tourist visas. These tourists train to work as garment cutters, factory workers, and hospital helpers (orderlies).

In summary, the recruitment process has been described as related to the social stratification in the Philippines. The layers of the working-class immigrants representing the varied ways of recruitment have been isolated.

### Filipino Immigrants Abroad

Selected young Filipino students of mixed Filipino-Spanish blood (mestizo) were allowed to study in Madrid, Barcelona, and other countries in Europe only in the nineteenth century. Those who returned formed the elite of western trained Filipino intellectuals (Guerrero, 1963). At the time, the word 'abroad' meant Spain and Europe. Barely a decade after the American take-over in the Philippines, Filipinos started to enter the New World in increasing numbers as indicated in the U.S. 1960 Census (Pascual, 1969: 22): 1910 -- 5; 1930 -- 30, 470; 1960 -- 176, 310. Before 1941 there were over 65,000 Filipinos spread throughout forty-eight U.S. States. The State of concentration in 1960 was California with 65,000 Filipino immigrants. Of these, 21,450 were in the San Francisco area, 12,869 in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area, 2,333 in the San Jose area, and 2,000 in the State Capital at Sacramento. Other 1960 areas of Filipino immigrant concentration were Hawaii with 69,070

and New York with 5,406 (Ibid.: 22-24). There are at present 200,000 Filipinos in Southern California alone (MT, October 2, 1971, p. 4). An average of 7,000 Filipinos emigrate annually to the United States (MT, February 26, 1971, p. 4). Some 2,000 Filipinos flock to the U.S. Embassy daily to transact visa applications (MT, April 1, 1971, p. 10) and as many as 600 leave the country each month (MT, Volume XXV, Number 196, p. 4).

The five Filipinos found in the U.S. in 1910 were probably houseboys brought by some American families returning home from the Philippines. The first Filipino immigrants who entered the U.S. from 1920 to 1940 were mostly uneducated male workers who averaged fifteen to twenty-five years of age. They entered the U.S. with national status and owed allegiance to the U.S. They could exercise all the privileges of any American-born citizen but could not vote, become naturalized U.S. citizens, nor hold public or private offices on any level. They worked at menial jobs: farm laborers, janitors, houseboys, dishwashers, cannery workers (Santos, 1969: 16). U.S. law made all the 40,000 Filipinos who entered the U.S. before May 1934 automatically naturalized U.S. citizens so that they could be drafted into the U.S. Armed Forces. Many of these fought with MacArthur in the Philippines and with Eisenhower in Europe. Having become the first Filipinos to become naturalized citizens, they could vote in both State and National elections (Ibid.). In 1947 the Philippines authorized the United States to recruit Filipinos as laborers and employees in offshore American Bases. As of 1968 there were 16,000 Filipino workers

on offshore Bases of which 2,006 had been directly hired and 13,894 worked on a contractual basis. Several of these first Filipino immigrant workers in the New World supported themselves while obtaining a university education. Some returned to the home country after receiving their doctorate degrees to become department heads in the country's newly opened universities. The rest sent their money to their parents for the educational support of siblings and cousins (Ibid.).

The bulk of the more recent Filipino immigrants to the U.S. are middle-class educated job-seekers such as: doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers, mid-wives, medical technologists, accountants, and mechanics. Many of these have been supported in their education by the first working-class immigrants and later sponsored to the U.S.

The movement of Filipinos to Canada is fairly recent, mostly within the last two decades. The early Filipino immigrants to Canada were mainly doctors, nurses, and teachers who moved from the U.S. after the two year period of their visitor's exchange program terminated. Instead of returning to the home country, they moved to Canada. This provision has been recently abolished as a result of U.S. Immigration Law becoming much more liberalized. Those under the exchange visitors program may stay under a permanent visa without returning to the home country after two years of U.S. residence, provided they have not been sent by their government (MT, Volume XXV, Number 220, p. 4). By 1968 Canadian Immigration Law was made less liberal regarding the admission of nurses, teachers, engineers, and other trained

persons whose services were no more in demand. The arriving Filipino immigrants are now limited to siblings, cousins, and spouses/family being sponsored by those who entered Canada before 1968. Filipinos who worked previously in Europe find it easier to enter Canada as immigrants. Presently there are 3,000 Filipino nurses and seamstresses in the various German cities; and 300 nurses, 60 seamstresses, and 1,700 mid-wives in London (MT, Volume XXV, Number 356, p. 4). The European policy is to issue only a work visa. The Filipino becomes an immigrant only by marriage to a European national. Probably the majority of these Filipinos in Europe will migrate to the New World after their work visa expires.

The migration of Filipinos of different social strata at different periods in the New World has resulted in several types of Filipino immigrant communities. Throughout the U. S. and Canada five types may be distinguished.

The first type is made up of the Filipino immigrant communities in Hawaii. These communities are well established within the host society and are much more permanent residentially. The majority are laborers from the Ilocos. In a study of the 3,000 Filipino immigrants in Wailua, Dr. Florangel distinguished as many as fifty-two social and community bodies, mostly cultural transplants from their villages of origin (MT, May 5, 1971, p. 6). Six Filipinos born in Hawaii have become members of the State Legislature - an impressive number! (MT, May 25, 1970, p. 6). The first Filipino to graduate as an engineer from the University of Hawaii in 1930

was a hotel boy (Larry Frento) who rose to a top position in the Department of Transportation (Nation, June 16, 1969, p. 61). This set-up of a small number of politically and socially established elite with a large bottom stratum of rural population is analogous to the Philippine situation.

The Filipino immigrant communities in California (Los Angeles and San Francisco) and in Seattle, Washington represent a second type. Most of these are military men, retired or active. These first Filipinos to become U.S. nationals have brought very young wives from the home country. They have sponsored siblings, family, and relatives who have formed various associations: ethnic restaurants, stores, and clinics. They also raise food plants from the home country, as referred to by one informant:

In California you know when it is a Pinoy (Filipino) house. The gardens are planted with saluyot (Ilocano favorite vegetable).

Classes on Filipino life are given for the younger generations (MT, March 27, 1971, p. 16).

The Filipinos in Alaska represent a third type. The majority of the population have come from the more stable and increasing Filipino communities in California and Seattle. This branch-immigrant population is largely augmented in certain work seasons when workers from the mother-immigrant population arrive to work in the fish factories. Many Filipinos work as foremen with native Indian and Eskimo workers under them.

The more recent educated Filipino immigrants, commonly referred to as 'professionals', make up a fourth type. This type is

the most widespread throughout North America. The recent immigrants are mostly females: nurses, teachers, mid-wives. They either sponsor their boyfriends or eventually return to the home country. Several of these have entered into mixed marriages with the host society and with male dominated ethnic immigrant communities such as the Indians (Bombay), Pakistans, Chinese, and Japanese. This type is characterized by maximum contact with the host society, residential mobility, and mixed marriages. Those residing in Canada strive to migrate to the U.S. for higher pay and prestige. With this type, cultural transplant and persistence are minimal while assimilation or cultural acquisition is maximal.

The Filipino immigrant garment workers in Winnipeg, which are the focus of this study, represent a fifth type. Like the immigrants in the first two types, they come from the bottom social stratum and have minimum educational attainment. Unlike the former, the garment workers under study are overwhelmingly female and come from a wider area in the home country, although predominantly from the Tagalog regions. As found in the first two types, maximum cultural transplant and minimum assimilation should be expected and can be predicted of this fifth type. This expectation and prediction is borne out in the following sections and chapters.

All these types of Filipino immigrant communities may be characterized as labor camps. America (Canada) is considered the place to obtain the 'good life'. The communities remain oriented towards the home country. Whatever ethnic formations or cultural



transplants are set up, these are done to increase the efficiency of the work camp. The immigrant's earnings are sent home for the family and for future personal provisions during his retirement. A common comment by the Filipino immigrant is "I will stay here as long as I have the strength to work." The immigrant's home vacation at regular intervals during his strong years is climaxed by the final home-coming of the retired worker or his remains. Such is not the case with the three major types of migrations that populated the New World (European, Negro, Native Indian and Eskimo). The European, Negro immigrants see the New World as their new-found home both in life and in death. There is little or no contact with the home country of origin. For the many immigrants whose migration had been politically enforced there is no home to return to.

In summary, the migration to the New World of Filipinos from different social strata, educational levels, and periods has resulted in several types of immigrant communities. The migration of Filipino garment workers to Winnipeg has resulted in a new type.

## Post-Migration Setting

### Filipino Immigrants in Winnipeg

The parallel arrangement of cities, towns, and hamlets in Canada is a contrast to the circular formation found in the Philippines. The Canadian situation is a three-layered formation: the urban centers are at the south, the towns which are mostly single enterprise communities are located north and make up what is referred to as Mid-Canada, and the hamlets which are mostly Indian reserves and Eskimo relocation centers are situated farther north.

Winnipeg, a mid-western city of Canada, is populated by varied ethnic immigrant groups. The city population has grown more from migration of new inhabitants rather than from a natural rate of increase. The population in 1901 was 48,000 and grew in 1961 to 475,989 of which 265,429 inhabited the city proper. This population increase was followed by a population drop. The population of the city proper declined 66 per cent in 1951 and 56 per cent in 1961 and Winnipeg dropped from the fourth largest metropolitan area in Canada to seventh (Rich, Population Study 1961-1968). The immigrants came mainly from Europe. Of the total 1961 Manitoba population of 921,686, only 4,177 were Asiatic while 29,427 were Indians and Eskimos. The British immigrants composed the majority with 396,445, followed by the Ukrainians with 105,372, and the Germans with 91,846. The French immigrants numbered 83,938 followed by the Dutch with 47,780, the Polish immigrants with 44,371, the Scandinavians with 37,716, the Jews with 18,898,

and the Italians with 6,476 (Manitoba Mosaic Report, 1970: 11, 13). The British within the Metropolitan area of Winnipeg numbered 213,964 or 44.95 per cent of the total population of 475,989.

According to the Population Study for 1968-1969, the British were the most widely and evenly distributed immigrant group although they were more heavily concentrated in the St. James area and least heavily concentrated in the North and West Kildonan and St. Boniface areas. The Ukrainians numbered 53,000 and were more concentrated in the North End and Point Douglas areas. The Germans numbered 50,000 and were more concentrated in the North Kildonan area. The French were concentrated in the St. Boniface area while Polish immigrants were concentrated in the North End area. The least dispersed immigrant group were the Jews with 75 to 96 per cent of them residing in the city, notably in the West Kildonan area (Rich, Population Study 1968-1969, no. 41-42).

The Filipinos were among the latest to arrive in Winnipeg. In the years after 1950, isolated Filipino teachers started to arrive in Winnipeg. Some nurses and doctors moved from the U.S. to Winnipeg as a result of the former U.S. requirement of two years limited residence for those under the visitor's exchange program. These early immigrants furnished their classmates and friends with information on where and how to apply for employment in Winnipeg. In 1967 CPAir travel agents took an active part in recruiting over 300 Filipino nurses by securing letters of job acceptance and transportation fare loans from hospitals within the city. The recruited nurses worked at these hospitals, fulfilling a two year

contract, during which time they paid back the 'fly-now-pay-later' loans from deductions made from their monthly salaries. With the reduction of employment need and the change in Canadian Immigration Policy, the flow of 'professional' immigrants was drastically reduced and limited to sponsored siblings, spouses, and families. Now 'professionals' number approximately 800 and are residentially dispersed throughout the city, although they tend to concentrate around the fifteen city hospitals where most of them are employed. Another estimated 300 work in the various town hospitals and schools throughout northern Manitoba where they are first assigned upon their arrival. The number of 'professionals' keeps on fluctuating as those in the northern towns move to the city and then later move to the U.S. The arrival of large groups of working-class 'garment' immigrants since 1968 abruptly augmented the number of Filipinos in Winnipeg. At this writing the 'garment workers' number approximately 1,200 and are residentially concentrated in the downtown northern areas contiguous to the garment factory location and extending towards the city's West End and North End.

In summary, the Filipinos are among the latest ethnic group to join the predominantly English immigrant population of Winnipeg. The first Filipinos to arrive were teachers, followed by nurses and doctors moving up from the U.S. who were in turn followed by their classmates and friends. These early immigrants were largely increased in number by the arrival of hospital-sponsored nurses in 1967 and factory-sponsored garment workers since October 1968.

### Filipino Associations in Winnipeg

The early immigrants all belonged to the same Philippine social group of 'professionals'. There was no need of setting up a formal organization since they already made up a circle of closely associating fellow immigrants, frequently attending each other's informal gatherings. Any new arrival could be easily noticed and introduced to the circle of Filipino immigrants. With the arrival of more immigrants, the one circle of Filipinos splintered into several clusters of associating friends based on such factors as place of work, similarity of professional training, and Filipino ethnic group. The arriving new immigrants were noticed only by the concerned cluster of friends and the different groups tended to be isolated from each other.

As a corrective to these isolated cluster formations, a group of early immigrants 'old timers' set up in 1960 the Filipino-Canadian Association of Manitoba, or Fil-Can, with two specific purposes: (1) to help the newcomers adjust to the Canadian life and (2) to make life worthwhile so that the Filipino immigrants would be induced to stay in Winnipeg. The officers of the association were mostly doctors and teachers, several of whom bought houses in different parts of the city. These officers became choice wedding ritual parents of those who sponsored boyfriends or entered into mixed marriages with the host population. The association developed into a patron-client affair as the ritual parents devoted more time and attention to their ritual children and vice versa. Those who were outside the ritual kinship drifted away from the association.

New immigrant nurses and some doctors then arrived and worked in large groups of thirty to forty in the hospitals within the city. They associated more with each other than with the early immigrants. At first they joined the Fil-Can but later separated to form a new association they named Kayumangi (brown). The newcomers resented the special patron-status enjoyed by the old-timers and refused to have their social standing measured on the basis of their newness to the place instead of their professional training. Formed by the end of 1967, the new association was, as the name indicated, a reaction to the assimilation orientation of the first association. The founding officers of the Kayumangi revealed two specific goals of the organization: (1) to help the immigrant maintain his culture and (2) to set up occasions where Filipino talents could be presented to the host society. A state of rivalry developed between the two associations. Many immigrants maintained neutrality, refusing to become members of either association so as not to offend "my friend who is on the other side". The membership of the two associations became gradually reduced to the officers' clusters of friends. The rivalry between the two associations increased with the arrival of the 'garment workers' for whose membership the two sets of officers vied. They competed with each other in driving the new immigrants around the city, bringing them to bowling places and fishing grounds, and inducing them to buy and sell party tickets.

Upon their arrival in 1968 the first flight groups of garment workers proceeded to set up their own association which was class oriented, as hinted in the name, Filipino Garment Workers'

Association. The organizers of the garment workers formed their own association "to look after and help our fellow garment workers for our problems are different from the professionals". This class association, however, was short lived as the officers of the Fil-Can succeeded in convincing the officers to dissolve their newly formed association and fuse with them. The fusion in 1970 was the work of the two sets of officers. The general body of garment workers accused their officers of being "society and status seekers who think they can be on the same level as the professionals". Contrary to the expectations of the officers, the majority of garment workers became disenchanted and remained unconcerned.

In order to renew interest among the majority of neutral immigrants, the officers of the existing associations decided to form one united Filipino organization. This move attracted the attention of the immigrants and a spirited campaign for officers and a contest for the name of the new association was carried out. The name Filipino Association of Manitoba was chosen as the most neutral since it does not suggest or incorporate in any way either of the two dissolved associations. The seed of division was, however, evident in the manner of voting. On election day, February 28, 1970, the candidates and voters were classified into their social or professional status. The immigrants elected officers from candidates of their respective classes as their representatives. The top social stratum or 'Group 1' was composed of the doctors, nurses, and medical technicians. The second stratum or 'Group 11' was composed of the teachers, engineers, and social workers. The third class or 'Group 111' was composed of the newly arrived

garment workers. As the latter formed a clear majority of immigrants, four garment workers were elected to represent their class while the other two groups chose two of their peers. Although the election organizers made known vocally that "there is absolutely no intention of discriminating against any profession", not a few garment workers mumbled that "they are making it like at home".

The final break-up between the garment workers and the 'professionals' came three months after the general but classified election. Five garment workers hesitantly joined the contest for 'Miss Philippines-Manitoba' after they were assured by the organizers that educational attainment was not a factor in the selection. On April 17, 1970 the five contestants entered the beauty contest wearing no 'make-up' as they were led to understand that the sole basis of selection was natural physical appearances. Two Canadians and two Filipinos acted as judges. Since it was contrary to what they had been told, the garment workers were surprised at the judges' first question to the contestants: "What is your educational attainment?". Not one among the Filipino 'garment' contestants won a place as they were all eliminated at the first question. Their English was not as proficient as those of the other 'professional' contestants and their nonsensical responses to other questions were repeated as jokes. The garment workers were deeply humiliated and walked out of the auditorium en masse without witnessing the conclusion of the affair. They labelled the 'professionals' as the 'shameless ones' (mga walang hiya) and resolved to manage by themselves in future. They stopped inviting the 'shameless professionals' to their parties and



at this writing only a very few friendships exist between a garment worker and a professional.

As a result of the recent break away from the 'professionals', the garment workers were easily rallied by two Canadians to form a new association which was named Philippine Canada Friendship Society. The organizing Canadians were completely trusted since one of them was a wedding ritual parent (ninong) of two newly married garment workers. The officers were appointed by the Canadians. One main attractive goal of the association was "chartered flights to and from the Philippines". These Canadians presented themselves as investors belonging to "Associations Management Ltd." and asked the appointed officers to campaign for charter passengers. The basic cost of a 'one way ticket' from Winnipeg to the Philippines would be only \$375.00 but a deposit of \$175.00 would be required of each passenger before being booked. A 'bonus' of \$25.00 would be offered for anyone who convinced another member to join the chartered flights. Parties were held to produce funds for the association and to advertise the proposed chartered flights. The funds from the membership fees, party ticket sales, and 'charter' deposits were put in a trust bank under the name of the two Canadians. Those Canadians suddenly disappeared and the immigrants realized that they had been cheated and exploited once more. Those who made 'deposits' pleaded with the officers to contact the Canadians for refunds but always got the answer: "We do not know where they are; you are not alone; many of us were fooled". A few revealing remarks from garment workers concerning this incident are as follows:

They just made money on us. The appointed treasurer did not hold the money but we trusted them for \_\_\_\_\_ is even a ninong (ritual parent) of \_\_\_\_\_.

That is the price of trusting anybody just because they are whites.

Everybody thinks they can fool the uneducated garment workers. There is no one to help us except our own selves.

In February 1971 the garment workers formed a new socio-religious association which they named after the parish church located at their residential concentration immediately north of the factory area - The Sacred Heart Filipino Association of Winnipeg or simply Sacred Heart. The organizers were educated siblings of the early garment workers encouraged by the parish priest to set up their own parish association since they formed a large part of the congregation. The goal of the association was both social and religious and the 'spiritual director' was the parish priest himself. The officers were elected by the members and social gatherings and meetings were to be held at the parish auditorium and classrooms.

Most of the activities sponsored by the officers of the Sacred Heart are socio-religious practices observed in the home country, such as the 'block rosary' and the 'Santa Kruzan'. In the 'block rosary' a leader is assigned to take charge of his residence block and his job is to bring along with neighbours, the Image of the Virgin (Poon) to each residence group where the rosary is then recited at the house altar. This religious practice is carried out during the 'Virgin's' months of May and October. In the first year of the association the officers organized a Santa Kruzan on May 29, 1970. This practice is the most popular annual

socio-religious affair among the Philippine villagers. It involves a procession of persons impersonating both biblical characters and mundane status professions (doctors, nurses, teachers, lawyers) originating from the church and proceeding around the community. Many of the immigrants bought several copies of the Tribune that featured their first Santa Kruzan presentation, to keep as souvenirs and to send home. The priest has also introduced them to another religious practice - the penitential recollections during the church's lenten season during which five priests are called in to help in the recollections and confessions. For wedding and baptismal celebrations, the parish hall may be rented by the members of the association for an optional fee. The spiritual advisor has also encouraged other religious devotions and associations familiar to the immigrants.

In the preceeding section the Filipino associations in Winnipeg have been pointed out. In Figure III below the characteristics of each association have been arranged indicating how the garment workers were led to form their own association oriented towards culture transplantation.

Figure III. A Survey of Filipino Associations in Winnipeg as of July, 1972

<u>Time Span</u>	<u>Name of Association</u>	<u>Class/Status</u>	<u>Orientation</u>
1950-1955	(Circle of Filipinos)	professionals	unity
1955-1960	(Clusters of friends)	professionals	division
1960-1970	Philippine-Canadian Association of Manitoba or <u>Fil-Can</u>	old-timers	assimilation
1967-1970	Kayumangi Association of Manitoba or <u>Kayumangi</u>	newcomers	ethnic identity
1968-1969	Filipino Garment Workers Association of Winnipeg or <u>Garments</u>	garment workers	class identity
1969-1970	Fil - Can	professionals garment workers	assimilation
1970-	Filipino Association of Manitoba	old-timers newcomers garment workers	social stratification
1970-1971	Philippine-Canadian Friendship Society	Canadians garment workers	chartered home flights
1971-	Sacred Heart Filipino Association of Winnipeg	garment workers	culture transplant

#### Contact with the Host Population

The garment workers use code terms to refer to the different ethnic groups and persons with whom they are in contact. The caucasian is referred to as puti (white), the American as Cano (from Americano), the Canadian as Cana (from Canadian), the native American Indian as Pana (Arrow), and the Negro as Itim (black). Mata (eye) is used to refer to the watchful factory foreman, while Matanda (old) refers to the elderly non-Filipino co-workers. An informant gave the main reason for the use of these code terms: "They might think we are talking against them".

The garment factory, where a large percentage of the host ethnic immigrant population is represented, continues to be the primary area of contact with the host society. The majority of the Canadian garment factory workers are fairly recent immigrants from the disturbed countries of northern Europe, notably the Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Like the Filipino, they came to Winnipeg in their younger years and thus are in a good position to understand the Filipino newcomers. Many have befriended the Filipino co-workers and encouraged them with the words: "In our time nobody cared and we know how you feel". The Filipinos immediately reciprocated the kindness of their Canadian co-workers by adopting them as "mommy". Since their co-workers are themselves in the process of learning the English language, the Filipino workers are able to find courage to talk with them. An informant related:

We were shy at first to speak. We were ashamed of talking wrong English. But when we heard them (Canadian co-workers) we discovered that we are all the same. So we talked English even if lots of mistakes. We thought at first that as long as it is a white he knows English. Our Mommy asked us where we learned to speak English.

The five flight groups of Filipino garment workers were accepted for trial in ten factories. The number of factories employing Filipinos rose to twenty-two when the ten flight groups arrived in 1969. One flight group may be split into as many as eleven factories (Table X).

Table IX. Distribution of 1968-1969 Flight Groups into Factory Groups

<u>Flight Group No.</u>	<u>No. of Factories</u>	<u>Flight Group No.</u>	<u>No. of Factories</u>
<u>1968</u>		<u>1969</u>	
One -----	3	One -----	8
Two -----	4	Two -----	10
Three -----	5	Three -----	6
Four -----	6	Four -----	10
Five -----	2	Five -----	7
		Six -----	8
		Seven -----	10
		Eight -----	6
		Nine -----	6
		Ten -----	11

The factory groups remained as large as the flight groups although with different members. Thus, the factory group represents a significant factor in pulling together the different flight groups and, with the large size maintained, any culture shock is made much more bearable (Table XI, Appendix II).

Table XI. Size and Composition of Filipino Factory Groups, 1968-1969

<u>Factory</u>	<u>Flight Group Composition</u>				
	<u>1968</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>Size</u>
'Rice'	-- 10 --	1	-- 28 --	2,3,4,5,7,9,10	- 38
'Western'	-- 13 --	3,4	-- 25 --	1,4,6,7,9,10	- 38
'Peerless'	-- 12 --	2,3,4	-- 23 --	2,3,4,5,6,7,8	- 35
'Olympic'	-- 28 --	2,3,4,5	-- 4 --	9	- 32
'Freed'	-- 17 --	1,3	-- 15 --	2,4,6,8	- 32
'Great Western'	0 --		-- 29 --	1,3,4,5,6,7,8,10	- 29
'Man. Pants'	-- 0 --		-- 23 --	1,3,5,7,9	- 23
'Acme'	-- 0 --		-- 22 --	1,4,5,7,8,10	- 22
'Silpit'	-- 0 --		-- 21 --	3,4,6,7,8	- 21
'Wescott'	-- 7 --	2,4	-- 13 --	2,4,5,10	- 20
'Junior'	-- 0 --		-- 19 --	1,3,6,8	- 19
'Cdn. Spts.'	-- 7 --	3,4	-- 7 --	1,10	- 14
'Cdn. Shirts'	-- 0 --		-- 13 --	2,5,7,10	- 13
'United'	-- 0 --		-- 12 --	1,9,10	- 12
'Tan Jay'	-- 4 --	4,5	-- 5 --	2,4,7	- 9
'Victoria'	-- 0 --		-- 9 --	2,5,7,10	- 9

Table XI cont'd.

<u>Factory</u>	<u>Flight Group Composition</u>					
	<u>1968</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>Size</u>	
'Panther'	-- 0	--	-- 8	-- 3,4,9	-	8
'Florida'	-- 0	--	-- 7	-- 2,6,10	-	7
'Superior'	-- 6	-- 2	-- 0	--	-	6
'Richlu'	-- 0	--	-- 5	-- 9,10	-	5
'Spts. Ease'	-- 5	-- 1	-- 0	--	-	5
'Jacob'	-- 0	--	-- 2	-- 2	-	2
Total	-- 109	-----	299	-----	399	

Gradually, the initial warm 'mother-daughter' relationship between the Filipinos and their 'Mommy' co-workers turned into cold indifference. Apparently this was due to three main reasons: (1) work competition, (2) food differences, and (3) value differences. The Filipinos eagerly accepted 'over-time' and 'part-time' work even at lower wages. This weakened the bargaining power of the old workers who formerly could demand higher wages by refusing to work over-time. The Canadian workers began to look no longer upon the Filipinos as 'children' but rather as "those who are hungry for money". The Filipinos ate different food preparations and this drew negative comments from their non-Filipino co-workers. The Filipinos, on the other hand, after tasting the 'Canadian' food in their 'Mommy's' homes, found the dishes foreign to their taste and gradually sought ways to evade further invitations. In the factory they ate their food well out of sight of their Canadian co-workers. An informant related:

Even if we do not like their food we pretend that we like it. We say 'It is very nice'. We even ask how to cook it. As soon as we go home we are very hungry and we hurry to eat

again. It is better to go to a Filipino house for you become full and there it is happy. You go to a Canadian house and you are given wine and they even ask you to smoke and give you different food.

The Canadian 'Mommys' tried to counsel their 'children' Filipinos to adopt certain values that went against the new immigrants' 'strong' feelings. This alienated the 'Mommy' who was expected to be a substitute for the Filipino's absent parents. One Filipino worker related:

Before we all had Mommys. Now we have given them up. It is irritating the way they like to dictate how you should spend your money. They tell you not to send money to your parents every month. They say a gift on Christmas is enough. They say: 'Why are you sending all your money home. Save for your future. You cannot be supporting your parents and family all your life. Move to a better apartment. Don't sacrifice everything for your family'. They are surprised when we say that we are supporting brothers and sisters. But we cannot do what they say. That is for them. They have different customs so why follow them.

The Filipinos tend to move to fewer and fewer factories after fulfilling their two-year work contract. There are three main factors involved in the decision to move to another factory (1) the presence in the factory of many Filipinos, (2) the reputed kindness (mabait), understanding (maunawain), and jovial disposition (mabiro) of the factory staff, and (3) the possibility for over-time or part-time work and higher salary. As there is a constant flow of information on the factory conditions, the arriving sponsored immigrants and those whose work contracts have expired are warned of the 'bad' factories and motivated to apply to the 'good' ones. At this writing the Filipinos are concentrated in ten factories, four of which have approximately one hundred workers each. In



these popular factories the mechanics and garment cutters are also Filipinos, most of whom were already familiar to the operators while still working in the home country.

A second major area of contact is the residence location. The residence movement is characterized by a gradual spreading out into more streets and postal zones followed by a steady movement into fewer streets and zones. The Immigration Officers selected the West End of the city as the residence location for the first 1968 'trial' recruits. The 1968 workers expanded to the South and later to the North End until the group was dispersed throughout ten postal zones in 1971 (Table XII).

Table XII. Widest Area of Residential Expansion From a Sample of 1971 Forty Filipino Residence Groups (See Map, p. 100)

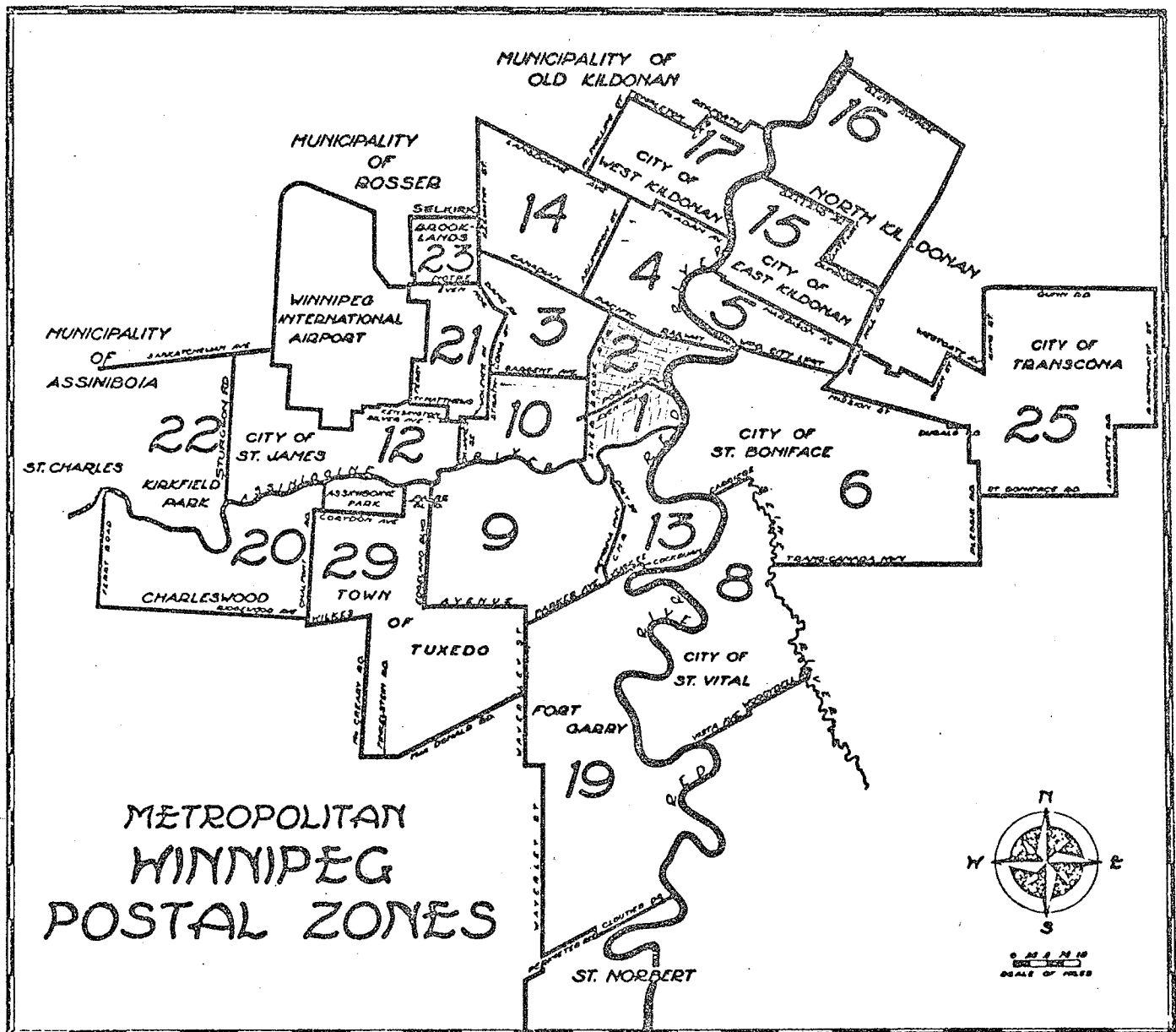
<u>No. of Residence Groups</u>	<u>No. of Streets</u>	<u>Postal Zone</u>
15 -----	14 -----	Winnipeg 2
7 -----	7 -----	Winnipeg 10
6 -----	6 -----	Winnipeg 4
3 -----	3 -----	Winnipeg 13
3 -----	3 -----	Winnipeg 3
2 -----	2 -----	Winnipeg 16
1 -----	1 -----	Winnipeg 1
1 -----	1 -----	Winnipeg 9
1 -----	1 -----	Winnipeg 14
1 -----	1 -----	Winnipeg 15
40	39	10

The main reason for the initial residential expansion of the Filipino immigrants was that their 'Mommy' Canadian co-workers advised them to move into 'better' and 'cheaper' residences which

Garment Factory Location: Zones 2, 1

Filipino Garment Workers' Residential Movement

1968 Residence Distribution: ZONE 10  
 1969 Residence Distribution: ZONES 10, 2, 4, 13  
 1971 Residence Distribution: ZONES 10, 2, 4, 13, 1, 3, 14, 15, 16  
 1972 Residence Distribution: ZONES 2, 4, 10



often meant the 'Mommy's' house or location. Thus, from their original residence in the West End, the five flight groups from 1968 split into eleven residence groups while the ten flight groups from 1969 spread into forty-five. Newly arriving flight groups are split into as many as nineteen smaller groups and join an already established residence group, depending on the availability of bed space (Table XII).

Table XIII. Distribution of the 1968-1969 Flight Groups of Filipinos into Residence Groups

<u>Flight Group No.</u>	<u>No. of Residences</u>	<u>Flight Group No.</u>	<u>No. of Residences</u>
<u>1968</u>		<u>1969</u>	
One -----	4	One -----	19
Two -----	3	Two -----	7
Three -----	5	Three -----	4
Four -----	5	Four -----	8
Five -----	3	Five -----	8
		Six -----	8
		Seven -----	12
		Eight -----	7
		Nine -----	7
		Ten -----	13

The residence groups tend to concentrate around the ethnic Catholic Churches (French, Polish, Ukrainians, Italians, Czechoslovakian) where the Filipino workers go on Sundays to fulfill their religious devotions. The members of the residence groups belong to different flight groups. This is another significant factor in pulling the Filipino garment workers together (Table XIV, Appendix III). A total of 114 from the five 1968 flight

groups and 285 from the ten flight groups in 1969 originally resided in a total of 49 streets, of which 14 had a total group size ranging from 46 to 10 immigrants. Only nine workers in the sample later moved to either live alone or with some 'professionals'.

Table XIV. Size and Composition of Filipino Residence Groups, 1968 - 1969

<u>Street</u> (in code)	<u>Flight Group Composition</u>				<u>Size</u>
	<u>1968</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	
Md	--	39 --1,2,3,4,	--	17 --1,4,6,7,8,9	46
Wr	--	14 --3,4	--	10 --1,2,3	24
Le	--	0 --	--	21 --5,8,9,10	21
St	--	0 --	--	20 --2,3,4,10	20
Bn	--	0 --	--	20 --6,7,8,9	20
Mn	--	0 --	--	19 --6,7	19
Ww	--	12 --3,4	--	6 --1,4,6	18
Ce	--	0 --	--	17 --5,7,10	17
Gd	--	0 --	--	15 --9,10	15
Wt	--	0 --	--	14 --8,9,10	14
Sk	--	14 --2,5	--	0 --	14
Oe	--	0 --	--	12 --4	12
Se	--	5 --2	--	6 --10	11
Wm	--	4 --1	--	6 --1,4,5	10
Od	--	8 --1,3,4,5	--	1 --9	9
Tt	--	5 --5	--	4 --1,2	9
Cn	--	0 --	--	8 --1,4	8
Ge	--	7 --3	--	0 --	7
Mcen	--	0 --	--	7 --1,3	7
As	--	0 --	--	7 --7,8,9	7
Bs	--	0 --	--	6 --1,10	6
Ry	--	0 --	--	6 --2	6
My	--	0 --	--	6 --7	6
To	--	5 --5	--	0 --	5
En	--	0 --	--	5 --1	5
Gy	--	0 --	--	5 --1,2	5
Ad	--	0 --	--	5 --2	5
An	--	0 --	--	5 --4,9	5
Wy	--	0 --	--	5 --6,8	5
He	--	0 --	--	4 --1,5,10	4
Gry	--	0 --	--	4 --2,4,6	4
Lae	--	0 --	--	4 --6	4
Re	--	0 --	--	3 --1,6	3
Ms	--	0 --	--	3 --2	3

Table XIV cont'd.

<u>Street</u> (in code)	<u>Flight Group Composition</u>				<u>Size</u>
	<u>1968</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	
An	--	0 --	--	3 -- 3	3
Pm	--	0 --	--	3 -- 4,8	3
Be	--	0 --	--	3 -- 7,10	3
Ln	--	0 --	--	3 -- 7	3
Sk	--	0 --	--	2 -- 1	2
Bl	--	0 --	--	2 -- 5	2
Pe	--	0 --	--	2 -- 5	2
Ad	--	1 -- 1	--	0 --	1
Ct,En,Ay, Cl,As,Lun,Ey	--0 --	--	7 --	4,5,5,7,7,7	7x1
49	114		285		399

After this initial residential expansion the garment workers gradually moved to the areas immediately north and north-west of the factory location where they are presently concentrated. The southern area was vacated and there now remain only two secondary residential areas, the North End and the West End. There are three guiding factors by which the Filipino workers select a residential area: (1) proximity to the factory, (2) proximity to a Catholic Church, and (3) presence in the area of fellow Filipino immigrants.

A third major area of contact, and perhaps the most intimate, is the residential home or Bahay. The immigrants continue to live together in groups that average five members. This is an important adjustive means since it was used by them while they were migrant workers in the home country. A significant characteristic of the house group is the fact that the members attempt to integrate themselves with the family of the house owner or apartment 'caretaker' by

adopting them as "Mommy" and "Daddy". "Mommy", "Daddy", and their children are invited to the celebrations or handa of the house group. The "Mommy" may return the invitation to her "children-like" (parang anak) tenants and teach them how to cook Canadian food. In this area the new immigrants are becoming increasingly aware of cultural differences in family life. They are thus able to make comparisons and comments in favor of their familiar values: "Our custom is much better. They are different so why follow them".

Another significant characteristic of the house group is the constant shift of its members often caused by conflicts that may develop from the violation of the 'house rules'. The eldest immigrant in the group assumes the role of mother or ina while the youngest is considered the bunso (youngest child). The rest are ranged in status according to their ages. The member with the highest educational attainment gets a special status as a contact person with the larger society, i.e. paying bills, receiving agents, calling the taxicab. The commonly given reason for this is that "the educated know English better and will not be shamed or fooled". The eldest "mother" assigns the house duties or "duty-duty" among the members, each one getting alternately assigned days to cook, clean, and buy groceries. Each member washes his own clothes although there is a tendency for the members to do laundry and ironing in pairs of "intimate" or 'mag-asawa' spouse-like members. The members of the house group come from different 'flight groups', factory groups, and Philippine ethnic groups. This is an important house group characteristic which makes it the most effective means to bring the garment workers into close physical contact. With the

arrival of sponsored siblings, spouses, and 'clients' and their forming of a new house group with the sponsoring worker, conflict is less likely to develop. A strong force of utang na loob or debt of gratitude is established between the sponsored immigrants and their sponsor which over-rides any conflict and keeps the house 'family' group much more stable. The sponsoring worker assumes a stronger mother role. Often a sponsored sibling entrusts his or her salary to the sponsor.

At this time there is a noticeable trend among the garment workers to move to a cheaper old apartment or house where there are already house groups. There is a strong tendency for different house groups to merge and occupy a 'full house' where the landlord does not live with them (Table X V). Another increasing practice is the purchase of a residential house under one or more immigrants' names, with fellow workers as boarders or tenants. As of this writing, there are over twenty old residential houses 'bought' (on mortgage) in the area of residential concentration, costing from \$14,000 to \$15,000. There are three reasons commonly given for buying a house or renting a whole house: (1) "You can cook any food you want", (2) "The more Filipinos the happier", and (3) "You can make as much noise as you want". The immigrants make frequent and unannounced visits to each other's 'house' and may suddenly become engrossed in merry-making to the annoyance of the landlord and non-Filipino tenants. Out of 'shame' the house group searches for a new house "where 'Mommy' and 'Daddy' are kind and understand Filipinos". The

Filipinos prepare native dishes whose smell may 'invade' the whole house and disturb the non-Filipino residents who joke about "that rotten stuff". Rather than change their taste, the immigrants look for a 'full' house "where nobody interferes". In a sample of 250 garment workers divided into 70 house groups, 11 occupy a whole house. The immigrants living alone, 'nag-rorooming', in the sample are those who have some college education and left their house groups due to conflict of status with the eldest 'mother'.

Table XIV. Size of a Sample of 250 Filipino Garment Workers Divided Into 70 House Groups

<u>No. of Members</u>		<u>No. of "Full" Houses</u>		<u>No. of Apartments</u>		<u>No. of 'Rooming Houses'</u>
1	--	0	--	0	--	10
2	--	0	--	0	--	19
3	--	0	--	15	--	0
4	--	0	--	11	--	0
5	--	0	--	4	--	0
6	--	8	--	0	--	0
7	--	1	--	0	--	0
8	--	1	--	0	--	0
10	--	1	--	0	--	0
<hr/>						
Total	--	11	--	30	--	29

Mention should also be made of several minor areas of contact: buses, stores, banks, churches, hospitals, schools, nursing homes. In these areas, contact tends to be reduced and carried out on a group basis due to the combined factors of environmental setting and the immigrants' practices. One metropolitan bus commutes all the way from the North End to the factory area and then proceeds to the West End, thus covering all three residential concentrations. The



The riding immigrant is seldom alone. Going to and from the factory by public bus has been drastically reduced by setting up private chaperone or sundo transportation 'service'. The immigrant workers are divided into chaperone groups and are 'serviced' by approximately twenty fellow Filipinos who have purchased cars.

The garment workers patronize some ethnic stores, such as the Chinese, Portuguese, and Ukrainian ones, located within the factory area. In the city's largest department store they buy groceries en masse every Friday afternoon and Saturday, making it a regular meeting place. In 1969 a 'professional' Filipino set up the first ethnic corner store in the main area of the 'garments' residential concentration. And in early 1972 a garment worker put up a second sari-sari (assorted) store in the West End. The workers patronize the five banks immediately south of the factory concentration. These banks have become gathering places every Friday afternoon when the week's pay is deposited. The majority of workers have five Filipinos as their doctors for the obvious reason that "you can explain everything easily in Tagalog". Where a non-Filipino doctor is involved, the more highly educated friends are asked to come along, "just in case my English is lacking". A small number (about eighty) of workers attend evening classes in two training centers for 'short courses', such as typing. They enroll in groups of two or more "just to give company" to someone who is really interested. The English class may be an exception, where the immigrant prefers to be alone because "a companion might repeat my mistakes to other workers and I do not want to be

laughed at".

As mentioned in a previous section, the garment workers have concentrated themselves residentially around an ethnic French Catholic Church where they have formed their own ethnic Church Association. This church has become more a meeting place for fellow Filipino workers than a contact place with the larger host society since the Filipinos only attend one 'English Mass'. When several workers recently transferred to the different nursing homes in the city to be employed as orderlies and nurse's aides, they were appalled by the practice of separating the aging parents from the family. The whole institution of the nursing home counters the immigrants' family values and has made them strongly defensive of their village culture. This is revealed in the following remarks:

Here the old ones are pitiful for they are alone in the nursing home.

I want my children to grow up in the Philippines to learn the Filipino custom before they come here.

I will stay here while still strong and go home when I am old and live in the Philippines. I am afraid to be thrown in a nursing home like here.

We are here only for the money. But life is much happier at home for you have all your parents and grandparents.

You have everything here but you cannot enjoy it very much because your family is not here.

A Filipino is a Filipino and he will not change and throw away his parents for he does not want the same done to him. In our home, the more age the more honor.

Contact with the larger host society has been drastically reduced even further through the presence within the group of garment workers of persons providing various kinds of services: barbers, hairdressers, dressmakers, photographers, food agents,

cosmeticians, and furniture movers. For other services they patronize a few familiar 'outside' persons such as furniture agents, insurance representatives, income tax 'makers', and realtors.

In summary, the Filipino immigrant garment workers tend to reduce their contact with the larger host society through:

(1) factory concentration, (2) residential concentration (3) 'house' concentration, (4) duplication of needed services, and (5) patronage of familiar agents and institutions. Contact is carried out in groups which results in largely reducing any strain and uneasiness that may arise due to differences in practices and values.

### Conclusion

In this chapter we have dealt with the immigrants' village background, low social stratum, and predominantly Tagalog regional area of origin. We have pointed out the western influences and the training in urban life and factory work habits which are the major factors in their migration to Winnipeg. The recruitment process has been seen as the important factor in the formation of the garment workers as a new type of Filipino immigrant community in the New World. In investigating their factory, residential, 'house', and associational movements within their first three years in the city, we have observed a gradual reduction of contact with the Filipino educated 'professional' immigrants and the host immigrant population. Instead, they have maximized their contact with one another forming a close-knit ethnic class community with a social organization and cultural content analogous to those of the home village. The social

organization is discussed in Chapter IV while the culture content is presented in Chapter V. An inside view of the immigrants' fortune in coming to Canada may be gathered from the emotional and yet historical poetry Tula found in Appendix I, several copies of which have been sent to the family and relatives left in the home country.

## CHAPTER IV

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

#### Introduction

The Filipino immigrant garment workers in Winnipeg are organized into three networks composed of a series of units of memberships through which each member is known and identified: (1) The Structural Network, (2) The Stratification Network, and (3) The Behavioural Network. The structural units refer to the social divisions based on a certain fact, event, or agency which makes the membership permanent. The stratification units refer to the social divisions based on marriage, work, property, and the 'ideal' which are indicative of status. The behavioural units refer to those social divisions based on alliance and conflict which are indicative of the nature of a person's interpersonal relationships. Fourteen structural, eighteen stratificational, and eleven behavioural units may be distinguished (Figure IV). Each social network has an emphasized effect. Through the structural network the members are pulled together within a stable boundary of social operation, while through the stratification network they are oriented to operate within a social value and pattern of behaviour. Through the behavioural network each immigrant is caught in maximum interpersonal contact.

A more concrete concept of the social organization may be illustrated by the following: (1) an immigrant's diary, (2) a factory group, and (3) a house group. The first illustration consists of excerpts from the personal diary of a garment worker. The second illustration is a report of my work as a 'bundle boy' in a garment factory from June 1st to September 30th, 1971. The third illustration is a historical account of a 'house' group in its first three years.

Figure IV. Social Organization Network Units of the Filipino Garment Workers in Winnipeg, 1972:

<u>Network</u>	<u>Base</u>	<u>Units</u>	<u>Effect</u>
Structural	home country	1. village 2. language 3. house 4. factory 5. trial 6. flight	Boundary
	host country	7. year 8. house 9. street 10. factory 11. bank 12. church 13. chaperone 14. kin/ family	
Stratification	marriage	1. parent 2. married 3. steady 4. marriageable 5. old	Orientation
	work	6. mechanic 7. cutter 8. floor lady 9. office 10. aid/orderly 11. piece work 12. time work 13. helper	
	property	14. house owner 15. car owners 16. with furniture/ appliances	
	ideal: a) physical b) cultural	17. Caucasian vs. Filipino 18. Filipino vs. Caucasian	
Behaviour	alliance	1. unintroduced 2. known <del>3. friends</del> 4. friends 4. joking circle 5. boat group 6. spouse partner	Communication
	conflict	7. estranged 8. verbal aggression 9. physical aggression 10. shame- less 11. dead	

### Structural Units

Certain groupings found in the home country retain their force in the new place. These are among the first units of membership that are established on first contact and used as additional reference and identification items for each immigrant worker. The new immigrant is introduced to co-villagers, kababayan, which refers to persons coming from the same or adjacent villages in the home country. This unit of membership is established by the question: "Where are you from in our place?" This unit is acquiring greater importance with the annual chartered vacation flights to the home country during which time co-villagers act as mail, gift, or information carriers to and from each other's families. Closely related to the village units are the language or dialect groups. The immigrant is introduced to those who understand and speak the same Philippine ethnic language, nagkakaintindi.

The garment factory groups in the home country continue to operate as identification marks of the immigrant. This unit is established with the question: "Where did you enter (work) in our place?" and is then followed by the mention of former co-workers or ka-pabrica (with the same factory). Related to this unit are the 'house' groups formed by the workers in their first movement to the home country's capital city. The members refer to each other as former 'house-mates' or ka-bahay. An interesting observation is that these former 'house-mates' discourage each other from staying together in the new place: "We know each other already very well".

Members of the same recruitment group or 'trial' applicants continue to refer to each other as 'co-trial' or ka-trial. This unit is

established with the inquiry: "With whom did you apply and take the trial?" Closely related to this 'trial' unit is the 'flight' group into which the immigrants have been divided for their movement to their new place. This unit is established by the question "What group are you?", and the members refer to each other as ka-group/batch and gather annually to celebrate their 'anniversary' or arrival 'reunion' party. The celebration may mean a group dinner in one of the Chinese restaurants or an excursion to some resort area.

In the new place the immigrants have formed into eight units of membership. The layers found in the immigrant population are established by the various forms of recruitment and are indicated by their year of entry. These year units indicate status. The longer the immigrant year group has been in the new place, the more respect and status he achieves. Some of the groups are as follows: (1) 1968 'trial/mother' group, (2) 1969 recruits, (3) 1970 'Holland' group, (4) 1971 sponsored kin, and (5) 1972 'job-acceptance' or CPAir recruits. This unit is established by the question: "How/when did you come here?"

The immigrants are referred to by mentioning their present and previous 'house-mates' in the new place. As will be shown in the illustrative survey of a 'house-group', this unit is a major integrative unit among the garment workers. This unit is established with the question: "Who are/were your house companions?" A closely related unit is the 'street' or 'postal zone' group. The street and postal zone of residence are used as identification information for each member, i.e. \_\_\_\_\_ from Osborne/Winnipeg 13. This residential unit is established by the inquiry, "Where do you live?", followed by mention



of neighbours or kapit-bahay.

The garment factory of employment, whether past or present, is used to identify each immigrant worker. Ninety per cent of the Filipino workers belong to two factory groups: (1) pang-araw or day group and (2) pang-gabi or night group. As will be indicated in the second illustrative report on a factory group, this unit is an important integrating factor. Membership in this unit is established by the question: "Where are/were you entering?"

The immigrant workers may be identified with the bank they patronize. The 'bank' group is large as only the five banks immediately south of the factory location are patronized. Several workers maintain two of these banks, "one for saving and one for withdrawing". The bank group membership is established by the inquiry: "Where do you drop your money?"

Over eighty-five percent of the immigrant workers are 'Catholics'. There are three minority church groups: (1) Protestant (2) Jehovah, and (3) Iglesia. The first two minority church groups have become active within the church in the larger host society. The 'Iglesia' Iglesia Ni Christo (Church of Christ) is a Philippine founded church and has no counterpart in the new place except among the Filipino communities in California where they have 'brothers' and make annual 'mission' trips. The members of the 'Iglesia' hold bible services in each other's houses and go from house to house to enlighten or paliwanag their fellow Filipino immigrants. Church membership is established by the cautious question: "Are you Catholic?"

The immigrant workers are divided into transportation chaperone

or sundo groups. A garment worker car owner may make as many as six chaperone 'services' involving six different sundo groups in a day. Membership in a chaperone group may be established by the question: "Who chaperones you when and with whom?"

With the arrival of sponsored siblings, relatives, and spouses the garment workers are re-grouping themselves into kin or family groups and forming 'house' groups. The composition of the kin group is becoming increasingly that of the factory sponsored worker and her personally sponsored husband and their jointly sponsored siblings and cousins in 'even' numbers. The members of the kinship group are established by asking "Do you have a sibling here?" and each member is referred to as 'sibling/spouse/sponsor of \_\_\_\_'.

### Stratification Units

There are five stratification units in the areas of marriage and sex. The lowest stratum is composed of those who have passed the marriageable age and are still unmarried at their thirtieth birthday. They are jokingly, but pejoratively, referred to as 'already old', matanda na, or 'the left overs', naiwanan. The common reason given by the members of the community for passing the marriageable age without being married is lack of good manners or physical beauty. There are, however, alleviating and noble reasons for becoming 'old', such as the support of siblings in their education, or nagpapaaral, and being the only breadwinner of the family, or nagpapakain. The next stratum is composed of those who are still within the marriageable age, dalaga/binata. Most of these are young sponsored sisters and brothers who are in their early twenties. Unlike those who are

'already old' and have 'silent birthday' celebrations, those who belong to this 'eligible' stratum indulge in elaborate birthday celebrations and intense socialization "so that I might become lucky". The next stratum is composed of those who are already 'going steady'. The majority of the immigrant workers belong to this stratum who have either left behind a boyfriend/girlfriend in the home country or have found one in the new place. The absent 'sweetheart' is publicly known among the community and there is a subtle pressure to 'sponsor', for an unexplained delay would be interpreted as a 'break-up' or an outright lie told in order to enhance one's status. Socialization among this group is subdued, since 'somebody might report to my steady'. The next stratum is composed of those who are married, may asawa (with spouse). The members of this stratum are increasing with the arrival of more sponsored 'steadies' and the subsequent mandatory marriage within thirty days upon the 'steady's' arrival. The married immigrant is referred to as having embarked on a 'settled and quiet life' with 'no more problems'. The status is evidenced by the establishment on the occasion of the wedding ceremony of multiple pairs of ritual parents drawn from those who have reached the top stratum of parenthood and ritual siblings drawn from one's friends. The birth of a child elevates the married couple to the top stratum of parents and they are referred to as now having a 'responsibility' and able to 'give counsel' to others. The father or tatay receives a title of respect, Mang, while the mother or nanay is henceforth respectfully called Aling. The birth of a child is 'God's approval' of the marriage and the 'only repayment for one's parental debt', i.e. gift of birth. The parental status is evidenced by the creation

of a large baptismal ritual kinship group made up of multiple pairs of co-parents, compadres (co-fathers) and commandres (co-mothers).

In the area of work there are eight strata. The bottom stratum is composed of those who work as 'helpers' or katulong, which refers to the load carrier bundle boy or nagbubuhay, the janitor or nagwawalis, or the dishwasher, naghuugas. Those who are in these most menial jobs are secretive about their 'bad luck' or malas and indicate their dissatisfaction with the comment that "they are looking for a better job". The next stratum is composed of those 'operators' who are paid the regular or hourly minimum wage or 'time workers'. They are referred to as weak or mahina and the majority of them are unskilled recently sponsored siblings who can find no other work. The next stratum is composed of those operators who are paid by their piece production and hence are referred to as 'piece or speed' workers. They 'make the quota' and are strong malakas and therefore have the easy chance to get rich, mayaman. Most of these are 'old-timers' who are picked out for 'over-time' work and are easily accepted for 'part-time' work in another factory. They are also selected to do 'sample work' due to their expertise. The next stratum is composed of those who have transferred from the garment factory to work as nurse's aids and orderlies in the hospitals and nursing homes. Most of them come from the 'Holland' groups and from the newly arrived sponsored siblings who have attained some college education in the home country but are unable to find work in their area of training in the new place. They are paid the minimum hourly wage but the prestige is derived from the fact that "they speak better English, put on white uniforms, work in a

hospital, and have a chance to study". Only two workers have so far successfully trained as licensed practical nurses (LPN) after quitting factory work. The next stratum is made up of those who work in the factory offices and are hence referred to as 'office' workers. These are garment workers who have been promoted to work as secretaries, typists, ticket collectors, and receptionists as a result of their training in these fields. This group has been augmented by the arrival of sponsored educated siblings and other recruits who 'covered up' their educational attainment in order to be a qualified recruit. They are paid the minimum hourly wage but their prestige comes from the fact that 'office' connotes education and mental work. The next stratum is made up of the 'floor ladies'. Only a very few number have reached this stage and many of them are assistant floor ladies whose main job is interpreting instructions to the less efficient in English. Only one has trained as a floor lady under the sponsorship of the factory where she works. Their prestige is enhanced by their reputed speed, expertise, education, wage, and their 'power' to recommend employment of a newly arrived worker. The garment 'cutters' make up the next stratum, most of which are the males in the 1968 and 1969 'flight' groups. They have been augmented by the sponsored brothers and 'boy-friends' who have trained as 'cutters'. The top stratum is made up of the 'mechanics', most of which have been sponsored by the factory on the recommendation of the 'floor ladies'. These are the familiar mechanics in the major factories in the home country and most of them are concentrated in the larger 'factory groups' in the new place. Their prestige is derived from their higher wages and

mechanical training. There are fifteen mechanics and, as most of them own cars, they chaperone workers to and from work.

In the field of property there are three strata. The bottom stratum is made up of the majority who own furnitures and appliances, gamit or kasangkapan, most important of which are television and stereo sets, sewing machines, typewriters, tape-recorders, tables and chesterfields, cook ware, cameras, and radio-alarm clocks. The middle stratum is composed of the few but steadily increasing number of car owners, most of whom own second hand or used cars bought from Filipino 'professionals' who are leaving the province. Members of the house groups encourage the 'richer' among them to buy a car and offer any financial help as long as "you chaperone us". The top stratum is composed of those who have purchased residence houses. The number of house owners increased when an elderly Filipino 'professional' entered the realty business agency. The immigrant, on occasion of celebrating their wedding, the arrival of a sponsored sibling, or the birth of a child are told "now you can buy a house". A few houses have been acquired on a dual ownership basis by two intimate 'spouse' partners or 'magasawa'. Owning a house is considered the ultimate mark of wealth. The prestige is enhanced by the stability and freedom of 'making all the noise you want and cooking any food you like'. The house-owner has immigrant workers as tenants which elevates him to the patron status of Amo or Master.

In the area of physical appearance, the immigrant's status increases in proportion to his having traits approximating those of the Caucasian or Puti (white) : white skin, pointed nose, curly hair,

blue eyes, extended eye lashes, tall figure. Such a person is referred to as 'pogi', (inversion of the Spanish word for handsome, quapo), or maganda (beautiful) or artista (actor/actress). In contrast, the person who has typical Pinoy (Filipino) features, such as dark skin or itim, 'flat' nose, straight dark hair, and short stature, is dubbed as pangit or ugly. Certain beliefs and practices exist regarding the acquisition of the Caucasian physical ideal:

The conceiving woman who craves for some 'white' food, object, or person will give birth to a handsome white baby.

Constant pulling of the child's nose will extend and sharpen the flat nose.

Babies born in the new place will acquire fair skin and extended curly eyelashes.

One's complexion will become white with extended residence in the new place. Becoming black is the price of going home for vacation.

Standing immediately after meals or on any occasion will make one grow tall, slender and 'sexy'.

Eating grapes will give a delicate fair skin.

In the area of the ideal personality and character, status increases in proportion to having 'Filipino' manners and values: reserve, religious, generosity, ability to communicate, and family orientation. Such a person is praised as mabait, the good child. In contrast, the immigrant who acquires the values and habits of the host society or Puti is despised as a 'misplaced white' (Putting naligaw) and described as 'going astray' (nagwawala). He is aggressive, individualistic, society-minded, and has no family responsibility. As far as the non-educated Filipino garment workers are concerned, the Filipino 'professionals' have become 'white' in character and manners.

### Behaviour Units

There are six alliance units which are also stages towards increasing cohesion and intimacy. The first stage is composed of those who are as yet unknown and unintroduced to each other. Among the members in this unit, the proper behaviour is caution, respect and, preferably, silence. It would be considered rude for an 'unknown' person to introduce himself directly to another unknown party. Likewise, it would be improper for a person known to two or more persons unknown to each other not to make them known, or pakilala, to each other. A person who wishes to know an unknown party should ask the service of a 'contact' person, i.e. one who is fairly close to both of them.

The next stage is composed of those who have been 'introduced' and are therefore 'known' or magkilala to each other. Persons in this stage of alliance exercise extreme caution and guarded speech for this is the period of 'measuring one another's feelings', or nakikiramdam. The ideal behaviour is 'humility' and 'consideration', or mapagbigay. The boastful and the authoritarian are dubbed as proud or mayabang and with such persons no further alliance unit is established.

The third stage is composed of those who have found themselves to be compatible in character, or magkaugali, and thereby have become friends, or magka-ibigan. Behaviour among members in this unit is relaxed and informal. They greet or bati at every 'seeing', invite each other to their celebrations or handa, and introduce each other to their respective friends. They are expected to promote and



protect each other's good name (kampì) and cover up the friend's faults (takpan). The number of one's friends is an index of good character, trustworthiness, and reliable companionship.

The fourth stage is composed of those who have a joking relationship with one another, or jokaran (from the word joke). Members of this unit are much more relaxed with one another and are not hesitant to make jokes about each other's shortcomings since "We are 'jokaran' and he won't get offended".

A fifth stage is made up of those who form a 'boat' group, or barkada (from barko), for they move together "as if in one boat". They attend parties together although only one of them may have been invited and, unless every member can join in any activity or lakad, that activity is cancelled. The members expect help from one another in such matters as lending money and cooking for a member's celebration. They visit one another without 'appointment'. The number of persons forming the barkada is favorably small to allow common movement and often it involves three or four closely interacting 'house' groups.

A sixth and the ultimate stage in alliance and intimacy is formed by two persons of the same sex who have established a spouse-like relationship, or magasawa. Sex is not involved. The term asawa or spouse is meant only to refer to the sharing that is analogous to that between husband and wife. They share the same room, bed, and personal secrets. They acquire property in common. They buy a car or house in a joint ownership. In a few cases one of the partners has married a sibling of the other in order "not to lose the relationship".

Conflict and cleavage may develop within the alliance units mentioned above. The intensity of the conflict is proportionate to the intensity of alliance among the members. The conflict may develop between just two members of the 'friend' groups, leaving the other uninvolved members to act as effectively as possible as 'joiners'. In the case of the boat group, the conflicting members are not easily 'joined' for the other members 'remain neutral'. Therefore, one of the conflicting members has to leave and find another barkada. In the case of the joking group, any conflict is much more serious as it may split the group into siding factions. However, the most serious conflict is that between 'spouse' partners which is often 'unpatchable' and a total divorce or hiwalay is necessary.

There are five stages towards increasing conflict. The first group is composed of persons who have been estranged from one another and feel badly towards each other or masamang loob. The internal conflict is expressed in being uncommunicative and uncooperative or sumpungin. It is often caused by a breach of confidence or improper behaviour as a member of an alliance group. Other members of the alliance may solve the conflict by eliciting the cause of suspicion from the offended person and getting an explanation from the offending party.

The second stage is composed of those who have escalated their estrangement into a verbal aggression, nagsagotan or bungangaan. They bitterly accuse one another of misconduct. Favors done to one another are recalled to emphasize lack of gratitude or walang utang na loob. The conflict may be resolved if one of the conflicting parties 'admits guilt and asks for forgiveness'.

Such admission, however, is unlikely to be made, for that would admit one's untrustworthiness in the eyes of other members of the alliance group.

The third stage is formed by those who have further escalated their verbal conflict into physical aggression or kaaway (enemy). Persons in this group seek to destroy one another's name by bringing out previously kept personal secrets of the 'enemy'. There is little or no hope of reconciliation as the persons involved swear that "I will never forget this fight as long as I live". However, because of the much dreaded name destruction involved, few persons actually let their conflicts arrive at this stage. To this date, there are only five known cases of 'scissor, belt, and claw' fights.

The fourth stage is made up of those who are in a state of character assassination by declaring each other as 'shameless' or walang hiya - a very serious accusation. Persons engaged in this 'moral warfare' seek the friendship of the enemy's friends and attempt to alienate them from the enemy or they may even supply their enemy's enemies with denigrating personal secrets acquired before any conflict developed. There is almost no possibility of reconciliation here, as the reconciling party would thereby declare that he has been a liar. The great fear of character destruction is the main factor that prevents conflicting persons to escalate their physical conflict to this stage.

The fifth and ultimate in conflict relationship is reached when the conflicting parties declare the 'enemy' as 'dead' or non-existent as far as they are concerned. It is a positive denial of the enemy's existence, or hindi ko kilala (I do not know him). However, they do

maintain internal interest in one another and friends keep them informed about the 'dead' enemy. Persons in this situation do not look for any reconciliation for "any reconciliation would never be like before". The very serious effects of such a situation is itself the strongest preventive factor for conflicting persons to bring their aggression to this extreme stage.

In summary, we have mentioned the units of membership that criss-cross the Filipino garment workers in Winnipeg. The social structural units provide the basic network which leads to maximum contact with fellow 'garment workers'. Within this structural network there exist two other networks: (1) the status network whereby each member is oriented to familiar village values and (2) the behaviour network through which each member is involved in various interpersonal relationships along the lines of conflict or alliance, and thus caught in a network of intense communication.

#### Excerpts From an Immigrant's Diary

At the conclusion of an intensive interview, the informant stated that "Everything is in my diary". When I was told that certain members kept personal diaries that "have locks and keys", I never hoped to gain access to any of these personal writings. The informant hinted at the reason for relaxing vigilance on the diary: "I stopped writing and I have nothing to hide. Even if you know my love affair, it is all over". The person involved requested that "you may read it but no names, age, education, or groups may be mentioned in your book". The diary is written in Tagalog. Towards the middle of the writing, English phrases and sentences

appear (18, 25-39 in quotation marks). Where possible the translation into English is made literal. The diary is written as a witness to the immigrant's approaching new life (1) which is too good to be true (2). The normal flight route and schedule from Manila to Winnipeg and the early contacts with the Filipino 'professionals' and the host society are documented (3-18). Activities within the 'house', 'factory', 'street' groups are mentioned (19-28). The popular annual summer vacation trips to the U.S., the communication with the family in the home country and, finally, the acquisition of property are documented (29-39). The writing and reception of letters compose the major part of the diary (Table XI).

The letters received from the home country reveal a regular theme: how difficult life is in the home country with the prices of everything going up and how the people are not safe anymore; how fortunate the immigrant is to be 'rich and safe'; and how the family is sharing in this fortune through the 'cheque'. An information on how the previous cheque was multiplied into Pesos and spent on necessities, as well as their current prices, is invariably given. Letters received from siblings and friends contain the request to "help me to come abroad" (40-41).

1) Dear Diary,

You are the first to witness what will happen to my life inside this 'plane' and what will happen to my future life and predestined experiences in Canada.

2) I could not sleep the whole night for I was thinking of my departure. I could not bring myself to believe that I am leaving.

3) I was lifted from the Philippines enroute to Canada at 10:10 a.m. This is my first ride in the airplane. As soon

as we were up I noticed the letter of \_\_\_\_\_ and read it. We alighted here at Hongkong at 11:30 a.m. and proceeded to the Grand Hotel at 12:30 p.m. Here we ate - how bad other foods tasted. Anyway, we were happy because we were able to taste different Chinese foods.

- 4) We looked around the other places of Hongkong...after which we went to the Grand Hotel to collect our things. We left here at 1:00 p.m. for Japan. We reached Japan around 5:00. We stayed two hours at the International Airport. At about 7:00 in the evening we proceeded to Vancouver.
- 5) We are now at Vancouver. At 11:30 we landed. How beautiful is the Airport at Vancouver. Here I met one person from (Philippine town) who showed us around this airport.
- 6) I will never forget what happened to the life of (flight group member). As we went down to the hotel dining room to eat, a white man came near her and said "I love you". We all ran back to our rooms, afraid. We did not like to go down to eat. We told the manager 'never mind' when he asked if we wanted our food brought to our room.
- 7) We attended mass at the Misericordia Church. As we left the church we befriended someone from (Philippine province) who also came here to Canada. \_\_\_\_\_ is the name; at 4:00 we went to (Fil-Can officer) and she gave me cloth which I made into apron.
- 8) I started to work at \_\_\_\_\_ garment factory at Notre Dame, Canada. My work was relaxing during my first day here.
- 9) I thought I already knew how to get to the 'fabrica' but it turned out we lost our way in the morning and in the afternoon also. It was funny. However, there are many kind people here. We went to a gasoline station and gave the name of the fabrica to someone and he phoned. \_\_\_\_\_ from the fabrica came to take us from where we were lost.
- 10) We were taken by (Filipino professional) in his car and brought to his house and then shown around the 'Zoo Canada'. We are happy and always taking pictures. Our companions were (three Filipino nurses).
- 11) The snow started to come down. This is the very first time that I've seen snow. I was happy and at the same time afraid because it would be very cold outside.

- 12) I celebrated my birthday here. I invited my nurse Filipino friends (four). My birthday was happy even though I was not in the Philippines. Our neighbours (street group) also came in and how happy and 'mixed up' we were.
- 13) Oh my salary is big but the tax is also big. When the tax is deducted it is irritating: \$7.35 is the income tax removed from \$61.51! However, I am thankful to the Almighty God (Punong Dios) for He gave me great things. I got a money order of \$25.00 to send tomorrow. This will be used to buy benches for the church (home barrio chapel). Now I have sent my very first money order to my parents. I sent only \$16.00 to them for this is only a trial to see if it will really reach them without any problem. I even wrapped it with carbon paper and then hid it inside a christmas card. I should have sent more but this is only a trial.
- 14) Now is our first time to attend mass at the 'Magnus Church'. The bus came to pick us up. Oh, there were many of us from the Philippines who attended mass, almost the entire congregation. We were so happy, even happier than on an excursion.
- 15) We went to friends house who came from England. Oh, they were very kind, especially their bachelor son who always talked to me. He even danced with me. How tall he was!
- 16) 'Mommy' picked us up, two of us with (three house group members). Like the first visit, we played ping-pong, watched T.V. and ate. When they brought us home it was 11:00 p.m. They even wanted us to sleep in their house. How very kind they really are, this German couple, even though we do not understand each other well.
- 17) I could no longer refuse Mommy's request to sleep in their house. (Spouse-like partner) did all she could so we could go home but still they did not drive us home. They really loved me and before she went to bed she embraced me very tightly. And in the morning she said she dreamt of me, which also happened with me (dreamt of Mommy).
- 18) "Mommy\_\_\_\_\_phoned me at 7:40 p.m. She taught me to take a Salter bus because it's easy and it rides faster than the Notre Dame bus...Mommy and Daddy\_\_\_\_\_picked me up here in\_\_\_\_\_. We went to the party of the Kayumangi. I work this day but I'll go home at 2:30 p.m. I was very happy when we went to the Kayumangi party. I enjoyed myself there. I saw Mommy and Daddy and they enjoyed themselves there. Daddy danced with me."

19) We received a letter from my friend. It was \_\_\_\_ who wrote \_\_\_\_ (Philippine co-workers). \_\_\_\_ mailed her letter today. I mailed my letter to \_\_\_\_ and to \_\_\_\_ (relatives). Afterwards we went to work. I was also happy upon arriving home because I received letters from (two Philippine co-workers).

20) Our companions (house group members) went 'Down Town' to watch the coming of Santa Claus. I should have gone with them but I could not leave \_\_\_\_ (house group member) alone in the house because she felt lonely. I pity her for she is 'close to myself'.

21) There is some misunderstanding among us in the house. I just kept quiet for I did not want to get mad. I let them talk it over among themselves (members in conflict). I left and went to a friends (friend in a neighbour house group) in order to pass my anger. \_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_ moved to another place to live with (friend in another house group). I, on the other hand, started to look for another place to live with ('spouse'). I love \_\_\_\_ very much and I would not want her to stay with (members in conflict).

22) The whole night we did not sleep with \_\_\_\_ who cried and cried. I again left the house with (friend).... I have a big problem. I do not know how to tell my companions that I am breaking away from them, especially to (joking friend). She cried again.

23) \_\_\_\_ was older than me by six years so I called her 'Ate' (respect address for elder sister). I prepared her lunch, washed for her. She was not doing any work. One time I sided with \_\_\_\_ who commented on 'Ate' not contributing any work. 'Ate' became 'estranged' from me. She refused to take the same bus with me so I got mad and cried in the factory. On coming home from work, I went to the comfort room and there talked the matter over with (friend). I was crying and she was consoling me to remove my anger. Then 'Ate' asked me to buy grapes for her but just threw a dollar bill at me so I refused. She 'banged' the door and I became infuriated and followed her into the room. She challenged me so I suddenly grabbed the scissors she was using. As I was about to stab her I saw the crucifix with the Christ looking at me (house altar). At the same time my companions took hold of me. The following day I went to church to pray that my madness towards \_\_\_\_ would disappear.

24) We played badminton and afterwards (boat group member) picked us up and brought us to the park for (friend) gave a 'blow out'. We were happy but now and then I felt sad... We again played badminton and my whole body was aching due to playing. It was already dark when we stopped playing. It was as if we were in the Philippines because it was very hot.



25) "I went to the factory to see if I'll be able to start tonight for a night shift work. But they told me to come back tomorrow night".

26) "I found a night shift work upstairs and I start tonight. We go home at 10:30 p.m. \_\_\_\_ picks me (chaperone group) up. She brings her car. I'm very happy this night".

27) "I saw my finger, then the end of a needle inside my finger. (Factory group member) and my supervisor did not know what to do. I didn't cry but my tears fell down...I went to the General Hospital together with (boat group member) to go to the doctor. Then when we were there the doctor said that he was not able to put medicine on my finger because he is a throat specialist".

28) I was five minutes late at work. Why should this happen now that I am even nearer the factory (first time in eight months). I could not sleep the whole night and the same the following night.

29) "We have been to the U.S. Embassy. We got visas for a visit to the U.S. I mailed my package to my parents and relatives in the Philippines. It contained ten cosmetics, perfume for men, soap, etc."

30) "We are very busy preparing our clothes because we will be going to the United States. Four girls are leaving tomorrow night".

31) "We left Winnipeg at 9:00 p.m. We reached the boundary of Canada and America at 10:00 p.m. We were very excited at that time. We arrived in Minneapolis at 11:00 p.m. It's a little nicer than Winnipeg. We went in three big shopping centres there. I bought a sweater for my father and mother. And I also bought a souvenir from there. We all found a motel in St. Cloud near the highway. We all slept together there".

32) This is my first 'overseas' (long distance call) to (boyfriend). I spent very much, \$84.00. We talked for twenty minutes. I am happy this day.

33) "Today is the most lonely day in my life because I received a letter from my father that said that he can't walk because of sickness. I cried the whole day. I am going home (from the factory) because I'm sick. I have a headache, stomach ache. I vomited and got dizzy".

34) Now I am here in the factory. I want to work now for I don't want to be alone at home...I feel very bad today. I have a stomach ache, head ache, "and I'm always crying because I'm thinking of my father". I don't know what to do.

35) I received a letter from my father and from \_\_\_\_\_. My

father is well now. "But the problem is he can't walk and walk".

36) "I received one registered letter and a package. It contained thirteen comics (Tagalog illustrated magazines) and one newspaper". I received a handbag with juicy fruit inside coming from (sister).

37) "We went to the immigration office today, because we are all immigrants now. We are very happy today".

38) "I bought a tape recorder; it cost \$93.00. I gave \$13.00 to (familiar Canadian agent) for down payment".

39) I bought a car from (Filipino professional). \$2,600.00 is the value, everything included. I took a test at the driving school and passed. My companion is \_\_\_\_\_. He helped me and I learned how to drive my car. I am extremely excited.

40) Well, I will no longer beat around the bush because I need your help, my dear, because there is still no hope here in the Philippines. Even though it is shameful, I dare ask you this since you know the life here in the Philippines very well. Your mother and my mother talk about how to go to Canada. What? Wow! English spoken! Concerning my possibility of coming there, if it is possible that you could sponsor me or petition or do anything you could do to help me come over there. It will be up to you to make out some way... You know, imagine I am 29 years old now but nothing ventured, nothing gained. I will accept any job there provided it is not an immoral one.

41) Kaka, (respect address for elder) if it will be my luck to reach there, I will not be as hard up as here. And there will be two of us to work. Both of us will endorse our salaries to our parents. I long to reach there very much. I want to be of help to our parents. There is nobody else earning except you. That is why I also want to find work in order to repay our parents.

Table XVI. Letters Received (R) and Written (W) by a Filipino Garment Worker Within the First Sixteen Months in Winnipeg

<u>Month</u>	<u>Received</u>		<u>Written</u>		<u>Family</u> W - R	<u>Relative</u> W - R	<u>Boyfriend</u> W - R		<u>Friends</u> W - R	
Oct.	1	--	0	--						1
Nov.	8	--	8	--	3 - 2	1 - 4	4 - 2			
Dec.	8	--	3	--	1 - 3	1	2 - 4			
Jan.	8	--	10	--	4 - 4		7 - 4			
Feb.	16	--	7	--	2 - 1	2 - 9	2 - 4		1 - 2	
March	6	--	4	--	2	2	4 - 2			
April	5	--	5	--	1 - 3	1	3 - 3			
May	4	--	5	--	1		4 - 4			
June	11	--	11	--	3 - 3	1	7 - 8			
July	5	--	0	--		4	1			
Aug.	3	--	6	--	4 - 2		2 - 1			
Sept.	2	--	1	--			1 - 2			
Oct.	1	--	4	--		3	1 - 1			
Dec.	2	--	1	--			1 - 2			
Jan.	2	--	1	--	1		1 - 1			
Total	82		66		18 20	8 20	39 38		1 3	

In summary, we have selected excerpts from a garment worker's personal diary documenting the first sixteen months in the new place. A table has been set up indicating the pattern of letter writing and receiving. The immigrant wrote 66 letters and received 82. The frequency of writing to the home country decreased with the length of time in the new place until the normal frequency was reached with one letter written each month.

#### Historical Survey of a House Group

The 'house group' is a major integrative unit as well as an adjustive response of the immigrant population in its unfamiliar new world. Through group living much of the stress caused by the movement is reduced. The factors involved in the formation,

expansion, and division of the house group may be gathered in the following survey. Letters are used in place of personal names and the factories and streets are put in codes. For brevity and vividness, the account is done in the historical present.

Upon their arrival in the first week of October, three garment workers of 'flight' group one-1968, A, B, and C, form a new house group at 125Md. All three are co-workers at the popular factory in the Philippines Rty but they come from different ethnic groups in the home country. A is from the Visayas, B from the Ilocos, and C from the Tagalog area. A and B belong to the same factory group in the new place Se while C belongs to another factory group Re. A is the eldest and recognized as the master of puno and takes the role of ina or mother. She is treated with respect and addressed as 'Ate' (respect address for elder sister). She sets up the cleaning and cooking schedule among the members of the house group, 'duty-duty'.

After a week a fourth member D joins. D belongs to the same Philippine ethnic group of C and to the same Philippine factory group of A, B, and C. For a week D joined another house group since the Immigration Officer asked them (A, B, C, and D) "not to crowd" and D volunteered to be separated from the three. D is a member of another factory group in the new place Fd. After another week a fifth member E joins the house group. E belongs to the same ethnic group of C and D. However, E is a member of another 'flight' group two - 1968 and another factory group in the new place Ps.

For five months the house group of five members remains constant, contributing equally to pay the \$105.00 monthly rent of a one bedroom apartment (\$21.00 per member) and maintaining a 'common grocery and table'. However, A and D later become estranged from each other and maintain a 'separate grocery and table' with agreement from the other members A and E who are 'spouse' friends. The same fridge, table, stoves, and kitchen utensils are used but their contents are marked 'so no one will make a mistake'. The preferred practice is for the two eating groups to cook simultaneously 'as there are four stoves' but to eat alternately 'as there is only one table and our cooking might not be as good as the others'. All the members contribute to pay for whatever property is acquired in common. The first important property purchased is a used television set 'for we had no other pastime'.

In March 1969 a sixth member F joins. F engaged in a verbal fight (nagsagotan) with a member of her original house group of nine and she was 'invited in' by C as they both belong to the same factory group in the new place Re. F also belongs to the same flight group as A, B, C, and D and to the same ethnic group as C and D.

After two weeks B and C leave. B joins with a member of her 'boat' group in another house group composed of co-workers in the home country residing in another street Wr. C, on the other hand, joins a house group composed of co-villagers. As there has been no conflict involved, B and C and their new house members continue to be in friendly contact with their former house group: "We

inquire through the telephone or from a contact person 'how everybody is' and is there letter for me?"

In April 1969 the house group is doubled with the joining of four new members G, H, I, and J who have become involved in the verbal fight of two of their house members which split the eight-member house group into two siding factions. The four 'friends' suddenly left the other four 'friends' without any notice. G is from the same flight group as A, B, C, D, and F and from the same factory group as A and B who invited her. The other three (H, I, and J) were invited by C as they all belong to the same flight group two of 1968. H, I, and J belong to a new factory group Oc. A few weeks later another new member K, who belongs to the same flight group as A, B, C, D, F, and G, is admitted to the house group. K had a verbal conflict with one of her nine house members and hinted of her desire to live with her 'co-flight members' by relating her conflict and the impossibility of remaining further in her house group. K, however, remains in friendly relationship with the other eight members of her former house group. With their increased number, the house group has moved to a two bedroom apartment and pays a monthly rent of \$165.00.

In May the large house group of nine moves to a new street Se and occupies the first floor of a residential house where another house group is occupying the second floor. A member of the second floor house group informed her factory group members of the 'vacancy of their first floor' and a member of this factory group gave the information to D: "My friend told me that their Daddy (house owner) told them that the first floor of their house will be vacated

at the end of the month. Daddy does not live in the house so nobody is disturbed". 'Daddy', however, does not allow all nine members of the house group to occupy the first floor. The house members then decide that since H is estranged from J and H and G are of the same 'boat' group, H and G should join the smaller house group in the second floor. However, since J and G belong to the same 'joking' group, G decides to join H after only a month has elapsed so as not to offend J. Thus, two house groups of seven members each occupy the full house with a monthly rent of \$250.00. The house group occupying the first floor pays \$110.00.

In September two newly arrived garment workers, L and M from flight group ten - 1969, join the house group. L is a distant blood relative or kamaganak of E and belongs to a new factory group Ms. M is a friend of F and was invited by both C and F to join their factory group Re. 'Daddy' allows L and M to join the house group provided they each pay an additional rent of \$5.00 per new member. In October another new member N joins who is a chemist by profession and was invited by J since they were neighbours in the home country. Failing to get a job according to her training, N joins the factory group of C and F. Thus, the monthly rent rises to \$125.00 and with 'Daddy's' policy of \$5.00 per additional member, one incentive for 'inviting in' more members is removed since the rent does not reduce.

In November 1969 A leaves the house group as a result of verbal fight with F and joins another house group at To where she has a co-villager. In early January 1970 N leaves after engaging in verbal conflict with J about who should best represent the house

group since they both 'had college education'. J quits her factory work and finds a job as a 'dietician' at a downtown restaurant. In July 1970 K and L leave the house group after L verbally conflicts with F and K has to leave with L for they are 'spouse' partners. They join a house group of two Filipino nurses and their newly arrived brothers, one of whom is K's cousin's boyfriend. In December 1970 D, who is the eldest member of the house group, leaves after she became estranged from F who tries to take over as master of the group because of her higher educational attainment. D is invited by a Filipino 'Avon lady' to join her house group.

Although only three members, F, J, and M, are left of the former large house group, 'Daddy' refuses to reduce the monthly rent from \$125.00. Disgusted with their 'Daddy' and labelling him as 'mukhang pera' (money faced), they move in March 1970 back to the original street group at Md. They occupy the first floor of a residence house already being rented by another house group, some members of which are co-factory workers.

All furnitures and appliances commonly acquired by the house group have been left with the remaining members of the house group. Any member who leaves the house group forfeits ownership of any commonly owned property and no refunds are made for "we agreed to buy it and we are not sending you away". Only privately owned and paid property may be taken by the owner. A family-like relationship has developed between the remaining members: F is referred to as the father or tatay while J is the mother or ina and M, who is the youngest, is their child or anak.



The former members of the house group, after residing in several house groups, are 'now finally settled' into smaller kinship or family house groups. Upon the arrival of sponsored siblings or spouses, the common practice is for them to form a separate house group. An alternative practice is for the now increased house group to move into a 'full house'. There is social pressure for the brother and sister to live separately or at least to occupy one room within the 'full house'.

A now lives separately with her sponsored sister while B is still living with her 'long time co-workers in the Philippines' in a 'full house' to which they moved when two sponsored sisters of two members of her house group arrived. C now lives with her sponsored sister and spouse. E lives with her family and a sponsored sister and brother. H lives with her sponsored brother in an apartment block occupied by former house group members who branched out into the different suites of the same apartment block upon the arrival of their siblings and spouses. G lives with her two sponsored sisters. D lives with her sponsored sister in a spacious apartment for "we are expecting the arrival of one brother and two sisters". I has her own family with one sponsored sister living with them. K lives with her sponsored husband in a house owned by the husband's co-worker. L now lives with a house group of seven while N has moved out of the province in search for a 'professional job'.

The membership of the factory group is much more stable. Even after the two years work contract has elapsed, the immigrants

normally do not move to another factory 'in gratitude for taking us first' and 'it is hard to start in a new factory with new managers'. Thus, A is still at Se during the day and works at Ty in the evening. B still works at Se during the day and at Wt in the evening. C is still at Re during the day and works 'part-time' at Ke in the evening. E left Ps and moved to Re and Ma but later transferred to Wt where she now works. D moved from Fd to Wt. G is still at Se during the day and works at Wt in the evening. H moved from Oc to Jb, Mh, and finally to Ty where she presently works. I moved from Oc to Re and finally to Wt. K is still at Ty. L transferred from Ms to Ty after the factory manager shouted at her and threatened deportation. She went to 'Papa' (Immigration Officer) to inquire if she could transfer to another factory even if she was still within the two year contract: "I was surprised to hear from Papa that I could transfer anytime to the factory of my choice provided the factory takes over the contract".

In summary, the house group has gone through three phases in its three years of formation: (1) the expansion stage, (2) the reduction of the members, and (3) the settling of the members into stable family or kin house groups.

Report on a Garment Factory Group

Following the usual practice among the Filipinos, I applied for any work at a garment factory through the recommendation or patronage of a Filipino 'bundle boy' already working in the factory. On the occasion of my giving him a haircut, I inquired where I could find work in a factory. Only when I told him that I worked before as a janitor, dishwasher, and mail carrier did he take me seriously and revealed that his factory manager asked him to look for another bundle boy. A trained Filipino social worker was employed by the factory as a contact person with the immigrant garment workers. In the interview with the Filipino contact social worker, I played down my educational qualifications and emphasized my previous manual work experiences as advised by my 'patron'. After the interview, my patron led me to the manager who immediately inquired if he knew me. My patron shyly replied "He was my neighbour in the Philippines". The manager then turned to me and remarked, "We want a permanent worker", to which I replied, "Yes, if I am happy here and if you do not kick me out". After reading further my application paper he said, "Gone to University, eh?" He then asked me if I could start work immediately. When I told him that I would be available the following Monday he dismissed me with: "O.K. \$1.50 an hour".

The following Monday the manager introduced me to the aging floor lady who in turn introduced me to a training lady - all their faces were serious, stern, and friendless. The manager pointed to a young man and said, "He will show you what to do". The

young Canadian worker was much more friendly and explained my work in soft reassuring words:

You will do my work. I am going upstairs to train as a cutter. But do not worry as I will be with you for a week. Just see that these bundles are kept separate according to their cut number, sizes, and shades - all indicated in the attached ticket. You will be in charge of this section for the lining bundles. You pick them from the shoot at the other end as they are thrown down by the cutters upstairs. Load them in this truck and push them to these shelves near the lining joiners. Then bring the joined lining to that lady for hemming and pile them to be ready when the foreman calls for them. Then you match the ready lining and the ready coat and their other parts, collar, hoods, zippers and then tie them up in a complete bundle ready for the finishers. This is your job; and don't let yourself be pushed around for anybody will try it on a new worker.

A bundle may contain material for as many as twelve heavy winter coats. The truck is a wood box four feet wide and two feet deep, onto every corner of which is attached an iron wheel two and a half inches in diameter. It can be pushed only along the main isle and the bundles have to be shoulder carried to and from the different eighteen operations through which every bundle has to go before it is made into a winter coat.

The factory dimensions are approximately 230 feet by 76 feet. The Filipino workers are clustered in several corners within the factory. One of them has just been recently promoted to 'office worker'. Eight Filipino workers are clustered together at the extreme right east corner and make hoods and collars on 'piece work' salary. Ten other Filipino workers are scattered among the other Canadian workers although within conversational reach of one another. They are pocket makers, half of them on 'time work' salary. At the mid-right section there are eight Filipino 'joiners',

most of whom are newly arrived sponsored siblings who are in the process of learning the trade. In smaller groups of two or four the other Filipino workers are spread throughout the factory. The age difference between the Filipino workers and the Canadian workers is immediately striking to the newcomer as the latter range in age from fifty and over while the former are from twenty to thirty years old. Five elderly Japanese workers are huddled together at the extreme east corner. Most of the garment factory plants are concentrated in five contiguous streets and as many as five different garment factories may be housed in one old brick building - one factory for every floor although having one common entrance and a common elevator system.

Like any garment worker I follow a daily schedule. I get up reluctantly at 7:00 a.m., hurry breakfast, grab my baon or food provision prepared the night before, then run to the bus stop (or wait for the chaperone or sundo driver). At the bus stop other Filipino workers from the same street group join the cluster of waiting persons. The waiting period is used to exchange news or balita or to introduce newly arrived immigrants. Exchange of news is continued inside the bus as more workers from other street groups join at every corner stop, since one 'street bus' passes all three Filipino residential concentrations from the North End to the West End. When the bus reaches the factory area the workers get off the bus in small factory groups and join other members of the same factory group that are arriving in chaperone groups. Greetings and farewells are quickly made as the workers

split and regroup and hurry in the direction of their respective factory buildings, repeating the refrain: "Dali at tayo'y mahuli" (quick or we'll be late). At this time conversation is discouraged and often cut short with "I'll phone you tonight".

The factory workers line up in front of the elevator with other members of the different factory groups within the same building. Most of the Filipino workers do not wait for the next elevator shift but run up the stairs instead with the explanatory remark: "I do not want to be red (late)". By the factory entrance wall the workers 'punch' their work cards lined up beside the 'punch clock'. Red print means late and the worker who is five minutes late has a quarter of an hour's wage deducted. The Canadian workers change to their work clothes and shoes. The Filipino workers, however, remain in their fresh clothes and proceed to the machine section conversing with other members of the factory group while readying their machines (wiping or oiling) and wait for the 'start bell'.

The regular bending and pushing of the machine operator is reflected in the rhythmic roar that fills the factory and forces the foremen and floor ladies to shout orders in order to be heard. As the Filipino workers are seated together in small operation groups, they 'steal' short conversations with one another. One of them stands guard for the approach of the floor lady or foreman. One foreman has become 'Daddy' to the Filipino workers "because he talks with us and sides with us". There is a ten-minute rest after every two hours of steady work. The Filipino workers utilize these

short rest periods in travelling from one operation group to another in search of news and to taste the merienda of others by 'exchange'. The non-Filipino workers, on the other hand, normally remain seated as they light a cigarette, drink coffee from their thermos bottles and converse with the co-worker seated nearby. There is a one hour lunch period from 12:00 to 1:00 during which time the Filipinos form into small eating groups. Unlike the non-Filipino workers who 'finish their sandwich in a moment', the Filipinos take their time and remain in spirited conversation after lunch. They eat well out of sight of the non-Filipino workers and exchange food items among themselves. Some excuse themselves from their eating group after lunch to visit other factory groups within the building. Others recline in some soft buncles as they join in the conversation waiting for 'time'.

A few minutes before the 'dismissal' bell rings at 5:00 the workers wash themselves and form a queue in front of the punch clock. The Filipinos are normally at the front as the Canadian workers first change to their street clothes and shoes. After 'punching out' the Filipino workers rush down through the stairs, again uttering the refrain "Quick or we'll be late". At the same time the fifteen 'part-timers' arrive from other day factory groups to start their evening shift. At the common exit door the factory group splits and those who are working an evening shift join their respective factory groups waiting by the factory premises. As I was not working in any evening shift I bid goodbye to my dispersing factory group members and headed for the bus stop. Always ahead of me in the bus were some Filipino garment workers who

had no 'over time' or who "were on schedule to cook in their house group".

In the course of bringing the bundles to and from the various operators I discovered the ethnic composition of the other factory workers. When asked if I were Chinese I would answer in the affirmative and proceed to ask them if they were Ukrainian or Polish as the majority of them are. Other Northern European countries heavily represented among the workers are Finland, Lithuania, and Holland. A fair number come from Italy and Portugal. Each ethnic worker group has its own English interpreter as most of them speak very little or no English. This fact was both a surprise and an encouragement for the new Filipino workers, as one informant related:

We thought all white people knew how to speak English. We were ashamed in the beginning to speak but when we heard them talk we found out that we were all the same if not better so we brought out all the English we could. When they first saw us we heard them say "Poor little ones, hope they can understand English" and the foreman turned to them and said "They speak better English than you do". They often ask us where we learned English and we proudly answer that "We follow the American way and use English in our schools".

My Filipino factory group was forced to make known to me certain codes they were using. I came upon an important code when I asked, within hearing distance of the non-Filipino workers, where some Filipinos "work part time". I was at once reprimanded in chorus and told to say "Bocaue" instead of "part time" as the factory authorities are "cathing" those who work also in the evening. I often heard the word 'Bocaue' and thought all the while it was a street name where a popular evening factory was located until it was



explained to me that the analogy comes from the Philippine night club town where several ladies make much money during the night! Other codes were introduced to me such as mata (eye) for the supervisors, tanda (old) for the aging co-workers.

I asked my factory group to make a comparison between their new factory in the new place and the factories in which they worked in the home country. Two remarks below give a rough comparison:

Oh the factory in the Philippines is modern, not like this. Not like here, wires all over you and the machines are dirty and the benches dusty and the floor full of dirt. Here we sometimes do the cleaning ourselves while at home there are janitors and everything is clean.

We thought at first that this was just the garbage place. We expected a much more modern factory than in the Philippines because this is America. The only thing here is the dollar.

In the factory there are several 'empty and idle' machines due to lack of operators and now and then a notice is posted by the entrance door that a reward of \$15.00 will be given to any operator who brings in another skilled worker who stays for at least three months. This lack of garment factory manpower has been noted in studies of the industry in Manitoba. In a study by Arthur D. Little, Inc. (1955: 19) it was found that "the supply is not over plentiful at this time". In a follow up study, Casson and Crane (1962: 8) concluded that "the overall employment trend in the clothing industries has been significantly downward over the past ten years while for all manufacturing for Manitoba has been upward". In the study by Tarasoff, Schultz, and Meyers (1970: 41) it was found that the training of the native population (Indian and Metis) to solve the shortage of garment workers "has not functioned as intended". As

a result of the manpower shortage the managers plead with their workers to work 'over time' even on Saturdays, and accept evening 'part time' workers. The Filipino workers, unlike Canadian workers, are eager to work "so long as there is work".

There is a regular number of both Canadian and Filipino trainee applicants. The Filipino workers encourage the newly arrived Filipino trainee, usually a sponsored sister who has still to learn the skill: "We were also like that in the beginning, you are learning even faster". The trainee spends the first days in learning the basic sewing operations on paper after which she is given reject cloth on which to repeat them. When the trainee can make lines, curves, and stops on cloth she is given her first bundle and the proper procedure is explained.

First cut the string binding the garments have and put your work number on each bundle at the white material attached for this purpose. Look for the ticket which is pinned to the first piece of the bundle. In the ticket is written the cut number, size number, the bundle number, the order number, and finally the piece number. The same information is reproduced in small print at the bottom in as many columns as there are operations to finish the bundle. The ticket price is indicated also in these columns. Cut only the column that indicates your operation. After doing all the pieces in the bundle bind them again and go on with the next bundle. Any repairs will be easily traced to you and your production will be known by the number of tickets you submit.

Some trainees are dismissed for not making the 'quota' while others leave after a few months and transfer to other factories for the following common reason given by a trainee.

We trained only for a week and we are doing full production but still we receive the salary of a trainee of \$1.30 per hour and this will last for six months.

A Filipino worker explained the lack of workers in the factory:

Many of our companions transferred to other factories after their two years contract because the prices are going down.

The Canadian long time workers gave similar and other causes:

The workers left one by one when they (managers) reduced the prices. There was money before but now you have to push hard to make your money. All the money is going to the Jews - that is why they can carry out all the war in the Middle East.

The young Canadians do not like to get stuck to a machine. They want to be free and work outside where they can meet people. They want to be secretaries, salesgirls, and social workers. Nowadays our children get more education than us.

I think the foremen are rough and do not treat the workers kindly. They shout at you. Before there were twenty of us finishers, now we are nine. I want to quit but it's all the same in the other factories and I don't know any other job. Here there is no charity. You have to defend yourself. There are no manners here. Don't kid yourself for everyone is for himself.

The factory atmosphere is one of harshness and aggressiveness.

There is constant shouting and name-calling by the supervisors either among themselves or towards the workers. The rudeness and lack of manners may be illustrated in a few cases that I witnessed or experienced:

- 1) A newly married worker told the foreman that she needed the service of the factory mechanic. Thereupon the foreman responded with "Why, is your husband no good already?"
- 2) A worker was hanging the finished coats. The foreman was passing by and cupped his palm on the worker's breast.
- 3) Within hearing distance of the other factory workers, the foreman harshly beckoned to the sweating bundle boy with "Hey, you stupid ass, here!"
- 4) The foreman in another department stopped me one morning and rudely remarked: "I saw you downtown holding books. What, are you a spy? What do you think you want to become, a doctor?" On the same day as I was bringing him some 're-cut', the foreman shouted: "Hey, go screw yourself. You know your country is too poor so you come here".

- 5) One cutter on seeing me bring him 're-cut' made faces at me and grumbled "Fuck off". He did the re-cut and with it struck me in the face. Infuriated I struck him back and ran. As I was running a foreman yelled, "Hey, yo-yo, here".

Due to this harsh atmosphere the Filipino workers do not want their brothers to work in the same factory for "I do not want him to be humiliated". My patron bundle boy describes his predicament:

"This is no longer a hanap buhay or livelihood but a hanap sakit or finding sickness. A common reason given by Filipino bundle boys for moving to another factory is expressed by an informant:

I quit before I am forced to retaliate and kill someone. I would now be a murderer had I not controlled myself.

This harsh atmosphere and aggressiveness among the factory workers is largely the result of certain characteristics of the garment factory as an institution. The factory personnel is divided between three conflicting interest groups: (1) the management, (2) the Canadian 'old-timers', and (3) the Filipino 'newcomers'. I immediately realized that the workers harbor negative attitudes towards the management when an 'old-timer' Canadian worker (15 years) inquired about my wage and remarked:

Don't let them abuse you. They will kill you. You are still young and you can find work that is better outside. Here they pay you peanuts. With the work you are doing \$2.50 an hour should be easily given to you.

One major cause of conflict is the 'shipping deadline' to be met by management. In order to finish a certain order on time the managers pressure the supervisors who in turn keep pushing the operators, as related by an informant:

We know when the foremen and the floorladies have been shouted at for they do the same to us. Every fault that causes delay is passed on to us.

Another source of conflict is the practice of management of paying their supervisors on a percentage basis per dollar from the transaction. Out of vested interest to 'make more money' the foremen and floor ladies 'push' their workers harder. Another main source of conflict is the 'price reduction'. The operators feel strongly that they are not being paid their labor's worth and that the management is making much profit. The 'piece work' is seen as a trick to speed up the workers for when "they see that you produce more they cut the prices". Another source of irritation is the pointless regular contribution to the 'Union'. Each worker argues her case alone and counteracts any reduction of prices by refusing to work. Asked why the workers do not seek the help of the Union, a Canadian worker retorted:

Let the Union go to hell. It is bought by the management. It is supposed to be working for us but they are just after our contribution.

Other sources of conflict are certain management practices considered unfair by the workers:

They deduct a half hour's pay if you are late by just five minutes.

When there is no more work they just send us home and do not care how much time we lose.

As soon as you make a mistake they shout at you and throw the bundles at you and call you names. And they do not pay you for doing repairs even if you lose your time.

The foremen and floor ladies only allow us to smoke in the washrooms, but they themselves smoke any time and anywhere they like in the factory.

The conflict between the Canadian workers and the Filipinos is a result of several factors. Unlike the Canadian 'old-timers' who openly 'fight and complain', the newcomers are afraid to join in the

protest and merely complain 'for fear that they will remove us'.

Another common source of conflict is the fact that the newcomers accept 'over-time' and 'part-time' work even at low prices thus making the bargaining power of the old time workers ineffective, as explained by an informant:

Now we cannot bargain with the managers for there are always the Filipinos who can do the work at very low prices and the Filipinos do not complain. That is why they (managers) bring you here for you are cheap labor. They do not cooperate. They stick together by themselves.

Another source of conflict between the Filipino workers and their non-Filipino co-employees is the cultural differences, especially in the area of food. The Filipinos eat secluded from their non-Filipino co-workers for the simple reason that "We do not want them to see what we are eating for they make faces on seeing our food and many insulting remarks". The insulting remarks are:

"Your sandwich is bigger than you are!"

"How can you eat rice all the time!"

"Can you eat all of that?"

Among the operators themselves conflict flares up easily. In order to meet the required quota the workers have to push themselves harder and fight for the bundles 'that save time', i.e., with the smallest size and greatest number of pieces. When two operators simultaneously grab the same choice bundle they start to argue about their rights. Any delay in removing the finished bundles and replacing them with unfinished ones is enough cause for yelling and complaining. When the speeding operator's machine shuts off or when he makes an error he spends the time waiting for the mechanic or

correcting his error in cursing and irritation. Finally, as the workers depend on the operations of other workers they goad each set of workers to work faster. Any delay in one of the series of operations is brought to the attention of the supervisors who in turn start shouting and 'speeding up' the slow set of workers. A Filipino worker remarked that she and her factory group are getting used to this harsh work environment:

We have nothing else to do. Sometimes we just cry. Many have left and many more will leave after the holidays. As for us, we are getting used to the shouting. Some of the foremen and floor ladies are learning that it hurts a Filipino very much to be shouted at. For them shouting does not matter for after a few minutes shouting at each other you see them laughing together again, unlike us who are hurt for a long time.

In summary, in this section we have indicated factory workers' practices and habits and the harsh and aggressive environment due to certain characteristics of the factory plant itself. We have pointed out how the Filipino workers have assimilated factory work habits and how they absorb and reduce stress and strain by maintaining groups inside the factory as well as inter-factory groups.

## CHAPTER V

### PINOY: CULTURE CONTENT

#### Introduction

Pinoy refers to the Filipino physical features when used in the context of the common remark "May Pinoy" (There's a Filipino). It refers to the Filipino patterns of behaviour in the equally common comment "Alam mo na ang Pinoy" (You already know how the Filipino behaves). The word itself may have been derived in two ways. It may be related to the Filipino popular egg delicacy called penoy (boiled infertile duck eggs) or it may have been formed from the last two syllables of the word Filipino. Thus, with its dual meaning the term may be used to refer to the sum of culture items or content of the Filipino immigrant working class under investigation.

The culture content may be classified according to the four adjustive mechanisms employed by the immigrant garment workers: (1) transplants, (2) assimilations, (3) reinterpretations, and (4) modifications. Transplants refer to the culture items brought by the immigrants to their new place from the home village while assimilations refer to those which are acquired from the larger host western society. Reinterpretations refer to the culture items indigenous to both the immigrant population and the larger host society, which bear a close



similarity. Modifications are adjustive changes made on familiar patterns of behaviour. The combination of these four sets of culture items form the ethnic boundary of the Filipino garment workers in Winnipeg. The historical setting and the social organization discussed in the two previous chapters may not differ significantly from those of other immigrant groups. It is in the area of culture content that the ethnicity of the Filipino immigrant garment workers may be effectively demonstrated.

The setting and organization have been key factors in the ease with which the immigrants have transplanted a maximum number of their village culture items. The assimilations have been limited to the minimum urban requirement of factory work patterns and a few urban conveniences such as banking habits. There is a minimum of reinterpretations and modifications, perhaps due to the maximal cultural differences between the host society and the immigrant Filipino workers. Five cultural transplants, four assimilations, two reinterpretations, and four modifications will be briefly described in this chapter (Figure V) following a short discussion of the inevitable physical transplant, Pinoy.

Figure V. Adjustive Mechanisms and Culture Items Found Among the Filipino Garment Workers in Winnipeg, 1972

<u>Adjustive Mechanism</u>	<u>Culture Items</u>	<u>Factors</u>
Transplantation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Salita - Language</li> <li>2. Pagkain - Food</li> <li>3. Suki - Patron-Client</li> <li>4. Utangna Loob-Reciprocity</li> <li>5. Kamaganak - Kinship</li> </ol>	villagers, group behaviour, host tolerance
Assimilation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. English</li> <li>2. Church</li> <li>3. Fabrika - Factory</li> <li>4. Banko</li> <li>5. 'Sexy'</li> <li>6. 'Society'</li> </ol>	western influences, Manila migration

Figure V cont'd.

<u>Adjustive Mechanism</u>	<u>Culture Items</u>	<u>Factors</u>
Reinterpretation	1. 'Free Love'-Kabit 2. Piece Work-Kontrata	similarity
Modification	1. Hilot-Village 'Doctor' 2. Paluwagan-Credit Union 3. Bakbakan-Aggression 4. 'Canadian'-Filipino	differences

Pinoy: Physical Features

Among the first effects of the Filipino workers movement into a Canadian city is the sudden experience of becoming a minority not only in the field of culture but also in physical features. To the host population the newly arrived Filipino garment workers are identified with early 'physical' minority immigrant groups as the Chinese and Japanese. As one surprised informant remarked: "Why the white does not know when you tell them 'I am a Filipino'; they only know the Chinese and Japanese". There are several instances where a native Indian mistook the Filipino as a fellow Indian or Eskimo. At best the Filipino garment workers may be identified with the better known Filipino immigrant nurses and doctors - a fact which the former obviously enjoy while the latter resent, as indicated in the following remarks:

(Garment worker informant) They (host society) think all Filipinos are nurses and when they ask "You are a nurse?" we answer yes.

(From a 'professional') They (host society) should not allow the coming here of uneducated Filipinos for it will just destroy our image as educated.

An informant referred to his sudden minority 'physical' situation when he revealed that "It is only now that I have become aware that I have a

different appearance". Another informant meant the same thing when he asked, "Why are we not all whites? There would be no problem".

Nydegger's description of the Ilocano villager's physical characteristics may serve as an accurate portrait of the Pinoy:

Rather short (typical male 5'3"; female 5'0"), light boned, well-built, and stocky, they resemble in this last respect their proto-Malayan mountain neighbours than the Tagalog (also Malayan) population to the south. In body appearance little sexual difference is noticed, women being slightly shorter and broaderhipped; but both men and women develop broad shoulders, strong, well muscled arms and legs; heavy brows and wide jaws in maturity. Only one resident of the barrio could be properly described as fat - a statement less true of urban areas... moderately high, round heads, tendency towards broad noses, medium thick lips, prominent cheek bone, broad square faces, pronounced jaws. Hair black, coarse, straight, little body hair, eyes dark brown, skin color range from light olive to dark reddish brown, occasional epicanthic fold (1963: 688, 698).

In their study of color and human nature and personality in America, Warner, Junker, and Adams (1941, 1949) noted a relation between the type of social position within the Negro community and every shade of Negroidness. Among the Filipino immigrants and as a result of becoming a minority 'physical' population, bodily characteristics have become a basis of social stratification. The Filipino enjoys a higher social status and popularity within the community in proportion to his possession of physical features approximating that of the larger Caucasian host society. Although the immigrant labels himself as colored or black (*itim*) when comparing himself to the 'white' he is nevertheless sensitive to different shades of skin color, nose angle and other features. The lighter skin is called 'white' or puti while the darker skin is labelled as black or itim and pejoratively referred to as burned (*sinunog*) or as dung of a crow (*tai ng uwak*). The immigrant with the flatter nose is despised as having a face trampled

upon by some heavy animal (tinapakan ng hayup).

Another effect of being a minority 'physical' population is the facility of recognizing a fellow immigrant. Hence the almost instinctive remark upon spotting another immigrant Filipino, May Pinoy. And as an informant expressed, "Here it is easy to spot your companions".

There are two noticeable changes in the physical appearance of the immigrants that are common topics of conversation: (1) increase in weight and (2) becoming fairer in skin. The former change is explained as a direct result of their newly acquired 'rich' status implied in an informant's statement: "How can you not become fat when you can eat everything that only the rich can afford in our place?"

The latter change is seen as a result of residence in the new place as expressed by an immigrant's assuring remark to another arriving Filipino: "You will become whiter as you stay longer in Canada like us". And the departing immigrant going for home vacation is told that "You will come back black".

The Filipino garment workers have brought with them the popular home image of the 'white' person as expert, refined, and intelligent. As a result of their more intimate contact with the 'white' majority population this image is gradually seen in its true light, as hinted in an immigrant's comment: "There are also 'bobos' among the whites and here even if he is a manager (factory) he writes like a grade one". Another informant remarked: "At home there are only very few 'whites' and they get your attention but here they are common". Not only has the popular home image of the 'white' man disappeared but it seems to have been replaced by a negative image as can be gathered in the following selected remarks:

They look beautiful and handsome but they smell differently.

I prefer to eat near the washroom than near a white person.

If that white were my boyfriend I would pour 'Avon' on him.

They smell because they do not bathe daily, only once a week to save water.

The educated Filipino immigrants are much more sensitive and vocal than the non-educated Filipino garment workers regarding 'racial' discrimination. The major explanation is perhaps the fact that the educated Filipinos have been sensitized to 'equality' in their western training and they work in direct contact with the larger Caucasian society. And not infrequently does the Filipino 'professional' all too easily attribute the effects of his 'professional' mistakes to 'racial discrimination'. The Filipino garment workers, on the other hand, live and work in groups and have little or no direct contact with the larger host society. They view their situation from their village experience as belonging to the bottom social stratum and simply accept that "So long as you are colored, you are at a disadvantage". This fact is considered natural as contained in the following statement of a garment worker:

Naturally, whites first. We are just here to share with their fortune. It is their luck to be born white. That is why they get higher pay than us and the foremen are stricter towards us than to the whites.

## Culture Transplants

### Salita-Language

The Filipino immigrant garment workers have formed definite attitudes towards the use of English, Tagalog, and their respective dialects. English is reserved exclusively for dealings with the host society while Tagalog is used as the lingua franca among the multi-Philippine ethnic composed immigrant community members. The dialect is used in dealings with one's alliance co-villagers. English remains the status language as knowledge of it connotes educational attainment. The large majority of the members have reached the high school educational bracket while only a very small percentage of them, often the recently arrived sponsored siblings and husbands, have gone as far as the college educational level. Due to this educational situation and the uneven proficiency in English, the members discourage and frown upon the use of the English language among themselves as to do so would be considered an inordinate show of educational attainment and would invite the following kinds of remarks:

Pa Inglis-Inglis pa, akala mo kung sinu.  
(He even uses English; you would wonder what big shot he is.)

May naligao na puti.  
(There's some misplaced white person.)

The major Philippine language and dialect groups are represented in the garment worker community in Winnipeg although the overwhelming majority of them come from the Tagalog areas representing minor intonational Tagalog variety groups. Unlike their non-Tagalog counterparts in the home country who resent learning Tagalog, the non-Tagalog garment workers have a positive attitude towards the Tagalog language as indicated in a non-Tagalog immigrant's remark: "I learned Tagalog

in Manila and continue to learn more of it here while my sponsored sister learned it here. I will teach my child Tagalog so when he goes home he won't be lost". The Tagalog language is also used as the formal medium of communication with one's conflict groups as well as with the Filipino 'professionals'.

The use of the dialect presupposes the existence of a friendly relationship. Different units of membership are drawn into a warmer relationship when members point out and encourage the members of a dialect group to "talk in your own dialect provided you do not sell us". Persons of the same dialect group but who are in some conflict units confront each other formally not in the dialect but in Tagalog. As the existence of a warm relationship is seldom presumed, the use of Tagalog is considered the safest course of action if one is to avoid being 'shamed' which happens when a person attempts to befriend another by talking in the dialect but is responded to either in English or Tagalog.

The educated Filipino immigrants communicate with each other either in English, Tagalog, or the dialect with ease, although there is a preference to use English. They teach their children English unlike the non-educated immigrants who prefer their children to learn Tagalog first and leave the teaching of English to the schools. Unlike the garment workers the 'professionals' write to the home country in English. The main reason for this difference in language habits is the educational factor. Unlike the uneven proficiency in English among the working class the educated Filipinos are all equally proficient in the English language. And the former are aware that they have little or no chance of ever improving their knowledge of

English when we always talk among ourselves and in the factory our Canadian co-workers and foremen speak the same as we do".

### Pagkain - Food

The Filipino meal is composed of four invariable items: (1) Kanin or cooked rice, (2) ulam or relish, (3) matamis or sweet, and (4) inumin or drink. The kanin may be boiled or fried cooked rice. The ulam may be cooked meat, fish, shells, and vegetables which may be further flavored with salt, fish gravy and pepper and taken with soup or sabao. The matamis may be any sweet preparation and the inumin may be water or a soft drink (Figure VI). The pattern of eating can be described as follows: the cooked rice is transported to the mouth either by spoon or by the finger tips (magkamay). Immediately a piece of the ulam is detached from the main dish either by fork or with the fingers and soaked in some salt gravy before it is transported to the mouth. Soup may be taken in between rice and ulam mouthfuls to make the chewing and swallowing of the food easier. This pattern is repeated until one is 'full'. Then some sweet preparation or fruit is eaten after which the meal is concluded with a drink. Even in the factory the garment workers maintain this pattern of eating. Much of the materials needed for the food preparations such as rice, pork blood, noodles, gravy, coconut, and glutinous rice, are available at the Chinese, Ukrainian, Portuguese, and two Filipino ethnic corner stores.



Figure VI. Filipino Meal Composition and Common Food Preparations

<u>Composition</u>	<u>Common Food Preparations</u>
1. Kanin	boiled or fried boiled rice
2. Ulam	gisa, prito, dinugu-an, menudo, pancit, adobo, lechon, paksiw, rilleno, arrozcaldo.
3. Flavor	patis, baggo-ong, aramang, suka, asin, sili.
4. Matamis	suman, leche plan, bibingka, puto, halya, palitaw, ginata-an, turon.
5. Inumin	tubig (water), 'soft drink', gatas (milk), kape (coffee), tsa-a (tea).

Much of the excitement upon the arrival of fellow immigrant garment workers is generated by the devious means taken to smuggle unavailable delicacy foods into the new place as pasalubong or arrival gifts. Most of these food smuggling attempts are, however, unsuccessful as the 'delicacies' are confiscated at the port of entry, especially the balut. The balut is a fertile duck egg which had been hibernated for thirteen days and boiled until the embryo inside the shell is cooked. The balut is taken with salt and 'coke' as a special 'snack'. A Filipino attempted to 'make balut' from chicken fertilized eggs as duck eggs were unavailable and the experiment was a success as far as the Filipino garment workers were concerned. Two other Filipino garment workers entered the 'balut business'. Agents for the egg delicacy were assigned from each factory group who in turn assigned sub-agents from residence, house, and chaperone groups. The delicacy sells rapidly at twenty-five cents per balut-egg. More than any Filipino food preparation the balut has drawn horror and shudder reactions and remarks from Canadian co-workers:

"You are cruel to animals. You murderers should be reported to the humane society".

"You are eating a pregnant egg!"

"Even if you pay me a million dollars I will never eat that".

Thus, the immigrants respond to this shock exhibited by their non-Filipino co-workers by eating the delicacy well out of sight of them. Another egg preparation is done much more easily on an individual basis - maalat or salt egg which is soaked for a few months in heavy brine and eaten as ulam. Another native food preparation is the fermented mustard or burro which is obtained by soaking fresh mustard vegetable in 'rice water' for a few weeks after which it is cut in small pieces boiled with egg and bitter melon and eaten as ulam. Other food preparations are similar to Chinese food preparations and often the immigrants either eat in these Chinese restaurants or order food from them.

The Filipino working class immigrants are proficient in the preparation of Filipino dishes - a statement less true of the educated Filipino immigrants who come from middle-class families with paid cooks and house help. Unlike the non-educated immigrants who bring meals to their work place, (Filipino prepared meals), the educated immigrants are 'ashamed' to bring cooked rice and instead take sandwiches to their work place. As one 'professional' explained: "I want to bring rice but I am ashamed for all of my co-workers take sandwiches and I would be alone". There is little or no predicted change in the food habits of the Filipino immigrant garment workers even if many of them are learning to cook 'Canadian food', as gathered from two informants:

We know how to cook Canadian foods but we don't like the taste. We prepare them when we have Canadian visitors.

I cannot last long if I do not eat kanin. It is surprising how the white can last the whole day with only bread and a stick of cigarettes for lunch.

### Suki - Patron-Client Dyad

Suki is a patron-client relationship established between a person providing some service and a person in need of it, and addressing one another as suki. The patron gives discount prices and privilege loans in return for the client's regular, if not exclusive, patronage. Through this culture transplant the garment workers drastically limit their contact with the host society by dealing only with certain familiar persons. This transplant has favored the flourishing of all kinds of business patron-client relationships (Figure VII).

Figure VII Patron-Client Relationships Formed by the Filipino Garment Workers in Winnipeg

<u>Service</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Contact</u>
sponsorship, job placement	two Immigration Officers (Papa & Daddy)	host society (Canadian)
migration papers, travel tickets, chartered flights	CPA Air Filipino agents (2), two educated Filipino and two garment worker sub-agents	'professional'
furniture and appliances, trade- in, moving	one Canadian agent, two Filipino 'professionals'	host society 'professional'
chaperone transporta- tion (sundo), baby- sitting	'professionals' as well as garment workers with cars, garment workers with children	'professional' fellow workers
Filipino food, eggs, meat	two 'professionals', three garment workers, 'China Town', ethnic stores (Ukrainian, Portuguese), 'Daddy' caretaker	'professional' fellow workers inter-ethnic
hairdressing, haircut, photography	one professional, three garment workers (hair- dressing), two garment workers (photography)	'professional' fellow workers
medical services and consultations	four Filipino doctors and their Canadian associates	'professional'
religious services and spiritual direction, letters of recommenda- tion	four 'ethnic' Catholic priests (one Polish, one French, one Metis, one Portuguese)	inter-ethnic
cosmetics, cookware and 'tupperware'	five 'professionals' and their fifteen garment worker sub-agents (cosmetics), five Canadians and ten garment worker sub- agents (cookware)	'professional' fellow workers
insurance services, income tax report, purchase of a house	five Filipino insurance agents and seven Filipino teachers and accountants, one Filipino realtor	'professional'

The suki or patron-client relationship that is observed to be flourishing among the garment workers is almost absent among the Filipino educated immigrants of 'professionals', due evidently to their ability to secure or perform the services they need by themselves. Among the garment workers the system will decrease when they attain the sophistication to communicate and understand the different business and service transactions. There is, however, little or no enthusiasm among them to learn and they prefer to employ the services of familiar suki patrons and agents as hinted in the response of two informants:

"You just pay them (suki agents) and it's done and no worry".

"With a suki you will not be fooled as much as with others".

Thus, more and more garment workers tend to further concentrate themselves in patronizing the reputedly honest suki. There is one Canadian agent that has become extremely popular from whom television, stereo, sala, and dining sets are bought or traded. Other common items bought through him are tape recorders, sewing machines, typewriters, radio-alarm clocks, vacuum cleaners, and beds. In a personal communication this popular agent revealed that he visits ten to twelve house groups every night and still cannot 'service' the other house groups who keep 'phoning me'. One reason for his popularity is given by a suki-client: "With him we haggle with the price and he is jolly like us. He is learning Tagalog and even eats balut!" On the other hand, one popular Filipino insurance agent was suddenly relinquished en masse when it became known that "he was fooling and does not explain well". The large majority cut their insurance policies and to this day they are hesitant and suspicious of insurance agents and

perhaps of the insurance business itself, as an informant remarked:  
"We are fed up (asar na kami) already with insurance".

### Balita - Communication

Balita refers to any information which may either be destructive of a person's name or chismis or indicative of his good behaviour or puri. The complex communication system found among the garment workers is related to the behavioural units (See Figure IV, p.112). The news is labelled as chismis or negative or puri/hanga (praise/awe) or positive depending upon the nature of the behavioural units to which the hearers, transmitters, and the person involved may belong at the time. Those in the conflict units indulge in chismis while those in the alliance units engage in puri with expected embellishment on either side (dagdag). The overlapping membership of the behavioural units, however, is a limiting factor to the embellishments as among the hearers there are either alliance or conflict unit co-members of the person involved. The balita is spread (kalat) in the following swift process: the members of the house group pass on any balita to their chaperone groups who in turn transmit it to their factory groups within a few hours. Later in the evening the balita is spread to the 'part-time' factory groups and passed on to the evening chaperone groups and then finally brought to their respective house groups. By the weekend the pool of the week's balita is brought out again in the several accumulated celebrations to which the garment workers rush in the same evening. This intense communication system has the effect of bringing the garment workers towards intimate knowledge of one

another and of pressuring the members to behave within the community values to gain puri and avoid chismis. The following remarks of four informants are revealing:

Even in this far place the news has wings.

My God! This is worse than in the Philippines. Here you cannot hide anything. Everyone tries to get into the business of the other.

Terrible here. Even what you still are planning to do in your mind is already spread far and wide and even with embellishments.

You already know the Pinoy. He cannot live without chismis!

The ease with which a balita gets spread depends on the type of information. Non-personal balita is passed on without any restraint, i.e. current prices of food items in the home country, the present rate of exchange between the US dollar and the Philippine peso, the occurrence of a typhoon in the home country, the need of workers and the kindness or cruelty of a factory supervisor. Personal but non-behavioural balita are also spread with ease, i.e. theft in a residence by unknown persons, putting on of weight or losing of it, change of street, house, or factory groups, death, sickness, and hospitalization of parents or siblings, and accidents.

The balita indicative of a person's fulfillment of the social values is passed on by one's alliance unit members as puri or hanga. Examples of this are the sponsorship of a sibling and spouse, the sending of money to the family in the home country, vacation to the home country or to the 'States' (See Image of America, p. 53), speed at work, marriage, birth of a child, acquisition of house, or car, any celebrations such as birthdays and anniversaries. A final type of

balita indicative of a person's deviation from the social values and thus destructive of his name is spread by conflict unit members. Some of the outstanding chismis are listed below:

- 1) The immigrants who got 'fooled' by the travel agents and then 'washed themselves' to escape pregnancy.
- 2) The immigrants who had white boyfriends and later were abandoned by them after 'they did everything'.
- 3) The immigrant who had her vagina sewn back in the hospital after having intercourse with a white man and afterwards named as tahi or the sewn up one.
- 4) The immigrant who sponsored her Filipino boyfriend and then refused to marry him to live with a Canadian and later a Pakistan 'because they have penis bigger than the Filipino'.
- 5) The immigrant who entered a common-law union with a married Canadian and had two twin children, 'one white and one black'.
- 6) The immigrant who was caught exchanging a cheap price tag with costly merchandise which caused the 'garment workers' to boycott the department store 'out of deep shame'.
- 7) The immigrant who was caught cheating at the factory by have 'void tickets' signed with the 'price tickets' in order to get double pay which drew the common comment 'it is shameful to the white and if I were the one I would get away'.
- 8) The immigrants who pulled each other's hair and clawed at each other's faces in front of Canadian factory co-workers.
- 9) The immigrant who got arrested by the police for driving without a licence and leaving the scene of an accident but later got arrested and convicted for destroying another immigrant's house and possession of deadly weapons.
- 10) The immigrants who send 'very little' money to their family at home while they enjoy 'all the luxuries here'.

The educated Filipino immigrants do not have this intensive communication system as they live and work in relative isolation from each other. Even if they work in the same institution, such as nurses in one hospital, the rule among this is to mind only one's business, as



hinted in a nurse's remark: "Here everyone keeps to herself and prefers to be with white company". The intimate communication among the garment workers will likely continue due to their common experience, history, and village values and due to their group living and working habits which have brought them to reside close to one another near the factory area.

#### Utang na loob - Reciprocity

Utang na loob is a benefactor - beneficiary relationship established on the basis of one person's act benefitting another. The beneficiary is placed in a situation of lasting internal (loob) debt (utang) towards the benefactor who expects constant recognition and reciprocation. Charles Kaut calls this relationship a 'system of contractual obligation' and indicates the four principles involved: (1) the gift (kaloob), (2) acceptance (pagtanggap), (3) repayment (pagbayad), (4) need and surplus (kakulangan at sagana). He points out the three stages of possible development of the system:

- 1) An initial prestation through which an obligation relationship is activated, utang na loob;
- 2) A relatively unstable phase wherein indebtedness alternates back and forth through reciprocal giving and repayment; and
- 3) Complete reciprocity of mutual support and aid so that two individuals become complementary utang na loob partners.

Finally, Kaut concludes his study with a description of the importance of this culture item among a Philippine Tagalog community (1969: 258, 266, 272):

...utang na loob in all its ramifications is a fundamental tool of the highly segmented Tagalog society. Behaviour, shaped by this system of contractual obligation, defines relationships between individuals and provides the means for organizing these into a hierarchy of relationship for social action and

interaction. It provides the reference from which the individual can determine his behaviour in each social situation and establishes a network of relationships which can be manipulated in each crisis facing the individual or the group to which he belongs.

Much of the garment workers community behaviour is shaped by this utang na loob transplant and with it other culture items intimately connected with the system are also transplanted and are flourishing, such as handa or celebrations, intermediary or contact persons, religiousity, and ritual kinship.

The garment workers attribute their gift of migration in the following order: (1) Awa ng Dios or Mercy of God, (2) Family, and (3) Host Canadian society towards whom an utang na loob has thereby been established and their recognition and reciprocation of it has given shape to their community behaviour. Among the members of the community themselves an utang na loob has been established between those who welcomed and guided the arriving immigrants, between those who sponsored or secured acceptance letters and the beneficiaries of these acts.

Reciprocity of the immigrants' utang na loob to the supernatural is the main reason for their intense religiousity: attending Sunday services, setting up house altars, carrying rosary beads, having novenas and pamisa or commemoration masses celebrated, and sending monetary contributions to the home parish church.

Reciprocity of the utang na loob towards parents and siblings is at the root of the immigrants' intense family preoccupation: sending one third or more of the annual income of roughly \$5,000.00 to the family, sponsorship of siblings to the new place, regular home

vacation to the home country. The only act, however, which approximates any 'repayment' of the parental debt of the gift of life is the similar act itself of giving life or birth to a child and this is the main reason for the enthusiasm in the sponsorship of spouse and the practice of 'having at least one child immediately before using birth control'. The utang na loob towards the host Canadian society 'for letting us in' is basic and overrides any negative experience from members of the host society and any negative criticism by an immigrant is toned down with: "Anyway, it is through them that we are here and for that we remain grateful. It is their luck to be white and that they share their luck with us is reason for us to be thankful". Any misbehaving immigrant is reprimanded with the words "we are here in a different country and should not bring in here our bad practices for it is shameful and shows no sense of utang na loob". Reciprocity of this utang na loob towards the host society is related to the immigrants' practices such as adopting the two immigration officers as well as the house caretaker or owners as their parents calling them with the parental address 'Daddy', 'Papa', or 'Mommy', giving gifts to the factory supervisors, willingness to do over-time work, and refusing to complain with the Canadian co-workers.

Reciprocity of utang na loob towards the early Filipino educated immigrants is limited to the first 1968 flight groups. This relationship has, however, gradually weakened for reasons indicated in the following remarks of informants:

They don't invite us to their parties and are ashamed to mix with us who have no education. We have invited them a lot to our parties.

They just want us to cook and baby-sit for them.

Their welcome speeches and help were not true for they profited on the furniture they bought from us and they just wanted us to join their association and buy and sell tickets. They wanted us to buy their used cars and furniture.

Reciprocity of utang na loob towards fellow garment workers established on the basis of helping the new immigrants, sponsoring them, securing job acceptance letters, lending them money or furniture is at the root of the proliferation of all kinds of celebrations or handa to which benefactors are invited. Common events celebrated are anniversaries, which may include the date of arrival of the new place, a parent's death, or wedding anniversary, purchase of a car or house, departure or arrival of immigrants from home vacation, shower and stag, baby shower, baptism, wedding, and birthdays. The celebrations are accumulated on the two weekend days and are normally extended throughout the whole night. The guests come and go to give room for other arriving guests and may attend as many as five different celebrations. Most of the celebrations are birthdays (Table XII). In one case an immigrant garment worker received over sixty gifts on her birthday party representing sixty house groups totalling approximately three hundred guests. The visitors were entertained in a two-bedroom apartment from Saturday afternoon until Sunday evening. The members of the celebrant's house group cooked for the arriving guests. The celebrant spent 'over a month's salary of \$350.00' but received "it back by reciprocating several utang na loob". Reciprocity towards a fellow immigrant benefactor involves such practices as addressing the benefactor as 'Mommy' and the beneficiary as 'Anak' or child, the adopting of as many pairs of ritual sponsors, parents and siblings as an act of reciprocating an

utang na loob, the use of an intermediary or contact who will be favorable to the person to be contacted due to an existing utang na loob relationship between them.

Table XVII. Birthday Celebration and Distribution of 166 Filipino Garment Workers in utang na loob Relationship, Winnipeg, 1971

<u>Month</u>	<u>Day and Distribution (in parentheses)</u>		<u>Total</u>
Jan.	3, 7, 15, 16, 18(2), 21, 29, 30	--	10
Feb.	4, 9, 10(3), 14, 18, 26, 27(2)	--	10
March	3(3), 7, 13(2), 15, 16(2), 19, 21, 23, 24, 27, 29	--	21
April	1, 2, 3(3), 6, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22(2), 25, 29	--	14
May	9, 10(2), 13(3), 14(2), 16, 21, 23, 24, 31	--	13
June	2, 3(2), 6, 8, 9, 19, 21, 30	--	9
July	1, 2, 6(2), 8, 13, 18, 23, 24, 26(2), 27, 28	--	13
Aug.	5, 6(2), 7, 10(2), 13, 19, 22, 28, 29, 31	--	12
Sept.	1, 2, 3, 8, 11(2), 12(3), 16(2), 18(2), 26, 27, 28, 29	--	19
Oct.	3, 5, 7, 10, 16, 22, 23(2), 24, 25, 28(2), 30	--	13
Nov.	2(2), 6, 7(2), 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 20, 22, 24, 27, 29	--	15
Dec.	4, 5(2), 8, 13(2), 16, 17, 18, 19(2), 22, 23, 25, 31	--	<u>17</u>
			166

The system of utang na loob is much less operative, if at all, among the educated immigrants for they feel their migration more as the result of their educational qualifications than anything else. Furthermore, they come from the middle-income families and therefore do not feel themselves in the position of family breadwinner and financier. This makes them less family conscious.

#### Magkakamaganak - Kinship

There are three types of kinship groups found among the garment workers in Winnipeg: (1) quasi-kin groups, (2) ritual kin, and

(3) blood kin. The quasi-kin group is formed by members of the behavioural alliance units who consider each other as parang magkakapatid or sibling-like. This quasi-kin group is also formed by members of the house group and age is the basis of the quasi-kin formation. The eldest member assumes the role of mother or ina and the second eldest takes the role of first born child or panganay while the youngest becomes the bunso or the youngest child. Although this type of kinship is the most widespread, it is, however, the least stable as conflict may easily snap the kinship-like formation.

The ritual kin group or compadrasgo is composed of those who are related to each other as parents or siblings on the occasion of a religious ritual such as Church wedding, baptism, confirmation. There are as many pairs of a child's ritual parents or Nino(a)ng as possible - in one case, for instance, twelve pair. Two or more pair of ritual parents and as many as seven pair of ritual siblings or abay (chaperone) may be involved in a wedding ceremony. There is a general sense of being ritually related to one another as the ritual kinships are extended easily and this explains why many address each other as 'Pare' or co-father and 'Mare' or co-mother even if they have not been directly related in a ritual event. In other words, the ritual kin of one's ritual kin by a different ritual event is also by extension of one's ritual kin. This type of kinship is the most widespread and may be as stable as the blood kin.

With the arrival of sponsored siblings and spouses the blood kin groups start to increase. The membership of a consanguinal group is small and such a house group is formed with a tighter organization since the eldest sibling assumes full responsibility as the father and

mother. The younger siblings normally entrust their earnings to the eldest who takes charge of all house bills, groceries, and the sending of money to the family in the home country. This is the most stable type of kin group as conflict is unlikely to split the group and 'siblings remain siblings even if there is conflict'.

These types of kinship groups are much less operative among the Filipino educated immigrants. Their weddings and baptism ceremony are limited to their small group of Filipino and Canadian peers. The first ritual parents of the garment workers were educated Filipino immigrants and factory supervisors but as there was no reciprocation the garment workers later shifted their preference of ritual kin to their fellow garment workers. The sponsored siblings of the educated immigrants normally live in a different residence. In one case a 'professional' immigrant brought to court his sponsored sibling who lived separately from his sponsoring sibling made the remark: "Why should I give my salary to my sister. She does not care for me and does not wash my clothes". Perhaps the main factor in the difference is the western educational training of the 'professionals' which makes them sensitive to the ideal of individual responsibility and maximum privacy.

### Assimilations

#### Englis, Simba, Pabrica, Banko, Sexy, Society

The term Englis refers not only to the English language but to the whole body of western education acquired in the home country's American oriented schools which includes reading, writing, arithmetic, democratic government, and a 'modern' or 'civilized' way

of life. The term Simba refers to the whole body of Catholic Church doctrines including its wealth of material and ritual content. Pabrica refers to the body of factory work and habits which is also referred to by its most significant characteristics, kayud or uninterrupted hard work. Banko refers to the urban monetary habits and systems and in the home country the term connotes wealth. The garment workers have been initiated into this monetary system in the home country where a part of their salary assisted them to set up a bank account into which a part of their salary would be regularly deducted and deposited. Sexy refers to the world of modern western fashion, clothing, and physical make-up which, to a majority of the new immigrants, is a suddenly new and available experience. The term does not have any negative connotation but rather means lovely, beautiful, handsome, fitting, and attractive, approximating the physical Caucasian ideal. It is this assimilation that explains the popularity among them of cosmetic agents. Society refers to the world of present day western social life which includes dance parties, excursions, park picnics, sports, and tours.

The educated Filipino immigrants have made this assimilation in the home country and thus to them there is little or no exciting novelty in contrast to the garment workers among whom the excitement is obvious. It must be emphasized, however, that the assimilation of the garment workers in these areas is relative and in some areas there are counter forces that prevent total assimilation. For instance, the immigrant garment workers still prefer to keep large amounts of cash and maintain their own 'piggy banks' instead of using personal



chequing accounts. And in the area of Society the activities connoted by it are considered as 'proper to the whites' and overdoing them would mean 'trying to be white'.

### Reinterpretations

#### Kabit - "Free Love"; Pakyawan - "Piece Work"

Aside from the general impression that some ethnic immigrant groups are magkahawig or similar such as the Italians, Ukrainians, Spanish, and French in the area of family solidarity and religious practices, the garment workers consider the values and behaviour patterns of the host society as different altogether or magkaiba and thus there are few reinterpretations possible.

Two minor reinterpretations may be mentioned: (1) 'free love' among the host society is reinterpreted as similar to the kabit or mistress system familiar to the new immigrants. This 'free love' found in the new place is referred to in the play of words on the term Canadian as cana in Tagalog means sexual intercourse and dian means 'there'. Due to the great disproportion in the sexual ratio the kabit system is flourishing among the new immigrants. The popular Canadian furniture agent remarked on this situation: "The Filipino boys here are very lucky as they are living in a paradise of women". (2) The factory practice of giving 'piece work' and being paid accordingly to one's production is identified with the familiar home village practice of pakyawan or contract work. This reinterpretation is perhaps an important factor in the high efficiency of the majority of the garment workers as 'piece workers'.

Modifications

Hilot, Paluwagan, Bakbakan, Canadian

The hilot is the village faith healer and medicine practitioner who is normally an elderly person with either of three areas of specialization: (1) pregnancy, birth, and child care, (2) muscles, veins, bones, and (3) expulsion of foreign bodies (often fish bones) from the throat. Among the garment workers there are three grandchildren of known hilot in the home country who were pressured into assuming the role of a hilot although they were very young. the demand for a hilot was largely because of the 'snow falls' for which the check up of a hilot was sought. The demand increased when more babies were born whose crying might indicate some dislocation or pilay and need the check up of a hilot. In a conversation with one hilot I gathered this information:

Where did you get your hilot power?

"I just feel God is close to me and cures through me and so I do not refuse as there are no hilots here".

How did you know you could heal?

"Many know my grandmother is a hilot in our place and they thought that I must have learned from her and asked me to hilot them. I tried and many were cured and it became known".

But are you not too young to be a hilot?

"This is Canada and there are no hilots here".

The child deliveries are done in the hospitals and thus there is no demand for the 'mid-wife' hilot. Only the common hilot advice to the expectant mother is circulated:

Do not sit on stairs so you won't be hard up in giving birth to the child.

Do not eat anything sweet for the child will grow very big and thus find it hard to come out.

Any menstruating lady must not step on the mat used by a pregnant woman for this will cause hardship in giving birth.

Any visitor must not stop by the door where you are as this will block the exit of the child.

The paluwagan or credit union is based on the village practice of the work gang or tulong-tulungan formed by a group of villagers to accomplish alternately each member's work with swiftness as well as company. The garment workers similarly form a cash pool by regularly contributing a part of the week's salary and then drawing lots as to who would get the 'big cash'. The paluwagan was started in the home factory although the paluwagan as practiced in the new place is much more extensive and may involve workers from different factory groups, usually from one's alliance unit members. A general paluwagan is understood to exist among the garment workers so that in extreme necessity due to serious illness, accidents, or emergency vacation (due to the sudden death of a parent) a collection is made or tulong (help) from the general membership. The popularity of the paluwagan is explained by an informant:

If you borrow money from the bank you are turned around and around with many questions and if you go to the unemployment insurance you are given so many cards and you look like a beggar although they regularly deduct unemployment insurance premiums from your salary.

Bakbakan means aggression and refers to the violent action-filled western 'Cowboy' movies popular among the Filipino villagers. Among the garment workers one cannot overstate the overwhelming interest and involvement in the wrestling programs. As one immigrant remarked: "It is the only recreation or libangan of the

Pinay". They are deeply concerned in the fate of the 'good guys' or their handsome (pogi) sweetheart or bata and offer novenas and prayers for them. They watch and cheer in groups and curse the 'cheat guys' as mga walang hiya or the shameless. The new arrival is at first amused at the intense involvement among the early immigrants in this form of bakbakan but later finds himself similarly concerned. Watching wrestling matches in the 'actual' is reserved for the males although a few females have started to go with the men as well. This intense interest in the wrestling programs is observed much less among the educated Filipino immigrants and then only among the males. The involvement of the garment workers in this sort of program is not unrelated to the harsh, aggressive, and competitive atmosphere of the garment factory. In the wrestling programs they find satisfaction in vicarious aggression.

A much more significant modification among the Filipino garment workers is their feeling of being Canadian as well as Filipino. As far as they are concerned, they are not only Filipinos like those in the home country, but they are also Canadians. Their parents, siblings and friends in the home country refer to them in their writings as Americano. This general feeling of being a Filipino-Canadian is expressed symbolically in the immigrants' practice of always carrying the passport booklet on one's person. The reason for doing this is explained by an informant: "I bring my passport wherever I go for it is the only proof that I am Canadian and I do not trust it to be left at home". Other remarks from Filipino-Canadians coming from their home vacation are revealing:

When I landed at the airport (Philippines) everybody appeared to me as thieves and pick-pockets so I held on to my purse as they were surely thinking that here is someone from America.

After a time you get tired of having no money and so you want to come back. Your relatives think you are rich because you are now an American. They just don't realize how we work here night and day.

I want to become a Canadian citizen so I will not have to pay alot of taxes whenever I go home for vacation.

Indeed, the groups of 1968 and 1969 become immensely excited at the approach of the fifth year when they would qualify to apply for Canadian citizenship: "It is only just a matter of two years". This feeling of being Canadian may be present among the Filipino educated immigrants but the overwhelming desire is evidently to migrate to the United States and become U.S. citizens. The difference, perhaps, is explained by the fact that the garment workers are aware that their occupation limits their mobility to places where garment factories are concentrated and flourishing, such as Winnipeg.

In summary, we have briefly mentioned the major distinguishing culture items and classified them according to the alternative adjustive mechanisms used by the immigrant community. We have attempted a comparison in terms of these culture items of the two classes of Filipino immigrants in Winnipeg, the 'professional' and the garment workers. Each culture item mentioned above would be a relevant starting point for future follow up studies.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION: AN URBAN VILLAGE

#### Introduction

Urban Village is perhaps the best summary phrase of this migration study. The Filipino immigrant garment workers in Winnipeg are Urban by virtue of their total assimilation of factory work habits and relative assimilation of certain urban systems such as banking. They remain Villagers by virtue of the transplantation of their home village systems, values and patterns of behaviour. This concluding chapter has three brief recapitulating sections: (1) Process in Ethnicity, (2) Models in Migration Studies, and (3) Towards a Theory of Migration.

#### Process in Ethnicity

Four periods may be distinguished in the process of ethnic formation of the garment workers in Winnipeg: (1) the migration from Manila home village to urban work, (2) the initiation in the new place by the early Filipino 'professional' immigrants and by the host ethnic immigrant population, (3) withdrawal and class ethnic formation, and (4) class ethnic socialization.

In the first period, the villagers moved to the home country's

most urban area to train in the garment factory operated mostly by American Jews. Also in this period, they had some initiation into urban life. This period was the major preparation for their later migration to a Canadian mid-west city. They carried with them certain adjustive mechanisms which they effectively used in their first, although less disruptive, migration - such as group living or 'house' group and paluwagan or credit union. The second period is characterized by intense contact with the early educated Filipino immigrants as well as with the host ethnic immigrant groups, mostly of northern Europe, with whom they worked and not infrequently lived as tenants. This was an important period of stabilization for the displaced immigrants who suddenly found themselves a 'physical' as well as cultural minority group in the new place. The third period is characterized by a gradual withdrawal, both from the educated Filipinos as well as from their European co-factory workers, due mainly to the significant difference in educational attainment with the former and cultural differences as well as work competition with the latter. With this educational and cultural diversity, the garment workers, enmeshed in values and patterns of behaviour of their home villages, were unable to maintain a meaningful contact with the Filipino 'professionals' or with the host society. In the fourth period, the garment workers organized themselves into three sets of network units in which each garment worker is involved in intimate personal contact and socialization with fellow immigrant workers. With a minimum of western educational training, they found the transplantation of familiar

village values and culture items the better course of adjustive direction. Several of these culture transplants were effective in limiting contact with 'outsiders' to the minimum necessity such as suki or patron-client relationship.

The urban village formed by the garment workers will remain and become even more intense as there is little or no predicted change in the level of educational training or occupational mobility. However, the assimilations, reinterpretations, and modifications of the urban village combine to make it a variant of the home village and culture analogous perhaps to the feeling of being not just an ordinary Filipino but a Canadian-Filipino.

#### Models in Migration Studies

This study was made with four models of migration studies as guidelines: (1) disorganization model, (2) assimilation model, (3) reinterpretation model, and (4) ethnicity model. Underlying the research is the hypothesis that these models, around which traditional investigators have tended to form into exclusivistic schools of thought, are related to the adjustive mechanisms open to an immigrant population. The focus of this study has been to determine the factors by means of which one adjustive mechanism is emphasized rather than another.

The Filipino garment workers were observed to have experienced a minimum of social disorganization as they reorganized themselves within a short period. The main reasons for this were: (1) their broad preparation in the home country in terms of western influences, notably the school and the church; (2) their intensive



training in the factory and initiation into urban life prior to their movement to Canada; (3) their initiation in the new place by the early Filipino educated immigrants as well as by their Canadian factory co-workers; (4) their manner of group recruitment, flight, and group living in the new place; and (5) their new role of being their family's financiers and breadwinners.

The garment workers have been observed to have thoroughly assimilated the minimum urban requirement of factory work habits and relatively assimilated other urban conveniences. Significantly they tend to duplicate certain urban systems such as transportation, credit union and social services. In other areas, however, they transplant the more familiar village systems. Due to the intense degree of cultural diversity with the host society there are few reinterpretations as few analogies can be made. Thus, the ethnicity model is best exemplified in this study as they form a variant culture both of the home country and of the host ethnic immigrant populations.

#### Towards a Theory of Migration

Two related statements have served as the hypothesis of this study: (1) Migration invariably results in displacement, thereby initiating stress and disorganization among the migrating population; and (2) The intensity of the stress and disorganization is inversely proportional to the degree of diversity of the immigrants' culture and the host population and the need for adjustment is directly proportional to their similarity. There are four adjustive mechanisms open to the immigrants: (1) culture transplantation,

(2) culture assimilation, (3) culture reinterpretation, and (4) culture modification. Culture transplantation appears to be the likely option where extreme diversity is present while assimilation seems to be limited to the minimum necessity. Reinterpretation and modification, on the other hand, appear to be the likely options where similarity is present. Thus, among the Filipino garment workers, the major adjustive response in the new situation is to transplant familiar culture items and to assimilate the minimum urban requirement of factory work habits. As there is an extreme diversity of culture values and patterns of behaviour between the garment workers and their host society, very few, and only minor, cases of reinterpretation and modification could be found.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### Tula or Poem

by Bennie Laqui (my translation)

#### NAWALA SA PANINGIN

(Disappeared From View)

Sapol ng musmus pa ako'y inyong mahal  
(since I was a tiny baby I have been your love)  
Hangang magkabait laging sa kandungan  
(until I could manage I was always in your arms)  
At sa tuwing hapon bago 'ko huminlay  
(and every afternoon before I fell asleep)  
Ay iginawad n'nyo ang mga pangaral  
(you implanted in me this instruction)

Kayo ang may sabi, bago ako matulog  
(it was you who said before I slept)  
'Haharap sa altar, pagtawag sa Diyos'  
(call upon God before the altar)  
Iyan ang habilin ng ina kong irog  
(that is the guidance of my beloved mother)  
Magpahanggang ngayo'y di ko malilimot  
(which until now I have not forgotten)

Ng magkaisip na at maging dalaga  
(as soon as I could think and began to turn into a lady)  
Ay naghanap buhay tumulong sa ina  
(I looked for work to help mother)  
Makaganti lamang utang ko sa kanya  
(to repay at least my debt to her)  
Ngunit di sasapat kahit milyong dusa  
(but a million sacrifices will never suffice)

Palibhasay bukid ang aking tirahan  
(since I live in the field)  
Ay hindi sasapat at malaking kulang  
(my help was insufficient and we were in great want)  
Naisip ko tulay lumuwas ng bayan  
(thereupon I thought of going out of town)  
At baka sakaling doon magtagumpay  
(where perhaps I could succeed)

Hindi nga nagtagal at ako'y napasok  
(indeed it did not take long and I was admitted)  
Sa isang panahian ako ay naglingkod  
(in a garment factory I worked)  
Ang pangalay PAE<sup>1</sup> sa Pilipinas ay bantog  
(the name PAE in the Philippines is famous)  
Sapagkat maganda daming naglilingkod  
(for many of us there found good work)

Pagkat hindi lasap sa aking sarili  
(because I was not contented with myself)  
At hindi nagtagal umalis sa PAE  
(not waiting any longer I left PAE)  
'Pagkat nakakita, maganda at mabuti  
(for I found something wonderful and good)  
Na sa palagay ko'y higit kay sa PAE  
(which in my judgement is far better than PAE)

Ng ako'y umuwi sa mahal king ina  
(when I went home to my beloved mother)  
Upang mamaalam paglisan sa kanya  
(to inform her of my going far from her)  
Mata ko'y may luha at nangungulila  
(my eyes flooded with tears and became mournfull)  
Ang abang sarili na minamahal niya  
(oh the pitiful sight of this broken child she loves)

Sa pagsasabi ko na ako'y lalayo  
(when I told that I was going far)  
Luha ng ina ko ay biglang tumulo  
(tears of my mother suddenly rolled down)  
Luhang di malaman kung tutol ang puso  
(uncertain by her tears whether or not her heart agrees)  
Luhang nagagalak o luhang pagsuyo  
(tears of joy or tears of sorrow)

Wala ng nasabi ang ina kong hirang  
(no other words were uttered by my beloved mother)  
Kundi magbabait sa patutunguhan  
(except that I should remain devoted wherever I go)  
'Maaring magtagal bago ka matanaw'  
(it may be a long time before I see you)  
'Kaya ang payo ko'y laging magdarasal'  
(hence my advice that you constantly pray)

<sup>1</sup> PAE, Philippine American Embroidery.

Ng ako'y ihatid sa aking sasakyan  
(when she accompanied me to my flight)  
Malamlam ang mata at parang aayaw  
(her eyes sank and seemed to protest)  
Bahagyang naitaas ang kamay bago ikinaway  
(weakened, she reluctantly raised a hand before waving)  
Tanda ng pagsuyo sa anak niyang hirang  
(symbol of concern for the child she loves)

Habang lumalayo sa aking paningin  
(as she was going far from my sight)  
Ang ina kong hirang at aking butihin  
(my beloved mother, my good devoted mother)  
Ay parang sasabog ang dibdib ko giliw  
(my breast seemed to burst out to its love)  
Magpahanggang ngayon ay nasa isip pa rin  
(even now she is still in my thoughts)

Marami ang araw na di ko nakita  
(many days now have I not seen)  
Ang mahal sa buhay na nagpaligaya  
(the love of my life, the source of my joy)  
At sa liham lamang kami nagbabadya  
(and only through letters we see each other)  
Pang-aliw sa lungkot sa pusong may dusa  
(to soothe a lonely and suffering heart)

Kung malapit ka lamang sa anak mo dito  
(if only you were here near your child)  
Ikaw ang papahid luha sa mata ko  
(it would be you to wipe the tears in my eyes)  
Sapol ng dumating laging ginugulo  
(since my arrival, always worrying)  
Naglalakbay isip sa pagiisa ko  
(my thoughts traveling to you because of my isolation)

Kong kayo'y may lungkot at may agam-agam  
(if you likewise are sad and worried)  
Sumulyap po kayo sa aking larawan  
(take a glance at my picture)  
At isisip 'nyong nasa kandungan  
(and remember that I am in your arms)  
Pang-aliw panglunas sa pusong sugatan  
(to comfort and cure a wounded heart)

Salamat po itay sa inyong sinabi  
(thank you dear father for what you said)  
Na ako'y bayani na isang babae  
(that I am a heroine)  
Lalong lulubusin aking pagsisilbi  
(the more I am encouraged to surpass my service)  
Hindi matitinag at mananatili  
(my service will not cease nor decrease)

Ang masabi ko po sa inyo itay  
(what I can say to you dear father)  
Idulot na lahat ang inyong pagmamahal  
(direct all your love and care)  
Sa isang nilalang sa inyo ay gabay  
(to the only person who can help you)  
Walang iba kundi ang mahal kong inay  
(no other than my dear mother)

Kung sa pagmamahal sa akin ay timbang  
(regarding my love, it is equally for both of you)  
Unawain ninyo ang aking salaysay  
(understand well my situation)  
Ako ang babae na anak mo itay  
(I am the girl you fathered)  
Na malaking hirap bago n'nyo nabuhay  
(for whom you labored hard before she could live)

Kong may awa ng Diyos ako'y babalik  
(if God is merciful I will return)  
Dalay katibayan biyaya ng langit  
(bringing with me the sign of heaven's graces)  
Na pinagsikapang magunat ng bisig  
(patiently earned through the flexing of muscles)  
Na isang babaing galing sa Winnipeg  
(of one girl coming from Winnipeg)

Bilang pahimakas bati ko sa lahat  
(as my farewell, my greetings to all of you)  
Magulang, kapatid, at mga kaanak  
(parents, siblings, and relatives)  
Maraming kumusta at higpit ng yakap  
(many regards and a tight embrace)  
Diyos ay sumaatin sa lahat ng oras  
(may God be on our side every hour)

## APPENDIX II

### Original Factory (in code) Distribution of the 1968-1969 Flight Groups of Filipino Garment Workers in Winnipeg

<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>Factory</u>	<u>Distribution</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>Factory</u>	<u>Distribution</u>
<u>1968</u>			<u>1969</u>		
One	Se	5	One	Mr	5
	Oc	5		Jr	5
	Jd	10		Gt	5
	Rr	10		Ps	5
		<u>30</u>		Ae	5
				Ut	5
				We	5
				Cr	5
					<u>40</u>
Two	Sr	6	Two	Rr	5
	Oc	13		Ps	1
	Wt	5		Ss	2
	Ps	6		Jd	4
		<u>30</u>		Ct	5
				Ty	2
				Vr	2
				Wt	5
				Jy	2
				Fr	2
					<u>30</u>
Three	Jd	7	Three	Rr	3
	We	8		Ps	3
	Cr	6		Jr	4
	Oc	4		Ps	5
	Ps	5		Ms	4
		<u>30</u>		St	2
				Cy	3
				Wt	4
					<u>29</u>
Four	Ty	3	Four	St	2
	Oc	5		Jd	5
	We	5		Rr	5
	Wt	2		Ae	4
	Ct	1		We	5
		<u>16</u>		Wt	3
				Gt	4
				Ps	1
				TY	1
					<u>30</u>



Appendix II cont'd.

<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>Factory</u>	<u>Distribution</u>	<u>Flight No.</u>	<u>Factory</u>	<u>Distribution</u>
<u>1968</u>			<u>1969</u>		
Five	-----	Oc ----- 6 Ty ----- 1 Ps ----- 1 8	Five	-----	Gt ----- 5 Ae ----- 3 Cy ----- 2 Pr ----- 3 Vr ----- 3 Ps ----- 4 Ct ----- 3 Wt ----- 3 Ms ----- 4 30
			Six	-----	Rr ----- 5 We ----- 3 Fa ----- 3 Ps ----- 2 St ----- 6 Jd ----- 3 Wt ----- 2 Jr ----- 5 29
			Seven	-----	St ----- 5 We ----- 5 Rr ----- 5 Gt ----- 5 Ae ----- 5 Ms ----- 5 30
			Eight	-----	Ae ----- 3 Wt ----- 2 Ct ----- 3 Vr ----- 2 St ----- 3 Ps ----- 5 Ty ----- 2 Jd ----- 3 Ss ----- 2 Jr ----- 5 30
			Nine	-----	Oc ----- 4 Pr ----- 2 Ms ----- 5 We ----- 3 Ut ----- 3 Ru ----- 3 Rr ----- 3 23

Appendix II cont'd.

Flight No.   Factory   Distribution  
1968

Flight No.   Factory   Distribution  
1969

Ten	----	We	----	4
		Gt	----	3
		Ut	----	4
		Ae	----	2
		Cr	----	2
		Ru	----	2
		Fa	----	1
		Vr	----	2
		Cs	----	2
		Wt	----	<u>5</u>
				27

# APPENDIX III

## 'House' and Street (in code) Residence Distribution of the 1968-1969 Flight Groups of Filipino Garment Workers in Winnipeg

<u>'House'</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Flight Group Composition</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1968</u>			
152/154	Md	--- I-24, II-12, III-1, IV-2	39
8-860	Wr	--- III-13, IV-1	14
824	Sk	--- II-13, V-1	14
733	Ww	--- III-6, IV-6	12
360	Od	--- I-1, III-3, IV-2, V-2	8
513	Ge	--- III-7	7
386	To	--- V-5	5
299	Tt	--- IV-5	5
637	Se	--- II-5	5
620	Wm	--- I-4	4
297	Ad	--- I-1	1
<u>1969</u>			
2/3	Le	--- V-10, VIII-8, IX-2, X-1	21
A-B-C 377	Bn	--- VI-12, VII-5, VIII-2, IX-2	21
537	St	--- II-9, III-7, IV-1, X-3	20
437	Mn	--- VI-16, VII-3	19
154	Md	--- I-1, IV-4, VI-6, VII-2, VIII-2, IX-2	17
35	Ct	--- V-13, VII-3, X-1	17
499	Gd	--- IX-12, X-3	15
197/66	Wt	--- VIII-8, IX-5, X-1	14
110	Oe	--- IV-12	12
8-875	Wr	--- I-3, II-3, III-3, X-1	10
914	Cn	--- I-7, IV-1	8
908	Mn	--- I-3, III-4	7
344	Es	--- VII-1, VIII-4, X-2	7
537/657/571	Se	--- X-6	6
984	Wy	--- VI-4, VII-2	6
208	Ry	--- II-6	6
733	Ww	--- I-4, IV-1, VI-1	6
235	Bs	--- I-4, X-2	6
389/620/62	Wm	--- I-1, IV-3, V-1, X-1	6
186	Gy	--- I-4, VII-1	5
151	En	--- I-5	5
402	Ad	--- II-5	5
201	An	--- IV-4, IX-1	5

Appendix III cont'd.

<u>'House'</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Flight Group Composition</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1969</u>			
186	He	--- I-2, V-1, X-1	--- 4
299	Tt	--- I-1, II-3	--- 4
108/325/20	Gry	--- II-1, IV-2, VI-1	--- 4
428	Lde	--- VI-4	--- 4
635	Be	--- VII-1, X-2	--- 3
106	Pm	--- IV-1, VIII-2	--- 3
500	Ln	--- VII-3	--- 3
337	Re	--- I-2, VI-1	--- 3
263	Ms	--- II-3	--- 3
603	Abn	--- III-3	--- 3
694	Sk	--- I-2	--- 2
562	Bm	--- V-2	--- 2
236/245	Pe	--- V-1, X-1	--- 2
360	Od	--- IX-1	--- 1
A/2E 507	Ey	--- VII-1	--- 1
43	Ln	--- VII-1	--- 1
23-602	As	--- VII-1	--- 1
37	Cl	--- V-1	--- 1
11	Ay	--- V-1	--- 1
626	Egn	--- IV-1	--- 1

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