TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION:
FILIPINO HOTEL WORKERS IN RURAL MANITOBA

by

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ABSTRACT

At the intersection of three highways, the Douglas Hotel, in Manitoba's central-west, is a place to stop for a coffee, a meal, or a night's accommodation. Like elsewhere on the Canadian prairies, the daily labour required of these services falls largely to a migrant workforce. Bringing together historic political economy with feminist political economy, I draw on the presence of this workforce, comprised of 71 Filipino service and hospitality workers, in Douglas as an entry point into an extended exploration of the workings of social reproduction under globalized capitalism historically and at the beginning of the 21st Century.

Sensitive to the transnationality that characterizes the lives of these workers, this multi-sited ethnographic study reads the details of everyday life in Manitoba and the Philippines through the historic and present-day political economy of each site. Offering this parallel yet integrated account, I highlight the variability of migrant experience in Canada at the sub-national level, as well as the ways in which receiving-states and private enterprise collaborate in the creation of labour markets. Low-wage and low–status, the labour market in question demands a kind of corporate, commodified care work that ensures the bodily reproduction of the Hotel's guests and the material reproduction of the Hotel itself. Following from the objectives of their migration, the labour these workers perform at the Hotel also supports the survival and well-being of family in the Philippines. However, in addition to ensuring the material reproduction of non-migrant kin, through their use of digital communication technology and social media, these migrants contribute to the reproduction of migrant subjectivities, and subsequently, respond to the needs of global capital and the Philippine state.

Thus, identifying the various, scaled forms of social reproduction in which the Hotel's migrant workers participate, this thesis offers a multi-faceted, transnational account of reproduction, incorporating migrants, their families, their employer, and multiple state players. While not reproductive as conventionally defined, their labour at the Hotel provides insight into the patterning and re-patterning of social reproduction, and its associated labour, under global capital. Moreover, it demonstrates the centrality of those processes to operations of capitalism.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

BES   Bureau of Employment Services
LCP   Live-in Caregiver Program
MPNP   Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program
OEDB   Overseas Employment Development Board
NSB   National Seaman Board
POEA   Philippine Overseas Employment Agency
PFRA   Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration
TFWP   Temporary Foreign Worker Program

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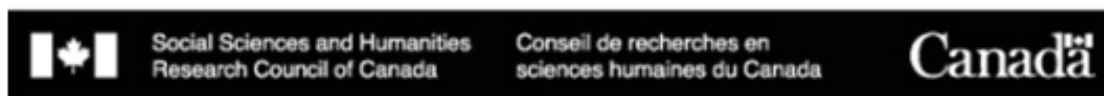
CHAPTER 1   INTRODUCTION

In March of 2009, Ester and Jean, two migrant service and hospitality workers

from the Philippines arrived in Douglas, Manitoba, Canada via Singapore. Together, the

friends and former co-workers travelled to Vancouver and then onward to Winnipeg.

There, they were met by their new employer who would accompany them to Douglas.Out

of Winnipeg, they travelled 88 kilometres along the Transnational highway in the

direction of Portage la Prairie. From there, another 263 kilometres north-west along

the Yellowhead, number 16 highway. Nearing the town, entering what was once Douglas

County, the near absolute flatness of the Great North American Plane gives way to

rolling hills and their valley, where the road bends to accommodate an increasingly

dramatic grade. This landscape extends northward, toward the Porterhead Dam and Shell

Lake, but travelling further west, toward Douglas, it recedes, giving way again to the

openness so often associated with the prairies. Ester and Jean's journey from the

Philippines to the small town in the province's central-west would be followed by dozens

of migrant workers who, like the pair, had been recruited by the region's largest service

and hospitality sector stakeholder: the Douglas Hotel and Conference Centre. Ester was

hired to work at the hotel restaurant as a server, while Jean worked at the local Subway

franchise, one of the Hotel's satellite operations.

For migrant workers, the journey to Douglas is often protracted. Not only in terms

of distance travelled, but in terms of the planning and staging required of getting

there. Most had worked elsewhere, gaining overseas employment experience, often

within North American chains located in Asia and the Middle East. The majority, like

Jean and Ester, held degrees in Hotel and Restaurant Management—an education pursued

to increase their likelihood of securing overseas employment. For Ester and Jean, like for those who would follow them, working in Canada was a long-standing objective. To work in Canada meant better living accommodations, more regulated work environments, and higher wages. Life in the small town was slower than it had been in Dubai, Singapore, and Manila—where many of them first worked—but the air was clean, the streets were safe, and work, while repetitive at times, was decent and relatively well compensated. It was easy to save and to send remittances home. Moreover, landing in Manitoba, this group of workers would eventually become permanent residents—a welcome, if unanticipated, outcome for many. Ester, for example, expected to work the duration of her two-year contract. If she was fortunate, she had thought, it would be renewed for another two years, after which she would exit the country. Perhaps returning to the Philippines for a few months, but then onward elsewhere; her working life characterized by a permanent impermanence regardless of where she was, such way of living and working was, she assumed, necessary.

After taking a few days to adjust to the weather and 12-hour time difference, Ester assumed her position at the hotel's restaurant. The flow of her day's waged-labour followed the rhythms of the hotel and the town, and as such, corresponded to the ebbs and flows of the region's tourism sector. In spring and fall, hotel guests arrive between 7h and 10h for breakfast; some return later for dHotel er. Truckers and the mobile construction crews who transit the region arrive throughout the day, sometimes for a coffee, other times for lunch. Residents of the town arrive for their mid-day, and on occasion, their evening meals. In the winter when the ski hill is open, and in the summer when the fly fishing season begins in earnest, the pace picks up. There are more

overnight guests at the hotel and more diners at the restaurant. Ester's March job-start means that she is immediately in the thick of the winter ski season. Work moved quickly, but she is grateful. Life in the town, while pleasant and peaceful, is otherwise, slow. She finds herself bored after work, and though she is grateful for Jean's company and friendship, lonely. She misses her family, her parents, her siblings, and her husband. They are only just recently married. With her earnings at the restaurant, she will support her family, she will continue building their home, replacing the *nippa* (bamboo) with concrete, and she will pay her husband's tuition; he is training to become a nurse.

When we meet for the first time, two and half years later, Ester is on maternity leave. Her five-month old, Danilo, sits on her lap. They live in a spacious mobile home owned by the Hotel. The Hotel, she says, bought the house with her in mind; she could hardly continue to live in staff accommodations once she had the baby. Danilo is yet to meet his father, Jonah, who watched his birth over Skype. Since Ester's arrival in Douglas, he has completed his nursing degree and is working as a rural health nurse in the mountainous region of their home province. Jonah provides multifaceted care to people in their homes, often in communities with no running water or electricity. He is also one of only three who travel the region, and so his skill set it stretched to the limit. They are underfunded and are often forced to be resourceful. Transportation is also a significant challenge. They travel by truck when they can, but find themselves on foot most often.

In the winter of 2012, Ester remains preoccupied with Jonah's arrival. "If [Citizenship and Immigration Canada] would just ask for the passport, I would be very very happy; it would mean that my hubby could come. I would be very glad…It

could be any moment now, so maybe by February he will already be here." While she laments the delay in her permanent residency, Ester delights in Daniel's Canadian citizenship. "Congratulations baby", she sings, as her finger tears through a just delivered letter revealing her son's Social Insurance Number. February would come and go, but Jonah would only arrive in June. His departure from the Philippines would be quickly executed. I sat with Ester in her living room when she had finally received the passport request a month earlier. She shouted and wept joyfully.

This is a study of the small group of migrant workers in the service and hospitality sector in Douglas, Manitoba, located in the province's Asessippi-Parkland region of which Ester and Jean were the first. It is a study of their labour both "productive" and "reproductive", and of the conditions (developed over time) in both Manitoba and the Philippines that have facilitated their migration. It is a study of transnational family-life under contemporary capitalism, and an exploration of the strategies deployed by migrants in the service of their daily and long-term reproduction. Such are the immediately observable phenomena of these migrant lives. Yet, their mobility, their work, their relationships, and the various strategies that knit these together are but the "more or less tangible results of underlying processes operating in historical time" (Wolf, 1982, p. 41). They are "precipitates of processes, not the processes themselves" (*ibid*). This thesis is an interrogation of those processes—understood through their particular historical and contradictory instantiations that have converged in the establishment and reproduction of this migrant workforce on the Canadian prairies.

More than a narrowly focused study of a small group of migrant workers, this multi-sited ethnography draws on the presence of Filipinos in Douglas as an entry point

into an extended exploration of the workings of social reproduction under globalized capital historically, and at the beginning of the 21st Century. In it, I hold in balance the histories, past and present, of both the Philippines and Manitoba, and in so doing, I redress the tendency in the literature to focus on conditions in the Philippines that prompt labour migration. Critical in this regard, is a reading of Manitoba's immigration scheme. Through this reading, I offer nuance to the ways in which both labour and population are recruited by states and employers that otherwise appear benevolent and generous, tracing the unintended consequences of well-meaning immigration policy. In this work, I also argue that hotel workers, and more broadly, service and hospitality workers, constitute reproductive labour despite the highly commodified and compartmentalized nature of their jobs. This allows me to expand on the "global care chain thesis", which has been taken up within the gender and migration literature as one of the principle ways to conceptualize the transnationalization of reproductive labour. Finally, in forwarding that argument, I pay close ethnographic attention to digital social media and the ways in which the virtual plays into the reproduction of migrant subjectivities.

3.74 kilometres-squared and located at the intersection of three highways, the town of Douglas, Manitoba is a thoroughfare for most who arrive—a place to stop for coffee, a meal, or a few nights' accommodation. Much of this short-term activity unfolds in a single, though relatively expansive, complex: the Douglas Hotel. Located at the entrance of the town, the Hotel encompasses a 97-room hotel and conference centre, restaurant and bar, beer store, three fast food chains, and a gas station and convenience store. Like many rural centres on the prairies, the daily labour required at the Hotel (the pouring of coffee, the preparation of food, the cleaning of rooms, the washing of sheets,

etc.) has fallen to a largely migrant workforce. Comprised predominately of Filipinos, these migrants arrived as temporary workers, and eventually, due to the province's immigration scheme, transferred to permanent residency. As a result, over a five-year period, Douglas' population of approximately 1700 grew by 150 new permanent residents (formerly temporary foreign workers and their families)—an outcome most readily attributed to the labour recruitment strategy deployed by the Hotel , which between 2009 and 2014 had recruited 71 migrant workers from the Philippines.

The Philippines is a prototypical labour export country (Barber, 2008b). In 2006, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) processed contracts for over one million Filipinos, who would be deployed in foreign labour markets in 179 countries, equaling 3000 daily departures (*ibid*). When considered alongside the movement of Philippine migrant labour globally, the arrival of 71 workers at the northern edge of Manitoba's Parkland is anomalous. Certainly, as a destination for migrant labour the Asessippi-Parkland region is unique. Yet, the labour, both productive and reproductive, of the Douglas Hotel's Philippine workforce is, in many ways, emblematic of life under 21st Century global capitalism. Commodified and stretched across great distance, it reflects the gendered, classed, and racialized hierarchies and inequalities that underpin contemporary capital accumulation. Moreover, their migration signals the growing necessity of mobility for reproduction, broadly configured—the reproduction of individuals, of families, and of the very actors and systems that compel migration in the first place. At the same time, the requirement of migration and its subsequent influence over the organization of livelihood and reproduction in the contemporary moment is very

much born of successive circumstances in particular regions—in this instance, Asessippi-Parkland and the Philippines.

Despite the specificity of this example, as a case study, then, the establishment of this Filipino workforce in Douglas offers a paradigm for a general process: the political of economy of global migration, and the concurrent patterning and re-patterning of social reproduction over time. Such, then, is the objective of this project: to draw on the details of this flow of migrant labour as a means of emphasizing the long-arm of globalized capital and the ways in which localized practices and small-scale entitles affect and are affected by broader historical and transnational processes. An anthropological diagnosis of the turbulent traditions of capitalist political economy in both the Philippines and Manitoba, this thesis contextualizes the establishment of this small Filipino working class in rural Manitoba, and it explores the conditions and outcomes of their labour as a means of elaborating the social and economic systems that demand their mobility. To this end, I draw on Eric Wolf's contributions to political economy, and the more recent contributions of anthropologists engaged in historical anthropology (Kalb & Tak, 2005). These are supplemented by David Harvey's theory of the spatial fix (1985), and augmented by the intellectual and political interventions of feminist political economy concerning the sexual division of labour and social reproduction.

1.1   CONCEPTUAL FRAMING

As Wolf illustrates across his scholarship, rather than "encompassing the whole world in a homogeneous field of effects", capitalism generates "variability and differentiation not only through its combination with other modes [of production] but also in the very course of its own operations" (Wolf, 1982, p. 303). Following from this,

inequality and stratification—that is, the ordering of inequality—are generated by, and generative of, the capitalist mode of production. Moreover, they are necessary mechanisms of accumulation as value is mobilized and transferred between sites. The arrival of Filipino workers in Douglas reflects such a transfer in the form of labour power. At the same time, when we account for the social geographies and political economies of each site and the ways in which both have been integrated in complex ways into the circuits of global capitalism over time, the story of Philippine workers in Douglas offers something far more complicated. Their mobility and corresponding strategies of reproduction provide a way into the localized dynamics of globalized capital, and the ways in which capitalism creates the conditions for new social arrangements responsive to accumulation and crisis.

Policy concerning migration, be it emigration or immigration, is particularly sensitive to the needs of capital accumulation, and moreover to the cyclical and repetitive nature of capitalist crisis. A flexible and responsive bureaucratic measure, its reorientation over time produces and reproduces specific kinds of migrants, citizens, and workers. Beginning in the mid-Nineteenth Century and continuing well until the Second World War, migration to Canada reflected a series of economic, social, and ideological processes at once related to the objectives of the Canadian state concerning the establishment and preservation of a white, British Canada, and the on-going need for workers in the wake of capitalist expansion (Arat-Kroc, 1998). Though not free of complication, Canada's westward expansion, formally instigated in the late 1860s, depended on an alignment of the state's objectives vis-à-vis migration and settlement with those of the capitalist class concerning labour.

Western expansion would also require a near-complete spatial reorganization—one tailored to the creation of a resource-extraction economy based primarily on agricultural production. Punctuating the Canadian state's active and protracted role in mediating the relationship between labour and capital by way of immigration policy are explicit adjoining moments of spatial recalibration—adaptions of the physical landscape intended to generate opportunities for accumulation. Engineered and enacted through a series of technological and bureaucratic interventions, the Canadian colonial project would dramatically, if not entirely, transform the region. Yet, this transformation would prove insufficient in the long term, requiring time again modification and re-adjustment and subsequently, cycles of abandonment and relocation. In his 1987 essay, "Cycles of Violence: The Anthropology of War and Peace", Wolf writes:

> Capital forever abandons older sectors of the economy and relocates in new and more promising industries and areas…[and] in its continuous and often unpredictable movements, it also continuously shakes up the foundations of human existence. (p. 147-148)

These cycles are those of destruction and creation, or what Harvey has labelled spatial or spatial-temporal fixes (1985). Though chaotic in social consequence, the "spatial fix" is intended to redress capitalism's chronic tendency toward crises. In 1975, Harvey writes of crisis:

> Since there are no other equilibrating forces at work within the competitive anarchy of the capitalist economic system, crises have an important function—they enforce some kind of order and rationality onto capitalist economic development. This is not to say that crises are themselves orderly or logical—they merely create the

conditions which force some kind of arbitrary rationalization of the capitalist

production system. (p. 10)

Variable and contingent, the spatial fix renews capitalism's productive capacity through

the creation of new opportunities for accumulation. Characterized by increased

productivity, lower labour costs, new lines of profit, new sites of investment, and new

demand (*ibid*), these new opportunities are established through a combination of

territorial expansion, technological development, the creation of new social wants and

needs, corresponding to the transformation of social and consumer subjectivities, and

state intervention by way of social and economic policy. As a solution, however, the

spatial fix is short-lived; as a corrective, it is temporary (Harvey, 2001). In no small part,

and returning to Wolf, the limitations and transience of any given spatial fix follow from

the social and ecological havoc it generates. Just as labour cannot be used

indiscriminately without affecting the human bearing the commodity (Polayni, 1957, p.

73), land while not without its elasticity eventually frustrates human intervention

(requiring, according to capitalist logic, further intervention).

While there are many such interventions that have contributed to the

establishment of this flow of migrant Philippine labour into Manitoba, this thesis dwells

on one in particular: the diversification of the rural economy in the province's Parkland,

and more precisely the turn to tourism in the Asessippi-Parkland region, realized through

the construction of an increasingly controversial piece of infrastructure, the Porterhead

Dam (1964-1972). A project of the Federal Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration

(PFRA), the dam is located twenty-eight kilometres north-west of Douglas. It serves as a

corrective to the short-comings of the colonial agricultural project and as a stimulus,

intended to open the region to new economic possibilities. An adaption of an already constructed ecology, the dam and its reservoir, named Shell Lake, it was anticipated, would jump start the region's tourism sector. Embedded in a larger project of rural development, which took as its starting point the restructuring of the agricultural sector, tourism was intended to redress and sustain emerging trends in agriculture—specifically, consolidation and intensification.

The construction of the Porterhead Dam signaled a shift in the region's productive relations and the ways in which reproduction was organized. Faced with the neoliberalization of agriculture, agriculturalists needed to diversify, intensify, or abandon production. Tourism, it was held by officials, would ensure the on-going viability of agricultural production, albeit in a modified form, through the creation of new economic opportunities, and most importantly, new local jobs. This would have direct implications for reproduction within the region as a growing number of rural residents started reconfiguring their livelihoods. At the same time, many farmers—but predominantly women, found themselves partially integrated into the burgeoning service and hospitality sector to make ends meet. Their labour, however, would prove insufficient to support the sector in the long-term.

Forty years later, tourism is a central, if somewhat tenuous, feature of the rural economy. The Douglas Hotel is the sector's largest employer, but most of its workforce are not "local" in the conventional sense; rather, nearly three-quarters are migrant workers, arriving predominately from the Philippines through the federal Temporary Foreign Worker Program. Thus, the local success of the region's tourism sector is predicated on processes initiated and enacted not only within Manitoba, but reflects and

responds to a broader global political economy connecting the province to the Philippines.

In its earliest manifestation, Canada's temporary foreign labour scheme was restricted to the agricultural sector. Other migrant worker programs existed to import domestic labour, but these typically included a mechanism for permanency (Macklin, 1994). The Temporary Foreign Worker Program evolved out of the 1973 Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program. In 2002, over thirty years after its initial inception, the temporary foreign worker program was expanded to facilitate the recruitment and employment of "lower-skilled" workers within a growing number of occupational sectors. A result of the Low Skilled Pilot Project, the number of temporary foreign workers in the country increased. This growth in temporary arrivals, however, would accelerate in 2006 when the newly-elected Conservative government implemented further changes to the program. The changes, which included the speeding up of processing times, would see the expansion of the pilot project to include more than 200 occupations, including gas station attendants, hotel clerks, housekeepers, and food and beverage servers.

Two years after the expansion of the Low Skilled Pilot Project, the Douglas Hotel's first foreign workers, Jean and Ester, arrived from the Philippines, and by 2014, 71 of the Hotel's 110 employees were temporary migrants. While Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) provided the policy mechanism enabling their migration, the Porterhead Dam provided the raw material for the labour market in which these migrants would be employed. That said, and returning to Wolf, the dam's construction, not unlike the expansion of the TFWP, merely signals a series of far more

embedded processes and histories. And so drawing on Harvey's theorizing of the spatial fix as both destructive and generative, in this work, the dam serves as spatial and temporal fulcrum. A fixed (for the moment) point in time and space upon which seemingly distinct histories of accumulation and their corresponding migration pathways meet. A manifestation of what was and what is, it is both backward and forward looking. It connects the town's colonial past to its neoliberal present, and as such, to the histories accompanying, and social reproductive strategies embarked upon by, the region's newest labour force.

According to Wolf, ideology organizes and makes comprehensible the material and political practices of those who exercise power in the service of such transformations. In this thesis, the ideologies in question are those concerning social reproduction, and subsequently, of the ways in which groups of people ensure survival on a daily and intergenerational basis, and understand and value the labour associated with that survival. In its most immediate form, reproduction refers to human procreation and the tasks required to sustain life: finding food, building shelter, making clothes, and providing care. In a very real sense, the labour of reproduction is what separates life from death at any given moment. Rooted as it is in the needs of bodies, there is a consistency to reproduction—human bodies must be fed, protected, and maintained to ensure short- and long-term survival. Still, there is a politics to reproduction. Who is doing it, how, and under what circumstances varies significantly, and so in addition to uniformity and consistency, there is also incredible variation, as survival assumes its specific form corresponding to the context in which it unfolds. Given its embodied quality, the labour of reproduction is often highly localized. It is enacted through and on bodies in place and

in time. And yet, since the 1970s the labour of reproduction has become increasingly diffused and globalized, reflected in large part in the ever-growing numbers of migrant domestic and care workers circulated between (though not exclusively) the Global North and South.

Responding to the accelerated dispersal of reproductive workers globally, the last three decades have seen a growing preoccupation amongst researchers with the ways in which contemporary global capitalism has altered reproduction, stretching its parametres to include a growing number of people—largely women, and sites worldwide. Much of this work has focused on the globalization and commodification of domestic and care labour (Arat-Kroc, 1989; Barber, 1997; Chang & Ling, 2001; Chin, 1998; Cohen, 1987; Hochschild, 2000; Piper, 2008). Over the last thirty years, this scholarship has very effectively articulated the hierarchicalized nature of global transfers of care and its associated reproductive labour, the ways in which value is extracted from care labour migrants, and the ways in which gendered inequality (rooted in the sexual division of labour) is reproduced through globalized care-arrangements. Following from this, in addition to the manifold labour required of procreation and survival, social reproduction is equally a process that naturalizes the systems in which procreation and survival occur, as well as the social structures and hierarchies that reinforce the economic order of things.

Representing one of its key theoretical contributions, this thesis project moves beyond the scholarship on migration, gender, and reproduction to include workers whose labour, while not constituted as "care", is reproductive in nature. At the Hotel, this reproductive quality is revealed in several ways. First, in the paid labour of the Filipino

workers who tend to the embodied and affective needs of guests. Second, in the intended outcomes of their migration—that is, the survival and on-going reproduction of kin in the Philippines, survival and reproduction that is enacted transnationally. And yet, their migration and subsequent employment at the hotel reproduces more than "just" bodies, be they in Douglas or the Philippines. In and between each site, their labour fosters and cements particular social relationships, boundaries, and identities. In Douglas, these are bound to the interactive nature of service work, and to the expectations held by both the Hotel's management and clientele. In Manitoba more broadly, they are bound to the objectives of the state vis-à-vis labour and immigration. While in the Philippines, they are bound to the objectives of the state concerning labour export and the reproduction of migrant subjectivities filtered through the livelihood practices of individuals. And so, as the Hotel's TFWs tend to the reproductive needs of guests (ensuring the viability of the Hotel), the conditions of their own subordination are reproduced. As they remit their earnings (securing the reproduction of family in the Philippines), the global hierarchies that compel migrants into foreign labour markets are reinforced. And, as they engage in the emotional and affective labour central to their own socially constituted, and now transnationally configured, reproductive roles, the material practices and discursive mechanisms through which migrant identities are cast are reproduced. Taken together, the care labour described in this work takes on a corporate and commoditized form at the Hotel, where the labour of Filipino workers contributes to the bodily reproduction of Hotel clients, the material reproduction of a small, capitalism enterprise, and to the

The case of Philippine workers in Douglas, Manitoba provides a rich vantage point from which to explore the "real-life connections between [such] *nominally* distinct

spheres of social life" (Kalb & Tak, p. 21) (emphasis added), or what Wolf (1966) referred to as "interstitial relations". In his 1966 essay "Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies", he writes:

> Sometimes informal [relations] cling to the formal like barnacles to a rusty ship. At other times, informal social relations are responsible for the metabolic processes required to keep the formal institution operating…In still other cases, we discover that the formal table of organization is elegant indeed, but fails to work, unless informal mechanisms are found for its direct contravention. (p. 2)

Reflecting its key contribution to the study global political economy, this thesis focuses on the second dynamic described by Wolf: the ways in which the informal, the personal, and supposedly supplemental (in this instance, the reproductive) simultaneously respond to, underpin and in fact, create the conditions necessary for the functioning and reproduction of the formal (i.e. the productive). Drawing on the insights of socialist feminist scholarship and feminist political economy (Bergerson, 2001; Benston, 1969; Boserup, 1970; Coulson, Magâs & Wainwright, 1975; Cowl, 1972; Federici, 2004; Ferguson, 1999; Ferguson, 2008; Gerstein, 1973; Hartman, 1979), this thesis argues that rather than tangential, reproduction is central to the operations of capital. For these scholars, like Wolf, these interstitial relations, and its associated labour, connect "local" actors to a wider context, so that we can situate the labour and experiences of migrant service and hospitality workers in rural Manitoba in both "internal and external" social, political, and economic processes while examining how these migrants respond to these processes through "culturally informed action and action-involved cultural forms" (Wolf, 1986, p.). For the migrant Philippine workers at the Hotel , this occurs within a

transnational social field. Demarcated by the complex and shifting relationships between migrants and their non-migrant kin, and the agendas of various state and non-state actors, this social field extends between Douglas and various sites in the Philippines.

1.2 IN SEARCH OF MULTI-SITED ORIGINS: METHODS

This work is a multi-sited ethnography of the Douglas Hotel's Philippine workforce that encompasses in-depth interviews and various modes of participant observation in the Philippines, Manitoba, and in the digital spaces that the migrants occupy. That said, given the near constant back and forth (material, monetary, and emotional) between the project's principle informants (migrants and their non-migrant counterparts in the Philippines), the project is conceptualized as simultaneously embedded in these two locations, and moreover, in the interactive and imaginative spaces in between. Fieldwork was conducted in four principle installments over a two-year period. At each stage, different kinds of data were gathered. In the first instance (December 2012), in-depth interviews were conducted with the Hotel's Philippine workforce. At the time, only 44 foreign workers had been recruited by the Hotel. Of these, 43 had arrived through the Temporary Foreign Worker Program since 2009, and one, Didi, had arrived through the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program. During this first visit, in-depth interviews were conducted with 25 of the Hotel's Filipino workers, as well as with one TFW who had initially arrived (2011) in Manitoba to work at an industrial hog barn, one hour north of Douglas. The only woman at the barn, and subjected to increasingly difficult working- and isolated living conditions, Tina successfully sought out new employment in Douglas. When we met in 2012, she was

living in a two-bedroom apartment on Douglas' Main Street, several blocks from the veterinary hospital where she had found work as technician.

My meeting with Tina and, subsequently, with the workers at the Hotel was facilitated by the regional settlement worker, whom I had contacted in the weeks preceding my arrival in town. Interview questions were designed to elicit information concerning family history, migration trajectories over time, work in Douglas, and transnational social reproductive strategies. Given the female-coding of reproductive labour, attention was paid to gendered roles and responsibilities, and to the ways in which those are practiced, as well as to what Olwig (2007) refers to as "non-local spheres of life" and the ways in which gendered responsibilities came to be negotiated and carried out transnationally. Conducted in the Philippines, the second phase of research was designed to capture the lives and experiences of those "left behind" and "in waiting"— non-migrants who came to be integrated and implicated in transnational strategies of livelihood and reproduction through the labour migration of a spouse, a parent, a child, or a sibling. To this end, I spent considerable time with the families of the migrants at the centre of this work, observing and participating in their daily lives.

While in the Philippine I met with 21 families, including Tina's. Each of the remaining twenty had a family member working at the Hotel. For many of these families, separation was protracted. In other words, most of the migrants in Douglas and their families in the Philippines had, by virtue of their own migration or the migration of a close relative, experienced separation from significant relations. For others, like Violet and Sheila for example, their migration followed that of family members; Violet assuming the role of migrant-breadwinner following her mother's retirement from

domestic work in Malaysia; Sheila following the lead of her brother and aunt, who had migrated ten years earlier to the U.S.

For many of the TFWs interviewed during my first visit to Douglas, the pathway between the town and their places of origin in the Philippines was increasingly affective, travelled more frequently by *balkibayan boxes* (care packages sent by migrants to their non-migrant kin) than themselves, reinforced by money transfers, and sustained through online contact. The cost of airfare and the need to take time off work dissuaded even the most homesick of TFWs from travelling to the Philippines. This was compounded by temporary status of their residency and employment and Canada, and the requirement of a re-entry visa. In charting my trajectory throughout the Philippines, I followed these affective pathways, remaining in contact with the TFWs in Douglaswho facilitated virtual introductions with their kin in the Philippines and eventually face-to-face encounters. While many of the families (8) lived in Metro Manila (Manila, Quezon City, Pasig, Caloocan, Marikina), most resided outside of the country's capital. From south to north, research was conducted in Davao City (Davao), Cagayan de Oro (Misamis Oriental), Cebu City (Cebu), Tacloban (Leyte), Imus (Cavite), Cabanatuan, and Angeles/Clark (Pangasenan).

In each site, in addition to participant observation, in-depth interviews were conducted for a total of 60 non-migrant interviews. The category of kin for the purposes of inclusion in the research was broadly configured, allowing me to interview and interact with a wide range of individuals regarded as significant in each family's history of migration and current reproductive efforts. This included spouses, children, cousins, nieces, nephews, parents, and siblings, as well as paid helpers. The interviews were held

in a range of venues, ranging from family homes to local malls. Like the interviews conducted in Douglas, those done in the Philippines were open-ended in nature, and they focused on patterns of livelihood, histories of migration, and the organization of social reproductive labour both locally and transnationally.

In June of 2014, several weeks after my return from the Philippines, I returned to Douglas. This time the purpose of the fieldtrip was manifold: to follow-up with the TFWs whose families I had met in the Philippines; to follow-up with the Hotel's management and the regional settlement worker; to interview the newest batch of Philippine workers at the Hotel (nine had arrived); and to document the physical and relational labour of the Hotel's Philippine workers across departments. This was facilitated by Hotel management, which granted me access to the workspaces of the Hotel. Following Glick Schiller's suggestion (2009) that in situ practices and hierarchies offer insight into globalized dynamics, and Abu-Lughod's assertion (1991) that the inherent connection between the local and global are best explored through the particulars of everyday life, these actions (minute and small-scale though they are) are taken as critical relational and reproductive nodes, linking the migrants to their kin. Moreover, this labour illuminates economic processes, their adjoining political discourses, and contingent social conditions, both in the present moment and historically.

During this second trip to Douglas, I also made contact with Manitoba-born Canadians—individuals and families who traced their own migration histories to the mid-1800s. This was done with the intention of learning more about the town's colonial history, but also to gauge how TFWs, and Filipino migrants more broadly, were perceived by the town's long-standing residents. In large part, developing this line of

inquiry motivated my third research trip to the town in July 2014, which was preceded by a modest amount of research in the province's archives (located in Winnipeg). This work centred predominately on the initial land surveys conducted in what would become Douglas County, but also, homesteading patents and Hudson's Bay Company records. Supplemented by several online archives (notably, Peel's Prairie Province) and government documents (early Manitoban legislation and the Dominion's Land Act), this work charted the intersection of immigration policy and state intervention into the physical landscape of what would become Manitoba. Here, the management of resources and the recalibration of space between the mid- and late-19th Century, would culminate in the establishment of the province, situating its rural constituents as a hinterland of Canadian capitalism.

My third trip to Douglas was in part, an effort to explore the history of this transformation ethnographically. In total, 10 interviews were conducted with the descendants of the some of the region's earliest European settlers. These interviews were designed to illicit personal and family regional histories, centred on migration and labour. The everyday telling of the town's history is constructed around the trajectory of a male ancestor as he faced the trials and tribulations of early prairie settlement. These are stories of perseverance and determination in the face of considerable hardship, and of family and community solidarity tempered by a steadfast individualism. These histories, of course, do not reflect the totality of experience, nor do they capture the violence and pervasive inequality upon which the establishment of Manitoba's capitalist agrarian economy was predicated. Still, given their near-ubiquity, they reflect a foundational narrative shared by many in the region and they serve to validate the claims

of residents to the place of Asessippi-Parkland, while at the same time, establishing specific criteria for belonging and exclusion. The stories shared with me were often those that circulated widely within the distinct kin-groups; histories shared with children, with grandchildren, and in some instances, great grandchildren. Most often transmitted orally, these stories were occasionally written down by a family member. From the introduction to ***The Story of David Dunn***, short text written in the 1980s by his daughter, Margaret Dunn, the aunt of a participant:

> I am going to try to write the story of my father and mother, as I remember it. I know very little. When we were young we were not interested and as we grew older there was no one to ask. There will be many mistakes, but I would like our children to know something about our parents. The grandchildren and great grandchildren may want to know something of life in the pioneer days.

In other instances, snippets of individual history appear in town and county records. Where possible, both types of text are drawn on to supplement the oral accounts provided by participants.

During the third, and most recent, trip to Douglas, in addition to interviewing long-standing Douglas residents, I met with recently arrived Filipino workers and followed-up with the project's original participants. By this time, more than half of the families I had met in the Philippines had since arrived in the town and were permanent Canadian residents (corresponding to 12 of 21 families). This fieldtrip, then, allowed for the project, in some regards, to come full-circle, as the transnational social reproductive strategies embarked upon by participants, became (at least, partially) more "local" in orientation. The presence of a growing number of reunited families (17 in total, including

Tina, with 13 still residing in Douglas as of July 2014), and subsequently, children (26 in

total, including Tina's children, with 21 still residing in Douglas as of July 2014), altered

the dynamic in the community. No longer a collection of individual foreign workers

separated from kin and compelled to develop kin-like relationships with fellow migrants

and long-standing residents alike, the community was now comprised of clusters of

"singles" and families. Moreover, two years after my initial contact with the community,

the dynamic at the Hotel had shifted considerably, moving from a moment of relative

stability to one better characterized as less certain, less secure, and less amicable. In part

this can be attributed to changes to the TFWP, but also to changes to the Hotel's

recruitment strategy and its use of the Manitoba Nominee Program.

By July of 2014, the Hotel had directly recruited 71 workers from the Philippines

(58 had arrived through the TFWP; 13 through the MPNP), but had a total Filipino

workforce of 62. Of these, one was a long-standing resident who had migrated to the

region (in 1992) prior to the Hotel's use of the TFWP, two were on parental leave (and

intended to resume their positions), and eight, having arrived as permanent residents—the

children (5) and spouses (3) of five former TFWs—were "indirectly" recruited. While

their immigration was facilitated by the Douglas Hotel (by way of a spouse or parent's

PNP application), their residency in Canada was not dependent upon employment there.

This composition of the Filipino workforce in July of 2014 also reflects several

departures from the Hotel , the town and the province.

These resignations (totaling 20) and relocations (17 of the 20) are regarded as

contentious by the Hotel. And, they reflect a growing dissatisfaction amongst some of the

Filipino workers concerning the conditions of their labour. Those who have remained in

Douglas(3 of the 20) have found work in service (a new coffee shop), retail (the local grocery store), and construction (highway building and repair). Additionally, several Filipino workers have found part-time work in other regional labour markets: notably, construction, health and home care, and agriculture, with one worker employed part-time at the local accountancy firm. The "value" of Filipino workers now circulates amongst a growing number of eager employers who, like the Hotel, have difficulty retaining local, Manitoba-born Canadian workers. Concurrently, the Hotel has shifted its recruitment strategy globally, and has started recruiting labour from Jamaica.

1.3 OVERVIEW OF THESIS

Working within the conceptual framework outlined above, this thesis traces the establishment of Douglas Hotel's small, but growing, Philippine workforce as a means of speaking to and about a more generalized process—that is, global political economy and the iterations of reproduction that flow from it. It focuses on various temporal, spatial, and relational linkages that together form the parametres of the transnational social fields in which these migrants live and work. These linkages are revealed in the colonial, and more recent, histories of both Manitoba and the Philippines. They are revealed in the policies (past and present) of states, both federal and provincial, Canadian and Filipino. They are revealed in the perceived requirements of Manitoba's new, rural economy—based on the promises of tourism, hospitality, and service. They are revealed in the experiences and realities of individual families in the Philippines—families long engaged in projects of out-migration, in communities prompted (by state policy) to see emigration as one of few means of making ends meet. They are revealed in the transnational projects of livelihood and survival embarked upon by migrants and their non-migrant kin. And

they are revealed in the sentiments and actions of each individual migrant, who in order to remain connected to loved-ones, engage in strategies that reinforce the validity and appeal of migrant identities.

Broadly, the thesis is organized in two parts. Following *chapter two,* which provides an in-depth review of the feminist scholarship on social reproduction, Part One provides the historical and more contemporary policy context, with Part Two, focusing on the smaller scale outcomes and reproductive expressions of that context. Detailed in *chapter one* and deployed throughout the text*,* social reproduction is a multifaceted and complex process involving the physical, mental, and emotional labour of individuals, various state projects, and the efforts of capital to ensure the reproduction of particular kinds of labouring subjects over time. Offering equal weight to the histories of the Philippines and Manitoba, *chapters three, four, five,* and *six*, differ from many accounts of Philippine migration generally, and Philippine migration to Canada more specifically. Concerning the former, the corresponding body of scholarship often stresses those conditions in the Philippines that engender out-migration—conditions, it is typically argued, predicated on that country's protracted and uneven incorporation in circuits of colonialism and global capitalism (Bello et al. 2005; Bello, Kinley & Elinson 1982; Tyner, 2007; 2012; Parreñas 2001). In the case of the latter—work on Filipino migrants in Canada, there is a tendency to focus on Canadian immigration policy, local working and living conditions, patterns of exploitation, and where migration is more permanent, experiences of settlement and integration (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1997; Bakan & Stasiulis, 2003). Read together, this vast literature offers the history and political economy of the Philippines as an explanatory framework for Filipino migration on the one hand, and an

analysis of contemporary policy trends and employment practices in Canada, on the other, with each subsection of scholarship assuming responsibility for one part of the equation.

In considering the colonial and more recent history and political economy of Manitoba, Asessippi-Parkland and the Philippines, *chapters three* through *six* expand the split focus of much of the literature, offering a multi-sited, yet integrated understanding of the precursors of Filipino labour migration to Manitoba. These precursors are embedded in the histories of the places migrants move to and from, and increasingly, in between. More precisely, *chapter three* provides an articulated history of the more distant colonial past of both Manitoba and the Philippines. Here, the objective is two-fold: in the first instance, to provide the histories of each site; in the second, and speaking to the structure of the chapter, to provide a single historical backdrop from and against which the contemporary moment plays out. This is not to suggest uniformity. Nor is it a statement of similarity. Rather, and following from Leigh Binford's similar treatment of the agrarian histories of Tlaxcala, Mexico and Ontario, Canada, this chapter places side by side the histories of "two culturally and spatially distant regions, lodged in social formations with different histories and brought into a direct—one might even say codependent—relationship in the late twentieth century" (Binford, 2013, p. 21).

Placing these histories in proximity allows us to better consider how Filipino workers came to play such a critical function within Asessippi-Parkland's essential, if tenuous, tourism, service, and hospitality sector. Moreover, it provides us with an important vantage point—a space from which to understand and articulate the transnationalism that now characterizes the relationship between these sites: the province

and region, and the Philippines. This chapter relies primarily on secondary sources. That said, given the limited published historical work available on Asessippi-Parkland and the town of Douglas, it also draws on interviews with long-standing residents of the region—the descendants of European settlers who arrived between 1870 and 1890, as well as on archival data collected both locally and in the provincial archives, located in Winnipeg.

The arrival and eventual permanence of Philippine workers in Douglas is founded on the province's early colonial history, as well as more recent social and economic transitions: the decline of small-scale farming and the growth of the service and hospitality sector. *Chapter four* focuses on the political economy of the Asessippi-Parkland region since the 1960s, with an emphasis on the establishment of the regional labour market in which temporary foreign workers are regarded as particularly valuable and in which they come to be reproduced. An account of the Porterhead Dam, this chapter relies heavily on archival data, interviews with long-standing Douglas residents, and interviews with key players within regional development and tourism. From these varied sources, the chapter reveals both the novelty and continuity of state intervention into the physical, social, and economic landscape of the region, as well as the protracted outcomes of the colonial project initiated a century earlier. A conceptual axis within the chapter and thesis, and a material, social, and economic linchpin within the region, the Porterhead Dam connects the region's colonial past to its neoliberal present, and as such to the lives and labour of the Hotel's Philippine-born workers; their mobility, waged labour, and subsequently social reproductive projects very explicitly, though not necessarily at first glance, tied to the construction of the dam.

As the Porterhead Dam was being built in the Asessippi-Parkland region, and as the Canadian government sought to redirect the agricultural economy, the bureaucratic and ideological mechanisms that would provide the necessary labour for the ensuing service and hospitality sector in and around Douglas were inaugurated in both the Philippines and Canada. Running parallel to the deregulation of agriculture on the prairies (or rather, its re-regulation according to an emerging logic), and responding likewise to emergent global pressures tailored toward economic (and subsequently, social) restructuring, the late 1960s saw the burgeoning of the Philippine state's labour export apparatus, and the concurrent formalization of Canadian temporary foreign worker policy. *Chapter five* picks up the Philippine side of this narrative, and beginning in the 1960s, explores the history of labour export in the Philippines. It uses several intergenerational narratives of migration drawn on from the experiences of the Hotel's migrant workers and their once-migrant kin in the Philippines, as means of articulating both the acceptance and contestation of the terms of international labour migration as set out by the Philippine state. It is at the intersection of acceptance and contestation that migrant and non-migrant identities are forged and subsequently reproduced. In Douglas, these genealogies—these histories of migration, converge with two Canadian Immigration Policies: the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and the Provincial Nominee Program. These programs shape the relationship between the Hotel and it Philippine workers, and as the Hotel adapts and redirects its labour recruitment strategies, this relationship shifts.

Chapter six addresses another set of tensions, those created by the Hotel's evolving labour recruitment strategy. This chapter focuses on two immigration programs,

which are widely utilized by the Hotel in its recruitment of migrant labour: the federal

Temporary Foreign Worker Program and the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program.

The Hotel's Filipino workers are ambiguously positioned at the intersection of these two

programs; they are, at once, the precarious and disposable workers sought after by a

growing number of Canadian employers, and the would-be permanent residents courted

by the province. The Hotel, like other employers of migrant workers in Manitoba,

capitalizes on this ambiguity in order to reproduce this workforce in the long-term but

according to the short-term logics of the TFWP. This dynamic is elaborated in the

chapter, and used to underscore the ways in immigration policy connects to the interests

of states and capital in the creation and reproduction of workers in specific labour

markets.

Taken together, *chapters five* and *six* situate the arrival of Filipino workers in a

transnational field of social policy of labour export and labour import respectively. This

field, created through the manifold efforts of states, shapes the opportunities available to

the migrants at the centre of this thesis, as well as the options for labour recruitment

available to the Hotel. The Hotel, as revealed in *chapter six*, capitalizes on the

ambiguities produced within this transnational field, and though not always deliberately,

draws on a series of historical processes and ideological formations to lay claim to the

labour of their migrant workers. At the same time, workers navigate this field. Calling on

varied repertoires of skill, experience, and family history, each worker does so

differently, but each is motivated by a similar objective—that is, the on-going

reproduction of kin groups in the Philippines.

Part two of the thesis is comprised of the last three chapters. It brings into closer view the daily lives, labour, and reproductive projects of the thesis' principle participants—the Philippine migrants employed by the Douglas Hotel and their kin in the Philippines. Drawing on Barber (2003), for these migrant workers "globalized processes at the macro-level are rendered concrete in the micro-politics of daily routines that entail attachments to various people in the local spaces of communities far flung from the places where daily life is being lived" (p. 41). Their everyday lives, in other words, offers further insight into the processes of globalized capital, while simultaneously, those processes offer insight into the configuration, organization, and experiences of the everyday. Following from the previous chapters, chapters seven and eight hold in balance this complimentary and circular framing of scale: the macro rendered concrete in the micro; the micro telling us something about the macro.

Chapters seven and *eight* address reproduction through its associated labour as it is configured and organized in Douglas and transnationally. From Douglas, at the Hotel, the relationship between the process of production and that of social reproduction has been established through the histories and dynamics described in the first five chapters of this work. Moreover, the labour of the Hotel's Filipino workforce, described in the remaining two chapters, is at once, reflective and generative of those histories and dynamics. What is important for the argument advanced in chapters six and seven is that their labour, reflecting capital's persistent yet pliable quality, is explicitly and implicitly rendered reproductive despite its "productive" nature. And so, while not engaged in "conventional" "reproductive" labour (labour largely associated with care, both paid and unpaid)*,* the waged labour of these migrants possesses a dual-reproductive quality—a

quality both localized and transnational in nature. On the one hand, their paid labour is enacted in the service of the Hotel's clientele, who by virtue of their own mobility (be it short- or long-term) must meet their reproductive needs on the market; on the other hand, in the service of the transnational projects of livelihood and reproduction shared by the migrants and their non-migrant kin. At the same time, that labour generates and reproduces the various social contexts which make it necessary in the first place.

More precisely, *chapter seven* explores the physical and emotional labour necessary for the production of hospitality, and the ways in which this labour, in both form and content, reflects the socially constituted parametres of reproductive labour. A feminist political economy of reproductive labour as it comes to be commodified at the Hotel , this chapter identifies the mechanisms that organize and operationalize the manifold labour of reproduction in the accumulation. Critical in this regard, the scale and breadth of the emotional labour required of the Philippine workers generates additional forms of value upon which the Hotel capitalizes. If emotion must be managed at the hotel in the service of hospitality, it is lived in the private moments in between shifts. Returning once more to the Philippines, *Chapter eight* traces the transnational unfolding of the reproductive labour undertaken at the Hotel. It follows from the observation of one participant that "a sandwich is never just a sandwich". Though it is possible to connect this proverbial sandwich to the manifold processes and histories discussed throughout this thesis, in this context, she referred specially to the connection between her labour at the Hotel and her contributions to her family in the Philippines. And so while their labour at the Hotel, bound to the requirements of service and hospitality, may appear routine, it signals a unique strategy embarked upon by the migrant and their non-migrant kin.

Chapter nine offers an account of transnationalism not as a series of strategies, commitments, labour, and long-distance interactions, as explored in the preceding chapter, but as it comes to be reflected in moments of solitude and inactivity. In other words, the transnationalism described here is inward rather than outward; introverted rather than extroverted. And yet, this interiority hinges on a particular relationship to the exterior as their private lives are measures of the globalized processes that converge in the creation of their solitude and loneliness. This chapter brings the thesis to its necessary conclusion, connecting the globally scaled histories of *chapters two* through *five* and the locally manifest expressions of social reproduction of chapters six and seven to the profoundly personal and intimate experiences of transnational family life.

Taken together, these eight chapters locate the Hotel's Philippine workers and their manifold reproductive and productive labour "in the larger fields of force generated by systems of power exercised over social labour" (Wolf, 1982, ix) over time. These "larger fields of force" and "systems of power" are not, as Wolf explains, timeless (*ibid*); they develop; they change. And yet despite significant transformation of the social and cultural arrangements lived and experienced by people everywhere, there remains a continuity that spans time and space. The overarching objective of this work, then, is to articulate these transformations and to conceptualize this continuity as they relate to Douglas and the Philippines, and to situate the recently established reproductive corridor between these two sites in the dynamic yet persistent "traditions" of capitalism.

CHAPTER TWO   Social Reproduction

Social reproduction is fundamental, representing at once the material, manual,

emotional, and relational work for the maintenance and continuation of life, *and* the

practices required of the continuation of social systems, including those related to

production and paid labour. This understanding is central to this project, which traces the

processes, multi-sited in their origins, that together have forged and reproduced the

conditions under which the Douglas Hotel's Filipino workers live and labour. To this

end, I draw on the contributions of feminist scholarship that, beginning in the 1960s (but

following earlier Marxist insights), highlighted the extent to which reproductive labour,

rather than tangential, was critical to the operations of capitalist production. Such labour

assumes its form based on those operations, and as they shift, so too does the

multifaceted labour and ideology associated with reproduction. As a result, irrespective

of our shared need for food, shelter, and companionship, reproduction is dynamic and it

has a politics, one embedded in asymmetries of gender, class, ethnicity, and increasingly

citizenship, so that not only does it vary culturally and historically, it does so according to

the "balance of gender, class, and race/ethnic power relations" (Bezanson & Luxton,

2006, p. 4). Thus, the labour of reproduction is experienced, performed, achieved, and

compensated for according to patterns of inequality and hierarchy that characterize

specific historical moments and cultural contexts (Kofman, 2014).

This chapter traces the development of this broadly configured definition of

reproduction, which follows from debates between various lines of feminist thinking and

practice, but is most explicitly situated within the traditions of socialist feminism and

feminist political economy. It begins with a brief overview of the sexual division of

labour as articulated and contested by feminists across disciplines and political orientations. Central to this scholarship and activism was a critique of the bifurcation of "reproduction" and "production"—that is the practical and conceptual delineation between reproductive and productive life purposes. While it never fully abated, in the 2000s, the critique and its adjoining scholarly and political agendas would re-emerge. If the provisions offered by the Canadian welfare state during the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, had tempered it, the gross privatization and commodification of reproduction under neoliberalism would re-ignite feminist conversations concerning and contestations of the sexual division of labour (Arat-Kroc, 2006; Bakker & Gill, 2003; Barber, 2008b; Bezanson & Luxton, 2006; Kofman, 2014). In anthropology, this would take on several forms. Of relevance here, are the ways in which feminist anthropologists interested in migration and transnationalism focused their attention on the circulation of gendered reproductive labour globally (Barber, 2008a). Similarly, within the interdisciplinary field of migration studies, a growing number of scholars were taking note of the ways in which reproductive labour—conventionally coded as female—was redistributed between women, as opposed to more broadly. And so, rather than redressed, the inequality engendered by the sexual division so configured under the capitalist mode of production was amplified.

2.1 FEMINIST HISTORIES OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

The sexual division of labour had become a preoccupation amongst many feminist scholars by the 1960s. As anthropologists and historians had long demonstrated, most societies exhibited a sexual division of labour. Drawing on the ethnographic recorded, however, feminist anthropologists noted that reproduction was organized and ensured

differently cross-culturally and over time with reproduction, and its associated labour, assuming its form according to the socio-cultural, political, and economic context in which it unfolded (Bahr, Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1975; Blumberg, 1979; Sacks; 1982; Sanday, 1979; Whyte, 1978). In 1978, Whyte writes:

> We do not find a pattern of universal male dominance, but much variation from culture to culture in virtually all aspects of the position of women relative to men. Our findings do lead us to doubt that there are cultures in which women are totally dominant over men…Rather, there is substantial variation from societies with very general male dominance to other societies in which broad equality and even some specific types of female dominance over men exist. (p. 167)

Such interventions were critical. They served to de-naturalize gendered roles and subsequently, call into question the validity of gendered hierarchy as it was experienced under the capitalism, which had over the course of several centuries, re-assembled gendered dynamics and relations according to a practical and conceptual delineation between productive and reproductive labour.

Following from this, variations in the distribution of reproduction labour over time became central to feminist inquiry and analysis. What was unique under capitalism, a growing number of feminists argued, was the extent to which the labour of reproduction, despite its necessity, remained externalized to the processes of production and subsequently, marginalized. Feminists, across disciplines and political orientations, argued that the commodification of labour, manifest in the wage-labour-nexus, had direct consequences for the organization of gender as reflected in women's uneven integration into "productive" labour markets and their responsibilization for the work of

reproduction. The concern, broadly stated, was women's subordination under capitalism. The details of that subordination, and hailing from that, the solutions offered to redress it, varied.

While early feminists of all political stripes emphasized the impact of women's reproductive roles on their participation in other spheres of life, socialist and Marxist feminists sought a structural explanation for women's generalized oppression through the specific mechanics of their exploitation. Beginning in the 1960s, these feminists deployed the concept of social reproduction to (a) explicitly address the labour required of maintaining life and reproducing the next generation (Dalla Costa & James, 1972; Vogel, 1973); (b) to consider the ways in which systems of gender inequality are reproduced (Lassett & Brenner, 1989); and (c) to illustrate the centrality of reproductive labour to the project of capital accumulation writ large. Though not without its own internal debate, this developing line of feminist inquiry saw "renewing life as a form of work, a kind of production, as fundamental to the perpetuation of society as the production of things" (*ibid*, p. 383).

This concentration of intellectual purpose intended to remedy what was perceived to be a critical analytical fallacy perpetuated by liberal feminism, mainstream Marxism, and though to a lesser degree, early socialist feminism. According to Marxist feminism, each failed, to varying degrees, to adequately account for the structural *significance* of women's reproductive labour, particularly when it was confined to the domestic sphere. For example, despite some consideration of reproduction and women's oppression under capitalism, mainstream Marxism, paid exclusive attention to production. Of this tendency, Maria Mies in *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (1986) writes:

[b]y focusing only on [the] capitalist concept of productive labour [that is waged

commodity-producing labour] and by universalizing it to the virtual eclipse of the

more general and fundamental concept of labour—which could include women's

production of life—Marx himself has theoretically contributed to the removal of all

'non-productive' labour (that is, non-wage labour, including most of women's

labour) from public visibility. The concept of 'productive labour', used henceforth

both by bourgeois as well as by Marxist theoreticians, has maintained this capitalist

connotation. (p. 48)

This connotation, and the conceptual separation of reproduction and production it

produced, was similarly duplicated in the work of liberal feminists who tended to focus

on the experiential aspects of domestic work and the limitations such work posed for

women.

Typically taking as their subject, well educated, middle class, white women, liberal

feminists sought to make a case for housework as a form of unskilled and involuntary

labour. "Servicing the despised body and requiring little exercise of the respected mind"

(Jagger, 1983, p. 177), women, relegated to the home, the argument went, were unable to

actualize their potential. Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* remains the iconic

example. In it she describes "the problem that has no name"—the unspoken malaise of

gendered middle class life, the "strange stirring", "sense of dissatisfaction", and

"yearning" (Friedan, 1963, p. 15) that plagued (some) American women in the middle of

the twentieth century. Similar contemplation occurred within Marxist and socialist circles

despite the structural materialism that otherwise underpinned their analysis. Written

anonymously under the initials S. G., "The Housewife" was published in the *New Left*

Review in 1967. Offering a critical account of the married life of a young, university educated middle class (presumably white) woman, S.G. writes:

> Life that does not move forward seems to me to stagnate, and in this sense, I cannot help seeing Carl (her son) as a parasite…My life slips away uncharted precisely when I am most eager to find out what I am capable of…Sometimes I want to stretch out my arms to bring the whole imprisoning structure of home and family crashing around me, annihilating me with the rest…This, all around me, is my only creation so far, however incomplete and shoddily achieved; my split function goes too deep to be resolved by such a gesture. (p.52)

In her essay, the author draws on her own experiences to explore the psychological and material conditions of living while female in a heteronormative, patriarchal culture in the 1960s. The text ends abruptly: "In postscript", S.G. adds, "it is obvious that Carl is quite the best that has ever happened to me. And Joe (her husband) isn't a tyrant" (p. 54). The problem, in other words, is the larger structure in which Carl, like S.G., acts. And yet, akin to more liberal accounts of women's relegation to the domestic sphere, the solution offered by S.G. is escape—her confinement stifles her potential in so far as it limits her ability to be "productive".

In S.G.'s account, much like the early socialist feminist analysis, women's unpaid domestic labour is oppressive because it is tedious but, more specifically, because it lays outside of the operations of capitalist production. In 1966, socialist feminist Julie Mitchell, writes:

> Within the world of men, [women's] position is comparable to that of an oppressed minority; but they also exist outside the world of men. The one state justifies the

other and precludes protest. In advanced industrial society, women's work is only

marginal to the total economy. Yet it is through work that man changes natural

conditions and thereby produces society. Until there is a revolution in production,

the labour situation will prescribe women's situation within the world of men. (p.

11)

Positioned as "peasants or slaves", it is the secondary quality of domestic labour that is

fatal to women, who were unable to access even the most modest benefits afforded to

working class men under capitalism (Mitchell, 1966).

In "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation", Canadian feminist, Margaret

Benston (1969) writes:

The "woman question" is generally ignored in analyses of the class structure of

society. This is so because, on the one hand, classes are generally defined by their

relation to the means of production and, on the other hand, women are not supposed to

have any unique relation to the means of production. The category seems instead to

cut across all class; one speaks of working-class women, middle-class women, etc.

The status of women is clearly inferior to that of men, but analysis of this condition

usually falls into discussion of socialization, psychology, interpersonal relations, of the

role of marriage as a social institution. (p. 13)

The tendency, Benston argued, to attribute women's oppression to psychology,

relationships, and/or socialization obscured the true and economic nature of their

subordination. These psychological and personal factors, she argued, were in fact

outcomes of women's unique, though definite, relationship to the means of production (in

other words, their exclusion from it). Reflecting her analytical upbringing, she explores

the material conditions in capitalist societies that define the group "women". These conditions, she argues, were the foundations upon which the specific structures of the capitalist mode of production stand. Household labour, she continues, constitutes a large portion of socially necessary production. And yet, in a society focused on commodity production, it goes unrecognized as "real work". It falls outside of trade and the market place, and so, it is deemed "unproductive".

Responsible for this "unproductive" labour, women are positioned differently than men vis-à-vis production. According to Benston (1969), women are a "group of people who are responsible for the production of simple use-values in those activities associated with women" (p. 14). They are, returning to Mitchell's parallel observation, akin to peasants rather than workers in the capitalist and/or Marxist sense. Importantly, Benston's argument is not based on a disavowal of women's simultaneous engagement in commodity production. Nor is it an affirmation that all women perform the same kinds of household labour. Rather, it is predicated on the observation that men carry no such responsibility to produce simple use-value in the home. Herein lies, she concluded, the material basis for women's inequality: "in a society in which money determines value, women are a group who work outside of the money economy. Their work is not worth money, is therefore valueless [according to the logic, if not the workings of capital], is therefore not even real work" (p. 16). What is perhaps most critical here is that housework work remains structurally the same regardless of its details and regardless of women's waged labour outside of the domestic sphere.

Those interested in developing social reproduction beyond its reductive and binary origins argued that a return to Marxism's historical materialist premise would

enable feminist scholars to overcome the perceived shortcomings of feminism's dual

systems debate (patriarchy vs. capitalism), while avoiding the economistic tendencies of

Marxism. So, while mainstream Marxism over-emphasized waged labour and production

as the appropriate site of analysis, liberal feminist discourse and the early interventions of

socialist feminists, uncritically offered it as the site of women's liberation. Indeed,

women's confinement in the home, and their near sole responsibility for domestic labour,

coupled with their uneven integration into labour markets signaled, for these otherwise

differently oriented feminists, women's distinction from and subservience to men.

Considering the scale and scope of domestic labour, women's emancipation would, it was

argued, take the form of entrance into productive labour. Such an analysis, particularly

for socialist feminists, followed closely from Engels, who argued in *Origins of the*

Family, Private Property and the State that where there was no private property and were

women (and children) were incorporated into the wage labour force akin to men, the

authority of the male head of household was undercut, and patriarchal relations were,

thus, impossible. Of this assertion, Hartman (1979) writes,

> For Engels then, women's participation in the labor force was the key to their
>
> emancipation. Capitalism would abolish sex differences and treat all workers
>
> equally. Women would become economically independent of men and would
>
> participate on an equal footing with men in bringing about the proletarian
>
> revolution. (p.3)

Marxists were aware of the challenges of women's participation in waged labour

markets. In addition to the conditions to which they were subjected—conditions similar

to those of their male-counterparts—unlike their male counter-parts, women continue to

labour in their homes. Still, early Marxists remained convinced of the "progressive character of capitalism's erosion of patriarchal relations" (p. 3), which would be further eroded in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism as both the reproductive and productive spheres would become collectivized.

Yet, be it rooted in a specific view of human society and nature, or intended to highlight inequality between men and women, the proposition of two distinct domains of human life, one fulfilling the biological needs of sexuality, reproduction, and care; the other, the site of industrialized production, history, progress, economics, and politics, was itself quickly contested. In situating women's liberation in their entrance into waged labour, early feminists, socialist and Marxist feminists argued, "abstractly reproduced what was, in fact, a defining historical feature of capitalism: the separation of production from consumption (or reproduction)" (Ferguson, 1999, p. 4). Moving beyond these dominant theoretical and political paradigms—and the dichotomy upon which they were largely derived, these feminists, by the 1970s, were rejecting the disaggregation of reproduction and production, and subsequently, the view of the economy as an independent arena of commodity production, distinct from the daily and generational production of people's lives.

In order to "locate the oppression of women in the heard of capitalist dynamics" (Rubin, 1975), a number of scholars began focusing their attention to the *usefulness* of women's socially constituted domestic labour to the capitalist mode of production (see, for example, Benston, 1969; Dalla Costa, 1972; Gardiner, 1974; Gerstein, 1973; Vogel, 1973). This would be realized largely through an investigation of the socio-economic origins of the sexual division of labour, and an analysis of women's unpaid domestic

work in relation to the capitalist production. While a critical intervention, this analysis was not without its theoretical heritage. Rosa Luxemburg's 1913 (1951), *The Accumulation of Capital* is of note. In it, Luxemburg offers a discussion of "third persons"—those whose labour lies outside of the capitalist mode, but is otherwise, integral to it. "Real life", she argues, "has never known a self-sufficient capitalist society under the exclusive domination of the capitalist mode of production" (p. 348). To say otherwise, she argues, "implies that production knows no other consumers than capitalists and workers and those strictly conforms to Marx's premise: universal and exclusive domination of the capitalist mode of production" (*ibid)*. Such a premise, she explains, is a fiction that overlooks those she designates as "third persons"—that is, individuals and groups who live outside of the capitalist mode of production, but are cycled in and out as deemed necessary for the purposes of accumulation.

Following Luxemburg's "third persons" thesis, socialist and Marxist feminist scholars in the 1970s and 1980s argued that the sexual division of labour was, itself, an artifice: an ideological sleight intended to obscure the value of reproduction while ensuring its on-going availability. Gendered differentiation and hierarchy were neither Hotel ate nor arbitrary—though they were made to appear as such; rather, both were created and sustained to particular economic ends. In 1975, Italian scholar and feminist activist, Silvia Federici writes:

> The difference with housework [relative to waged labour] lies in the fact that not only has it been imposed on women, but it has been transformed into a natural attribute of our female physique and personality, an internal need, an aspiration, supposedly coming from the depth of our female character. Housework was

transformed into a natural attribute, rather than being recognized as work, because

it was destined to be unwaged. Capital had to convince us that it is a natural,

unavoidable, and even fulfilling activity to make us accept working without a wage.

In turn, the unwaged condition of housework has been the most powerful weapon

in reinforcing the common assumption that housework is not work, thus preventing

women from struggling against it, except in the privatized kitchen-bedroom quarrel

that all society agrees to ridicule, thereby further reducing the protagonist of a

struggle. (2012, p. 16)

Under capitalism, then, women emerged as housewives, as carers, and as "non-

productive" entities not because they were these things, but because they were constituted

as such. Mies provides an important conceptual language for this process. A counter-part

to the process of proletarianization (that is, the social construction of the working class),

"housewifization" was achieved, she argues, through myriad state policies that enforced

the bifurcation of production and reproduction, with women, at each turn, confined to the

latter.

Such positioning was sustained through ideology concerning what is "human",

what is "natural", and what constitutes "labour", and legitimated through the coercive and

disciplining institutions of church and state (often by way of social welfare policy), and

According to Mies, and many others, the violence adjoining this transformation

historically was tremendous. Drawing on the growing feminist literature that came out of

the 1970s on the European witch hunts (Ehrenreich & English, 1973; Honegger, 1978;

Rowbotham, 1974), Mies writes: "millions of women, mostly of poor peasant or poor

urban origin, were for centuries persecuted, tortured and finally burnt as witches because

they tried to retain a certain autonomy over their bodies, particularly their generative

forces" (p. 70). The witch-hunt deliberately undermined women's agency, destroying the

control they had once exercised over procreation, and paved the way for a far more

oppressive and patriarchal regime (Federici, 2004). A tool of the burgeoning capitalist

order, the witch-hunt divorced women from the means of production and relegated them

to reproductive work, at a time when that work was increasingly devalued (sources).

Consequently, the new monetary regime of capitalism created a class of proletarian

women who were dispossessed like their male counter-parts, but unlike men had limited

access to wages. As the cash economy spread, women became more and more

disenfranchised, increasingly dependent (on men and the state), and—to return to

Luxemburg, positioned as unproductive, reproductive third persons.

Largely unpaid and systematically unacknowledged, reproductive labour, it was

argued, diverts the cost of sustaining and reproducing labour away from capital,

redirecting it to the domestic sphere. It is there that the commodity of productive labour is

produced and reproduced. Within the domestic sphere, women (even those engaged in

wage labour outside of the domestic sphere) become primarily responsible for

reproduction and the unending physical and emotional labour associated with it—labour

that necessarily underpins all other forms of labour and productivity (Mies, 1986).

Reflecting the economic aim of capitalism—that is, the production of exchange-

values and the generation of surplus as opposed to the reproduction of individuals, this

highly gendered duality enables the capitalist mode of production to operate at a much

higher level of productivity relative to other, earlier modes of production as two workers

(one "productive", the other "reproductive") come to be exploited with one wage

(Fortunati, 1995). With this one wage (at times supplemented by the typically lower earnings of women engaged in waged labour) capital appropriates both surplus value *and* the time and labour necessary for survival and reproduction. Accordingly, the space of domesticity (reproduction) is not a discrete sphere. Instead, it is partially integrated; it supports the capitalist mode of production (tending to the bodily, emotional, sexual, and reproductive needs of its labour force) and creates its own kind of value—the cost of reproduction is absorbed by the time and labour of women, yet discursively and physically it remains separate.

Rather than fact of biology turned to male benefit, the separation of production from reproduction, Marxist feminists argued, represents a strategic disassociation intended to obscure the value of reproductive labour while ensuring that that labour remains available. In other words, the marginalization of women and the relegation of reproduction to the domestic sphere appear to be external to capitalism or, perhaps, a mere service to which capital avails itself; yet, in fact, these are a province of accumulation, central to capital if rhetorically distinct. Gender, however, is not the only axis along which reproductive labour is divided, nor, is the sexual division of labour, the only division of labour upon which capital depends. Obscured by the efforts of feminist scholars who sought to situate women's shared oppression in the gendered confines of reproduction, are the often-times classed and racialized parametres of reproductive labour. Evelyn Nakano Glenn (1992) observes that such "analyses draw attention to the dialectics of production and reproduction and male privilege in both realms. [However,] when they represent gender as the sole basis for assigning reproductive labour, they

imply that all women have the same relationship to it and that it is therefore a universal female experience" (Glenn, 1992, p. 2).

In sum, responding to analytical shortcomings both within and outside of their academic tradition, a number Marxist feminists provided an account of the material conditions of housework that simultaneously defined that work in the terms of Marxist analysis. If liberal feminists underscored the "valuelessness" of domestic labour in so far as it limited women's capacity for self-fulfillment, autonomy, and liberty, Marxist feminists sought to highlight the inherent value of that labour for the system. Was domestic labour "labour power"? Did it produce "use values" or surplus? What was the function of reproductive labour and how did it contribute to the workings of capital production? Such were the contours of the debate. In answering these questions, Marxist feminists aimed to clarify the contributions of women's domestic labour to capitalism. Through their analytical efforts, housework was revealed to be a fundamental element in the reproduction of labour, and as such to the process of capital accumulation. The commodities required of reproduction (identified by Marx as the quantity of food, clothing, housing, and fuel necessary for the maintenance of health and life) must be consumed before they become sustenance. Of critical importance for the argument put forward, these commodities are not immediately consumable; rather, to quote Gayle Rubin, "additional labour must be performed upon these things before they can be turned into people. Food must be cooked, clothes cleaned, beds made, wood chopped, etc." (1975, p. 1962). Reproductive labour, thus, was repositioned. Rather than secondary to our understanding of the capitalist mode of production, it was made central to the

analysis, articulated as the mechanism through which labour-power was created, maintained, and reproduced.

While relative to pre-industrial, pre-capitalist forms of social organization, working class men and women occupied increasingly divergent spheres characterized by the unpaid domestic labour of women on one hand and the waged labour of men on the other, working class women necessarily engaged in a variety of economic activities essential to the survival of their families, thereby blurring the distinction between reproduction and production and undermining notions of a strictly adhered to sexual division of labour (Rowbotham, 1974). This, according to Coulson, Magaš and Wainwright (1975), and Harris and Young (1981), is the true nature of women's oppression under capitalism: their dual and contradictory role as both unpaid domestic workers and waged-labourers. Arrangements of productive and reproductive labour are furthered complicated by intersecting identities with constructs of race, ethnicity, nationality, legal status (immigrant verses locally born) informing the extent to which women participated in paid labour, at a given time and given place. This speaks to the uneven distribution of reproductive labour, not simply between women and men, but amongst women themselves—with some women providing reproductive labour for others.

Under such arrangements, working class women, often members of racialized groups, secured a small wage, while more affluent women were relived of the more physical and onerous aspects of domestic labour. The idealized division of labour—institutionalized through the "family wage" and supported by various ideological props was, as Glenn argues, illusory for working-class households, including immigrant and

"racial-ethnic" families. Reproductive labour might be unwaged, as highlighted by Federici (2009), but it might also be waged—contained within the domestic sphere (as in the case of paid domestic work), or purchased directly on the market. These forms of reproductive labour, Glenn stresses, exist simultaneously. In addition to individual variation, along lines of class but also ethnicity, reproductive labour (its provision, delivery, and reception) varies across time and space, corresponding to the requirements of accumulation. And yet as Cultural Anthropologist Gayle Rubin argued, to explain the value of women's unpaid labour was one thing. It was quite another, given myriad accounts both historic and cross-cultural, to argue that this usefulness represented the origins of women's oppression. To remedy this, she offers a return to Marx's own discussion of the reproduction of labour: "what is necessary to reproduce the worker" she explains "is determined in part by the biological needs of the human organism, in part by the physical conditions of the place in which it lives, and in part by cultural tradition" (1975, p. 163).

Women's subservience under capitalism follows from a tradition in which women "do not inherit, in which women do not lead, and in which women do not talk to god" (*ibid*, p. 164). Thus, returning to the opening paragraphs of this section, it is the historical and ideological that establishes the "wife" amongst the needs of the worker, and that it is women, and not men, who are responsible for household labour. Demonstrating its incredible adaptive quality, capitalism reworks existing subjectivities, turning to its advantage localized cultural and social conditions. As illustrated by the literature, reproduction, in other words, is far from straight forward. Its organization, delivery, and reception vary according to context, which is configured according to public and private

forms of power, and institutions of state and civil society. While reproduction is always informed by these institutions and forms of power, the state is more likely to intervene directly in particular areas of reproduction.

By the 1990s, faced with the maturation of neoliberalism and its adjoining economic and social realities, feminist scholars renewed their search for a materialist explanation of women's lived experiences and oppression. The intensification of capital accumulation and the exaggeration of discrepancies of wealth and poverty, coupled with the demise of the social contract under neoliberalism, so the argument goes, has had dramatic consequence for reproduction, livelihood, and more basically, human survival. The dismantling of the welfare state in the global north and the retrenchment of state services in the global south has been a crucial aspect of this shift. Social reproduction theory, a theory born of socialist feminism's engagement with Marxism, focused the gaze of feminist scholars on the ways in which globalized capitalism orders and reorders gendered social life. More precisely, the work born of this re-engagement with social reproduction, has explored the ramifications of globalization on women's socially constituted reproductive labour and its implications for the sexual division of labour so configured under the capitalist mode of production.

As Sue Ferguson explains in her 1999 essay "Building on the Strengths of the Socialist Feminist Tradition", "the promise of social reproduction theory lies in its commitment to a materialist explanation of women's oppression that rejects economic reductionism without forfeiting economic explanation" (p. 1). In contemporary Canadian society, social reproduction is mediated by the socialization of certain risks, manifest in policy targeting, organizing, and distributing health care, education, and welfare. While

often operating within a given locality (corresponding to, in the case of Canada, federal or provincial jurisdiction), they are increasingly informed, and even determined, by a global political economy dominated by the ideological trappings of neoliberal capital. Much of this work highlights the ways in which global capitalism (underpinned by neoliberalism) simultaneously reinforces, reinstates, and reconfigures gendered identities and socially constituted roles, while emphasizing the extent to which the re-privatization of social reproduction has been accompanied by an increase in the range, depth, and scope of socioeconomic exploitation (Bakker & Gill, 2003).

Though diverse in detail, these accounts of social reproduction emphasize the transformative capacity of the capitalist mode of production vis-à-vis the social. Rather than an abstracted economic category, capitalism is thus understood as a set of structures within which people act. The economy, in other words, like households and states, are primarily "social relations, a set of past and present practices which individual and groups act out and upon, reproducing and changing them over time" (Ferguson, 2008, p. 48). In *Vagabond Capitalism and the Necessity of Social Reproduction*, Cindi Katz (2001) writes of the contemporary moment:

> Globalized capitalism has changed the face of social reproduction worldwide over the past three decades, enabling intensification of capital accumulation and exacerbating differences in wealth and poverty…The flip side of the withdrawal of public and corporate support for the social wage is a reliance on private means of securing and sustaining social reproduction—not just the uncompensated caring work of families, most commonly women, but also a shunting of responsibility,

often geographically, that has clear class, race, and national components. (Katz,

2001, p. 710)

Signaled here, neoliberalism represents a return to classical, laissez-faire capitalist

ideology, a resurgence of market-centred values, and what Sassen (2000) has labelled the

"feminization of survival" (2000). Harvey (2005) defines the neoliberalism as "a theory

of political economic practices that proposes that human wellbeing can best be advanced

by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional

framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade.

The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to

such practices" (p.2). Accompanied by a reconfiguration of the relationships between

individuals, the state, and the market, society is reaffirmed as a collection of individuals

or a collection of families, and labour becomes increasingly subordinate in its relation to

capital as social provisioning is scaled-back globally. Concurrently, social reproduction is

commodified and re-privatized, simultaneously returned to its position of relative

obscurity while becoming increasingly dependent on globalized markets (Bakker, 2007).

Research on export processing zones in the global south has offered considerable insight

into the gendered contours of this dynamic.

The recruitment of women to global industrial zones corresponds to declining

local opportunities for survival, coupled with intersecting conceptualizations of gender,

ethnicity, and age. Limited subsistence opportunities in countries or regions of origin,

compel these young women to seek out factory employment even when the work is

precarious, dangerous, and poorly paid (Wichterich, 2000). Much of this scholarship

focuses on the tension between the confirmation and contestation of normative ideologies

and practices of gender. Revealed in ethnographic detail, these (typically) young women are regarded as qualified for labour-intensive factory work because their behaviour conforms to traditional notions of feminine docility and submissiveness. However, their availability and willingness to accept these positions—often located away from family and kin—is dependent on a reconceptualization of many conventional notions of femaleness. Through labour migration and paid factory work, traditional gender ideology and practice is contested. At the same time, however, the decision to work in factories, informed familial situations and responsibilities becomes an extension or negotiation of traditional gender roles. It has been observed and argued that similar dynamics hold true for women's long-distance care labour migration (Gamburd, 2000).

Before turning to the next section, we might return to Benston's early formulation of the use-value produced by unwaged, household labour. In her critique of Juliette Mitchell's work (1966), Benston writes: "What Mitchell has not taken into account is that the problem is not simply one of getting women into *existing* industrial production but the more complex one of converting private production of household work into public production" (1969, p. 17). What might this look like? For Benston, women's emancipation lies in the socialization of production, the removal of the profit motive, and the concurrent socialization of reproduction. Under such conditions, she maintains "there is no reason why, *in an industrialized society,* [the] industrialization of housework should not result in better production, i.e., better food, more comfortable surroundings, more intelligent and loving child-care, etc., than in the present nuclear family" (p. 18). Under capitalism, the changes in productive and reproductive labour necessary to "get women out of the home" are, she concedes, possible, and alternative capitalized forms of home

production exist. Here, she refers to commodified forms of care, notably daycare, and the growing service sector. These, she stresses, are embryonic at best; they are incomplete structures inaccessible by most. Furthermore, she explains, the capitalization of housework would only provide women with the same restricted freedom afforded to most men under capitalism.

Though not without its historic precursors, the capitalization of housework and the commodification of reproductive labour that would occur in the decades following the publication of Benston's essay would substantiate her claim. More than that, however, these processes, reflective of capital's neoliberal turn, would illustrate the ways the commodification of reproduction would simultaneously reorder and reinforce women's socially constituted roles as reproductive workers. They would also bring into sharp relief the racialized and classed qualities of waged reproductive labour, and as a growing number of third world women entered international domestic labour markets, the globalized hierarchies and histories of colonialism upon which this commodification is largely predicated. The following section traces the academic literature on the commodification of reproduction, and its concurrent globalization. In support of the thesis' overarching objective to situate the manifold reproductive labour (paid and unpaid) of the Douglas Hotel's Philippine workforce in the processes, both historic and more contemporary that have required their mobility, this section explores both the feminist literature on service and hospitality, and the scholarship on globalized care and the international division of care labour. This work represents a simultaneous moving away from and expansion of social reproduction as a theoretical framework. This tension is reflected in a shift in the academic literature on gender and migration toward a

preoccupation with "care", and subsequently, a repurposing of social reproduction in response to the limitations of care as an analytical framework.

2.1.1 Commodified Social Reproduction and Global Care Chains

Beginning in the early 2000s, care appears as a focal point for a growing number of academic inquiries into gender and migration. Often these multi-disciplinary projects moved away from discussions of social reproduction, directing their attention more specifically to the transfer of care labour (both physical and emotional) from the Global South to the Global North. As Yeates explains, the concept of care encompasses a range of tasks and activities intended to promote and secure the health and welfare of people who cannot perform such tasks and activities independently. From her review of the literature, she draws a distinction between "caring for"—referring to the completion or supervision of those tasks and activities, and "caring about"—that is, an affective state engendered by the nature of the relationship. "Caring about", in other words, "entails a set of perspectives and orientation, often integrated with tasks such as looking out for, and looking after, the other" (Yeates, 2004, p. 371). To situate the labour of those at the Hotel within this distinction, we might posit that while workers engage in the former quite explicitly (cooking, cleaning, and serving the Hotel's guests), they perform "caring about" through the management of their emotions and subsequently, those of their clients in enacting hospitality on behalf of the Hotel. Taken together, at the Hotel, care assumes a corporate and commodified form that contributes to a multifaceted reproduction

The development of care labour export and import in the late 1970s has been understood in terms of regional specialization in the wake of capitalist crisis historically. However, unlike previous responses to crisis, whereby labour and production is

reorganized in such a way as to ensure the flow of specific raw materials, the neoliberal turn of the 1980s reorganized labour and production in such a way as to ensure the flow of people, and more specifically women. Here, to draw on Bakker, while "neoliberalism has stripped away the mechanisms and institutional supports, [and] the capacities of states, [it has] simultaneously maximized the need for social intervention because of the socially destabilizing effects of unfettered markets" (Bakker, p. 546). Women, whose productive labour is undervalued in relation to men's, and whose domestic labour is regarded as infinitely flexible, take up this social intervention (Mies, 1986; Ogunyankin, 2014; Schulz, 2014). Care labour is an outcome, then, of a more general dynamic of change (Sassen, 1984). And yet, it is also a strategy employed by both sending and receiving states to mitigate the effects of market liberalization, while concurrently legitimating it.

The influx of migrant domestic labour to Western markets in the 1980s has been understood in relation to structural changes, prompting the disengagement of the state from social reproductive services (Truong, 1996). As scholars have argued, in parts of the Global North, the tension between production and reproduction had been partially resolved with the advent of the welfare state during the latter part of the 20th Century. Under this arrangement, the state facilitated the labour market participation of women by subsidizing the costs associated with reproduction, while minimizing the risks associated with ill-health and unemployment (Wichterich, 1998). The welfare state represented an adaption, rather than a reorientation of capitalism. It remained grounded in a specific, liberal model of governance premised on the separation of the public sector, the market, and the domestic sphere, each governed by different expectations, hierarchies, and norms

(Bakker, 2007). In the absence of other options, waged domestic labour, but in particular, racialized waged domestic labour, re-emerged in the 1980s as a central component of social reproduction. This was reflected in much of the early literature on waged domestic labour and migration, which focused on the new, global sexual division of labour (Andersen, 2001; Cohen, 1988; Glenn; 1992; Truong, 1996). Much like the domestic labour debates of the 1970s, this work viewed the redistribution of reproductive labour as part-and-parcel of neoliberal restructuring. Reproductive labour (cooking, cleaning, washing, and the provision of domestic comfort and care) performed by a largely female, migrant workforce, constituted globalization's "intimate other" (Truong, 1996; Ling & Chang, 2001), central rather than tangential, to the workings of globalized capital.

The shift toward "care" within the literature represents both an opening and a narrowing of the analytical framing of social reproduction vis-à-vis labour migration. On the one hand, these projects opened the otherwise "private" sphere of the domestic, highlighting the, at times, extremely exploitative conditions migrant domestic workers face. Exposing the experiences and hardships of migrant women in Asia, Europe, Canada, the U.S., Australia, and South Africa, this body of work emphasizes the extent to which migrant domestic workers (themselves and not "simply" their labour) become commodified, made an object to be "exported-imported, bought-sold, and controlled in the most demeaning ways" (Chin, 1998, p. 98). Part of this process entails the commodification of "care", whereby the emotional labour of migrant domestic workers comes to be monetized (even as its inadequately rewarded) (Hochschild, 2000). Not only, however, is care commodified, it is redirected away from those who are (biologically or socially) entitled to it toward those who are able to pay for it. And so in addition to

highlighting the physical and psychological toll of domestic care labour migration, this

literature come to account for the emotional labour often times demanded of care,

particularly in domestic settings. Here, the displacement and redirection of emotion, and

the ways in which employers of migrant care workers access "emotional surplus value"

emerged as central features of the gender and migration scholarship.

This process of value extraction was first articulated in relation to what Arlie

Hochschild (2000) labeled the "global care chain". Hochschild defines "global care

chains" as a series of personal links between people across the globe based on paid or

unpaid labour" (2000, p. 131). In her original formulation of the "Global Care Chain"

thesis, Hochschild identifies three groups of women who meet their reproductive

responsibilities in connected yet divergent ways: those who employ care labourers, those

who migrate as care labourers, and those who remain behind, caring for the children of

migrants. Made up of these diverse women, the global care chain connects as it

distinguishes. What is important about Hochschild's formulation is not necessarily its

novelty, but its dominance within the literature. Indeed, since the publication of "Global

Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value" in 2000, Hochschild's theoretical framing has

been routinely deployed in the gender and migration scholarship, often to the exclusion of

the earlier contributions of feminist scholars engaged in similar projects. That said, and of

significance to this work, the "global care chain" thesis articulates the direct link between

the sites of emigration and immigration, and it highlights—by virtue of *who does what*

for whom and where—the discrepancies between those places. Care labour migration,

then, in addition to reflecting the sexual division of labour as it emerged under capitalism,

can be seen as reflecting the growing disparities between populations, between women,

and between nation-states as the reorganization of care moves some women away from their own children and families, while facilitating the availability (typically) of in-home, care labour for others. Very much in line with the global care chain thesis, then, a significant amount of research has explored the transfer of care labour between national contexts and also regionally. These accounts, however, have typically remained focused on households, which as McKay (2007) points out, "usually appear to be understood as nuclear family households where there is a universal and defined gendered division of labour" (p. 177).

Reflecting Hoschschild's framework (2000), this work highlights the typically gendered, classed, and racialized nature of global care chains. And, as it effectively demonstrates, while the marketization of care in receiving-states offers employment opportunities to women willing to migrate, these opportunities do not negate attachment to "home" and family, nor do they absolve the migrant from providing immediate care to her children and family. Rather, in response to distance and separation, new arrangements are developed to meet the needs of those left behind.

Corresponding work on transnationalism has made visible these on-going attachments to sites of origin, and has allowed us to see more clearly the consequences of migration for reproduction. Indeed, much of the work on care labour migration draws explicitly on the insights of transnational theory. Concerning global domestic labour, the scholarship has been very successful in highlighting not only the personal attachments cultivated through migration, but also the structural linkages between sites of origin and employment (Mattingly, 2001; Pessar & Mahler, 2004). Read against the problematics of colonialism, globalization, and neoliberal capitalism, the experiences of migrant workers

are seen to be informed by conditions in both sites—conditions that while diverse, share similar historic and economic catalysts (Katz, 2001; Li, 2009; Parreñas, 2005). By emphasizing the connections that migrant workers maintain with family—connections that are once imaginative (based on memory and emotion) and pragmatic (based on need but also, on more ambiguous objectives like class mobility)—this literature highlights what Gupta and Ferguson (1992) refer to as "the partial erosion of spatially bounded social worlds" while effectively situating those unbounded social worlds in the highly spatialized terms of global capitalism (p.11).

Unlike in the care labour migration literature, in the scholarship on social reproduction, "care" is critical though not necessarily prioritized. Certainly, as Kofman (2012) points out, care work is a form of reproductive labour, and care work migration has contributed to the globalization of social reproduction. However, not all social reproductive efforts are care; nor, are all reproductive labour markets, care labour markets. At the same time, the now dominant care labour migration literature (Kofman, 2012) has tended to avoid discussions of social reproduction, focusing instead on the affective and emotional labour of migrant women, and the exploitative contours of their, often times domestic employment. That said, the care labour migration literature offers an extremely lucid and rich example of the reorientation of social reproduction. It does this, at times, self-consciously, drawing directly on the earlier social reproduction scholarship (Wolkowitz, 2002; Yeates, 2004; Yeates, 2009); while at, other times, far less so. Concerning the latter work, "care" comes, somewhat uncritically, to stand for activities previously (and more accurately) classified as reproductive (for example, cooking and cleaning).

The focus on care has also resulted in a prioritization of particular sites of social reproduction. Notably, this has meant the "domestic sphere" and, increasingly, institutional settings of care provision, such as hospital and care facilities (Connell, 2010; 2003; Kelly & Addario, 2008; Walton-Roberts, 2010; Walton-Roberts, 2012). And yet, feminist political economy reminds us that reproduction has long been secured on the market. This follows from Marx's conceptualization of "expanded reproduction" whereby the means necessary for survival—that is daily and intergenerational reproduction—are accessed through the wage-labour nexus. Under the capitalist mode of production, reproduction is dependent on earning a wage, so that in the absence of wages, reproduction in both the short- and long-term is comprised. Such a conceptualization of survival as tied to waged labour speaks to the commodification of reproduction within the domestic space, but supported by labour that is performed externally to it—labour that is labelled "service".

In recent decades, the service economy has grown exponentially. In Canada, for example, 78.8 percent of workers are employed within the service-producing sector. Amongst these, 6.7 work in accommodation and food services (StatsCan, 2017). In the literature, this has been framed in a number of ways. Hardt and Negri (2000), for example, have re-theorized the notion of "immaterial" labour. In their work, and the adjoining scholarship, "immaterial labour" refers to the affective and cognitive commodities that are produced by work supposedly positioned outside of the traditional mode of capitalist production. Such labour is ubiquitous in post-industrial capitalism. Hardt and Negri (2001) suggest that this shift toward immaterial labour is reflective of a set of economic and cultural processes—global in scale, that have unfolded over the last

three decades. Reflected in the preceding section, feminist scholars both inside and outside of Marxist traditions have long grappled with the supposed "immateriality" of specific labour processes. Within the accommodation and food service sector, labour consists of interaction between workers and customers, coupled with the provision of food and/or drink. Many of these workers provide "face-to-face" service which require particular presentations of self. At the same time, a great number of these workers labour in relative obscurity. Their labour is performed in isolation—in kitchens and hotel rooms, or outside of regular business hours. At the Douglas Hotel , most workers engage in interactive labour, but a large number work behind the scenes, ensuring that the sheets and towels are washed, the beds are made, the floors cleaned, and the food is prepped. It is from this constellation of interactive and invisible labour that the reproductive form of their labour at the Hotel is gradually revealed.

2.2 CONTRIBUTIONS

Offering an analysis of globalized service and hospitality work that emphasizes the various forms and scales of social reproduction that such labour enables, this thesis project brings these literatures closer together. Moreover, it moves deliberately beyond the domestic care labour economy that preoccupies much of the feminist scholarship on reproductive labour to take seriously the transformative potential of capitalism vis-à-vis processes of reproduction. While there is a considerable amount of academic research into hotel work, very little of it has focused explicitly on the ways which hotels, as "homes away from homes" are sites of reproduction and reproductive labour. There are, however, a few approximations. Given the physicality of the labour, coupled with the cleaning-tasks associated with it, hotel work has been analyzed as gendered "dirty work"

(Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Purcell, 1993). Even more relevant, advancing Norvarra's claim that hotels are sites of women's work where traditional gender roles are mirrored, Abid and Guerrier (2010) stress the centrality of emotional labour in the organization and delivery of hotel services.

From this scholarship, we can see how "reproduction" is revealed and enacted in labour and conditions that, reflecting the purpose of a hotel—service and accommodation, take their cues from the sexual division of labour as it emerged under capitalism. Thus, the inequality that underpins women's socially constituted domestic labour comes to bear on the ways in which work is experienced, performed, and compensated at the hotel (Abid & Guerrier, 2003). At the same time, where migrant workers are concerned, these inequalities are further reinforced by the activities and agendas of an increasing flexible and adaptive global migration regime, which while, at first glance, appears disaggregated (corresponding to the objectives of the Philippine-, Canadian- and Manitoban-state), overcomes the incongruity of its parts to ensure the reproduction of the precarious labour required by specific labour market. Drawing attention, then, to the experiences of these migrant workers, and the ways in which their multifaceted labour reflects transitions over time in the political economy of both Manitoba and the Philippines, it represents a deepening of our engagement with and understanding of social reproduction and the processes that result in its expansion, contraction, and near-constant reworking.

CHAPTER THREE   Articulating Colonial Pasts

For Wolf, historical processes are "preeminently political and economic,

reinforced through ideology" (Schneider, 1995, p. 3). Born of particular concentrations of

power, these processes have the potential to alter existing social arrangements and

subjectivities, and are generative of new ones. A social, economic, and cultural

phenomenon, capitalism continually casts and recasts social and familial subjectivities to

meet its requirement of accumulation. This casting and recasting is variously

accomplished. At its most basic level it entails the recalibration of social relationships

and ideologies of land and labour—both "productive" and "reproductive". As Wolf,

drawing on Polanyi (1957), reminds us, land and labour are not commodities in nature;

rather, they come to be defined as such in the service of new kinds of economy. In the

Philippines and in Manitoba this redefinition occurred under different conditions,

reflecting different colonial agendas. Yet, in both contexts, capital's overarching

objective and trajectory remained foregrounded. Luxemburg writes in 1913:

> From the very beginning, the forms and laws of capitalist production aim to
>
> comprise the entire globe as a store of productive forces. Capital, impelled to
>
> appropriate productive forces for purposes of exploitation, ransacks the whole
>
> world, it procures its means of production from all corners of the earth, seizing
>
> them, if necessary by force, from all levels of civilization and from all forms of
>
> society" (p. 358)

In Manitoba, as in the Philippines, this ransacking and the concurrent transition to

capitalist production would require and encompass a series of similar technological and

bureaucratic interventions, including the privatization of land, the commodification of

labour and the suppression of alternative forms of production, the monetization of exchange and taxation, and the establishment of the credit system. These processes, though long past, are mutually constitutive of the present in which differently configured and variously scaled strategies of reproduction are embarked upon by those implicated in the movement of Filipino workers into Douglas, Manitoba: the migrants themselves, their families, their employer—the Douglas Hotel, the Manitoban state, and that of the Philippines.

Running in tandem for centuries, the colonial histories of the Philippines and Manitoba converge in the late 21st Century as Philippine labour comes to figure centrally in the latter's economy. This chapter forefronts, and moves between, these histories. It does so to contextualize and historicize the processes described in the remainder of the thesis. More specifically, it emphasizes social transformation in each site as precipitated by the integration of local political economics into globalized circuits of capital accumulation, and it offers insight into the recurrent production and reproduction of similar kinds of labour over time—labour rendered surplus in one site and made dependent and compliant in another. Reflecting the thesis' structure, this chapter oscillates between the Manitoba and the Philippines. The seemingly disconnected and localized dynamics described in it are precursors to the transnationalism that now characterizes the relationship between the Philippines, Manitoba, and those that occupy and move between those spaces. And as such, they are, if retrospectively, connected. Returning to Binford's work, this textual "tacking back and forth sheds light on key historical developments and how they are eventually resolved in a convergence of interests" (2014, p. 21) between Manitoba and the Philippines.

The chapter begins with a history of Manitoba, focusing on the final decades of an era of prairie regional history spanning fifty years (1840-1890). From there the chapter oscillates between the history of the Philippines and that of Manitoba. In placing these histories in close-proximity, this chapter captures the scale and scope of capitalist expansion in the centuries leading up to the arrival of Philippine migrants in Manitoba. While these histories are not the same in detail, they remain localized reflections and manifestations of a broader dynamic which, by the 18th Century, had enveloped much of the world, and as such, they are connected.

3.1 MANITOBA

Covering an area of 647, 797 square kilometres (250, 946 square miles), where the Canadian Shield meets the Great North American Plains, the province of Manitoba entered Canadian confederation in 1870. Following the events of the Red River Rebellion (1869), the terms of its inclusion were negotiated by Louis Riel and the Métis, and laid out in the Manitoba Act. Despite Manitoba's relatively short history as a Canadian province (1870 to the present), the region has been long integrated in the global economy. In 1670, the territory fell under the dominion and economic control of the British Empire through the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). Having been incorporated by British Royal Charter (2 May 1670), the Company was granted exclusive trading monopoly over the Hudson's Bay drainage basin. Rupert's Land radiated 250 million square kilometres outward from the Hudson's Bay. This included all of what is now Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, southern Alberta, northern Quebec and Ontario, and parts of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana.

At the time of European contact, and throughout the 17th century, five indigenous cultural groups resided in the region which now constitutes the Asessippi-Parkland district: the Saulteaux (or Ojibwas), the Cree, the Assinibiones (a Sioux offshoot), the Blackfoot, and the Chipewyans. An exercise in mercantile imperialism, the HBC established the territory as a quintessential hinterland, a periphery that generated immeasurable wealth for a core, which in turn, invested little in the material well-being of those engaged in the trade locally: the French and English who worked for the Company, the region's Indigenous inhabitants, and eventually their Métis descendants. And yet, as Mochoruk (2004) points out, despite "the moral and political certitude" that characterized the HBC's presumed (and formal) dominion over Rupert's Land, the Company's grip on the territory was, at the onset of the fur trade era, more "apparent than real, for the very nature of the fur trade [mitigated] European-style political control" (p. 1). In large part, this stemmed from the Company's reliance on the territory's Indigenous people, who prior to their exclusion from the agrarian and industrial economies that would eventually dominate the Canadian prairies, had been active and central participants in the fur trade economy as both trappers and middlemen (Daschuck, 2013; Freisen, 1987).

For over a hundred years following contact, the First Nations people of plains asserted moderate control over the means of production—the land, and they retained, *for a time*, some independence from the trading companies that came to dominate the region. This independence resulted in a relative continuity in terms of traditional subsistence and reproduction. Still, the terms of their participation in the trade—and subsequently, their independence—was precarious, predicated on an increasingly uneven and imbalanced social, ecological, and economic landscape. Historian and population health researcher,

James Dashuck (2013) writes in the introduction to his recent work *The Clearing of the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life*: "the singularity of the encounter between the ecosystems of the Old World and the New in the past 500 years is hard to fathom. Never has there been a comparable environmental and human transition. The equivalent exchange of goods, flora, fauna, people, and microbes could only be repeated if there was an exchange of life forms between planets" (p. xi). Marking an era of acute and protracted primitive accumulation, the implications of this encounter were manifold.

From the moment of European incursion, the territory's well-being and future hinged upon economic and political ambitions originating elsewhere. Resulting in violent and protracted conflict between trading companies, the British, the Dutch, the French, the Americans, and eventually, the Canadians all vied, at various points, for control of the region. This competition and conflict spurred countless internal struggles for dominance within the trade amongst indigenous groups who increasingly sought access to European goods, and, though to a lesser extent, access to the slowly developing waged-labour market. The ensuing demographic and territorial changes would be hastened by the inseparability of trade and disease (Dashuck, 2013); the latter aggressively following the routes set out by the former, destroying indigenous populations, and dramatically altering the balance of power that had previously existed on the Plains.

By the turn of 19th Century, the Métis (whose lineage extended to the origins of the fur trade and included both indigenous and European ancestry) dominated the Canadian Plains socially and culturally, and increasingly economically, by virtue of their position within the fur trade. Their ascendency embodied the wide spread demographic

and territorial changes that defined the 200-year period leading to confederation. Their dominance, however, was short lived. In May 1870, Manitoba became the Dominion of Canada's fifth province. Following the events of the Red River Rebellion (1869), the terms of its inclusion in confederation were negotiated by Louis Riel and the Métis, and laid out in the Manitoba Act. Under the Act, the province was to be a place in its own right—connected to, but distinct from the country's increasingly well-established eastern, Anglo-Saxon core. Intended to protect Métis interests concerning land, religion, and language, it sought to guarantee the long-term viability of the settlement (corresponding to Métis land-holdings along the Red River and throughout the province) for the Métis and their descendants, while formalizing the province's relationship with the Canadian State.

Yet, shortly after Riel had negotiated Manitoba's entrance into confederation, these guarantees would be abrogated and circumvented. Overwhelmed and marginalized, their lands appropriated by settlers and speculators, many of the Métis moved westward. There, during the North-West Resistance (1885), they would experience the full potential of the Canadian State: the force of North-West Mounted Police (established in 1873) (renamed the Royal Mounted Police in 1904); the readiness of European and Canadian settlers to defend their newly acquired land; and the power of the Railway. The Resistance ended with the defeat of the Métis and the dispersal of their Indigenous allies—their effort to curb the expansionist project Canadian State suppressed; Louis Riel, tried and hanged for treason (16 November 1885).

An exemplar of Harvey's analysis of the spatial fix, the opening of the Canadian west was a collaboration, so to speak, between the newly formed Canadian state and the

country's young but well established capitalist class. In an era of growing global instability, it was anticipated that this shared-project would provide new opportunities for accumulation while circumventing or minimizing the effects of a growing crisis of *over*accumulation—corresponding to the Long Depression of the late nineteenth century. On the prairies, as elsewhere, the transition from proto-capitalist (following the fur trade) to capitalist production would include the privatization of land, the commodification of labour and the suppression of alternative forms of production, the monetization of exchange and taxation, and the establishment of the credit system. It would also entail a near-complete spatial reorganization—one tailored to the creation of a resource-extraction economy based primarily on independent agricultural production (Cross & Kealy 1983; Daschuck 2013). Similar processes were undertaken in the Philippines to different effect but similar overarching consequences.

3.2 THE PHILIPPINES

By the time the English lay claim to "Rupert's Land", the Philippines had been subsumed under Spanish colonial rule for nearly 150 years. Located between the South China Sea and the Philippine sea, the country is made up of 7, 107 islands. Of these, 11 make up 94% of the Philippine's total land mass, and only one thousand are populated. From the north to the south, the country is arranged into three major islands groups. In the north: Luzon—the seat of political and economic power and home to the country's capital, Manila. To the south of Luzon, comprising the country's central region: Visayan Islands. And in the South: the island of Mindanao and smaller islands stretching toward Malaysia.

Given its geography, the Philippines has always been an outward looking place. Small communities of 100 to 500 people, or 30 to 100 households, called *barangays* engaged in subsistence production, and were typically concentrated in riverine and coastal locations. Toward the interior, communities engaged in shifting cultivation, as well as hunting and fishing. Coastal communities participated in various forms of maritime trade. And several hundred years before the arrival of the Spanish, trade relations had developed between the islands' local exporters of wax, honey, gold, and raw cotton, and foreign merchants from India, China, Japan, and Cambodia (Kelly, 2000). The archipelago's regional activity would eventually expand, becoming far more international in scope upon the arrival of the Spanish in 1521.

Spanish interest in the Philippines was three-pronged. In the first instance, they sought entry into the spice-trade, which at the time was Muslim-dominated. In the second instance, and not unlike the Americans who would arrive in the last decade of the 1800s, they wished to use the location of the islands to access trade with China. Finally, in the third instance, Spain hoped to exploit the natural resources of the island, and its people. While the objectives would only be partially met, the impact of Spanish colonial rule on the what would become the Philippines was profound and long-lasting (Tyner, 2009). Providing access to resources, wealth, labour, and markets, the colonization of the Philippines was a fundamental component of the Spanish colonial project. To this purpose, over the course of Spanish rule, pre-colonial hierarchies and ways-of-life were adapted to meet the objectives of the colonial project. The result of which was hybridization as opposed to assimilation. While the Spanish successfully transformed the archipelago's economic system (first to meet Spain's needs and then those of an

increasingly globalized economy), in terms of social relations, government, and religious hierarchies, colonization of the Philippines by Spain represented a modification or adaptation as opposed to a complete reworking.

Characterized by a lack of centralized organization, the pre-colonial political structure of the archipelago was comprised of largely autonomous *barangays*. It was not uncommon for these to enter into alliances, forming *bayans* (amalgamations of barangays) that would be ruled by the leader of the dominant *barangay*. Organized hierarchically, each *bayan* consisted of three principle groups: the aristocratic class, comprised of the families of *barangay* chiefs; the "freeman" class (*timawa* or *maharlika*), whose members owned land but obliged to provide occasional labour to the ruling class; and the slave class or *alipini*, which was held in a kind of debt-bondage but whose members were also allowed to own and inherit land. Through a process labeled *reducción* the Spanish colonial powers regrouped individual *barangays* into towns that were spatially and socially organized around the church (Tyner, 2009). Drawing on pre-existing social hierarchies, some *datus* (*barangay* leaders) were offered positions of authority within the newly formed towns in return for aiding with the forced relocation of the islands' inhabitants.

Commenting on the relationship between the local elite and the colonial authority, Kelly (2000) states "the scale at which power was exercised had thus been telescoped to the global level, with the local elites buying into [the] system because of their vested interest in the consolidation of power and [their] exception from the duties that the colonists were in a position to insist on" (p. 24). Despite the presence of local elites among the ruling class, the social structure that emerged over the course of Spanish rule

was highly racialized. The ruling class—the *principalia*—was hierarchically comprised of the *peninsulares,* Iberian-born Spaniards; the *insulares*, the Spanish descendents of the *peninsulares*; and the *gobernadorcillos* (formerly *datus*), the Filipino landed elite. Somewhat on par with the *gobernadorcillos,* were the Chinese and Chinese-Filipino (*mestizo*) merchants. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the *tao* or common people, who were referred to as *indios* or *naturales* by the Spanish. These spatial and social changes facilitated the collection of taxes and the establishment of a workforce. They facilitated the accumulation of surplus and the expansion of Spanish economic interests.

Access to land was organized according to *encomienda* system, a land grant arrangement used to attract Spanish migrants (though there would be few) to the islands (Tyner, 2008). Feudalistic in nature, *encomienda* enabled Spanish landowners to extract tributes and taxes from the *taos*. However, uprooted and without access to currency, *barangays* would pay these tributes and taxes "in kind", with unprocessed salt, chicken, rice, eggs, etc. Landowners would accept these items at a low value, and in turn would sell them at higher market prices in larger towns. When this kind of payment was not possible, it would be substituted with labour in the form of debt-bondage. Other forms of taxes were also paid directly to the Spanish colonial authorities. These included a periodic head tax used to finance Spain's on-going war with the Muslims in the south of the archipelago; a forced delivery system that fixed the prices of goods sold to the government; tithes to the church; and a variety of other municipal obligations. In addition to taxes and tributes, the Spanish colonial power initiated a forced labour policy called *repartimiento. Repartimiento* required all Filipino men ages 16 to 60 to provide 40 days of labour to the colonial state. These men built and repaired roads, cut and transported

timber for the construction of ships, or worked in shipyards. And so effectively, the "residents of the Philippines paid for their own colonization and religious instruction" (Abinales & Amoroso, 2005), while they facilitated Spain's accumulation of both capital and labour-power.

As the European fur trade reached its height in the late 18th Century, and as the Métis Nation moved toward its tenuous and short-lived political and economic dominance in what would become Manitoba, a new economic paradigm was transforming the Philippines. Responding to changes in Europe—notably, England's industrial revolution, which would eventually prompt wide-spread British and European settlement in the Canadian West, Spain reoriented its colonial policies to encourage foreign investment by expanding production of crash crops (tobacco, abaca, and sugar) (Tyner, 2008). This reorientation was in large part prompted by the events and outcomes of the Seven Years' War, and Spain's defeat by the British in 1763. As a result, Manila for a period of three years (1762-1764) was part of the British Empire.

While the colony would eventually be returned to Spain in the peace agreements that followed, growing British global dominance and British merchant capital increasingly structured the economic realities of the Philippines. Thus, the Philippines "doubly colonized, belonging to Spain but also to the expansive geography of an [emergent] world capitalist system that stretched across the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans" (Rafael, 2000, p. 5). This geography included what would become Manitoba, but which at the time remained Rupert's Land, itself doubly colonized by an external state and the growing realities and pressures of globalized economy spearheaded and dominated by British interests.

The partial integration of the Philippines into the emerging globalized capitalist economy amounted to what Philippine historian Vincent Rafael (2000) refers to as an "agricultural revolution" that linked the colony to overseas markets, while dramatically increasing local dispossession and impoverishment for the vast majority. Curtailing the development of the Philippines, this agricultural revolution and the logic upon which is was predicated effectively established the archipelago as a site of on-going primitive accumulation. While most Filipino households engaged in subsistence farming, the introduction of a cash-based economy coupled with the commodification of life-cycle events and ceremonies propelled the *tao* towards cash crop production. When large sums of currency were required, loans would often be sought. These loans were typically obtained from the *principalia* class who would buy the *taos'* land with the understanding that it could be bought back within a set period. These debts, however, were difficult to repay. Ultimately, the borrowers would forfeit on their loans and would lose their land.

Through this process most *tao* found themselves landless, yet many would stay on as sharecroppers or tenants. For landowners they represented a source of inexpensive labour. The wages received, insufficient to meet basic needs, meant that the *tao* continued to rely on traditional forms of livelihood, and pre-colonial practices of reciprocity and redistribution. Filipino men and women moved between various subsistence level activities dependent on the season (Eviota, 1991). With few exceptions, their reproduction occurred within the domestic sphere, largely unsubsidized by those who benefited from their labour. Representing a quintessential characteristic of their continued dependence on waged work and sharecropping arrangements, the subsistence-level

activities of the *tao*, however, remained at the level of bare-subsistence (Eviota, 1991).

As feminist scholar Eviota (1991) writes,

> [Although] the struggle to survive was rarely a matter of life and death, the local
> population must never have been very far from poverty or hunger. It must have
> been an endless effort to maintain a certain minimal standard of living…The
> struggle was exacerbated by the continuing transfer of food and food products to a
> non-producing population of colonials, clergy, Chinese *mestizos* and Filipino
> *principalia* who owned the means of production. (p. 56)

Thus, under Spanish control, the archipelago underwent a number of significant
economic changes. These changes established a set of structural conditions that
introduced and intensified poverty and decreased access to land. To name but a few, the
resettlement of *barangays* coupled with rural restructuring, the concentration of
landownership, the establishment of a cash economy, and the promotion of export crops
had dramatic and unfavorable ramifications for the majority of Filipinos. These processes
ossified the status of the Philippines and the position of its people vis-à-vis the
requirements of accumulation, a situation which would be capitalized on and
compounded by American imperialism.

3.3 DOUGLAS COUNTY, MANITOBA

Fifteen years after Manitoba joined confederation (1885), the Métis represented a
shrinking minority in the province they had founded. Their political decline, and their
concurrent social and economic marginalization, paralleled the gradual rise and eventual
entrenchment of a new, prairie economic order dominated by agricultural capitalism. On
the prairies, as in the Philippines, the transition to capitalist production would include the

privatization of land, the commodification of labour and the suppression of alternative forms of production, the monetization of exchange and taxation, and the establishment of the credit system. While some of this was initiated at the on-set of the fur trade, these processes accelerated between 1840 and 1890. Characterized by the gradual closure of the fur trade, the establishment of Manitoba as a Canadian province (1870), its expansion in 1881, and the emergence of an agriculturally based market economy, this period would see the re-creation of the territory as a site of wide-spread and calculated European settlement (Friesen, 1987) and as a hinterland, tailored (in large part) to the social, economic, and political interests of an Eastern elite. Such a project entailed a near-complete reorganization of the territory's ecology and a re-envisioning of the relationship between the land and its human occupants.

Once first nations people were prevented from laying claim to their ancestral lands, it became open to other, more technologically driven forms of spatial recalibration: the land survey, the building and on-going expansion of the railway, and the Dominion Lands Act, which would set the terms and conditions of wide-spread European settlement. Together, these established the physical, social, and economic parametres that would dictate the province's position within confederation. And as local activity within the newly formed periphery became increasingly instrumental for the mature capitalism taking shape in the centre, "the overall determination of the prairie economy passed from local initiatives, whether natural or human in origin, to [those originating in the east] (Bailey, 1990, p. 61). Indicative of these ever-emerging realities, the province's first census listed 558 first nations people, 1565 people of European descent, and 9840 people of mixed descent (first nations and European) (*ibid*). A decade later, within the same

geographic boundaries, the population had increased fivefold; yet, the total number of the combined Indigenous and Métis populations had declined below 7000. In 1901, when the territory quadrupled, the Indigenous and Métis population merely doubled (to 14, 000), while the population of the province well over 200, 000. A response to growing settlement in the region, the 1881 expansion would increase the size of the province five-fold (Friesen, 1987).

Prior to 1881, given its size and relative isolation, the province had very little revenue and no control over the rapidly developing settlements west of Portage La Prairie (100 kilometres west of Winnipeg). The first boundary extension brought those settlements, including those in the Douglas area, under Manitoba's jurisdiction. Douglas' earliest settlers arrived in the late 1870s. Legislated in 1872, the Dominion Lands Act had set the terms and conditions for individual and group settlement. While some land was reserved for first nations people and the crown, the land was made available to homesteaders, the CPR, and various colonization companies. Individual homesteaders could receive one quarter-section for a nominal fee. In addition to clearing and breaking the land, they were required to make substantial improvements (buildings and infrastructure) within the three-year period to retain it.

Retention of homesteaders emerged as an almost immediate, and generalized, concern in Douglas County (and in Manitoba more broadly). This was attributed to a number of causes, which were reflected in, though not exclusive to, the case of Asessippi. The physical environment, though romanticized in both settlement campaigns and early prairie literature, was often experienced as overpowering, forbidding, and desolate—a desolation amplified by the earlier interventions of the Canadian government, notably the

imposition of the grid, the relatively slow development of the railway, particularly in the South-western region, encompassing Douglas County, and a lack of readily available labour: domestic workers, farmhands, and trades workers.

Settlers would provide the physical labour and the financial capital necessary for the establishment of the agricultural economy. They would also maintain a presence. The embodiment of Canadian sovereignty, their wide-spread settlement ensured a level of protection against potential American incursion into the northern territory (Fowke, 1946; Studen Bower, 2011). Finally, homesteaders would provide a consumer market for goods produced by central Canadian manufactures, and a vital revenue base for national infrastructure projects—notably, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). In the period between 1880 and 1888, Manitoba saw the construction of over 1000 miles of railway, most of which had been built and operated by the CPR (Government of Manitoba, 1888). In addition to funds, these infrastructure projects also required labour. And as a result, as early as 1881, there was considerable need in Manitoba for inexpensive, readily available, "hardy", and "malleable" workers—men able to abide by the conditions of railway construction and of the adjoining industrial and resource extraction (minerals and lumber) sectors (Avery, 1978).

The earliest iteration of this workforce consisted largely of Irish migrants. But as the "great wave of Irish immigration" neared its end (1896), the ethnic composition of the railway proletariat began to shift dramatically. Reflected simply in the number of arrivals, English and Scottish immigrants seemed well positioned to replace the shrinking number of Irish workers. Yet, there was little interest in their labour. Most were skilled professionals or tradespeople and unlikely, it was believed, to accept the exacting and

low-paid jobs associated with the railway. Reflecting this sentiment, Thomas Shaughnessy, president of the CPR (1899-1918), offered the following: "Men who seek employment in railway construction are, as a rule, a class accustomed to roughing it...It is only prejudicial to the cause of immigration to import men who come here expecting to get high wages, a feather bed, and a bathtub" (cited in Avery, 1983, p. 50). The British, then, it was widely held, possessed neither the physical strength nor the psychological fortitude required of hard labour on the frontier. Yet, these men (reflecting the gendered configuration of railway labour) were very much the migrants sought by the Canadian government, and their large-scale arrival between 1904 and 1914 was greeted enthusiastically by Canadian officials.

Unresolved, the question of labour remained a contentious one. The answer would be found in an existing, though controversial flow of labour migrants from Asia. The controversy over Asian workers encompassed anxiety over labour market saturation and economic tensions, deep seated "anti-orientalism" and the concurrent racialization of Asian workers, as well as concerns over Canada's ethnic and linguistic composition (Ward, 1978). And so, a considerable tension existed between the objectives of capital (Canadian business owners and industrialists) and the federal state. Both desired the conquest and expansion of the West, but the former required pliable, inexpensive labour (regardless of its origins), while the latter preferred migrants better suited to its visions of an Anglo-Canadian nation. In the context of early-Douglas County, the correlated objectives of nation-building and labour recruitment were simultaneously realized in the migration and mobilization of approximately 800 Home Children (known locally as "Barnardo Boys").

Part of a larger, highly coordinated movement of marginalized young people out of England's urban centres (1868-1930) and into dominions of Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa, these children (all boys) were housed and trained on the Barnardo Industrial farm in Douglas County (located on the outskirts of Douglas Village). Under the auspices of the Barnardo Foundation, 28 000 children arrived in Canada. Of these, two-thirds were under the age of 14. The Foundation's mission, in collaboration with the governments of Great Britain and Canada, was to redress urban poverty in England, while populating the British colony. The first group arrived in Douglas on April 15th, 1888. "Boys" would continue to arrive in groups of approximately 30, twice a year, and after eight to 12 months of training were set to work with farming families, supplement the labour of skilled trades people and subsidize the efforts of the independent producers who cultivated the land and grew the grain so central to Manitoba's position within the global economy. Together, these migrants would reshape the land, bending the ecology to the requirements of agricultural production, and transforming from "fertile wilderness" (Lam, 2010) to productive agricultural terrain.

3.4 THE PHILIPPINES

American involvement began informally while the Philippines was under Spanish authority. Spain, having lost its status as a world power, began relying on British and American investment in the colony near the end of the nineteenth century. Following the Spanish-American war in 1898, Spain conceded a number of its colonies, including the Philippines, to the United States. This transfer of authority occurred during a period of growing dissatisfaction and dissent amongst Filipinos. Responding to an increasingly reactionary Spanish regime, cross-class and ethno-linguistic alliances fueled a moderately

successfully anti-colonial movement in the latter part of 1896 (Rafael, 2000). This success, however, was brought about largely through the efforts of low-level bureaucrats and provincial elites. As a result, the more radical contingent of the movement was curtailed. Eventually, an agreement was brokered with the Spanish colonial authorities, dismantling the revolutionary government that had been established.

Exiled in Hong Kong in 1897, the leaders of the Philippines anti-colonial movement began amassing weapons and soliciting foreign aid to revive their revolution against the Spanish colonial government. They would remain in Hong Kong for approximately a year, when in 1898, they were enlisted by the American government to fight Spanish troops until the arrival of American reinforcements. In August of that year, to save face and prevent Filipino revolutionaries from entering Manila, the Spanish agreed to a mock battle with the Americans that would mark the end of the colonial rule in the Philippines. Unable to enter Manila and unable to claim victory over the Spanish, the Filipino forces established a republic-style, elite government in the northern part of the archipelago. Their sovereignty, however, went unrecognized by the American authorities, and in 1899, the revolutionary government and the new colonial power entered a war that would last three years. While the conflict officially ended in 1902, sporadic uprising and fighting continued until 1912. That said, the brute strength and "genocidal ferocity" (Rafael, 2000) of the American forces led the revolutionary leaders to surrender. At the same time, it quickly became apparent to them that the preservation of their elevated status within the Philippines would be dependent upon their collaboration with the new colonial state (*ibid*). The archipelago remained largely under American control until 1946, when the colony was granted independence. Under

American rule, nationalist elites (many of whom were former revolutionaries) would find the political, economic, and military means to secure and safe-guard their privileged status.

American involvement in the Philippines was protracted and had long-lasting consequence for the Philippine state and those residing within its territory. Albert Beveridge (1899), an American senator, is recorded to have said:

> The Philippines are ours forever…and just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets…The Pacific Ocean is our ocean…No land in America surpasses in fertility the plains and valleys of Luzon; rice, coffee, sugar and coconuts, hemp and tobacco. The wood of the Philippines can supply the furniture of the world for a century to come. (cited in Gonzalez, 1998, p. 27)

American imperialism in the Philippines sought to bolster the American market through the development of relatively free trade between the United States and the Philippines (Bello et al., 2005). Under this system, American manufactured goods were imported to the Philippines, while Philippine commodities were exported to the United States. The long-term effects of this arrangement for the Philippine economy has been two-fold. It developed solely around a small number of agricultural exports (high tariffs were imposed on exported Philippine-manufactured good), and it was linked to the American economy. The Philippine landowning elite—*hacenderos*, amongst whom ownership of export commodities was concentrated, benefited from the growing dependence of the Philippine economy on the American market. Moreover, their interests dominated the colonial legislature, which established by the U.S., brought leading elites together in the

capital, "diluting their provincialism and forging them into a 'self-conscious ruling class' (Anderson, 1988 cited in Boyce, 1993, p. 7; emphasis in origin)" (Boyce, 1993, p. 7).

Importantly, however, the economistic agenda articulated by Benevridge was discursively spun around the American government's stated commitment to a policy and colonial practice of Benevolent Assimilation. Issued in 1898, after the American defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American war but before the onset of the Philippine-American war, by U.S. President Willian McKinley, the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation read:

> Finally, it should be the earnest wish and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule.

Assimilation, in other words, was a moral imperative. Filipinos, separated from their "Spanish fathers", coveted by European powers, and at risk from internal revolt were vulnerable. The United States, in turn, would serve as the island inhabitants' compassionate protector:

> I don't know how it came, but it was (1) that we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonourable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France and Germany—our commercial rivals in the orient—that would be bad business; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government, and they would soon have anarchy and misrule worse than Spain's was, and (4) there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to

educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them. (William

McKinley's summation of the *Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation*, 1899, cited

in Gonzalez, 1998, p. 27)

The allegory of benevolent assimilation was a means of effacing "the violence of

consequence by contrasting colonial rule as the most precious gift that 'the most

civilized' can render to those still caught in a state of barbarous disorder" (Rafael, 2000,

p, 21). Ironically, after over 350 years of Spanish rule, the Philippines—according to the

official American mind—still constituted such as state. Subject to the colonial aims of the

Spanish, life in the Philippines became more desperate, more precarious, and more brutal.

The tutelary aim of American involvement, then, was to lift the Philippines and Filipinos

out of "barbarous disorder", to instill in them the "self-consciousness that marks a

people's readiness for independence", and to cultivate democratic aspirations and ideals

(p. 22).

The establishment of the Philippines as a sovereign state began in 1934 with the

signing of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, and with the establishment of a Commonwealth

government in 1935. In addition to delineating a 10-year transition period, during which

preferential trading between the United States and the Philippines would be maintained,

the Act dramatically curtailed Philippine migration, barring Filipinos from entering the

U.S. as migrant workers. That said, some migration continued as Filipino elites attended

American universities, and Filipino men continued to be recruited by the American navy

(Parreñas, 2008). The 10-year plan to transfer control from the American colonial

government to the Filipino people would be interrupted in 1942 when the archipelago

was occupied by Japanese forces. Following the end of the second world war, the

Americans renewed—with vigor—their efforts to establish an independent Philippine state. Yet, citing the devastating effects of the war, the provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Act were reasserted. As a result, Philippine independence from the United States, which officially came in 1946, did little to alter the country's dependence on American markets.

Filipino independence was achieved during an era (the years immediately after the second world war) characterized by the transition of the global political economy from an imperialist regime to a post-colonial setting (Briones, 2009). The Bell Trade Act, which specified the economic conditions of Philippine independence, effectively reinforced the structure of the pre-war economy which was premised on the export of a limited number of agricultural goods, and permitted the continued dominance of Philippine elite. To this end, American interests also continued to be served. The 1950s brought a shift to light manufacturing, packaging, and assembly. Unlike previous economic initiatives, a larger sector of the population—able to access relatively stable employment—benefited from this transition. The growth in manufacturing, coupled with government imposed import controls intended to protect domestic manufacturers, contributed to the emergence of a new industrial class.

Comprised of the "more enterprising members" of the elite, these industrialists clashed with agricultural exporters, notably over the exchange rate (Boyce, 1993). While the former favoured a strong peso, the latter preferred a weak currency. In 1961, the agricultural exporters elected Diosdado Macapagal, who immediately abolished exchange controls. By 1962, the peso was devalued by almost 100 per cent. The outcome was a financial boon for those in agricultural export that would cause significant strain for

consumers, and in particular, industrial wage-earners. This redistribution of national income toward agricultural exporters, Boyce argues, represented the reassertion of power by the country's traditional oligarchy. Moreover, as a result, the majority of Filipinos remained tied to cash crop production.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Following the systematic denial of indigenous rights, the reformulation of social and economic relationships, and the adaptation of the natural landscape, the colonial projects of both Canada vis-à-vis Manitoba and the Spain and the U.S. vis-à-vis the Philippines offer dramatic and violent examples of dispossession. These interventions, with their near totalizing effects, would redirect life in these sites toward economic objectives and political ambitions originating elsewhere. This is most obvious in the case of the Philippines, but it is no less true of Manitoba, which since the moment of European incursion has been integrated into globalized circuits of capital accumulation. The recruitment and eventual permanence of Philippine migrants in Douglas signal the convergence of countless processes embedded simultaneously in the Philippines and in Manitoba, and they reflect the histories of each site. As the crow flies, Douglas and the Philippines are separated by over 11, 660 kilometres. The sky over the archipelago goes dark as the sun rises in the small prairie town. Their histories, while framed by similar ambitions of conquest, expansion, and accumulation, seem far removed one from the other; the former, embedded within the first world, a site of protracted, concerted European settlement, and the latter, very much part of the third, a site of on-going resource extraction and labour deployment.

Reflecting on each historical narrative, there are few points of mutual reference, and following in large part from their very distinct colonial histories, even fewer points of articulation. These histories, however, move closer together in the 1960s. By then, a small group of Filipino health care professions, had settled in Winnipeg, the province's capital. Their arrival marked the genesis of Manitoba's Philippine community, which by 2012 would number over 60, 000 (Winnipeg Free Press 2012). In Asessippi-Parkland, this convergence would be far more gradual and far less immediately apparent. And yet by 2014, the region would have a sizable Filipino community. This development is attributable to changes within the agricultural sector, and the subsequent, though gradual, emergence of tourism, hospitality, and service as key economic generators.

CHAPTER FOUR   WATERSHED: THE HISTORY OF TOURISM,
SERVICE, AND HOSPITALITY IN DOUGLAS, MB

This chapter's central preoccupation is the establishment of service, hospitality,

and tourism in Asessippi-Parkland. It is from within this sector that the Hotel's 71

Filipino workers ensure the success of their transnational projects of reproduction. At the

same time, the success of this sector is very much dependent upon the labour of this

precarious workforce and the conditions, historic and contemporary, that move people

out of the Philippines and into foreign labour markets such as this one. Indeed, while the

service and hospitality sector has long been a site of inequality (Abid & Guerrier, 2003;

Sherman, 2007), following the Douglas Hotel's recruitment of migrant labour, in

Asessippi-Parkland, this sector now mirrors the globalized hierarchies characteristic of

contemporary capitalist political economy.

This chapter offers the history of the Porterhead Dam as means of situating the

arrival of Philippine-nationals to Asessippi-Parkland in the region's ecology and

economy, and the on-going adaption of both. When considered alongside the

transformation of agricultural production since the 1960s, the presence of Philippine

workers reflects the profound and multifaceted neoliberalization of the regional economy.

And yet, this too is dependent upon a history, which lies just below the surface. A

watershed built at the threshold of this "transformation", the Porterhead Dam served not

only as a corrective to the region's post-confederation history, but as a catalyst for new

economic opportunities—a response to a growing crisis as agricultural production

outgrew its colonial configuration.

At 21-metres high and 1270-metres long, the dam represented a dramatic

intervention into the region's water system. It would alter the shape of the land, and

transform the regional rural economy, creating in a very explicit, yet gradual, fashion, the region's tourism and adjacent, service and hospitality sectors. A material, social, and economic linchpin within the region, the dam is deployed in this text as a kind of conceptual axis upon which various histories and labour mobility pathways pivot and converge. It links the region's colonial past to its neoliberal present, and as such, given the composition of Douglas' contemporary migrant workforce, to histories (both long past and more recent) of the Philippines. Central to this analytical framing is the participation of the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration (PFRA) in its construction. The PFRA's purpose was to redress the environmental effects (draught and flooding) of Canada's western colonial project. This was realized through various novel ecological interventions, including the building of dams, amongst them the Porterhead Dam in Asessippi. Given the agency's history and its overarching objective, the PFRA's involvement in the construction of the Porterhead Dam reinforces the dam's symbolic function in this text as a bridge between the colonial past and the future it heralded. By exploring the history of the dam, and connecting it to various forms of labour migration, this chapter stresses the interaction between locally grounded political and environmental variables (which, at first glance, may appear peripheral to discussions of migration) and globally mobile labour. To this end, I draw on a series of interviews conducted with residents of Douglas, the descendants of the region's earliest European settlers, as well as archival material, accessed at the regional economic development office in Ingles[1], a municipality north of Douglas, and provided to me by settler-descendent participants.

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[1] The plans for the Porterhead Dam are kept at the Ingles' office.

4.1 CONTINUITY AND CRISIS IN MANITOBAN HISTORY

In much of the migration literature, government policy supporting the recruitment and/or deployment of labour is regarded as particularly insidious—an example of the state's collusion with capital to the detriment of workers, locally and globally (Hairong, 2008; Martin, 2006; Melliasoux, 1981; Sassen, 2000; Sayad, 2004; Tyner, 2009). The exploitative contours of such programs have been well documented and situated in protracted histories of capital accumulation, displacement, and migration (Basok, 1999; Bakan & Stasiulis, 1997; Depatie-Pelletier, 2010; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010; Lem & Barber, 2010; Hennebry, 2009; Preibish, 2007; Vosko, 2000). Colonial hinterland and site of on-going resource extraction, the area now known as Manitoba has long been incorporated in these processes (Silver & Hull 1990). From the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company "as the true and absolute lords and proprietors" of Rupert's Land (1670) to the expansionist designs of the Canadian Pacific Railway running parallel with the cultural nationalism projects of Canada's newly formed government (1867), the Manitoba past is marked by an intense intermingling of state- and private-interests (*ibid*). And, to meet the synchronous, though not always harmonious, requirements of labour and settlement on which the conquest and development of the Canadian West hinged, together these have facilitated historic migrations (Lam, 2010; Welsted, Everitt & Stadel, 1996).

From Manitoba's history, then, a pattern emerges—that is, the state's long-standing role in mediating the relationship between labour and capital by way of immigration policy (Friesen, 1987). Like the *encomenda* system used to attract Spanish migrants to the Philippines in the late 1500s, the Canadian colonial project offered

incentives, in the form of land, to immigrants who would provide the labour necessary for the establishment of the agricultural sector. This was organized through a system of land grants. Settlers would acquire land for a nominal fee. In exchange, they would abide by the conditions of their land grant, engaging in agriculture, making necessary modifications to the land, and building infrastructure. The maternal grandfather of a retired farmer living in Douglas, Thomas Smith arrived in Asessippi-Parkland in 1879. Following the stipulations of his first land grant, Smith was an agricultural producer engaged in mixed grain- (wheat, barely, and oats) and, eventually, cattle farming. Successful in this endeavor, by 1886, he had secured a second land grant. Reflecting on her family's second homestead, Peggy Smith (Smith's youngest daughter) writes in *The History of Douglas and District, 1867-1967*—a local history text: "with luscious green hills and clear spring water, it reminded them of Scotland and [they] thought it an ideal place to settle. They named it Clearfield Ranch. With food handy in the form of game, fish, wild fruit, and vegetables from a good garden, it was quite a self-sustaining spot…Mid-summer brought jovial neighbours and friends, in wagon loads, from Porterhead and Asessippi, to pick cranberries at Smith's Crossing" (Smith 1967, p. 263).

An outcome of close ties between the country's earliest colonial governments and various corporate and private interests, and responding to the effects of growing crisis of overaccumulation in Europe (culminating in the Long Depression, 1873-1896), the state facilitated the recruitment of immigrants who could meet the distinct, yet connected, needs of the expanding dominion and capital. And so, very quickly following confederation and the onset of Western expansion, a racialized and cultural patterning emerged, with the recruitment of labour occurring within an immigration framework that

assessed potential migrants according to "their distance from, or proximity to, 'white British' ideals (Arat-Kroc, 1997. p. 32). The ideal homesteader, for example, would meet the physical requirements of prairie settlement, while conforming to the ideological parameters of the Canadian, yet very much British, national government. This required a particular kind of migrant subject, one compatible with the official vision of an expansive and uninterrupted Anglo-Saxon front.

At the same time, returning to Harvey's formulation of the "spatial fix" (1982; 1985), punctuating and illuminating this long-standing collaboration where labour and population are concerned are moments of spatial, temporal, and social recalibration. From Manitoba's creation (1870) to the present-day (2014), we can identify several moments of explicit spatial recalibration or spatial fixes, which have served to cast and recast the social and economic landscape of what is now designated the Asessippi-Parkland region. Throughout Western Canada, these moments or fixes are predicated on two critical, initial interventions: the relegation of indigenous populations to Indian (*sic*) reserve lands (1871-1877), and the expulsion of the Métis (1871-1885), coupled with the social and political repression of both. So it went, according to the Canadian state that if a capitalist agricultural economy was to be established on the prairies, the region's original inhabitants had to be severed from the means of production: the land. As discussed in the previous chapter, wide-scale dispossession and appropriation of the land would be accompanied by its privatization—institutionalized through the Dominion Lands Acts, the commodification of labour, and the suppression of alternative forms of production.

The adaptation of the original ecosystem to one conducive to agricultural production was staggering in scale and scope. While settlement ebbed and flowed, the

transformation of the prairies into occupied farm land unfolded relatively quickly within the thirty year period spanning the late 1870s to the onset of the first world war (1914) (Sandalack, 2013). Between 1876 and 1881, over ten thousand families had settled the area west of the province, and closely following this influx of migrants, the contours of what would become Douglas were drawn. What would become Douglas County was first surveyed by the Canadian Department of the Interior in 1875, six years prior to Manitoba's first expansion. (It would be named for the Surveyor General, Lindsay Douglas, who would oversee the entirety of the Western survey, and who would eventually reside in the region with his family, establishing the Douglas Creamery just north of the town of Clement.) By 1877, settlers (mostly from Ontario) would already begin arriving.

The first survey of what would eventually become Asessippi-Parkland was conducted, by the Canadian Department of the Interior, in September of 1875—six years prior to the 1881 boundary expansion. While it reveals something of the pre-settlement landscape, the surveyor's notebook most clearly offers insight into the objectives of Western expansion, and to draw on Cronon (1983), into the forthcoming relationship between the land and its newest human inhabitants—a relationship mediated by the state and its expectations. The survey depicted the territory in drawing and in text. Noted, with coordinates, was the topography of the prairie (flat, rolling, and undulating); the small lakes, marsh land, and creeks (the strength and speed of the flow of water; its quality); the local vegetation, its generation, vitality, density, and variety: poplar, birch, hazel-brush, underbrush, willows, scattered windfall; hay meadows in less treed areas. Soil quality was also indicated, with class one through four found throughout the region. The survey

of what would eventually be the Town of Douglas (township 21) began on the 20th of September of 1875 and concluded three days later. This sub-section was designated "prairie" and "rolling prairie" with class one and two soil. Meadow and poplar woods, willow, dense hazel bush, and underbrush, and several bodies of water, including a small alkaline lake, covered the area where the town now sits. Though rich in descriptive detail, the survey was deterministic. In other words, it anticipated settlement. Pre-determined "road allowances", for example, were printed on each page of the surveyor's notebook: the grid, which would dominate the landscape in the years to come, plainly present at the very onset of western expansion. And while some early human interventions were recorded (ox-cart trails, for example), the imagined road system failed to heed the, at times, imposing forested areas or bodies of water, swamp, or marsh found throughout the territory.

Reflecting the interests of the emerging colonial state, the surveyor emphasized the agricultural potential of each range of land, focusing on soil quality, and the availability of those natural resources required of settlement. Range 24 "passes through a better country", he wrote, "there are fewer swamps…[and] the southern portion is rich prairie land, with clumps of poplar that would answer for fencing and firewood…lumber for building purposes can be found in the northern portion of the township". An assessment and catalogue of available resources, the survey disaggregated the ecosystem. So constituted, the land would be repurposed by the region's settlers, and used to support the goals of the colonial government in regards to the West (Firestone 1960)—that is, the establishment of a capitalist agrarian economy.

4.2 SHELL LAKE AND THE NEW RURAL ECONOMY

A more recent spatial recalibration, Shell Lake is the reservoir of the Porterhead Dam. Lined with cottages and renowned for it fly fishing, the lake stretches 56 kilometres north with a slight westward incline, which eventually carries it into northern Saskatchewan. Its base is located in Asessippi provincial park. The dam and its reservoir are regional examples of the production, reproduction, construction, and reconfiguration of space so central to the on-going viability of a capitalist political economy in any given location over time. Harvey (2001) draws our attention to the contradictory nature of such persistent geographic intervention. That is, to ensure its own functioning at a particular point in time, capital must construct a fixed space, only to later (at another point in time) destroy it in order to generate new possibilities for accumulation (Harvey 2001). An example of fixed capital ["embedded in the land and fixed in a place" (Harvey 2001, p. 26)], the dam—given its function within the region and the province—more broadly, represents the culmination and continuation of "capitalism's insatiable drive to resolve its Hotel er crisis tendencies [through] geographical expansion and geographical restructuring" (p. 24). Now submerged and barely visible, the Smith homestead, that once "self-sustaining spot" in many ways emblematic of the "success" of Western expansion illustrates the profound layering, impermanence, and fallibility of such interventions.

Motivated by a desire to expedite settlement and agricultural production, early Canadian officials, despite considerable opposition, embraced a grid-based settlement plan for much of the prairies (Studen Bower 2011; Sandalack 2013). The grid had divided the territory into quarter-section lots of 160 acres with a one-mile grid road network connecting what would eventually be farmsteads. Based on the National

Topographic System, it was regarded, by the newly formed colonial government, as a convenient and effective means of selling and settling the land, while simultaneously imposing social order onto the space. Though initially attractive to settlers, the artifice of this system would be quickly revealed. "More soup bowl than tabletop, with slopes seemingly designed to collect precipitation and relatively impermeable soils" (Studen Bower, 2011, p. 2), much of the western part of the province would prove extremely prone to flooding. This would be exacerbated by the settlement system, which simultaneously failed to accommodate the irregular geography of the region, specifically water surface patterns (*ibid*), and failed to consider the environmental consequences of wide-scale ecological adaption. Indeed, as soon as *changes to the land* were made, the land's "potential" (as assessed by the surveyor) was altered.

The discord between agricultural settlement and the actual environmental conditions would result in wide-scale flooding almost immediately. This would not, however, stem the tide of settlement, which continued to be aggressively pursued by state- and private-interests alike. That said, if the federal government was interested in populating the prairies, it was less concerned with how new settlers faired once they arrived (Lam, 2010). Settlement was, thus, encouraged regardless of the land's suitability for agricultural production. To varying degrees settlers were able to navigate Manitoba's wet prairie, and as Studen Bower (2011) explains in her history of drainage in Manitoba, drier sites were settled first, resulting in a "settlement pattern that curved around wet areas" (p. 25). Such efforts, however, were frequently undermined by seasonal variability. Dry land did not always remain dry, and even farmers who chose their land cautiously would discover in short order its vulnerability to flooding. Individual and state

attempts to mitigate this inevitability only worsened the problem: "by directing water away without paying attention to where it was going, well-intentioned drainers built drains that could serve to create or exacerbate flooding on nearby lands, perhaps even rendering homesteads less suitable for agriculture" (*ibid*). After ten years of ad hoc intervention, the province passed its first Drainage Act in 1880. Formalizing and coordinating the province's approach to regional flooding, the Act initiated a cycle of ecological intervention—one intended to safeguard Manitoba's proposed agrarian economy through the adaptation and manipulation of the water system. Nine decades later—following periods of growth and stagnation, dry seasons, and wet—the Porterhead Dam would be built. One of many attempts to mitigate the environmental shortcomings of Westward expansion, it would once again transform and redirect the local economy.

4.2.1 The Porterhead Dam

Though prompted, in large part, by wide scale flooding (the flood of 1950 saw 125.5 million dollars in urban damages), the Porterhead Dam's importance regionally came to be articulated in terms of its potential worth to local economies and labour markets. This was most obviously expressed in the Dam's Land Use Plan. Released in 1969 by the provincial government, the plan was the first in the province's history to consider multiple land uses for a reservoir. As a result, in addition to the more explicitly pragmatic outcomes of the dam (flood prevention and water provision), the report stressed the potential of recreational activity in regards to a number of the reservoir's features. This included the development of a diverse fishery, the establishment of facilities intended to accommodate angling traffic, the allocation of areas designated for intensive recreational use, and allowances for both the involvement of both public and

private enterprise in the development of an expansive public recreational complex. The public complex was envisioned as providing "a diversity of recreational experiences for a large number of people" (1969, p. 64), and so, incorporated into its design were provisions for the development of swimming, hiking, hunting, tobogganing, nature study, boating, fishing, skiing, and camping infrastructure.

The dam and its reservoir, the provincial government of the day maintained, would attract visitors from within Manitoba and beyond to the area; the project would benefit Winnipeg (as well as, Brandon and Portage La Prairie), but importantly and not insignificantly, it would benefit the region. In addition, then, to correcting the failures of early settlement (manifested locally in flooding), the Dam was an attempt to add value to the rural economy through diversification. In this way, it served as yet another opening; yet another intervention into the landscape, this time, intended to establish a regional tourism, recreation, and hospitality sector. Paralleling earlier interventions into the political economy of the region, the need for diversification was not, however, motived exclusively by local conditions. Rather, it was connected to an assemblage of factors within Manitoba and globally. As early as 1951, the province had shifted its attention away from agriculture as the principle driver of the economy (Ghorayshi, 1990). Beginning in the 1960s, the economic structure of industrialized countries, like Canada, began to change at an increased rate, prompted by the growing internationalization of capital markets, higher levels of transnational investment, and the gradual—following the timeline provided by Harvey—emergence of nascent neoliberal doctrine and practice by the early 1960s (Harvey, 2005). Subsequently, industrialized economies shifted, moving

away from manufacturing (or in the case of Manitoba, agricultural production) toward

service provision.

Counter-intuitive, perhaps, but very much in accordance with emergent political

and economic ideology, farm production had tripled between 1947 and 1965 (Ghorayshi

1990). This trend continued into the 1970s and, though to a lesser extent, the 1980s. This

growth can be attributed to several factors: the expansion of the scale of production; the

intensification of market relations; specialization coupled with technological advance;

and the gradual replacement of labour with capital investment: farms grew, but the

number of people required for their operation shrunk. This transition is reflective of

agriculture's growing integration into globalized economies, and more significantly, a

shift—on the part of the provincial and national government, toward more globalized

economic strategies. Part of this followed the integration of the Canadian economy into

American networks of production and distribution during and immediately after the

second world war. Indeed, by the late 1940s "it appeared obvious to many business

leaders in Canada that their best financial interests lay not in the pursuit of a domestic

development strategy, as had been envisioned by the founders and subsequent proponents

of the national policy, but rather in the direction of continental integration" (Lawrence,

Knuttila & Gray 2001, p. 93-93).

In the late 1960s, the federal government embarked upon a controversial study

concerning the future of agricultural production in Canada. The study, "Canadian

Agriculture in the Seventies" (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 1969), served as a

roadmap for the structural adjustment of the agricultural economy. It concluded that the

market was saturated, and that two-thirds of agriculturalists would need to exit the sector

for it to remain viable. Although state officials quickly distanced themselves from this recommendation (Lawrence, Knuttila & Gray 2001), the study offers insight into the long-term goals of the Canadian government, as well as into the impending neoliberalization that would transform that sector and others. Commercial farms were to be fewer in number, and they were to be rationally managed and profit-oriented. Farm mergers and consolidations were to be encouraged to ensure higher levels of productivity, but also more effective forms of management. The government was to assist with the restructuring of agriculture, while at the same time, distancing itself from the industry, enabling "farmers, farm organizations, and agribusiness to improve their management and leadership functions and stand more self-sufficiently on their own" (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 1969, p. 8). This rhetoric of independence aside, the agricultural economy—following the implementation of these strategies—would become increasingly dependent on international markets. At the same time, this move toward "independence" and rationalization was very explicitly part of project intended to shift the balance power away from rural agriculturalists.

As Lawrence, Knuttila & Gray (2001) point out, what made rural restructuring so contentious is the extent to which this reorientation required the deliberate dismantling of state measures previously in place to ensure the development of the domestic agricultural sector. After the state's divestment from agriculture, in the Douglas area, much like elsewhere in Manitoba, the scale of agricultural production increased overtime, while its viability for individual producers decreased. Concurrently, farms grew, becoming more and more capital-intensive and mechanized, while farm numbers declined steadily (Ghorayshi 1990). This was accompanied by a broader trend of rural depopulation and

provincial out-migration. In addition to limiting the viability of rural-life, depopulation further undermined the position of rural areas vis-à-vis urban centres. Tension had long existed between agriculturalists in the hinterland and the state (both provincial and federal). And yet, the 1960s brought with them a dramatic and deliberate redirection of political power away from rural areas. Following the objectives of the 1969 report, farmers who had once set the political agenda and who had been celebrated as national heroes, were increasingly relegated to a peripheral role and status—their needs and wants trailing in priority behind those of urban dwellers.

The changing dynamic between the rural and the urban in Manitoba, and the expanding political clout of city residents, offers additional insight into the province's motivation for constructing the dam, and more specifically, establishing recreational infrastructure in the region. As Gayler (1986) has observed, accompanying the dissipation of rural influence was a redirection of focus for rural entrepreneurs and producers, who were compelled to accommodate urban markets through the provision of "various active and passive forms of recreational activity", "transportation and communication corridors", and "services and manufacturing industries [able to take] advantage of cheaper land, lower wage levels, [and] less restrictive zoning" (p. 9). Following from this, flood prevention and the safeguarding of urban water supplies, were not the only advantages to be garnered by the cities. Nor were the benefits of recreation to be limited to residents of the area. In its earliest iteration, much of the political discourse surrounding the Dam, and more precisely the lake and adjoining park, ran parallel to a growing demand for rural recreational facilities amongst urban residents (Lehr 2001). While this demand can be traced to the 1930s, which saw some

development of cottage and camping infrastructure throughout the province, the 1950s,

characterized by increased urban prosperity and mobility, saw its amplification,

particularly amongst Winnipeg's growing middle-class. Some of this revealed itself in

recreational uses of provincial forest reserves. A lack of facilities, poor sanitation, and

overcrowding, however, quickly drew criticism, and the provincial government was

prompted to reassess its handling and administration of these areas, passing the

Provincial Parks Act in 1961.

On paper, Asessippi Park was developed as part of a project commemorating the

province's centennial, though in many respects, it was simply a by-product of the

Porterhead Dam. Much like the valley where the Smith homestead once was (now at the

bottom of the Dam's reservoir), the site of the park was seen to possess little economic

value in terms of agriculture or future resource extraction (Lehr 2001). The building of

the dam was overseen by the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration (PFRA), in

collaboration with the Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources and the

Canada Department of Forestry and Rural Development (ARDA). The PFRA was

established by an act of Parliament in 1935 in response to economic depression, land

degradation, and farm abandonment, largely in the Palliser Triangle (west of Asessippi-

Parkland) (Marchildon 2009). By the mid-40s, nearly 250 000 prairie farmers had fled

the region for urban centres. In the early 1930s, this urban-to-rural movement was

encouraged by the federal government, which viewed farm abandonment as an effective

means of mitigating the social consequences of drought. In 1935, however, Ottawa

assumed a contrasting position, and began actively discouraging out-migration, offering

the PFRA as a mechanism through which to provide solutions (*ibid*).

Though its earliest mandate focused on the implementation of emergency programs, the agency's emphasis on rehabilitation assumed a long-term approach to ensure economic security throughout the region. Over the course of its six-decade tenure, the Administration shifted its attention away from soil-conversation toward water development, and by 1946, the Administration's focus was primarily water resource management. The creation of the PFRA also served a symbolic function. As Marchildon (2009) points out, while the Administration was an evidence-based policy response to an environmental disaster (draught during the Depression), it was also a "calculated political response by successive federal Conservative and Liberal governments to the considerable socio-demographic and political strength of farmers" (p. 277). In these varied ways, though not officially articulated as such, the Administration's mandate was to redress and rework the shortcomings of earlier experiments in prairie agriculture, while at the same time ensuring the on-going participation of agriculturalists.

The PFRA's involvement in the building of the Porterhead Dam was, and is, significant. Under the federal-provincial agreement for the project, the PFRA planned and managed construction of the Porterhead Dam, while the province assumed responsibility for building the diversion. The PFRA oversaw operations for the first few years following construction, transferring ownership and maintenance responsibilities to the provincial government in 1975. Given the symbolic role of the PFRA historically, its centrality in the project offers a unique vantage point from which to view the Dam. Charged with the task of resolving the unanticipated social, economic, and environmental consequences of Canadian westward expansion and colonization, the PFRA served as the central bureaucratic mechanism through which the dam, as a spatial fix, was

accomplished. Its involvement reinforced the connection between the region's colonial history, and the Dam's projected local outcomes. The dam would have multiple consequences for local residents (farmers and non-farmers alike). Some, notably, the loss of land, would be felt immediately. Nearly 35% of the valley floor had been productive agricultural land: rough grazing, rangeland, and cropland. Following the completion of the Dam in 1972, all 7, 324 acres, including what had once been the Smith homestead, would be submerged under 1402 feet of water. Others, including the effect on agricultural land downstream from the Dam would grow in severity overtime. Still others, particularly those pertaining to tourism infrastructure, would materialize over decades.

At present, the Dam's operational priorities shift over the course of the year, corresponding to seasonal climate change, but also utilization. In the summer, the first priority is to prevent downstream flooding, and to meet urban water supply demands. The second priority, reflecting the interests of cottagers, is to maintain reservoir levels between 1402.5 and 1404.5 feet. Immediately contentious for local agriculturalists, at 1402 feet, the reservoir's water level sits only six feet below the spillway, and any unanticipated water results in overflow. Local farmers stress that the Dam is obsolete. Changing levels of precipitation coupled with local and cross-border agricultural drainage practices (originating in Saskatchewan) have resulted in more water than the structure can handle. There is a conflict, then, between the competing needs of the area's recreational users, and its regional farmers, many of whom find their land flooded yearly (Arnason, 2014): "the people who have cottages on the lake want it just right all the time; that doesn't do much for flood prevention" (Stan Cochrane, chair of the Assiniboine Valley Producers Association cited in Winters, 2012).

And yet, regional agriculturalists at present are far from hostile toward the tourism sector as such. In fact, many believe it is vital. (The executive director of the Asessippi-Parkland Tourism Association is, herself, an agriculturalist with land downstream from the Dam.) Rather, the issue is with the province, which is seen to be acquiescing to cottagers at the expensive of the agricultural producers, a situation felt to reflect a general stance of antagonism between farmers and the state. This is aggravated by a lack of monetary compensation for flooding and an unwillingness on the part of the province to negotiate with Saskatchewan over drainage. It is further compounded by the relatively slow development of the tourism sector, which was intended to offset—if not these (unexpected) conditions—the restructuring of the agricultural sector more broadly.

In the 1960s, political discourse assured of the province's participation in the building of the region's new tourist and recreation infrastructure, including a camp ground, a golf course, and a downhill ski facility—a trade-off for those who would lose land, and an attempt to mitigate accusations of urban favouritism. And while most this support would not be realized (the government's participation in the development of the park was limited to the building of a camp ground), overtime, the reservoir and the adjoining provincial park would become relatively popular destinations for cottagers, hikers, and recreational fishers, thus fulfilling to province's objective to transform "marginal territory" into productive infrastructure (Lehr 2001). And yet, given the slow uptake of the tourism sector, three decades after the completion of the Dam, its localized economic objectives only partially realized, a pervasive sense of decline permeated the region, reflected in empty houses and boarded-up storefronts in town after town after town. Farm production was up, but it benefited a shrinking number of people, and

farming families at a growing rate were selling their land and moving elsewhere. Farmers who remained worked, largely, under contract, producing bulk commodities (wheat and canola) for transnational corporations (notably, Archer Daniels Midland [ADM], Cargill, Bunge, and XL foods), in a dramatically restructured and deregulated sector. Despite the augmented value of agricultural out-puts, these developments have increased the dependency of farmers on international markets, exposed them to higher levels of risk, and weakened the regulatory and bargaining powers of their associations.

Other agriculturalists have managed to stay in agriculture by tapping into new markets. Unlike in other parts of Canada, the Parkland region offers a small range of niche market goods—for example, small scale-organically grown products. This, in large part, reflects the development of agri-business in the region over the last forty years. That said, there are a few producers, and their numbers are growing, largely in response to tourism traffic, and the desire amongst visitors for locally grown, locally crafted goods. Honey, specialty oils, birch syrup, and a variety of prepared foods are produced to meet this demand. Farmers are also incorporated through their direct participation in tourism. This assumes two principle forms. Members of a farming family may work within the industry—the Douglas Hotel, for example, employs people with direct ties to working farms. And at the same time, while not a fully developed sector, a small number of farmers have sought to capitalize on a growing interest in "authentic" rural experiences, and have partially transformed their working farms into short-term, holiday accommodations in the service of agri-tourism.

The emphasis on tourism regionally has been accompanied by a growing interest on the part of the provincial government in tourism (Government of Manitoba 2008),

which in turn, reflects a more globalized trend (Bramwell & Lane, 1994; Kazakopoulous & Gidarakou, 2003; OECD, 1995; McDonagh, Varley & Shortall 2009). In 1996, for example, the European Commission released the Cork Declaration. The ten-point proposal stressed the need for an interdisciplinary and multi-sectoral approach to rural economic development that would encompass "within the same legal and policy framework: agricultural adjustment, development, and economic diversification—notably small and medium scale industries and rural services—the management of natural resources, the enhancement of environmental functions, and the promotion of culture, tourism, and recreation" (CEC, 1996, p. 2). Tourism, in other words, was embedded in a larger project of rural development, which took as its starting point the restructuring of the agricultural sector. As a strategy, tourism was to redress *and* sustain emerging trends in agriculture—notably, consolidation and intensification. This two-pronged objective would be achieved through the diversification of the rural economy, which, in turn, could continue to support agricultural production.

Similarly, tourism in the Parkland region emerged as an economic diversification strategy, intended to off-set changes to the farming economy, while ensuring the on-going viability of agricultural production. Much like elsewhere in the province, tourism is not seen as cure-all to rural economic decline, but rather, as Ramsey and Everitt (2007) explain, it is regarded as a "smokeless industry" that can offer additional and sustainable economic security for rural communities. The industry's sustainability is tied to its perceived pliability and adaptability. An economic additive, tourism (and by extension, service and hospitality) has been integrated into existing sectors of the rural economy— wilderness, forestry, hunting and angling, sports, arts, culture, and heritage. From this

assemblage, the region has been able to develop a relatively diverse range of activities: skiing, hiking, fishing, and cottaging, in addition to trail-based[2] heritage tourism. It is assumed that such diversity will generate a wide-ranging interest in the region. Officials, and those involved in the sector, stress the spin-off effects of such interest, citing manifold positive outcomes for local businesses and local tax bases. These benefits are generated by visitors, and by those who work in the industry, and it is anticipated, will create and sustain local employment, bolstering the rural economy, and safe-guarding the future of rural-life. Following this logic, recreation and tourism have come to significantly inform the social and economic agendas of the region, even as agricultural production and its off-shoots (notably, processing) remain dominant (Kulshreshtha, 2011).

In the Asessippi-Parkland tourism sector, the Douglas Hotel figures centrally. Built in 1971—a project of local business community members who required overnight accommodation for their visitors and business acquaintances. Overtime, demand outgrew capacity and the Hotel expanded. More than any other single entity in the Asessippi area, the Hotel has been able to capitalize on the redirection of the rural economy since the 1970s, and in many instances, has spearheaded the transition toward tourism, and more broadly, toward service and hospitality in the area. This is most explicitly reflected in the Hotel's close relationship to the regional Ski Resort. A majority shareholder in the resort, the Hotel's viability is very much connected to the resort's success. This relationship is critical, as the latter bolsters the operational capacity of the former, allowing the Hotel to grow and fostering the need for a semi-skilled, permanent labour force. The Hotel, then,

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[2] Trail based tourism involves the recreational use of trails that connect and bring visitors to different sites of interest (natural, heritage-based, etc).

is reliant on its own clientele (those who directly acquire service), but it is equally

dependent upon a particular market—one established and sustained by the tourism sector,

and more precisely, the Ski Hill. Developed throughout the 1990s, and opened in 1999,

the Ski Hill represents a significant departure from earlier modes of economic

development in the area, and a deliberate attempt on the part of regional residents to

create new economic opportunity for themselves and their children.

While celebrated by local governments and business communities, the turn to

tourism for rural economic stability has been met with challenges and criticisms. Tourism

possesses a very speculative quality. Good intention and planning alone are insufficient

to guarantee a flood of visitors. At the same time, the very economic and social

transitions that have prompted tourism as a strategy in the region have simultaneously led

to the deterioration of infrastructure that would otherwise support a vital tourism sector.

And so, as Ramsey and Everitt argue, "the quality of potential place-oriented products

(within the Parkland region) [are] diminish[ed] at the same time that local boosters are

trying to diversify the economy" (2007, p. 89). This has been compounded by a lack of

resources, funding, and provincial support for regional tourism associations and their

initiatives.

Despite a rhetoric concerning the significance and potential impact of rural

tourism, the province (according to those in the sector) has been unwilling or unable to

invest in tourism (beyond promotion) in the region. As a result, upkeep of existing

infrastructure has fallen to local municipalities and individual donors. Some of this is off-

set by the involvement of private business, like the Douglas Hotel , which work,

somewhat independently of the regional tourism associations, to generate interest in the

area. In the case of the Hotel, this endeavor has been successful, attributable primarily to the Ski Hill, which attracts over 80, 000 visitors annually, bringing in money and creating some employment for those remaining in the area. And yet, despite this success, long-standing residents have not been particularly interested in taking up employment within the tourism sector. This has been compounded by the presence of several significant regional employment magnets.

Tourism has not been the only outcome of diversification. So, while employment opportunities have been created (714 as of 2012), the wages and hours are not likely to compete with those offered in other sectors—notably, canola processing, construction, road maintenance, resource extraction (potash mining located primarily in Saskatchewan), and health care. Reflective of the tertiary sector more generally (Jamal & Getz 1999), the positions offered by the region's tourism sector, while local, tend to be low-salary and low-status. They are often temporary and seasonal in nature, and even those that are permanent and year-round remain tethered to the seasonal ebbs and flows of the region's primary tourist attractions: the lake and the Ski Hill. Workers at the Hotel, for example, retain their positions during the off-season, but their hours may be negatively affected depending upon occupancy. More often, however, these conditions serve as stumbling blocks to the recruitment and retention of labour, and following from them, the Hotel has had to look elsewhere for labour. Importantly, then, for the Douglas Hotel (which requires a staff of approximately 110 workers year-round), the gradual diversification of the rural regional economy has run parallel to a number of synchronous developments: the institutionalization of labour export in the Philippines, the establishment and eventual expansion of the Canadian Temporary Foreign Worker

Program (TFWP), and (though more recent), a parallel, though not always harmonious, provincial interest in immigration.

4.3 CONCLUSION: A LATENT MONUMENT

A site of recreation, Shell Lake and its adjoining amenities, are increasingly frequented by Douglas' Filipino community. Erwin and his friends, migrant workers at the Douglas Hotel, have discovered a rarely used dock at the lake. On clear, windless days, motionless, the lake mirrors the sky and reflects the sun. When the water levels are high, only the Dam disrupts the reservoir's tranquility. This, however, is easily overlooked. Beyond the edifice and the din it generates, there is a natural*ness* to the area. Particularly for those who arrive to recreate (fishers, cottagers, hikers, and picnickers), the Dam is inconspicuous. For many who have come to the area from the Philippines, their labour migration trajectories often including protracted stays in large cities in Asia or the Middle East (Dubai, in Erwin's case), the lake and park are particularly appealing. The Canadian "wildness", "untouched" and "unscathed", a source of awe and pleasure. And yet, the lake—like the agricultural land beyond its parametre, is illusory. Its massive concrete structure, a latent monument to the manifold histories below the lake's surface. The surge of water, an audible reference to a near-perpetual cycle of promise and disavowal, it conceals a history, and a series of purposeful interventions that transformed the landscape, redirected the lives of those in the area, and refocused the region's economy. Often accompanied by the establishment of migration pathways, intended to create or supplement existing labour supplies, these interventions are equally marked by the international mobility of precarious labour and its corresponding global political economy.

The following chapter explores these histories, connected to the colonial past of the Philippines, rooted in the implementation of the country's labour export apparatus in the 1960s, and revealed in the intergenerational narratives of those in Douglas and their kin in the Philippines. As the Canadian state sought to transform the rural regional economy, the Philippine state sought to re-position itself globally, moving beyond manufacturing and export-agriculture toward labour export. Moving closer to the Hotel's recruitment of Philippine workers, this next chapter simultaneously speaks to this re-positioning and to the familial histories of those in Douglas—histories mediated by Philippine labour export policy; policy is, in turn, embedded in the lives and experiences of migrants and non-migrants alike.

CHAPTER FIVE   MIGRANT NARRATIVES OF PHILIPPINE LABOUR EXPORT

My primary concerns in this chapter are the bureaucratic, ideological, and culturally constituted affective and emotional mechanisms that in the Philippines generate and reproduce migrant subjectivities. There is a wide literature exploring the ways in which Filipino state discourse intervenes in the lives of its nationals to encourage their participation in overseas labour programs. Much of this work has focused on gender, and how gender ideology is utilized and adapted by the Philippine state to further its objective of migrant labour export. While over the last ten years, there has been growing interest in the dynamics and ideologies of masculinity in relation to migration Fajardo, 2008; Fajardo, 2011; Ikeya, 2014; Margold, 1995; McKay, 2007), the scholarship has primarily focused on state assertions and re-assertion of women's socially and historically constituted reproductive roles in the creation of ideal emigrant subjects (Barber, 1997; Constable, 1997; Giles & Arat-Koc, 1994; Eviota, 1992; Parreñas, 2001; Tadier, 2004; Tyner, 1994; Tyner 2004). As Barber (1997) states, the Philippine state directly manipulates "historically resonant, gendered cultural idioms in Philippine culture— dutiful daughters, migrant mothers" (p. 41). She goes on to argue,

> Shifts in the meanings accorded migrant Filipina reveal political struggles over the reliance of the state upon the economic contributions of overseas workers and other migrants, and the social complexities of emergent practices of gender and class identities in Philippine society. Furthermore, Philippine labour migration, as orchestrated by the Philippine state and on occasion challenged by social activists and, sometimes, individual women, is becoming normalized within the culture of

daily life in the many historically, culturally and socially distinct localities which make up Philippine society. (*ibid*)

And yet, as Barber argues in this (1997) and later work (2000; 2008a; 2008b), migrants are not strictly, nor uncritically, constrained by the meanings assigned to them. While categories of Filipino migrant personhood often correspond to the objectives of the Philippine state vis-à-vis labour export, they also map on personal history, circumstance and aspiration. As a result, despite the best efforts of the state to mold social identities conducive to migratory projects, these efforts are, at times, met with ambivalence and trepidation, even as such projects have become routinized and normalized over the last several decades.

Although a little-travelled route, the pathway between the Philippines and the town of Douglas offers considerable insight into the Philippine state's decades-long labour export project. This small scale migratory flow provides opportunity to consider the ways in which that project, redirected and expanded overtime, has infiltrated, in unexpected ways, new spaces and sites, and the ways in which migrant workers navigate the complexities and contingencies of migration. In this way, while many accounts of Filipino migration may often read as capital- or state-centric—that is, they prioritize the capacity of economics and politics to determine the lives of migrants, this chapter offers insight the ways in which migrants attempt to simultaneously capitalize on and circumvent what might otherwise be regarded as structurally or functionally determined. Thus, migrant agency is held, here, in tension with economic and political systems that generate and reproduce migrant subjectivity. For most in Douglas, employment at the Douglas Hotel follows a protracted personal and/or family engagement in the labour

migration process. Indeed, many of the Philippine workers had lived and worked for years outside of the Philippines prior to going to Douglas. For nearly all of them, labour migration represents an intergenerational livelihood strategy, with parents and eventually their children assuming responsibility for the family's immediate and long-term reproduction by way of international mobility.

Following a discussion of the development and evolution of Philippine labour export policy, this chapter offers two intergenerational narratives of migration to explore the production and reproduction of migrant subjects as filtered through the initiatives of the Philippines state since the 1960s, but grounded in the projects of livelihood and reproductive strategies of individual families over time. While both family-groups have been long implicated in migration, from their respective class positions, each offers a specific account of migration and rendering of migrant subjectivity. The first narrative focuses on the experiences of June and Violet, mother and daughter, both migrants and, at different points in time, exclusively responsible for the material well-being and survival of their immediate family. The second narrative focuses on Lalilani and Sheila, aunt and niece, both migrants motivated by similar, though permutated objectives corresponding to the shifting constructions of migrant identity as offered by the Philippine state. June and Violet, and Lalilani and Sheila belong to two differently configured transnational networks, the parametres of which reflect the opportunities afforded to each of them by virtue of class status within the Philippines.

In the Philippines, class structure is highly bifurcated. An outcome of the country's colonial history, and its uneven integration into globalized forms of capital, wealth is concentrated amongst a small elite and a substantial portion of the population

lives in near-abject poverty (Bello et al., 2005). Despite the polarity of this picture, class in the Philippines is complicated. In no small part, this a consequence of now long-standings practices of labour export. Despite the Philippine state's early framing of labour export policy as a short-term solution to economic stagnation and poverty, by the 1980s, the country increasingly indebted to foreign creditors and mired in the consequences of structural adjustment, labour export was firmly entrenched. However, rather than redressing poverty, the promotion of labour export in the Philippines has led to additional layers of differentiation amongst variously positioned Filipinos. This is compounded by the effects of immigration policy in Canada (Barber, 2008b) and Manitoba. As Barber (2008b) argues, migration deepens "class cleavages between migrants in different streams and those who remain behind" (p. 1268). At the same time, the institutionalization of labour export resulted in the development of an off-shoot migration industry that includes recruiters, consultants, and money lenders—private-sector players with financial interest in the promotion of migration. Educators and post-secondary institutions also figure centrally in the regard, cultivating and reproducing overseas workers through the delivery of specific, migration-targeted programs.

From my fieldwork in the Philippines with the families of the Hotel's migrant workers, it is apparent that class status varies considerably amongst the cohort of workers. For example, the subjects of this chapter, Sheila is a member of an affluent family whose migration solidified an already elevated socio-economic status, while Violet's family is far less affluent, the migration of her kin prompted much more explicitly by daily survival. Yet both arrived in Manitoba through the same program. This signals how migrants draw on and adjust their class experiences to access the perceived

benefits of labour migration. How this is accomplished differs from migrant-to-migrant as each navigates and negotiates the classed dynamics of migration from their respective social locations. As illustrated in this chapter's case studies, for some, this means cultivating the necessary skills to overcome class subordination; while for others, it means downplaying class as a means of conforming to the expectations of what it means to be a racialized migrant worker in rural Manitoba.

5.1 THE PHILIPPINES: 1960s ONWARD

Following from the account of Philippine colonial history offered in the second chapter, this section offers a history of Philippine labour export since the 1960s. If the building of the Porterhead Dam signaled a redirection of Asessippi-Parkland's political economy, setting the stage for the eventual establishment of a labour market dependent upon Philippine labour, events in the Philippines are equally critical. These established the conditions, bureaucratic infrastructure, and ideological mechanisms through which the Hotel's migrant workforce would be produced and subsequently, reproduced in the Philippines. This section has two objectives: 1) to provide a history of the establishment and development of the Philippine labour export apparatus under the Marcos regime; and 2) to chart the evolution of the Philippines state's discursive framing of labour export. To this end, it traces the ways migration has been articulated by various administrations as a viable and worthwhile social practice, thereby ensuring its uptake amongst a significant subsection of the population over time.

5.1.1 A History of Philippine Labour Export

Fostered by the Americans in the post-war period, democracy in the Philippines did little to rectify the deleterious effects of colonization, nor did it undermine the gross

imbalance of power embedded within the Philippine social hierarchy. Instead, democratic principles were used to solidify and legitimate the political power of economic elites (Kelly, 2000). As Hedmand and Sidel argue,

> Philippine post-colonial electoralism manifested enduring patterns of narrow class rule already discernible before independence. In fact, throughout the postwar period, a nation oligarchy essentially recruited from families of long standing economic wealth or political dominance or both has continued to define the nature and direction of electoral politics as large landowners, commercial magnates, and the scions have filled both houses of Congress as well as the offices of municipal halls and provincial capitals throughout the archipelago" (2000, p. 15)

Such was the state of Philippine democracy when Ferdinand Marcos was elected as president in 1965. While his election reflected the "traditional rotation of national office among regional power brokers" (Boyce, 1993, p. 8), it also represented a further, and dramatic, centralization of power in the country (Abinales & Amoroso, 2005). Over the course of Marcos' tenure as president of the Philippines (1965-1986), Philippine economic development centred on several broad strategic initiatives: the first, a "green revolution" in rice agriculture; the second, on-going reliance on export agriculture and forestry as a source of income and foreign exchange earnings; the third, development and expansion of export manufacturing. All of which were accompanied by large-scale borrowing from foreign banks and official lenders[3].

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[3] Faced with a growing balance of payments crisis, the Philippine state had initially became involved with foreign financial institutions, notably, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, in the early 1960s under the administration of Diosdado Macapagal, with massive debt accumulation beginning in the 1970s under the first Marcos administration.

On September 21st, 1972, Marcos declared martial law. Under martial law, export-led industrialization of the Philippines both expanded and intensified. The regime consolidated all development and economic planning under the National Economic Development Authority, oversaw the establishment of Export Processing Zones, reinstituted the right of American corporations and citizens to own and control resources, and opened the country to foreign oil companies for the exploration and exploitation of resources (Tyner, 2009). At the same time, major adjustments were made to labour relations. With the objective of creating and marketing an "internationally attractive labour force", Marcos instituted wage restraints, barred workers from organizing and striking, dramatically subordinating the needs of labour to those of capital. The approach to development taken by Marcos was applauded by the regime's international allies, who, as argued by Boyce (1993), not only tolerated Marcos' authoritarian rule, but supported it. Between 1962 and 1983, the United States government provided $3 billion in economic and military assistance to the regime. While during the same period, the World Bank lent the Philippine government $4 billion. This money was used, in large part, to finance industrial agricultural and the development of the export-economy, the profits of which would be distributed amongst Marcos and those closest to him.

As described by Bello et al. (2005), aided by rising world commodity prices, debt rescheduling and IMF-sponsored stabilization programs, the 1970s saw some economic growth in the Philippines. However, those who had formulated the regime's development strategy sought to retain, rather than disrupt, the distribution of power and resources within the country, using instead high-levels of poverty to justify their pursuit of top-down development. In this context, while per capital income in the Philippine grew, real

wages fell, and the poor became poorer. For example, agricultural wages fell by roughly one-third over the course of Marcos' rule (from $2.00US/day in 1962 to $1.40US/day in 1986). Unable to access traditional forms of subsistence, and increasingly incorporated into unsustainable, precarious waged-labour, many Filipinos found local employment insufficient to meet their needs and those of their families. And so while the costs of development were borne by the population of the whole, the benefits of restructuring were extremely concentrated amongst a shrinking political elite.

Following a series of failed land reform initiatives, faced with growing internal tensions, and eager to take advantage of global employment opportunities, the Marcos regime firmly and aggressively committed itself to a strategy of labour export (Tyner, 1999). Institutionalized in the 1974 Labour Code, labour export was a means of utilizing the international economy to bolster domestic economic growth. The 1974 legislation brought all labour policies and programs in-line with the country's overall development goals. At the same time, mandated in Articles 17.1 and 17.2, the state was to facilitate the overseas employment of its nationals through market promotion, development programs, and collaboration with other governments. This final element of overseas labour deployment was intended to ensure the best possible conditions for Filipino overseas workers through bi-lateral agreements with capital-rich states.

By the early 1970s, it was clear to the regime that dependency on the U.S. was not viable in the long-term. And so, a concerted effort was made to diversify Philippine foreign relations. Regarding labour export, the state began capitalizing on newly emerging labour markets throughout the Middle East and Asia. With revenues generated by the 1973 oil embargo, several Middle Eastern states embarked upon significant

infrastructure projects. With limited internal labour supplies, these states—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain—turned to foreign labour. Concurrently, a number of Asian states—Hong Kong and Singapore in particular—had initiated export-oriented industrialization. Similarly, faced with internal labour shortages, these states turned to the Philippines for a reliable supply of workers. To facilitate the deployment of Filipino labour into these new global labour markets, the regime, by the mid-1970s, had established a labour export bureaucracy and apparatus. In addition to a slew of private employment agents, this new imperative saw the creation of the Overseas Employment Development Board (OEDB) and the National Seaman Board (NSB). The OEDB and the NSB were responsible for contract procurement while the Bureau of Employment Services (BES) served as a transitory government run employment agency, which also regulated private labour recruiters (Tyner, 1999).

By the early 1980s, the country owed $21 billion dollars in foreign debt, and a set of structural adjustment programs were initiated by the state. As in many other third-world states, these programs sought to reconfigure the balance between the state and the market through economic liberalization, retrenchment of publicly funded services and the privatization of national industry (Bello et al., 2005). Echoing the discourse of globalized capital, efficacy and profit maximization were heralded as how development and growth would be achieved and how gross structural inequalities were to be resolved. The first structural adjustment program was undertaken by the Marcos regime. Beginning in 1981, it focused on trade liberalization, dramatically reducing tariff protection for nearly one thousand Filipino goods and products. While initially resisted by both the regime and Filipino elites (who sought to preserve their preferential treatment within the domestic

market), two World Bank structural adjustment loans were implemented. Liberalization efforts were severely curtailed in 1983 when the culminated effects of the international recession and the tight fiscal policies that characterized liberalization resulted in economic downturn. Bello comments on the consequences of this early phase of adjustment:

> The program failed to adjust to the onset of a world recession, so that instead of rising, exports fell, while imports, taking advantage of a liberalized regime, seriously eroded the home industries. Instead of allowing the government to promote counter-cyclical mechanisms to arrest the decline in [domestic] private sector activity, the structural adjustment framework intensified it with its policy of high interest rates and tight government budgets. Not surprisingly, the gross national production shrank precipitously two years in a row. (Bello et al., 2005, p. 13)

So configured, the internationally spearheaded program resulted in increased opportunities for capitalist accumulation. These were not made available to Filipino businesses, nor did they benefit the majority of the Filipino population. Rather, they were extended to international interests, who capitalized on the country's economic vulnerability.

Responding to the country's worsening social and economic conditions, the regime intensified its use of labour export as a development strategy (Tyner, 1999; Rodriguez, 2010). Faced with growing competition from country's like Sri Lanka and Pakistan, the Marcos government merged the OEDB, NSB, and BES in 1982, forming the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA). The agency's primary task was (and continues to be) to expand and diversify the Philippines labour export

market both geographically and occupationally, while serving in a regulatory function vis-à-vis the private recruiters, who complete the day-to-day work of recruitment and placement. Malnutrition and deepening destitution amongst the poor, coupled with rising dissatisfaction and opposition among the middle-class resulted in the 1986 ousting of Marcos, the dissolution of his regime, and the presidential election of Corazon Aquino (Bello et al., 2005). Although Aquino's election signaled a move away from the authoritarian rule of Marcos, it did not lead to fundamental changes in the country's political economy as power remained centralized amongst the very elites who had benefited under Marcos. Faced with the possibility of economic retaliation (the suspension of foreign trade and foreign assistance), the Aquino administration (1986-1992) implemented a recovery program consistent with the repayment schedule imposed upon them by their creditors. Foreign debt servicing came to $35 billion a year or 10 percent of the country's gross domestic production. Already, by this time, overseas workers were remitting an equal, if not greater, amount.

5.1.2 State Articulations of Migrant Subjectivity

During this first era of overseas labour deployment, the Marcos regime relied on and deployed two discursive formulations to justify the state's involvement and intervention in overseas labour migration (Tyner, 2009). The first, a doctrine of neoclassical liberalism, which suggested that population movement occurs naturally in relation to regional disparities. The second, a discourse of sacrifice—one in which individual Filipinos were called upon to sacrifice themselves for the good of the nation. In other words, the establishment of the Philippine overseas labour deployment apparatus "was predicated on a discursive formation that emphasized individual and national

discipline and, concurrently, the sacrifice of personal liberties for economic development" (Tyner, 2009, p. 58). Under Aquino, the rhetoric shifted in some ways but remained consistent in others. Labour export was still seen as central to national development, and as a strategy of redressing labour market saturation in the Philippines, but the government moved away from previous depictions of self-sacrifice. Instead, as the state cultivated an international image of the ubiquitous and flexible global Filipino worker, on the home front, it sought to celebrate the identity of the migrant, elevating the status of overseas workers to that of national hero (Rodriguez, 2002).

Additionally, and significantly, the Aquino government aimed to generate new surpluses of Philippine labour that could be deployed to a growing number of foreign labour markets. While earlier iterations of labour deployment had sought to utilize existing un- or underemployed labour, Aquino actively encouraged the participation of a wider number of Filipino citizens in overseas employment. This was accomplished through the deployment of the rhetoric of "national heroes" and "heroines", but also through the creation of job training programs. By the end of her tenure as president, these strategies would reveal themselves to be effective, with the number of migrants deployed on a yearly basis steadily increasing. In 1992, Fidel V. Ramos was elected as the country's president. He, like Aquino, reaffirmed the Philippine state's commitment to overseas labour deployment as a development strategy, stressing that it "generates invaluable foreign exchange which is necessary to fund development programs and strategic programs", while at the same time serving to "rectify world imbalances of income and human resources" (Ramos, cited in Tyner, 2009, p. 67). While overseas labour deployment remained central to the economic and development goals of the

Philippine state, the POEA stressed that migration should comprise one of many options available to Filipinos in the pursuit of self-fulfillment and upward mobility. Once again, as Tyner (2009) points out, the discursive landscape used to mobilize migrants shifted. No longer was it sufficient to call on people as heroes. Self-sacrifice for the nation was no longer persuasive.

Half way through Ramos' presidency, the program became mired in controversy following the highly publicized and politicized trials of Flor Contemplacion, a Filipino overseas domestic worker in Singapore, and Sarah Balabagn, an overseas domestic worker in the United Arab Emirates. The execution of Contemplacion in 1995 and the sentencing of Balabagn prompted wide-spread outcry amongst Filipinos who, increasingly, were dissatisfied with and critical of the government's overseas deployment strategy. These events resulted in the most significant reorganization of the Philippine state's overseas labour apparatus. In many ways, however, rather than rectifying the program's limitations, the state sought to merely distance itself from those limitations. In the first instance, the government redirected its energies away from the promotion of overseas employment as part of the country's development plan. Migrant contract workers were regarded as critical to the Philippine economy, but the state would no longer actively pursue or regulate their deployment, nor would it rely on migrant remittances as a *direct* source of foreign capital. The POEA would continue to exist, but its purpose would be more aligned with the protection of workers, assuring their dignity, fundamental human rights, and freedoms. This would be accomplished through the provision of information concerning labour conditions in the country of employment and workers' rights.

The movement away from promotion and regulation toward a much more elusively defined program of "support" also corresponded to the growing momentum of neoliberal doctrine in the country (Guevarra, 2007). Indeed, as some scholars have argued, the phasing out of the regulatory function of the POEA was not only an attempt to distance the state from the hazards of overseas employment, but an endorsement of neoliberalization and its deregulatory and decentralizing tendencies. Following from the ideological parametres of neoliberalism, the newly defined POEA articulated its role as responding to the inevitability of globalization. Migration would occur with or without the intervention of the state, and so the role of the state was to manage migration through the provision of travel documents and information. No longer, so this new logic went, would the state assume a proactive position regarding migration; rather, it would simply manage what was already happening.

From this discursive framework, a new state interpellation of migration and migrant identity emerged. According to it, "naturally adventurous" Filipinos were simply participating in the "cultural of migration" that had evolved in the Philippines (Guevarra, 2010). Empowered and independent, the new modern migrant "chooses" migration as a means of self-improvement and upward mobility. They do so, according to the state's new logic, drawing on their innate and marketable cultural traits of flexibility, adaptability, and English language proficiency (*ibid*). And, so the state line reads, to deny this self-reliant individual the right to migrate was to limit their basic human rights. As Tyner (2009) explains, "in an ironic twist of historic interpretation, to deny Filipinos the right to seek overseas employment is equated with the very same [authoritarianism] that contributed to the emergence of large-scale, government-sponsored overseas

employment" (Tyner, 2009, p. 78). Migrants are, thus, fully-rational agents, responsible for their migration and moreover, the conditions of their labour once abroad. Practically, this absolves the government of any responsibility for migrant workers, while permitting the state to continue accessing the benefits of the overseas employment of its citizens. Such an articulation of migrant subjectivity is made possible by the commonality of migration, and the dependency that the practice engenders. Indeed, rather than rectifying the conditions that initially prompted labour export, migration simply begets more migration. As a result, as Philippine scholar Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr. argues, labour migration in the Philippines has a profoundly taken-for-granted quality. He writes:

> Although labour export was a planned state strategy, the consequences have far exceeded what any planner might have envisioned in the early 1970s. Overseas labour migration has been like a yeast that has gradually worked its way through Philippine society, turning things around, throwing out established practices, revising assumptions about sociality—initially imperceptibly, lately so conspicuously that it cannot be missed. Initially it excited public emotion; lately, institutionalized and routinized, it has been nearly taken for granted as part of the given order or things. (Aguilar, Jr. 2014, 7)

Not only, then, is the practice ubiquitous, but due to that ubiquity, it fails to generate the collective reaction it once did. This has proven advantageous for the Philippine state.

One year into the presidency of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (2001-2010) (which followed the brief presidency of Joseph Estrada from 1998 to 2001), the POEA once again altered its mandate—simultaneously reinforcing its relatively new neoliberal configuration, while returning to its earlier "migration-as-development" position.

Abandoning the short-lived philosophy of "managed migration", the Macapagal-Arroya administration committed her government to an intensified program of overseas deployment. To this end, the POEA focused its energies once again on securing bilateral agreement and other multinational arrangements conducive to the deployment of Filipino workers. Central to this strategy was the role of the private sector. Under Macapagal-Arroya, the Philippine state would ensure an environment suitable to the requirements of private labour recruiters (Tyner, 2009) through the reduction of government intervention and regulation. Beginning in the 2000s, the POEA developed a three-pronged approach to the management, operationalization, and production of overseas workers: (1) to sustain existing markets; (2) to expand existing markets; and (3) to gain entry to non-traditional markets. Rural Manitoba represents one such non-traditional market, and although Philippine migrants have been arriving and settling in the province since the late 1950s, OFW deployment outside Manitoba's largest urban centre, Winnipeg, is a relatively recent phenomenon.

5.2 MIGRANT NARRATIVES

Despite variation in how the Philippine labour export apparatus is discursively configured by the state overtime, ideological constructs relating to migration have remained more-or-less consistent. Reliant on traditional notions of family and gendered divisions of labour, these constructs have according to McKay (2003) "developed in explicit dialog with globalized representations of gender and ideas of progress promulgated by government departments, international aid projects, and the national media" (p. 288). Characterized by conventions of deference, respect, and expectations of mutual caring across a variety of relationships, these obligations structure kinship ties,

determining the boundaries of association and alliance, and of self and other. Such a conceptualization of kinship, as Rafael (2007) argues, "is a way of conceiving the self as fated, and thereby obligated to the other and to a social order predicated on the circulation of mutual indebtedness" (p. 47).

Women's waged labour and migration, like other social experiences in the Philippines, are shaped by and embedded in this cultural understanding of family. As Parreñas (2005) explains,

> In the Philippines, mothers can participate in the labor force, but not to the extent that this participation would dislodge the ideal of separate spheres. They can be breadwinners only if when doing so they do not undermine their role as the proper nurturers of the family, in other words. (p. 59)

Thus, paid employment is congruent with women's socially circumscribed gender roles and responsibilities when it represents an extension of those roles and responsibilities. This logic is stretched in the case of mothers who migrate to ensure the material well-being of their children and families (Asis, 2006; Bryan, 2014; Barber, 2008; Eviota, 1992; Parreñas, 2005; Pratt, 2012). Much of this, as Guevarra (2010) argues is related to the legacy, past and present, of Catholicism in the Philippines. She writes, "the introduction of Catholicism was coupled with exhortations to ideal femininity, represented by the Virgin Mary, whom the church used as a vehicle for teaching Filipinos the values of purity and motherhood" (p. 24). Not only, she continues, did Christianity serve as an important ideological mechanism to ensure the submission to Spanish authority, "it became the basis through which this colonial power governed Filipinos culturally" (*ibid*). In a fundamental way, then, it conditioned Filipinos' eventual

submission to the Philippine state, and has since the late 1960s, been evident in the discursive framing of the country's overseas employment program.

Given its prevalence, women's labour migration has been accordingly configured as a continuation of, rather than deviation from, the gendered norms and qualities of Christian Filipino family-life. While this most explicitly reflects the experiences of migrant women—those created in the image of suffering mothers and "dutiful daughters" (Barber, 2008a; Parreñas, 2008; Tacoli, 1996)—the logic of care and reproductive responsibility increasingly influences the decisions of migrant men. Indeed, in Douglas, migrant men were equally inclined to cite reproductive responsibility, care for children, and an on-going commitment to kin groups as motivating their migration.

As illustrated in the two case studies below, amongst those in Douglas, these dynamics play out in a number of ways. For many, despite the longevity of the strategy, labour migration has done little to redress the conditions prompting it in the first place. Running through the intergenerational narratives of those at the Hotel and their families is an ambiguity. Despite the passage of time, the evolution of state discourse vis-à-vis labour migration, and the incorporation of new migrants, the rationale behind overseas employment remains the same. This continuity reflects the persistence of insecurity and precarity in the Philippines, and the on-going efforts of the Philippine state to encourage the out-migration of its nationals, despite the failure of that strategy to redress insecurity and precarity for most of its citizens. It also speaks to the ways in which migrant identity comes to be reproduced within the context of kin- and social-groups, and the ways in which the rationale for migration comes to be rehearsed and distributed between group members.

While those in Douglas are not inclined to describe themselves as "heroines" or "heroes" of the Philippine nation, they do rely on idioms of self-sacrifice and commitment to family in the rationalization of their migration projects. Running parallel and reflecting a new language of self-fulfillment and individual-aspiration, those in Douglas also speak quite openly about their *personal* aspirations—aspirations, however personal, that remain related to the on-going wellbeing of their family in the Philippines. Some of this is expressed in terms of the overarching objective of migration. Elizabeth, for example, who arrived in 2012, explained: "I wanted to come to Canada so that I could support my family, but also so that I could grow as a person." At other times, it is articulated in relation to the completion of one family member's migration trajectory and the initiation of that of another: "I will help as many of my siblings and cousins as I can to get to Canada—that is the plan, but once they're here, I'm done. They can take over." Here, Margaret, who arrived in 2010, saw the eventual arrival of her relatives as freeing her to pursue a different set of goals connected to her own material well-being and personal fulfillment.

There is a discursive layering that takes place as migrants move between and around notions of self-sacrifice and -fulfillment. These are not, as Tacoli (1996), Barber (2002; 2010) and Aguilar Jr. (2014) argue, mutually exclusive. In their respective work, they explain that even as women appear to be conforming to their prescribed roles, they make strategic decisions and calculations, thereby joining obligation and sacrifice with self-interest. At the same time, for many in Douglas, the completion of the migration project was signaled not by their return to the Philippines, but that family (notably siblings) would be able avoid altogether the trappings and requirements of overseas

labour. In other words, that their brothers and sisters would remain in the Philippines, finding suitable employment there. The idioms offered by the state to migrants to cast and understand their experiences, are complicated in their appropriation and application by migrants themselves. Moreover, it is differently distributed amongst family members, and so even as migration is an accepted social practice, tension over its long-term use exists.

5.2.1 Violet and June

Violet and June belong to a large extended kin group that stretches in the Philippines between Cagayan de Oro in the country's most southern region of Mindanao and Cebu City in the Central Visayas region. In the subdivision in Cebu where June currently resides with her husband and three of her children, amongst their neighbours, are countless relatives: aunts and uncles, cousins, second-cousins, etc. many of whom are, or have been, migrant workers. Within June and Violet's immediate family, migration is, first and foremost, a means of securing the resources necessary for survival. This has remained constant. Despite some additional security provided by Violet's Canadian earnings and the appearance of success relative to neighbours and extended family, June and her husband, Violet's father, continue to struggle to make ends meet.

The account that follows exemplifies the ways in which mothers and daughters take up labour migration as an extension of their socially circumscribed roles. At the same time, Violet and June's employment overseas has shifted the conventional balance of power of Filipino family-life, which despite women's relative financial empowerment has tended to follow conventional gender hierarchies (Parreñas, 2005). Both women made the decision to seek out overseas employment independently of male authority.

June's husband, Violet's father, with the support of his parents, actively attempted to dissuade June from leaving. Transgressing conventional notions of Filipino motherhood by "leaving the family", June's departure in the late 1980s put her at on-going odds with her in-laws. "What they wanted", she explained, "was for me to stay in the Philippines to look after my husband and our children."

Nearly two decades later, Violet's decision to follow her mother was met with less discord, but some disappointment. By the early 2000s, the time of Violet's departure, overseas employment had been normalized— integrated into the social imaginary as a viable livelihood strategy, and moreover, an extension of women's localized socially constituted gender roles. Rather than an aberration, as they had understood June's migration, Violet's grandparents accepted her decision as a routine response to her family's financial need. That said, even as the strategy was anticipated, for June, it was disappointing; it represented the failure of her own migration project—a project intended to improve her family's lot in the Philippines so that overseas employment would no longer be necessary: "I did it, so that she wouldn't have to", she explained to me in March 2013. Still, as Violet describes it, the decision that she go abroad was made with her mother, who quickly overcame her disappointment. And so, while Violet's father's family agreed, they were not active participants in the decision-making process. The women's mutual desire to support their family, then, was not part of a group-decision to engage in migration. Rather, following from the observations of Aguilar Jr. (2014), each woman seized the opportunity to emigrate in response to a perceived need and in hopes of a specific outcome, and each bore the consequences of either familial rejection or acceptance depending upon the moment in time the decision was made.

Even as her in-laws were unhappy with June's decision to migrate, the alternative—remaining in the Philippines—would have proven much more difficult. By the late 1980s, the family, like so many others in the Philippines, faced significant underemployment and growing economic insecurity. When Violet left for Japan—her first labour migration destination, almost twenty years later, the country's economic outlook had improved, but the family's daily financial situation had not. And so, each woman—mother and daughter, in their turn, assumed near-complete responsibility for the immediate survival of kin, and following from that, have come to hold the balance of decision-making power within their family. An outcome of her elevated status, Violet attempts to dictate the terms of future migration within her family, and has insisted that her brother, the youngest of June's children, remain in the Philippines.

At the same time, and of equal importance, their mutual desire to "help the family", while articulated in the normative terms of women's responsibilities toward family was also expressed as an opportunity for self-development and independence. While particularly true of Violet, her mother's migration, initiated almost twenty years earlier, was framed, at times, in similar terms: "I knew I would miss my family, but [when I was visiting the Philippines] I would look forward to returning to my life in Malaysia". There, despite the live-in requirements of her employment, she explained, she had independence—a life outside of the confines of her role as mother, wife, and daughter-in-law. In these ways, June and Violet's experiences of migration signal the ways in which obligations toward family are inflected with personal aspirations and interpersonal conflict, as their elevated status within their kin group is held in tension with norms of female Filipino subjecthood.

By the time she was 17, Violet had been living with her aunt in Cagayan de Oro for four years. June had asked her sister to care for her four children once it became clear that Violet's father and his parents in Cebu City would not. They refused, she explained because they did not agree with her decision to work abroad. Faced with the prospect of educating her children, her husband out-of-work, and only the small income generated by her *sari sari* store (small-scale, home-based convenience store) to otherwise rely on, June felt she had no other option:

> I had to go because of the financial situation…you know, I wanted my children to go
> to school—especially, Violet. She was very interested…I was so lucky because I
> found a good employer. I had four children that I took care of when I went there. They
> were Chinese. I can say I was so lucky. I was free to eat everything in their
> refrigerator. They didn't mind if I brought food in. So I worked with them for twelve
> years. Every two years, I would come back to the Philippines, but if they said "you
> cannot go back because [we] need you", then it's OK, after three years, then, I can
> come back to the Philippines.

In 12 years, June saw her children five times, communicating with them over the phone when she could, and through the cassette tape recordings that she would send in the mail each month. On the tapes she would sing songs, the lullabies she had sung to them as babies; she would talk about Malaysia; she would instruct them (*studying hard, mind your auntie*); she would reassure them (*I love you, I miss you, we'll be together soon*).

At 19, her mother in Malaysia and her father in Cebu, Violet began her post-secondary studies in Hotel and Restaurant Management in Cagayan de Oro. In contrast to many of her peers, Violet pursued her degree with the intention of securing employment

in the Philippines. Her plans—in line with her mother's objectives, would be redirected when a fire destroyed the better part of the subdivision and razed her family's home in Cebu City. The house reduced to ash, her father and two siblings moved to Cagayan, and her mother, from Malaysia, began coordinating reconstruction. Several years later, June returned to the Philippines, and for the first time in 12 years, she lived with all four of her children under the same roof. The house in Cebu was livable—indeed, that was the roof under which they were living—but it was far from finished. Her mother, exhausted of her life in Malaysia, and her younger brother entering his final year of high school, Violet assumed responsibility for her family's financial and material security. Forfeiting her objective of securing employment in the Philippines, Violet found work as a welder in Japan. She remained there for five years before applying for work in Manitoba. While Violet will remain abroad, having become a permanent Canadian resident in 2014, she encourages her brother, Charlie, to remain in the Philippines.

Charlie, dissuaded by Violet, from seeking out overseas employment may or may not leave the Philippines. He is willing to follow the instructions of his sister, supported as they are by their mother, but his mind, he tells me, wanders constantly to the possibilities of life elsewhere. He imagines himself elsewhere. And although he knows of their struggles, he envies his mother and sister. He feels held in place in the Philippines.

CB: Do you want to go to Douglas?

Charlie: Sometimes or else, somewhere in Canada. Maybe the U.S.

CB: Have you told your sister?

Charlie: I think she knows…she tells me to continue with my studies here, so
          that I can find a good profession here (in the Philippines), so that I don't
          need to leave. I don't talk to her about it.

Violet suspects that her brother wishes to leave the Philippines. And yet, she would rather him not, even as his potential overseas earnings would contribute to the family's overall well-being. Violet works hard in Douglas, earning Canadian dollars, but those earnings are quickly stretched thin. Sending fifty percent of her pay each month, she covers her own needs in Canada and those of her parents and siblings in the Philippines. The family continues to live in a crowded, urban subdivision. The walls of their home are concrete, but the floors remain unfinished: gravel and mud. Recently, Violet financed the construction of a second story, accessible by a steep wooden ladder, where the entire family sleeps in an open room. The bathroom has a squat toilet—something she would like to change, and the kitchen lacks the large appliances she uses in Canada.

Violet's urgings of a life more in-place for her brother are born, at once, of a desire to have him avoid the challenges and hardships of migration, and of the necessity that he remain available to care for their parents as they age. Violet is willing to assume financial responsibility for her family from Canada, but she requires that her youngest brother remain in the Philippines to manage the day-to-day. Moreover, despite the rhetoric of self-actualization deployed by the Philippine state in promoting migration, Violet does not see herself as actualized through her overseas employment. She understands her labour in Douglas as facilitating the life she wants—a life in the Philippines—for her brothers and sisters. In a manner not unlike June, Violet reasons that the future of her siblings is not overseas. And while it is a future she will be absent from in an immediate sense, it is a desirable one.

To meet her objective, Violet is open with Charlie about her life in Canada, perhaps even over-stating the difficulties, as a means of dissuading his migration. This is

supplemented by a near constant flow of cash—money that he uses to pay for his schooling, daily amenities for the household, but also leisure activities and consumer items. She wishes him to enjoy life but to do so in the Philippines. Although her words are meant to dissuade him, her actions encourage her brother to envision his life outside of the Philippines. In the space between her account of migration (marked by hardship, loneliness, and isolation) and what Charlie perceives to be the outcome of that experience (travel, money, and new friends), Violet's strategy falls short.

5.2.2 Sheila and Lalilani

If June represents something of the iconic "migrant mother" and Violet, the quintessential "dutiful daughter", Sheila's narrative and experience of migration offers insight into the power of those representations, as well as into the ways in which those representations manifest differently amongst different groups of migrants. Sheila belongs to well-established transnational family. Most of its members, corresponding to her immediate and extended family but also, her in-laws, reside between the Philippines and the United States, having been able to harness their social capital in the Philippines to access early migratory routes extending between the two sites. In the family's ancestral barangay, 45 minutes outside of Cagayan de Oro (CDO), Sheila's aunt Lalilani has recently purchased a large piece of land overlooking a lush valley. To the left and the right of it, the homes of cousins. Sheila's family dominates the town, socially and politically. Her cousin is the barangay captain, and her father (prior to his death) had been active in local politics. The land was purchased with money Lalilani earned in Chicago and later, in New York, where she had worked as a dentist for over two decades. Now in retirement, she has moved in with her sister (Sheila's mother). Lalilani refers to her

migration to the U.S. as a "daring adventure". Having secured tourist visas, she with two friends (also professionals in the Philippines) left CDO for the American Midwest. Beginning in January 1970, Lalilani's migration narrative offers insight into a transitionary moment in the evolution of Philippine labour export policy and the discursive framing and re-framing that accompanied that evolution.

After five years, her status permanent, Lalilani returned to school to upgrade her dentistry credentials. During this process and for several years afterward, she worked at the teaching hospital of her university. Tired of the cold and looking for new adventure, Lalilani relocated to Orlando for a year before finally moving to New York where she remained for 25 years. Adventure aside, her life, as she recounts it, was lived in the service of her family and in anticipation of return to the Philippines, and as such, she worked as much as she could. In the U.S., the image of the ubiquitous and flexible global Filipino worker, and in the Philippines, the model migrant who, from the overseas site-of-employment, provides for family and, in so doing, supports the nation, Lalilani limited spending on herself to remit and save her earnings. Compounded by her status as a racialized minority, Lalilani's class status was ambiguously configured within a transnational space largely delineated by the rhetoric and objectives of the Philippine state, but also constrained by her on-going commitment to non-migrant kin. Lalilani's success in New York would become a marker of her family's success in the Philippines so that even as she struggled to meet her own needs, her family's class status was further elevated—an outcome not only of the remittances they received (invested in education), but of the fact that she was able to practice her profession in the United States.

In the Philippines, back with her family, Lalilani occupies a privileged position, one secured through her overseas employment and her on-going commitment to the material well-being of her nieces and nephews, including Sheila, her brother, and her sister. Reflecting the longevity of her personal migration trajectory, Lalilani's narrative reflects the persistent yet permutable qualities of popular and political discourse concerning overseas employment in the Philippines. Couched in language of sacrifice, her "adventure" offers insight into the layering of these discourses, and the extent to which they are far from mutually exclusive. In her account, and amongst her family members, Lalilani is at once self-sacrificing and self-assured. She is a rational agent who, responding to the needs of her family, embarked upon a strategy to remedy what she perceived to be the limitations of life in the Philippines. Unlike Sheila's in-laws, however, Lalilani saw her own future in the Philippines. Present or absent (or present in a mediated sense), Lalilani served as an example to her nieces and nephews. Work hard, avoid distraction, and accomplish your goals. While Sheila's brother and sister met this ideal, Sheila—according to Lalilani—faltered. She was less committed, lazy, too inclined to indulge. This was made all the worse by the financial assistance of her in-laws. All that had motivated Lalilani was seemingly resolved for Sheila. And yet Sheila rejected this perception of herself—or perhaps, more accurately, she grew tired of it and the constant judgement. And so, drawing on the models of success that surrounded her, she sought to reconfigure herself in her family's esteem and to capitalize on the empowerment presumably afforded by international labour migration.

Sheila's own migration was, in her own words, unnecessary; she did not need to seek out overseas employment to ensure her family's material well-being. When she

announced her decision, her husband's family was surprised; pleased if somewhat puzzled. In Cagayan de Oro, where she lived with her husband, their children, and two paid domestic helpers in an affluent subdivision, Sheila was employed—but only, she said, to fill the time and only then, on a casual, on-call basis. She used her small income as "pocket money", relying on the earnings of her brother and her in-laws to meet her family's needs and to cover the costs associated with her children's education. These remittances would be, if necessary, supplemented by assistance from her sister, a tenured faculty member at the school of nursing at the University of Manila, and her brother, a physician who worked as a nurse in Chicago with his wife. Sheila and her siblings had been educated by Lalilani, and so such an arrangement sat easily with her. It made sense according to both her personal history and the socio-political context in which that history was lived.

In our conversations, Sheila does not brag about her privileges; rather, she uses them as a means of underscoring her short-comings as a daughter, as a sister, and as a mother. As she describes her life in the Philippine as fun, her words fall heavily. She spent a lot time with friends. She went out. She drank, she tells me cautiously. Moreover (with even more hesitation), she smoked. Her two youngest children attended a near-by private school; her eldest was completing an occupational therapy degree in Manila. Both Sheila and her husband drove, and each had a car. The family's helpers, according to Sheila, did everything on the domestic front. They cooked. They cleaned. They assumed responsibility for the children. "We have two helpers in the house. I don't know how to cook; I just know how to do a little cleaning task: dusting and sweeping, arranging all those things that are messy. That's it. That's really it. That's me. That's what I am."

Sheila's tendency is to characterize her life in the Philippines in terms of frivolity and leisure. And following from that, to think of herself as apathetic and indolent—sentiment largely reinforced by her immediate family whom, by virtue of their own accomplishments and executions of an idealized form of transnationalism—Sheila tended to regard herself critically.

Her decision to migrate to Manitoba and to take-up employment at the Hotel as a hotel housekeeper was, more than anything perhaps, an attempt to re-position herself according to Filipino idioms of motherhood, which have shifted to accommodate, generate, and reproduce new gendered migrant subjectivities. In a very conscious manner, Sheila's migration was a form of self-actualization through which she sought to re-conceptualize her sense of self and redirect the familial relationships in which she was implicated.

Sheila: At first my youngest thought I would be gone for a month.

CB: He didn't understand.

Sheila: "You'll be back next month", he'd say. "No, no, I'm not coming back next month"—at least, two years, two years, "two years that I won't be spending with you for your birthday and for Christmas." "It's too long Mama!" "But I have to do this because I want you to continue your school up until college and I don't want your grandma to have to support you for the rest of your life; I'm useless if I can't take care of your school." This is what I explain to them.

(Sheila, Douglas, December 2012)

Simultaneously, Sheila transformed her relationships with her children, and, though unintended at the onset, transformed her family's reproductive project. When

permanency in Canada emerged as a very real possibility for Sheila, her husband, and their children, Sheila assumed responsibility for that project in a way previously unimagined. Sheila, who for so long looked upon herself as a failure (*"I'm useless if I can't take care of your school"*) came to understand her capacity to secure permanent residency for her children as a critical facet of her identity as a mother. While Sheila's case is somewhat anomalous given the negative light she cast herself in, it offers important insight into the internalization and consequences of the Philippine state's shifting articulations of migrant (and more precisely, gendered migrant) subjectivities.

For Sheila, migration and the labour she performed at the Hotel provided a means of performing motherhood as constituted within Philippine popular and political discourse. She did not need to be, but she was (still) the self-sacrificing migrant mother willing to scrub toilets and empty ashtrays in the service of her children's futures. She explains:

> When I started working at the Hotel, I cried; I cried every day because is this what I'm worth now? This is what I am now? My life in the Philippines, back home is just…I call it extraordinary because I [was] a princess there…I pity myself; I feel insecure because I walk here. In the winter! When I walk, I cry because I'm thinking of my life in the Philippines. I'm already at seven months. I survived. I am proud of myself, happy that I survived for seven months.

(Sheila, Douglas, December 2012)

In the months following her arrival and the years leading to permanent residency, Sheila cycled through feelings of pride and shame. She felt proud of herself for acting, for surviving. And yet, this pride was complicated by the realities of her social location in

Douglas, constituted as it was at the intersection of precarity (the outcome of her initial temporary legal status in Canada), servitude (following the gendered parametres of service and hospitality work), and subordination (as a member of a racialized minority in the context of rural Manitoba).

5.3 CONCLUSION

By situating the national community within the circuits and parametres of kinship, the Philippine state lays claim to the rights and privileges (notably, obligation, reciprocity, and care) contained within that space. Here, the "heroic" overseas worker, celebrated in policy and media alike is discursively linked to notions of family, and as such, the relationship between the state and its migrant subjects comes to be cast along lines of filiation as opposed to citizenship. This relationship, however, fails to be reciprocal. The state benefits from the overseas labour of its "daughters" and "sons", yet fails to provide for them upon their return (Parreñas, 2008). The relationship is skewed. The state reinforces the capitalist logic that creates the conditions necessary for particular kinds of mobile labouring bodies, but fails to sustain those bodies in the short-term, transferring instead, this responsibility to the domestic sphere.

Indeed, remittances represent one of the largest sources of direct foreign capital to the country (Briones, 2009), facilitating individual investment at the household level in new homes, appliances, crops, land, transformation, and small-scale business. Individualized investments, however, have the adverse effect of heightening, rather than redressing, local social and economic polarization. Acquisition of consumer goods becomes a local indicator of success, and in many instances, propels non-migrants, interested in duplicating the success of their migrant friends, neighbours, and relatives,

into foreign labour markets. Remittances not only alter the lives of those who receive them, they have the propensity to engender new versions of local futures imagined on a global scale. Put differently, they facilitate the reproduction of globalized labour across a wide section of the population. At the same time, migration must, amongst much of the population remain an elusive or even undesirable objective. Some of this, as in the case of Violet and her brother, however, is achieved through the actions and behaviours of migrants who wish to dissuade family members from becoming migrants. Or, in the case of Sheila and her in-laws, through the provision of a level of support that (albeit unintentionally) dissuades migration or positions migration outside of a necessary course of action. At other times, and looking toward the next chapter, it is accomplished through the policy of receiving states that limits in-migration through the imposition of requirements and criteria. Here, immigration policy is deployed as a filter by the state to, at once, generate and control migration in specific and classed ways (Barber, 2008b).

In Manitoba, and therefore for those in Douglas, this filter is deployed by both the federal and provincial state—the former facilitating entry and initial employment (by way of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program); the latter, eventual permanency (by way of the Manitoba Nominee Program). The prospect of permanency dramatically redirects the long-term plans and reproductive strategies of the Hotel's Philippine workers. For example, in the case of Sheila, wherein migration—initially an opportunity to demonstrate her worth according to a) the state's logic of "migrant mothers" and b) her extended family's conceptualization of success, became a means of redirecting and re-determining her immediate family's future. And so, as those in Douglas transition to permanency (transitioning out of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program through the

Manitoba Nominee Program), there is a shift in terms of how migration is perceived and harnessed—once a kind of limbo, a period of one's life to endure (as it was for June and for Lalilani), migration for those in Douglas and their extended family networks in the Philippines increasingly represents a means to a more permanent end: a settled life in either Canada or the Philippines; a life less bound to the requirements of the Philippine state.

Returning to Aguilar Jr. (2014), "overseas migration is a profoundly individual experience, but at the same time it is also profoundly social" (p. 130). This follows from the bureaucratic hoops through which migrants must jump—the actions they must take to secure overseas employment and eventually leave the Philippines. The shared quality of this experience is heightened as it comes to be filtered through powerful state discourse concerning the value of migration, both to families and the nation. Indeed, even as earlier generations of migrants attempt to dissuade family from embarking upon overseas employment (as in the case of Violet), or as migration becomes less and less necessary (as in the case of Sheila), the discursive pull of migration and its perceived economic and social rewards are difficult to resist. That said, the narratives of Violet and Sheila reveal only *something* of the Philippine state's machinations vis-à-vis migration, simultaneously offering insight into how migrants, as human agents, harness and capitalize on migration in unexpected ways. Read together, these narratives add nuance to earlier accounts of gendered Filipino migration, which emphasize migrant adherence to the cultural scripts generated through official state migration discourse. Building on Barber's work (2008a), this chapter demonstrates the ways in which adherence is not always complacent, nor is it overly-determined. Migrant subjectivity, I argue is constructed *and* contested at the

intersection of state intervention into migration, circulating ideologies of overseas

employment, *and* family dynamics mediated by class, gender norms, and personal

aspiration. They are also shaped by the context of emigration—that is, in this instance,

Canada and more precisely, Manitoba.

CHAPTER SIX   Reproducing Labour and Population in Asessippi-Parkland:

Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program and Manitoba's Provincial

Nominee Program

The country is one of the healthiest that can possibly be, far healthier than England in any part of it. Far be it from me that I should utter one word to draw any man from his home to come out here to meet with disappointment, but I know that the country is all that one can desire, and that there is every prospect for any industrious man to maintain himself and provide a home for his sons and daughters.

(Field 1895, *The Canadian North-West*)

"Population", Field (1895) explained in his small publication on what would become the Asessippi-Parkland Region, "is the only thing the country lacks to complete the measure of its perfection, and therefore I say come, and whilst making good this deficiency, do well for yourselves at the same time." A euphemism for labour, "population" refers to the homesteaders who would settle and "break the land" in service of the Canadian wheat economy. As discussed, these settlers would arrive from Europe, the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere in Canada (Ontario and Quebec). Their labour would be accompanied by that of trades people, British home children (Bagell 2001), and temporary migrants of various kinds—already, by 1895, a fixture of Manitoban history (Trumper 2010; Worswick 2010; Vosko 2000). Still, "perfection" for the province remained elusive. The physical environment, though romanticized in both settlement campaigns and early prairie literature, was often experienced as overpowering, forbidding, and desolate—a desolation amplified by the earlier interventions of the Canadian government, notably the imposition of the grid, and the relatively slow development of the railway (particularly in the South-western region, corresponding to Asessippi-Parkland).

Word of these conditions circulated widely in Eastern Canada and England, and so despite the efforts of private colonization companies, and those of the federal and

provincial governments to recruit labour (both permanent and temporary), western

development proceeded slowly. [Indeed, the Drainage Act of 1880 was *already* in-part an

attempt to redress the reluctance of immigrants to settle in the province (Studen Bower

2011).] While the province's rural regions would experience moderate flows over the

course of the 20th Century (corresponding to war and economic depression), their

populations would be further challenged in the 1960s as the province began moving

steadily away from its agrarian foundations. The neoliberal-turn in agriculture hastened

the rural exodus, and by the 1970s, rural Manitoba was one of the least densely populated

regions in the world (Carlyle 1994). This trend would continue into the 21st Century.

Within the service and hospitality sector, the region's lack of local population has proven

problematic. This has been compounded by the low-status afforded to labour within the

sector and the presence of several significant regional employment magnets. Importantly,

then, for the Douglas Hotel, the reorientation and diversification of the regional

economy—initiated in the 1960s, would be accompanied by the establishment and

evolution of Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program. So, that as the Porterhead

Dam was being constructed in the 1960s, as the federal government sought to reconfigure

the country's agricultural economy, and as the Philippine state institutionalized the

deployment of overseas workers, the Canadian policy mechanism that would eventually

bring in temporary foreign workers to the region was legislated.

These developments are not necessarily mutually constitutive, but they are

reflective of similar macro-level processes, ideological trajectories, and corresponding

policy initiatives that unfolded globally, nationally, and regionally over the same period.

The Hotel has capitalizes on these trends, ensuring the continuity of the service and

hospitality sector in the region, while reproducing the conditions characteristic of that sector more broadly—conditions that have the tendency to dissuade local workers from taking up employment while ensuring the on-going profitability of those sectors. In other rural regions, notably in Ontario, Quebec, and British Colombia, this fix has happened through the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (Binford, 2013). In contrast, in Manitoba, the reorientation of the rural economy—reflected in the industrialization and technologization of agri-business, and the concurrent (albeit partial) establishment of the tourism sector, has necessitated a different flow of labour.

As elaborated on in the second chapter, the analytical parametres of social reproduction encompass processes and activities, including the ways families strategize and secure their own immediate and long-term reproduction, *and* the ways in which labour come to be reproduced over time. Critical to this second (though related) meaning, are the ways in which the state mediates the relationship between labour and capital through immigration policy, but *also* the ways in which states and private enterprise collaborate in the creation and reproduction of particular labour markets. While the previous chapter explored this dynamic through the lens of the institutionalization of labour export in the Philippines, this chapter returns to Manitoba to explore the interplay of federal and provincial policy in the creation and reproduction of the Hotel's migrant labour force.

The chapter focuses on two immigration programs—both of which were utilized between 2009 and 2014 by the Douglas Hotel in its reproduction of labour: the Federal Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) and the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP). Temporary at its inception but now increasingly permanent, the

reproduction of this workforce occurs at the intersection of these two programs. Given their competing objectives (the recruitment of temporary labour and of new immigrants respectively), migrant labour at the Hotel is shaped by a dual-intention. To capture this dual-intention and the tension it engenders, this chapter traces the evolution of the Hotel's labour recruitment strategy. Importantly, as their strategy has shifted, so has the relationship between Hotel management and its migrant staff. This is a relationship strained by the often antithetical objectives of each group. Whereas workers seek permanency and the right to mobility afforded by that status, the Hotel seeks to hold them in place according to a logic of precarity. Ensuring higher-than-average productivity and levels of accumulation, this logic safe-guards the Hotel's position within a tenuous market through the reproduction of conditions characteristic of the service sector. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the life and death of Asessippi Village (the site of Asessippi Provincial Park) to highlight the long-arm of such labour recruitment practices in Manitoba and the persistent devolution and privatization of immigration policy in the province.

6.1 LABOUR: CANADA'S TEMPORARY FOREIGN WORKER PROGRAM

What presently constitutes the low skilled stream of the TFWP, began nearly 50 years ago with the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (1966), the Non-immigrant Employment Authorization Program (1973), the Foreign Domestic Movement program (1981) (eventually, the Live-in Caregiver Program), and the Low-Skilled Pilot Project (2002). Running in tandem, each new initiative addressed various demands and labour gaps. Following substantive changes made to the Low-skilled Pilot project in 2007, in 2008, for the first time in Canadian history, the number of temporary labour migrants

entering Canada exceeded those arriving as permanent residents (CCR, 2010). Despite its

fifty-year history and on-going development and expansion, the expressed objective of

the multi-faceted TFWP has remained consistent: to facilitate the short-term employment

of foreign nationals by Canadian employers who are temporarily unable to find

appropriately skilled Canadian residents (CIC, 2012). Impermanency is embedded in the

program in two ways. It refers, at once, to the status of the workers and to the nature of

the vacant positions. Yet, not unlike the case of Philippine labour export, reflected in the

persistence of these initiatives is the unspoken permanency of temporary foreign labour

in Canada (Martin, 2006; Goldring, 2010). As Goldring (2010) argues in her work on

precarity, rather than a stop-gap measure, as articulated by program policy, the

recruitment of temporary foreign labour is an on-going and near-permanent strategy of

both the Canadian state and employers. Indeed, the only thing temporary about temporary

foreign labour in Canada are the workers. This ambiguity is critical, as it is the temporary

configuration of these programs in conjunction with their long-standing dominance

within specific labour markets (notably, agriculture, care, and more recently food

services) that underpin and reinforce their most problematic features and give employers

the flexibility to minimize their commitments to labour.

In principle, TFWs are entitled to a variety of protections (Government of Canada

2012). In other words, the program does not explicitly encourage exploitation; rather, it

sets the conditions under which exploitation is made profitable. To remain in Canada,

TFWs must sell their labour in accordance with the conditions of the TFWP. For those

deemed "low-skilled" (like those in Douglas), these conditions foster high levels of

dependency and vulnerability. They include restrictions on employment and housing, and

they exclude TFWs from the normative legal frameworks that, following the Charter of

Rights and Freedoms (1982), dictate labour standards and ensure resident-workers

freedom of mobility (Goldring, 2010). "Low-skilled" TFWs are also generally prohibited

from applying for permanent residency through the federal program. That said, this varies

from program stream to program stream. For example, until 2015, live-in caregivers were

generally successful in securing permanent residency. This is because program criteria

allowed them to apply after two years of full-time employment in Canada. In contrast,

given the cyclical nature of their employment in Canada, seasonal agricultural workers

are not able to apply. For temporary foreign workers in the food sector, the pathway to

permanency is contingent upon geography, so that depending on where a worker is

employed, the Nominee Program may (or may not) allow for permanent residency. These

inconsistencies coupled with permanent designation of "temporary" underscore the "less

than full legal status" (Goldring 2010, p. 50) of migrant workers, and it establishes their

unique precarity in relation to other forms of labour. Unless TFWs abide by the

conditions of their employment, as mandated by the program but implemented (or not) by

the employer, they are required to leave the country. They are, therefore, dependent

(Basok, 1999), and unlikely to contest maltreatment if it occurs.

The extent of this dependency becomes more salient when one considers the

reasons for which Filipino workers seek out temporary overseas employment in the first

place: the survival and on-going reproduction of kin groups in the Philippines (Mckay

2003; Parreñas 2001). The TFWs employed at the Douglas Hotel are no exception to this.

Working in Canada, they partially redress the pervasive uncertainly that so often,

otherwise, characterizes life in the Philippines. Citing saturated labour markets, low

wages, ineffectual government, social insecurity, and the near-constant threat of environmental disaster as motivating their migration, those at the Hotel have good reason to seek out overseas employment. Through their temporary labour, education is supported; the necessities of life are provided for; livelihood projects are sustained; concrete houses are built—survival is ensured and life is safe-guarded (at least for the moment). The profound connection between employment in Canada and survival in the Philippines deepens the dependency created by the Temporary Foreign Worker program and reinforces the consequences of impermanence. Under threat of dismissal, and subsequent removal from the country if they do lodge complaints against their employers, TFWs are extremely vulnerable to breaches of contract and various forms of abuse, economic and otherwise.

The abuse encountered varies, ranging from wage-theft, unsafe workplaces, and long hours to sub-standard accommodation, intimation, and extortion. Beginning in 2012, following several highly publicized tragedies and controversies (CBC, 2012b), the TFWP has become the subject of considerable debate, centering equally on the exploitative conditions engendered by the program, and the growing perception that citizen- and resident-workers are being excluded from labour markets as employers become reliant on temporary foreign labour. In response, the then Conservative federal government assumed a somewhat ambiguous position—instituting reforms to redress exploitation and remedy employer over-reliance (Government of Canada, 2012), while encouraging TFW recruitment (Alboim & Cohl, 2012). These included the blacklisting of employers who violate the terms of TFW labour contracts (CBC, 2014a) and a more in-depth recruitment process requiring employers to more rigorously seek out resident-workers (CBC, 2012b),

coupled with the (albeit short-lived) implementation of a two-tiered wage system that allowed employers to pay TFWs 15% less than the average wage (Toronto Star, 2012).

On April 24 2014, these measures came to include a moratorium on the recruitment of temporary foreign workers by the food service sector; a decision prompted by a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation investigation into McDonald's Canada's use of the TFWP (CBC, 2014b). The initial report focused on the "slave-like" conditions to which the company's TFWs were allegedly subjected: "Foreign workers recruited from Belize", the article read, "are accusing McDonald's Canada of treating them like 'slaves' by effectively forcing them to share an expensive apartment - then deducting almost half their take-home pay as rent" (CBC, 2014c). What followed was outrage, not at the conditions experienced by the Belizean TFWs, but by further reports that McDonald's Canada was favouring these easily exploitable workers over Canadians (CBC, 2014d; CBC, 2014e). In the days leading to, and immediately following, the program's suspension, political and public discourse has centred, almost exclusively, on the extent to which the TFWP has distorted the service sector, pushing down wages and effectively excluding Canadians (CBC, 2014f). "Abuse of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program will not be tolerated", then Employment Minister Jason Kenney offered in a statement, "Allegation of misuse will continue to be investigated and those employers who are found to have lied about their efforts to hire Canadians could face potential criminal prosecution with sanctions that include fines and jail time" (CBC, 2014b). Decidedly absent from this rhetoric is any indication of the program's more inherent problems or its exploitative baseline. Instead, the government focused on program misuse in relation to Canadian workers.

While many celebrated the moratorium (CBC, 2014g), advocates were quick to note these inconsistencies and blind spots. Responding to earlier reforms of the program, Diwa Marcelino (program coordinator for Migrante Manitoba) critically observed, "it is ironic that [the federal government] critiques a program that is working as intended" (Winnipeg Free Press, 2012a). Here, Marcelino implicitly referenced the precarity and dependency upon which the profitability of temporary migrant labour is based— conditions that cannot be undercut without first addressing the issue of impermanency for foreign workers and, more broadly, the injustices of migration globally. Put differently, employers do not need to abuse the TFWP because the program offers adequate opportunity for exploitation.

By 2014, the Douglas Hotel had recruited 73 migrant workers, 61 having arrived through the TFWP; 12, through the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program, with the first nominated recruit arriving in December of 2012. For four years, then, the Hotel relied exclusively on the availability of temporary Philippine labour, made accessible through the coordinated efforts of the TFWP and the Philippine state labour export apparatus (chapter three). Some of this was facilitated by two recruitment agencies hired by the Hotel to aid in the identification of possible recruits and to liaise with the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency. In a number of instances, however, new hires were identified by Philippine workers already at the Hotel, and so, relatively early on the Hotel was able to draw on the transnational networks of its Philippine staff in the recruitment of labour.

The first two TFWS recruited (introduced in the introduction), Jean and Ester— childhood friends from the Philippine province of Leyte, university mates in Tacloban

(the province's capital), and eventually co-workers in Singapore—arrived in Douglas together in January 2009. Ester worked in the hotel restaurant; Jean at one of the hotel's axillary fast-food counters. Both had worked in Singapore, first in the context of school internships and then as overseas workers. Ester had submitted her application at the suggestion of Jean. The two, in turn, encouraged their childhood friend, Joseph, and classmate, Roselyn, to do the same. Both would arrive later that year. Emily arrived in January of 2010, having been recruited as a TFW by the Hotel. Much like Ester, Jean, Roselyn, and Joseph's experience, her résumé was forwarded to the Hotel by a recruitment agency. She was then interviewed by the human resources manager and offered the job. Shortly after, the Hotel initiated and completed the process for hiring her as TFW. Within a few months she was able to leverage her good-standing with the Hotel to facilitate the recruitment of two of her friends and former co-workers: Grace and Ben, who had worked with Emily in the Philippines. Both arrived in 2011. As illustrated by Emily's experience, in its earliest iteration, recruitment through these networks followed the standard pattern of hiring foreign labour. The worker would refer a friend, family member, or former co-worker to the Hotel. The Hotel would interview the individual, and if they met the criteria for employment at the Hotel (two-years work experience in a similar field and a post-secondary education, ideally in hotel and restaurant management), the hotel would begin the process of hiring them. While such networked recruitment did little to address the precarity engendered by the TFWP, it did allow for the re-establishment of supportive networks of friends and family, remedying (if partially) the isolation that more broadly characterizes labour migration. Between 2009 and 2014, seven migrant workers recruited friends and family through the TFWP, while

most others have been able to realize similar objectives through the Hotel's strategic use of the Manitoba Nominee Program.

Regarded as the most progressive and socially minded-approached to immigration in the country (Friesen, 2014; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Ramos & Dobrowolsky, 2014), the "Manitoba Model", as it is known, incorporates "best practices" with regards to worker recruitment, worker protection, and employer supervision. Enforced by the province's Special Investigation Unit, Manitoba's Worker Recruitment and Protection Act (WRAPA, 2009) strictly regulates recruitment activities, and it monitors and regulates TFW employers. Employers wishing to hire TFWs must first be registered with the province. If the province's Employment Standards division is convinced of their capacity to abide by the province's labour legislation, a registration certificate is issued. On-going monitoring, coupled with random inspections of TFW-workplaces, are conducted to ensure that employers are providing their TFWs with minimum standards as stipulated by provincial legislation. Importantly, under the legislation, these minimum standards go unaffected by legal status. Put differently, in addition to overseeing and regulating TFW employers, WRAPA is an attempt by the province to provide all workers under its jurisdiction equivalent protection. Culminating in the provision of permanency for TFWs by way of the MPNP, the "Manitoba Model" offers the redirection and for some, the completion of protracted trajectories (personal and familial) of long-distance labour migration. Arrival in Manitoba, then, signals (for many) the beginning of a new chapter—the beginning of a different, less precarious life. Indeed, this has been the case for Ester, Jean, Joseph, and many others whose migration trajectory began long before their arrival in Manitoba.

6.2 POPULATION: MANITOBA'S NOMINEE PROGRAM

The Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program, and its adjoining initiatives, represents an attempt to reverse long-standing trends of de-population through the recruitment of new immigrants to the province. The first of the Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs), the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP) began as a Pilot Project in 1996. The PNPs represent the initiation of provincial jurisdiction over immigration as stipulated in Section 95 of the Constitution Act (1982). By way of a series of bilateral agreements with the federal government, the PNPs afford provinces the authority to "nominate" individuals who meet their respective PNP criteria, which are intended to meet the unique economic and labour market needs of each province. "Nomination" refers to the final step in the PNP application process, whereby, having approved an application, the province "nominates" the applicant for designation to their jurisdiction. That person then completes an application for permanent residency which includes their nomination, submitting it to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). Final responsibility for selection—effectively approving of the nomination—rests with CIC, which is the sole authority for the issuance of admission visas in Canada (Carter, Morrish & Amoyaw, 2008). Although the Manitoba program has shifted direction since its inception, several criteria remain constant. In 2015, applicants must have, at minimum, high school education, at least of two-years work experience, competency in either French or English, the necessary resettlement funds, and they must demonstrate a connection to the province.

In large measure, researchers of migration, policy makers (in the province as elsewhere in Canada), and immigrants themselves regard the MPNP as a success. Within

the first ten years, it more than doubled Manitoba's share of immigration, from 2% to 4.6%. Moreover, the program has attracted newcomers to rural areas, accounting for regional growth in housing sales and boosts in local business. Despite its success (Carter, 2007; Carter, Morrish & Amoyaw, 2008; Dowding & Razi, 2006; Dobrowolsky, 2011; Pandley & Townsend, 2013), the MPNP has been the source of some friction between the provincial and federal governments. Federal concern over the program, in part, centred on the program's "family stream", which in earlier iterations, explicitly included the presence of family in Manitoba as (one of several) criteria for nomination. Here, family served as the requisite connection to the province. From the federal vantage point, the "family stream" was problematic in two ways. It duplicated the existing federally managed family reunification program, and it overshadowed the economic objectives of the Provincial Nominee Programs more broadly, in favour of more humanitarian considerations.

The program's humanitarianism was, perhaps, most explicitly expressed in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan, known as Super Typhoon Yolanda in the Philippines, in the fall of 2013. On November 15 of that year, the Manitoban government agreed to fast-tracked the provincial immigration applications of individuals residing in those regions in the Philippines most affected by typhoon Haiyan. From the statement issued by the premier:

> We have seen the devastation that typhoon Haiyan has caused in the Philippines and we want to do whatever we can to help ease the burden for families recovering from its impact…our Filipino community and all Manitobans have stepped up and reached out to support families in the Philippines. We're building on the outpouring

of support financially and *we're taking steps to help more families reunite with their*

loved ones. (Premier Greg Selinger, press release, 2013) (emphasis added)

The potential limitations of such an offer aside, this emphasis on "family reunification"

stands in direct opposition with the federal mandate for the provincial nominee

programs—their economic *raison d'être*, and when read in tandem with the province's

efforts more generally, reflect a sentiment largely held and expressed by provincial

officials that the migration initiated through the Nominee Program should be focused on

the social and familial needs of newcomers, as opposed to exclusively on the economic

needs of the province.

6.2.1 Retain Your Workers: The Douglas Hotel's Use of the MPNP

The Douglas Hotel deploys the MPNP in two principle ways. In the first instance,

the Hotel supports the MPNP applications of its TFWs to facilitate their permanency.

This support is realized through the provision of a full-time, permanent job. For example,

after six months of full-time employment, her job guaranteed by the Hotel, Emily began

the process of applying to the MPNP. Relatively quickly and with a letter of support by

the Hotel, she was nominated by the province. Two years later, she became a permanent

resident. Once permanent, Emily returned to the Philippines where her children were

living with her parents. Returning to Douglas with their mother, both her son and her

daughter began working at the Hotel. Jeremy, who was 19, worked as a server at the

bar—a position he had trained for while in the Philippines. Geraldine, Emily's 17-year

old daughter, worked as a banquet server. Both positions had been secured prior to their

departure from the Philippines.

Corresponding to the second use of the MPNP, the Hotel works collaboratively with the MPNP (a branch of Labour and Immigration Manitoba) to recruit the friends and family of their Filipino staff. Here, they circumvent the TFWP altogether, opting instead to use the MPNP to direct labour directly. For the provincial state and the Hotel, the objective is retention. It is anticipated that former TFWs, having worked and resided in Douglas, will chose to remain there, and that nominated recruits, supported by friends and family and arriving with to a full-time, permanent position at the Hotel, will quickly establish roots to the town and remain.

Such a strategy has relied equally on a kind of collaboration between the Hotel and its existing, increasingly permanent, Philippine workforce. First, workers must identify and, in a sense, make a case for their overseas friend or family member. From there, the potential new-hire is interviewed by the Hotel's HR manager. Unlike TFWs, these candidates must meet the requirements of the Hotel (for employment) and those of the MPNP (for immigration). If they are successful, they begin the MPNP application process, often with assistance from Hotel Management. Given the criteria of a connection to the province, the application includes an offer of full-time, permanent employment from the Hotel and a signed document attesting to the relationship between the new recruit and their Filipino counter-part in Douglas. Once the application is accepted by the Province, a nomination is issued. The recruit can come to Manitoba immediately, working on an open-work permit (issued to nominees) or they can wait and arrive as permanent residents. The Hotel generally prefers and encourages the former as it allows for quicker access to new labour. Didi, the first "nominated" migrant worker, arrived in 2011, choosing to work in Douglas while she waited for her permanent residency. Her

aunt Alexandra, who had been working as a line cook at the hotel restaurant since 2009, facilitated her recruitment. Workers, have been calculated and persistent in their use of the MPNP, relying on the Hotel to assist with the application through the provision of a job offer. Margaret, for example, who arrived in 2010 as a TFW, would use the MPNP to facilitate the migration of two brothers, their partners and children, and a cousin. Emily would use the program to bring in a cousin and her brother.

Innovative and pragmatic, the expansion of the MPNP to include TFWs, coupled with its uptake amongst employers demonstrates the profound variability of migrant experience as informed by sub-national initiatives. Moreover, it illustrates the unexpected capacity of provinces to undercut the precarity and exploitation, at times, associated with federal policies, such as the TFWP. This has been commented on in the popular and alternative press, particularly in the aftermath of the TFWP's most recent reconfiguration. Writing for the Winnipeg Free Press, migrant rights activists, Zell and Marcelino (2015) observe that while many faced an uncertain future, given the province's "tradition of accepting applicants working at a range of skill levels, and its [encouragement] of family migration", TFWs in Manitoba would avoid the fate of those elsewhere in the country, particularly regarding the *four-and-four rule*, which barred migrant workers from Canada for a period of four years following the completion of an initial four years of employment in the country. At the same time, while only a sub-section of TFWs are eligible for nomination (caregivers and agricultural workers are excluded), those who are (like those at the Hotel) experience a dramatic reorientation of their migration objectives, and their relationships to the Philippine state. No longer temporary, these migrant workers redirect their attentions and efforts. Remittances no longer take centre stage; instead, the emphasis

is placed on long-term and permanent reunification and, if desired, a life more in-situ. Indeed, amongst those in Douglas, this is one of the most commonly recounted benefits of the MPNP: "I no longer have to move to work"; "I can have my kids with me for good"; "we can start our life together as a family". Permanency also affords migrant workers mobility—the freedom to choose their place of residence and employment. No longer tied to their employer, they contest maltreatment, or if necessary, resign. (As many have decided to do.) Once real and so central to their precarity and vulnerability, the threat of deportation no longer holds sway.

6.2.2 The Promise of Permanency

Yet, even as the MPNP partially disrupts the exploitative and challenging features of labour import and export, it triggers another set of potentially problematic conditions that are engendered by the objectives of the provincial government and those of employers: respectively, the retention of immigrants and labour. While not entirely identical, these objectives are similar enough to result in a loose alliance between the government and those employers who recruit and retain their migrant workers through the MPNP. In Manitoba, this has become quite common place, with larger firms throughout the province using the MPNP to secure permanency for their temporary foreign workers, with the hopes of retaining them (Bucklaschuk, Moss & Annis, 2009). Over the last few years, this practice has become increasingly formalized as these firms integrate immigration and settlement services into the human resource departments.

Despite some positive outcomes, the program's reliance on employers has elicited critique—notably, fragmentation and devolution. As Bucklaschuk, Moss, and Annis have argued (2009), the rapid influx of nominees—and in particular, those transitioning from

the TFWP, has meant that in some municipalities the demand for settlement services exceeds what is locally available. Some of this has been taken up by employers, but unlike provincial service providers who take a slightly longer view, employers tend to focus exclusively on initial settlement: health care, housing, and integration into the workplace. In many small centres, local volunteers and community organizations have responded to the needs of newcomers, offering English and French classes, transportation, and various kinds of extracurricular activities. In Douglas, many of these "extra"-services have been organized by the regional settlement worker, often outside of her regular working hours. As a result, rather than systematic and holistic, settlement unfolds ad hoc according to the capacity and good-will of employers, communities, and individuals.

While the MPNP offers Manitoban employers a permanent labour force, from their vantage point, it is risky. Although cost-effective (nominees and permanent residents must pay their own way to Canada), it is time-consuming. Moreover, there is no real guarantee that, once landed, new recruits will remain. The Hotel's use of the MPNP reflects an ambiguity that, increasingly, characterizes the relationship between the Hotel and its migrant workers. On the one hand, the Hotel expresses and demonstrates something like genuine care for its migrant workers. With rare exception, the Hotel has supported the MPNP applications of its TFWs, and Hotel management has been very supportive of, if not integral to local initiatives intended to support to the town's growing Filipino community and their families in the Philippines. On the other hand, this "care" is far from clear-cut, nor is it consistently applied. In fact, upon closer inspection, the Hotel has been able to turn to its advantage migrant worker anxiety and desperation engendered

by overseas employment, while simultaneously capitalizing on the province's trepidation

concerning immigrant retention. In other words, even as permanency tempers the

potential for exploitation (less acute in the case of the Hotel, but still present), the Hotel is

able to use the promise of permanency to sustain that potential, even as there is worker

turnover.

Since 2011, a slow but steady stream of now mostly permanent migrant workers

have been resigning their positions at the Hotel, and perhaps more significantly, leaving

the area. While some have relocated to Winnipeg, the majority have moved further west

into Saskatchewan, Alberta, and BC. These departures are regarded as extremely

troubling by the Hotel, and—even more so, by the province. Nominations are issued to

TFWs with the implicit understanding that that individual will remain with their

employer, and more explicitly, that they will remain in Manitoba. Given restrictions on

how many nominations the province can issue annually, each is highly valued. And while

there is no legal requirement that, once permanent, nominees remain, the MPNP invokes

a rhetoric of moral obligation to dissuade new comers from leaving the province. In part

an effort to stem the tide of departures, the Hotel —with the support of the province—has

extended the mandatory wait time required of TFWs prior to the initiation of the MPNP

process. Whereas earlier cohorts had to wait six months, newer TFWs wait 18, at which

point they undergo a performance review and interview. If management is convinced of

their willingness to remain at the Hotel and in province, a letter of support is issued and

the MPNP application process is initiated. Serving as recruiter, employer, consultant, and

having near complete control of the PNP process, the Hotel is able to exercise a level of

power over its migrant workers, which is otherwise prohibited by the Workers

Recruitment And Protection Act.

This revised strategy and use of the MPNP is both indicative and generative of a

changing dynamic between the Hotel and its migrant workers. Indeed, over the course of

my fieldwork (2012-2014), the climate at the Hotel changed noticeably, moving from a

period of relative stability to one marked by growing tension and mutual misgiving. Both

parties feel taken advantage of—the Hotel, having supported the MPNP applications of

its migrant workers, and the workers, feeling increasingly overworked and

underappreciated. While both the Hotel and its workers are precariously positioned (the

Hotel in the context of a largely underdeveloped regional hospitality and service sector;

the workers in the context of their employment and migration), the localized balance of

power tips clearly in direction of the Hotel. Workers are willing to submit to the revised

MPNP process in the hopes of achieving permanency—indeed, they have few other

options if they wish to remain in Canada. Simultaneously, they (like their counter-parts

elsewhere) are inclined to tolerate working conditions, which if permanent, they might

otherwise not.

Tension is further revealed between workers (typically, now permanent) and their

family members, recently arrived through the MPNP. Eager to retain favour with the

Hotel , these longer-standing migrant workers, invoke powerful discourses of obligation

and reciprocity to compel retention amongst those they have recruited. In this scenario,

pressure is, thus, exerted downward with the Hotel's newest MPNP recruits bearing most

of its weight. To retain these newcomers, the province exerts pressure on the Hotel , and

the Hotel , not wanting to jeopardize its ability to use the MPNP, exerts pressure on its

workers, who—anxious to bring in additional friends and family—in turn, exert pressure

on new recruits, who despite their permanency and its adjoining freedom of mobility, feel

compelled to stay for the duration of their "contracts" (which are non-binding, given their

permanent status). Permanency has, thus, become a central, if somewhat amorphous,

element of the Hotel's labour recruitment and retention strategy. It is harnessed

practically, but also, discursively, as a means of retaining workers who would be

otherwise free to resign, and of ensuring the complacency of those who wish to one day

become permanent or, who wish to utilize the program to bring in overseas family.

CB: If you're unhappy at the Hotel , can I ask why you stay? You're permanent now, aren't you?

Kay: I will stay until I can get my brothers and sisters here.

CB: Couldn't you just support them through the MPNP?

Kay: It's better if they come with a job offer. Once they're here, they can take over (sending remittances and supporting the MPNP applications of other family members); I'm tired.

(Kay, Douglas, June 2014)

Often those who are permanent have an eye to the door. As these workers

(eventually) resign, they are replaced by TFWs who, following the Hotel's modified use

of the MPNP, will remain temporary longer. This has the effect of retaining them, but

only in the interim. Given the controversy and uncertainty surrounding the TFWP, the

adapted timeline creates considerable stress for TFWs who are acutely aware of the

precarity that characterizes their lives in Canada. Rather than redressing this precarity, the

Hotel (in collaboration with the province) is seen by these workers as capitalizing on it—

withholding permanency until the very last minute to maximize profit. While the

consequences for retention are yet to be seen, it can perhaps be tentatively offered that

such an approach, and the sentiment it engenders, will do little to encourage loyalty in the long-term.

Offering its temporary foreign workers a fragile permanency, the Hotel engages in a kind of *pas de deux*. Workers move from a state of precarity fostered by the TFWP to one of dependency created, perhaps unwittingly, by the MPNP. And as permanent workers leave and new temporary workers arrive, a cycle is established that ensures, not the retention of an existing workforce (in line with the MPNP's objective), but rather, the reproduction of a set of conditions ambiguously configured along a continuum of temporary, potentially-permanent, almost-permanent, nominated, and permanent workers—all of whom are bound up in the struggles and hopes of migrant workers, and the hierarchies and histories that demand their mobility. And so, even as a growing number of Philippine workers are now permanent, the Hotel reproduces a workforce that resembles one that is temporary in terms of worker dependency, and therefore, productivity.

At the same time, through its selection of potential nominees, the Hotel has assumed a central position within regional immigration and settlement. The Hotel has demonstrated an incredible capacity and flexibility in this regard. The human resources manager skillfully navigates three levels of increasingly complex policy: that of the federal Canadian state, the province, and the Philippines. She has been incredibly successful in her efforts (initially, supplemented by the regional settlement worker). Between 2009 and 2014, the Hotel facilitated permanent residency for 76 newcomers— some former TFWs, some the children and spouses of former TFWs.

Benji: I'm waiting for my letter from the Hotel.

CB: For your MPNP application?

Benji: Yeah.

CB: What happens if you don't get?

Benji: God willing, I'll get it.

<div align="right">(Phone Interview, September 2014)</div>

The Hotel serves as a filter for the state—enabling permanent residency for some of its workers, while potentially restricting it for others. In other words, not only does the Hotel recruit workers who are then potential permanent residents, but it facilitates (or not) their permanent settlement. They do this through the provision (or not) of full-time permanent employment to their temporary workers because in the absence of such an offer, there can be no claim to permanent residency for the Hotel's TFWs. As the Hotel determines who can come, who can stay, and under what conditions; its needs and interests become those of the MPNP. Filtered through the agenda of private businesses, the MPNP re-acquires and asserts its economistic origins. Despite the social and familial undertones of the program, it appeals to and applies a logic, decidedly neoliberal in flavour. And yet, more than reflecting the reorientation of the state vis-à-vis the market, and the marketization of the immigration, since the 1960s and accelerating in the 1980s, this use of the MPNP offers insight into the longevity of "devolution" in Manitoba's capitalist political economy, and more broadly, into the persistent and consistent relationship between the state and private enterprise in relation to immigration, as well as the limitations that accompany that relationship.

6.3 CONCLUSION

20 years after the initial land survey in 1875, those sections of Asessippi-Parkland that had not been settled had been largely allocated to corporate interests. Based on a survey conducted by the Manitoba North-western Railway Company (1895), the district

consisted of 116 tracts of land of varying sizes. While the many were independently owned, 5 lots remained vacant, several had been put aside for schools, 15 were held by the Manitoba North-western Railway company and 23 continued to be held by defunct colonization companies which had acquired land under the Colonization Company Act of 1881 (an amendment to the Dominion Lands Act). The Act sought to stimulate westward expansion by allowing investors and speculators to acquire land in exchange for the financing of settlement (Welsted, Everitt & Stadel, 1996). Having demonstrated a sincere interest in promoting settlement, these small, often inexperienced, companies were expected to attract homesteaders, to facilitate their arrival, and to invest in infrastructure. To receive full compensation (a maximum rebate of $160 per homestead), they were required to settle two homesteaders on each section of the allocated tract within a five-year period.

Of the 23 lots left unsettled, 16 were held by the Shell River Colonization Company[4], which, in anticipation of a CPR railway connection, had secured land in what is now the south-eastern part of Asessippi Provincial Park. The park's namesake, Asessippi Village (taken from *Asi Sippi*, Cree for "shell" or "stony" river) was established by the company in 1883. Within the first few years, 51 settlers from Ontario arrived and took up homesteads. When the CPR line failed to materialize, lacking access to a larger market, local industry (still in its infancy) began to struggle. Following the abandonment of many of the homesteads, the Canadian government revoked the company's land grant, and the township ceased to exist.

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[4] The second Colonization Company active in Douglas County in 1884 was the Scareth Colonization Company, which (as of 1895) held six lots in the county, totaling 24.7 acres.

The life and death of Asessippi Village is both revealing and familiar. While private interests had been active participants in British colonialism in both Upper (now Ontario) and Lower (now Quebec) Canada[5], following the Colonization Company Act of 1881, small, often inexperienced companies, like Shell River, became essential players in Canadian expansion and immigration. Over a century later, a similar pattern emerges as temporary foreign workers (recruited by private companies) begin transitioning to permanent residency through the MPNP (Carter, 2009; Carter, Morrish & Amoyaw, 2008; Dowdling & Razi, 2006; Manitoba Department of Labour and Immigration, 2006; 2007; Pandley & Townsend, 2013). In Asessippi-Parkland, this role has been assumed by the Douglas Hotel , which simultaneously, recruits labour, determines their eligibility and viability for long-term immigration, and settles them as new-comers. By virtue of these responsibilities, the Hotel, like the colonization companies that proceeded it, serves as an intermediary between the state and those newcomers who would provide the labour required of the new prairie economy. In both instances, the objectives of Canadian immigration come to be filtered through the profit-making endeavours of private interests, while the state (both federal and provincial) absolves itself of responsibility vis-à-vis the long-term needs of newcomers.

Since 2001, the dual labour/citizen subject required by both capital and the state (see chapter three) has been claimed from the inward flow of Filipino temporary foreign workers (TFWs) to the province. This is reflected, not only in the expansion of the

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[5] For example, the Canada Company (incorporated in 1826) and the British America Land Company, established ten years later (1836), were charted to settle the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada—these companies would buy land from the British government to sell it to immigrants. Both companies were contracted to ensure the availability of infrastructure required of settlement.

provincial immigration scheme to transition TFWs to permanent residency, but in the high value assigned by the province to Filipino migrants. Regarded as hard-working, self-supporting, and family-centred, Filipinos have become Manitoba's ideal immigrant subject (Winnipeg Free Press 2012), and in the context of the Hotel, the ideal worker. Both are an outcome of racialized expectations, structural constraints (embedded in both the Philippines and Manitoba), and the reproduction of migrant identities. Philippine TFWs in Manitoba are, thus, uniquely positioned within Canada's increasingly layered immigration system. Their initial entry overseen by the federal government and their permanency facilitated by the province (in conjunction with the Hotel), they are the easily exploited labour sought out by a growing number of Canadian employers (made available by the federal government) *and* the potentially permanent residents increasingly courted by the Manitoban government.

This somewhat ambiguous positioning does offer advantages. Relative to other provinces, Manitoba provides safeguards and opportunities that together mitigate some of the key vulnerabilities faced by migrant workers. These culminate in the provision of permanency through the MPNP. While the PNPs have been criticized (Dobrowolsky, Bryan & Barber, 2014), the Manitoba program is typically held in high regard. Indeed, in challenging the economistic model employed by a number of provinces, and certainly by CIC in its development and implementation of federal immigration programs, the MPNP is heralded as more socially-minded and family-focused. Moreover, given its inclusion of low-skilled TFWs, the program is correctly interpreted by academics and activists alike as progressive and a move toward improving TFW policies and their outcomes (Ramos & Dobrowolsky, 2014). Concurrently, permanency offers Philippine overseas workers an

opportunity to exit the often life-long cycle of temporary overseas employment. As such, it offers the possibility of a life less likely to be swept up by the perpetual tide of international labour mobility. And yet, though largely an outcome of its interaction with the TFWP, the MPNP, I argue has the capacity to reinforce the very conditions it is intended to remedy. When read against a backdrop of global inequality and incredible personal sacrifice, the promise of permanency brings with it its own problematics, its own forms of dependency, and its own potential for exploitation. In other words, it is not only impermanency—and consequently, deportability—that results in worker vulnerability.

Given the diverse and unique configuration of the Hotel's migrant workforce, wherein workers may be temporary, permanent, or somewhere in between, this chapter has situated the establishment of this workforce at the ambiguous intersection of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and the Province's Nominee Program. The tenuousness of life in the Philippines, the precarity and profitability engendered by the TFW, and the hope offered by the MPNP are the contours of migrant labour recruitment and retention at the Douglas Hotel. Moreover, these form the institutional framework through which this workforce is reproduced, and more broadly, the tourism, service, and hospitality sector labour market within the region. The presence of temporary foreign workers since 2009 has, in many ways, served to reinforce the most problematic aspects of this market. And so, a feedback loop has emerged, as a growing number of migrant workers are recruited to fill labour market gaps, in large part, generated and then reproduced through their very employment within the sector. The following chapter explores this dynamic further. Focusing on the reproductive characteristics of the labour

of those employed by the Hotel and the corporate and commodified form of care they provide there, it offers a tentative theory of service work as reproductive labour. Indicative of capitalism's ability to transform the details and delivery of reproduction, their daily waged labour is regarded as possessing distinctively reproductive qualities. Following from this observation, *chapter seven* suggests that in addition to interrogating the circumstances and rational under which *reproduction* comes to be articulated and experienced as labour (the objective of feminist political economy), consideration of how divergent forms of labour also constitute and shape *reproduction* can provide significant insight into the social consequences of capitalism. At the same time, while this labour unfolds in the immediate service of the Hotel's clientele, it also unfolds in the service of the sector, reproducing the conditions, relationships, and hierarches that make the tourism, service, and hospitality sector viable in Douglas. These are rooted in the history of the sexual division of labour, and they are reinforced by the precarity and dependency that characterize the labour of the Hotel's workforce.

CHAPTER SEVEN   **Reproduction and Hospitality**

The last 30 years have seen a dramatic redirection and redistribution of reproduction, and its associated labours (broadly, cooking, cleaning, and caring). Globalization, neoliberal restructuring, and welfare retrenchment, have prompted new strategies of social reproduction for individuals, families, and states the world over. These strategies reflect the processes of commodification and individualization that characterize the contemporary neoliberal moment, and they are revealed in the commodification of care labour, and its accelerated circulation between households and across borders. Feminist scholars have long argued that, rather than tangential (an outcome of economic restructuring), such transformations in the organization and delivery of reproduction (and therefore, survival) are central to strategies of capital accumulation historically (Mies, 1983), as well as in the contemporary moment (Barber & Bryan, 2014).

The migrants at the Douglas Hotel are not reproductive workers in the conventional sense; they are not, for example, caregivers in title. Yet, as they tend to the daily needs of the hotel's guests, their labour assumes a decidedly reproductive quality. Reflecting on the routine labour of the Hotel's migrant workforce, this chapter identifies the reproductive characteristics of service and hospitality work as its enacted, experienced, and organized at the Douglas Hotel. And as such, it continues the feminist tradition of charting the evolution and on-going feminization of reproduction, while continuously re-thinking earlier understandings of the sexual division of labour (-Koc, 1987; Bahr, Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1975; Baron, 1991; Beneria & Stimpson, 1987; Beechey, 1987; Berk, 1985; Chant, 1991; Folbre, 1994; Luxton, 1980; Luxton, 1983;

Sacks, 1982). In the introduction to *Women, Culture and Society* (1995), anthropologists

Rosaldo and Lamphere write,

> Nature, while note dictating women's status, has in the past provided both the
>
> conditions and the rationale for female subordination. But, we would argue, just as
>
> the particulars of different social and cultural organization have provided women in
>
> different places with very different powers and possibilities, so our contemporary
>
> situation renders any "natural" ranking or differentiation of the sexes altogether
>
> obsolete. (p. 14)

This chapter identifies and articulates the practices and mechanisms through which the

waged labour of the Douglas Hotel's Filipino workers comes to be constituted as

reproductive, and in so doing, it draws on and contributes to this academic and political

lineage. The practices and mechanisms described in the chapter function across a number

of registers: the material, the discursive, the embodied, and the affective—all of which

are organized and managed to produce an effect of hospitality. The principle mode of

profit accumulation for the hotel, hospitality is achieved through the labour required of

the Hotel's workers. Reproduction comes to be refracted through this production.

Central to the work of this chapter is the multifaceted and commodified character

of contemporary reproductive labour, and the ways in which emotion and the

management of emotion are central to this process. The emphasis on the commodification

of reproduction in the context of a hotel staffed by migrant workers is important given

how reproductive labour has been approached in the gender and migration scholarship.

Taking as its subject domestic care labour migration, this literature has focused on how

care is commodified and redistributed amongst individual households, often excluding

other sites of care. According to some, such an emphasis has served to reinforce the very conditions, embedded in rigid conceptualizations of the sexual division of labour, that this scholarship is meant to redress (Malamansan, 2006). Running in tandem to this literature, but rarely intersecting with it, is a significant literature on the labour processes and conditions of the service and hospitality sector (Wood, 1994; Wood, 1992). While this scholarship deals with inequalities of class, gender, and race, as well as the emotional labour involved in service work (Wharton, 1993), it does not typically or directly engage the broader contributions of feminist political economy in respect to social reproduction.

As feminist scholars have argued, the strict conceptual division of labour—as reproductive or productive—obscures the invariable combination of caring and commodification that characterizes work both inside and *outside* of households (Glenn, 1992; Peterson, 2010). In other words, such a conceptual division of labour ignores processes of commodification, the informal economic activities of households, the social reproductive interventions and activities of state and non-state actors, as well as the significant reliance of individuals and families on the market in the meeting of their reproductive needs (Luxton, 1980; Picchio, 1992). Moreover, it has the tendency to underestimate the participation of women in paid labour markets—"reproductive" or otherwise, as well as the contributions of men to reproductive labour (Kofman, 2012). Together, these underscore the complexity of reproduction under capitalism, they draw attention to very often inclusive nature of productive and reproductive life purposes, and they signal the conditions under which the migrant workers in Douglas and their families in the Philippines ensure the viability of their reproductive projects.

To capture the ways in which the work of service and hospitality is aligned with reproduction, and to identify the ways in which affect and emotion are operationalized to the benefit of capital, this chapter offers an ethnographic reading of the Hotel's migrant workforce's multifaceted reproductive (read: physical and affective) labour. In all of this, considerations of class, gender, ethnicity, and legal status figure centrally. Gendered and racialized asymmetries reflect the history of service work (rooted, as it is, in the sexual division of labour and the degraded status often assigned reproductive labour). Inscribed on the bodies of the migrant workers, and interpreted by Hotel management, its customers, and the community of Douglas at large, these asymmetries underpin not only the labour of the Hotel's migrant workforce, but the very strategies embarked upon by the Hotel to ensure the reproduction of that labour and subsequently, its customer base. They are reinforced through an institutional framework that regulates migration, following from the migrant labour export and import policies of the Philippine, Canadian, and Manitoban states. And so, as these workers arrive in Manitoba and as they tend to the needs of the Hotel's clients, they reproduce the conditions and structures that normalize the logic upon which the service sector is founded—logic that is, at once, racialized, feminized, and increasingly enforced by migration status.

At the same time, while the labour of the hotel's migrant workers is similar to that of the Hotel's Canadian-born employees, it differs in so far as it is predicated on a particular depth of emotion—the outcome of their transnational strategies of reproduction and protracted separation from family. Sadness, desperation, homesickness, longing for a different kind of future dominate the private lives of the workers. Bound to the exploitative logic of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) and the promise of

permanency offered by Manitoba's Nominee Program (MPNP), these emotions underpin the profitability of migrant workers two-fold. In the first instance, the skill required to manage those emotions and to, in turn, emote an appropriate and hospitable affect goes largely uncompensated. And in the second, those emotions, and the hoped-for resolution of the migration project manifest in the promise of permanency, are harnessed by the hotel (and the province) to ensure that migrant workers remain in place. This chapter suggests that rather than mere responses to the conditions of their migration and labour, the emotions experienced and navigated by these workers are central to the commodified form of reproduction undertaken at the Hotel. In so arguing, this chapter offers a political economy of emotion that is read through the reproductive labour of migrant service and hospitality workers. From such a vantage point, the ways in which power circulates through emotion and the ways in which affect serves as a mechanism of accumulation are revealed.

7.1 EMOTIONAL AND AFFECTIVE LABOUR

Within anthropology and across the social sciences there has been a recent interest and engagement with affect as an analytical frame from which to "examine and articulate subjective and intersubjective states" (Skoggard & Waterston, 2015, p. 109) (Ahmed, 2004; Pain, 2009; Richard & Rudnyckyj, 2009). While the emphasis on affect is relatively new, anthropologists have long recognized the importance of emotion in culture. As Lutz and White explain in their 1986 review of the anthropology of emotion, "emotion theory" emerged in the 1970s as an important analytical lens within the discipline. Offering a schemata of emotion-based research, Lutz and White (1986) organize their reading of the early anthropological work on emotion along the lines of the

theoretical and epistemological tensions between universalist, positivist approaches and relativist, interpretive ones, which, they suggest "serve[d] to structure both debates and silences on the relationship between emotion and culture" (p. 406). More recently, as mentioned, "affect" has emerged as the critical vantage point from which to explore expressions, manifestations, and transmissions of feeling. There is, however, a degree of ambiguity in the term's theoretical application. In their review of the "affective turn" within anthropology, Skoggard and Waterson (2015) write,

> "Affect" is both a noun and a transitive verb. As a transitive verb, "affect" entails a subject and an object or a set of objectives. As such it involves an interrelationship, one who affects and one who is affected. As a noun, "affect" has to do with senses and sensibilities and their relationship to the mind and to the body, aspects that are inseparable even as there is attempt to tease out the elements, to dissect feelings, desires, inclinations, intentions, and their effects on the level of the individual and on the level of the collective. Affect is something deeply interior but that also has outward manifestations. (p. 111-112)

This ambiguity is further compounded by the interdisciplinary formulation and uptake of the term. Gregg and Seigworth offer the following in the introduction to their 2010 *The Affect Theory Reader*:

> There is no single, generalization theory of affect: not yet, and (thankfully) there never will be. If anything, it is more tempting to imagine that there can only ever be infinitely multiple iterations of affect and theories of affect: theories as diverse and singularly delineated as their own highly particular encounters with bodies, affects, worlds. (p.4)

Rather than a weakness, Gregg and Seigworth see the variation and variability of "affect theory" to be its strength. Similarly, Blackman and Venn (2010) encourage scholars to consider what different versions of affect can do in terms of theorization and substantive research.

Others, in contrast, are less optimistic about "affect". Skoggard and Waterson (2015) express a trepidation about the term that moves beyond its slipperiness. The newness of "affect" as a field of study, they argue, is itself questionable. Focusing on Richard and Rudnyckyj's claim that contemporary studies of affect differ from earlier anthropological work on emotion, they suggest that readings of affect as relational and emotion as individualistic overlook the multidimensional nature of the anthropology of emotion, and the extent to which early ethnographic work on emotions took stock of the ways in which emotion and social structure are mutually constitutive. They write, "as Lutz and White noted nearly 30 years ago, [the anthropology of emotion] includes 'being about social relations; emotional meaning systems will reflect those relations and will, through emotion's constitution of social behavior, structure them' (Lutz & White, 1986, p. 420)" (Stoggard & Waterson, 2015, p. 113). While "emotion" as a term lacks the semantic capacity of "affect" to simultaneously denote "acting" and "being acted upon", the discipline's use of "emotion", as early as the 1970s, moved well beyond the psychobiological to investigate the social, relational, communicative, and cultural aspects and structures of emotion and subjective experience (Lutz & White, 1986).

And yet, in understanding the labour of the Hotel's migrant Filipino workers, there is a usefulness to the emphasis on reflexivity offered by affect. Here, we can turn to the way in which affect as a reflexive state has been theorized in relation to social

transformation and the production (and thus, the reproduction) of subjects and relationships of power. Richard and Rudnyckyj's formulation of "economies of affect", for example, offers a useful vantage point from which to understand, articulate, and analyze feeling and the ways in which discourses and expressions of feeling structure identity, producing particular kinds of labouring bodies (2015). Offering "analytic purchase on the connection between economic transformations and affective transactions", their conceptual intervention integrates economy and affect, and more precisely offers insight into the ways in which the discursive strategies of the state vis-à-vis affect produce governable neoliberal subjects. Affect, they suggest, "is a form of conduct; a means through which people both conduct themselves and conduct others by structuring possible courses of actions" (Richard & Rudnyckyj, 2009, p. 61). In other words, feelings are produced and structured, but more than that, feelings are themselves productive; they generate and perpetuate structure.

What is less developed in the work thus far on affect is an explicit recognition and articulation of the ways in which affect, as a reflexive state, facilitates accumulation beyond the production of labouring subjectivities. In other words, how does affect structure and reproduce the conditions of labour such that surplus value can be (further) extracted. Moreover, read against the findings and analysis offered by this thesis several gaps are revealed in both the earlier work on emotion and more recent theorizations of affect. The first concerns social reproduction—a conceptual and substantive area with which neither literature engages. The second concerns the exclusion of political economy. There is, however, some exception to this omission—in particular, Arlie Hochschild's work of emotional surplus value. Importantly, following from Hochschild's

contributions, emotion appears frequently within the interdisciplinary scholarship on migration and gendered labour. That said, given the parametres of this work, it is often embedded within descriptions and discussions of care, as opposed to theorizations of social reproduction. Sadness, distress, and homesickness, for example, figure centrally. These are often accompanied by feelings of love and affection, which working from Hochschild's Global Care Chain thesis, are redirected away from the perceived natural recipients of those emotions (the children and family of the migrant) toward the children of western (or more affluent) employers.

Within the Global Care Chain literature, emotion emerges as a resource upon which employers draw to ensure the best kinds of care for their dependents. However, within this scholarship, the emphasis is on the unequal distribution of emotion as a resource, and the ways in which this reflects systems of power and hierarchy. While a critical intervention, less attention is paid to the precise mechanisms through which surplus value comes to be extracted, or to the specific and calculated performances of emotion and affect that constitute specific reproductive labour processes. In what follows, I tend to these gaps through an adaption and application of Hochschild's emotional surplus value theory to the explicitly commodified reproductive labour undertaken at the Hotel. Here, we might return to Barber's "performed subordination" (2008). Again, the concept signals the ways migrants self-represent according to cultural stereotypes to secure overseas employment. In Barber's work with Filipina domestic workers recruited to work in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore,

> performed subordination was apparent in migrants' self-representation as properly
>
> demure, subordinate maids, capable of contributing English education to

employer's children, but not so educated and worldly that it might be difficult for

the employers concerned to tightly control [them]. (p. 1274)

Such self-representation demands that migrant workers navigate an emotionally fraught

set of power dynamics, which position them as subordinate to their employers, even as

they may possess higher levels of education, training, and cultural capital. At the Hotel ,

these dynamics play out in similar, if different, ways. Workers must perform

subordination relative to management, but also in relation to customers. Such

performance is tied to the expectations of hospitality, which establish an uneven

relationship between the receiver (the worker) and the received (the guest). In addition to

being deferential and accommodating, workers must also be amicable. To this end, they

suppress and manage their emotions—a form of impression management as per Goffman

(1956) that accrues additional value in the exploitative context of Filipino-Canadian

labour migration. Building, then, on recent affect and emotion scholarship, I argue that in

Douglas' service and hospitability sector—dominated as it is by migrant labour—affect

and emotion are central to the reproductive labour performed at the Hotel and, moreover,

are key mechanisms of accumulation.

7.2 THE DOUGLAS HOTEL AS A SITE OF ROUTINE REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR

Routine reproduction refers here to the reproduction invoked, often indirectly, in

the gender and migration literature—that is, the daily reproduction of human beings

through the labour of reproductive workers. Framed in terms of cooking, cleaning, and

caring, this labour is at once physical, mental, and emotional. Though narrow in scope,

such an emphasis offers an entry point into the reproductive qualities of the labour

performed at the Douglas Hotel. It highlights the ways in which service and hospitality

work resembles and even duplicates the labour so frequently depicted by scholars focused

on labour, migration, and care work. At the same time, there are key differences.

Reflecting the organization and delivery of service and hospitality work, these differences

have the tendency to conceal the reproductive nature of this labour. Despite individual

differences in scale, location, and price, hotels offer three central consumer products:

accommodation, food, and drinks—with accommodation typically accounting for a little

over half of revenue (Powell & Watson, 2006).

The labour required to provide these products is highly fragmented across, and

spread amongst, different workers. With no one employee is responsible for all aspects of

a guest's stay, the reproductive quality of this labour is less visible. It is further obscured

by the isolated nature of much of the work—particularly cooking and cleaning, which

frequently takes places in the absence of guests, and which explicitly resembles domestic

reproductive labour. To render this labour, and its reproductive qualities, visible, this

section offers a detailed illustration of various labour processes at the hotel. The textual

strategy employed responds to Abu-Lughod's call for "ethnographies of the particular"

(1991; 1993)—that is, forms of writing that convey the ways in which extra-local and

long-term processes are "manifested locally and specifically, produced in the actions of

individuals living their particular lives, inscribed in their bodies and their words" (Abu-

Lughod, 1991, p. 474).

7.2.1 Illustrations of Hospitality

The front desk is to the right of the Hotel's main entrance. To its left is the hotel

restaurant. Adjacent to the restaurant is the hotel bar. In the lobby, there is an automatic

bank machine, a few chairs, and a coffee table—these are flush against the wall, near the entrance to the bar, while the bank machine sits in the left corner, near the entrance to the restaurant. The floor is carpeted. Framed prints line the white walls. It is mid-morning. Elizabeth stands, facing a computer. Her first day-shift in quite some time, Elizabeth is tired, having spent a mostly sleepless night on-line with her family. Graveyard shifts are difficult, but they facilitate a synchronicity with her family in Manila. In the Philippines, she managed the front-desk staff of a large, high-end hotel in one of Manila's business districts. She had worked there for 15 years before deciding to apply for work abroad. Her three children in the care of her husband and the family's *yaya* (domestic helper and nanny)—Shelly, Elizabeth left for Douglas in 2012. This is her first experience as an overseas worker. She struggles, but suspect that her husband struggles more. He is lonely in her absence. She worries about him. Elizabeth scrolls down the screen, her finger running the length of the mouse repeatedly. Occasionally someone will enter the hotel, making their way to the bar or the restaurant, or down the hall to their room.

Elizabeth is the first point of contact for guests and customers. She smiles a lot. It is up to her to set the tone. Regardless of how she is feeling, she warmly greets everyone; she smiles. Sometimes she receives a response; other times, not. Regardless, she smiles. She thanks those who are on their way out. She holds her smile as they leave, their backs to her. It drops once the door closes behind them. At the same time, while on duty, Elizabeth coordinates the otherwise compartmentalized labour undertaken at the hotel, much of which is organized through the front desk. In this way, the front desk serves as an operational centre, connecting the different departments, and allowing for a "seamless" experience for guests. As a result, relative to other departments, the

responsibilities assigned to the front desk are varied. The women employed to work the front desk multi-task in ways other workers at the Hotel do not. During the day, they answer the phones, transfer calls, take reservations; they check guests in and out, and they chat with customers, greeting people as they arrive for a meal or a drink or as they head to their rooms. In the evenings, much of this work continues. During night shifts, they tend to more administrative tasks, photocopying, organizing room service receipts, and preparing promotional material. Several nights earlier, for example, Elizabeth painstakingly filled paper bags with dog treats and toys—a token to welcome dog owning guests upon check-in.

The restaurant and bar staff is comprised of resident and non-resident workers. At 11am on a Friday, there are two tables remaining. Lynn stands behind a small counter near the back of the restaurant, preparing coffee in anticipation of the lunch rush. Her face remains neutral. From her front pocket comes a quiet buzzing—an electronic signal from the kitchen that the next order is up. Leaving the coffee to drip, she responds. Pushing past the swinging doors that separate the kitchen from the dining room, she grabs a bottle of ketchup. She reaches for a basket of individually packaged spreads: grape jelly, raspberry jam, peanut butter, and honey. Placing the basket on the tray next to the ketchup, she walks, several feet, to the warming station. On the stainless steel counter that runs half the length of the kitchen, an order of toast, scrambled eggs, and bacon waits for her. Balancing the tray on her left forearm, Lynn takes the plate with her right hand. Placing it on the tray, she walks toward the swinging doors. Pushing them open with her right forearm, she makes her way back into the dining room. Nearing the table, Lynn's shoulders drop, she takes a breath in, and she smiles. The diner, a man in his mid-50s,

looks up at her from his newspaper. "More coffee?" she asks. Her voice is kind, friendly. He nods. She places his food in front of him, smiles once again, and turns. Her back to the customer, her smile drops off; her shoulders fall, followed by a deep exhale. She walks to the coffee station to retrieve the freshly brewed pot. Such are the contours of Lynn's day. She will pour this customer his coffee. She will return to check on him. She will be warm and even sweet, and she will be accommodating. She will be present even as her mind wanders to the Philippines, to her two children who remain there with her husband. She will clean and reset the table once the diner departs. She will engage in another "side-duty" (polishing wine glasses or cutlery, folding napkins, filling ketchup bottles) until she is called upon again to serve.

In the kitchen, past the warming station, Alexandra looks over a handwritten recipe. A prep-cook, she arrived in Douglas in 2009 from Cebu City, and although she was one the first Filipino workers recruited, she has waited the longest to be reunited with her family. In the kitchen, Alexandra moves thoughtfully. Making up for a lack of speed, she never doubles back. She always goes forward, from one task to the next. "We're out of Caesar salad dressing", she tells me, drawing my attention to the recipe. One of the most popular menu items, the dressing is made in large batches. She takes a trolley from the backroom before heading to the large walk-in pantry. Five lemons. Nine eggs. Balancing on her left foot, she lifts her right arm above her head. On the tips of her toes, fingers stretched, she taps a box of canned anchovies closer and closer to the edge of the highest shelf. Finally in reach, she grabs the box. Lowering it down, she takes out three cans. She checks her list. Olive oil. Vegetable oil. She returns to her station in the kitchen. There, she massages the lemons, her right hand pressing down on her left, she

rolls each back and forth, back and forth, before slicing them in half. Alexandra juices the halves, dropping the peel into a large garbage can to her left. She checks the recipe again. She makes her way to the industrial food processor. Alexandra's day unfolds as such. Once the dressing is finished, she will wipe-down her station, she will clean the mixer and the juicer and whatever else she has used in its preparation, and she will begin a different, though similar, task.

Out of the kitchen, through the dining room, past the front desk, and down the hall, Manny is reviewing his room schedule for the day. Each day each housekeeper is assigned a set number of rooms in a section of the Hotel to clean or remake. This number fluctuates, corresponding to the hotel's occupancy rate. The housekeepers, relative to their co-workers in other departments, are more vulnerable to the seasonal operations of the Hotel. While open year-round, peak seasons (winter and summer) tend to see an additional influx of guests and therefore, an increase in housekeeping hours. In contrast, downtimes (spring and fall) see fewer guests and therefore, fewer hours. For housekeepers, regardless of their residency status, this causes considerable stress. Still, for migrant workers this variability adds a layer of uncertainty and unpredictability that radiates outward and inevitably effects those he's left behind in the Philippines. Manny, arrived in Douglas from Iloilo in 2013. From Manitoba, Manny serves as primary breadwinner for his family—his brother and eldest sister live in Cavite, south of Manila. His other sister and her child live in Iloilo with their parents and grandparents. Manny has been financing the building of a large, two-story house. Its construction has been interrupted several times, most recently due to a fire. Unfinished, walls charred, the project has been put on hold.

Having worked as a hotel housekeeper at high-end hotel in Manila for over ten years, Manny is precise and exacting in his work at the Hotel. Pushing a trolley with the necessary supplies, Manny stops at his first room for the day. "Housekeeping", his voice is firm, loud enough to hear, but non-threatening. A moment later, he enters the empty room. He begins with the beds, stripping and changing the linens. He vacuums. He dusts, disposing the occupant's garbage as he goes. Manny steps into the hallway, returning moments later with several spray bottles and a rag, elbow-length, yellow rubber gloves covering his hands and forearms. Turning his attention to the bathroom, he gathers the used towels, dropping them in a hamper secured to the back of the trolley sitting in hall. He sprays and scrubs the countertops, the bathtub, the floor, and the toilet. Finishing one room, he moves onto the next, and so his work day unfolds. Responsible for the same set of services, delivered over and over again to different customers, this variable daily labour is routine in appearance and isolated in practice.

7.3 HOSPITALITY AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

What do the daily affective and material conditions of work for Elizabeth, Manny, Alexandra, and Lynn tell us about reproduction and reproductive labour? In its simplest and perhaps most obvious form, reproduction at the Hotel plays out in the daily physical labour performed by the workers employed there. The Hotel constructs a space that while public, is intended to invoke the comforts and conveniences of "home" for its guests, who, because of their mobility (be it temporary or more long-term, as with mobile, seasonal construction crews) must rely on the market in the meeting of their daily reproductive needs. This is most immediately revealed through the Hotel's provision of food, shelter, and comfort—services rendered through the labour and physical efforts of

the Hotel's, largely migrant, workforce. For those who make use of the Hotel's amenities, the efforts of individual workers blend together in the service of daily reproduction, organized through the front desk, which serves as an operational hub connecting the Hotel's various departments and a point of first contact for guests. While much of this work is visible, a great deal is performed behind closed doors: the preparation of food, the cleaning of rooms, the washing of bed sheets and towels, etc.—all are largely unnoticed by those who benefit from them. This is particularly true of housekeeping work.

An undoing or redoing, the work of the Hotel's housekeeping staff is rarely noticed unless it goes uncompleted. Although the reinstatement of guestrooms is one of the most important services offered by hotels (Powell & Watson, 2006), there is a remoteness to it. Housekeeping activities occur, most often, in the absence of guests and in the seclusion of individual rooms. Moreover, guest interactions with housekeeping staff, while not uncommon, tend to be brief and/or mediated through the front desk. Similarly, food preparation occurs behind the kitchen's swinging door. There, a largely Philippine staff follows the direction of the Canadian-born head chef, preparing food that will be served by staff both Philippine and Canadian in-origin. While they eat what she has prepared, customers rarely see Alexandra. Given the protracted nature of her separation from her family, and the distress this causes her, she is grateful for the relative isolation of the kitchen. Still, even as she avoids the performances of hospitality required of her co-workers, she must control her emotions. She does so skillfully, keeping her attention focused on her work.

The commodified nature of this reproductive labour demands a kind perfection in its execution, one free from the complications, interpersonal tensions, and negotiations that can characterize the delivery and reception of reproduction labour within domestic spaces. Such "perfection" depends on labour that is both embodied—enacted through and on bodies, *and* affective—dependent upon a particular emotional output, intended to generate a particular effect of positive feeling in the customer. For those whose work is more visible, at the front desk or in food services, this emotional output is critical. As Albrecht and Semke (1985) argue in their work on the service economy more broadly,

> ...the service person must deliberately involve his or her feelings in the situation. He or she may not particularly feel like being cordial and becoming a one-minute friend to the next customer who approaches, but that is indeed what frontline work entails. (p. 114)

To this end, service workers manage their feelings to manage those of the client. As paying customers, hotel guests are entitled to *feel* welcome, safe, appreciated, liked, and taken care of. The Hotel's workers engage in a variety of affective performances, intended to "create, reinforce, or change the emotional and experiential states of customers on behalf of the organization that employs them" (Otis, 2011, p. 11). Such performances demand of the worker a particular, and at times, disingenuous, emotional output and display.

In *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling,* Arlie Hochschild writes of commodified emotional labour: "[such] labo[u]r requires one to induce or suppress feeling to order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper

state of mind in others—in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place." (1983, p. 7). In a similar vein, Wouters (1989) explains that

> …with the expansion of the service industry, demands on emotion management
> have increased. As increasingly numbers of people [make] their living by
> performing emotional labour, they [press] each other to a presentation of self that
> takes more of each other more into account. (p. 448)

And so, despite her frustrations at work and her on-going anxiety concerning her family in the Philippines, Elizabeth—when at the front desk—is rarely without a smile. She answers every question as though it were critical, and she offers "upgrades" to nearly everyone who checks-in. Having just received word of flooding in the Philippines, Violet cheerfully prepares a customer's sandwich, one eye on the task at hand, the other (discretely) on the clock; she is now desperate to check-in with her cousins who live in the affected area. Even, Manny, the primary breadwinner for his family, making his way through the halls, offers guests a "ma'am" or a "sir" with every smile and every nod. In her work, Hochschild (1983) emphasizes the potentially negative consequences that follow from such a performance. Flagging this kind of labour as the "transmutation of the private use of feeling", she writes that

> …when we succeed in lending our feelings to the organizational engineers of
> worker-customer relations—we may pay a cost in how we hear our feelings and a
> cost in what, for better or worse, they tell us about ourselves. (p. 21)

Similar warnings are issued by Albrech and Zemke (1985) and Van Maanen and Kunda (1989), who argue that "the more emotional labour involved in a particular work role, the more troublesome work identify becomes to the role holder (p. 54).

Wharton (1993), in contrast, challenges the understanding that emotional labour's cultivation of "an estrangement between self and feeling…and display" (Hochschild, 1993, p. 131) singularly lessens the ability of the worker to authentically experience emotion. Rather, she argues that all else equal, workers engaged in emotional labour do not experience "emotional exhaustion" in higher numbers relative to other workers. And that, moreover, those engaged in commodified emotional labour tend to, relatively speaking, have higher levels of job satisfaction. In many ways, this is mirrored at the Hotel. Even as they find the work mundane and repetitive, and the clients occasionally challenging, the Hotel's migrant workers talk mostly of liking their jobs. In the absence of pre-existing relational networks of friends and family (located in the Philippines), many of the Hotel's TFWs enjoy the sociability of their work. Moreover, its interactive qualities effectively distract, if only, at times, for a moment. That said, even as affective regulation is a welcome aspect of the labour process for many of the workers, it is also profitable for the Hotel, and additionally so when performed by migrant workers.

Given the centrality of the worker-client encounter, the worker's ability to manage emotion serves as a critical mechanism through which the Hotel ensures its own viability. Indeed, it is central to the form of production undertaken there. If the Hotel is to remain profitable, guests need to return, and so workers must meet their expectations. Guests must be satisfied. This is an outcome, not only of the provision of goods and services, but of the way those goods and services are delivered. The workers are, thus part of the package. They are the seen and unseen objects intended to secure on-going patronage. Despite the intrinsic value of emotional labour as performed by the hotel's staff, it goes largely uncompensated. Workers may be praised for something opaquely

labelled their "professionalism" or their capacity to "deal" with customers by management, but the underlying work of it goes unacknowledged. This is reflected in the label of "low skilled" associated with their work permits and entry visas, and in their wages, which reflecting rates of pay within the service and hospitality sector generally, are relatively low. It is at this junction of unrecognized, undercompensated, yet critical that the value of this labour—not unlike reproductive labour more broadly—is established. At the same time, while all workers, regardless of their legal status, perform this multifarious labour, it accrues additional value when performed by migrants whose status is tenuous and for whom permanency remains negotiable.

Here, we might turn to Hochschild's Global Care Chain thesis, wherein "care", otherwise intended for the children of migrant domestic workers, is transferred to the children of their employers. Through this transfer, employers (and their children), located in the Global North, access what Hoschschild has labelled "emotional surplus value" (2000)—that is, the love and affection that the migrant worker would, under different circumstances, provide to her own children. At the Hotel, emotional surplus value is extracted, but this extraction is differently configured. Energy is redirected away from their own familial responsibilities toward the needs of paying guests, but the affection of migrant workers is largely withheld from customers. This is an outcome of the explicitly commodified and highly compartmentalized nature of the reproductive labour in question, in addition to the de-personalized interactions demanded of that labour. Workers are expected to be warm and even caring, but they are not asked to explicitly "care about" the Hotel's customers. In other words, the affective state cultivated and enacted by the workers must be personable, but impersonal. It must conform to the

requirements of hospitality, but also to the hierarchical structuring of the customer-worker relationship. Rather than accessing untapped affection as in the case of migrant domestic workers, the hotel capitalizes on the dynamics of Philippine labour migration to Canada, and, more precisely, on the loneliness, longing, and desperation fostered by those dynamics. Not only is the work of managing such sentiment exacerbated by protracted separation from family, it provides a kind of hook, particularly when read against the precarity engendered by the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and the promise of permanency offered through the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program.

7.4 PRECARITY, EMOTION, AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

At hotels, labour is recruited according to a logic that asserts the propensity of some workers (compared to others) for hospitality—that is, an innate capacity to be friendly, welcoming, good natured, and gracious, in addition to a willingness to perform physically challenging work often regarded as menial and even, in the case of housekeeping, degrading. The Douglas Hotel patterns gendered and racial divisions of labour in telling ways. With exception of the general manager and the head cook, all managerial positions are held by locally born women. Of the departments, only the front desk is explicitly and consistently gendered, with an exclusively female staff. Janitors and maintenance workers are typically men though, on occasion, female workers (housekeepers) will be called upon to do basic janitorial tasks. In the kitchen, the head cook is a man (Canadian born), with line cooks a mix of men and women. Serving staff across the Hotel (the bar, the restaurant, the coffee shop, and the sandwich counter) are, again, mixed, but predominantly Filipino.

At the time of writing, supervisory positions were mostly held by women—with exception of one of the fast food counters (doughnuts and coffee), which was supervised by Filipino man who arrived as a temporary foreign worker, making his way to Manitoba from Alberta, and eventually secured permanency following his promotion to supervisor. The supervisor at the pub is also a formerly temporary migrant worker, Rachel, who took over from Ely—also a Filipino worker, when he and his girlfriend moved to Victoria, BC. The housekeeping department is comprised of men and women—though the men are Filipino. The presence of male housekeeping staff reflects the configuration of hotel employment in the Philippines, where most hotel housekeepers are men. Status, pay, and authority are unevenly distributed, but again, reflected in the presence of men and women across departments, do not always follow anticipated gendered patterns. For example, the front desk staff, which is exclusively female, receives the highest pay and, where interactions with clients are concerned, have the most authority. While those at the front-desk earn the most, housekeepers earn the least.

Following the sexual division of labour, and the concurrent feminization of reproductive work, itself embodied and affective, women have tended to dominate the rank-and-file of the service and hospitality sector, occupying positions wherein, to cite Hochschild (1983), "the *emotional style of offering the service is part of the service itself*" (p. 5, italics in original). The Hotel's Filipino workforce labour force reflects a certain degree of gender parity, with men and women evenly distributed across most departments, though unevenly concentrated within two (the front desk and janitorial services). At the Douglas Hotel , 33 of the 74 (or 44.6%) Philippine workers recruited between 2009 and 2014 were men. So while the labour continues to be feminized—

assuming qualities normatively assigned to women's work both paid and unpaid—it also corresponds to the growing incorporation of men in labour markets previously reserved for women.

These transformations and realignments of gendered migrant subjectivity affirm rather than contradict the consensus of the feminist literature on globalization and gendered migration concerning the significance and meaning of women's integration in global labour markets. Rather than a triumph of feminism, women's increased integration as overseas workers signals a deepening, as opposed to reversal, of gendered inequality. Indeed, while variation exists, "migrant women's labour [particularly when constituted according to existing gendered norms] is not valued for the multiplicity of learned skills it demonstrates, nor its critically important social and economic contributions" (Barber & Bryan, 2012, p. 216). And so, their participation, specifically in labour market designated as "domestic" or "care", but increasingly, as "service and hospitality", reflects a reworking of gendered constraints as opposed to their dismantling. Similarly, the integration of men into labour markets conventionally dominated by women, notably those explicitly or implicitly organized around reproductive labour, reflects the casting and re-casting of gendered migrant subjectivities to the benefit of capital accumulation, as opposed to a re-valuing of social reproductive labour. At the Hotel, for example, where a growing number of male recruits find themselves in the housekeeping department, we can observe a kind of flattening out of gender inequality; the labour is not valued differently, it is simply that a wider range of people are engaged in it.

Reflecting the commodification of sexual division of labour historically (Andall, 2017; Arat-Koc, 1989; Clark-Lewis, 1987; Chin, 1997; Cohen, 1987; Colen, 1990;

Glenn, 1992; Thorton Dill, 1994; Sanjek & Colen, 1990), in addition to contemporary

patterns of recruitment in the Canadian service and hospitality sector, the reproductive

labour of the Hotel's workforce is also underwritten by the intricacies of racialized

hierarchies, which in this context are compounded by inequalities of citizenship status. In

her work on migrant Filipino and Indonesian domestic workers in Malaysia, Chin (1997)

writes,

> …it can be said the foreign female domestic workers are caught in the nexus of
>
> capitalist-patriarchal-racialized ideologies underpinning economic restructuring
>
> processes that interpenetrate the household, nation, regional and global levels (p.
>
> 355).

At the Douglas Hotel, these ideologies inscribed on the bodies of the migrant workers

themselves, racialized minorities, without full legal status, in a predominately white

setting, and they are read by Hotel management, its customers, and the community of

Douglas at large. Ethnicity, and notions of "Filipino-ness" shape *who does what for*

whom and under what circumstances and figure centrally not only in terms of the

organization and delivery of this labour but the very strategies embarked upon by the

hotel to ensure the reproduction of that labour and subsequently, its customer base. These

strategies are further configured according to the logic of migrant labour recruitment

(Bakan & Stasiulis, 1994), and they are filtered through the local-global interface through

which the Hotel's migrant workers ensure the reproduction of their kin groups, maintain

relationships transnationally, and in Douglas, as elsewhere in Manitoba, wait to be

reunited with their families. As detailed earlier, the provisions of Manitoba's Provincial

Nominee Program ambiguously position the Hotel's migrant workers in relation to

precarity and permanency. Even as a growing number of workers are granted permanent residency, their labour retains a temporary (read: exploitative) quality as the Hotel uses the promise of permanency to ensure productivity, loyalty, and compliance amongst its migrant workforce. In other words, rather than flagging some inherent Filipino characteristic—as understood by Hotel management—their on-the-job diligence signals their precarity. The promise of permanency also serves to structure the ways in which these migrants experience waiting, as well as the feelings associated with protracted separation from family, and their efforts to navigate and manage those feelings.

In a context shaped by the promise of permanency, emotion, like precarity, is a medium of accumulation. Moreover, when filtered through the hope engendered by the MPNP, it is a central mechanism through which dependency, despite permanency, is perpetuated.

CB: What do you think about as you're cleaning?

Sheila: I scrub the toilet, and I think I'm doing this for my daughter. I make the bed, and I think I'm doing this for my son, my eldest. I wash the floor, and I think, I'm doing this for my youngest.

<div align="right">(Sheila, Douglas, December 2012)</div>

It was my first time meeting Sheila—a housekeeper at the Hotel. We sit at a corner table at the hotel restaurant. Her face was wet with tears, her eyes, red and swollen, as we talk about her decision to come to Manitoba and her family, still in the Philippines. Though more typically managed effectively, a depth of emotion is never far from the surface. Sheila's emotion, however, is more than simply a personal reaction. Her sadness is an outcome of historic and contemporary processes, in Canada and the Philippines, that have prompted, even required, her migration. As such, her feelings are indicative of economic uncertainty and instability. Her sadness is rooted in the transnational strategies she, and

those like her, deploy to redress those realities. The promise of permanency blunts her sadness in the long term, but in the short, it makes it no less pronounced. Moreover, while some resolution is reached in the future, the promise of permanency motivates Sheila to be compliant and diligent as she cares little for the work and misses her children. Following from these qualities, the sadness of the Hotel's migrant workers, and their emotions more broadly, emerge as a principle mechanism through which their dependency on the Hotel is established and as such, their value is determined.

And yet, even as the Hotel capitalizes on these emotions, it does not do so in a particularly calculated fashion. In fact, the Hotel —relative to most employers of temporary foreign workers—appears to care for its workers. This is demonstrated through its various labour recruitment strategies, which while not without their problematic edges, have allowed for some reunification. The Hotel has also been active in two significant community fundraising initiatives. The first, *Kids Helping Kids*, a grassroots Douglas-based organization, provides funds to newly permanent migrants to off-set the costs associated with reunification—notably, airfare; the second, a response to the devastation of Typhoon Haiyan in 2013, which raised over $10, 000 dollars. The relationship the Hotel has with its workers, in other words, is nebulous. The Hotel recognizes the struggle endemic amongst its migrant workers, and yet it turns that struggle to its advantage with very little effort. The effortlessness of this action speaks volumes. Through it, the structural inequalities and asymmetries that prompt and characterize the migration and labour of the Hotel's reproductive workers reverberate. Following from these, the Hotel's migrant workers are diligent and hard-working and they manage their emotions effectively, not because they are instructed to be, but because their immigration projects

and long-term strategies of reproduction (grounded in the Philippines) depend on their on-going employment. As they wait for permanent residency and reunification with family, the migrants at the Hotel work. And as they clear tables and strip beds, as they greet guests and prepare sandwiches, they wait—they wait for the completion of their migration projects, articulated in terms of permanent residency and more importantly, reunification with family. The waiting required of the MPNP represents, at least in theory, the final leg of the migration project. Once permanency in Canada is granted, long-term settlement would begin, and separation and its adjoining complications are remedied. In this context, both waiting and longing are aligned with anticipation of a more secure and less precarious future. Both occur within a present characterized by uncertainty but tempered by hope. Perhaps, this accounts for their skill in navigating and managing the feelings of sadness that accompany separation and waiting.

7.5 CONCLUSION

The daily labour of migrant service workers is routine, perhaps even banal, in appearance. They are responsible for the same set of services, delivered repeatedly to different customers. And yet, their labour has significant social, economic, and indeed, analytical consequences. Though far from a new phenomenon, in the contemporary moment, hotels are critical sites of expanded reproduction. In Asessippi-Parkland, this is an outcome of processes initiated largely in the 1960s, notably in regards to transitions in the agricultural economy, the establishment, albeit tenuous, of a local tourism sector, and the concurrent establishment of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. The labour performed at the Hotel by these migrant workers, while differently configured and compartmentalized (no one worker is responsible for all aspects of a client's stay),

resembles reproductive work, paid and unpaid, in both content and form. In the first place, it corresponds to the various tasks associated with reproduction (cooking, caring, and cleaning) and in the second, it is delivered in similar (though not identical) ways. At the same time, through these illustrations a continuity becomes clear: a persistent devaluing of reproductive labour regardless of its organization and despite its commodification. Reflected in this research (as elsewhere), the buying, selling, and formalization of such labour does little to augment its status or value. Isolation, repetition, precarity, and degradation—these characterize the daily labour of the Hotel's migrant service workers, and they (reflecting on the legacy of the sexual division of labour) signal its relationship to reproduction so constituted under the capitalist mode of production.

More than simply the outcome of their labour, however, the viability of the Hotel is equally contingent upon the availability of specific kinds of workers: those regarded as most conducive to the manifold reproductive labour undertaken at the Hotel. This labour is shaped, in large part, by the inequalities that characterize reproductive work and women's work (paid and unpaid) more generally. Underwriting the devaluation of service and hospitality work, then, is the history and fundamental contradictions of domestic labour, both paid and unpaid, under the capitalist mode of production. In the first instance, it speaks to women's socially constituted roles as caregivers—a role strategically devalued and naturalized to ensure its on-going fulfillment. Reproductive labour cannot be highly valued on the market if it is to remain formally unacknowledged within the domestic sphere. In the second instance, and stemming from the foundations of the sexual division labour, are gendered discourses and practices that position men as

"breadwinners" and women as "dependents", relegating the latter to the status of labour-reservists within paid labour markets. Regarded as supplemental, women's earnings traditionally have been lower than those of men. Within the service and hospitality sector, these characteristics of women's labour (both paid and unpaid) converge: the reproductive contours of the labour itself preclude the possibility of decent wages, while the history of the service and hospitality labour market (traditionally an enclave of female-employment) means that even as a growing number of men (like Manny) enter the sector, it remains low-status, poorly paid, and insecure.

Much like in other work places, stereotypes concerning ethnicity further shape the assumptions held by hotel management concerning worker suitability. These influence hiring and promotion decisions, and they structure the relationship between management and staff, as well as between workers and guests. These stereotypes, further effect the labour performances (both bodily and affective) produced by workers, who, in an effort to meet the expectations of management (and guests), conform to the characteristics, attributes, and skills associated with them. In Douglas, the ideal worker is increasingly shaped by the dynamics and characteristics of Philippine labour migration to Canada, and as such, by the conditions of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and the vulnerabilities engendered by those conditions (Goldring, 2010). These underscore not only the labour of the Hotel's migrant workforce, but the very strategies embarked upon by the hotel to ensure the reproduction of that labour. Affect and emotion, not unlike reproduction, occupy a space mediated at once by the social and the biological. As such, it is difficult to detect where they begin and where they end, how they are cultivated, and who they serve. This chapter has suggested that commodified reproductive labour, when

performed by temporary foreign workers whose potential permanency is contingent upon compliance, loyalty, and diligence, offers yet another way of thinking through the politics of international labour migration, political economy, and social reproduction. Drawing on the labour of its workers, the Hotel following its purpose, creates a "home away from home" for its guests and clientele. The success of this project is contingent upon labour physical, emotional, and affective. In addition, then, to their manual labour, the Hotel demands a particular production of hospitality that, while predicated on the provision of service, is equally an outcome of, what Arlie Hochschild has labeled, "emotional labour". In the setting of a hotel, hospitality runs akin to care commodified. It demands a form of affective or emotional labour, wherein workers manage their feelings (often profound and fraught, the consequence of their migration) in order to manage those of the client. Their emotional labour is unrecognized and uncompensated, even as it is critical to the reproduction of the Hotel's client-base and its workforce.

CHAPTER EIGHT   **Transnational Social Reproduction**

While guests rotate in and out, their dependency on the labour of the Hotel's migrant workers temporary, the labour itself is highly repetitive and consistent. One worker might work faster or more diligently (reflecting past work experience, aptitude, or energy levels on a given day), but the "job" remains the same. This is very much an outcome of the organization of this labour, and the extent to which it is mechanized and routinized. To a degree, the workers are interchangeable within any department. Many, despite a lack of previous training, move easily between departments, working the day shift in housekeeping and the occasional evening shift at the coffee shop or sandwich counter. Moreover, all applicants and eventual recruits conform to the requirements of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP); all have been subjected, at one point or another, to the Philippine's labour export bureaucracy; all remit a portion of their earnings; *and* all have been influenced by cultural scripts and political discourse concerning devotion to family, self-sacrifice, and the effectiveness of overseas employment in redressing economic insecurity and a lack of upward mobility.

If their identities as migrants reflect the histories, agendas, and macro-level processes that inform the identities and experiences of many, perhaps, even of most Hotel's Filipino recruits, what are the particularities of their labour? What makes it unique? Where and how does it resonate for these individual migrants and their families? Returning to Abu-Lughod, each gesture documented, each action described in the previous chapter, while highly localized, reflects extra-local processes that over time have created the conditions of their migration and their labour at the Hotel. Further, each is inextricably linked to relationships extending well beyond the walls of the Hotel —

relationships defined, in large part, by the requirements of reproduction—be they physical or emotional. And so, the labour of Douglas' migrant workers may appear, on the surface, repetitive and banal, but it is saturated with meaning and intention. Every cup of coffee served, every bed made, every customer checked-in, signal a unique strategy of livelihood and reproduction embarked upon by the migrant and their family in the Philippines. These strategies unfold in the transnational social fields occupied and navigated by the migrants at the centre of this work and their non-migrant kin in the Philippines. This social field and the projects that unfold within it correspond to the third reproductive cycle initiated at the Hotel, and they are characterized by the simultaneous efforts and actions of individuals who are connected despite prolonged separation.

This chapter focuses on this third cycle and the transnationality and simultaneity that characterizes the everyday for both migrants and their non-migrant kin. It constructs two narratives illustrative of daily patterns and practices of reproduction as they occur in both the Philippines and Douglas, and as such, form the intimate and interactive parametres of the transnational social fields which those in each site act, and to varying degrees, belong. The first narrative centres on Joseph and his sister, Neneth. A temporary foreign worker (now permanent) at the Douglas Hotel, Joseph is the youngest amongst his siblings, but given his overseas employment, has assumed a position of considerable authority within his family, which is divided between Cavite and Tacloban. The second centres on Elizabeth (introduced in the previous chapter). Originally from the province of Pangasenan, Elizabeth lived and worked in Manila (commuting between Quezon City and Makati) for fifteen years prior to her move to Douglas. Drawing on these two narratives, the chapter adds to our understanding of how reproduction unfolds

transnationally, and moreover, of the particularities that inform reproduction. These

details are reflected in the different strategies deployed by different migrant kin groups,

and tied to the structural and historical factors that have sculpted those strategies. They

are also an outcome of unforeseen, though plausible, circumstances that disrupt

transnational reproduction. While the second and third chapters dwelled on the structural

and historical factors (in both Canada and the Philippines) upon which the migration,

labour, and reproductive projects of those in Douglas are predicated, this chapter focuses

in on those projects more precisely.

This chapter begins with two narratives. Drawing on fieldwork in Douglas and the

Philippines, these narratives are constructed in such a way to offer insight into and

opportunities to expand understandings and articulations of transnational reproductive

projects. To this end, this chapter engages the literature on migration and care to a)

theorize the experiences of those in Douglas and their non-migrant kin within the

dominant research paradigm, and b) to use those experiences as a means of reconsidering

the parametres of that paradigm. In a very explicit way, this section relies on the

argument made in the previous chapter: that the paid work undertaken by the Hotel's

Philippine workforce in Douglas constitutes reproductive labour. And, moreover, that the

parametres of their paid labour (cast according to gendered and racialized political

economies historically) coupled with its configuration (highly commodified and

patterned according the requirements of "hospitality") offer insight into the shifting

dynamics of reproduction over time. Advancing the argument of the thesis, this chapter

connects this commodified reproductive labour to the reproductive projects of the

migrant workers themselves. In other words, it explores how the paid labour undertaken

at the Hotel is used to support various kinds of reproductive projects in the Philippines. These projects, tied to the conditions of life in the Philippines and the opportunities afforded by variously configured, though compatible, policies of immigration and emigration (*see* chapters three and four), motivate the Hotel's Filipino workers. As such, they are critical for our understanding of the establishment, and on-going reproduction, of that workforce.

8.1   JOSEPH AND NENETH

"When we're not busy; we do side duties", Joseph explains, "right now, I'm polishing wine glasses." He pushes through the swinging door separating the kitchen from the dining room. He moves without hesitation. Once in the kitchen, he arrives at a stainless counter and begins the task of polishing almost immediately. Holding a cloth in his right hand, he takes a wine glass out a large plastic crate with his left. He submerges the glass in a pitcher of hot water. He pulls it out. Joseph directs his attention to water spots—first, inside; then, out. A few seconds pass; he holds up the glass; inspects it; runs the cloth over it again—this time more aggressively (a final shine). He inspects it again, and puts down the cloth. He glances upward to the TV monitor affixed to the low ceiling—a live feed from the dining room. Joseph has been an overseas worker for six years. He is acutely accustomed to splitting his attention. Prior to arriving in Douglas in 2009, he had worked in Singapore. First, in the context of a job placement, a requirement of his degree in hotel and restaurant management; and then later, as an overseas worker. In Douglas, he works as a server at the Hotel's Family Restaurant. In 2012, he was promoted to shift supervisor when Ester, his co-worker, went on maternity leave.

Joseph takes out the next glass. In a subdivision in Imus, Cavite, in a small, two story, semi-attached concrete house, Joseph's sister and brother-in-law are closing their *sari sari* store for the night. One of the outcomes of Joseph's labour in Douglas is the store. With the money he sent Neneth, she was able to renovate the front of her home, building a small, well organized space for the shop, and (setting her apart from her competition) has been able to purchase an assortment of specialized goods. Her husband is in pharmaceutical sales. Drawing on his training, the couple serves as local pharmacy—albeit informally, dispensing pain killers, cough syrup, anti-inflammatories, low-dose anti-biotics, and a variety of herbal remedies. They also sell baby food, formula, diapers, and electronic cell phone loads in addition to the snacks, pop, cigarettes, instant foods, rice, and toiletries typically found in *sari sari* stores. Neneth also makes the most popular ice candies in the subdivision. In fact, her ice candies are so popular that she employs a woman to deliver them on bicycle. With a one or two *peso* profit (approximately 0.025/0.05 cents) on each item sold, the business is not particularly lucrative, but it serves to supplement her husband's earnings, adding to their savings while allowing her to remain at-home with her children. In other words, this joint-enterprise with her brother, Joseph, facilitates her socially constituted reproductive responsibilities concerning childcare while simultaneously allowing her to contribute to her family's financial stability. Furthermore, the *sari sari* store itself is central to the reproductive efforts of many in the neighbourhood and surrounding area, who due to their own limited resources, prefer to buy in small batches: a cup of rice for a meal, rather than a large bag; two diapers to get through the night, instead of a box; one painkiller to remedy a single headache.

Joseph takes out the next glass. He pauses. He puts it back. Instead of continuing with his side-duty, he walks toward the door separating the kitchen from the dining room, pushing it open with his right forearm. Once through, the door swinging behind him, he moves toward the small bar and coffee station. He picks up a pot. "People always want more coffee"—he walks through the dining room. The first table, a woman and her daughter, driving cross country, decline; the second, a truck driver on his way to Regina, accepts. Smiling, Joseph pours the coffee, and returning the pot to the coffee maker, re-enters the kitchen. In Cavite, Neneth pulls out the small drawer, painted pink, where she keeps the shop's earnings. As she sits down to count the money, carefully separating out the change float, her husband closes the front of the house. Shutting the front shutters over the gated window, he wedges a four-by-four of solid wood between the window's frame. The gate is always already locked. The window secure, he rolls up the bags of rice that line the counter, and he puts away the display bottles: water, Coca-Cola, Gatorade. Neneth writes in a ledger, keeping track of sales according to category: food stuff, medication, phone cards, and ice candies. Their children sleep on a large couch that takes up most of the living room—Joseph has met the eldest, but not the youngest, though he has seen photos and videos shared online by Neneth. It is late. The street is quiet. In Douglas, Joseph has abandoned the wine glasses to their crate and their water spots; he braces himself for the lunch time rush. In the Philippines, his brother-in-law carries his children, one by one, up the narrow flight of stairs to the large room the family shares. Neneth turns off the lights and the family settles in for the night.

8.2   ELIZABETH AND SHELLY

Elizabeth's face fills up the screen in her husband's hand. It is just after 11pm, she has just gotten off work. Her shift was long, somewhat tedious. At one point, she filled countless bags with treats and chew toys—a welcome gift for dog-owning guests. At an other, she packaged a forgotten phone cord to be mailed the following day to the now departed guest. She photocopied and double checked room service receipts. A couple arrived, late, without a reservation. She checked them in, smiling though she felt increasingly exhausted. They asked for a basic room. Elizabeth upgraded them. They chatted with her for a few moments before retiring to their suite. She returned to the dog treat bags, lining them up one after the other on a shelf in the backroom. Each night she spends an hour or two online with her family. She does so quietly from the living room of the apartment she shares with two Filipino women. Her days are already long. They are made longer by her on-going efforts to remain connected to her children's daily lives and activities and, though at considerable distance, to manage her household, providing Shelley with instructions concerning the children and the house. She finds it exhausting, but Elizabeth is accustomed to long hours, and even in the Philippines, her schedule failed to match up with those of her children.

Living in Quezon City and working in Makati (one of Manila's business districts), Elizabeth would wake up at 5am, getting ready in the dark, eating breakfast at the dimly lit table, before hailing a tricycle. Two hours later, moving from the tricycle to a *jeepny* (public transportation—each *jeepy* carries approximately 20 people), to a bus, followed by a short walk, she would arrive at the hotel. By the time her ten-hour shift ended, it would be dark again. She would backtrack home, though the trip could take an additional

hour, depending on the traffic. Often, her youngest would already be asleep. She would spend a few hours with her husband, John. She would eat something. She would go to bed. She would wake. And so, it went six days a week. Tonight, in contrast, when she arrives home, her youngest will be waking up or he will be sitting down to breakfast. It is Sunday, and he will spend the day with his father, his brothers, and, in Elizabeth's absence, their helper—Shelly. Shelly has been with Elizabeth's family since the birth of her second child. She was referred by a family friend, John's relatives, who encouraged her to take the position. In Pangasenan, Shelly had worked as a waitress in a small, roadside restaurant. She is one of four, with two sisters and one brother. Her parents, like her siblings, work informally and sporadically. From Quezon City, Shelly provides for them from her earnings. Although she is closer to her family than Elizabeth is to hers, she struggles to keep in touch with her family. An outcome of limited internet in her family's village, their communication is restricted to phone and text, but only when they can afford the phone cards. Elizabeth's laptop is perched on a brown rolling office chair. She sits on the couch, pale green and gently used. She will spend a few minutes talking to her husband before being passed on to her children. In the kitchen, Shelly prepares breakfast.

Like so many domestic care givers, both in the Philippines and globally, Shelly's days and nights unfold almost exclusively within the walls of her employers' home and the confines of their immediate family. With Elizabeth in Douglas, Shelly spends 24-hours a day, seven days a week with John and his children. She does not have a day off-day, she explains, but she has no family in Manila: Elizabeth and John are good employers; the children listen to her; she loves them; she is happy. And so, she says, she doesn't mind. On most days, Shelly wakes at 5:30. Her early morning is spent getting the

boys ready, fixing their food and preparing them for the day. At 8:30, she wakes the youngest and walks him to school. Later, back at home, she opens the *sari sari* store. And as she tends to the house—sweeping, tidying, making the beds, cooking, and doing the laundry (a huge undertaking), she listens for customers. At noon, she picks up the youngest. They have lunch. They nap. They wake up. She prepares dHotel er and sweeps once again ("it gets so dusty"). The boys spend the evening with their father. While he gets them ready for the next day and for bed, she tidies. She closes the *sari sari* store, restocking as necessary and accounting for their earnings. Every day, she tells me, is the same.

Elizabeth also experiences a kind of monotony in Douglas. Though varied, the tasks associated with her paid employment are repetitive. Now at in her apartment, Elizabeth, her laptop balancing on a chair in her living room, scans her Philippine home through the camera of her husband's cell phone. Everything is in order. Her children are looking forward to their day. Next to her laptop, a sheet of paper—a list of sums. A tally of how much tuition has been paid and how much remains to be paid for each of her children. She tells John to expect a money transfer the following day. The balance will be due soon; she would like it paid immediately. Shelly has finished putting out the morning snack: rice, hot dogs, slices of cheese, and mango—food purchased with Elizabeth's earnings. The children gather at the table. Elizabeth tells her husband that she loves him. He reciprocates the sentiment and bids her good night. Shelly fills the children's' plates. Elizabeth is gone now. Her day comes to an end in Douglas as Shelly begins hers in Quezon City.

8.3   RETHINKING GLOBAL CARE CHAINS

Joseph and Neneth, and Elizabeth, Shelly and John occupy transnational social fields structured by the histories of the Manitoba and the Philippines, by the multi-sited policy mechanisms that have facilitated Elizabeth and Joseph's migration, and by the daily interactions and long-term relationships that constitute their respective projects of reproduction and livelihood. These interactions and relationships are very much reflective of the Philippine state's discursive framing of migration. They fit with the objectives of the state vis-à-vis migration and transnationality. And yet, they are equally predicated on sentiment and attachment. Joseph is committed to his family beyond the requirements of the state, and while his labour reflects deeply rooted inequalities (both gendered and classed), Shelly expresses genuine care for those in her charge, for John, as well as for Elizabeth. Their emotion shapes their interactions, and as such the transnational social field within which their various reproductive projects unfold. In a number of ways, the Global Care Chain thesis is a useful tool for understanding the dynamics, experiences, and relationships of these two kin groups. At the same time, it is limited in so far as it restricts its analysis to three (though more often, two) groups of women who meet their socially constituted responsibility in different, though connected, ways. This section explores the potential and questions the limitations of the Global Care Chain thesis. Drawing on critiques offered by Yeates (2004; 2012), Manalansan (2006) and McKay (2007), it does this as a means of embedding the reproductive labour and strategies of those in Douglas within the dominant analytical frame, while simultaneously, offering an opportunity to broaden that frame.

8.3.1 Care in the Gender and Migration Literature

Beginning in the early 2000s, care appears as a focal point for a growing number of academic inquiries into gender and migration. Often times, these multi-disciplinary projects moved away from discussions of social reproduction, directing their attention more specifically to the transfer of care labour (both physical and emotional) from the Global South to the Global North. The shift toward "care" within the literature represents both an expanding and a narrowing of the analytical framing of social reproduction vis-à-vis labour migration. These projects opened the otherwise "private" sphere of the domestic, highlighting the, at times, extremely exploitative conditions migrant domestic workers face. Exposing the experiences and hardships of migrant women in Asia, Europe, Canada, the U.S., Australia, and South Africa, this body of work emphasizes the extent to which migrant domestic workers (not "simply" their labour) become commodified to be "exported-imported, bought-sold, and controlled in the most demeaning ways" (Chin, 1998, p. 98). Part of this process entails the commodification of "care", whereby the emotional labour of migrant domestic workers comes to be monetized (even as it is inadequately rewarded) (Hochschild, 2000). Not only, however, is care commodified, it is redirected away from those who are (biologically or socially) entitled to it toward those who are able to pay for it. And so in addition to highlighting the physical and psychological toll of domestic care labour migration, this literature accounts for the emotional labour often involved in care, particularly in domestic settings. Here, the displacement and redirection of emotion, and the ways in which employers of migrant care workers access "emotional surplus value" emerged as central features of the gender and migration scholarship.

This process of value extraction was first articulated in relation to what Arlie Hochschild (2000) labeled the "global care chain": a series of personal links between people across the globe based on paid or unpaid labour" (2000, p. 131). In these accounts, care labour is transferred from one woman to another. Corresponding to the position of each within global hierarchies, care is "drained" from resource poor to resource rich places. For example, Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck (2012) in their recent work, explore the transfer of care from Poland and Ukraine to parts of Western Europe. Contesting negative popular discourse concerning the non-migrant children of migrant mothers, they highlight the strategies employed by domestic labour migrants to organize care replacement for their families left behind. Parreñas' on-going work explores the dispersal of care labour from the Philippines to various locations globally, but in particular to the United States and Italy (2000; 2001; 2005). She also highlights the strategies employed by migrant mothers to remain actively involved in their family's daily lives. Reflecting Hoschschild's framework (2000), this work as a whole highlights the typically gendered, classed, and racialized nature of global care chains. And, as it effectively demonstrates, while the marketization of care in receiving-states offers employment opportunities to women willing to migrate, these opportunities do not negate attachment to "home" and family, nor do they absolve the migrant from providing immediate care to her children and family. Rather, in response to distance and separation, new arrangements are developed in order to meet the needs of those left behind.

8.3.2   Who Cares and How

While conceptually useful, the global care chain thesis (as revealed in its application) has simultaneously narrowed the field of analysis. As Kofman (2012) argues

about this literature, reproduction is largely taken as an outcome of care. While it is often

true that reproduction occurs because care (encompassing material and emotional labour)

is provided, as care emerged as the field's central organizing concept, reproduction came

to be narrowly constituted as the reproduction of bodies overtime. In other words,

reproduction came to be reduced to its most apparent and immediate outcome, to the

detriment of more systemic, structural, and material considerations. As a result, the

analytical breadth and potential reach of social reproduction as a concept is diminished.

At the same time, as care became the scholarship's central organizing concept, it fixed its

gaze on the original thesis' key protagonists: those women, differently situated, who

following the normative configuration of care labour, meet their socially constituted

reproductive roles in connected, yet differentiated ways. Men, in other words, and their

involvement, or lack thereof, in reproduction remained obscured. Moreover, as the focus

turned away from reproduction writ large and reproductive labour (both embodied and

systemic) toward domestic care workers, their families, and their employers, the sexual

division of labour so calibrated under the capitalist mode of production came to be

implicitly embedded within the thesis.

The multi-sited labour of the hotel's temporary foreign workforce reflects in many

ways the broad strokes of "global care chains". Following the histories provided in the

preceding chapters, labour—implicitly and explicitly configured as care—is transferred

through the highly unequal circuits of global migration, from the Philippines to Douglas,

and in-between. At the Hotel, this labour takes the form of "service and hospitality". And

while it diverges from standard accounts of care (no one worker is responsible for every

aspect of a guest's stay) as they cook, clean, and serve, their labour possesses both

reproductive and care-like qualities, so that at the hotel, hospitality runs akin to care commodified as described in the literature. Though the economic value of "hospitality" is recognized (unlike that of "care"), given wages at the Hotel , as in the sector more generally, this value goes largely undercompensated. This is attributable (as discussed in the previous chapter) to the emotional and affective labour required of service work— labour that, while central to the effective production of hospitality, goes unaccounted for. In the Philippines, based on cultural idioms of family, reciprocity, and obligation, care labour is transmitted through Skype, text messaging, and money transfers, and is reflected in the shifting of care responsibilities from one person to another. Reflecting on the narratives above, this is far more clear-cut in the case of Elizabeth and Shelly. (As it is in the case of June and her sister—*see* chapter three). Like many Filipino women in Douglas as elsewhere, Elizabeth has come to rely on the often ambiguously constituted labour of her *helper*. Meanwhile, Shelly's seven-year investment in the well-being of Elizabeth's family, has required that she rely on a cousin, who ensures the well-being of her parents and siblings in the province. While care and hospitality are different forms of labour, they have their structural and embodied similarities.

The example of Shelly and Elizabeth, then, illustrates the unbounded yet highly spatialized character of globalized capital as it relates to reproductive labour, and in many ways, their relationship mirrors the analytical contributions of Hoschschild's global care chain thesis (2000). However, while the thesis reveals something of Shelly and Elizabeth's experience, with its focus on a limited number of narrowly defined "reproductive" (i.e. care) labourers and a limited number of their kin, it fails to adequately account for the ways in which these two women meet their socially

constituted social reproductive responsibilities, and more precisely, the combination of commodification, interpersonal care, and institutional intervention that make up the reproductive efforts of so many. In large part, this stems from the nature of Elizabeth's employment in Canada. A hotel and service worker, her contributions to reproduction go unacknowledged by the care chain thesis, and largely unnoticed by the research projects that have stemmed from it. As Kofman has articulated, the global care chain literature has

> tended to channel research into a narrow set of sectors, sites, and skills. Its analysis framed in terms of flows between households, it renders invisible the other sites, external agents and institutions of care interacting with the household as well as the diversity of familial arrangements within the household. (2014, p. 80)

Offering an important reworking of the thesis, Nicola Yeates (2004; 2012), re-envisions the Global Care Chain as a "multifaceted care production process that involve[s] multiple actors and settings and unfolds over time" (2012, p. 136).

Yeates' reconceptualization stems from her critique of the original thesis' use of global commodity chain analysis. First and foremost, she explains the global commodity chain analysis concerns itself exclusively with the sphere of market production. In contrast, care services unfold within the sphere of reproduction, be it market-based or non-market—in other words, be it commodified or unwaged. She then points to the exclusion of the household as a site of production within global commodity chain analysis. This oversight, she argues, underpins an even more significant analytical problematic; that is, the failure of global commodity chain analysis to recognize "the importance of reproductive labour in sustaining production at every node in the productive process and networks constituting commodity chains" (p. 378). Returning,

then, to the theoretical contributions of feminist political economy since the 1970s, there is an obfuscation of the necessity, and indeed, the value of reproductive labour vis-à-vis production. Whereas, feminist scholarship points to the indispensability of that labour, orthodox economics (manifest, here, in the global commodity chain analysis) ignores it. And so Yeates challenges the suitability of global commodity chain analysis in the elucidation of the global transfer of care services. Thinking through this critique, she situates this transfer in transnational labour networks comprised on a wide variety of actors in a diverse range of settings, including home-based care, but also the many institutional settings that employ migrant care labour (*see* Connell, 2010).

In Yeates' analysis, care labour comes to encompass the high-tech, the low-tech, the high-status, the low-status, the formal, and the informal. Yeates' consideration of the diversity of care services also brings into focus a wider range of actors, including state and non-state intermediaries, different kind of migrants (in other words, as she argues, not all migrant care workers are mothers with dependents), and as a result, different kinds of families and households and different kinds of relationships. No longer just the transfer of care labour from one group of women to another, the inclusiveness of Yeates' expanded framework (2012) makes room for the complexities and unevenness of globalized care. Her emphasis on the circulation of care labour (as opposed to its linear relocation and delegation) draws attention to the economic, cultural, political, ideological, social, and personal logics that govern the provisioning (and gendering) of care in various settings. The transnationalization of care emerges as an embodiment of these logics and the various processes to which they correspond. Moreover, her reframing allows for a more rigorous integration of the productive and the reproductive.

Yeates writes: "integrating gender concerns about care into global commodity chain analysis begins by embedding commodity production process in the social relations that underpin them. This means privileging both productive and reproductive labour in production process" (p. 378). At the same time, we might articulate this somewhat differently, stressing the significance of both productive and reproductive labour in processes of *reproduction*. In other words, we might shift the emphasis away from the "productive sphere" to spaces and projects of reproduction. Such an emphasis asserts a) the centrality of reproduction and its associated labour, not simply in relation to production, but to the continuation of life and social systems more generally, b) the transformation of reproduction under a regime of globalized capitalism overtime, and c) (following from the previous chapter) the ways in which labour, otherwise constituted as "productive" is actually reproductive in configuration.

Drawing on Yeates' work, we can begin to conceptualize Shelly and Elizabeth's relationship, in addition to Joseph's on-going commitment to his family, as constituted within the parametres of the transnationalization of care as opposed to somehow extraneous to it. In other words, Yeates' work provides a means of accessing and applying the analytical contributions of the global care chain thesis while thinking through and possibly redressing some of its shortcomings. If we trace the personal links connecting the Philippines to Douglas established by the migration and labour of Elizabeth, the following emerges: Shelly's parents and siblings in the care of her cousin (in the Province)—Elizabeth's children in the care of Shelly (in Quezon City)—the Hotel's clients in the care of Elizabeth (in Douglas) on the behalf of her employer, the Douglas Hotel. In each instance, care labour (or something very similar) is transferred

along a pathway of interconnected, yet highly differentiated, sites. From the village where Shelly's cousin stretches the 1500 pesos (approximately $37CDN) each month (the totality of Shelly's pay) to meet the needs of Shelly's parents and siblings to Douglas where Elizabeth's earns slightly more than minimum wage ($11/hours), income she sends to Quezon City to pay Shelly's salary, and to cover the costs of her children's education.

Reflecting on the specific dynamics and history of Shelly's employment with Elizabeth's family (having been referred by a mutual family friend in the province five years before Elizabeth's international departure), these personal linkages existed prior to Elizabeth's migration to Douglas, and indeed reflect long-standing practices of care labour transfer in the Philippines, and subsequently, the normalization of care labour migration in that context (Barber & Bryan 2012; 2014). Still, Shelly's workload has intensified in Elizabeth's absence, and in many ways, her relationship to the children has become more complicated as they turn almost exclusively to her for emotional support and care. Elizabeth nervously, though not without humour, suggests that she doubts they even miss her because they never want to chat for very long. In Douglas, Elizabeth does her best to ignore her anxieties and she channels her energy into her work. She does not redirect her affection as such, but, as discussed in the previous chapter, she manages the emotions that flow from it. Moreover, the Hotel capitalizes on her affection (the care she feels for her children), using it as a means of securing additional value (relative to resident workers) and of holding her in place. In other words, they access it, even as it comes to be modified through the labour itself. In a similar way, Elizabeth counts on Shelly's affection. Despite her reported "happiness", Shelly's labour remains constituted within the uneasy, highly exploitative parameters of "care labour".

Shelly's employment in Elizabeth and John's household reflects not only an unequal distribution of resources between sites (in this instance, Shelly's village of origin in the province of Pangasenan and Quezon City, the site of her employment), but the reproduction of that inequality, and its classed and gendered parametres. This inequality, however, is obscured by fictions, some of which are created by a market that holds that the buying and selling of labour is a balanced transaction between equal partners. Accordingly Shelly and Elizabeth, both free and rational agents, enter into an agreement wherein Shelly is compensated by Elizabeth for her labour. Others are generated by cultural discourses that posit women (and, often, specific types of women) as inherently able to care (Mies, 1986), not simply *for* but *about.* Shelly is implicated two-fold in this latter fiction. Like Elizabeth's, her migration (though on a smaller scale) is regarded as particularly conducive to the on-going viability of her family's social reproduction. Indeed, despite ethnographic studies demonstrating that men and women remit in equal measure (Kunz, 2008), the belief that women (narrowly conceived of as mothers and daughters) are more likely to support their families persists amongst migrant families. And so, Shelly's on-going commitment to her non-migrant kin is cast according to a highly gendered logic, framed by discourses of obligation, responsibility, and care. This logic is drawn on by her employers—by Elizabeth and John, who, to secure their own family's well-being (through Elizabeth's employment, be it in Makati or Douglas) are dependent upon Shelly.

Not unlike the Hotel , which implicitly capitalizes on Elizabeth's feelings toward her children, John and Elizabeth are able to rely on Shelly's feelings vis-à-vis her own family. That she cares *about* her family (as Elizabeth does hers) establishes the conditions

under which she cares *for* the children of John and Elizabeth. Moreover, drawing on the idioms of kinship, Elizabeth and John to ensure, not only that their children's needs are met, but that they are, indeed, *cared about.* Indeed, Shelly expresses and experiences profound affection for the children. This is not the redirection of affection; this is not a question of displacement. But rather, it is an outcome of the passage of time, of being present, and of committing herself (body, mind, and sentiment) to the task of care. Similarly, and authentically, Elizabeth and John care deeply for Shelly. And yet, in the household of Elizabeth and John, Shelly occupies an emotionally fraught, insider/outsider position, one marked by the boundaries of kinship but also, considerations of class. This becomes explicit as conversation turns to the family's impending departure, set in motion by the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program.

She prays, Shelly tells me, that they will take her with them to Douglas. Given, Shelly's training (she has a one year course in esthetics) and the informality that characterizes her work with the family, coupled with the requirements of Canadian Immigration, it is very unlikely that she will accompany John and the children when they join Elizabeth in Douglas. She does not meet the requirements of the Manitoba Nominee Program, nor those of, what was then, the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). Moreover, where the latter is concerned, even if she did, reflecting their Canadian-bound class status (as service workers), Elizabeth and John would not qualify as employers under the LCP. And so, Shelly will find work with another family in Manila, enabling her to continue supporting her parents, two sisters, and brother in the province—John's new found mobility (an unexpected outcome of Elizabeth's labour migration to Manitoba), instigating, yet another, chain of care stretching between Pangasenan and Metro Manila.

And so, as Shelly facilitates the migration of her employers, she is relatively speaking, excluded from the opportunities afforded by migration. In a similar vein, Shelly has provided the support for a specific kind of family-life for John, Elizabeth, and their children. A surrogate for Elizabeth, in her absence, Shelly stands in. Due to this arrangement, Elizabeth has been able to secure a future less dependent upon labour migration for her children. While Shelly, now less certain of her own reproductive future (due to her age and a lack of "romantic prospects", an outcome of the conditions of her labour) will, no doubt, remain bound to the circuits of regional care labour migration to continue providing for her parents, siblings, nieces, and nephews.

In an exchange of instant messages, John offers me a reflection on his wife's contribution to their household. *Elizabeth is brave*, he wrote, *she has taken a bolder step.* Like Sheila, who sought to reconfigure her maternal identity in the image of the self-sacrificing migrant mother, Elizabeth's identity as a mother (as a caregiver) has been reconfigured in the context of her migration to Manitoba. Her "bolder step", as described by John, reveals her capacity and competency, as well as her commitment to her children. Her "bolder step" will facilitate their entry into the global North where they will access different kinds of opportunities and where they will build their lives, according to their parents, on their own terms—as opposed to terms cast according to the uncertainty and precarity of life in the Philippines. What renders Elizabeth's step "bold" is the separation she must endure to accomplish her objective. It is, according to her husband, her willingness to suffer through that separation that makes her strong. Her boldness, then, is born out of her identity and experience as a mother. The separation, it is assumed, is felt more acutely. And yet in Douglas, while many of the migrants are mothers, many are not.

Single women (sisters, daughters, and aunts) and single men (brothers, sons, and uncles) also arrive in the town (as well as a number of migrant fathers); their labour at the Hotel directly connected to their own strategies of reproduction and care—caring both *for* and *about.* And the steps they take are equally bold, and similarly mired in suffering. And yet, the literature remains often times silent on the contributions of these migrants—migrants like Joseph (and not unlike Shelly) who forfeit, in many instances (willingly or less so), the possibility of bearing and rearing their own children in the service of their families: parents, siblings, nieces, nephews, and cousins.

Illustrating the analytical saliency and conceptual relevance of Yeates' expansion of the Global Care Chain thesis, Manalansan's research (2006) on male caregivers draws attention to the intersection of sexuality, gender, and care labour migration as a growing number of gay Filipino men access global labour markets as care workers. Not only does his work highlight the growing participation of men in the globalized care economy, it also challenges many of the heteronormative and gendered assumptions about care labour migration. Manalansan argues that while the literature has offered important insights on the migration-related experiences of heterosexual married mothers and their children, it has grossly overlooked those of straight and gay men, gay women, and single women. This oversight has led to a tendency to view transnational families as nearly always biological and nuclear in formation, and heterosexual partnerships to be the only ones affected by migration. By focusing almost exclusively on the migration of wives and mothers, he maintains, the global care chain scholarship unwittingly reproduces the very constraints it analyzes and seeks to redress. The gendered parametres of Joseph's life and the configuration of his family do not preclude him from management of emotion

required of Elizabeth, and indeed, Joseph is equally subjected to the process of value extraction enacted (albeit implicitly) by the Hotel. The migrant breadwinner for his family, responsible for meeting his parents' daily needs, his sense of obligation and dedication to his kin (his caring about them) is not diminished by the fact that this commitment is toward siblings and parents, as opposed to children.

Joseph's narrative provides insight into a more broadly configured care chain or, what Kelly (2009) would call a *global reproductive network,* that extends between Douglas and the Philippines. This global reproductive network incorporates a wide range of migrants and non-migrants whose membership in this network are constituted across a continuum of the local, the global, the intimate, the known, and the anonymous. In the case of Joseph and Neneth, some these people are explicitly implicated in the family's transnational project of social reproduction (and as such are engaged in "care"—caring for and about each other); others, who are pivotal, and yet far more implicitly incorporated. At the same time, Joseph's experience as a service worker—a feminized sector—and as his family's principle migrant earner offer insight into the shifting dynamics of commodified reproduction as it is enacted within Douglas' service and hospitality sector, as well as the centrality of young men in transnational projects of reproduction.

From here, we might return to the restaurant dining room at the hotel, and the truck driver remaining from the morning rush. He does not know Joseph beyond their brief encounter at the restaurant—an encounter predicated on his own mobility and subsequently, his own requirement to have his daily social reproductive needs met on the market. And yet, because of that encounter (and the labour required of Joseph in the

meeting of those needs) he is connected to Joseph, to Neneth, to the woman who sells her ice candy, to unknown people and far off places. A critical member of their social reproductive network and a node within their transnational network of care, the truck driver is also, however, anonymous. Moreover, just as his needs can be met by Joseph or Ester or any number of workers (migrant or otherwise) at the Douglas Hotel, he is interchangeable. Still, his presence is required. In his absence (or in that of those like him), the Hotel serves little purpose and in turn, nor does the labour market in which Joseph secures his family's well-being in the short- and long-term (upon which his capacity to care *for* and *about* them is predicated).

8.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on the ways in which the global care chain thesis can be applied to and elaborated on by the experiences of migration and strategies of social reproduction engaged in by those at the Hotel and their kin in the Philippines. The care chain thesis (Hochschild, 2000) and the research that has followed from it, offers an example of the unbounded yet highly spatialized character of globalized capital as it relates to migration and reproduction (identified as "care"). Moreover, it speaks implicitly to the literature on transnationality as (typically) migrant women embark upon various transnational strategies to meet their own socially constituted reproductive responsibilities via-à-vis their own children and families. As such, it demonstrates (though, often implicitly) the ability of global capital (in conjunction with states) to cast and recast social and gendered subjectivities (Gamburd, 1997). Yet, this embodiment is tempered by human agency, by the very interpersonal and emotionally-driven nature of care, and, as Manalansan (2006) points out, by the willingness of women and men alike

to circumvent the ideological framing of reproductive work. Indeed, as demonstrated by the examples provided in the chapter, rather than transferred from woman to woman along gendered lines of responsibility and from household to household following patterns of relative privilege, "care" (broadly configured) is dispersed amongst an expansive circuitry that incorporates a variety of people, activities, and sites. Those in Douglas and their kin in the Philippines navigate this space (and its unevenness) in various ways. Instant messages, social media sites, video calls, money transfers, and *balkibayan* boxes—these are the tools at their disposal to mediate the physical distance between them, to perform care, and to enact their relationships.

For those in Douglas and their kin in the Philippines life moves forward. Despite separation, and the profound feelings engendered by separation (longing, anxiety, sadness), this movement, is shared. Tt is experienced together though slightly askew, accounting for schedules and time differences. To overcome schism, those in Douglas and their non-migrant kin pay close attention to the rhythms and routines of those from whom they are absent. This "accounting for time" becomes a normative part of their relationships. Often, on both sides, migrants and non-migrants alike are acutely aware of the activities of their children, parents, spouses, and other significant relations. Such an awareness facilitates contact and an on-going, though modified, practice of parenting (as in the case of Elizabeth) and/or "care" (as in the case of Joseph). From Douglas, Joseph contributes to the managing of his family's affairs. His mother is "in charge", he explains, but rarely makes a decision without consulting him. He is her sounding board. They text and talk daily. Joseph, like Elizabeth and most others in Douglas, posts countless photos and updates on various social media sites. Neneth does the same, sharing photos of the

shop and her children with Joseph. And so, these technologies offer the possibility of continuity; they tether those in Douglas to those in the Philippines; they form, rather explicitly, the parametres of the transnational social field in which their shared projects of reproduction unfold. They are, in a manner of speaking, the connective tissue of those projects and the relationships to which they correspond. In the first place, they allow for on-going contact and the on-going enactment of particular relationships. Joseph's capacity to serve as a sounding board for his mother is based on the availability of reliable communication technologies. Similarly, Elizabeth manages her household's finances and parents her children through video chatting applications, and she checks-in throughout the day one instant message at a time.

The following chapter offers an account of the ways in which technologies that facilitate contact and connection, also heighten the awareness of separation, and as such, the feelings and sensations of longing and waiting that are often associated with migration. These technologies offer the possibility of instantaneity—that we can be constantly available to those far from us. And yet, their lives and labour organized according the rhythms and requirements of service work on the other side of the world (accounting for time differences), this simultaneity is far from perfectly realized. Moreover, it is tempered by the uneven distribution of that technology and the infrastructure upon which it relies. Given the often urban to rural flow of the Hotel's workers, this unevenness is not always configured according to global hierarchies and the inequalities that characterize the relationship between the Philippines and Canada. Instead, it is often on the Canadian side-of-things that the technology fails, spread too thin amongst too many potential users. This next and final chapter occupies the private

spaces where grief resides, where waiting is most acutely enacted, and where online interaction simultaneously offers relief and creates distress. It offers the most intimate, the smallest scale, and perhaps, the least visible outcome of the manifold histories and processes described thus far. It is a sort of inversion. It presents an account of migration, transnationalism, and reproduction, not as a series of strategies, commitments, labour, and shared projects, as explored in the preceding chapters, but rather as they come to be reflected in and enacted through moments of solitude and inactivity—moments in which waiting takes centre stage, and the emotions and feelings engendered by waiting come to the fore.

CHAPTER NINE "WAIT, AND WHILE YOU WAIT, WORK": ON THE REPRODUCTION OF LABOUR

Habitual exposure to long delays molds a particular submissive set of dispositions…

(Auyero, 2012, p. 9)

This chapter connects the broader processes, systems, and histories that have structured labour migration to Douglas to the smaller scale, though profound, experience of waiting as it unfolds in the daily lives of the Hotel's Philippine workers. My objective here is to imagine the ways in which those processes, systems, and histories organize waiting and further capitalize on the emotions associated with it. Drawing on several ethnographic examples, I suggest that migrant subjectivities are reproduced at the intersection of two forms of waiting: the waiting that occurs in between contact with non-migrant kin, and the waiting associated with the hoped-for completion of the migration project through the acquisition of permanent residency. The efforts of the Hotel's Filipino workers to sustain contact and reunite with their families in the Philippines are central to their experience of waiting. And following from that, waiting is key feature of their broader social reproductive projects. In the hours between work, they rely on various communication technologies to care for and remain connected to their families. As a result, their waiting, and their practices of care and connection, becomes imbued with the politics of those technologies, their possibilities, and their limitations. The examples provided in this chapter draw on data collected in Douglas, in the Philippines, and in the online spaces that connects the Hotel's migrant workers to their families. Through the multi-sited configuration of these examples, the chapter offers insight into the experience of waiting and separation as they unfold in both Douglas and the Philippines, and it

captures something of the simultaneity that characterizes migrant family life. Finally, corresponding to different points along the pathway to permanency and reunification, these examples highlight the ways in which waiting remains consistent over time, and the ways it is experienced and redirected as the migration project unfolds (often according to timeframes beyond the migrant's control).

The chapter is organized in three sections. The first section offers three migrant narratives. Rosalinda tries (in vain) to reach her children on her 39th birthday. She has only just arrived in Douglas, and her reunion is two years away (2015). Alone in her apartment in Douglas, Christina connects virtually to her family as they celebrate the weddings of her brother and sister. She will secure permanency later in the year. And finally, Joseph, already a permanent resident, deals with the emotional turmoil of protracted disconnection in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan. The second section offers a discussion of boredom—often articulated by the migrants as a symptom of waiting, and their use of communication technology to remedy boredom and its affiliated feelings: sadness, grief, longing, and in some instances, desperation. These technologies are central to the reproductive strategies of the Hotel's migrant workforce. Indeed, as a growing body of scholarship has demonstrated, internet- and mobile phone-based communication has become central to long-distances practices of care, but particularly parenting (Madianou & Miller, 2009; Perteria, 2010). At the same time, these technologies further the economic objectives of the Philippine, Canadian, and Manitoban states by providing a platform for the expression and transmission of migrant experience. In Douglas, as has been demonstrated to be the case elsewhere, this portrayal of "migrant experience" tends to be framed positively by the Hotel's workers. As a result, these technologies serve to

further the reproduction of identities conducive to labour migration regimes and more specifically, conducive to the Hotel's migrant labour recruitment strategy, which as discussed in chapter five, increasingly draws on the networks of its migrant workforce.

While the first section focuses on *waiting in seconds and minutes,* drawing on the experiences of Alexandra, the third illustrates the protracted *waiting in months and years* that the migrants at the Hotel endure. Four years after her arrival in Douglas in 2009, Alexandra still waits for her permanency to be approved. An outcome of the bureaucratic mismanagement of her documents, she grows increasingly desperate to be reunited with her three children. These two forms of waiting (in seconds and minutes; in months and years) are mutually constitutive and reinforcing. In other words, the waiting described in the first section and analyzed in the second, is both an outcome of and a catalyst for the waiting discussed in the third section. When taken together, these forms of waiting bolster the Hotel's capacity to extract value from its migrant workforce by motivating workers to work hard and remain loyal. This two-fold waiting establishes the conditions required of that extraction, while simultaneously ensuring the reproduction of subjectivities conducive to migration.

NARRATIVES OF WAITING IN SECONDS AND MINUTES

This section focuses on the spaces and moments where waiting is experienced most acutely, where it unfolds in real time, and where it is felt viscerally. They are the most private, they are the most intimate, and they are the least accessible. And yet, they are where the weight of the migration project is most acutely felt, such that when they are revealed, we encounter the extent to which emotion must be managed in the service of hospitality. Away from the discipline of service work, it is in these spaces (the bedrooms

and kitchens of the workers) that emotion goes unmanaged, unchecked, and unrestricted.

From this vantage point, the ways in which power circulates through emotion and the

ways in which waiting and boredom serve as mechanisms of accumulation are exposed.

9.1.1   Rosalinda's Birthday

On her evening of her 39th birthday, Rosalinda and I stand in her bedroom.

Rosalinda, a new Filipino recruit, has been working at the Hotel since March 2014.

Rosalinda looks unsettled. She walks me into the living room, and pauses. We stop,

continuing our earlier conversation. She shares a basement apartment with three other

women, each has their own room. There is common space upstairs, shared by all the

tenants, all of whom work at the Hotel. From upstairs, the sound of footsteps and

laughter. Rosalinda's birthday party is in full swing. "Don't you want to go upstairs?", I

ask. But on her birthday, all she really wants is to talk to her children—her daughters.

She hasn't been able to reach them. She will continue to try until she does, and she

prefers to stay downstairs until then. Nothing will dissuade her, not the unreliable internet

connection, not the music, not the laughter, not the food, not her new friends, and

certainly not me. "I'll be up soon", she assures me, kindly. She does not come up soon.

Rosalinda, instead, spends most of the evening in her room by herself. Perhaps it is the

sudden influx of mobile devices upstairs, all of which now vie for limited bandwidth, or

perhaps it is a problem with the Wi-Fi in the Philippines, but she cannot connect to her

children. Rosalinda is still relatively new to Douglas. Moreover, and perhaps more

significantly, she is new to working overseas. She is adjusting. She is trying to make

sense of a reality completely foreign to her: she is out-of-sync with her children. Four

months in, she is still developing the skill-set required to navigate the distance between

the basement apartment in Douglas and her home in Philippines. She has only just started to fill that empty space; to attune her life to that of an overseas worker, separated from her family, implicated in this transnational project that maybe wasn't all it was cracked up to be. Rosalinda is not upstairs soon. She remains in the basement. She waits patiently. She tries again and again until she reaches her children in the Philippines.

9.1.2 Christina at the Wedding

In February 2013, in the city of Angeles, in the Philippine province of Pampanga (84 kilometres north west of Manila), Lillian and Arvin are each getting married. The brother and sister, with their soon-to-be-spouses, have planned a joint ceremony to minimize expenses. It is critical moment for the family, and in the days leading up the event, the family home is the site of constant activity. In a newly developed and uncrowded subdivision, the small but modern house is a work-in-progress. It marks the absence and it signals the labour of their sister Christina who has worked on and off as an overseas worker for most of her adult life. First, in Bahrain, and now, in Douglas at the Hotel where she works at the bar. She is waiting for her permanency to be approved. Once it is, her husband will join her. They want to have a baby.

On the day of her brother's and her sister's wedding, Christina is in Douglas and I am in Angeles with her family. As the couples get ready, Christina is walking home after closing the bar. It is 1am, and if she wants to connect to her family before they leave for the wedding venue, she will need to be quick. "I rushed home", she would tell me several months later, reflecting on that day and the mixed feelings of isolation and pride that she felt. On the day of the wedding, along the dark streets of Douglas, she hurries. It is cold and she is eager to get back to her apartment; she is eager to get online. When Christina

finally makes her appearance in the Philippines, she does so from her dimly lit kitchen in Douglas. So that her roommates remain undisturbed, only one light is on. We—her family and I—can see her alone at her kitchen table. She eats a bagel left over from her lunch. In the Philippines, the successful connection to Douglas is celebrated by the twenty or so family members, formally dressed, who are now seated or standing in the small living room. The laptop sits on a high table by the front door, where the wireless internet is strongest. Christina chats first with her brother and then with her cousin. She and I speak for a moment. Shortly thereafter, Lillian comes downstairs, and everyone will begin making their way to the ceremony. When she does, she finds her sister waiting for her on the screen. Christina greets her sister. The women laugh and cry, together, as their brother maneuvers with the laptop's webcam amongst the growing number of guests.

The connection between Christina and the wedding party is momentarily severed. As we walk to the hall rented for the occasion, on foot or by car, Christina finds herself alone, waiting once again. She sits for a moment, at the table, content in the knowledge of her family's happiness for the day. She gets up. She changes out of her work clothes, putting on sweats and a t-shirt. She waits in the near darkness of her kitchen. She waits for her elder brother. He will sit for the duration of the ceremony, his cell phone held out, offering her a window to the event. I stand several feet behind him. Next to me stands an older woman—a relative in for the wedding. She begins to cry. Turning to me, she explains that she had worked for over 15 years as a domestic worker in Singapore to support her daughter. She gestures at the cell phone projecting Christina's face as she laments the consequences of the sporadic nature of communication during her time as an overseas worker. Brief phone calls on Sunday. A chance to see her daughter once a year.

Their limited contact had had, she explained, had altered and strained their relationship. Christina would echo these sentiments several months later as we reflected on the wedding day from our respective vantage points. That night, she explained, she had remained awake until well after the ceremony was over. Although she had not been able to attend in person, she described herself as lucky. Part of a new generation of migrant workers who could use technology to sustain their relationships. Further, she explained, to the availability and relative reliability of the technology, her schedule enabled her long-distance participation in the daily activities of relatives from whom she was otherwise separated. Working the night shift meant that her waking hours ran more-or-less alongside those of her siblings, her parents and her friends in the Philippines, as well as those of her husband, who, at the time, was working in Bahrain.

9.1.3 Typhoon Haiyan (Yolanda)

When Super Typhoon Haiyan (also known as Typhoon Yolanda) struck land on November 2, 2013, it destroyed the city of Tacloban, in the Philippine province of Leyte, and the surrounding area. In Douglas, ten migrant workers were directly impacted, including Joseph, whose parents and brother lived in a small, precariously placed two-story house on a commercial and residential street that followed the curve of the coast, facing San Pablo Bay. At the time, Joseph was living in Victoria, British Colombia. Having received permanent residency late in 2012, he had moved west from Douglas in search of a higher salary and, as he explained, greater opportunity. Although the cost of living in Victoria was higher than in Douglas, he shared expenses with two friends (who had also worked in Douglas), and having found a second job at a restaurant, was able to save money. As he described it, life in Victoria was more hectic, but he enjoyed the

city—its proximity to the water, and there was money to be made. Having assisted his

sister establish a *sari sari* store Cavite (just south of Manila), he hoped to renovate his

parent's house in Tacloban and to start putting aside money for his niece's education.

There was also the issue of his father's deteriorating health, and his on-going, and indeed,

growing need for a greater number of daily medications. And so, Joseph's strategy was to

ensure his father's relative good health, to improve the quality of his parents' life through

investment in their property, and to begin preparing for the next generation. The typhoon,

however, reset Joseph's strategy. At the same time, it dramatically disrupted Joseph's

ability to connect with his parents in the hours and days following the disaster; to remedy

the challenges of their shared project of reproduction and of labour migration more

broadly.

Unable to take time off, Joseph resigned his various positions in Victoria to return

to the Philippines to help his family recuperate in the short-term. After a few weeks,

rather than returning to Victoria, he returned to Douglas, anticipating more social support

and a greater capacity to save. We met a year later in Douglas. Joseph recalled the

sensation of that disruption. "You feel", he explained, "like you're going to burst…You

can't eat. You can't sleep. Your mind is chaotic…it's so weird. Suddenly, you can't

contact your family members—everything is gone, cell phones, computers. And

everything you see on TV—dead people, the ravages of the typhoon." Joseph continued,

"from the photos on Facebook and the clips from the news, you expect the worst, and it's

hard to accept; it's hard to be strong." In the absence of contact with his family, Joseph's

days were spent in a kind of fog. He described moving through Victoria: "I don't

normally cry, but during that moment, I'm walking in the streets, I'm on the bus, I'm

crying. I'm trying to sleep, but I can't sleep." Prior to receiving confirmation of his family's safety, Joseph resolved to return to the Philippines: "I made the decision that I was going home right away. I couldn't just stay there [in Victoria], and wait to find out. It's just…it was the craziest experience ever. It's life changing. We will never forget the experience." Waiting, in this instance, for Joseph, represented a particular hardship. To wait in addition to everything else was too much for him to bear.

9.2   TECHNOLOGY IN WAITING

What is life like in Douglas? This question is almost always met with polite laughter. Though immediately qualified and contextualized, some variation of "boring" is typically offered: "I like Douglas, but compared to Singapore, there's very little to do here"; "all I do is work and go home"; "I work, I eat, I sleep, I chat online"; "I come home, I cook, I wait for my husband to wake up in the Philippines"; "I miss my family"; "I miss the mall"; "I miss the pollution [in Manila]". It is not for a lack of organized outings, of impromptu parties, or of contact with friends and families in the Philippines that boredom persists as a condition of migrant life in Douglas, but rather, that moments of intense sociability and interaction (at times their own; at others, those experienced elsewhere by family) punctuate lives, otherwise, described in terms of boredom, listlessness, longing, and loneliness. And yet, echoing, Bruce O'Neill's recent exploration of boredom amongst homeless populations in Romania (2014; 2017), theirs is not a privileged boredom; rather, it is a boredom indicative of economic uncertainty and social instability. It is grounded in the transnational strategies employed to redress those realities, and it is symptomatic of the various kinds of waiting undertaken by the Hotel's Philippine workers.

Boredom in Douglas may be an outcome of separation from family, or it may be an outcome of a different pace of life, but it is almost always discussed alongside waiting. Boredom, often, is synonymous with waiting while, at the same time, it is an outcome of waiting. "Boredom", Lars Svendsen argues, "is the 'privilege' of modern man [*sic*], and while there are reasons for believing that joy and anger have remained fairly constant throughout history, boredom seems to have increased dramatically" (2005, p. 21). The democratization of boredom—that is the infiltration of boredom into the everyday lives of ordinary people (notably in the Western world) reflects a series of related material and intellectual processes originating in the nineteenth century: mechanization, urbanization, and the emergence of new temporal rhythms, culminating in the time-disciple of industrial capitalism (Thompson, 1967), the growing emphasis placed on individual self-realization and a concomitant increase in personal entitlement corresponding to Romanticism and the emergence of a new, secular, and materialist interpretation of human life corresponding to the Enlightenment (Svendsen, 2005). Rather than a reflection of some characteristic of "human nature", boredom emerges as a particularity of modern life. That said, boredom, while "accessible" by all and experienced by most, is not evenly distributed, nor is it equally experienced.

For migrant workers in Douglas, boredom is multifaceted. It is an outcome of separation from family. It is a symptom of their migration. And it is a consequence of service work—its repetitive and manual nature and its consistency from one day to the next, coupled with a generalized process of deskilling that many of them, following from their high levels of training in the Philippines, experience. Indeed, with rare exception, the work undertaken at the Hotel is regarded as less challenging, less stimulating, and less

rewarding than work undertaken elsewhere—even as that work, be it in the Philippines or in the context of other overseas employment, had been within the service and hospitality sector. Some of the migrant workers attributed this to the rurality of the hotel, and subsequently, the slower pace of work. Others, spoke of the limited opportunity for professional advancement, an outcome of the Hotel's small size. Furthermore, for those who had been engaged in supervisory or managerial work in the past, the return to the "shop floor" was challenging. In a similar vein, several of the Hotel's line cooks and fast food counter attendants had trained and worked as chefs, managing their own kitchens in hotel restaurants. Still others, found that the Hotel was less than exacting in its implementation of standards. Particularly for those who had worked in high end hotels and restaurants, the basic level of services offered to hotel and dining guests was viewed as curtailing their ability to use their skill set, transforming work that many had taken pride into a series of monotonous tasks.

Some workers, however, experience this monotony more acutely than others. Housekeepers, for example, engage in a series of similar tasks repeatedly until their assigned rooms are completed. In quick succession, the bed is stripped and remade, the carpet is vacuumed, surfaces are wiped down, the bathroom is disinfected, and the garbage is emptied. In contrast, those at the front-desk are assigned a greater number of responsibilities, which, while repeated over the course of a shift, vary in substance. That said, while all workers are expected to abide by the Hotel's "no phone" rule, which prohibits them from using their phones at work (except on their breaks), some are better able to avoid detection when they do. The housekeepers, give the seclusion of their work, have greater sustained access to communication technology throughout the day. This is

facilitated by the Hotel s robust wireless internet, which is often more reliable than the internet in staff accommodation. Those at the front desk or who serve in the restaurant or bar, or who work as counter attendants at the coffee shop or sandwich counter, are far more visible and as such, less connected during working hours. There is additional variation that follows from their shift work and changes in seasonal capacity. So that, when working the night shift, workers—even those at the front desk, may use their mobile devices without being noticed, or that during periods of customer downturn, managers and supervisors are more tolerant of mobile phone use on shift.

That said, more often slow business has the effect of reducing hours—an outcome housekeepers seem most likely effected by. So, while the front desk must always be staffed, housekeepers are often asked to leave early once they have completed cleaning and preparing their allotted rooms. This is significant. Boredom sets in most acutely in the hours outside of paid work, leaving some workers—like the housekeepers—more vulnerable to the effects of waiting. That said, even for those working a 40-hour week, with limited opportunity for over-time, non-working hours represent 75% of the week (128 hours). Of course, some of this is spent sleeping. But sleep, often used as a strategy to counter boredom and loneliness, does not always come easily. Moreover, as the migrant workers in Douglas remain attuned to the rhythms and routines of kin in the Philippines, sleep is often staved off—avoided to facilitate contact with children, parents, siblings, partners, and friends. The temporality of waiting is thus elongated. In other words, empty time (or time outside of work) is experienced by many as stretched, corresponding to the transnational spaces in which their relationships are enacted and the time-differences that make those spaces difficult to navigate.

Communication technologies are routinely deployed within these transnational spaces and around the edges of waiting, both short- and long-term. These technologies allow for what Parreñas (2005) refers to as *transnational communication*. Here, she refers the flow of ideas, information, goods, money and emotion so critical to the reproductive strategies of migrants, and to sustaining the relationships at the centre of those strategies. Indeed, as Barber (2010) and others comment, these technologies provide powerful means of "sustaining transnational ties to 'home' allowing for a 'stretching of intimacy' and an 'absent presence' over the time and space displacements in migrant's transnational families" (p. 150). Parenting, intimacy and negotiation with spouses, the overseeing of household finances—these come to be transmitted through a collection of communication technologies: instant messaging, Facebook posts, and emails. In the private spaces of bedrooms and apartments, communication technologies alleviate some of the stress of waiting and some of its sadness. They also, however, have the tendency to accentuate both. Indeed, in the moments following contact, absence is often felt most acutely. Christina, sitting in her apartment is painfully aware of the celebration underway in the Philippines. And as her brother switches from laptop to cell phone over the course of the day, she struggles in those moments between contact.

Offering a more acute example of this is Joseph's experience in the aftermath of the Typhoon. When the possibility for contact is severed and made impossible, the realities of separation, the tenuousness of waiting for an uncertain future, and the inequalities that characterize Philippine migration globally are revealed with force. Part of this can be traced to digital inequalities pervasive in the Philippines, and Global South more generally. Digital inequality refers, at once, to levels of access to communication

technology, but also to levels of technology literacy and skill (Buckingham, 2007;

Fountain, 2005). Calling into question the notion of digital technology as equalizing, a

growing body of evidence demonstrates, digital inequality corresponds to social

inequality, such that access to technology, the ability to deploy that technology in

advantageous ways, and the capacity to develop related competencies are largely dictated

by one's socio-economic status (Madinaou & Miller, 2012; Madianou & Miller, 2013;

Norris, 2001; Schradie, 2013). Madinaou and Miller (2013) offer a particularly relevant

example. A qualitative study of transnational families, their work suggests that

differentiated access and skill level create "care divides", with internet-connected and

savvy migrants better able to care for their kin at a distance, relative to those with lower

levels of access and skill. The critique of digital equality is also applied to various scales:

between individuals, but also between countries and regions. Black outs, brown outs,

unreliable service networks, and the stratified consequences of natural disaster mean that

those who are "media rich"—individuals with access to multiple forms of digital

communication technology (Madianou, 2015), in places like the Philippines, are not

immune to the effects of global digital hierarchies—hierarchies that map onto the very

globalized forms of inequality that create the conditions of international labour migration

(Norris, 2008)[6].

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[6] In her work on post-Haiyan Leyte, Madinaou provides four categories of
communication users: those who are media poor (no mobile phone and minimal access to
traditional media and internet); minimal owners (a mobile phone but without autonomous
internet access); moderate owners (a mobile phone with some web connectivity, plus
some traditional media access and occasion use of Internet cafes); and media rich
(smartphone and/or range of other internet-enabled devices plus traditional media)
(2015).

In the context of a natural disaster, where communication shuts down, these multi-scaled hierarchies come into sharp relief. As Mandianou (2015) argues, natural disasters, such as Typhoon Haiyan, are almost always stories of social inequality. Despite their seemingly indiscriminate qualities, the consequences of natural disasters are highly stratified, most adversely affecting the already disadvantaged. Joseph's family lived directly along the coastline. Their house, like others on the street, was a small, two-story wooden structure. To the back, it faced the water. To the front, the street, lined by fish vendors and often congested with foot and pedi-cab traffic. The area was directly in the storm's path, but its vulnerability, reflected in the relative poverty of its residents, had preceded the Typhoon, so that when it hit, their vulnerability was simply accelerated. If prior to the storm, Joseph's family had limited access communication technology—a mobile phone to remain in contact with Joseph and his sister in Cavite, afterward, they had even less: their device lost, and the infrastructure required of its use, destroyed.

That said, in the days immediately following Haiyan, very few Filipinos in the affected area had access to technology. Limited networks became saturated with users, and internet service was almost entirely disrupted. For a time, the only information that seemed to leave the area did so through news media outlets and aid organizations involved in disaster relief. As a result, the images that circulated focused on the destruction, and were (in the case of aid organizations) used to harness to sympathy and secure donations. Ester also had family in the affected area. Word of their safety arrived to her through a photo posted by the Red Cross of her brother at a rice distribution centre. "That's how I knew", she told me, "that's how I knew he was alive." Serendipitous and unexpected, the photo depicted her family's profound, and sudden, need. Her brother

surrounded by a swell of people, his hands held out toward the camera—the recipient of international aid, the image depicted her family's profound, and sudden, need. As such, it provoked great anxiety, and yet in the absence of other news, Ester found great comfort in it. Joseph was not so lucky, and he continued to wait until eventually deciding to return to the Philippines to find out, for himself, what had happened to his family.

At the same time, to draw on McKay (2012) these technologies (in their manifold iterations, but specifically the photos and videos that are posted and publically shared) "contextualize and make material people's experiences of migration" (p. 128). With this effect, in Douglas, the Hotel's migrant workers share a wide range of photos. These photos, snapshots along the migration trajectory, typically remain in digital form, accessed on cell phone screens, tablets, and laptops. As a result, they possess an ephemeral quality; they appear, they are consumed or experienced, they are replaced. Relative to printed photos, then, they offer something of life as it is lived; life as it constantly unfolds. As revealed to me, in the case of new recruits, these digital photos may include work permits, temporary residency visas, and airline tickets captured in the Philippines, the span of the journey (airports and shots out the plane window), and arrival in Manitoba. During the first week in Douglas, attention turns to the town and its surrounding area, the prairie landscape; perhaps, pictures on the job and at the Hotel; the welcome party. Overtime, the images come to document life's moments as they unfold over the course of the everyday: the walk to work, the weather, gatherings (big and small), social outings, group shots, images of food, and meals shared amongst friends. Often the photos are stylized—they are not captured at random, but rather framed in a particular way, offering smiling faces turned to the camera. They are, in this sense,

assertive; self-portraits that project confidence, satisfaction, and happiness. As once-temporary migrants transition to permanency, another layer of documentation emerges: completed applications, trips across the U.S./Canada border, permanent residency cards—each signaling the success of the migration project. In the weeks and months that follow permanency, photos of reunification (often with the trajectory of the spouse or child/ren documented) are posted and circulated. In return, non-migrant kin post photos documenting life in the Philippines: children in school uniforms, Sunday outings, family meals eaten in restaurants, etc.—depictions of the successful outcome of the shared migration project.

In many ways, social media platforms, notably Facebook, sync the "here" and the "there", interlacing images from each site to create a succinct (if imperfect) portrait of the migration experience. This portrait is dynamic; it moves in real time as differently situated members of the same transnational kin group upload images corresponding to the same migration project from their respective vantage points. Non-migrants and migrants alike, in other words, actively represent the migration project virtually, and given the ways in which these online archives are created, these two groups do so simultaneously. The result can be a 24-hour cycle of time represented on multiple profiles, or in other instances, the synchronous documentation of moments shared. Members of the same extended social media network (composed of immediate family, extended family, friends, former co-workers, and a range of acquaintances) access representations of the migration experience as it unfolds in both Manitoba and the Philippines—multi-sited evidence of successfully executed projects of migration and transnational reproduction.

Running in tandem, these depictions of migrant and non-migrant life remedy some of the challenges of overseas employment. Tempering the pain of separation, they give an impression of lives lived together and they allow for a sense of continuity. Rosalinda and her daughters, for example, post photos frequently throughout the day. These are complimented with text messages, and though not possible the night of her birthday, by on-line video calls. The collection of photos, videos, and text form a temporally connected web of memories and aspirations, from which migrants and non-migrants remember, experience, and look forward. At the same time, however, when posted photos circulate amongst social media users, they simultaneously reproduce the subjectivities demanded of that employment, and as such, the practice (migration) that results in the very condition (separation) they seek so desperately to redress through their use of those technologies. Violet, introduced in chapter three, and her brother Charlie offer a useful illustration of this dynamic. Charlie is the recipient of remittances sent by his sister. His online profile reflects this arrangement. There, he documents his academic success, he posts photos of himself in his school uniform, receiving awards, etc. He showcases outings with friends and images of newly acquired consumer goods. He tags his sister in each post, linking the depiction of his life in the Philippines to her online profile, such that they become part of her narrative. His photos intersect with her virtual depictions of life as a migrant: work and daily life in Douglas, but also, dinners out, travel, and parties. Similarly, she tags her brother. His image of what it means to be a migrant is reinforced two-fold: in the context of his own life and in the on-line representations his sister offers of hers. In turn, for Violet, Charlie's photos reinforce the viability of her migration project, of their shared reproductive project. At the same time,

Charlie maps his own desires on the images offered by his sister. He projects his future (a future dissuaded by Violet) onto them, imagining his life in Canada or elsewhere, earning money, making friends, and seeing the world. Charlie and Violet's exchanges are available to an extensive network that, in many ways, reflecting patterns of Filipino migration, encompass the globe. These multi-faced and –sited portrayals, to draw on the work of Jane Margold (2004), are cultural expressions and imaginative resources that consolidate particular understandings of migrant life and its (potential) outcomes.

CB   What advice do you give to people in the Philippines who are thinking about migrating?

Saul   Don't believe anything anyone tells you.

<div align="right">(Saul, Douglas, MB, 2012)</div>

Enabled by a host of communication technologies, these multi-sited online portraits allow for a sense of life lived in tandem and they offer something of the migration experience. And yet, these portraits and the technology upon which they are founded have the tendency to conceal as much as they reveal. Even as Canada's relative wealth is on display, when the available technology works, the inequalities that necessitate employment in Manitoba are muted in so far as migrant workers continues to play an active, if distant, role within their families. When that technology fails, returning to the aftermath of the Typhoon Haiyan, the reality of separation, and as such, the inequalities prompting it, are exposed. And so, while relative to other points in history, the migration experience is far more visible and accessible, this experience is shared in a manner, and through mediums, that obscure the violence so central to it. Such misrecognition is vital if migrants are to meet the demands of capital, and if families are to survive having in many instances been stripped of other means of survival. And so,

with rare exception, the hardships of migration go uncommented on, or perhaps, more accurately, remained veiled. Alongside cheerful photos, however, motivational statements, which often religious in nature and couched in optimism) betray something of the difficulties of life as a migrant. Messages of perseverance and faith abound: "God's guidance is like a small lamp in a dark forest…" one post online offers, "[it] doesn't show everything at once…but gives enough light for the next step to be safe."

To analyze these kinds of online messaging, the migrant's individual experience is somewhat beside the point; the message is shared even as the details are omitted. It reads, uncertainty, insecurity, darkness—these are the outcomes of migration. Overcoming them requires faith and trust in "God's time. Various iterations of "trust in God's time" run the length of online social media profiles. Waiting, from the vantage point of God's time, is for those in Douglas, an expression of faith and of trust that all things will come to pass as they should in the appropriate time frame according to the will of God. Such references invoke a set of constraints and timelines configured according to a logic of faith, as opposed to the logics of Canadian and Manitoban immigration policy. Those in Douglas draw on this logic of faith to steady themselves, to withstand the waiting. And yet, as strategy it does little to remedy the material conditions of their lives; nor does it, resolve the waiting they experience. Moving from the small scale, daily waiting that occurs between contact to the larger context of waiting in which that occurs, the next section connects these two forms of waiting to articulate the ways in which both, together, serve as a mechanism of accumulation for the Hotel.

9.3   WAITING IN MONTHS AND YEARS

The waiting that occurs in between contact with family in the Philippines is overlaid with a more persistent waiting: the outcome of the promise of permanency offered by the Manitoba Nominee Program and more broadly, of the desire held by most, to be permanently reunited with family. As they wait, they work, and as they work, the migrants at the Hotel wait. As they clear tables and strip beds, as they greet guests and prepare sandwiches, they wait—they wait for the completion of their migration projects, articulated in terms of permanent residency and reunification with family. And yet, working offers a distraction, just as family and their various reproductive projects offer meaning. We might recall Sheila (chapter five): *I scrub the toilet and I think I'm doing this for my daughter*. Sheila's trajectory through the MPNP, however, was relatively straight forward. She arrived prior to the initiation of the longer waiting period, and so was not subjected to two years of impermanency. Others, due to their arrival after 2012 or mix-ups in the system, were subjected to much longer periods of uncertainty. In such cases, waiting was the source of additional and considerable stress, and yet rather than dissuading these workers, it compelled them forward. It made them more resolved to remain in Douglas, at the Hotel , and to see their permanency in Manitoba come to fruition.

This waiting was, for the first recruits, both unexpected, as many arrived unaware of the provisions for permanency contained within the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program. But it would be welcomed. Indeed, the waiting required of the MPNP represented, at least in theory, the final leg of the migration project. Once permanency in Canada was granted, long-term settlement would begin, and separation and its adjoining

complications would be remedied. *Wait and while you wait*, work is the message the Hotel's migrant workers implicitly receive from both the Manitoban state and their employer. The experience of waiting is often described in terms of boredom and longing. Those in Douglas lament a lack of activity (though there a plenty of social gatherings), the monotony of work, and persistent paperwork associated with renewing residency visas, work permits, and the MPNP application process. They miss their families; they imagine what life will be like following permanency; they look forward to the future. In this context, waiting is aligned with anticipation—anticipation of a more secure and less precarious future. Waiting, then, occurs within a present characterized by uncertainty but tempered by hope. And following from this, the boredom and longing is often referenced by the Hotel's workers though ubiquitous, is not melancholic. It does not mirror malaise; nor is it experienced as ennui. Instead, their boredom and longing—particularly as manifest in waiting, are experienced as an essential part of broader projects of reproduction and immigration. And so, rather than serving as a register of inadequacy for the migrants themselves, even as they struggle with waiting and boredom, both are purposeful, signaling the migration project and the intentions embedded therein.

Still, while many of the workers described the process of arrival as unfolding relatively quickly, in a span of three to six months, the process of securing permanency tended to take much longer. For those who arrived after 2012, this waiting was extended. The pathway to permanency can also be interrupted by unexpected circumstances and events far beyond the migrant's control. For example, in 2012, Citizenship and Immigration Canada restructured its North American Processing Network. This included the closure of the immigration section of the Canadian Consulate in Buffalo, New York,

which had processed permanent residency applications. Alexandra, like several others in Douglas, had sent her permanent residency application to the Buffalo office, which upon closing, sent her application elsewhere. When this happened, the application—though it had been filed in 2011, was put to the end of the queue, causing additional delay. Although she was one of the first Filipino workers recruited (the forth to arrive in 2009), she waited the longest to be reunited with her family, the outcome of the restructuring. While I didn't meet Alexandra in person until the spring of 2013, I met her family in the Philippines during that winter. She was desperate, she explained to me via email, to see her family; perhaps, I could visit them in her stead; I could hug her children for her.

In the Philippines, the profound longing for migrant family members is palpable and sustained. There are noticeable vacancies. Absence assumes a kind of present-ness. Sometimes these vacancies are shapeless, carried in the private thoughts and memories of non-migrant friends and family, revealed in comments like "I think about her all the time, but I simply try to focus on work"; "I stay busy, but I'm always thinking about him." Other times, they are more tangible. In the moments immediately following contact (via cell phone or internet), the weight of separation hangs heavily. When the voice and image of the migrant has just filled the room, their absence is more noticeable. And still at other times, this longing and absence assumes a shape. It is made visible through the uncanny nature of a system that prompts separation and then commodifies it, allowing for physical proximity only through the circulation of money and material goods. This money, often invested in housing and education, and these goods, often retained over long periods of time, run the length of generations, connecting one end to the other (*see* chapter three).

Filomeno V. Aquilar Jr. (2014) speaks of a double liminality that characterizes the experience of overseas employment. Within anthropology, liminality is used to signal the quality of ambiguity or disorientation that occurs in the middle of a ritual event (Tuner, 1967). During the liminal stage, participants find themselves at a threshold between old and new forms of identity, ways of understanding, and forms of belonging. For the migrants this liminal stage is protracted. Often, they find themselves stalled at that threshold—unable to move forward toward a new identity, or backward, to the old. This is because, labour migrants, as Aquilar Jr. argues, are liminal in relation to the place of origin (from which they are absent and from where others wait) *and* in relation to the site of employment and, potential, settlement. From this double liminality, the labour migrant "finds the self in a sort of suspended state of animation" (p. 159)—they wait, but what they wait for is unclear. Such an understanding and application of liminality denotes intense pause. Chu (2010) draws on such a conceptualization of liminality throughout her work on transnational mobility amongst Chinese migrant workers. The liminal spaces she draws our attention to are not those of transition, but immobility. Her participants are stalled in those spaces, held in place by systems and structures far beyond their control. For the workers at the Douglas Hotel, liminality and the waiting it engenders are embedded in the multi-sited, multi-scaled transnational projects of social reproduction described throughout this thesis.

That the project of the Hotel is to recruit and to retain labour, and that it draws significantly on the parallel projects of the federal and provincial states, offers new insight into the experience of liminality. Indeed, even as it is emotionally taxing, liminality and waiting, for those in Douglas, is more accurately understood as an exercise

in patience as they wait for permanent residency. As a result, it is purposeful, born of longing and commitment, but also hope and anticipation. This exercise, however, is demanded by the various states with which they interact, and by the Hotel, whose adaptation of the MPNP has resulted in more waiting and uncertainty. What is critical about the waiting in months and years that occurs amongst the Hotel's migrant workers is that, even as it does come to an end, it is fraught. Repeated in countless ways by the migrants themselves, it is difficult to bear.

The adaption of the MPNP to include a waiting period of 18 (rather than six) months is an illustration of the ways in which liminality, and waiting, can be adjusted to further meet the requirements of states and employers. This is not lost on the workers themselves. Dennis arrived late in 2013, and as such, was subjected to the extended waiting period initiated by the Hotel and the MPNP. Because he knows of the policy change, Dennis feels the weight of this *extra* time. At the same time, this protracted exercise in patience (on the part of the migrants) generated new opportunities for accumulation for the Hotel. Here, we might return momentarily to the argument offered in the seventh chapter: in their delivery of reproductive labour to the hotel's guests, the Hotel's migrant workers engage in affective performances dependent upon the management of their emotions. They do this to generate the effect of hospitality central to the mode of production undertaken at the Hotel. The Hotel takes advantage of the emotional labour necessary for this production in two ways. This labour underpins the interactive quality of the services provided, wherein workers come to embody the Hotel's intentions toward their clients. The profound and often fraught emotions that accompany migration—those that must be managed on the shop floor, also serve as a mechanism

through which the higher than average value of Philippine workers comes to be realized. In other words, the Hotel capitalizes on the intensity of the workers' feelings to ensure a high degree of productivity and loyalty in the face of exploitative working conditions—conditions, engendered by the inequalities of low-skilled labour migration and harnessed by the TFWP, that themselves have the effect of generating additional capital for the employer. Motivated, at once, by their separation from family and their desire to be reunited, Dennis explained that workers "keep it together." In the context of prolonged and unexpected delays, "keeping it together" becomes more arduous and more vital, as prolonged time away from family encourages the on-going emotional self-discipline required of hospitality.

There are, of course, occasions when the self-discipline required of "keeping it together" is disrupted. For example, in the immediate aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan, the Hotel became a site of emotional chaos. As the severity of the situation came to be known, as images began circulating, as the digital and virtual connections between the workers and their families were disrupted, and as the fate of those in the affected areas remained uncertain, the management of emotion became an almost impossible task. "I was in the lobby; we could hear…(*extended pause*)…it was like a kind of wailing coming from the restaurant"—the Hotel's human resource manager described the scene on the day the Typhoon hit, "and then, the screaming…the guests were shocked but everyone understood." The routine ambiance of the Hotel (calm, quiet, and friendly) unsettled, Hotel management tended simultaneously to the needs of their workers and those of their guests. A vacant suite was reserved for those who required time and space to collect themselves. In the subsequent weeks, work schedules were adjusted, and people were

given time off as necessary. Isolating workers in the short- and longer-term, the regular-state-of-things was restored. But in that moment, emotions otherwise concealed, suddenly come to the forefront. The trauma of migration was revealed and the performative nature of their labour at the Hotel was laid bare. The Typhoon and the emotional havoc it invoked serves as an exception that illustrates the rule.

From the vantage point of the Hotel, then, waiting is not only a necessary outcome of the migration process, it is a productive component of the labour process. The productivity of waiting can be understood in number of ways. Perhaps, paradoxically, the more the Philippine workers at the Hotel wait, the more inclined they are to wait. The closer they feel to the completion of their migration projects, the less likely they are to jeopardize it. The more they wait, the more they work (in the interim at least), tolerating conditions that they, perhaps, otherwise would not. At the same time, this waiting is productive in so far as it is within the private moments of waiting experienced in solitude and often, in and around long-distance communication with kin that the emotions of migration are most pronounced, and when hope, anxiety, and fear are mobilized, to be later set to work in the service of hospitality at the Hotel. Put differently, emotions otherwise managed are brought to the fore. If workers repress feeling and perform hospitality while at work (if they can "keep it together" on the floor), it is because they are reminded of the stakes each time they go online and each time they check their phones. This becomes pronounced in moments of acute crises—as in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan in November 2013. We can also turn to the strategies deployed to remedy waiting, given the centrality of communication technology in reconciling the challenges of migration and its simultaneous utility in the creation and transmission of

migrant subjectivity, waiting emerges as a critical space in which those in Douglas project their experiences, preparing their immediate family for life and labour in Manitoba and, often times, enticing extended family, former co-workers, and friends to embark upon their own migration trajectories—leading, at times, to Manitoba; at others, elsewhere. Given the ways in which their labour is put to work within the context of contemporary global capitalism, waiting emerges not only as a ritual of identity production, but of political subordination. To return to the work of Auyero (2012), waiting is a "temporal process in and through which [that] subordination is reproduced" (p. 2). Waiting in Douglas, then, is about power and it is a critical dimension of the political economy in which it operates.

9.4 CONCLUSION

In Douglas, the Hotel is a site of considerable movement: long- and short-term guests (tourists, truck drivers, mobile construction crews, and those transiting the region) circulate in and out, spending a few minutes, or hours, or days, grabbing a coffee, eating a meal, or staying for a few nights rest. Those who work at the Hotel are, of course, also mobile, arriving in growing numbers from the Philippines. And yet, for these workers there is also a great deal of immobility, stemming in part from the requirements of the TFWP and MPNP, and by the conditions that shape their lives (particularly at the onset) in the rural town, notably as they relate to transportation and communication. This immobility is accentuated by separation from family. This separation brings into focus the solitude that, while tempered by work and the establishment of new relationships, characterizes their migration. While many accounts of globalization and mobility foreground the rapidity of movement, be it of bodies, of information, or of capital, this

chapter has focused on a different kind of momentum—a momentum marked by deceleration and pause. Waiting is a generalized condition of life in Douglas for the Philippine migrants who work and live there. Following the requirements of the TFWP and the Hotel's use of the MPNP, waiting—as it occurs amongst the Philippine workers—is configured according to the logic of migrant labour recruitment and as such, it reflects the hierarchies and inequalities embedded within that logic.

While on-line exchanges and long-distance communication are relatively accessible to those in Douglas and their immediate kin, the technologies upon which such communication and exchange is predicated are not experienced uniformly. In the days following Typhoon Haiyan's devastation, the social media platforms (notably, Facebook) of the Hotel's Philippine workers lit up. This virtual space, typically reserved for multi-sited articulations of various aspects of transnational family life and the migration experience, became a means expressing the anguish of disconnection. Posts became pleas directed at no one in particular, prayers circulated, and photos of loved ones appeared alongside requests for information. The sudden one-sidedness of this online engagement brought into sharp focus the inequalities that shape not only the distribution of communication technology, but those that characterize the relationship between Canada and the Philippines. Transnationality and the projects of reproduction embarked upon by the Hotel's migrant workers and their kin in the Philippines are not, as Saskia Sassen argues, naturally occurring, nor are they self-generative. Rather, they must be "produced, and such a feat of production requires capital fixity, vast concentrations of very material and not so mobile facilities and infrastructures" (2000, p. 217). Following from this, as Parreñas reminds us, "social and geographical inequalities shape the quality of [and

indeed, the very possibility of] intimacy in transnational family life" (2005, p. 318). The capital fixity demanded of such infrastructure is distributed according to patterns of global hierarchy—patterns in which the Hotel's migrant workers are doubly-positioned. In periods of acute crises or, reflecting Rosalinda's experience on her birthday, moments of inaccessibility, the extent of this dual-positionality comes to be revealed. The migrants in Douglas occupy a fraught space, physically rooted to Manitoba; mentally and emotionally rooted to the Philippines. As migrants wait, be it for news of their families' survival or a greeting on an important occasion, they experience the full force of the systems and structures that, at once, compel and require their mobility.

The transnational reproduction described in this chapter is more inward than outward. And yet, this interiority hinges on a relationship to the exterior as their boredom, their isolation, and their longing are tethered to the globalized and historic processes that converged in their creation. This chapter has suggested that the experience of waiting, imbued with emotion, offers more than simply insight into the hardship of separation, but that it reveals something of the politics of international labour migration, and significantly for the project of this thesis, yet another way of thinking through the reproduction of migrant subjectivities. Characterized by moments of intense pause, an absence of familial sociality, and prolonged periods of waiting, their longing and the boredom that characterizes their experiences in Douglas offer insight into the transnational parametres of their lives in Douglas, and the histories, politics, and economics that propel them there.

CHAPTER TEN   CONCLUSION

Moving through layers of history, political process, and personal experience, this thesis offers an ethnography of a small Filipino workforce in the place of Douglas, Manitoba. Drawing together the theoretical contributions of feminist political economy and the objectives of historic political economy, it explores the establishment and reproduction of this workforce across the multiple scales and registers that constitute contemporary global capitalism. From the first half of this thesis, focused on historic instantiations of state intervention into land and labour, the second half focuses on smaller scale, though globally mediated, mechanisms and practices of reproduction. Taking its cue from the work of feminist scholars who theorize an expansive concept of reproduction, reproduction in this text is approached as a frame of reference through which various forms of human existence, sociability, and structure are reproduced over time. In the moment captured by the thesis, reproduction is reflective of and responsive to the needs of states and capital in both Manitoba and the Philippines. Moreover, it is transnational and commodified. Such a patterning of reproduction is reflective of the organization of capital in the contemporary moment, but also of long-standing processes of capital accumulation in the Philippines and Manitoba. Thus, the thesis traces a complex multi-sited history to articulate the ubiquity *and* contingency that characterizes the long-arm of capitalist political economy and the ways in which reproduction, broadly configured, takes shape and shifts in response to requirements that include, but exceed, the immediate needs of human bodies.

With this variability and complexity in mind, this thesis project's primary objective has been to decipher and articulate the processes that have contributed to the establishment of Douglas' Philippine community. This thesis represents an attempt to

construct an ethnographic history of a migrant workforce that is, at once, unique in form and content, and reflective of a moment in the development of capitalist political economy. This history is organized around practices of reproduction as they are embarked upon at various scales. Reproduction serves as the anchor of the text. To quote Bakker and Gill (2003), reproduction is at once "a productive potential and a condition of existence for the expanded reproduction of capital and social formation" (p. 22). On the one hand, reproduction represents a form of labour aiming to preserve human life. On the other, as an analytical framework, it offers insight into the processes, mechanisms, and institutions upon which societies are built and subsequently, reproduced. Although their work is waged and they are "bread winners" within their families, the imperative of the Hotel's Filipino workers' labour is reproductive in nature. This is true in Douglas where they tend to the daily needs of the hotel's guests, as it is in the Philippines where their earnings allow for the survival of family and community. Predicated on various state policies and corresponding to opportunities reflective of family histories of migration and class, migrants take up state projects of labour export and import, transforming them into meaningful, if at times fraught, practices of kinship and reproduction.

These practices occur within a transnational social field encompassing Manitoba and the Philippines, such that the arrival of Filipino migrants in Douglas signals the expansion or reconfiguration of the town's social boundaries—boundaries, which now, encompass a growing number of "non-local spaces" (Olwig, 2007) and relationships. This newly formed, though historically situated, social reproductive field serves as the project's site of inquiry. Stretching between the town and the Philippines, it is a space occupied by multiple actors: individual migrants, their families, employers (notably, the

Douglas Hotel), the Hotel's clientele, migrant labour recruiters, and long-standing

Douglas residents. How these actors navigate this field has been largely determined by

the policy making decisions of the Philippine, Canadian, and Manitoban states, which are

ever responsive to and generative of the broader global political economy in which they

operate.

An ethnographic account of the long-arm of capitalist political economy, this

thesis offers a "history of the present as a history of power" (Ghani, 1995, p. 31), as it

unfolds in the newly formed social reproductive field encompassing both the Philippines

and Douglas, Manitoba. To this end, it focuses on the intricate set of histories and

transnational processes that together have established the conditions under which the

Hotel's migrant workforce has been created and reproduced. And following from that, it

contributes to our understandings of global political economy across a number of

registers and scales, ranging from the global to the highly localized.

This thesis brings the colonial and more contemporary histories of Manitoba and

the Philippines into proximity. It does so for two reasons. In the first instance, and

following from Eric Wolf's work on historic political economy, to illustrate the ways in

which these two sites and histories, while separated in time and space, can be situated

within a singular field of power. In the second, such a telling of Manitoban and Filipino

history anticipates the arrival of Filipino workers to the province. Running in tandem for

centuries, the histories of the Philippines and Douglas are connected in the contemporary

moment through the multi-sited mechanisms that move workers out of the Philippines

and, eventually, into Douglas. Moreover, pursuant to the histories and political

economies of Manitoba and the Philippines, the arrival of Filipino workers in Douglas

brings into sharp relief the ways in which these histories articulate forward together and the ways in which their respective political economies are connected. Central to this convergence of history and political economy, the 1960s represented a transitional period in both Manitoba and the Philippines. As neoliberal ideology assumed its nascent material form, both the Canadian and Filipino states began recalibrating social policy. Reflecting their diverse colonial histories, these policies varied, yet in both countries they corresponded to new social, political, and economic relationships to land and labour, both locally and globally. In the Philippines, this meant the initiation of a new cycle of dispossession and the development of labour export policy. In Canada, it meant the institutionalization of new agricultural practices and the development of labour import policy. In the context of Asessippi-Parkland, though it would take several decades, these policies would eventually work in tandem to bring Filipino workers to the region.

Constructed during this decade of transformation, the Porterhead Dam would usher in a new era of economic development in Asessippi-Parkland. A dramatic intervention into the region's ecology, and subsequently, economy, the Porterhead Dam is offered in this thesis as a watershed—a conceptual and concrete representation of the social change of the 1960s. At the same time, a means of redressing the shortcomings of the colonial agricultural project (manifest in flooding), it signals (if implicitly) the region's colonial past. It is a piece of infrastructure upon which the region's history (past, present, and future—depending on one's vantage point) pivots. And as such, it connects those workers so central to the region's contemporary economy to its past, while simultaneously connecting that past to the histories of those workers. These histories are, at once, broadly configured (the "history of the Philippines" so to speak) and more

personal, referring to family histories of work and migration, and to the reproductive

strategies of the migrants at the centre of this work. These strategies are reflective of

reproductive trends—or put differently, the ways in which reproduction comes to be

differently organized under the capitalist mode of production at different points in time.

As the Philippine state was formalizing the mechanisms that would export

Filipino labour to the world, the groundwork for their arrival was being laid in rural

Manitoba. In Asessippi-Parkland, the conditions to which I am referring are broadly those

which ushered in the need for migrant labour: the transformation of the rural regional

economy, the transition away from "the family farm" as a sustainable inter-generational

option for survival, and the establishment of the tourism sector. An economic

diversification strategy initiated, in part, to provide employment to local-residents, the

tourism-, and adjacent service and hospitality, sector would prove an important if

somewhat tenuous addition to the regional economy. An unintended consequence, the

recruitment of migrant workers by the Douglas Hotel reinforces the contradictions of the

sector, adding to it the complexities of racialization, labour market stratification, and

somewhat ironically, professionalization.

The professionalization of service and hospitality workers is initiated on both

ends of the Philippines-Douglas migration corridor. In the Philippines, it is an outcome of

the proliferation of post-secondary programs in hotel and restaurant management—

programs that rival nursing in their production and indeed reproduction of Philippine

overseas workers (Choy, 2003). In Douglas, professionalization follows from the

requirement that service and hospitality workers at the Hotel be graduates of such

programs, and that they have considerable employment experience within the sector or a

related field. Importantly, these are not credentials Canadian born, resident-workers are likely to possess. And yet, they are what qualifies Filipino workers for employment at the Hotel. Reflecting patterns of migrant deployment in the Philippines and labour recruitment practices in Douglas, most of the Hotel's Filipino workers hold degrees or diplomas in hotel and restaurant management. With rare exception, all pursued their post-secondary education with the intention of finding work abroad. For many, prior to arriving in Canada, this meant prolonged employment in high-end, multi-national hotel chains, some in the Philippines, but most in the Middle East and elsewhere in Asia. This is true for cleaning-, front-desk-, and kitchen- and serving staff alike.

The professionalization of their labour, however, is held in tension with its on-going practical devaluing and their status as racialized migrant minorities in a town dominated by white settler Canadians and their histories. So that, even as these are graduates of post-secondary institutions, most workers earn only a few dollars above minimum wage. Reflective of the sector, their wages illustrate the persistent tendency to devalue labour reproductive in nature. Embedded in the sexual division of labour as it emerged under the capitalist mode of production, the commodification and professionalization of their labour does little to augment its status. This is affirmed and reinforced at the level of Canadian immigration policy, which classifies their labour as low-skilled and confers upon them—at least at the onset, a precarious legal status. The vulnerability that accompanies their initial migration translates into additional value for the Douglas Hotel. This persists even as Canadian and foreign-born workers earn similar wages at the hotel, and as Filipino workers appear just as likely as their Canadian counter-parts, and by 2014 more likely to be promoted into supervisory positions. The

on-the-ground equivalence between these two groups of workers, however, is something of an illusion. Given obligations to kin in the Philippines, and the precarity that defines their first few years in Douglas, coupled with the disciplinary effects of the promise of permanency, the Hotel's Filipino workers generate higher levels of value for their employer. This is not an outcome of lower wages; rather, it is a consequence of higher than average levels of productivity (celebrated by Hotel management and increasingly regarded as an inherently Filipino attribute).

The transnational conditions of the workers' lives and reproductive projects serve to further discipline these workers, encouraging loyalty and instilling a readiness to work hard. Thus, the stratification of the Douglas' service and hospitality labour market corresponds, not to differentiated wages, but to levels of productivity that signal migration-status, and given their position as racialized minorities in the town, essentialist notions of "Filipino-ness". As a result, such that the professionalization of their commodified reproductive labour fails to translate into higher wages and status, the Hotel gets more from their Filipino staff than they would otherwise. The Hotel profits from the ambiguity of their Filipino worker's professional status and benefits from the competency and proficiency engendered by their post-secondary education and intensive overseas trainee and employment experience while paying low wages. The value of these workers is further augmented by practices and expectations of deference and respect, which while common-place in hotels generally, underpin hotel and service work in the Philippines far more explicitly than they do in rural Manitoba.

In their staging of hospitality, the Hotel capitalizes on this inventory of meaning and value, and the combination of vulnerability, dependency, education, and training

upon which it is founded to ensure higher than normal productive and affective outputs. In turn, the Hotel (as an employer) decreases in desirability amongst local workers, who seek out employment in other sectors. And so, a feedback loop comes to be established. In the absence of willing Canadian-born or –naturalized workers, the Hotel's use of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program allows for the reproduction of its workforce, and of those qualities typical of the service and hospitality sector that have the tendency to dissuade local workers from taking up employment. Thus, the "need" for temporary foreign workers is asserted and reinforced.

The recruitment of Filipino workers represents a trend within the service and hospitality sector in the prairies and elsewhere in Canada. And yet, as illustrated by this thesis, the establishment and reproduction of Douglas' migrant Filipino workforce is not simply an outcome of contemporary labour market patterns, nor is it of state and employer practices concerning migrant labour deployment and recruitment. Rather, it follows from a protracted colonial history, running in tandem for centuries and eventually conjoining in the early 21st Century, more recent state experiments in neoliberalization, and the intricacies and intimacies that give form to familial projects of livelihood and reproduction. The origins of the Douglas Hotel's Filipino workforce are local, global, and transnational in configuration. They extend backward, corresponding to the histories of the Philippines and Manitoba, and forward, corresponding to the projected futures of individual migrants, their families, local employers, the town, and the province. These are situated in the multiple, and at times competing, objectives of states and capital vis-à-vis labour and migration. And they are reflected in the reproductive strategies embarked upon by the town's newest residents and their kin in the Philippines. These strategies are

those of international labour mobility and of transnational care, and as such, they represent life lived on a global scale. And yet, these strategies unfold in private and intimate settings. Their necessity may be born of global political economy—historic and contemporary, but their consequences are lived in immediate, visceral, and private ways. Indeed, the colonial histories of Manitoba and the Philippines, the anthropogenic adaptions of the land, the manifold social transformations, the efforts of states to secure labour and population, the apparatuses of labour export and import, and ensuing patterning of migration and family survival—all come to a head in the small apartments of those like Rosalinda, Christina, Rebecca, and their Philippine co-workers and friends, scattered through the small town.

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