

**Title: Deskillling across the Generations: Reunification among Transnational Filipino Families in Vancouver**

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**Research Question:** What are the long-term effects of the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) among Filipino families who immigrate to Canada after the terms of this temporary worker program have been met?

**Importance:** Immigration of families following the Live-in Caregiver Program is a relatively recent phenomenon (since 1995) and there is very little known about family integration in Canada. Whilst government statistics indicate that the Filipino community is well integrated in the labour market, with very high rates of employment participation, this study indicates that these statistics are misleading and obscure potential problems among Filipino youth who have been separated from their mothers for many years.

**Research Findings:** We assess the impact of the LCP through qualitative interviews with 27 families who have been separated by the LCP followed by family immigration to Canada. The much-anticipated family reunion typically has not been easy, and conditions of the LCP contribute to difficulties in settlement and integration. Since so many of the hopes of migration are tied to children's education and future well-being, we look very closely at the lives of the children, in particular their educational and occupational success in Canada. Analyzing the educational achievements of children in the sample, along with BC Ministry of Education data for children who speak Tagalog at home, and 2001 census data, we conclude that these children are not faring as well as might be hoped. The challenges differ depending on when a child has immigrated. Children who come in their late teens, often having been enrolled in or even completed university in the Philippines, find themselves being sent back to high school, at adult education learning centres. Among this cohort, conditions associated with the LCP are directly reproduced in their own lives: some actually come to Canada through the LCP as their mothers have done, some experience the downward mobility from university student to low skilled worker, so typical of their mothers who have been registered in the LCP, and some repeat the experience of separation from their own children in the Philippines. Those who come at an earlier age also face significant challenges. Relative to other Asian language groups, grade point averages at graduation are low, and relatively few Tagalog-speaking students are listed on the honour roll. Roughly one quarter of the girls and over one third of the boys who speak Tagalog at home and entered the Vancouver school system in grade 8 between 1995 and 1999 did not graduate from high school. We identify a number of ways in which the LCP leads to this outcome. First, the separation and sequence of LCP followed by immigration can set up a dynamic of conflict within the family. Second, the remittances of women registered in the LCP have in some cases raised the economic standing of their families in the Philippines, and accommodating to a lower economic standing in Vancouver creates stresses. Third, women who have gone through the LCP are typically deskilled by the time their families arrive, and are working long hours in multiple jobs so they are not as available to their children as they would like. The deskilling of mothers can also create pressures for children to contribute to the household income.

**Implications:** The LCP, a temporary worker program, is a de facto immigration program for many Filipino families and needs to be assessed in light of the implications of family separation for settlement and integration, especially for Filipino youth.