

THE UNIVERSITY of MANITOBA

THE EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES
OF MANITOBA TEACHERS
TRAINED IN THE PHILIPPINES

by

Maureen Elliott

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Education

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

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ABSTRACT

This study is an exploration of selected career experiences of teachers trained in the Philippines and living in Manitoba. Work experiences were considered in relation to original career expectations at immigration, to the re-certification required of Filipino teachers, and to their subsequent career paths.

Both the questionnaire, designed to survey the entire population of Filipino teachers in Manitoba, and an in-depth interview, designed to delve deeper into issues arising in the questionnaire, were utilized to collect career related data on these teachers.

The findings of this study suggest that a degree of *marginalization* has been experienced by this particular group of teachers. They have often made sacrifices in order to pursue a teaching career; completing lengthy re-training requirements, taking jobs not commensurate with qualifications, and living away from desired location and apart from spouses and children for extended periods of time.

Recommendations include the need for more government responsibility in the form of funding in resettling immigrant professionals, a closer examination on behalf of Education Manitoba and Faculties of Education into overseas course equivalency, and an examination of the hiring and promotion practices of Manitoba School Divisions.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that Canadian immigration figures have fluctuated considerably over the past decade¹, a constant 4 to 5 per cent of immigrants to Canada each year settle initially in Manitoba (Canada, 1986). Among those people who come to Manitoba are a significant number (See Appendix 2A.1 and 2A.2) of *trained and certified teachers*, the majority of whom say that Winnipeg is their destination. The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of a selected group of these immigrant teachers -- those living in Manitoba after having trained in the Philippines -- in resuming their teaching careers in this province. The career experiences of these teachers are of particular interest when viewed in light of issues of *immigration policy and practice, employment equity*, as well as of *multicultural education*.

While the *rates* of Canadian immigration in the last decade are relatively low in comparison to earlier peaks of 200,000 in the mid 1960's and 70's (See Appendix 1A), what is a somewhat new phenomenon are the *source countries* of contemporary immigration (Tables 2.0 & 2.1). Whereas immigration had been predominately from European countries prior to the Immigration Act of 1967, 70 per cent of Canada's immigrants currently come from Asia and the Pacific, South and Central America, Africa and the Middle East (Canada, 1986). This shift has resulted in a greater racial and cultural diversity than ever experienced in Canadian society (DePass, 1988 & 1989).

Inevitably, this diversity has impacted upon the Canadian school population and has brought with it increased pressure upon those involved in public schooling to respond appropriately to this new reality. Along with requests for additional *second language* classes (in English and French), *heritage language* classes (languages other than English or French), and a restructuring of curriculum to reflect the experiences of immigrant students, have come increasing demands that the diversity in the student population be reflected by the teaching population. This push has come from community groups appearing in front of Race Relations Task Forces such as the one recently commissioned by the Trustees of the Winnipeg School Division #1 (Winnipeg School Division, 1989).

In its report the Task Force commented:

Historically, ethnic and racial minorities have been under-represented in administration, teaching, and non-teaching positions in the education system. This is a fact particularly in school communities where there is a significant minority population with few, if any minority teachers (p.16).

They have also been articulated by provincial government bodies such as the Manitoba Task Force on Multiculturalism (Manitoba, 1988), which concluded:

We recommend that the Manitoba Government require that school divisions, universities and community colleges effect a hiring policy that reflects the wealth of talent and experience available to our society, as well as the varied ethnocultural community which the educational institutions serve, by hiring more qualified administrative, teaching and support staff from ethnocultural communities with greater frequency (Appendix B2).

The federal government, although suggesting that the demands fall primarily within provincial jurisdiction, have made similar recommendations, in the report by the Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (Canada, 1984):

Governments and school boards should introduce affirmative action programs to increase the number of visible minorities in teaching and administrative positions.

The demand for increased hiring of immigrant visible minority teachers stems from three principal arguments (Young, 1990). The first is one of *employment equity* or the need "to eliminate discriminatory barriers to provide in a meaningful way equitable opportunities in employment" (Abella, 1984:8). Such an argument is made explicitly in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, Bill C-93, where it states that Canadians of all origins are entitled to "full and equitable participation in all aspects of Canadian society" and makes the commitment to: "ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in these institutions" (Canada, 1988a:4).

Secondly, it may be argued that teachers from countries other than Canada and those who speak languages other than English and French have unique *skills* to offer Canadian schools. As an immigrant teacher has often learned several languages, he/she has the potential to teach those languages as well as to better understand and work with children learning a second language. In addition, immigrant teachers, having "experienced" two cultures, may be less ethnocentric and more aware of covert racism and structural discrimination in such a way as to deal with such problems effectively in the classroom. Often, immigrant teachers have also studied courses not generally taught in North American schools (such as economics and philosophy) and, with a different *world view* are likely to have skills complementary to a school social studies program.

A third argument is that teachers of varied ethnocultural backgrounds provide important *role models* both for those children from

similar ethnocultural backgrounds and for all other children. As teachers have a degree of influence over their students, the positive images they portray of culturally and ethnically diverse Canadians is likely to have a positive effect on all children.

Major American educational bodies, commissioning such recent reports as the "Carnegie Report" (Carnegie, 1986) and the "Holmes Group Report" (Holmes, 1986), have anticipated teacher shortages in the next decade following a teacher-employment situation similar to Canada's, that is, following a dozen years of teacher surplus. In addition, they suggest that American schools are faced with a declining pool of minority teachers, lost in competition to other professions. This scenario may also be mirrored in Canada as the ratio of available teachers to school enrolment decreases (Canadian Teachers' Foundation, 1985) and talented visible minority students are encouraged to enter other university faculties. School administrators in the United States are so concerned that they are involved in pre-college recruitment, offering special educational programs to talented high school students, and such incentives as scholarships, forgivable loans, and job guarantees for promising minority college students (Rodman, 1988). One U.S. projection³ of the decreasing proportion of visible minority teachers suggests that by 1990 only 5 percent of the American *teaching force* will be members of visible minorities (down from 12.5 per cent in 1980) whereas *minority students* presently constitute 25 per cent of the national population with estimated projections of up to 40 per cent by 2000⁴ (Carnegie, 1986).

Most school districts or divisions in Canada, including those in Manitoba, have yet to obtain data on the ethnic composition of their

teachers (Harvey, 1988). Two leaders in this area, North York and Toronto Boards of Education, have recently undertaken surveys to determine to what extent their school personnel is reflective of their visible minority students (North York Board of Education, 1985; Toronto Board of Education, 1987). Racial minorities were found to be under-represented in both school divisions. There were 28 per cent visible minority students in relation to 8.5 per cent visible minority teachers in Toronto, and North York had 15.6 per cent students with 5.7 per cent teachers from visible minority groups in 1987 and 1985 respectively⁵.

RATIONALE:

In light of these developments, this study seeks to examine the *employment experiences of one group of immigrant teachers in Manitoba*: those whose initial training and experience were obtained in the Philippines. The increased commitment to racial and ethnic equality and to multicultural education⁶, coupled with predictions of an impending teacher shortage in Canada, has made the experiences and opportunities afforded such people of increased interest⁷. In several provinces across Canada (eg. Ontario and British Columbia), special task forces (Cummings, 1989, Fernando & Prasad, 1986; Abt, 1987) have been established to identify the barriers to professional occupations that exist for people trained outside of Canada. What is of interest in this study are the *experiences and concerns* facing Filipino teachers in their career development in the province of Manitoba.

According to the literature, there are several factors found to affect access to professions for foreign-trained Canadian immigrants.

Overseas-trained teachers may face difficulties in *receiving credit for qualification and training acquired outside Canada* (McDade, 1988)⁸. In addition, immigrant teachers may need additional *language* training to remove barriers caused by insufficient English language proficiency. Another barrier facing immigrant teachers may be discrimination, which can strike employment-seeking immigrant teachers as a "*double edged sword*": first, immigrant teachers may be visibly or *racially different* and secondly they are *foreign-trained*. Teachers who trained and acquired work experience in another country may face *systemic* (impersonal or institutional) *racism* in "systems designed for a homogeneous constituency" (Abella, 1984:9), when the prerequisite for obtaining a teaching position is a Canadian High School Diploma, a Canadian Bachelor of Education, Canadian experience, or even specified marks on culturally biased IQ or personality tests (Armour, 1984:17).

Immigrants from the Philippines began arriving in Manitoba following the introduction of the universally applied immigration policies in the 1960's, with only a very few coming earlier via the United States (Aranas, 1983). Due to teacher shortages in the late 1960's, a handful of Philippine teachers were recruited as *independent* immigrants, along with large numbers of textile workers (Buhudan, 1972). However, the majority of professional immigration took place after the declaration of martial law in the Philippines in September, 1972, and most Philippine immigrants since have arrived as *family class* or *assisted relatives* sponsored by earlier arrivals (Canada, 1986). Some teachers have emigrated as "textile workers" to re-enter teaching at a later date.

PROBLEM STATEMENT:

The purpose of this study is to examine the *work-related experiences and career paths of teachers certified in the Philippines who are presently living in Manitoba*. The study will examine these experiences within a context of:

- (a) the application of Canadian immigration policy;
- (b) employment equity; and
- (c) multicultural education.

Specifically, the study will first develop a *profile* of the group of *Filipino teachers coming to Manitoba* and then focus on *three stages* of the *Career Development* of these teachers:

1. Filipino Teachers in Manitoba: Characteristics (personal and professional) prior to Immigration and Immigration Status (immigration category, occupation of principal applicant, dependents, etc.)
2. Career Development:
 - i. status of qualifications in Manitoba and retraining requirements
 - ii. subsequent factors influencing career decisions
 - iii. employment history.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The Population of the Study:

The population for this study is all Philippine-trained teachers currently living in Manitoba. Initial contact was made through the Manitoba Association of Filipino Teachers or "MAFTI"⁹. As of May, 1989,

the membership of the association numbered 58. Seven of the members received all their post-secondary education in Canada and were not included in this study. The other 51 have Philippine teaching experience, and all but one have had post-secondary teacher training in Philippines. At least 34 hold Manitoba teaching certificates. Approximately 50 per cent are elementary teachers and close to 70 per cent are female. The secondary teachers specialize in a wide range of subjects including English, French, mathematics, counselling, physics, biology, and home economics. The teaching specialties of the membership also include paediatrics, fisheries, psychology, statistics, sociology, and economics - subjects generally taught at the college or university level in Canadian institutions but not in the first twelve years. Although a few of these teachers were recruited by the Canadian government to fill teaching vacancies in the late 1960's, most came to Canada as Dependents or Nominated applicants.

Methodology:

In an attempt to reach all Philippine-trained teachers, the researcher utilized MAFTI membership and the snowball sampling¹¹ technique to make contact with others in the community.

A closed questionnaire (See Appendix 3A.1), designed to collect demographic data and initial perceptions of factors affecting each teacher's teaching career in Manitoba, was sent to the fifty-five subjects before interviews were arranged. Each subject's questionnaire was categorized (according to date of arrival, whether rural or urban, and to what extent they had integrated into the "mainstream" school/work

environment). The population to be interviewed was selected on the basis of this categorization. A semi-structured interview (See Appendix 3A.4) consisting of open-ended questions, explored *Career Development* in greater detail and depth. These interviews were audio-taped with the interviewee's permission. Six interviews were conducted in person and one was done by telephone.

Definitions: For the purpose of this study, *Filipino teachers* was taken to mean those people who trained and were certified to teach in Philippines. *Filipino Teachers in Manitoba* are those above who currently live in Manitoba and have been identified by Manitoba Association of Filipino Teachers as *Filipino teachers living in Manitoba*.

Limitations: When referring to *immigrant teacher experience in Canada*, the study is limited to the experiences of only one group of immigrant teachers - Filipino teachers currently living in Manitoba, both MAFTI members and others who can be identified as "Filipino teachers living in Manitoba". These people are not necessarily representative of an entire group of "Filipino Teachers in Canada" or "Immigrant Teachers" in general.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY:

In addition, the conclusions made as to *barriers to the teaching profession in Manitoba*, are based on *Filipino teachers' experiences* and on the *teacher's interpretation of those experiences* based on the data collected. This study does not include the viewpoint of school administrators, and officials at Manitoba Education and University of Manitoba were interviewed only to collect background information.

If multiculturalism and multicultural education are to become more than "song and dance" programs which "give the appearance of change without changing the status quo" (Bolaria & Li, 1985), the *unequal participation* of certain groups at all levels of educational planning (administration) and educational transmission (classroom teaching) should be examined.

There are many qualified and experienced immigrant teachers who are members of visible minority groups currently seeking teaching positions in Manitoba schools (Young, 1989). It is expected that there will be a wide range of reasons why such teachers are not hired for teaching positions or why they are *marginally employed* in para-professional positions. Nevertheless, given the current North American trends towards a highly *homogeneous teaching population* responsible for such a *heterogeneous student population* as well as the issues of *multiculturalism* and *employment equity*, it is appropriate to examine factors influencing the employment of visible minority immigrant teachers. Data which gives school boards and government agencies access to factors negatively affecting the career development of these teachers may have some constructive application in the development of policies and programs to remove unnecessary barriers.

NOTES

1. Annual immigration has ranged from a peak of over 200,000 in 1974, falling because of unemployment to 86,000 in 1978, rising again to near 150,000 in 1989, reaching the 1980's low of 84,273 in 1985 before jumping to close to 160,000 in 1988. The federal government is on record as being committed to future *controlled increases* (Canada Employment and Immigration, 1987).
2. Tomorrow's Teachers: A Report of the Holmes Group (East Lansing, Mich., Holmes Group, 1986); and A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century (New York, Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986)
3. Rodman, 1985 cited in National Education Association SEARCH
4. in "Black Teachers: A Drastically Scarce Resource" Phi Delta Kappan (April, 1987)
5. To measure the effects of an employment equity program, a school board would consider the percentage of visible minority employees on staff vs. the percentage of the same available in the work force or "external availability", a factor which plays an important role in the implementation of employment equity programs affected by federal regulations (those subject to the requirements of the Employment Equity Act, 1986).
6. Several task forces on equality of opportunity (employment equity) for visible minority groups as well as on multicultural education have addressed this issue; eg. Equality Now! (report of the Federal Government); Manitoba Task Force on Multiculturalism's report (1988); and the recent Task Force on Race Relations to the Board of Winnipeg School Division #1 (1989).
7. The experiences and opportunities available to immigrant professionals have been explored in depth in two recent Canadian studies by Fernando & Prasad (1986) and DePass (1988 & 1989).
8. The accreditation and certification process is seen as slow and problematic for immigrant professionals in Manitoba (Manitoba, 1988:66) and posed a major concern for 70 per cent of immigrant professionals surveyed in British Columbia (Fernando & Prasad, 1986.)
9. Manitoba Association of Filipino Teachers Incorporated or MAFTI is a professional teachers' organization which plans and sponsors professional development sessions, language training (Filipino and English) as well as other cultural activities.
10. Snowball sampling is using known subjects to identify other subjects.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION:

Before turning specifically to an analysis of the work experiences of overseas-trained immigrant *teachers*, it is important to first consider the influence of recent (Post World War II) immigration policy and practice, and patterns of immigrant work experience in Canada. In addition, as this study focuses on immigrant teachers who were trained in the Philippines, the more recent immigration trends from that country are of specific interest. Second, a theoretical framework of the economic effects of professional migration/immigration both on the country of origin (the *sending* country), and on the country of destination (the *receiving* nation) informs the study as to some of the dynamics involved in the international migration of highly-skilled labor. A review of current literature on *barriers to employment* experienced by immigrant professionals in Canada constitutes the final section of this chapter.

I. CANADIAN POSTWAR IMMIGRATION POLICY AND PRACTICE

A. AN OVERVIEW: 1945-1989

Low rates of natural population increase, along with war-time mortality resulted in an undersupply of young labor market entrants in the immediate postwar years, which created a primary impetus for the expansionary immigration policy following the Second World War. Canadian immigration policy was, after years of being highly restrictive, forced to evolve rapidly (Canada Manpower and Immigration, 1974). The Prime

Minister of Canada in 1947, W. L. Mackenzie King, declared that encouraging immigration to *absorptive capacity* would serve to maximize the development of resources and national production and therefore be in the country's best interests.¹ In an attempt to systematically increase the population of Canada, initial postwar legislation placed emphasis in two areas: accepting its international legal obligations to aid in the resettlement of the millions of *displaced persons* (refugees) in Europe, and absorbing the sponsored relatives of Canadian residents.

1. Displaced Persons/ Refugees:

In 1946, arrangements were made with the International Refugees Organization to begin programs to transport some of the millions of displaced persons (later classified as *convention refugees* under United Nations protocol) in Europe to Canada. More than 120,000 displaced persons (approximately 25,000 a year) entered Canada by 1951.² Because the screening of these people was such a large task and few adequate structures were yet in place, the room left for error and personal bias on the part of the immigration teams in the displaced persons camps made the process arbitrary at best, racist and rabidly anti-Communist at worst.³ Because of the high numbers of immigrant applicants, *security screening with a strong emphasis on Communism as the main criterion for selection rejection* (Hawkins, 1976) became the focus of the 1952 Immigration Act.⁴

2. Family Reunification/Sponsorship Program:

Sponsored immigration accounted for 36 percent of all immigration in the two decades following the War (Hawkins, 1976). The Immigration Act of 1931, which had permitted only *wives, unmarried children under 18, or*

fiancées of men resident in Canada to join their families in Canada, underwent a series of amendments between 1946 and 1950. These changes extended the sponsorship program to include a much wider range of family than had previously been allowed the existing *admissible classes*.⁵ For this preferred group, sponsorship was extended from including only the wife and children (unmarried and under eighteen years of age) to all *first degree* relatives.⁶

Eventually, as a result of the acute labor demand, immigration policy and administration was relaxed to allow admission to any European:

who satisfies the minister that he is a suitable immigrant having regard to the climatic, the social, educational, industrial, labor or other conditions of Canada, and that he is not undesirable owing to his probable inability to become readily adapted and integrated into the life of the Canadian community... (Canada, Order of Council, 1950)

Restrictions on national origins began to ease with the arrival of agricultural workers from *non-traditional* source areas such as Southern Europe, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Austria. However, true universal access was a long way off as revealed by overseas expenditures on immigration offices.⁷ The sponsorship program for Asian and African immigration remained highly restrictive. In 1951, a limited quota system for *colony* immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon was installed, remaining in place until 1962 (Hawkins, 1972). Although Chinese had been brought into Canada as labor primarily to build the railroads in the 1880's, later Chinese immigration had been almost entirely prohibited until the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1947. Immigration from China became designated as "*Asiatic*" (and was vehemently discouraged by then Prime Minister Mckenzie-King (Hawkins, 1972) and allowable immigration sponsorship extended only to the wife and children under 18 of

any Canadian citizen (not applicable to landed immigrants) able to take complete responsibility for his dependents. Legislation in 1950 extended admissibility to the Asian husbands and children up to twenty-one of Canadian citizens but did not allow for the sponsorship of *first degree relatives* as was the privilege of the previously-mentioned *preferred classes* at this time.⁸

Because of the scope (over one-third of all immigrants between 1945-1965) and nature of the sponsorship program, it became evident by the 1960's that a large percentage of the sponsored immigrants were the unskilled relatives of earlier European arrivals. Such unskilled labor did not always *fit into the labor demand* of the time and economic/labor force planning strategy was most difficult to apply to this essentially *unselected* sponsored immigration.

The *investment boom*, created by a developing international demand for raw materials, coupled with the more open regulations of 1950 and the large numbers of European applicants available to immigrate led to high rates of immigration in the 1950's. Immigration accounted for 50 percent of the labor force growth in the decade between 1950 and 1960 (Richmond, 1984:7). Agricultural workers needed to replace the mass exodus to the cities for work in the manufacturing sector and those who had been doing farmwork as part of military service were actively recruited until the late 1950's.

However, the late 1950's saw increasing unemployment and an end to the economic boom of the early 1950's. While increased automation and computerization had begun to create employment in highly technical occupations, it had significantly heightened the numbers of unemployed in this transitional period referred to as the *postindustrial revolution*

(Richmond & Zubrzycki, 1984). The sponsorship of the large numbers of *unregulated*, unskilled immigrants became a concern as industrial mechanization increased and the need for manual labor decreased. Unskilled labor was seen as "*employment competing*" by government policy makers whereas highly skilled and professional immigrants as well as entrepreneurs with capital were seen as "*employment creating*" and consequently to be encouraged (Canada Department of Immigration, 1959). Because of the short supply of highly skilled immigration from the *traditional sources* (Britain and Northwestern Europe), Canadian immigration policy took an unprecedented shift away from its emphasis on ethnic origins towards an emphasis on the individual skill of an applicant requesting Canadian immigration. What followed was the attempt to match immigration with occupational demand, a practice which led to the "*tap-on, tap-off*" syndrome in immigration patterns in the five years between 1959-1963 (Clodman, 1982). While Canada received only those independent *selected workers* whose occupations were in demand, sponsoring relatives of new immigrants continued to hold the responsibility to settle these newly arrived laborers.

While 1962 immigration regulations had put an end to immigration on racial grounds, some geographical restrictions remained. The 1967 *White Paper* led to new regulations removing the mention of race or national origin from immigration policy and replaced this emphasis with one based on a selection process which allocates *points* for nine valued attributes⁹ ranging from *occupational demand* to *personal qualities*. At any given time which occupations are in demand will differ, but for an independent applicant to be accepted as a landed immigrant, he/she must receive at least one point (out of 10) in this category.¹⁰ The purpose of the point

system was to establish a *steady policy to regulate tap-on, tap-off practices* (Clodman, 1982).

Three new basic admission categories were utilized at this time: *Independent Applicants, Sponsored Dependents* (now called *Family Class*) and *Nominated Relatives* (essentially a combination of the first two classes, now referred to as *Assisted Relatives*).

Canadian government foreign operations were also intensified in non-traditional areas such as Asia and The Caribbean (Hawkins, 1972). This new selection system led to a better-educated, younger group of immigrants arriving from entirely new source areas. (See the following section *Postwar Immigration by year, category, and country of origin.*)

While 1967 immigration policy was touted as being an *expansionist* one which would *abolish discrimination* by the then Minister of Immigration, Jean Marchand (Hawkins, 1972:11), it did in fact pointedly give preference to highly-skilled labor, and its primary function was to limit and control the previously *explosive growth* of the largely unskilled sponsored immigration (Hawkins, 1972).

In response to world unrest in the late 1960's and early 1970's, Canada began to open its door to a new type of immigrant - the refugee: the American *Political Refugee* opposed to the Cold War policies of the Vietnamese War, the Vietnamese *Boat People*, the *Prague Spring* refugees from Czechoslovakia, refugees from Amin's Uganda, and those from the police state of Chile. *Geneva "Convention"* refugee status was automatically granted to applicants from the Soviet Bloc and those from Indo-China attempting to leave after the Communist takeover in 1975. Far fewer people fleeing right-wing dictatorship in Latin America have been admitted to Canada as refugees.¹¹ The Immigration Act of 1976 (the product

of the 1974 utilitarian *Green Paper*)¹² outlined the Canadian government's obligations to world refugees and in doing so attempted to balance human rights with administrative efficiency. The Act also established a consultation process between federal and provincial governments largely based on labor needs.

Since 1980, as the result of such consultation, Employment and Immigration, Canada has annually tabled in Parliament one to three year projections of desired immigration. Immigration classifications have been broken down into these primary categories:

- (1) Independents: those who meet skill, capital, or labor market requirements-includes entrepreneurs and business class (subject to point system);
- (2) Family Class: those totally sponsored (for a minimum of ten years) by immediate family members who are landed immigrants (not subject to point system but sponsors must demonstrate ability to financially support another);
- (3) Assisted Relatives: nominated by a relative who is financially responsible for five years (applicants are subject to obtaining a required number of points somewhat less than an independent applicant)
- (4) Refugees and other *Special Measures* (not subject to point system).

Immigrants fitting into the business and entrepreneur category, such recent entrepreneurs from Hong Kong, are most enthusiastically encouraged. Recent *clamp-down* (Bill C-55) on refugee claimants indicates official government reaction to current refugee immigration, whereby claimants may be deported if unable to convince even one of two appointed Convention Refugee Determination Division (C.R.D.D.) adjudicators about the legitimacy of his/her status and may also be returned to a "*Safe Third*" Country (in compliance with the Geneva Convention) from which the claimant arrived.

B. POSTWAR IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, YEAR & CLASS

The 1967 changes to immigration policy dramatically altered the make-up of Canadian immigration. Immigration from Europe, including Britain fell from 87 per cent of the total in 1966 to only 51 per cent in 1970. At this same time, applications from Asia and the Caribbean increased steadily, representing 23 per cent of total immigration in 1969 (with large increases from India, Philippines and a 200 per cent increase from the Caribbean in that one year). (Hawkins, 1972). Shown in Table 2.0 and 2.1 are the changes in the sources of Canadian immigration.

TABLE 2.0

MAJOR SOURCE COUNTRIES of CANADIAN IMMIGRATION 1946-1967

Rank Order	Source Country	Percentage of Total Immigration
1.	Great Britain	25.0%
2.	Italy	12.5%
3.	Germany (Fed. Rep.)	8.0%
4.	United States	7.0%
5.	The Netherlands	5.0%
6.	Poland	3.0%
7.	France	2.5%
8.	Greece	2.5%
9.	Portugal	1.7%
10.	Austria	1.6%
11.	Hungary	1.6%
12.	China	1.4%
	TOTAL:	71.8%

Source: Immigration Statistics: Citizenship & Immigration, Manpower & Immigration. (Cited in Hawkins, 1967)

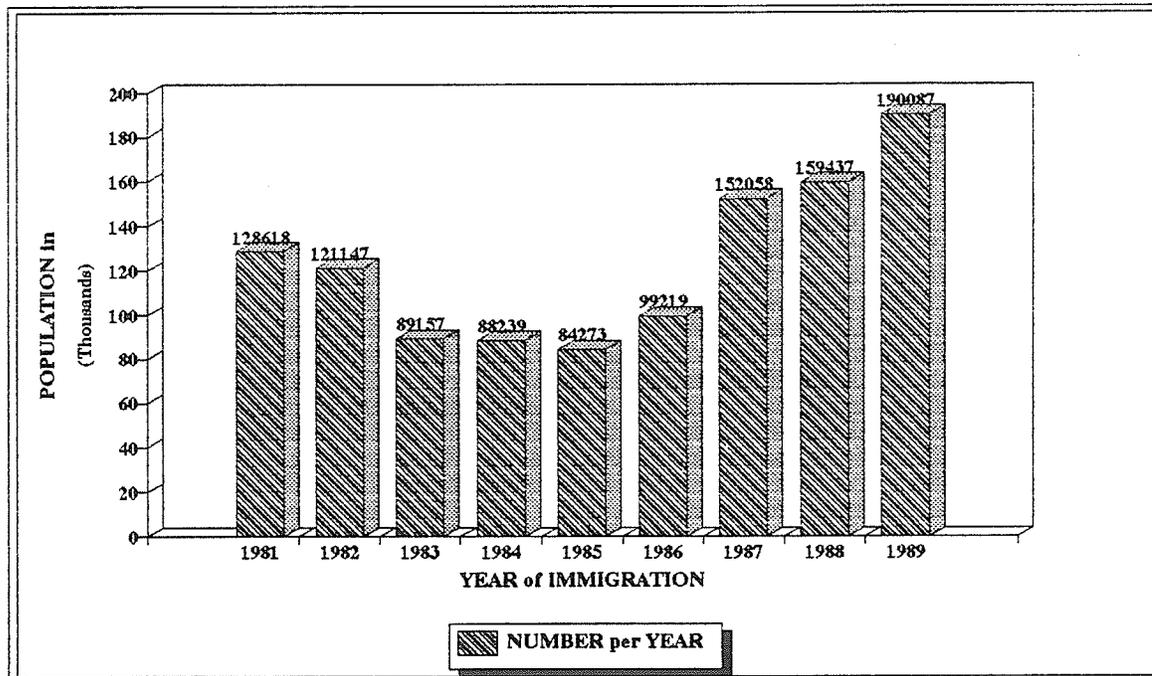
TABLE 2.1
IMMIGRATION to CANADA
by COUNTRY of ORIGIN, 1989

Rank Order	Source Country	Total Immigration	Percentage of Total Immigration
1.	Hong Kong	19,981	10.5%
2.	Poland	15,940	8.4%
3.	Philippines	11,343	6.0%
4.	India	8,788	4.6%
5.	Viet Nam	8,441	4.4%
6.	Great Britain	8,198	4.3%
7.	Portugal	8,168	4.3%
8.	United States	6,881	3.6%
9.	Lebanon	6,127	3.2%
10.	China	4,333	2.3%
Ten Country Total:		98,200	51.7%
Total Immigration:		190,087	

Canada, Quarterly Immigration Statistics 1989, EIC

As can be seen in Tables 2.2 & 2.3, immigration to Canada has increased from less than 85,000 in 1985 to over 190,000 in 1989.

TABLE 2.2
IMMIGRATION to CANADA
1981 - 1989



Source: Ontario Ministry of Citizenship (Cummings, 1989)
plus Quarterly Immigration Statistics 1988, 1989, EIC

Table 2.3 shows that the controlled increase comes primarily in the **Independent** classes (particularly in the business immigration and selected worker categories). Because of economic depression in the early 1980's, restrictions had been placed on the intake of "selected workers" (Independent). (*Independent category* immigration in the 1970's (Seward, 1987) had dropped from 78 per cent Independent (1970) to 33 per cent in 1979). With the improvement in the Canadian economic and labor market in the late 1980's, and in response to Canada's *demographic needs*, the government decided to moderately increase immigration in this category.

TABLE 2.3

IMMIGRATION to CANADA by CLASS, 1985 & 1988		
COMPONENT	1985	1988
FAMILY CLASS	41,294	51,120
REFUGEES includes: Special measures and Designated class	16,011	26,599
TOTAL DEPENDENT:	57,305	77,719
INDEPENDENT includes: - Assisted Relatives - Selected workers and Other Independent - Business Immigrants Entrepreneurs Investors Self-Employed - Retirees	26,968	83,519
TOTAL INDEPENDENT:	26,968	83,529
TOTAL:	84,273	161,248
IMMIGRATION to CANADA by CLASS 1989		
FAMILY CLASS	60,387	
REFUGEES includes: Special Measures and Designated Class	37,701	
TOTAL DEPENDENT:	97,088	
INDEPENDENT includes: - Assisted Relatives - Selected Workers and Other Independents - Business Immigrants Entrepreneurs Investors Self-Employed - Retirees	92,539	
TOTAL INDEPENDENT:	92,539	
TOTAL:	189,627	

** Immigration statistics vary between tables (a difference of 460).
(Canada, 1987)

As can be determined by Table 2.4, Manitoba has a higher proportion of refugees and consequently a lower proportion of Independent Immigrants than Canada as a whole. This could translate into a stretching re-training supports for Dependent-classified professionals arriving in Manitoba.

TABLE 2.4
IMMIGRATION to MANITOBA
1989

Total Manitoba: 5,943 (approx. 4% of Canadian immigration)
Total Canada : 190,087

IMMIGRATION to MANITOBA 1989			
	TOTAL: Manitoba	5,943	
	TOTAL: Canada	190,087	
by WORLD AREA			
1.	Asia		
2.	Europe		
3.	N. & C. America		
4.	Africa		
5.	Caribbean		
6.	S. America		
7.	Australia		
8.	Oceania & other Islands		
TOTAL:		5,943	
by CLASS			
		NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE
DEPENDENT:	Family Class	1,906	32%
	Refugees Designated Class	1,883	32%
INDEPENDENT:	Assisted Relatives	1,220	
	Entrepreneurs	111	
	Investors	146	
	Other Independents	658	
	Retirees	19	
TOTAL:		5,943	100%

Canada, Quarterly Immigration Statistics, 1989 EIC

Table 2.5 indicates the occupational areas for which the majority (over 80 per cent) of *selected workers* entered Canada in 1985. Most were in service industries, followed administrative science, medicine and lastly, 'teaching related' (including university). (Compare with 2A.2.)

TABLE 2.5
SELECTED WORKERS, 1985
by OCCUPATIONAL GROUP and EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	WITH ARRANGED EMPLOYMENT	WITHOUT ARRANGED EMPLOYMENT	TOTAL
SERVICE	1,403	1,243	2,646
MANAGEMENT & ADMINISTRATION	372	276	648
NATURAL SCIENCE, ENGINEERING & MATH	315	206	521
MEDICINE & HEALTH	254	108	362
TEACHING RELATED (includes primary to university teaching)	215	82	297
TOTAL:	2,559	1,915	4,474

Source: Policy and Program Development Branch, C.E.I.C.

C. IMMIGRATION FROM THE PHILIPPINES TO CANADA AND MANITOBA

Immigrants from the Philippines had been well-established in the United States for some time, yet before the mid 1950's only a handful of Filipinos had emigrated to Canada. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, there was a sporadic movement of teachers and other professionals (primarily nurses and doctors) from the U.S., accounting for much of the Filipino immigration into Canada. (Some of the professionals eventually returned to the U.S.). New immigration regulations in 1962 dramatically increased Filipino immigration from less than one thousand in a decade (between 1956-1964) to the annual figure of over 1500 in 1965 after the 1962 regulations began to demonstrate an effect (Statistics Canada). In the late 1960's active recruitment of nurses and garment workers began (Buhudan, 1972). By 1967 Filipino visitors holding *temporary visas* in the United States, could apply for Canadian *landed immigrant status* (a provision later revoked in 1972) and consequently many Filipinos entered Canada at this time.

Filipino immigration to Canada has averaged over 4,000 a year in the decade 1965-1975, with a peak of 9000 in 1974. As with other Canadian immigration, the numbers dropped somewhat in the mid 1980's: from 4,454 in 1981 to 3,076 in 1985, and then returned to over 8,000 per year in the years 1988 and 1989 (Canada Employment and Immigration, 1981, 1985, 1988 and 1989) (See Table 2.6). Of those who immigrated in the period 1970-1977, 70 per cent had become Canadian citizens by the 1981 census (Census of Canada, 1981).

TABLE 2.6

IMMIGRATION to CANADA from the PHILIPPINES

1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
5859	5062	4454	3748	3076	4102	7343

In an overview of Philippine Immigration to Canada, Aranas (1983) compiled a profile of Filipino immigrants to Canada between the years 1967 and 1973. They were twice as likely to be female as male and over half were between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine. Following are the top six *intended occupations* for that time period:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Nurses | 4. Stenographers/Typists |
| 2. Clerical Workers (General) | 5. Medical & Dental Technicians |
| 3. Tailors & Furriers | 6. School Teachers |

(Statistics Canada, 1973)

In 1985, the list of top intended occupations varies somewhat with much more emphasis on business immigration and in service occupations:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. Service Industries | 5. Managerial & Administrative |
| 2. Non-classified occupations | 6. Fabricating, Assembly & Repair |
| 3. Clerical related | 7. Medicine & Health |
| 4. Entrepreneurs | (Employment & Immigration Canada, 1985) |

It becomes obvious that while teaching was one of the top *intended occupations* of Filipino immigrants in the late 1960's and early 1970's, teaching occupations ceased to be on the *open occupation* list (which includes occupations with a labor shortage) by 1980. Trained teachers have been allowed to immigrate in this decade but were given admission on the grounds that they were considered flexible enough to enter new

occupations, ones in higher demand than teaching.¹³ Often, trained teachers entered Canada "as" other workers, stating intended occupations other than teaching (eg. garment workers and domestic workers).

Aranas (1983) suggests that there have been three major motives for Filipino emigration to Canada:

The first is the economic factor as is evidenced by the young, productive professional emigrating to Canada because of an inability for advancement in the Philippines. Pernia (1976:71) discusses the Philippine *brain drain* which he suggests *stems from the basic inability of its economy to absorb the going supply of certain high-level skills* combined with a demand for (and reward for) such skills elsewhere. With the change in immigration legislation in the 1960's in both Canada and the United States, the Philippines became the leading Asian supplier of engineers and physicians to North America (Carino, 1987). Carino proposes that much of the difficulty in the Philippine economy is its dependency on the U.S. education, patterned after American systems and not necessarily appropriate for the Philippine economy breeding university graduates who pattern "life expectations" to a large extent on those of their American counterparts. (Such socialization *paves the way* for smoother integration into North America). With massive unemployment, over 50 per cent of families living below the *threshold* (poverty) level, and *unsatisfactory environmental conditions* due to urban congestion, out-migration of Filipino professionals has been on the increase (Carino, 1987:313 & 314).¹⁴

The second motive for emigrating from the Philippines is a political one. Many Filipinos have left because of discontent with the government and the erosion of democracy leading to martial law in 1972. Others have joined family in Canada.

Because of strong kinship ties among Filipinos, family reunification is the third major motive to emigrate. Of 3,076 immigrants from the Philippines in 1985, two thousand immigrated in the *family class* category. Of the remaining one thousand, 880 were *independents*, 140 were classified *entrepreneurs*, and forty were *assisted relatives*.

FILIPINO IMMIGRATION TO MANITOBA

In the early Filipino immigration, Manitoba was second only to Ontario as the province of destination (Aranas, 1983). However, more recently other provinces seem to attract more of this immigration. (In 1981, Manitoba was the third choice with 841 Filipinos, and in 1985, with 350 arrivals, it followed Ontario, B.C., and Alberta as the intended destination.)

The first major influx of Filipino labor to Manitoba took place in 1967 when Canadian Pacific Air travel agents recruited (with confirmed letters of acceptance) three hundred nurses to the province. The following year, garment workers arrived to work in Winnipeg factories; these workers numbered twelve hundred by 1972 (Buhudan, 1972). A few teachers were recruited with the teacher shortage in the late 1960's.

According to 1986 census data, ninety-eight percent of Manitobans who speak Tagalog (Filipino) reside in Winnipeg. Filipino immigrants come originally to Winnipeg, but a percentage (particularly teachers) end up taking employment in rural and northern areas.

D. A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

A POLITICAL/ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRATION

In the earlier review of postwar Canadian immigration, it was noted that, although humanitarian motives have certainly played a role in the re-settling of displaced persons and those fleeing persecution, Canadian immigration policy has primarily served to provide the population size necessitated by a productive economy able to compete in a world market (Cappon, 1976).

An increasing interdependence in the world economy has developed during the post two decades. Falling international prices for commodities such as grain, oil and gas, technological change involving large capital expenditures (with little increase in employment), and the changing nature of the service sector have all affected the national economy and challenged its *capacity to adapt to changing labor requirements* (Seward, 1981).

At the present time, Canada, like many other industrialized western countries, has declining fertility rates and consequent lower natural population increase (births vs. deaths) and with the limited rates of immigration, the overall rate of population increase¹¹ declined steadily in the early 1980's. Canada's labor force growth (determined by the *source population* (Canadian born) between the ages of 15 and 65 and naturally also dependent on *population growth*) movement into Canada as well as the actual *participation rates* (employment) of that same population are slowly decreasing. This means that Canada has a smaller number of potential workers and at the same time is experiencing more difficulty utilizing that potential labor in the economy. Denton and Spencer (1987) argue that, although the notion of a *population crises*¹⁶

is a myth, attention must be paid to the *rate of growth* of the economy by saying:

It has long been recognized that a rapidly growing economy is better able to make adjustments to its structure. Resources can be transferred more easily among industries and regions, price-income relationships can be adjusted with less tension, and so on, if there is rapid growth. When growth declines, the adjustments become more difficult. When job opportunities are not expanding in other industries, workers fight harder to keep the ones they have. Moreover, as the labor force ages, its natural degree of mobility is lessened, thus aggravating the adjustment difficulties.

(Denton & Spencer, 1987:23)

While the following argument is controversial, it represents popular economic thought:

A larger population base is conducive to a more rapid pace of technological change. The link between population growth and productivity growth should lead to a higher per capita income.

(Seward, 1981:5)

Seward also discusses the effects of the aging labor force on the economy and the need for a constant influx of younger labor market entrants:

An aging labor force is less likely [than a younger labor force] to be able, or to be willing, to adapt to structural changes associated with an increasingly competitive international environment and rapid technological change.

(Seward, 1981:5)

Seward also raises the issue of *educational investment*, proposing the as yet unanswered question: Have the educational investments made in Canada's *baby boom* generation been appropriate for the 1980's and 1990's or do the recent unemployment experiences of these individuals prevent them from gaining the necessary experience to be *productive* in the Canadian economy? Given the costs of retraining this aging workforce

versus the costs of importing an appropriately-trained younger workforce from outside of Canada, it is likely that Canada will continue to *open its doors* to much of the highly-skilled labor currently available in the world. The cultural hegemony of Western educational systems facilitates the exploitation of migrant labor; as the education systems of most developing nations are patterned after western systems, what are seen as easily transferrable and substitutable *skills* are available to the wealthier country of emigration at the cost to the poorer source country. Many once-colonized countries retain colonial educational systems (Bolaria, 1987).

Canada has benefitted from particularly well-trained and *professional* imported labor due to the fact that an increased efficiency in communications and transportation together with a growing use of computerization in the 1960's demanded a more highly-skilled population. As Canada no longer needed the same amount of unskilled immigrant labor as required by primary industry in the previous two decades, new regulations (in the form of the universal "*point system*"), to facilitate a more educated influx, were put into place. Canada is presently one of several *capital accumulating core* nations able to receive highly educated/skilled labor trained in the *peripheral* countries "which generate capital without accumulating it" (Dixon et al, 1979). These capital-accumulating countries have recognized that "the use of labor, already produced and paid for elsewhere, means a considerable savings for the receiving countries" (Bolaria, 1986). The fact that immigrant labor is considered *cheap labor* for the a receiving country is related more to the lack of educational and training costs for government and corporations (Cappon, 1976) than it is to wages. The labor of migrants:

is ready-made. The industrialized country, whose production is going to benefit, has not borne any of the cost of creating it, any more than it will bear the cost of supporting seriously sick migrant worker, one who has grown too old to work. So far as the economy of the metropolitan country is concerned, migrant workers are immortal because continually interchangeable. They are not born; they are not brought up; they do not age; they do not get tired; they do not die. They have a single function - to work.

(Berger and Mohr, 1975:65)

Labor which can be *discarded* when no longer required has been a resource exploited throughout the world (eg. North African temporary labor in Europe, Mexican agricultural workers employed *seasonally* in the U.S.). Canada utilized primarily low-paid *guest workers* on temporary work permits in agricultural, textile, and domestic positions prior to the *post-industrial* era of the 1970's. More recent recruits entering Canada on non-immigrant employment authorizations are highly-skilled workers in technical and professional occupations (Bolaria, 1984). Temporary *work authorizations* for non-immigrant foreign professionals constituted over fifty percent of total employment authorizations in the four years between 1980 and 1983 (Canada Immigration Statistics 1980-83). The number of professors and teachers hired with non-immigrant employment authorizations in Canada has been ten times the number of immigrant teachers¹⁷ allowed into Canada (Canada Immigration Statistics, 1983; Bolaria, 1986:311 & 313).

One might argue that workers who are landed immigrants (as opposed to those on temporary work authorizations) are no more exploited than their Canadian-born counterparts since they are entitled to the same services and benefits, namely unemployment insurance, workers' compensation, universal medical care and pension plans. That they are entitled is an undisputed fact; however, many immigrants never use these

services, either through a lack of need for them or because of a lack of access. (It is hardly surprising that employers seldom encourage injured workers to apply for workers' compensation due to the increased insurance costs incurred by the company). Immigrants allowed into Canada are, by virtue of immigration policy since 1967, largely the *cream of the crop*: They are healthy, law-abiding, well-educated (McDade, 1988; DePass, 1989; Seward, 1987 - see Table 1) individuals who are employable because they arrive with skills in demand. They have been *born and raised* at the expense of another country and arrive in Canada at the point at which they are most productive. That they may also leave when they cease to be productive is also relevant to this discussion.

If one considers the premise that immigration laws may be "designed to import workers without their families (which reduces the cost of subsistence at the point of production)" (Burawoy, 1976) it becomes interesting to look at immigrant workers vis-a-vis continuing contact with family unable to join them in Canada. While immediate family are not subject to assessment by the point system, *assisted relatives* are assessed in regards to occupational skill and demand and even immediate family with medical conditions are disallowed from immigrating. In such instances, an individual immigrant worker might either "remit money back 'home' to support and reproduce the labor force" (Burawoy, 1976) (in hopes that their relatives will later be able to join them) or, because of alienation from Canadian systems, in which "labor market structural restraints make permanent integration impossible" (Bolaria :301), many aged workers end up returning to those same relatives at *home* to be supported in their non-productive years. In the words of Sassen-Koob (1978:519): "[The export-producing countries] bear the costs of raising the dependents of

migrants left behind and of maintaining returning migrants often sick from overwork and already in their less productive years or ready for retirement".

Even in situations of *surplus labor*, immigrant labor is *cost-effective*; it "does not merely increase the supply of labor but also replaces high cost labor, and weakens the organizational efforts and bargaining position of the domestic work force" (Portes, 1978). Moreover, immigrant labor itself has little bargaining power. "The very fact of crossing a political border weakens the status of the workers vis-a-vis the state. They are more subject to close police supervision and arbitrary decisions by officials and employers" (Portes, 1978:32).

The aggregate flow of immigrants to Canada has not been a movement of *individual choice* but rather one determined by the reproduction of Canadian capital (Cockcroft, 1982). Migrant movement has been determined by the disparate wealth between *peripheral* (supplying) and *core* (receiving) nations (Dixon, 1979) rather than the individual migrants themselves. "It is the needs of the capital accumulation of the centre [*core* countries] which ultimately determine the direction, size, and composition of the flow of labor power" (Carchedi, 1979:4). Sassen-Koob (1978:514-515) likens the migrants' movement to "stepping or falling into a migratory flow, rather than initiating or constituting such a flow through their individual decisions and actions." In their discussion of relationships between Canadian immigration and unemployment, Clodman & Richmond (1982) suggest that the two factors that influence labor immigration are:

- (i) the introduction of administrative obstacles by immigration officials designed to slow down the inflow, particularly of individuals in those occupations where there is excess supply; and
- (ii) the postponement of departures by prospective immigrants because of uncertainties regarding their ability to obtain employment. (Clodman & Richmond, 1982:80)

The immigrant workforce entering Canada since World War II (particularly those arriving since selection criteria applied for the last two decades) constitutes a significant proportion of the labor force and represents a considerable financial savings to Canada. Many writing in research for Canadian social policy (Seward, 1987; Denton & Spencer, 1987, and Richmond & Clodman, 1982) have recognized the *economic advantages* for Canada associated with immigration:

Immigration has had a positive effect on the structure of the labor force in two ways. First, largely as a result of selection criteria introduced in the late 1960's and reinforced since then, immigrants tend to be better educated and more highly skilled than non-immigrants. Second, and related to this, immigrants are often over-represented in occupations that require high skill levels and that have been characterized historically by labor shortages.

(Seward, 1988:18)

Such discussion has *not*, however, recognized the *political effects on the countries that raised and educated this work force* nor does it acknowledge the effects of immigration on the *legal-political status of the work force*. Bolaria (1985, 1987) and others have outlined how unified educational systems and immigration regulations serve to regulate the *"quality and composition of the labor force as well as its legal-political status"*.

In conclusion, Canada, as a *core* receiving country has devised immigration policy and practice to serve government and corporate interest first by siphoning resources, in the form of *human capital*, from the rest of the world and secondly by creating both political and economic *barriers* to strip immigrant labor of control.

E. LITERATURE ON IMMIGRANT ACCESS TO THE PROFESSIONS IN CANADA

As established in the discussion above, immigration policy has clearly impacted on the individual immigrant worker as well as on the immigrant labor force as a whole. As the result of the weakened position a immigrant worker has been put into vis-a-vis the state, what further *institutional/functional obstacles* do immigrants face in becoming employed in work commensurate with their education and training?

Recent literature on barriers to the resumption of a career in Canada has indicated that of the most often mentioned concerns by immigrant professionals and tradespeople is that of *accreditation/certification*.¹⁸ When one considers that the interprovincial mobility of professional qualifications continues to be significantly limited¹⁹, it is not surprising that the issue of the mobility of international credentials is one fraught with inconsistencies, protectionism, and resistance.

The recognition of the credentials of overseas-trained professionals proves an obstacle for several reasons, which will be discussed at length below. First, throughout Canada there appears to be an inadequate knowledge of overseas educational systems (DePass, 1989; McDade, 1988; Abt, 1987) as well as the application of dated and inaccurate data (DePass, 1989). Secondly, there are subjective measures of assessment (reviews of documentation, personal interviews, etc) (McDade, 1988), evaluations based on stereotypical notions of *Third World* Educational systems (DePass, 1989), and inappropriate measures of competence.²⁰ Thirdly, there are attempts to regulate the supply of certain professionals by restricting opportunities for internship programs, and

only those from *recognized* institutions are permitted to write evaluative or *challenge* exams.²¹

The Abt Report on *Access to Trades and Professions in Ontario* (1987) found the information on the education of foreign-trained professionals available to professional bodies to be inadequate to accurately assess equivalency. Due to the familiarity (and to the historical dominance) of post-secondary institutions in North America, Britain, Australia and South Africa, the assessment of academic equivalency often is favourably biased towards students graduating from institutions in those countries and is biased against those completing programs in Asian, African, and Latin American systems (DePass, 1989; Fernando & Prasad, 1986). DePass (1989:17) suggests that there exists a *hierarchy of educational institutions and educational credentials* in which North American and British credentials are considered superior and those from Third World countries inferior, regardless of the actual quality of education from any given individual institution and, as well, that the use of dated and inaccurate data "does not acknowledge the dynamic nature of educational changes in those [Third World] countries" (1989:19).

Some professional bodies (for example, the Medical Council of Canada, the Pharmacy Examining Board of Canada, and Engineering professional associations) have designed *objective* assessment measures such as written evaluative exams²² to determine educational background. Nevertheless, many others²³ rely on more subjective measures such as correspondence with certifying bodies overseas, personal interviews and establishing panels to review academic equivalency (DePass, 1989:19). The use of such subjective measures²⁴ allows for the possibility of evaluation

based on stereotypical notions of overseas-gained credentials (as discussed in the previous paragraph). DePass suggests that, as the majority of professional immigrants are visible minorities²⁵, the use of such subjective measures with immigrants can ultimately lead to discrimination on the basis of race. (See next section on Discrimination.)

In addition to having academic credentials recognized, immigrant professionals often require practicums or internships to receive certification or license to practice. The internship for doctors, a prerequisite to practising medicine, is often unavailable to immigrant physicians. In Manitoba internships have been opened for a very limited number of refugee doctors (but not for doctors in other immigration categories) and, because "*little is known about the education of doctors*" from other countries (DePass, 1989) (even about those trained at institutions recognized by the *Directory of Medical Schools*) a distinct preference is given, by the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Ontario, to those trained in the U.S. and Britain and, in addition, by the College in British Columbia, to those from the *old Commonwealth* countries of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (DePass, 1989).

As *immigrant teachers* are the focus of this study, it is appropriate at this point to examine the accreditation/certification process an immigrant teacher moves through by first considering what is done in Canada in general and then by looking at the process in the province of Manitoba.

In contrast to other professionals seeking accreditation/certification in Canada, immigrant teachers deal with only *one* assessing body - in all Canadian provinces the *provincial Ministries of Education*

are totally responsible for assessing the credentials of foreign-trained teachers and for granting certification for teachers to practice in that particular province²⁶. This is where the similarities end. Canada has no standardized measures of *teacher competence* as applied in the United States²⁷ and consequently each province has its own *system* of assessing overseas teaching credentials.

The Ministry of Education in British Columbia uses UNESCO's universal directory of post-secondary institutions as a reference to determine whether the program studied led to government certification in the country of origin and whether the teacher education component is comparable to its own²⁴ (Fernando & Prasad, 1986). The Ministry of Education in Ontario uses membership in the *Association of Commonwealth Universities* or in the *International Association of Universities* for essentially the same purposes as outlined for the B.C. ministry and, in addition, considers *years of scholarship* (17 years denotes the equivalent of an Ontario graduate) when determining sufficiency of education. Many Ministries of Education rely on university accreditation bodies to assess the academic credentials of immigrants, as is the case in Manitoba (Tatro, 1989). Manitoba's Ministry of Education assesses the teacher education component of an immigrant candidate's documentation on a case-by-case basis, and in situations in which no documentation is available (such as candidates coming from "*behind the Iron Curtain*"), opportunity will be made for an applicant to verbally outline his/her program in such a way as to facilitate a comparison with Manitoba teacher education requirements. These teachers will then be advised as to what further training they require for certification purposes.

Immigrant professionals also frequently mention another obstacle to resumption of their careers in Canada, that of *discrimination*, one that has been well-documented in literature on the subject. First it is relevant to consider a profile of immigrant professionals in Canada.

In 1981, members of visible minority groups constituted 5 per cent (numbering 600,000, CEIC:1986) of the total Canadian labor force of two million. Of this group, a large proportion (80 per cent) are immigrants to Canada, two-thirds of whom have immigrated since 1970 (following the amended immigration regulations of the previous decade) (DePass, 1988:19). As a consequence, a significant percentage of the current visible minority work force is a population of recently-arrived immigrants who: (1) have generally higher levels of education (Appendix: 2A.3; McDade, 1988:1); (2) demonstrate lower overall rates of unemployment, and are often found working in occupations not commensurate with education and experience (DePass, 1988:5; Prasad & Fernando, 1986:52), and (3) who experience obstacles to employment such as those of accreditation and certification in a profession (as discussed above) but as well have been found to be subject to racial discrimination by educational institutions, professional bodies, and by employers (Fernando & Prasad, 1986). Actions which *appear* fair may actually be discrimination *hidden* in a system (systemic) rather than being more obvious individual discrimination.

Such actions as a differential assessment of the credentials of graduates from the same university, one a member of the *mainstream* and the other a visible minority (DePass:1989:18), discrimination on the basis of a slight *accent* (one in which in no way interferes with comprehensibility) (DePass:1988:7; Fernando & Prasad:1986:100) and stereotypical assumptions

about particular racial groups (Billingsley & Muszynski:1985:14) are examples of overt individual racial prejudice. Using *Canadian experience* as a criterion for employment, interview practices which are designed for a homogeneous population and are not culturally sensitive, or ascribing stereotypical notions of a group to an individual. (eg. "Teachers over fifty years old must be 'burnt out'.) are all examples of organizational or *systemic* discrimination, in which "unwittingly adopted systems often have unjustifiably negative effects" (Abella, 1984:9). "Because systemic discrimination is inherent to a system, not necessarily to individuals who manage a system, it requires systemic solutions." (Billingsley & Muszynski, 1985:15).

Equality in employment is measured by the impact of recruitment, selection, promotion, and termination practices of employers on the available work force, rather than by the documentation of deliberate or undeliberate *discriminatory* behavior between individuals (Abella, 1984:9) states that simply "*determining intent to discriminate [is] not sufficient*" but that employers must look *beyond* intent. Employment equity must look at *impact* rather than *motive* and therefore such checks as monitoring the visible minority (or other *target group* members- eg. women or disabled people) composition of a workforce is an essential element of determining equality of employment. A stipulation of the *Employment Equity Act* (1986), which applies to any corporations with more than one hundred employees *functioning on behalf of the government of Canada* (and therefore including Crown corporations such as Canada Post and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) requires that employers collect data on the employment status of target group employees for the purpose of establishing timelines for

specific hiring and promotion goals. In a study of two hundred randomly-selected employers representing all sectors of the work force in Toronto, 92 per cent of employers acknowledged that they had not kept any record of the racial make-up of their establishment (Billingsley & Muszynski: 1985:89). Employers recruiting *senior, higher paid* employees (those in management as well as professionals) often used *informal* recruitment measures which have demonstrated discriminatory potential (Billingsley & Muszynski, 1985:15,16) and *ability to fit in*²⁹ was rated above *health* and *maturity* as selection categories for the same senior positions and, additionally, above *education* and *references* for the management positions (Billingsley & Muszynski, 1985:24).

A survey of employment equity practices in Ontario School Boards (Harvey, 1988) demonstrated that almost all (98 per cent) school boards were able to assess their workforce in terms of gender (although only 58 per cent actually do collect such information for employment equity purposes). Sixty percent of the school boards had the capability to analyze their visible minority composition while only 7.4 per cent actually did so. To date, no such survey has been done in Manitoba.

As mentioned previously *language and accent* often create barriers for immigrants attempting to work in Canada. Although these two competencies are definitely related, there is a crucial distinction that must be made in order to discuss whether a barriers to re-entry into a profession might be deemed *unjustifiable* (and therefore discriminatory) or whether such barriers are *justifiable* appropriate expectations of Canadian employers. It seems that the deciding factor must be *whether or not language and accent interfere with comprehensibility to the extent that they preclude job competence?* If an individual has little competence in

English or French and language competence is required for job performance (the degree of which varies from one profession to another), then an employer may be justified in requiring further language training (provided sufficient and appropriate language training is available). However, if a job candidate demonstrates *language competence*³⁰ while speaking with a *non-Canadian accent* and is discriminated against on this basis, he/she has experienced a *non-justifiable* barrier to employment.

Some accents may be perceived as more *acceptable* and therefore hold more prestige than others. A black Caribbean man interviewed by DePass (1988) felt that his employer assumed that the English spoken by Caribbeans needed upgrading whereas no such assumption was made of his white colleagues with Australian or Cockney accents.

In concluding this discussion of barriers to access into professions in Canada, it is important to note that *women immigrants* experience obstacles in resuming a career in Canada which are somewhat different from those experienced by male immigrants. Immigrant women often experience what is referred to as a *multiple negative*, (Epstein, 1973) disadvantages due to race, ethnicity, class, and sex.

Because of the fact that immigrant women are often considered dependent on their husbands, they are often categorized as *sponsored* immigration applicants and encouraged to apply as *family class* or *assisted relatives* rather than as *independent* immigrants. By virtue of this immigration classification, they may be ineligible for the same training program subsidies as the *principal applicant* in the family receives, and as a consequence, many women who had been economically independent in their countries of origin become economically, socially and emotionally dependent upon their husbands in Canada. Roxana Ng (1981:113) notes:

[Immigration] policies very clearly lead to a woman's economic dependence on her family, since opportunities for becoming independent are curtailed on the basis of her immigration status.

Because of the legal stipulation that family class and assisted relatives will be supported by their sponsors for a period up to ten years, almost two-thirds of female immigrants are denied access to legal aid, income assistance, subsidized housing, and other publicly funded social services...

(Estable, 1986:15)

Immigrant women in Canada have different access to education, are stuck in jobs ghettos, face greater unemployment and under-employment and encounter restricted job mobility and advancement. Their access to services to which all Canadians are entitled to receive, including health services, is very limited. They earn less money than Canadian women, no matter how long they work here. Their pensions, if they ever get them, will also be very small.

(Estable, 1986:2)

It is critical to recognize at this point, that which cannot necessarily be taken for granted, that is, that immigrant women are *not* a *homogeneous* group and, in fact, given social class differences, differences in educational opportunity and occupational status in countries around the world - one might expect them to be much more distinctly *heterogeneous* than Canadian-born women. It is well-known that immigrants *in general* have higher educational attainment than native-born Canadians (See Appendix, 2A.3), yet educational attainment varies greatly between immigrants from southern Europe for example and those from Southeast Asia. As a matter of fact, the majority of the subjects for this study, namely, Filipino women, have the highest educational attainment of any Canadian immigrants (both men and women) (see Appendix, Table 3), and therefore must be considered unique in that light when compared to other immigrant women in general.

Regardless of educational or other advantages *any individual woman* might have, *all women* share the *objective* factors of being a *minority*

(being denied access to full participation in societal opportunity) yet often do not share the *subjective* minority group consciousness either because they are unaware of discrimination against them or because they accept it (Ghosh, 1980). In the case of immigrant women, any difficulties faced, such as access to employment may be compounded by sex as well as race, although the racial factors may be perceived to be the determinant force. Additionally, throughout the world women who work outside the home continue to be responsible for the bulk of domestic responsibilities including child-rearing. It is expected that issues such as access to retraining programs for immigrant workers in general and teachers specifically will be influenced more by the number of small children at home for female immigrants than for their male counterparts.

This study will be discussed in light of the fact that the majority of the subjects are female Philippine-trained teachers who *may experience concerns and problems in addition to both Canadian-trained female teachers as well as to Philippine-trained male teachers.*

NOTES

1. 1947 Postwar Immigration Policy, the amendment to the Immigration Act of 1931. Absorptive capacity in King's terms included those who could be *advantageously absorbed* but excluded "any considerable oriental immigration [which] would be certain to give rise to social and economic problems" (Canada, Manpower and Immigration, 1974).
2. See Troper & R. Whitaker (1987) discussions of Canada's *less than glowing* record of refugee settlement.
3. "All sorts of people from ex-Nazi's to Jewish survivors of the Holocaust were jumbled together (and) the truth about what people had done over the war years was often as evanescent as the tattered 'documentation' clutched in their hands" (Whitaker, 1987:26) .
4. Several authors (Hawkins, 1972; Whitaker, 1987; Abella, 1983) discuss the Postwar policy emphasis on security and on discretionary power of minister of immigration. Canada adopted American anti-Communist sentiment which was reflected in immigration practices. When sponsored applicants were viewed as suspicious or *subversive*, their Canadian relatives were simply told that the applications were found *impracticable and not satisfactory* (Whitaker, 1987:29) and not given further information or opportunity to appeal the decision. Whitaker argues that the selection of displaced persons became a Cold War issue in which anti-Communism and ethnic discrimination were rampant thereby allowing for disproportionate admissions from countries under Soviet domination and a disproportion lack of admissions from Jewish applicants (p.76). Irving Abella (None is Too Many) points to attempts to divert Jewish displaced persons away from Canada and into Israel and other anti-Semitism in Canadian immigration policy, such as the discriminatory category on application forms where only Jewish applicants were identified by religion.
5. The *admissible classes* to Canada in 1945 included: 1. British subjects (as defined in a previous order of council as "British by birth, or naturalization in Great Britain or Ireland, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia and the Union of South Africa")(P.C.183); 2. U.S. citizens; 3. the wife and unmarried children under 18 or fiancées of men resident in Canada 4. "agriculturalists having sufficient means to farm in Canada". (Hawkins, 1972).
6. Includes: spouse, fiance(e), parents, grandparents, children, brothers and sisters with spouse and unmarried children, and orphaned nephews or nieces

7. "Annual Average Overseas Branch Expenditure (1944-1969)": No expenditure whatsoever in Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America or Asia (with the exception of Hong Kong and India (1951) prior to 1967 (Green, 1976:Table B-2) 7.
8. It is important here to note that nothing in the Immigration Act barred immigration on racial grounds but the government used such tactics as inadmissibility on *medical grounds* for denying admissions to people from races seen as undesirable. See Troper's Only Farmers Need Apply (1972) discussion on black-American immigration into Alberta.
9. Education (max.12pts); Vocational Training (max.15pts); Occupational Experience (max.8pts); Occupational Demand (max.10-must get at least 1); Arranged Employment (with-10pts.without-0pts); Age (10pts.if 21-44; -2pts.for ea.year +44/-21); Languages (max.15pt.for fluency in both English and French); Personal Suitability- *ability to adapt to Canadian life* (max 10 pts); Levels control-changes with gov.policy regarding #'s projections (max10pts).
10. Although immigration policy states that a successful applicant must receive at least one point in the occupational category, discussions with officials in the federal Employment & Immigration office, stated that overseas immigration officers *use discretion* and a candidate may be able to *make up the required points elsewhere* (telephone interview with D. Duffie of the "Occupational Studies and Program Linkage; Strategic Policy & Planning, Employment & Immigration Canada, October, 1989). He also suggested that "teachers would probably get 1 point" if they were seen by the immigration officer to be employable. For example, he said "Maybe they could teach computers [skills which seem to be in more demand] rather than a regular elementary class".
11. Between 1945 and the early 1980's, 80 per cent of accepted refugees were from communist countries (Whitaker, 1987:290). Designated class refugees from communist countries accounted for 87 per cent and refugees from right-wing dictatorships 3 per cent of all entries. (Employment & Immigration Canada, 1984-5)
12. Paul Cappon in *The Green Paper: Immigration as a Tool of Profit* (Canadian Ethnic Studies (1975) 7 (no.1) suggests that the objective of Canada's immigration policy is "the importation of foreign labor to supply the requirements of Canadian-American capital."(p.50). The goals of the Green Paper as they relate to manpower are: to develop and train a permanent labor force fully responsive to Canada's needs (which Cappon says are *corporation needs*); to institute a *guest-worker* system which absolves the government and corporations from training/retraining costs; and to utilize immigrant labor, the cost of which is absorbed by other governments.

13. Interview with D. Duthie, Occupational Studies and Program Linkage, Employment & Immigration, Ottawa. He emphasized that all applications are assessed on an individual basis and that the overseas offices apply the point structure *primarily considering how quickly an applicant could work* and that even if a candidate received a "0" on occupational demand, he could *make up the points in another category* and therefore be admitted to Canada.
14. The ministry of Labor and Employment processed overseas workers at an average increase of 37.2 per cent/year during the period 1975-1983 (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration).
15. Thirty per cent in the decade 1973-1983. (*Immigrants to Canada by Intended Occupations*) Immigration Statistics: Employment and Immigration, 1983.
16. Due to the fact that the *dependency ratio* (the proportion of *economically inactive* individuals over 65 and under 20 years vs. the *economically active* population between the ages of 20 and 64) remains in balance.
17. Those stating *teacher* as their intended occupation on immigration application
18. Over 70 per cent of Fernando & Prasad's (1986) respondents identified this as a major obstacle.
19. Interprovincial mobility of both trades and professions is limited. *Red Seal* (national certification) programs for trades is beginning to improve mobility for that work but most professions continue to be regulated by province. (Fernando & Prasad, 1986)
20. Such as TOEFL scores measuring English grammar skills but not necessarily communicative skills
21. Recognized medical institutions (DePass, 1989)
22. Not the *qualifying* exam for certification purposes.
23. Apt Associates list *Law* and DePass (1989) notes: dieticians, architects and accountants. Accreditation/certification of teachers would also be included in this group.
24. Subjective measures affect assessment of credentials, eg. Fernando & Prasad's (1986) numerous examples of graduates from the same institutions being granted different status and a graduate from a law school in India being asked to write a pre-entry aptitude test. Additionally, subjective measures are used in interview practices whereby candidates are screened for their ability to *fit in*, a quality often determined by such subjective measures as "speech patterns, eye contact, body language and dress". (DePass, 1988:7)

25. Eighty per cent of visible minority labor are immigrants (CEIC, 1986). See profile of the immigrant professional in discussion on *Discrimination* (p.39).
26. However, certification from one province is not necessarily recognized in another although some provincial ministries of education do have bilateral agreements.
27. *Competency Testing* for teacher certification was used by 38 states in 1984. Many states use the nationally standardized *N.T.E.* and some (eg. California) has devised its own. These measure: 1. reading comprehension; 2. math skill; and 3. writing proficiency.
28. Thereby including philosophical foundations of education, teaching methods, measurement of student achievement, and a supervised practicum.
29. See footnote #20 re: *fitting in*.
30. Epstein, C., 1973: describing disadvantages according to race, ethnicity, class, and sex.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

A. PROCEDURE / METHODOLOGY:

To explore the work-related experiences and career paths of Filipino teachers living in Manitoba, it was decided to utilize a combination of research methods and instruments. A questionnaire distributed to the population of Filipino teachers in Manitoba was followed by more in-depth interviews of selected teachers.

1. **Subjects:**

Subjects are teachers who trained in the Philippines and who now live in Canada. These Filipino teachers were contacted through their association, the Manitoba Association of Filipino Teachers' Association (MAFTI), and, using these Filipino teachers to identify others, non-MAFTI members were identified.

2. **The Questionnaire:**

A *questionnaire* (See APPENDIX 3A.1) was designed to collect initial/preliminary background data on the teachers along with their career histories and perceived barriers to career development. The questionnaire was field-tested with two immigrant teachers (one Filipino and one Mexican-trained teacher). The questionnaire was revised and the thesis committee reviewed procedures with the researcher. Fifty revised questionnaires were first mailed to all MAFTI Filipino teachers in Manitoba in May, 1989 and a further seven non-MAFTI members were identified through the use of a *snowball technique* (using known subjects

to identify further subjects) and sent questionnaires as well. "Reminder", follow-up letters were sent to all and a total of thirty-four questionnaires were returned (60 per cent of all distributed) by the cut-off date of September, 1989.

Twenty-six units (See Appendix 3A.4) of questionnaire data were coded and tabulated using SAS statistical analysis. Frequencies and percentages were calculated for the purposes of *descriptive analysis* (eg. frequency and percentage tables of *Years of Post-secondary Education*). In addition, some *2x2* and *2x3* cross-tabulations were done to determine the relationships between variables (eg. date of immigration as it relates to *perceptions of educational administrators' reluctance to hire non-Canadian teachers*).

3. Examining the Preliminary Findings from the Questionnaire:

Development of Interview:

Several issues surfaced from the questionnaire as significant factors affecting the resumption of a teaching career in Manitoba. The following factors will be further investigated in the interview.

i. Accreditation:

Recognition of overseas credentials was the most often identified barrier to career resumption. It was seen as a *major obstacle* by 72 per cent of the Filipino teachers queried and as a *minor obstacle* by 25 per cent. Only one individual suggested that this issue proved no barrier.

ii. Certification:

With regard to issues of certification, *time* needed to complete requisite courses represented the greatest difficulty (for 90 per cent of the subjects - 92 per cent of women and 83 per cent of the men), with

subject area/Canadian content re-certification posing at least a minor obstacle for 77 per cent and *re-certification in teaching methods* appearing as a significant barrier to 68 per cent. Sixty-seven percent felt that a lack of supports such as financial and day care interfered with their re-certification process. A much smaller proportion felt that accessibility of required courses was a problem.

iii. Other Barriers Identified by the Respondents in the Questionnaire:

Language barriers were referred to 3 times (or in 10 per cent) of the questionnaire, with two referring particularly to *non-Canadian* accents. This issue of *accent* is one in which: a. the possibility for discrimination is great; and therefore b. more research must be done:

1.) vis-a-vis *non-Canadian accent* (which in itself is obviously problematic to determine) vs. teacher effectiveness or 2.) to examine tools which adequately measure the extent to which *accent* interferes with comprehensibility. As a result, it was decided to assess the language proficiency of the interviewed teachers by applying an adaptation of the ACTFL instrument to the seven audio-taped interviews.

Time/financial constraints greatly influenced the resumption of teaching career in Manitoba; 3 individuals (10 per cent) mentioned *working full-time and studying* as obstacles and others suggested that there *was no guarantee of placement* even after completing all the certification requirements. In addition, the fact that courses required for certification were *mostly elective and some are irrelevant and a waste of time* (rather than *standard* requirements for a Manitoban-certified teacher) was disturbing to one Filipino teacher.

Recognition of overseas experience was seen as a barrier for 87 per cent of the subjects, while 77 per cent felt that there was a *reluctance of Canadian educational administrators* to hire teachers trained outside of Canada, with this trend appearing to increase with *time* (ie. more of the more recent immigrant group felt that this represented a significant issue). There were sentiments of *priority given to Canadians (trained)* and "*consideration limited for non-Canadian*", even to the extent of "*hiring less competent teachers*" and "*lack of Affirmative Action Policy*" all considered to be issues of *Discrimination*.

4. Determining Whom to Interview:

Three significant factors arose in analyzing the questionnaire data. One was that *year of immigration* seemed to play a significant role in a Filipino teacher's career development in Manitoba. Another significant factor was a Filipino teacher's current Manitoban *professional status* (teaching certification held). Lastly, *level of integration* (whether teaching as a teacher's aide, part-time, etc.) within Manitoba educational systems was felt to be significant.

Consequently, in determining which of the 34 questionnaire respondents to interview, the group was divided into a 36 cell grid to examine the effects of certification (2 levels), date of arrival (3 levels) location (2 levels) and level of participation (3 levels) on the subjects. Subjects to be interviewed represent a range of these 3 variables (see Table 3.0).

It was decided that 7 interviewees may be the most appropriate number to interview because:

1. the greatest number of subjects seem to be concentrated in seven cells;

2. the ratio of subjects interviewed to subjects available in this category is more consistent if 7 cells are used ie. 1:6 certified high participation rural and 2:10 certified high participation urban; 2:7 uncertified low participation urban and 1:5 medium participation urban. Approximately the same ratios exist when the category of date and arrival is considered ie. pre-1972 1:7, 1972-1974 4:16, and post 1975 2:9.

TABLE 3.0

Seven Subjects To be Interviewed as Indicated by 36 Cell Grid.

Part. Rates	CERTIFIED						UNCERTIFIED					
	RURAL			URBAN			RURAL			URBAN		
	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
Date of Arrival												
Pre - 1972	-	-	2	-	-	5*	-	-	-	-	-	-
1972 - 1974	-	-	4*	1	1	3*	-	-	-	3*	4*	-
Post 1974	-	-	-	2*	-	2	-	-	-	4*	1	-
TOTAL	0	0	6	3	1	10	0	0	0	7	5	0
*to interview			*1:6	*1:3	*2:10					*2:7	*1:5	

Teachers within each *cell* that was to be interviewed were randomly selected and contacted by phone to request an interview (See Appendix 3A.3).

5. The Interview:

The *interview* used in this study (Appendix 3A.4) was developed around three areas of the immigrant teachers' work experience: 1. immigration and career expectations; 2. what actually occurred when the

teacher settled (what re-training they undertook and what employment they sought and received); and 3. future career plans.

In exploring these areas, subjects were encouraged to expand on themes that arose in the accreditation/certification process, to discuss the progression of their teaching careers, and to speak more about issues arising from the questionnaire e.g. perception of discrimination, movement from northern to urban school divisions, etc. The interview will attempt to *document these selected work-related experiences of Filipino teachers.*

The *Interview Schedule* (Appendix 3A.4) was followed loosely, and while all questions were being addressed they were not necessarily addressed in the same order as in the schedule. The site of the interview was decided by the teacher interviewee. Interviews took place in teachers' homes (2), in their schools (2), at another workplace (1), in a library (1), and by telephone (1). The length of the interviews ranged from fifty to ninety minutes.

6. Transcribing Interviews:

Audio-tapes of the interview were transcribed by the researcher and random segments were verified as authentic and accurate by the Thesis Advisor.

7. Assessing Language Proficiency:

Because oral English language proficiency was believed to be a factor in the career development of these teachers, Thesis Advisor, Dr. Pat Mathews, was asked to use the audio-tapes of the seven teachers interviewed to evaluate the oral language proficiency using *A.C.T.F.L. Oral Proficiency Ratings*². Three teachers were ranked as *advanced high*³ meaning that, according to this particular interview and scale, they

function at a level "*able to satisfy most work requirements*", while three were ranked *intermediate high* (able to satisfy survival needs and limited social demands). One teacher, according to the taped interview, was found to rank at a *intermediate mid* level (able to satisfy *some* survival needs and some limited social demands). It appears that there is a relationship between the (oral English) language proficiency assessment and the level of employment integration.² However, further study would be required to determine which of the factors involved in language proficiency (discourse levels, pronunciation) come most into play in a teachers employability.

8. Analyzing Interview Data:

The interview, designed in an attempt to document in more depth select work-related experiences raised in the questionnaire shed more light on many concerns only superficially mentioned in the questionnaire data.

Themes such as, concerns to the accreditation process, discussion regarding re-certification, sacrifices made in attempting to secure a teaching position in Manitoba, concerns about under-employment and discrimination, selection practices, and others, were highlighted in the typed transcripts and categorized in an attempt to organize and discuss individual issues. The interviews served to illuminate the *accreditation, certification, and job-seeking processes* through which an immigrant teacher, in this case a Filipino teacher, may proceed.

The issues raised in interview data were considered in light of literature relating to accreditation in Canada/Manitoba, and of literature on personal and systemic discrimination. Overall, the issues raised were considered in light of literature on marginalization, and of a political/analysis of the immigration of foreign-trained professionals.

Names given to Filipino teachers for the purpose of discussing the interviews are fictitious names and *any similarity to names of Filipino teachers in Manitoba is purely coincidental.*

B. IMMIGRANT TEACHERS IN MANITOBA

Recent immigrant teachers to Manitoba (those arriving since the 1982 restrictions on selected workers to Canada) have entered Canada predominately (44 per cent) in the *Family Class* category (which suggests that their skills have not been in high demand but that they were admitted on the basis of *family re-unification*), and in the Refugee Class (42 per cent). Only 12 per cent have been admitted as Independents and 2 per cent as Assisted Relatives (Canada, Employment and Immigration, Landed Immigrant Data System, 1983-1987). Seventy-four percent of these same immigrant teachers were classified as the *Principal Applicants* while 25 per cent entered as the spouses of principal applicants. A very few (4 per cent) had a pre-arranged teaching position. Of the group of immigrant teachers arriving since 1982, 31 per cent came from Europe, 19 per cent from Asia & the Pacific, 17 per cent from South & Central America, 15 per cent from the U.S., 14 per cent from Asia & the Middle East, and 5 per cent from the U.K. The majority, i.e. 56 per cent, were K/Elementary teachers, about 30 per cent were secondary teachers of academic subjects, while the remaining 14 per cent taught in specialized areas at both levels (with no particular specialty standing out as *high-demand*) (Canada, Employment and Immigration, Landed Immigrant Data System, 1983-1987).

C. PROFILE OF FILIPINO-TRAINED TEACHERS IN MANITOBA:

Reflective of Philippine immigration to Canada and Manitoba in general, the majority of Philippine-trained teachers now living in Manitoba arrived in the years immediately following the Marcos takeover in 1972 with 21 per cent of the respondents arriving in the year 1972 and 55 per cent immigrating between 1972-1976. (During the entire 1980's, according to available data, less than ten Filipinos immigrated to Canada and Manitoba stating "*teacher*" as the intended occupation.) During the peak immigration period in the early 1970's, many Filipino teachers may have *expected to find a teacher shortage* in Canada since, as recently as three or four years previously, immigrant teachers had been recruited to fill teacher vacancies due to the increased student enrolment of the post-war "baby boomers". However, by the mid 1970's these students had graduated from high school and a large number of them were teachers looking for jobs themselves. In fact, the year before the heaviest immigration of Filipinos to Canada (1971), the number of immigrant teachers admitted to Canada was cut in half and the numbers of admissions decreased to the late 1970's (See Appendix 2A.1).

Despite the fact that there has been a *teacher surplus* for more than fifteen years, some weight must be given to the "employment-related" capability (Canada, 1983:14) of immigrant teachers at this time, as evidenced by the fact that 40 per cent of the Filipino teachers *responding to the questionnaire* stated that they entered Canada in the *Independent* immigration category³. It was interesting to note that while 34 per cent of the female respondents immigrated as *independents*, a much smaller proportion of men fell into this category (with the majority entering as *assisted relatives*). Finding a higher proportion of women in the

independent category was surprising as much of the literature on immigrant women in Canada suggests that there are three *dependent* women immigrants for every *independent* immigrant woman entering Canada (Estable, 1986) and that most of the *sponsored* immigrant women have been sponsored by their husbands. It was thought that a higher percentage of the male Filipino teachers may have been encouraged to apply as *independents* but this was not the case (the sampling of male teachers was very small N=7). In addition, over half of both the female and male teachers (58 per cent females, 60 per cent males) were considered the *principal applicant* for the family which suggests that either the occupation of "teacher" was felt to hold significant status (to be *point-rewarding*) or perhaps that female Filipino immigrants (or this particular group of Filipino female immigrant teachers) is somewhat different from "*the norm*" in terms of their occupational-immigration status. The fact that approximately 60 per cent of all the respondents were the principal applicants and that all are teachers may be somewhat misleading as it has become clear that some of these teachers immigrated with stated "*intended occupation*" being one other than "teacher"; for instance, some indicated that they entered as garment workers. In 12 per cent of the cases, the principal applicant to immigrate was a nurse, 8 per cent were garment workers and other principal applicants included tradespeople and other highly-skilled workers.

In terms of post-secondary education, all had completed a *four year* (41 per cent) or a *five year* (59 per cent) *college or university* program. Of the group, all but three (90 per cent in total), graduated from institutions which are members of the International Association of Universities and therefore recognized internationally⁴.

Fifty-five percent of this group currently hold a permanent

professional Manitoba teachers' certificate, 10 percent have a provisional certificate, and 35 per cent hold no Manitoban certification. As it was not asked directly on the questionnaire, it is difficult to ascertain which teachers ended up teaching in the north due to lack of access in the cities but examining the Manitoban work experience requested in the questionnaires, it appears that, except for two or three who are known to have begun as contract teachers in Winnipeg, the *majority of presently-certified teachers once taught outside of Winnipeg.*

NOTES

1. However, an acknowledged limitation to this study is that it documents Filipino teachers' *experiences and perceptions* (as conveyed in individual, single interviews) and does not include "the other side of the story": ie. school administrators' points of view) so for purposes here, any discussion of the administrators' viewpoints vis-a-vis "*immigrant teachers*" comes from previous discussion (Young & Elliott, 1986), from school division policy (Appendix A.), and from other related literature.
2. The *criteria* from the ACTFL Oral Language Proficiency Scale (developed by the American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages) was applied after the interviews were recorded, in an attempt to make an assessment of oral English language proficiency. There was no actual, authentic, oral proficiency interview conducted.
3. The three teachers rated at an *advanced* were employed in 'professional' capacities (two as fully qualified teachers and one in a profession outside of teaching). The four teachers, rated as functioning at an intermediate level of oral proficiency were employed as "less" than fully-qualified teachers (in para-professional, more marginalized positions).
4. See discussion in Chapter 2, which alludes to the fact that immigrant teachers are seen as *flexible* labour - they are well-educated yet possibly not so *fixed* in their occupation that they are not *re-trainable*.
5. The Ontario Ministry of Education recognizes membership in the International Association of Universities for accreditation purposes. Education Manitoba does not utilize such membership criteria for accreditation purposes but relies on assessment made by the University of Manitoba (for academic evaluation) and reviews cases individually in terms of teaching-preparation (Interview with Victor Tetrault, Education Manitoba).

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS: ISSUES IN CERTIFICATION, SELECTION, AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT

The purpose of this chapter is, first, to present a *description of the data* collected, both from the thirty-four questionnaires returned and from the seven in-depth follow-up interviews with Filipino teachers in Manitoba, and second, by reviewing the literature and using current Department of Education policy, (interviews with educational administrators at Manitoba Education, University of Manitoba, and Winnipeg School Divisions) and other available information relating to the teaching profession in Manitoba, to attempt to organize and present an *analysis of the data*. This discussion will be structured by grouping information into three broad areas: Certification, Recruitment and Selection, and Career Development, in order to examine significant themes arising from the data.

In regards to Certification, accreditation or *failure to recognize overseas credentials* was the main concern of Filipino teachers with the *perception of arbitrariness* in the assessment process also constituting a major issue. Additionally, what amounted to a *cost-benefit analysis* applied to the decision as to whether to complete re-certification requirements, was a significant factor in the issue of Certification and Re-Training.

The issues in Recruitment and Selection are primarily issues of employment equity and multicultural education. They involve *networking* (to become 'known' to employers) and *marginalization* (being kept outside the mainstream work environment).

Lastly, what arose from the Career data was a large degree of *marginalization* and *movement from the north and rural areas of Manitoba into Winnipeg*, the large urban centre of Manitoba.

Before presenting the data on Certification it is first necessary to contextualize the Filipino teachers' experiences in the light of the shifting certification requirement of the past two decades.

CERTIFICATION

A. INTRODUCTION/ TEACHER CERTIFICATION IN MANITOBA

During the time period of interest to this study, 1965 - 1989, teacher certification requirements in Manitoba have become progressively more demanding (see Table 4.1). These changes have added to the confusion and uncertainty described by Filipino teachers who have had their credentials evaluated quite differently at different points in time. (Table 4.5 and corresponding discussion). While the attainment of a university degree was neither required nor the norm for public school teachers in the 1960's¹, a Bachelor of Education degree or its equivalent has been a requisite for teacher certification since 1982².

Presently, a Manitoba permanent professional certificate, entitling a teacher to teach any subject at any grade level from kindergarten to grade 12 inclusive, will be issued to a person who:

- 1.) is a graduate of a Manitoba university and holds a Bachelor of Education degree;
- 2.) holds a provisional professional certificate issued prior to September, 1987 and completes two years of successful teaching experience with superintendent approval or 30 hours of education courses in addition to those required for a provisional certificate.
- 3.) is a graduate of a university outside of Manitoba and either:
 - (i) holds a four year Bachelor of Education degree or equivalent, or;
 - (ii) holds an undergraduate degree or equivalent plus a two-year-after-a first-degree Bachelor of Education, or equivalent. (Educational Administration Act E10, 1982)

Teachers trained outside of Manitoba, wishing to be certified in the province, must present their credentials to the Teacher Certification Branch of the Department of Education (Education Manitoba) for evaluation. According to the Education Administration Act (1982), the Certification Branch is responsible for:

- (a) the evaluation of teachers' qualifications for certification purposes, and upon certification, for teacher salary classification purposes and;
- (b) the issuance of statements of professional qualifications of teachers.

The criteria initially applicable to overseas-trained teachers (criteria "3" above) requires that Manitoba Education determine whether or not a particular "international" degree is equivalent to a Manitoba B.Ed. degree. *Equivalency* is determined by the Department of Education on the basis of the following three criteria:

- (1) that degree attained is from a recognized institution;
- (2) that a teacher has a 4 year recognized program beyond a "grade 12" level;³
- (3) that the program of study include 2 years professional education, including student teaching and leading to certification or whatever documentation is required to teach public school in the country in which it was attained.

Manitoba has reciprocal agreements for the purpose of teacher certification with five other Canadian provinces: Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. Because Manitoba requires a two year professional component of its B.Ed. program, teacher candidates from neighboring provinces such as Saskatchewan (those requiring only one year professional training) are ineligible for Manitoba certification without further education. Teachers immigrating from the United States are often found to be adequately qualified in terms of academic coursework but lacking professional coursework. Teachers from other countries who meet certification requirements in terms of *years of scholarship* (number of years of program beyond what is considered a grade 12 level), who graduate from a recognized university⁴, and who meet the professional requirements (2 years plus student teaching leading to certification to teach in the country of origin) may not have credentials recognized if grades at graduation are below a specified G.P.A.⁵.

TABLE 4.1

"FLOW CHART" of MANITOBA TEACHER CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

MANITOBA REQUIREMENTS							
Letter of Authority	**"1st Class Certificate"	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Cert. Type
Date							
1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971	*high	30 Credit Hours	60 - Credit Hours (30 - Academic + 30 - Cert.)				1st Class
1972 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978			60 - Credits (as above)	*** 90 - Credit hours			2 & 3 year certs. common
1979 1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986	*low				120 Credit Hours		4 year B. Ed./ Perm. Prof. Cert.
1987 1988 1989						150 Credits (90 Bach & Degree 60 Ed. Hours)	4 year B. Ed./ 2 year 'After Degree'

*Permits/Letter of Authority: temporary certificates issued to non-qualified (non university-trained) teachers. Numbers peaked in 1967 (465). In 1979 (with teacher surplus), only 46 were issued.

**First Class Certificates: provisional (for 2 years) certificates issued to qualified teachers who have not completed a recognized university degree. Programs ranged in length from 1 to 3 years.

***Minimum requirements for "programs leading to certification" ranged from "1 yr.ed. + 1 yr.cert." courses in 1976 to "3 yrs.ed. + 1 yr. cert." in 1979 due to the upcoming B.Ed. requirement in 1982.

B. ASSESSMENT:

The data on the assessment of overseas credentials is taken from responses (N=34) to the questionnaire returned by Filipino teachers in Manitoba.

The issue of the *assessment of overseas credentials* was identified most frequently by Filipino teachers as a barrier to entering the profession in Manitoba. It was considered a barrier by 97% of teachers responding to the questionnaire (Table 4.2).

TABLE 4.2
 RECOGNITION OF OVERSEAS CREDENTIALS AS A BARRIER
 TO RESUMING TEACHING CAREER IN MANITOBA.

To what extent is this barrier?	Not an Obstacle	Minor Obstacle	Major Obstacle	TOTAL
Failure to recognize overseas credentials. Number:	1	8	25	34
Percentage:	3%	24%	74%	*101%

* Total percentages may vary from 100% because of rounding.

Recognition of Overseas credentials was a barrier over the entire time period of interest (1965 - 1988) but proved even more so with the progressively more stringent certification requirements and teacher oversupply (mid 1970's). Between 1973 and 1986 all teachers experienced *major obstacles* in having credentials recognized (Table 4.3). One teacher assessed in 1986 was given a provisional certificate on the basis that he had 18 years scholarship (See Table 4.4). (The other teacher arriving post 1986 stated experiencing only 'minor obstacles' on the questionnaire but when interviewed spoke of this issue as a major obstacle).

TABLE 4.3

OVERSEAS CREDENTIALS and DATE of ARRIVAL

DATE OF ARRIVAL	Not an Obstacle	Minor Obstacle	Major Obstacle	TOTAL
1965 - 1972		7 (41%)	10 (59%)	17
1973 - 1978			12(100%)	12
1979 - 1986			3(100%)	3
Post 1986	1 (50%)	1 (50%)		2
TOTAL:	1	8	25	34

Recognition of overseas credentials was seen as a problem for Filipino teachers graduating with *all* levels of education (Table 4.4). However, it appears that teachers with a "middle range" education (5 years of post-secondary education) perceive the most difficulty in having their credentials recognized.

TABLE 4.4

YEARS of SCHOLARITY and RECOGNITION
of OVERSEAS CREDENTIALS

Years of Scholaryty 10 Yrs. of Post-secondary Ed. (Primary/Secondary)	Not an Obstacle	Minor Obstacle	Major Obstacle	TOTAL
14	0 (-)	3 (27%)	8 (73%)	11
15	0 (-)	0 (-)	8 (100%)	8
16	0 (-)	2 (33%)	4 (66%)	6
18	1 (50%)	0 (-)	1 (50%)	1
TOTAL:	1	5	21	26

(*Total Years of Scholaryty* was recorded by 26 of the 34 teachers).

In terms of people holding *two or more University degrees*, Table 4.5 suggests that, as might be expected, they experienced slightly less of an obstacle than those who graduated with one. However, the data indicates

that more than 70 per cent of these teachers, too, reported difficulties in having their credentials recognized.

TABLE 4.5
 RECOGNITION of OVERSEAS CREDENTIALS as an OBSTACLE
 by
 NUMBER of UNIVERSITY DEGREES

University Degrees from Philippines	Not an Obstacle	Minor Obstacle	Major Obstacle	TOTAL	
1		5 (24%)	16 (76%)	21	(100%)
2	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	7 (70%)	10	(100%)
TOTAL:	1	7	23	31	

(The number of university degrees was recorded by 31 or the 34 students).

In the Philippines, children generally complete primary school in six years and high school in four allowing them to graduate from high school after ten years (albeit lengthier school semesters) in the education system. The Manitoba Department of Education assesses overseas credentials on the basis of "*grade twelve equivalency*" (see *Equivalency³ & Years of scholarship* Table 4.4) and since Filipino students generally graduate from high school after a period of ten years, the Department has determined that high school graduation in the Philippines is the equivalent of Grade 10 in Manitoba. As a result, an additional two years of university or college are required to attain what is considered "grade 12 equivalency". Therefore, teachers who have completed a four year university degree are seen as having only two years beyond grade 12 level and consequently, remain deficient (in terms of course hour equivalency to a Manitoba B.Ed.) by two years (60 credit hours) of university coursework.

The issue of years of scholarship (Table 4.4) was brought up in the interviews on a number of occasions. For example, Cora (fictitious name) saw it this way:

They gave me two years out of the four years for my degree from the Philippines because we're missing two years in high school, so we need two more years to get a degree here, do you know what I mean? But the twelve credit hours [Department of Education assessment of course requirements] just certified me to teach here, not giving me a degree here.

(Cora re 1974 assessment)

Two other teachers surveyed, one only by questionnaire and the second in an interview as well, stated that they had been given no *advance standing* (university credit) whatsoever for their post-secondary education in the Philippines. One teacher who had a total of seventeen *years of scholarship*, who had graduated from a university recognized by the International Association of Universities, and had twenty-four years of teaching experience in the Philippines, (some at the college level), reported that she was classified as a "*grade ten graduate*" after presenting transcripts and records to the Department of Education. Another with a Bachelor of Science in Education and a Masters in Sociology explained in the interview that she was classified by Manitoba Education as "*equivalent to a Manitoba high school graduate*".

I had my transcripts evaluated by the Department of Education and it was only equivalent to grade twelve...Even with my Masters', it is only equivalent to grade twelve. I am thinking, "What??" I didn't take any steps, including to the university, [none] except having my transcripts assessed, because the Department of Education had already informed me that my transcripts are only given the equivalent of grade twelve.

(Delia's (fictitious name) 1988 assessment)

As becomes evident, even teachers acquiring sixteen years of accredited *scholarship* (equated as four years beyond grade twelve) as well as those holding an education plus a second degree from an accredited institution are not always given full credit for their credentials. Only one teacher responding to the questionnaire, one with eight years of university education (6 years beyond *grade 12 equivalency*) was automatically issued a Manitoba Teacher Certification in 1988, meaning it would expire if the individual did not obtain a teaching job (See Tables 4.3 & 4.4) and the certificate remained provisional.

Other teachers with *graduate courses* (fifteen and sixteen years of scholarship) had to complete the same certification requirements as teachers with fourteen years, that is sixty credits towards a Manitoba B.Ed. (See Table 4.4 *Years of Scholarship*).

Although overseas-trained teachers may apply credit for additional university degrees obtained towards *salary classification*, once a Manitoba teaching certificate has been obtained, the maximum credits allowable as *advanced standing* (transferable towards a Manitoba Bachelor of Ed.) is 60 credits (or 2 years). Therefore, anyone required to complete a Manitoba B.Ed. since 1982 has had to complete 60 credits of coursework.

There are provisions in place for transferring in a portion of a Masters program to complete a University of Manitoba M.Ed., even though credit must 'fit into' the requisites of the prescribed program. However, *graduate level courses* completed in the Philippines by the teachers interviewed were not applied to a master's program at the 'University of Manitoba.

I argued that I had finished most of the courses in my M.Ed. program ...but they don't look at that. I had to do it over.

No, I don't know why they are so sticky with Master's - they don't even touch that, they didn't count *any* of them, they only counted the two years [of undergraduate work] so that's what I,m fighting for...I see the unfairness there but I tried and nothing's happening so I don't know. I tried to write to the Director of Certification there and they would say, "take it to the university' and the university couldn't count that - this has been for many years, from so long ago, so many reasons, you know.

(Cora)

What follows (Table 4.6) is a summary of the varying *advance standing* given to the seven teachers interviewed: With no difference in terms of numbers of years of scholarship⁶, nor in the degree attained⁷, credentials assessed in 1972 were found to be deficient six credit hours of university coursework, whereas a teacher (with essentially the same credentials) assessed two years later, in 1974, was required to complete 12 credit hours at a Manitoba university, as was a teacher graduate from a Philippine Normal College⁸ whose credentials were assessed in 1975. In 1978, the education of a Filipino teacher with the same educational background⁹ as the 1972 and 1974 assessments and with more years of scholarship than the three assessed in the early 1970's, was required to complete 30 credit hours to meet certification requirements. Whether this is in fact arbitrary or whether it only appears arbitrary is difficult to determine even by looking at changing certification requirements (See Table 4.1). Not having specific, in-depth evidence, such as a breakdown in the coursework of an individual Filipino teacher, it is not possible to say that these assessments were in fact subjective and arbitrary. However, there seems to be adequate evidence to suggest that the application of criteria for teacher certification **appears arbitrary/confusing** to those most directly affected, teachers trained outside of Canada.

TABLE 4.6

**CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS
PERCEIVED BARRIERS and PROFESSIONAL STATUS
of FILIPINO TEACHERS INTERVIEWED**

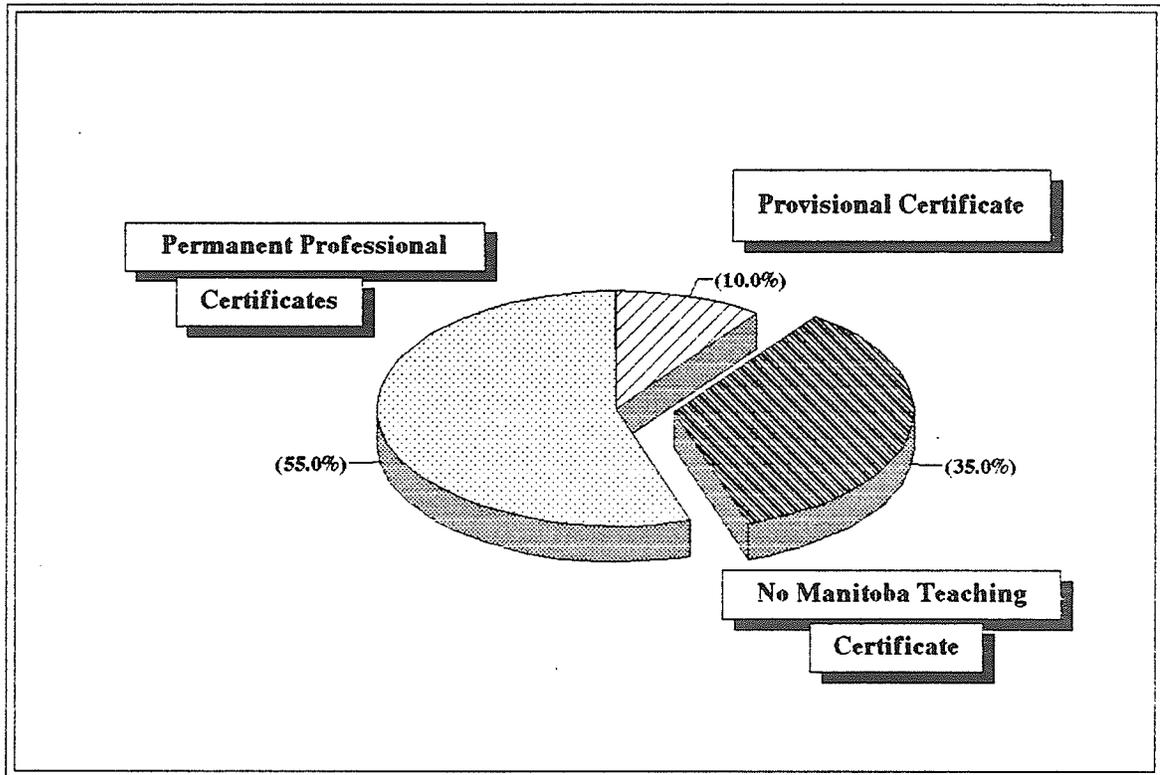
Year Assessed	Degree/Years Scholaryity	Retraining Required	Barriers Perceived	Cert. Type	Credit Teaching
1. Dante* (1968)	B.A. B.Sc.Ed. 15 years	10 months	Lack of credit for Ed. & Exp. Discrimination No Aff.Act.Pol	1969 "Ed.1" 1975: perm. (B.Ed.)	1 year (4.5 yrs ex.in Philip.
2. Nena* (1972)	B.Sc.Ed. 14 years	6 Credits to cert.	Lack of financial support	1974 "B1A2" (provis.)	4 years (4 yr. ex. in Philip.
3. Joy* (1973) (1981)	B.Sc.Ed. 14 years	6 months 2 years - 60 Credits	Financial Family Time restrict.	-----	-----
4. Cora* (1974)	B.Sc.Ed. 14 years	12 credits	Work/Study at same time No guarantees of job	1975: Class 2 1976: Class 3 1979: B.Ed. 1986: M.Ed.	10 yrs. (13 yrs. ex. in Philip.
5. Amelita* (1975)	B.Sc.Ed. Normal Sc.	12 credits	No guarantees of job Priority given Canadians	-----	-----
6. Manuel* (1978) (1972)	B.Sc.Ed. 15.5 years	30 credits 60 credits	Discrimination	1988: B.Ed. (perm prof)	-----
7. Delia* (1987)	B.Sc.Ed. M.A. (Soc) 16 years	120 credits (4 yr. prog.)	Ed. & exp. not credited Language Financial No guarantees	-----	-----

*All names are fictitious. Any similarity to names of teachers in Manitoba is purely coincidental.

TABLE 4.7

In response to the questionnaire, over one half of the Filipino teachers surveyed reported that they did go on to complete Manitoba Teacher Certification requirements.

FILIPINO TEACHERS HOLDING
MANITOBA TEACHING CERTIFICATES



Several other important issues in *Certification* appeared from the interview data. One issue that became more and more prominent in analyzing interview transcriptions was the fact that the Filipino teachers interviewed perceived a great deal of *arbitrariness* in the Accreditation/Certification process.

Although there may or may not have been systematic application of standardized requirements to the seven Filipino teachers' assessments (See Table 4.6), evidence from the teachers interviewed suggests that the application of criteria for teacher certification appears arbitrary/confusing to those most directly affected, teachers trained outside of Canada.

In 1973, Joy (fictitious name) was informed by the Certification Branch, that, because she "*had very good credits*", she would be required to take only "*6 months*" retraining (no number of courses credits was specified) "*to acquaint me on the Manitoba system of education*" in order to get a *license* to teach. When she inquired again (in writing) eight years later, she received a letter informing her that she now required two years (60 credits) to certify. In looking at the *flow chart* of certification requirements (Table 4.1), one can see that Manitoba Education had changed program requirements from a 3 year program to a four year requirement the year previous to Joy's second assessment. What the issue seems to be in this case is that Joy wasn't made aware of reasons why she was now being asked to complete a greater number of courses.

When Manuel (fictitious name), told earlier in 1978 to complete *one year* (30 credits) for certification, returned to have his credentials re-assessed in 1982, he was informed that he now required two years retraining (60 credits). He did not understand why the assessment had been changed.

The first time, I was given one year to work on some things to get my certification...but nobody told me that you could borrow some money for studies...I did not pursue anything...when they evaluated my credentials for the second time, I needed two full years.

Delia, assessed in 1987 was told that her credentials (including a master's degree) would be considered the equivalent of grade 12, requiring her therefore to complete the equivalent of a complete 4 years of study (120 credit hours) in order to get a Manitoba teachers' certificate. There appears to be very little explanation as to why she would be required to complete two more years of study than other Filipino teachers with fewer years of scholarship.

In order to determine the acceptability of "*off-shore*" credentials, the Department of Education¹⁰, has relied on the Registrar's Office of the University of Manitoba, involving the use of such memberships as the International Association of Universities and a range of other references.¹¹

Delia's (Interview #7) understanding of her recent (1987) assessment from Manitoba Education illustrates that in addition to and despite the confusion that might exist, there may also be *a perception or impression* that an individual applicant *has little right to information or recourse* in relation to the assessment of his/her own credentials. First, she described the assessment process:

I didn't talk to anyone because I just went there and they have this paper stating my records...that an education degree from other cultures is equivalent to grade 12.

Her entire communication with the Certification Branch was conducted by mail, which raises the issue of the effectiveness of such information exchange. Joy also received an assessment solely by mail and as a result

was uninformed and confused about the reasons her second assessment (1982) varied from an earlier one:

I wrote them a letter and they sent me a letter back, and they said it is going to take me two years to take all the courses they require [as opposed to an earlier only one] to get a certificate ... just a certificate something like a license to teach ...

Although individuals responsible for assessment both in the Department of Education (Tetrault, 1989) and at the University of Manitoba (Forrest, 1989) suggest that they make attempts to counsel individual applicants and in most cases speak with candidates in person *at some stage* of the process, it remains possible for an individual, applying for teacher certification in the province of Manitoba, to complete all necessary documentation by mail and never speak with another individual in the department.

The second issue addressed by Delia and other teachers' (Cora and Dante) experiences is one of self advocacy and of the belief in the opportunity for effective recourse. The majority of the Filipino teachers interviewed accepted the decision of the Department of Education as final, not necessarily expecting explanations. What appears to be unquestioned acceptance is demonstrated in Delia's experience:

I had my transcripts evaluated by the Department of Education and it was only equivalent to grade twelve...Even with my masters', it is only equivalent to grade twelve. I am thinking, "what??" I didn't take any steps, including to the university, [none] except having my transcripts assessed, because the Department of Education had already informed me that my transcripts are only given the equivalent of grade twelve. (1988 assessment)

Nena related:

Well, at first I felt like my degree back home wasn't considered at all ... like it was just considered two years' teachers training even though I completed my B.Ed. there [in Philippines..[but] it didn't discourage me because I thought maybe because they have a different school system here, that's how I assessed myself ... it didn't discourage me ..I said, "oh well, fine".

Two teachers interviewed who attempted to contest decisions made by the Certification Branch had this to say:

...I see the unfairness there but I tried and nothing is happening so I don't know. I tried to write to the Director of Certification there and they would say, "take it to the university' and the university couldn't count that - this has been for many years, from so long ago, so many reasons, you know. (Cora)

The department of Ed...they didn't understand my case... sometimes they just referred it to the secretary or whoever and they don't really understand our system in the Philippines...(Dante).

At present, there is no review or appeal mechanism for either certification and/or recognition of prior teaching experience at the Department of Education nor for assessment of prior learning (accreditation) at Manitoban universities¹².

Another issue raised was that the *lack of professional security* experienced by many of the Filipino teachers interviewed led them to consider pursuing further university studies.

Cora has completed studies beyond what she needed in order to certify because:

I have to keep up, to be able to compete...[because] I am new here, I have to work doubly hard, harder than people who have finished their degrees here.

Dante felt that his "upgrading" improved his mobility:

I was confident because I already had my special ed. certificate...I was constantly up-grading myself professionally so after my B.Ed. I started my master's program...

When faced with the increasing teacher surplus in the 1970's and the additional insecurity of movement between school divisions (short-term contracts, probationary contracts, and loss of seniority within a division), a teacher with less than a *permanent* teaching certificate had very few guarantees that his/her professional status and employment were secure. *First Class* certificates (See Table 4.3) were issued on an *interim* or *provisional* basis, meaning that the certificate could be rescinded without *due process* during a time period of two years, after which, upon completion of "successful teaching experience", it became permanent, if all conditions were met¹³. Teachers holding *permanent First Class* Certificates (See Table 4.3), that is, certification obtained without a Bachelor of Education, prior to the 1982 B.Ed. requirement, (and meeting other requirements such as Canadian citizenship) have not needed to complete a B.Ed. to retain their teaching certificates. Permanent certification was considered so crucial by one teacher that she *endured* a stay in a community in which violent disruptions had forced other teachers to resign:

I managed to stay up until June and at that time I asked the superintendent to give me a recommendation to get a permanent certificate.

Filipino teachers certified without a Manitoba B.Ed. teaching in the province during the fifteen year period prior to the 1982 change in regulations retained only temporary (*provisional*) certificates until they acquired *Canadian citizenship* (a period of up to five years)¹⁴. One teacher noted:

"...I got my citizenship, at which case I also got my permanent certificate. Because it's a requirement, they gave me a warning that if I don't get permanent certification they will take my certificate away from me."

Nena, (fictitious name) already with eight years teaching experience in the north expected that having a Manitoba university degree would increase her *chances of teaching employment in Winnipeg*, and with this in mind, she started applying to Winnipeg school divisions in 1983, after she completed her B.Ed. requirements:

...because I thought, 'well maybe they will consider this B.Ed...but I don't hear them ...

Because of concern over the lack of job security¹⁵, *and perhaps to "keep up with the competition"*, all three Filipino teachers employed in Manitoba school divisions in the 1970's (Cora, Dante, and Nena) acquired Manitoba B.Ed. degrees by studying during periods of teaching employment, by completing between 55 and 60 hours of credit in both Education and Arts & Sciences coursework. As all three of these certified teachers were working in the north while completing B.Ed. requirements, coursework had to be completed in the summer months, and one teacher took a year's unpaid leave to finish the requirements.

Following 1982, when to certify in Manitoba meant holding a Bachelor of Education or *equivalent*, all Manitoba graduates, except those not holding Canadian citizenship¹⁶ automatically received a Permanent Professional certificate. For Canadian citizens, the only probationary periods are the ones established by the employing school divisions, with the result being that for *Canadian citizens only*, these probationary periods have affected employment but not certification itself¹⁷.

All of the information gleaned from surveying Filipino teachers in Manitoba demonstrated that teachers considering pursuing re-certification requirements had complex decisions to make.

B. RE-CERTIFICATION: RETRAINING IN MANITOBA

Having been told that their existing credentials required upgrading, respondents to the Questionnaire identified several *obstacles* to pursuing re-training requirements. Time required to complete re-certification requirements posed an obstacle to the greatest percentage of teachers. Subject re-certification followed by a lack of available supports were also major concerns.

TABLE 4.8

BARRIERS to COMPLETING RE-TRAINING REQUIREMENTS

To what extent is this an important barrier to pursuing career in Manitoba?	Not an Obstacle	Minor Obstacle	Major Obstacle	TOTAL
Re-Certification in Subject area/ Canadian content	8 (24%)	11 (33%)	14 (42%)	32 (99%)*
Re-Certification in teaching methods/ student teaching	12 (36%)	11 (33%)	10 (30%)	33 (99%)*
Time required to obtain accred/certification	3 (9%)	14 (44%)	15 (47%)	32 (100%)
Required courses unavailable	13 (41%)	12 (38%)	7 (22%)	32 (100%)
Lack of supports	10 (30%)	10 (30%)	13 (39%)	33 (99%)*

* Total percentages may vary from 100% because of rounding.

(i) A "Cost-Benefit Analysis"

Once experienced teachers arrive and settle in Manitoba and complete the assessment of their credentials, they must *weigh their desire* to resume their chosen career against the *costs* (financial as well as family, time required, etc.) of completing prescribed re-training prescribed.

In order to pursue university studies¹⁸, prospective students, particularly adult students with families to support, may require *supports* of some kind, whether they be the provision of childcare or student loans.

Seventy percent of questionnaire respondents felt that *a lack of supports* (see Table 4.8 on preceding page) was an obstacle to the perusal of a teaching career in Manitoba. A *lack of supports* appears to have been more of a concern for teachers arriving during the period when certification requirements were being "*stepped up*" (throughout the late 1970's and 1980's). Seventy-five per cent experienced difficulties in the 1973 - 1978 period.

TABLE 4.9
LACK of SUPPORTS as a BARRIER
to RETRAINING

	Not an Obstacle	Minor Obstacle	Major Obstacle	TOTAL
1965 - 1972	5 (36%)	6 (43%)	3 (21%)	14 (100%)
1973 - 1978	3 (25%)	1 (8%)	8 (67%)	12 (100%)
1979 - 1986	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	4 (100%)
Post 1986	--	2 (100%)	--	2 (100%)
TOTAL:	10	10	12	32

Of the seven teachers interviewed only one (Dante) received funding from the university he attended for re-training and all others, except Nena, who required only six credit hours in order to certify, found that the *financial costs* necessary to pursue re-training posed a *major obstacle*.

But then [after hearing of the amount of retraining required] I didn't go for it because you know, I came and then I had my plane ticket to pay, I had my apartment to pay ... my sister (a garment worker) cannot afford to send me... Joy

I cannot have a full-time job and study too because you know, I am by myself and I need an income...I inquired about a study loan and I was told that I have to be here for two years before I can have a study loan. Delia

Manuel expressed the fact that he didn't return for re-training after his initial assessment due to the fact that no one told him about student loans¹⁹ and he couldn't afford not to retain his full-time salary.

Delia, arriving on her own, as an "independent" immigrant, related:

I have no one to support me. If I was with my friends or whatever when I came here or with my family..., maybe I would be able to pursue my studies... Manuel

Because of a strong urge to pursue their chosen careers, all three non-certified teachers interviewed said they would complete retraining requirements if given some *financial assistance*:

If I can get a subsidy to help me go through school, I can quit my job for a couple of years, so I'll do it, I'll go for it. (Joy)

Amelita began her retraining while shuffling two jobs but eventually found it too difficult and now says:

I'm hoping that I could get some help because if I go to school, in my mind, I need to be off work . . .because I find it hard working full-time and at the same time, going to school.

Subject Re-certification posed an obstacle to seventy-five percent of the respondents (Table 4.8, 33% minor and 42% major). Being required to re-do all courses in a particular *teachable* subject proved most problematic for those arriving post 1979, when teacher certification applicants were being required to complete a Manitoba Bachelor of

Education in order to certify. Joy felt that she already has adequate course training:

I think I have basically the same credits that teachers take here in Manitoba. Because I am a language teacher, I've taken a lot of language courses...

Even though the equivalency of his coursework was not established, Dante had this to say about required coursework in subject areas he had previously covered in his Philippine University education:

Some [of the courses] I'd taken back home already-like basic psychology ... Education courses, Foundations [courses], Philosophical Foundations, Sociological Foundations ... I took them back home and I took some graduate courses in them too so...although I wouldn't say they were boring, they were repetitive.

Another obstacle to retraining is the *length of time required* to complete certification requisites. Over ninety percent of the thirty-two respondents stated that time required to complete accreditation and certification was a barrier to pursuing their teaching career in Manitoba.

Recognition of overseas credentials was more of an obstacle for teachers arriving after more stringent requisites were put in place. Following 1979, *all* teachers perceived the length of time required to retrain as an obstacle. Almost seventy per cent of teachers arriving after 1972 found retraining time to be a major obstacle as compared to only 21 per cent, 1972 or earlier.

TABLE 4.10

LENGTH of TIME to COMPLETE REQUIREMENTS
as a BARRIER to RETRAINING

	Not an Obstacle	Minor Obstacle	Major Obstacle	TOTAL
1965 - 1972	2 (14%)	9 (64%)	3 (21%)	14
1973 - 1978	1 (8%)	4 (31%)	8 (62%)	13
1979 - 1986			3(100%)	3
Post 1986	--	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
TOTAL:	3	14	15	32

Given the more demanding certification requirements, it is not surprising that time was more of a constraint to teachers arriving after 1973. Unlike earlier periods of teacher demand, Filipino teachers arriving in the 1970's were required to complete all requisites prior to teaching (whereas some arriving earlier were given *letters of authority* or permits allowing them to teach before retraining).

Teachers interviewed talked of shock and disappointment at learning how long it would take them to complete certification requirements:

Teaching is more of a fulfilling job for me, you know, so if I were a certified teacher...I'd rather go into teaching than [present job]. But if they would require me such a long time to study, that's something I cannot do.

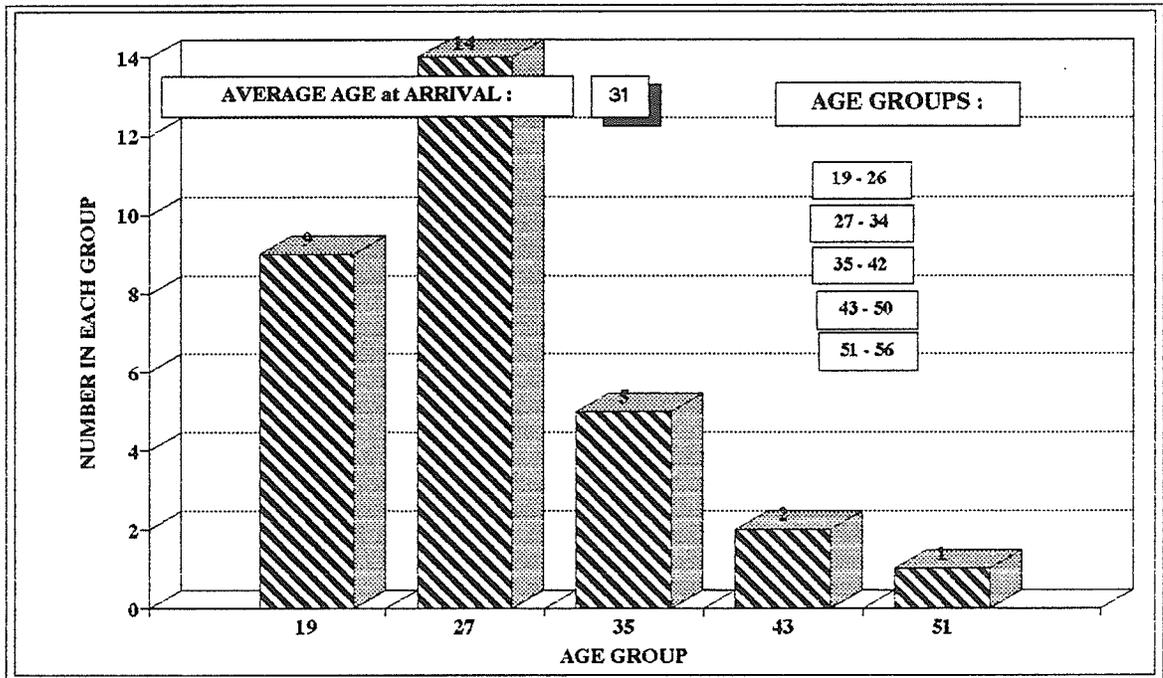
(Joy)

Age comes into play as a factor when considering the "*costs*" versus the "*benefits*" of resuming study. Given the fact that the teachers studied have already completed university training and have made the move and adjustment into a new country prior to beginning work on Manitoba re-certification requirements, one would expect them to be somewhat *older*

than first-time 'conventional' Manitoba-raised Faculty of Education students. As Table 4.11 indicates, the average age of these teachers, at arrival in Canada, was 31 years (with approximately 50 per cent older and 50 per cent younger than the average age). The majority (60%) are between the ages of 27 - 42, which might be considered prime 'child-raising' years.

TABLE 4.11

FILIPINO TEACHERS IN MANITOBA
AGE at ARRIVAL



Within the factor of age comes naturally the factor of family commitment: child care arrangements, mortgage payments, etc. The reality of studying while raising a family often translates into working part-time and studying part-time. With age comes as well more scepticism that upon completion of certification requirements (often several years 'down the

road' with people with family commitments), whether one will actually be considered "*a commodity in demand*". Delia related the fact that her age has affected her decision not to pursue studies at this time: "...If I was younger, maybe I would pursue my studies, but as I am taking a job now..." Health as it is related to age can prove an obstacle, as in Amelita's case; additionally adjustment to a new country, to weather and social conditions and returning to school at the same time is more difficult for a forty year old than for a twenty year old.

(ii) "No Guarantees"

Despite their continued interest in resuming their chosen work as teachers, all three *non-Manitoba-certified* teachers expressed some doubts and reservation about what actually completing the retraining requirements for certification would translate to in terms of employment.

Joy asks: How 'grim' is my chance to become a teacher? ... if I'll have a good chance if ever I pursue my career, how big is my chance about getting into teaching? ... If I would be assured that I can get a very good teaching position if I pursue my studies, then I'll probably go for it...but I'd like to find out first, you know? Because I can go for studies tomorrow ... and then find out after...

... I perceive that if I do this, [if] I can finish my education courses-I think it's quite vague-that's what I am thinking. I should say that I have heard others say - that if ever I get a certificate, I am going to be sent far.

(Delia)

Even if you do get a certificate, there is no guarantee that you'll be taken in.

(Amelita)

Cora, who is now certified, remembers the doubts she had throughout her university re-training:

...I was going to school but not really clear, you know about whether I'm going to have a teaching position. It was vague...I went home at eleven o'clock thinking, "what's going to happen??"

Filipino teachers expressed concerns of *discrimination*, reporting that they felt "their own [Manitoba born and trained] products" would be given preferential treatment and three teachers also expressed the view that immigrant teachers are automatically sent out of the city. One teacher reported:

"What I noted, for immigrants ...they send them out of the city!"

Evidently, the re-training *costs* to these off-shore trained teachers involve monetary expenses as well as time commitments: individuals often have to hold down full-time jobs while studying; age, health and family commitments all come into play, and, finally, there are *no guarantees* that even when one does complete the certification requirements, there will be a teaching position available to the *re-certified teacher*. Teachers considering re-training requirements expressed *less-than-optimistic* concerns about obtaining teaching employment after completing Manitoba teaching certification requisites. Such *costs* appear somewhat higher and definitely more risky than the costs a more *conventional* young, Canadian-born Faculty of Education student may have to pay.

II RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION:

The *questions of interest* in this section are:

- (i) Do school divisions presently take *the path of least resistance*, using "existing methods of assessment [which] are developed to ensure that standards are maintained and risks to either the organization [school division] or the public are minimized"

(DePass, 1988)?

- (ii) To what extent have issues of *employment equity* (and the policies and practices which follow the commitment to the principle) come into play in the recruitment and selection of the Filipino teachers in Manitoba involved in this study?
- (iii) By what *means* do the Filipino teachers surveyed here acquire *information about teaching positions* and acquire the positions themselves?

The *data* analyzed in this section includes secondary information on teacher recruitment and selection practices collected from a 1986 survey of nine Winnipeg school divisions (Young & Elliott, 1986) and attempts to apply it to data collected from the questionnaire and the interviews for the purpose of determining the dominant themes in this stage of Filipino teachers' career paths in Manitoba.

Responses to the questionnaires completed by thirty-four Filipino teachers in Manitoba indicated that a majority (79%) perceived a *reluctance on the part of Manitoba school administrators to hire non-Canadian trained teachers*. Almost one half (46 per cent) of the teachers responding felt that a reluctance on the part of the school administrators was a major obstacle for them, while thirty three percent saw it as a minor obstacle.

TABLE 4.12

PERCEIVED RELUCTANCE of MANITOBA
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS to
HIRE NON-CANADIAN TEACHERS

	Not an Obstacle	Minor Obstacle	Major Obstacle	TOTAL
To what extent do you feel this is a barrier?	7	11	15	33
Percentage	21%	33%	46%	100%

Although recent policy statements (See Appendix 3) suggest that some Manitoba school divisions see the importance of employment equity principles, feedback from Filipino teachers interviewed indicated a continued *scepticism of the commitment of Manitoba school divisions to the principles of employment equity*:

Yeah, I'm really wondering why the division has a hard job location a job for me *if they ever plan to have one* because with my ability, most often anywhere I go, the kids are very happy to see me.

The perceptions of the Filipino teachers surveyed reflected those of Winnipeg visible minority groups submitting briefs to the *Winnipeg* School Division Number One's Task Force on Race Relations, that is: "that the Affirmative Action Program has not thus far been extended successfully to other [than women] targeted groups, as outlined in the Provincial Legislation" (Winnipeg School Board, 1989:17). A similar sentiment is reflected in Manuel's statement:

If the division considered it [my being Filipino] an advantage, they would have already hired me.

1.2 RECRUITMENT:

Within the last almost two decades of teacher surplus, Winnipeg school divisions have generally had the latitude to adopt *passive recruitment* strategies relying on unsolicited applications, in other words

"on the initiative of the candidate" (Young & Elliott, 1986:11) and have therefore not engaged in province-wide or national recruitment, nor have they turned to "*outreach recruitment*" (Harvey, 1988) seeking the non-traditional applicant.

The indications given by the Filipino teachers interviewed were: that their *files* were not "*flagged*" and pulled from the centralized bank without further input on their part, but rather, that they made it to the next stage of the selection process largely through: (a) responding to advertisements in the Winnipeg Free Press; or through (b) "*networking*" (relying on their own *connectedness* within a school division, in many instances by working as a teacher aide or through utilizing connections with others already integrated into a school division).

Cora and Manuel both said that *networking* with teachers within the school division for the purpose of monitoring upcoming available positions was the route used to land a teaching position in the division.

...You get contacts, you get to know people and you prove yourself first. (Cora)

I was told that [the principal] wants me to be with his staff...I worked very hard to impress [the principal] because I'd like to get in. (Manuel)

Working as a *teacher's aide* was seen by several as a "*stepping stone*" to a teaching position "*because you get contacts, you get to know people and prove yourself first*". Although they were not directly asked, almost 30 per cent of the teachers surveyed in the questionnaire indicated that they had worked at some point as a *teacher's aide*. Five or fifteen per cent of the group had worked as a *substitute teacher*.

TABLE 4.13

MEANS of NETWORKING

Working as Teachers' Aide	Employed as Substitute Teacher
6 (29%)	5 (15%)

Several of the teachers interviewed discussed the value of their association, *MAFTI*, in hearing of job vacancies. (What actually happened as a result of *networking* will be discussed further in the following section on "*CAREER DEVELOPMENT*".)

Seeking out *opportunities to be seen as a capable teacher* is significant as indicated by one teacher working as an *ethnic aide* who made a point of offering assistance to another teacher for the purpose of demonstrating her teaching skill and shortly after was called for an interview and hired for a position in the same subject area as that in which she *had intentionally demonstrated her skill* to another teacher *within the system*. It seems appropriate to conclude that teachers without the opportunity to demonstrate teaching skill directly (either to a teacher or principal working within the division, or at the very least, within a similar educational jurisdiction)²⁰ are placed at a disadvantage to those given the opportunity.

1.3 THE INITIAL SCREENING PROCESS (*Short-Listing*)

What happens during this process is dependent on *who* is doing the short-listing and what *job description* or desirable candidate qualities are articulated and/or perceived. The desired qualifications are, in turn, naturally dependent on the person responsible for screening's

philosophy of *what makes a good teacher* (university grades, proven *classroom management* skills, *people skills*, etc.). One question raised in examining the data on *networking* for employment is the extent to which employment expectations are based upon *actual commitments from educational administrators* or upon *personal desire and hope*.

Two teachers seeking employment talk of being disappointed by persons they saw as in positions to facilitate their employment:

I was told by one principal that [he/she] wants me to be with [his/her] staff and would ask [the superintendent's office]; that's what I was told, but up to now they haven't contacted me.

Networking may spread beyond those immediately responsible for hiring teaching personnel to persons holding political office, and what may be *empty promises* or actually vague or misleading comments are perceived as commitments to be acted upon.

If [the principal] hadn't left, I would have a permanent position.

I helped during [political candidate's] campaign, not just because I am interested in [him/her], I am interested to get a job. That's why I tried to impress [him/her], helping at the same time.

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to do a political analysis of patronage in the education system and even though networking and patronage exist as vehicles used by Canadian-born job applicants in all occupations, discussion with the Filipinos teachers interviewed indicates that networking has arisen as a significant factor in pursuing a teaching in Manitoba.

In order to ensure both optimal performance in the workplace as well as to enable an employee to grow and reach personal potentials, all employed persons require *performance evaluation*. Student teachers,

substitute teachers, and teacher aides depend on evaluation for employment and/or promotion. As mentioned previously, (Table 4.13) many teachers worked as teacher aides or substitute teachers at some point in their teaching careers in Manitoba, and, if they were to benefit from these positions as *stepping stones* to regular teaching employment, performance evaluation was critical.

One of the seven interviewees working at one time as a teacher aide, talked of the experience of being evaluated:

First, it was not clear *who* was doing the evaluating (the vice-principal was the one in charge but had not indicated completing the form); secondly, the teacher aide felt like an "*outsider*" and because of feelings of exclusion didn't "*sit down and chat like the other aides*" but "*worked like a beaver*". This person felt that the evaluation reflected the other aides' "*antagonism*", that it wasn't accurate or fair:

I'd really like to question the vice-principal about this evaluation but simply I kept the questions in my mind and heart because if I go far with this, it will not be good so I just let it go.

Another teacher interviewed (who discovered the absence of any record of evaluations done on him/her for a period of more than ten years) had this to say about the role of the *evaluation*:

There has to be a policy in place of fair, consistent teacher evaluation...It depends on the administration, how they see evaluation...the purpose of evaluation. I see it as a helping tool for teacher improvement. It's not there to gather evidence to fire a teacher; it's simply to help the teacher. improve instruction...[there should be] input from teachers.

Finally, *heritage language teachers* wishing to enter mainstream teaching may experience barriers due to the fact that, as their subject area is outside the scope of most administrators' expertise, their teaching competence may not be evaluated adequately. Four of the teachers surveyed taught heritage language (Filipino) and one of these teachers related:

When I started teaching the program, I was told I run my own show, it's up to me, what I want to teach and how I want to teach it; apparently they don't know anything about it. How can they help me? (Joy)

If individuals wanting to pursue a teaching career in Manitoba, be they presently teacher aides, substitute teachers, heritage language teachers, or teachers desiring promotion or transfer do not have access to fair, consistent methods of evaluation, they are placed at an obvious disadvantage.

2. SELECTION

2.1 INTERVIEWS OF TEACHER APPLICANTS

One issue emerging from the interviews as a concern for teachers attempting to "*get into the system*", to be "*taken in*", is that of a *lack of straightforward, honest feedback* following an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a position. Following an interview for a teaching position, unsuccessful candidates are generally informed by telephone (but sometimes by letter) that *the position was offered to another individual* and no other feedback is given nor required. After one interview, Manuel was left with very few answers: before the interview, he was given no information as to how (which criteria the assessment was based on) or why (for which particular available position) he was being evaluated, and he was given no feedback on his performance following the interview.

I know that I passed that interview because most of the answers I gave were good answers, but I don't know if that interview was meant just to get substitutes. (Manuel)

"*Accents*" were mentioned as another area of concern particularly during the interview process but also at other junctures in career

development and it was interesting to note that, while teachers could talk about "*language*" objectively and in a detached manner, discussion regarding "*accent*" always included discussion of feelings of anxiety. A Filipino teacher was told by a principal that *an accent* interfered with his employability; however, this explanation wasn't satisfactory:

If my accent is the real cause that I'm not hired then how come this [other person with a '*non-Canadian accent*'] was hired??

Nena spoke of having to learn to "*swallow my words, like Canadians*" in order to be understood by her co-workers and how embarrassing it was for her to always have to repeat herself when they didn't understand her. Amelita remarked that:

We have the language itself [but] it is the diction, sometimes *your* way of saying it would make it difficult for *them* to understand. (Amelita)

(See discussion of English language proficiency in Chapter III).

Lastly, because of the over-supply of teachers for more than the past decade and the *passive* approach to recruitment which school divisions have been afforded, the notion of *self-advocacy* and *dispositional barriers* (self-imposed perceptions of discrimination), several of the Filipino teachers have been reluctant to pursue teaching positions for which they may be appropriately qualified:

I didn't even *DARE* apply around here. I said, "no, no!" I don't know why...I have that...you know!?? (exasperated). I just realized I shouldn't have that because everybody, even at work, my co-workers, Filipinos, would say, "Why don't you just try your best here?"

Despite 13 years teaching at various grade levels in three northern communities, Nena didn't feel confident that she would be able to "land" a teaching position in Winnipeg: "I don't really expect I will get one [a teaching position]"

III CAREER DEVELOPMENT

SIGNIFICANT THEMES ARISING FROM THE FINDINGS

A. SACRIFICES:

Filipino teachers wishing to resume teaching careers in Manitoba have generally been willing to go to great lengths in order to do so. They have worked at menial jobs e.g. to finance what might have often seemed unreasonably long certification requirements. They frequently work at one or more jobs at the same time as studying. They spend long periods working in Northern Manitoba or in rural areas, often separated from spouses, children, and other family. Finally, many certified teachers have endured chronic underemployment and have been *marginalized* in positions of teacher aides and heritage language teachers.

(i) Willingness to Accept Available Employment:

Teachers talked of being in most cases informed as to the difficult teaching employment situation in Canada, and particularly those arriving post 1974 discussed their pre-arrival preparation for the Canadian job market.

...So we were ready anyway. We studied crash programs for sewing...I went to a manpower-sponsored course to take tailoring, cosmetology, hair science, all that - I took those in Manila.

When we came, we didn't really mind, whatever came to us, we did not really look around for work...whatever was available, we took it. (Cora)

Many teachers worked in the garment industry, very difficult work, from all descriptions:

I got a position in a garment factory; I found it hard because I'm not really used to sewing although I did my dresses then, but these are coats, eh? Plus you have to really work fast, you know, piece work and those who are second in your assembly line following you give you pressure to rush and I was new ... It was hard to put on that thick fur and that was the assignment I was given.

The advantage of that job [in a garment factory] is that I learned to sew and also it gives me experience to start work, not waiting for a long time without a job. (Nena)

Nena landed a job the day after her arrival in Canada, and despite the fact that she might be experiencing some adjustment to her new environment, she found something positive about her first job.

The importance of settling in, of establishing oneself outweighed the disadvantages of the unskilled jobs these people were forced to do. Once informed about retraining requirements, most teachers continued these *blue collar* jobs to finance their studies. The contrasts between these immigrant teachers and the typical Canadian-born Bachelor of Education student become quite striking. The *typical* immigrant teacher, by virtue of the fact that they have already completed a teacher training program and in all possibility have had some teaching experience as well, is much older than the *typical* Canadian-born undergraduate Faculty of Education student (*Age at Arrival* Table 4.11). In addition, the immigrant teacher may have had children before re-entering university (Table 4.15) and therefore have financial commitments over and above the *typical* nineteen year old Canadian-born student, able to share the rent of an apartment with previous classmates from high-school or continue living with parents. Canadian-born students also have access to student aid not available to immigrants²¹.

(ii) Separation from Family:

Two of the teachers interviewed endured separations from spouses and children in *the south* (Winnipeg) in order to pursue their teaching careers in Manitoba. It may not be unusual for beginning teachers to *pay their dues* by gaining some teaching experience in the north before being employed in a larger centre if that is their preference. However, a

trained teacher immigrating to Canada and subsequently undergoing further re-training before acquiring Manitoba certification is likely to be older than the average Canadian-born Bachelor of Education graduate and, because of the number of years of *northern teaching experience* prior to urban teaching employment (See Table 4.15), one might expect children to *enter into the picture*. Families were separated for different reasons: employment for the teacher's spouse, high schools were not easily accessible to a family with teen-aged children, and in one instance, the health of a child necessitated access to medical care only available in a city.

B. DISPOSITIONAL BARRIERS TO EMPLOYMENT:

Upon initial arrival many Filipino teachers talk of what have been referred to as *dispositional barriers* (Ontario, 1989) to employment, their impressions of their employability in Canada.

I don't have in mind aspiring to teach in Canada, because, first of all, coming from the *Third World*, although you are educated, you are a little reluctant to deal with people who are born with the English tongue, not really feel inferior, but there's a feeling that really holds you back because you are so conscious about not being able to communicate with them properly, or whatever, something like that, something's holding you, eh? (Manuel)

Even after completing certification requirements, an individual spoke of applying only to northern school divisions because of her reluctance to apply in the city:

I didn't even *DARE* apply around here. I said, "no, no!" I don't know why...I have that...you know!?!?(exasperated). I just realized I shouldn't have that because everybody, even at work, my co-workers, Filipinos, would say, "Why don't you just try your best here?"... I was discouraged [by the prospect of going to the north] but I have to continue; it's a policy in my life. (Cora)

When applying in the city at a later date (after completion of a B.Ed. and several years of northern teaching experience), this same teacher retained her doubt that she would be able to *make it* into the

mainstream, into a regular teaching position in an urban public school, and she applied to an urban division initially as a teacher aide. That such qualified teachers are often relegated into *para-professional* positions, although we have no evidence to claim that it happens more often to immigrant teachers than to Canadian-born, has been a common theme in discussions with Filipino teachers and it raises the issue of *marginalization* in employment.

C. Marginalization:

Marginalization, the exclusion or limitation of a group from complete participation in an occupation by channelling persons in that group into or attempting to keep persons in that group in positions not commensurate with educational qualifications, professional training, or work experience, has resulted in unequal participation of several groups in the workforce²².

Unequal participation may be due to a lack of recognition of education, training or work experience, to *situational* or *dispositional* barriers²³, or to discrimination. Naturally, these factors could impact on *any* individual seeking work. What is suggested by the information gathered on Filipino teachers living in Manitoba is that: due to the circumstances confronting them upon entering' this province, the *majority of Filipino teachers queried experience significantly restricted career opportunities and advancement in their chosen career, teaching.*

Of the fourteen certified Filipino teacher-participants in Winnipeg, four are currently in *marginalized* employment positions, including *para-professional* positions, *substituting*, and other teaching-related employment "not commensurate with educational qualifications, professional training, or work experience" (DePass, 1988:1). (See Table 4.15 - low and medium levels of integration).

TABLE 4.14

MARGINALIZATION of FILIPINO TEACHERS

Part. Rates	CERTIFIED						UNCERTIFIED					
	RURAL			URBAN			RURAL			URBAN		
	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M	H
Date of Arrival												
Pre - 1972	-	-	2	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
1972 - 1974	-	-	4	1	1	3	-	-	-	3	4	-
Post 1974	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	4	1	-
TOTAL	0	0	6	3	1	10	0	0	0	7	5	0

CODE: Level of Integration:

L	LOW	-	non-education, substitute.
M	Medium	-	heritage language, teacher aide.
H	High	-	Teacher on full-time/part time contract.

Of the twelve non-Manitoba-certified Filipino teachers studied, none have *high* participation/integration levels in educational institutions, five have *medium* levels, (mainly by teaching part-time in Heritage Language programs, but working as a teacher aid is also considered *medium-level* participation). The other seven are not employed/involved in the educational system in any way.

The fact that all but two teachers began their teaching career either in northern/rural Manitoba, northern/rural areas of other Canadian provinces, or as teacher aides in Winnipeg schools suggests they the entire group may have been more marginalized at the outset²⁴.

What often came through in the interviews of teachers who had worked in northern Manitoba was the determination to build some type of career security by actually *persevering* in northern communities. Nena managed to stay in a community in which some teacherages had been shot at. All

teachers were offered transfers, but she stayed until June and then requested and was able to secure a Permanent Certificate from the Superintendent. She talks of waiting for a bus at midnight in the northern community to travel "*home*" to Winnipeg (having purchased a residence in Winnipeg) every Friday because of not being able to sleep weekend nights in the noisy "*partying*" community. Teachers going to northern Manitoba were often required to teach in subject areas not within their area of expertise which might also be considered a form of marginalization:

The first thing on my mind, a priority, is to land a job, a teaching position. But I would have liked a secondary job, since that was my experience. I find teaching elementary students very strange. (Cora)

As discussed earlier, even non-certified teachers perceive that they would be automatically marginalized by being *sent to the north* in the event that they obtained a Manitoba teaching certificate.

Of the four certified teachers interviewed, two had worked as teacher aides after certification, one had worked both as a heritage language teacher and as a childcare worker after certification and one as a substitute teacher after certifying. One who has a principal's certificate is working as a teacher.

Of the entire group of Filipino teachers interviewed (n=7), work experience since entry into Canada/Manitoba has been varied but has included part-time, contract, and shift work in the *primary* or *blue collar* labour market: working in such positions as nurses' aids, teachers' aids, garment workers, child care workers, food service workers, and machine operator positions.

D. Assessment of Prior Teaching Experience:

Included in the assessment done by the Department of Education was the assessment of and credit given prior (Philippine) teaching experience. (See Table 4.6). To receive credit for years of teaching experience outside the province, Manitoba Education stipulates that the institution from which the individual seeks teaching credit must be publicly-funded and must require that the teachers it employs hold teaching certificates (Teacher certification reference). Strict application of the Manitoba criteria could therefore preclude credit for teaching experience in jurisdictions such as the Philippines where the teaching profession happens not to be regulated; in other words, schools hire teachers who hold university degrees yet a *teaching certificate*²⁵ is neither issued nor required.

All three of the employed teachers of the four certified teachers interviewed discussed the amount of credit granted their Philippine teaching experience (See Table 4.6). Regardless of the criteria that teachers hold *certificates* in the educational jurisdiction they last taught in, two teachers were given credit for teaching experience gained in publicly-funded schools (one, the full four years of her experience and the other was given credit for all her years in a publicly-funded school and no credit from a Catholic school.)

The third employed teacher, Dante, was granted only one out of the four and a half years experience in the Philippines.

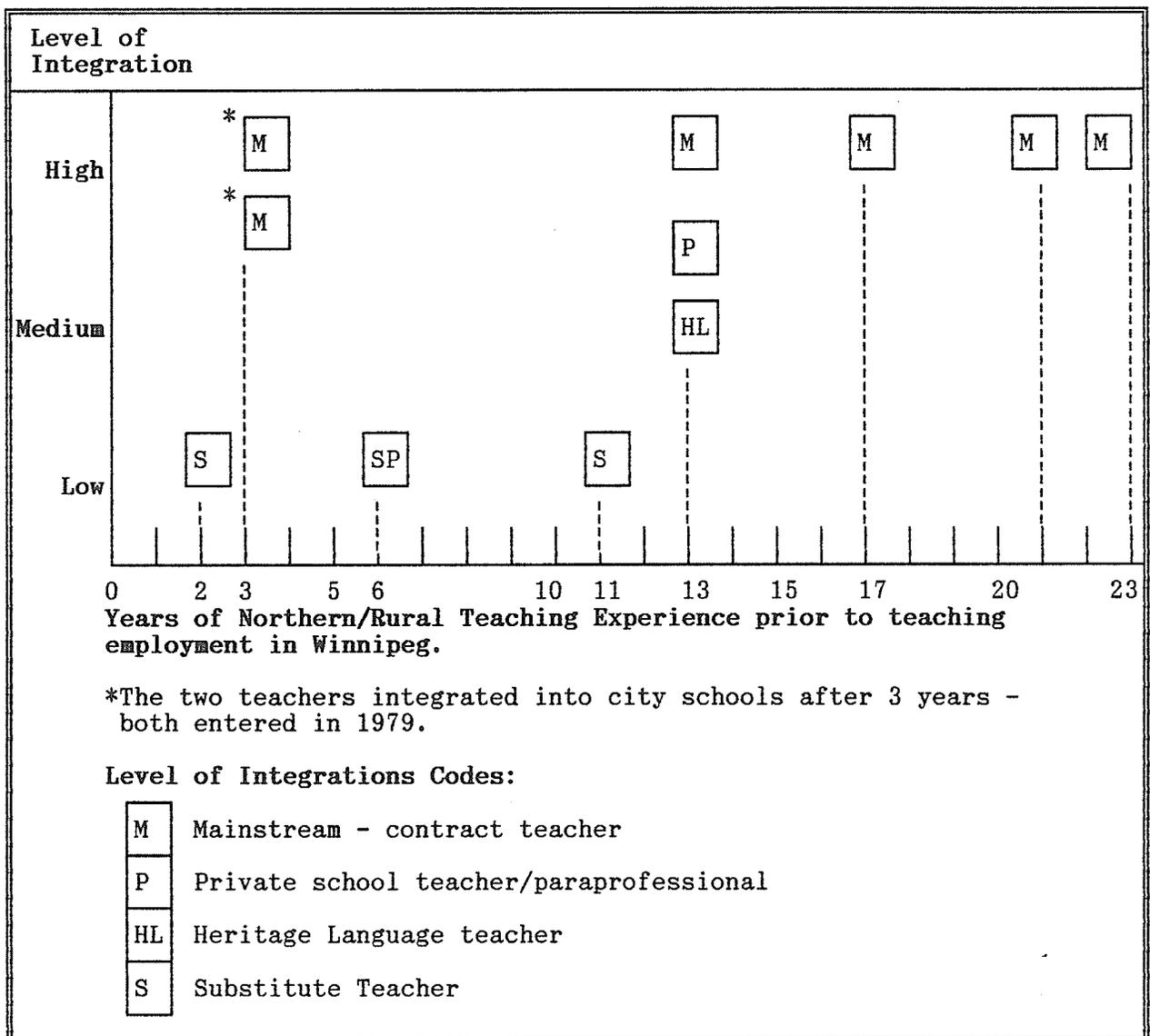
One year. They gave me just one year, the Department of Ed... In my case I had to argue it because I insisted that I was right, I thought I was treated unfairly at the time. (Dante)

Two years of Dante's teaching experience was gained at a high school within the University of the Philippines, a publicly-funded institution, which because of its stature as a university high school is considered a *showpiece* of a high standard²⁶.

E. Movement from North to South:

As can be seen in Table 4.15, eleven Filipino teachers worked in the north for periods ranging from two to twenty-three years before acquiring a teaching position in Winnipeg. The average length of northern/rural teaching experience prior to teaching employment in Winnipeg was twelve years.

TABLE 4.15
CERTIFIED FILIPINO TEACHERS with NORTHERN/RURAL TEACHING EXPERIENCE
Movement (Integration)
into
Southern/Urban Schools



Since Filipino teachers presently living in northern/rural communities who (at least from the data collected through questionnaires and interviews) had never made an attempt to re-locate/ get a teaching position in Winnipeg were not asked directly whether they had been interested in pursuing teaching opportunities here, it is fair to assume that there may definitely be some. However, in an attempt to reach all Filipino teachers in Manitoba, the *snow-ball technique* (requesting rural/northern Filipino teachers to refer the researcher to known *others*) had been utilized and from the thirty-two returned questionnaires, six had been from rural areas. Of those six, two maintained permanent residences in Winnipeg, assuming, according to one, to permanently settle here. Two have unsuccessfully attempted, at least once each (for a year-long period), to gain access to Winnipeg teaching positions (one with twelve years of northern experience substituted for four urban divisions) and have since returned to former employment in northern Manitoba. One has retired, one now has changed professions and another is working as a Heritage Language Teacher. One is apparently quite content living outside the city. If one looks at Table 4.15, it is possible to get a rough idea of the movement of Filipino teachers from *north* to *south* in Manitoba.

When following the career paths of three of the certified teachers interviewed, the progressive movement towards larger southern centres is quite apparent. It is most apparent in Cora's career movement:

[After one year in a small community]...then I have to look for another school. The next community has a newer school, a bigger one, so I went there and applied. (Cora)

She taught in the second community for a year, but decided to leave again for a larger community, more similar to what she was used to:

I don't know what it is that's moving me from one school to another, but I went, I felt that it's a promotion because it's a bigger community and I have one grade to teach and I felt happy there and I got good recommendations...

She then made the move to Winnipeg, completed her B.ED., and worked her way into the mainstream here.

F. Multi-Cultural Education:

Both the education/re-training of Filipino teachers in Manitoba and their employment and integration into the school systems in Manitoba raise issues of multicultural education.

Filipino teachers completing re-training requirements at the University of Manitoba felt that they *had to work doubly hard to those completing all their degree here* in order to compete and remarked that university course requirements here were quite different from those of Philippine universities. One talked of being given a *take-home exam* and not being told (and being *afraid to ask*) the correct procedure for writing the exam at home. Her mark reflected the fact that she didn't refer to any textbooks. Such incidence have obvious implications for Faculty of Education teaching.

When Filipino teachers were asked what might be the effects of their *being Filipino* and *being trained in another country -in the Philippines* in their teaching careers in Manitoba and upon prospective employers, they had quite a bit to say:

(i) On Language:

I think that my being able to speak another language helped me in getting a teacher aid position as well as an E.S.L. one. That I see as an advantage, coming from another country and knowing another language.

Although I have my accent, my English language is only enriched because I have another language.

I can interpret poetry and literature because I have lots of experience ... a rich experience in literature not only in our country but also in this country ... It's an additional skill.

(ii) On Discipline:

I feel that the requirements of discipline here and there [in the Philippines] are almost the same, like keeping your children in order and all that. I felt that was the requirement here too and I felt it worked...and the principal said, 'I want you to stay because, you know, disciplining the students is very important.'... Teachers were sent to my class to observe at that time.

(iii) On Role Models:

I sense my being a Filipino is an advantage because the division has multi-cultural type of schools, and there are many Filipino students here, that is just my feeling.

Kids might have culture shock. One teacher might say, "he has a learning problem" but a Filipino teacher will say "he's just shy." We understand this...I went through the same thing when I came here.

(iv) On Having a Different "World View"

[An] advantage I can see is the variety of experiences that I can bring into the classroom and to my colleagues, which I've done in the past. They've invited me to speak about the Third World, about poverty, about social studies topics... I spoke about the political situation of the country [the Philippines], ... about equality in education. I speak about peace education and sometimes I extract material from the Third World with a focus on the Philippines and present this to an audience of either students or teachers...

NOTES

1. Department of Education, Annual Report 1968-1970. *Teaching Certificates Issued.* The majority of Manitoba teaching certificates issued from the late 1960's until late 1970's were of the *1st Class* type (ranging from one to three years of post-secondary education). In the period between the late 1970's and 1982, the Faculty of Education was working towards having the four year B.Ed. or the Two Year After Degree B.Ed. required as the basis for teacher certification (Annual Report, 1985. Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba). During this same time period, school divisions notified teachers of the upcoming requirement (memo from Frontier School Division, 1980 as relayed by Filipino teacher on staff during interview). The actual regulations (Educational Administration Act E10) were only changed in 1982 (regulation 14-82). After 1982, the department of education no longer issued First Class Certificates (three years of teacher preparation) and a four year degree was required for certification purposes. The Two-Year After Degree Program (as opposed to the one year post degree education requirement) became a compulsory requirement for teachers seeking certification after 1987.
2. Educational Administration Act E10, regulation change 14-82. Following 1982, a four year degree (class 4 certificate) was required for certification and 1st Class (class 3 and below) certificates were no longer issued.
3. This assessment is done by making use of the International Association of Universities (IAU) handbook and other references. (Interview with Victor Tetrault, June, 1989)
4. Recognized by bodies such as mentioned in footnote 3.
5. Students can graduate from international universities (eg. from universities in India) with degrees in the 2nd or 3rd division, meaning they graduate with lower grades.
6. Total 14. *Years of scholarship* denotes the number of years required to completed a specific course of study. However, Philippine schools have longer school terms (than Manitoba schools) and therefore more *contact hours* which is not taken into account in this measurement. The exception to this trend was Dante, who came to Canada as a student, and neither went through the Department of Education initially nor did his B.Ed. at University of Manitoba.
7. Bachelor of Science in Education. This is the closest equivalent to a B.Ed. of degrees offered in The Philippines. Qualified teachers teaching in Philippine schools may have also graduated from a normal school or with a B.A. (An Education Degree is not required).
8. Philippine Normal College, affiliated with the University of the Philippines.

9. Bachelor of Science in Education from an institution recognized by the International Association of Universities (I.A.U.).
10. See footnote 3.
11. Such information-gathering by an individual Registrar's Office, because of the complexity and constantly-changing nature of the information involved, risks being "sporadic, ad hoc and subjective" (Ontario, 1989:96).
12. No recourse or appeal mechanism. Ontario (1989) ACCESS! : Task Force on Access to Professions and Trades in Ontario.
**Interview with M. Forrest.
13. School divisions have no obligation to a teacher employed with provisional certificate nor does the department of education by virtue of the fact that it must be renewed yearly.
14. Canadian Citizenship can now be acquired after three years of being a permanent resident in Canada.
15. See Note #13.
16. Landed immigrants need either three years teaching experience or Canadian citizenship to obtain a permanent certificate.
17. The *Canadian citizenship* requirement for permanent teacher certification has been removed only in the past two years (telephone interview with Joanne Woodley, Teacher Certification and Records, Manitoba Education, February 20, 1990).
18. "University study" required for certification purposes has ranged from 0 credit hours (3 teachers, 2 arriving in 1966 and 1 in 1967 were not required to take further courses in order to acquire a teaching certificate) to 120 credit hours of coursework for Filipino teachers having their credentials assessed during the two decade period examined (1965 - 1987).

Nena (Interview #6), an elementary teacher, instructed by the Director of Certification in the Department to do only 6 credits (in 1972), was given a choice of two out of three designated courses to meet certification requirements (two of "Childrens' Literature", "Reading Curriculum" and "Cross Cultural Education"). "Recommended" to Cora (Interview #2), a high school science teacher in 1974 were: (for a 12 credit certification requisite) "Childrens' Literature", "a Science course with a lab", "Movement Education" and "Development of Language in the Early Years". Manuel (Interview #1), the most recently-certified teacher, worked and studied part-time between the years 1983 and 1988 to complete 60 hours of a combination of academic (Arts & Science) and professional (Education) courses including "American Indian History", "History of Education", "School Organization" (a study of the operations of the provincial school

system) to receive a Manitoba Bachelor of Education, now the requirement for certification.

19. Student Aid is only available to independent immigrants after two years of service and an assisted relative is considered dependent on his/her sponsor for a period of five years and is therefore ineligible until after that time.
20. A similar educational jurisdiction may mean another urban Manitoba school division or another *Canadian* urban school division but may not mean a northern or Indian Affairs run school division and in all likelihood, not a *foreign* school division.
21. See footnote #19.
22. Fernando & Prasad (1986) interviewed eighty visible minority professionals in British Columbia and found that almost 60 per cent were underemployed and 30 per cent were unemployed. They discuss the long-term affects of under-employment: a sense of alienation with prolonged absence from one's chosen work which can subsequently create barriers of obsolete, dated skills as well as increased age. As a result of her interviews with visible minority professionals in Alberta, DePass (1988:10) notes: "many immigrants are de-professionalized and deskilled as a result of their experiences in the Canadian job market."
23. DePass (1988) and Fernando & Prasad (1986) have, respectively, documented cases of marginalization or underemployment of visible minority professionals and foreign-trained professionals in Canada. Unequal participation may be due to any of the following factors:
 1. A lack of recognition of one's education, professional training or work experience;
 2. *Situational* Barriers (Ontario, 1989): (informational, financial, scheduling, etc.) to training (or re-training) required in order to acquire recognized qualifications;
 3. *Dispositional* Barriers (Ontario, 1989): individual's attitudes (eg. feelings of being *weak in the language, too old, or not aggressive enough*) (Ontario, 1989).
 4. Discrimination, be it systemic - a *structural fault of the system* (such as a lack of articulated certification requirements or the demand for *Canadian experience* or the Canadian citizenship requirement for permanent teacher certification) or personal discrimination on the part of educational administration (such as: using criteria not applicable to the job qualifications (eg. the way an individual dresses) as a determinant when hiring.

24. One teacher chose to go to the north.
25. Some teachers write the *Civil Service Examination* but this is not a requirement.
26. University high schools are considered "*show pieces*" for the university and are therefore of a high standard. (Interview with Dr. R. Magsino, Department Head, Educational Administration, University of Manitoba.)

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Summary of Proceedings

The purpose of this study was to *examine selected career-related experiences of Filipino teachers* in Manitoba and to discuss them in light of recent literature on employment equity and multicultural education.

Two fundamental *limitations* are inherent to this study:

First, there was no *control group* used, so that in discussing experiences of Filipino teachers (eg. length of time between obtaining an initial teaching position and obtaining one in the location of choice), *there is no "norm" or other group with whom to compare* the work experiences of Filipino teachers. In addition, because Filipino immigrants to Canada come from social and political systems differing from other source countries of Canadian immigration and because Filipino immigrants to Canada are unique in that they, as a group, are particularly well-educated (holding more university degrees¹ than other visible minority groups), one cannot expect that the work experiences of Filipino teachers in Manitoba will parallel those of immigrant teachers from other countries.

The second limitation is that any discussion of the career experiences of Filipino teachers is based on the *researcher's interpretations of Filipino teachers' explanations* and does not include interpretations or input on behalf of educational administrators or others who have an impact on Filipino teachers' teaching careers.

Methods employed to "get at" the work-related experiences of Filipino teachers in Manitoba allowed the researcher to first, through *survey research*, obtain a profile of the *group of Filipino teachers in Manitoba*, and second, through a *semi-structured interview* to delve deeper into the experiences as described by seven of the group, selected on the basis of several factors identified as significant by the questionnaire responses.

Major findings include a *perception of arbitrariness in the assessment of overseas credentials* as well as in the subsequent re-certification requirements prescribed an individual Filipino teacher, an issue having particular relevance to Manitoba Education. Other issues of assessment and re-certification found to be prominent in this study included the necessity and *lack of opportunity to demonstrate teaching competency*, one which might be addressed by Manitoba Faculties of Education. A final issue of assessment and re-certification is one of available *supports for immigrant teachers*, an issue which needs to be addressed by means of federal/provincial government funding and perhaps by Manitoba Faculties of Education as well.

Issues relating to teacher recruitment and selection include *subjective hiring practices* and a reliance on *passive recruitment strategies*, issues which may require further attention by school boards and individual school administrators. In terms of Career Development of Filipino teachers, the issue of "*marginalization*" or underemployment surfaces as a concern involving employment equity practices based on both the rights of individual visible minority teachers as well as on principles of multicultural education.

II. A 'Political/Economic' Analysis of the Findings:

Studies that attempt to locate Canadian immigration within a political economic analysis of a world capitalist system (Li and Bolaria, 1987; Bolaria, 1986; DePass, 1989) highlight the benefits accrued by the Canadian economy by first recruiting skilled labor from overseas, the cost of whose education is borne by the country of origin, and secondly, by using the immigrants as sources of cheap labour, by restricting their participation within the labour market. Using (and paying) qualified and experienced teachers as teacher aides, not recognizing overseas qualifications and experience for salary purposes, and using immigrant teachers to fill positions in remote locations where Manitoba-trained teachers are reluctant to work - all experience documented in this study - would appear to be consistent with this analysis.

Whether one chooses to view the experience documented in this study as rooted in the requirements of international capitalism or as a temporary aberration in the integration of 'new Canadians' into a just and fair society, will inevitably influence what one considers appropriate strategies for improving the current state of affairs. While recognizing the power of the former analysis, the recommendations included in this chapter are more pragmatic and, as such, tend to be located within the area of the latter and its acceptance of the broader economic status quo. Within this perspective, where Canada has both the opportunity to acquire well-trained immigrant professionals and the responsibility to facilitate their integration, it is necessary to look at the shared responsibilities of federal and provincial supports and institutions.

The changing teaching job market (Canadian Teachers' Federation), the Canadian Charter of Rights, and a growing commitment to principles of

equality and social justice all call for efforts to facilitate the integration of individuals previously under-represented in the workforce - visible minority teachers, many of whom are immigrants, having received professional training outside of Canada (Depass, 1989). It is clear from the literature and from the data collected in this study that addressing the issues of employment equity for teachers cannot be left as the sole responsibility of a single agent. In the province of Manitoba, efforts to address the issue involve Federal and Provincial governments, Manitoba Education, Manitoba universities, School divisions, and individual schools.

III. Conclusions and Recommendations

One might reasonably expect that because Canada encourages well-educated professional immigration, it would utilize the potential of this valuable resource to the fullest (DePass, 1989; Fernando & Prasad, 1985). Canada has both the opportunity to acquire highly-skilled immigrants from elsewhere in the world, and the responsibility to facilitate their integration. This is where federal and provincial supports and institutions such as provincial Ministries of Education and universities play a role.

Due to the time lapse between completing a university education in the Philippines and moving to Canada and having credentials assessed here, most of the Filipino teachers interviewed were already parents with financial commitments beyond those of a first-time university student. Additionally, Filipino teachers interviewed in this study remarked that they were neither entitled to nor informed about financial assistance.

Recommendation:

Federal and provincial governments, in accepting responsibility for their immigration programs², be committed to providing or supporting language and other training in order to facilitate the movement of immigrant teachers into teaching or into another chosen career.

Manitoba Education has established guidelines for Teacher Certification in this province (p. 62), requirements which may vary from other provinces and other countries. Manitoba, as with any other education jurisdiction, has the responsibility of setting its own criteria concerning who is to be deemed qualified to instruct in its schools, and, as with other occupational bodies, has no particular obligation to match its criteria to criteria used anywhere else in the world.

However, suggesting that Manitoba has no obligation to match its requirements to those elsewhere does not relieve the Department of the responsibility of ensuring an adequate assessment, an assessment of equivalency of qualifications gained outside the province. "Recognition of overseas credentials" was the one barrier that almost universally impinged upon Filipino teachers in Manitoba. They suggested that the Department of Education had insufficient information about educational systems in the Philippines, not recognizing the longer school days and school terms of the Philippine educational system, but relying on what was felt to be an unjustly limited mechanism for assessment, on "total years of scholarship". Teachers also spoke of a redundancy of coursework, of being required to re-do courses very similar to ones completed in the Philippines. Many teachers felt that their university studies in the Philippines were not valued. It appeared ironic that individuals who were encouraged to come

to Canada, based on immigration regulations which put emphasis on their education, find that their education is not valued once they enter Canada. Such concerns are not surprising particularly considering that the Ontario Task Force found that "the initial screening of applicants - the assessment of equivalency - is the stage in the process that is least standardized, most difficult, and most open to abuse." (Cummings, 1989:xvii).

Recommendations:

1. The creation of a centralized "clearinghouse", such as Ontario's (Cummings, 1989) proposed "PLAN" (Prior Learning Assessment Network linked to an international network for comparative education) in order to better assess foreign credentials. Due to the difference in population and the consequent fewer numbers of teacher certification candidates, it may not be appropriate for Manitoba to devise its own clearinghouse, but rather could rely on the resources of larger networks while including regional input from Manitoba Faculties of Education, Manitoba Education and employing school divisions.
2. Faculties of Education in Manitoban universities, in reviewing **assessment and re-certification** of teachers receiving university education and training outside Canada may undertake a more careful examination of the out-of-country coursework of applicants having completed university teacher education abroad, perhaps by such means as allowing applicants to **demonstrate prior, equivalent requisite knowledge** through an oral interview or a "challenge exam".

Another issue arising from this study is the lack of comprehensible information certification applicants receive during the process of having credentials assessed and for the purpose of determining the feasibility of completing re-certification requirements. Regardless of whether the process of teacher certification in Manitoba is actually *systematic and comprehensive* or not, if it is *incomprehensible* to its intended audience, namely certification candidates, it may *appear unfair* and actually be unfair because of its lack of specificity and comprehensibility. If the process is clearly established, the requirements explicit, comprehensive and comprehensible, the shock and confusion that has confronted many of the Philippine-trained teachers in this study might be avoided.

Candidates applying to Manitoba Education for teacher certification may be faced holding credentials deemed "inadequate" or "unacceptable" by a "rubber stamp", and as a result may feel confused and even resentful. The Ontario study (Cummings, 1989:274) on access to the professions, in examining *immigrant professionals' attitudes or perceptions* with regard to Canadian access to their chosen profession, discovered what the commission referred to as "*dispositional barriers*" (assumptions within an individual's own disposition which act as obstacles to pursuing something of importance to that individual), suggesting that the most significant dispositional barrier found by the task force was one of difficulty with *self-advocacy*. Individuals unfamiliar with a system may feel awkward and intimidated and as a consequence may not be persistent enough to ensure that all the information (necessarily bureaucratic in some cases) received from an office is comprehensible.

Recommendation:

Information as to what is involved in the assessment and counselling as to how to pursue certification requisites (explanation of required coursework, guidance as to Department and University procedures, Student Aide, etc.) is appropriate and necessary.

If information exchanged is only in print form (e.g. submission of transcripts resulting in a *paper assessment* of retraining required), there is no opportunity for clarification/verification on the part of either party.

Recommendation:

The recommendation that individualized, in-person counselling be made available to skilled immigrants pursuing careers in Canada through a centralized agency was made several years ago by the Abella Commission (1984). It has also been echoed by the Ontario Task Force on Access to Trades and Professions (Cummings, 1989). The mandate of such an agency could be to serve both as an information source and in an advocacy role to protect the interests of the teacher applicant.

There are currently no avenues available to Teacher Certification applicants in Manitoba to contest assessment decisions (Forrest, 1990).

Recommendation:

A mechanism such as was suggested by the Ontario Study (Cummings, 1989), whereby an applicant in comparing qualification to stated requirements can present them to a tribunal for decision.

A further issue relating to assessment and re-certification raised by the findings of this study was that immigrant teachers acquiring the

requisites for Manitoba Teacher Certification are currently regarded as certified teachers and as such are neither required nor entitled to complete practice teaching nor Seminar and School Experience requirements. These teachers therefore have no access to a "stage on which to audition". Persons responsible for hiring in Winnipeg school divisions (Young & Elliott, 1986) ranked "successful student teaching" as a frequently-used criteria for "flagging" suitable candidates, and in doing so, emphasize the importance of demonstrating teaching skill in a setting similar to the one in which a teacher hopes to be employed. A missed opportunity such as the potential to "get into" a school to practice teach severely limits further access into the school system.

Recommendation:

Manitoban universities may want to examine the effects of practice teaching on employability (eg. what percentages of student teachers obtained jobs in the schools in which they were placed to complete practice teaching requirements.) Immigrant teachers re-certifying in Manitoba might be given the option to practice teach in local schools.

Just as Manitoba Education (or an agency with access to information about its policies and procedures) and Manitoban universities might be required to be more accountable, so might Manitoban School Divisions and individual school administrations as well.

Given that educational administration in Manitoba (school division superintendents and school principals) are currently predominantly "Anglo" males, it becomes crucial that recruitment/ selection processes both be unbiased and be seen as being unbiased and non-ethnocentric. Unbiased

selection practices are difficult to achieve within common current "frameworks" for teacher hiring. Bredeson (1985, p.8) found that school administrators are often required to assess a wide range of information presented them, some of which may be "accurate, inaccurate, incomplete, irrelevant, or simply false." In her study of the interviews of visible minority professionals, Depass (1987, p.4) points to the use of characteristics unrelated to job requirements and to interviewer perceptions of a candidate's ability to "fit into" the work environment by determining compatibility by such subjective means as speech patterns, eye contact, body language, and dress.

In the past, the choices that are the responsibility of educational administrators -the hiring of teachers- have not been held up for any degree of scrutiny. Nevertheless, in the changing society represented particularly in Canadian urban schools, educational administrators may be pressed to determine which teacher qualities best take into account the multicultural student population that teachers will be responsible to. Evidence from the workforce generally (Billingsley & Muszynski, 1985; Fernando & Prasad, 1987) and from teaching in particular (Cheng, 1987) suggests that visible minority professionals do apply for employment but that non-white professionals are not hired in the same proportions as their white counterparts (Cheng, 1987). These studies and the underemployment or marginalization experienced by Filipino teachers in Manitoba point to the under-utilization of a valuable resource.

Recommendations:

1. School Division initiatives could involve articulated recruitment and selection practices (See policies in Appendix 3), including to what extent the division is committed to "outreach" recruitment (Harvey, 1989), using non-mainstream media and approaches in an effort to recruit teachers from outside the "status quo", articulating job descriptions which include both "necessary" and "desirable" requirements of job applicants, and finally designing policy to facilitate straightforward feedback on outcomes of interviews and final selection (such as presently done in the Manitoba Provincial Government personnel hiring).
2. Non-biased performance evaluations of substitute teachers, teacher aides and student teachers might also be encouraged, in order to ensure that teacher applicants have objective means of demonstrating work competency, and to improve the accountability of hiring decisions.

Manitoba currently has a program entitled "*Program Recognition*" in place to ease the transition of overseas trained scientists and tradespeople into their chosen careers in Manitoba. And, although Harvey (1988) found that approximately twenty-six percent of responding school boards in Ontario had instituted some form of "job-bridging" (job redesign or classification "introduced into existing organizational job ladders to facilitate both the recruitment and promotion of target group members" (Harvey, 1988:23), Winnipeg School Divisions have yet to put such practices into place.

Recommendation:

School divisions in Manitoba may consider "job-bridging" strategies (Harvey, 1988), such as are presently in the planning stages at the Winnipeg Education Centre and Seven Oaks School Division. From preliminary information, they are discussing the possibilities of "pairing", "mentorship" programs to ease the movement of visible minority and immigrant teachers into teaching positions in Winnipeg schools.

Issues of *Career Development* raised by the data on Filipino teachers in Manitoba revolve primarily around issues of *marginalization*. Teachers spent an average of twelve years in rural and northern communities, and, (from descriptions given in the interviews) often several years of intensive attempts at "upgrading" and pursuing teaching positions in Winnipeg, before successfully landing a position. During their rural/northern teaching experiences, Filipino teachers in Manitoba often were forced to leave homes and families in Winnipeg. Three teachers spoke of intense experiences with discrimination in their professional lives. The findings indicate that fifty percent of Filipino teachers in Manitoba had *eventually* (by the time of the study) acquired what was considered to be a *high level of integration* into the teaching profession. The other fifty percent were working at positions not commensurate with their qualifications and were therefore considered *marginalized* (DePass, 1989). One teacher with administrative qualifications (a principal's certificate) and experience was yet to acquire an educational administration job in the location of choice, Winnipeg. Other certified teachers were working as para-professionals, as teacher aides, heritage language teachers, or had

been de-professionalised in a stream of substitute positions. The fact that all but two of the group began teaching careers outside the "mainstream", as other than "regular" teachers in an urban area suggests that the entire group has to a certain extent been marginalized from the outset. Naturally, this suggestion calls for further study. However, measures can be taken to prevent (or discourage) such continued marginalization.

Recommendations:

1. Manitoba School Divisions should be directed to keep records (similar to those of Crown Corporations such as Canadian Broadcasting Association) or to those initiated by North York and Toronto School Boards of its staff composition of "target groups" (women, disabled persons, Native Canadians and Visible Minorities), set projections (using Occupational Availability data as well as determining a profile of the visible minority representation in a particular geographical area) to meet desirable levels, and be monitored as to the meeting of those goals.
2. Programs which act as "bridges" (Harvey, 1988) would also serve to minimize marginalization in the long-term.
3. "Outreach" recruitment strategies (for both teaching positions and for placement in Faculty of Education programs) could be implemented in order to encourage maximum numbers of immigrant/ visible minority teachers to apply for and to enter the teaching profession or acquire a teaching position.

IV. Suggestions for Further Research:

The descriptions of Filipino teachers' experiences would benefit from a "comparative analysis" with other groups of Manitoba teachers, including other immigrant/visible minority teachers in the province.

The hiring practices of Winnipeg/Manitoba schools should be examined in more depth, perhaps in response to the perceptions presented in this study. One might ask educational administrators the "other side" of the same question asked Filipino teachers, that is, "What do you consider the major barriers in hiring competent teachers trained outside of Canada?"

In order to determine the importance of practice teaching placements, Faculties of Educations might examine the portion of student teachers that are hired in any given year by the school or division in which they were placed on a practicum. It would also be interesting to look at the relationship between substitute teaching and contract teaching employment.

Finally, other immigrant professional groups in Manitoba could be examined vis a vis assessment processes and certification requirements, supports for re-training and work experience programs.

V. Conclusions:

The Canadian government, through controlled complex projections, ensures that Canadian immigration is advantageous for Canada: it is controlled by labour needs (Clodman & Richard, 1982; Carchedi, 1979); it is "cost-effective", actually constituting a "considerable financial savings" (Seward, 1988; Denton & Spencer, 1987); and the numbers and type of immigration desired is determined by the Canadian government, rather

than by "peripheral", supplying nations or by individual migrant professionals themselves (Dixon, 1979; Carchedi, 1978; Sassen-Koob, 1978; Bolaria, 1985, 1987). If responsibility for immigration is to be considered a part of the opportunity to acquire desired immigrants, Canadian immigration policies carry with them a responsibility which extends beyond the "point of entry" of an immigrant to Canada.

Immigrant professionals represent a valuable commodity to Canada and Canada would do well to optimally utilize the talent it imports. Because of the value placed on the abilities of these people, the Canadian and Manitoba governments must ensure that they are not "de-professionalised" (Fernando & Prasad, 1987) and that they do not lose their skills but are able to adapt them in order to work in their new environment.

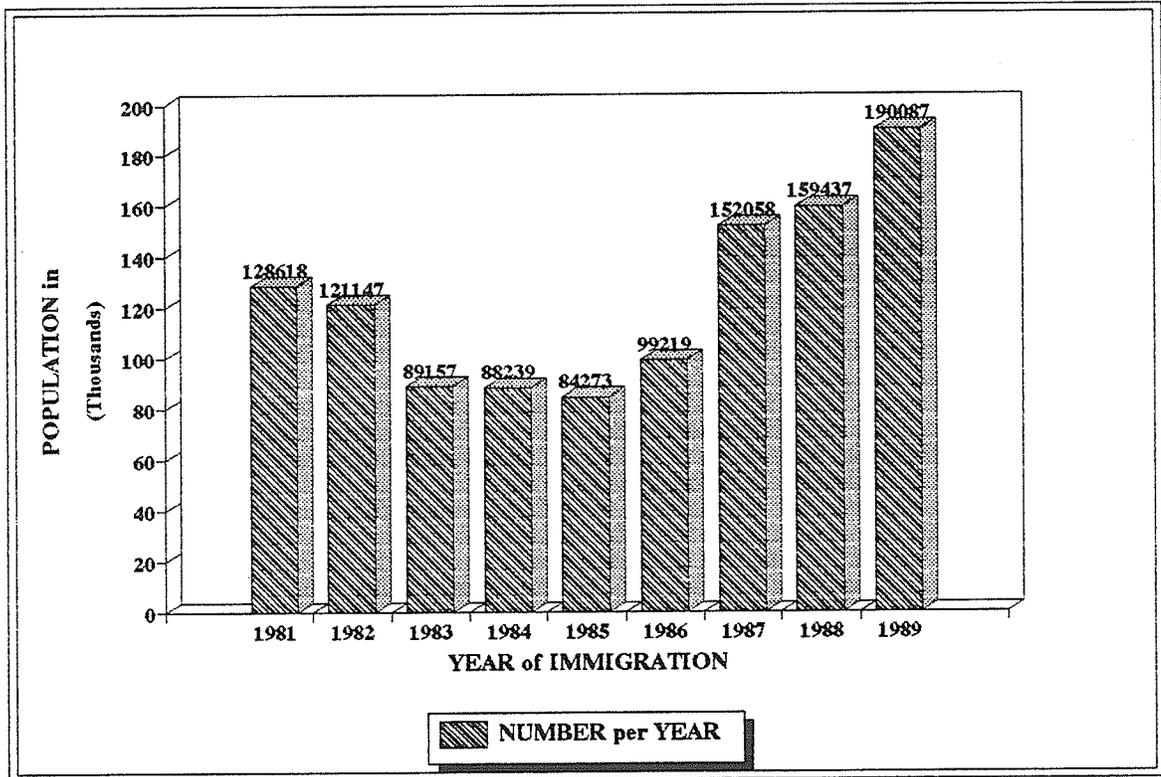
In addition, because children in Manitoba schools deserve the best possible teachers, broadening the base of available teachers from which to choose serves only to ensure that Manitoba schools can hire the best teachers to meet the needs of their changing schools. School Divisions can no longer continue to rely on "passive recruitment" techniques nor on a lack of articulated teacher qualifications as it is clear from the literature and the findings of this study that such practices serve only to maintain the existing relatively homogeneous teacher population rather than to encourage new sources of teachers who may best match the population they will ultimately teach.

NOTES

1. Filipino women immigrating to Canada have the highest proportion of degree holders of all immigrant groups, with 35% holding university degrees (compared to 33 per cent of Filipino men). See Appendix 2A.3.
2. Currently two provinces (Quebec and Alberta) have acquired a degree of control over their own provincial immigration and Manitoba's Premier is also lobbying for more control August, 1990).

APPENDIX

TABLE 1A
IMMIGRATION to CANADA
1981 - 1989



APPENDIX

TABLE 2A.1

IMMIGRATION to CANADA (1962 - 1989):
SCHOOL TEACHERS (Kindergarten, Elementary, and Secondary)

Year	School Teachers	Year	School Teachers
1962	787	1977	830
1963	1206	1978	565
1964	1843	1979	623
1965	2406	1980	771
1966	3465	1981	784
1967	5388	1982	791
1968	5965	1983	512
1969	5922	1984	449
1970	4157	1985	499
1971	2275	1986	554
1972	1797	1987	808
1973	1513	1988	862
1974	1543	1989	666
1975	1290	(to Oct. 2)	
1976	1205		

TABLE 2A.2

IMMIGRATION to MANITOBA (1980 - 1989)
BY INTENDED OCCUPATION: TEACHING

TEACHERS	(Oct)										TOTAL
	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	
Elementary	22	16	23	13	13	10	14	21	18	13	172
Secondary	11	9	17	10	9	8	7	13	15	5	104
TOTAL:	33	25	40	23	22	19	21	34	33	18	276

Source: CANADA, Citizenship & Immigration, Manpower & Immigration, Employment & Immigration.

APPENDIX

TABLE 2A.3

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION of VISIBLE MINORITIES in CANADA
(Those holding a degree)

TOTAL POPULATION	MALES 9.9%	FEMALES 6.2%
Filipinos	32.7%	34.6%
Indo-Pakistan	28.0%	17.1%
Chinese	20.9%	11.6%
Blacks	11.0%	5.0%

Source: Canada Employment and Immigration, 1986

TABLE 2A.4

YEARS of SCHOLARITY of IMMIGRANTS to MANITOBA (1980 - 1989)
with TEACHING as INTENDED OCCUPATION

	Kindergarten & Elementary Teachers	Secondary Teachers	TOTAL
Educational Qualifications			
Secondary or less	9	2	11
Trade Certificate/Diploma	14	3	17
Non-university Cert/Diploma	12	2	14
Some university, no degree	13	9	22
Bachelors Degree	17	21	38
Some Post-Graduate	2	7	9
Masters Degree	1	3	4
Doctorate	2	-	2
Years of Schooling			
7 to 9 Years	1	-	1
10 to 12 Years	13	3	16
13 to 14 Years	21	6	27
15 to 16 Years	25	20	45
More than 16 Years	10	18	28

APPENDIX 3A.1 (1)

QUESTIONNAIRE

**CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF IMMIGRANT TEACHERS
IN MANITOBA
QUESTIONNAIRE**

Name: _____ Sex: M _____ F _____

Address: _____
(city) (postal code)

Phone: _____

1. IMMIGRATION DATA

1.1 Date of Immigration: _____ Age at entry _____

Since leaving (country of origin), have you resided in another country?
Give particulars and dates:

1.2 Immigration Classification: *(please check appropriate category)*

- a. Family Class ()
- b. Assisted Relative ()
- c. Independent ()
- d. Refugee or Designated Class ()
- e. Other _____

1.3 When you came to Canada, were you the principal applicant to immigrate ?
yes _____ no _____. If No, what was the occupation of the principal
applicant/sponsor?

1.4 Dependents:

Number of Children presently: _____

Ages (in years): _____

Other Dependents: _____

2. PHILIPPINE EDUCATION/TRAINING

2.1 Years of Education Completed in the Philippines:

- a. Primary School _____
- b. Secondary School _____
- c. College/University _____

APPENDIX 3A.1 (2)

QUESTIONNAIRE

2. Degree/Diploma Obtained in the Philippines:

1. _____

2. _____

Degree Institution Major/Minor Year

2.3 Teaching Certification Obtained: _____

Certificate type Year

3. WORK EXPERIENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES

3.1 List all teaching positions:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Level/Subject Location Dates

4. CANADIAN EDUCATION AND WORK EXPERIENCE

4.1 Do you currently hold a Manitoba teaching certificate?

yes _____ no _____

4.2 Canadian post-secondary education: Have you been required to take any additional courses on arrival in Canada in order to obtain a teaching certificate? If so, please list them.

Course/Degree Institution Dates

4.3 What teaching-related positions have you held in Manitoba? (Use the back of this page if you need more space.)

Level/Subject Location Dates

APPENDIX 3A.1 (3)

QUESTIONNAIRE

4.4 The process of resuming a career in a new country is often a difficult one that may or may not be facilitated by the institutions of the host country. Listed below are some of the obstacles that other people have identified in their attempts to teach in other parts of Canada. Please indicate below the extent to which you feel any of these were important barriers to you in pursuing your career in Manitoba.

(Please check a box for each item.)

	MAJOR OBSTACLE	MINOR OBSTACLE	NOT AN OBSTACLE
1. Failure to recognize overseas credentials	()	()	()
2. Failure to recognize overseas (non-Canadian) teaching experience	()	()	()
3. Re-certification in subject area/ Canadian content	()	()	()
4. Re-certification in teaching methods/ student teaching	()	()	()
5. Length of time to obtain accreditation/ certification	()	()	()
6. Necessary certification courses (eg. Canadian content) not available/ accessible	()	()	()
7. Lack of supports (eg. finance, day care) while doing required re-certification courses	()	()	()
8. A reluctance of Manitoban school administrators to hire non-Canadian teachers	()	()	()
9. Other: This list is most likely incomplete. <i>(Please add any other obstacles you have faced in pursuing your teaching career in Manitoba.)</i>			
_____	()	()	()
_____	()	()	()
_____	()	()	()

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX 3A.2

CODE

CODING SYSTEM FOR QUESTIONNAIRE VARIABLES

<u>SEX</u>	<u>Year of Immigration</u>	<u>Immigration Classification</u>	<u>Principal Applicant</u>	<u>Occupation of Principal Applicant</u>
1-female		1-family	1-yes	1-teacher
2-male		2-assist relative	2-no	2-machinist
		3-independent		3-nurse
		4-refugee/designated		4-machine operator
		5-other		5-architect
				6-university prof
				7-garment worker

<u>Children Presently</u>	<u>Children at Immigration</u>	<u>Post-secondary (10 years+)</u>	<u>Year of 1st ed. Univ. grad.</u>	<u>Year of 2nd Univ. grad.</u>
---------------------------	--------------------------------	-----------------------------------	------------------------------------	--------------------------------

<u>Philippine Elementary Teaching Experience (total # of years)</u>	<u>Philippine Secondary Teaching Experience</u>	<u>Manitoban Teaching Certificate</u>	<u>Year cert. obtained</u>	<u>Manitoban Elementary Teaching Experience (total # of years)</u>	<u>Manitoban Secondary Teaching Experience</u>
		1-provisional			
		2-permanent professional			
		3-not held			

ISSUES AFFECTING RESUMPTION OF PREVIOUS CAREER

- 1-not an obstacle
- 2-minor obstacle
- 3-major obstacle

<u>Recognition of Overseas Credentials</u>	<u>Recognition of Overseas Teaching Experience</u>	<u>Re-certification in Subject area/Canadian content</u>	<u>Re-certification in teaching methods/student teaching</u>
--	--	--	--

<u>Time required to obtain accreditation</u>	<u>Required courses unavailable</u>	<u>Lack of Support</u>	<u>Ed. Administrators Reluctance to hire non-Canadian trained teachers</u>
--	-------------------------------------	------------------------	--

OTHERS MENTIONED:

- 1-language
- 2-teaching methods
- 3-working/studying at same time
- 4-"catch 22 situation"
- 5-accent non-Canadian
- 6-hired less competent teachers
- 7-need work to earn living
- 8-no guarantee of placement
- 9-priority for Canadian teachers
- 10-consideration limited for non-Canadians
- 11-teaching full-time and taking courses to upgrade myself at the same time
- 12-portability of accreditation across Canada
- 13-lack of affirmative action policy

APPENDIX 3A.3

PHONE CALL

Background "Preamble" When Telephoning Potential Interviewees

The purpose of this "preamble" is 1. to refresh in the minds of the subjects the study itself by focussing on their participation to date; 2. to thank them for past input and to encourage further contact; 3. to set a "mind frame" for the type of information I am interested in; and 4. to request and set up an audiotaped one hour interview. This phone call will be conversational in nature but will include the following dialogue.

Interviewer: ...Hello, this is Maureen Elliott. I'm the person doing the study on immigrant teachers in Manitoba (for which you completed the questionnaire in _____ (month in which Q. returned)).... I want to thank you for taking the time to complete the questionnaire and for sending it back to me - I really appreciate your input... (wait for any response).

I'd like to interview a number of the teachers who responded to the questionnaire and if possible to talk in a little more depth about what has happened to you in your Teaching Career here in Manitoba (from the time you came over to now) (the experiences you've had in resuming your teaching career here- what factors may have influenced your decisions...) (answer any questions).

Would you be free to meet with me for about an hour in the near future? (Arrange a time and place convenient to both parties.) So that I can retain all aspects of our discussion, would there be any problem if I use a tape recorder?? (Everything will remain confidential/anonymous of course and I can return the tape to you after if you like...)

Thanks very much!! I'll see you on _____ at _____ (confirm arrangements).

APPENDIX 3A.4

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

I Motivations/Employment Expectations

Q. Can we first talk about why you decided to leave the Philippines for Canada and what kind of employment you expected upon arrival?

Probes: What led you to believe that?
Who told you that?

II Process of Resuming Teaching Career in Manitoba

Q. What actually happened when you got here?
A.) Accreditation/Certification

Q. What did you do to have your credentials assess in this province?

Probes: What were you told?

B.) Employment History

1. Initial Job Search

Q. What job(s) did you apply for?

Probes: What happened?
Interviews?
Offers?
Was it the position you wanted? (Location, % of time, permanent/temporary, paraprofessional/regular/subject area)

2. Changes in Employment

Q. Why did you move/leave your previous position?

Probes: What happened?
Subsequent interviews?
Offers?
Was it the position you wanted? (" " ")

III Effects of being an Overseas-trained Filipino Teacher in Manitoba.

Q.1 How has the fact that you are a Filipino teacher and that you were trained outside this country affected your teaching career in Manitoba?

Q.2 Have these same factors (being Filipino & being foreign-trained) been at any time seen as an advantage in your career development here?

Guidelines for probes: Why do you say that?
Why do you think this is?
How do you feel about this?

APPENDIX 4A.1

Winnipeg School Division Number One
Affirmative Action For Women in Administration

- (a) collecting data on the gender of all personnel employed by the division, those applying for, interviewed for, and appointed to administrative positions;
- (b) ensuring that vacancies for educational administrative positions are advertised throughout the Division;
- (c) stating that such advertisements include preferred qualifications and experience;
- (d) using an *assessment format* to evaluate candidates for the purpose of short-listing and interviewing;
- (e) if a female and male are deemed *of equal merit* the female candidate will be appointed;
- (f) unsuccessful candidates are entitled to counsel by a superintendent using the assessment format completed by the selection committee.

This model does not explicitly identify/recruit female candidates nor does it identify/include any other designated group (visible minorities, natives, or disabled people). However, it does include complete job description and job qualifications, objective guidelines that reinforce objectiveness and accountability. Unfortunately, it is presently limited to employment equity for female candidates interested in administrative positions in one Manitoba school division.

APPENDIX 4A.2

Transcona Springfield Divisional (Hiring) Policy (1982)

The *team approach* followed these steps:

- (a) School Principal prepares Short-List (It is expected that both men and women will be interviewed for any position);
- (b) A team of school and central office personnel assemble for interview;
- (c) Candidates are interviewed using an *interview kit* (with *pertinent information, interview slips*).
- (d) Each panel member records impressions on the interview forms and the principal compiles all the information on each candidate.
- (e) An attempt is made to reach a consensus on the first and second choice candidates.
- (f) A review of references is made of chosen candidate(s) and if the Superintendent's representative was not present at the initial interview, a second one will be arranged.
- (g) Superintendent receives information re: number interviewed, who on interview team, etc. and makes the final commitment to hire.

APPENDIX 4A.3

Seven Oaks School Division No. 10

As indicated in this recent (Manitoba Teacher's Society: 1989:21 - 22) interview with the division Superintendent interested in the principles of equality of employment:

There is no formal program nor policy on Affirmative Action in Seven Oaks School Division No. 10. However, the *Affirmative Action* discussion is alive on several fronts -- women in administration; under-represented visible minorities in teaching; males in elementary schools; and females in high schools ... In the future, I can see Seven Oaks continuing to pay particular attention to the statistics of under-represented groups in administration and teaching - this may less and less be an issue of gender, rather an issue of ethnic minority. As a Superintendent, I always have the goal in mind that in an *ideal world* all groups will be equally represented. The *ideal world* is complicated by matters like the definition of the *ideal or available pool* of qualified teachers. I am prepared to encourage and support ways of enlarging and creating that pool, be it through workshops, collaborative teacher-school ventures, financial support, and/or policy.

(John Wiens, Superintendent Seven Oaks S.D. No.10)

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