CITIZENSHIP NOTWITHSTANDING:
An analysis of social exclusion narratives by Filipino postcolonial diaspora in Winnipeg

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FJ</td>
<td><em>The Filipino Journal</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>FOB</td>
<td>‘Fresh Of the Boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAFTI</td>
<td>Manitoba Association of Filipino Teachers Incorporated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHRC</td>
<td>Manitoba Human Rights Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>MLA</td>
<td>Member of Legislative Assembly</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCCM</td>
<td>Philippine-Canadian Centre of Manitoba</td>
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<td>RCBB</td>
<td>Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism</td>
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ABSTRACT

Many Canadians perceive the Filipino community as a model minority migrant group for seeming to have successfully integrated into mainstream Canadian society. However, based on months of in-depth fieldwork and a widespread literature review into Filipino diaspora experience—particularly in the city of Winnipeg, the author contends that due to the Filipinos’ unique identity, influenced by colonisation and therefore colonial mentality, combined with the constitutional and structural socially differentiating aspects of Canadian multiculturalism, they are excluded all the same. Following the narratives of three distinct sub-groups of the community: the early pioneers, the new pioneers and the offspring, the author further analyzes how intra-Filipino interaction and conflict affect Filipino perceptions, reactions and encounters of racial discrimination, even within a culturally pluralistic context.

RELEVANCE TO DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

This paper will examine the social exclusion and rights-claiming strategies of Filipinos, a minority migrant group, in the dominantly European demographic context of Canada, a nation supposedly ethnically diverse, tolerant and welcoming. Using a human rights frame and approach, the paper will use the Filipino experience, specifically in Winnipeg, to critically analyze the nature of Canadian multiculturalism.

KEYWORDS

Filipino, Diaspora, Immigration, Migrant, Multiculturalism, Filipino-Canadian, Winnipeg, Asian, Race, Ethnicity, Culture, Racism, Discrimination, Racial Discrimination, Social Exclusion, Postcolonial, Colonial Mentality, Internalised Oppression, Internalised Racism, Normalisation, Integration, Identity, Community
CHAPTER 1
FILIPINOS IN WINNIPEG

This chapter will introduce the national, constitutional, conventional and local contexts in which this paper’s subjects experience life. It will also provide a brief background the history and demographic of Filipinos as a diaspora community. The paper’s main research questions, methodology and key concepts will be stated to segue into subsequent chapters.

1.1 The Setting

“In Canada, there is racism, but it is taboo to talk about it.”

1.1.1 A Nation of Cultural Plurality

Canada’s multicultural population is the reason many nationalities from all over the world decide to settle in the country. In 1971, then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau stated in an address to parliament, “Cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity. Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context” (Harney, 1988: 69). Upon recommendation by the 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Canada’s Constitution in 1982 was upgraded from the 1867 British North America Act to be founded on the languages and cultures of English and French. The “inclusive policy of ‘multiculturalism within a bilingual framework’ suggested that individuals… could belong either to the English-speaking or French-speaking group, depending on their first official language” (Karim, 1993: 189). With the influx of immigrants from not only English and French speaking nations, Canadian legislation was modified to reflect the changing nature of the country’s social fabric. Specifically, with the introduction of the Act for the Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada in 1985 and then the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988, Canadians were recognized as comprising many cultural origins, in addition to those of English and French descent. A section was added to the Constitution, amending it to include “Other” (Karim, 1993). However, despite this attempt at inclusion of the diverse aspects of Canada’s social make-up, it can be argued that the legislative process of highlighting difference and ‘Othering’ non-English and non-French cultural origins as “ethnic” excludes them from the perceived norms of Canadian-ness. This paper will critically examine how the exclusionary aspects of Canada’s constitution, institutions and society affect the experiences of one particular diaspora group, the Filipinos, in one city, Winnipeg. Specifically, while keeping in mind the historical, psychological and sociological contexts of Filipino-Canadians, this paper will focus on the efficacy of multicultural integration within the setting of Winnipeg.
1.1.2 The Multicultural Frame: Constitutional Inclusion and Exclusion

Cultural diversity is based on the notion of a dominant culture flexible enough to accommodate other cultures, allowing the latter to retain some significant features of cultural ‘difference’ (Dijkstra et al., 2001). In Canada, the “two major cultural groupings, English and French… assume totemic significance in subsuming all the other cultural and racial groupings comprising the Canadian mosaic” (Wilson, 1993: 648). In a multicultural society, immigrants may find it difficult to claim their rights unless their cultural identity is similar enough to the ‘mainstream’ of dominant host society culture so that their demands can be articulated and their rights claimed effectively. With Canada’s foundations firmly in English and French biculturalism, Europeanism is the dominant culture of the country (Karim, 1993; Wilson, 1993). As such, Filipino culture becomes subordinated within this constitutional framework, through the means of acknowledgment of formal multiculturalism. In 1992, the Standing Committee on Communications and Culture of the Canadian parliament made a statement that reflected their view of Canada’s social fabric:

Our Committee suggests there are four main cultural communities in Canada. They are Canadians of English-speaking origin, … of French-speaking origin, aboriginal peoples and, … Canadians of other … ethnic backgrounds (Standing Committee on Communications and Culture, 1992: 5).

Instead of identifying non-English, non-French or non-aboriginal groups by their distinct heritage and ethnicity, cultural communities like the Filipinos were lumped into a generic ‘other’ category, the fourth estate of Canadians, as it were. In terms of the discourse as to how the groups were listed, there was an indication of the hierarchy of the social groups in the very order in which they appeared: with ‘Anglophones,’ then ‘Francophones,’ thirdly ‘aboriginal peoples,’ and then a catch-all ‘multicultural community’ of even greater diversity than the first three communities (Karim, 1993: 190). Understandably, Canada and its parliament were founded on a bilingual and bicultural conceptualization between two cultural communities, the English-speaking and the French-speaking, who were the first colonists to arrive. However, multicultural policy was created to ensure that Canada’s laws and constitution entrenched and recognized the plurality of groups that make up the nation’s social fabric, as well as its indigenous people. According to Chanady (1995), academics have described Canada’s national identity as centred on cultural hybridity, with an emphasis on ethnicity which is valued as: “the representation, not of difference as such, but of cultural identities” (Chanady, 1995: 420).

Despite how Filipinos have been labelled by the Constitution as ‘Other’ or conventionally in Canada as ‘Asian,’ this research has shown that even Filipinos do not comprise a clear and homogenous ‘community,’ let alone do they have much in common culturally with other ‘Asian’ or ‘Other’ post-war immigrants into Canada.

Culturally distinct groups other than French or English have consistently argued, since the days of the [RCBB] in the 1960s, that instead of … differences being dismissed as incompatible with national goals, they should be endorsed as … integral … of a national mosaic” (Wilson, 1993: 649).

\[1\] The Canadian aboriginal people were left out of discussions in the initial founding of the country, despite being in Canada before the arrival of colonial settlers (Wilson, 1993).
Respondents spoken to during fieldwork within the Winnipeg Filipino community for this research mostly recognized Canada’s efforts to move towards tolerating multicultural qualities of different groups of people. They continually cited Canada as a welcoming, progressive modern society, mainly because of its emphasis on tolerance and diversity. “Having lived in Winnipeg my entire life, I would say it’s multicultural. Going to any public place you see difference races… different cultures coming together living together in perfect harmony,” stated one young Filipino-Canadian (Respondent 8). However, many Filipino-Canadian citizens whether naturalized or Canadian-born also expressed how they felt excluded in terms of policy, institutions and attitudes of mainstream Canadian society.

This paper will argue that the Filipino community in Canada should not be considered as just ‘any’ cultural group that is distinguished only by the fact its members are neither of English, French nor indigenous Canadian descent. “The policy of multiculturalism is based on a paradigm… applicable to a ‘postcolonial’ hybrid society made up of numerous ethnic groups, in which totalisation and homogenization are seen as deleterious to social harmony” (Chanady, 1995: 422). It is for this reason that Filipinos in Canada are not recognized as a distinct cultural group, who originate from the country of the Philippines; instead they must be satisfied with the catch-all label of ‘Other.’ Moreover, the Filipino community is plural, being internally diverse. This will be reflected on in terms of the divisions and distinctions between early pioneers, new pioneers, and offspring.

1.2 The People

“Racism is a reality, but we don’t want to talk about it.”

1.2.1 The Filipino Community: Selective Participation

The Filipino diaspora demographic in Winnipeg makes up the largest visible minority group in the city and has a highly concentrated presence in the city’s various employment and educational sectors. Of Winnipeg’s 101,910 visible minority inhabitants, Filipinos compose almost half, with a population of about 37,000 (Statistics Canada, 2009). The large number of Filipino-run businesses, cultural associations, religious institutions, newspapers, radio programs, and events that are found around the city reinforce this statistic. There are also community centres, notably the Philippine-Canadian Centre of Manitoba, which acts as a resource and outreach locus to Filipinos and non-Filipinos alike. However, despite this seeming diaspora success story, Filipino migrants do still face significant challenges to integration. In this paper, integration concerns “the incorporation of minorities into the mainstream so that they [are perceived to] participate as equals” (Fleras and Elliott, 2006: 359). Both new immigrants as well as Filipinos who have lived in the country for decades continue to experience incidents of institutional and systemic racism from their peers, neighbours, employers, and even those within other diaspora communities in Winnipeg. Empirical evidence of this statement is found in the interview data collected for this paper. “Racism is a reality, but we don’t want to talk about it” (Respondent 11). As a coping

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2 See Appendix for ethnic breakdown of Winnipeg’s demographic.
mechanism, it seems that the Filipino diaspora in Winnipeg may have chosen to isolate themselves from broader debates about race and discrimination. They form Filipino-dominated church groups, and professional, women’s or cultural affiliations, among others, which help as signposts, resources and support systems for Filipinos themselves as a result of an emphasis on community. “Diasporas comprise individuals and communities with often complex migration histories… uncertain status deriving from their migratory background… [and form] post-colonial regroupings” (Van Hear, 1998: 51).

Moreover, it is important to note that although not all Filipinos in Winnipeg are Catholic, the Church and Christian institution play significant roles in network building within the Filipino community (Terence, 2005: 31). Sermons delivered by clergy and social activities within the church building are just some of many venues where immigrants discuss their everyday experiences and their empowerment and claiming of rights (Respondent 6). Of some 40 000 Filipino people in Winnipeg in 2002, 25 592 were numbered as Catholic (Terence, 2005: 31). This paper will acknowledge that while not Filipinos are practicing Catholics, there is nevertheless a continual or irregular connection to the institution’s practices and rituals. Even Filipinos who may not be regular church attendees nevertheless have a distant association with the Catholic Church.

The Filipino diaspora community in Winnipeg is quite distinctive in comparison with other Filipino-Canadian communities in Canada. There is a large number of political and community leaders, entertainers, journalists, writers and broadcasters of Filipino descent who originate from or are based in the city, and have become well known and significantly contribute to overall Canadian society. What is most remarkable to note are the political contributions of the city’s Filipino community, with the first Filipino-Canadian MP and Cabinet Minister, first Filipino-Canadian MLA, the first Filipino-Canadian female to hold a provincial government position, as well as the first Filipino-Canadian deputy mayor all being contributing citizens of Winnipeg. However, despite these individuals’ seeming integration and successes, even they are not excluded from everyday system racism that affects all Filipinos. A handful of interviewees for this paper included notable journalists and politicians who have all attested to having experienced racism. One well-known young achiever, when commenting on racism she has undergone, explained that her experiences are not isolated or exclusively involving her: “it is our struggle, not just mine” (Respondent 11). Interestingly, only informal research and documentation by Filipino historians, teachers and archivists has been produced and very few papers have been written about the development of the Filipino-Canadian diaspora. News circulations like The Filipino Journal (FJ), Pilipino Express, Ang Periyodiko, and Fokal magazine report on both events of interest and pressing issues affecting Filipino-Canadians. However, not often do topics on Filipino migrant attitudes towards social exclusion and human rights become featured.

Considering the amount of continued discrimination Filipino diaspora experience while in Canada, a country heralded for its supposed tolerance and cultural diversity, it is important to understand how the Filipino diaspora claim their human rights in these circumstances. “We must recognize everybody’s right to combine in a unique way his or her participation in a globalised [society] with his or her specific cultural experience” (Touraine, 2005: 202). When compared with other ‘ethnic minority’ or diasporic communities in

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3 Some Winnipeg-based Filipino ‘Firsts’ – MP and Cabinet Minister: Rey Pagtakhan; MLA: Conrad Santos; female MLA Assembly: Flor Marcelino; Deputy Mayor and City Councillor: Mike Pagtakhan.
Winnipeg, the strategies with which Filipino migrants claim their rights appear to be less adversarial and less confrontational. According to previous research, this may be due to the way that Filipino migrants tend to idealize social justice, equality and inclusion for the purpose of smooth integration and transition into Canadian society (David and Okazaki, 2006; Espiritu, 2005; Rafael, 2000). Their participation in civic events and initiatives focus more on working to promote that “multiculturalism is working and thriving very well in Manitoba” as opposed to criticizing it (Respondent 4). Open resistance to the challenges of integration and action to confront racism do not seem to be highly valued by Filipinos as a means to overcome obstacles to integration. Such actions are generally few and far between. “Filipinos are busy with work and school…as [they] integrate into Canadian society. [There is] not enough time to fight. Some are apathetic” (Respondent 1). In lieu of a strong anti-racism movement, Filipino migrants engage in culturally pluralist dialogue and celebrate their differences and co-existence with other cultures in multicultural venues. Some examples of this involvement includes:

… the world class Folklorama … which showcases the best in ethnic culture, music, dance and food. … As well, [there is a] preponderance of multicultural groups and associations in the province (Respondent 4).

Although this paper does acknowledge Filipinos’ choice to deviate from radical anti-racism action as a legitimate form of rights-claiming, it will analyze how historical context and socialization have influenced this choice.

In order to fully address the challenges of integration and multiculturalism faced by migrants, more research needs to be done to examine how migrants like Filipinos consider these issues and, accordingly, how they claim their rights as citizens of a multicultural Canada. That being said, through an examination of the development of Filipino identity and culture, this paper will also seek to analyze the specific ways in which Filipinos confront racism when it arises.

1.2.2 Ghettoisation and Self-Segregation

Notwithstanding the benefits of these community associations among Filipinos, the sense of a self-inflicted isolation of many Filipinos in Winnipeg from other communities has led to what this paper will term as a ‘ghettoisation’ of Filipinos, in cultural and organizational terms. Ghettoisation is a process in which Filipinos are isolated, both out of choice and out of the consequences of socially ostracisation, not only to specific areas of the city but also to work in particular sectors of the local economy. These niches of society include local neighbourhoods, highly skilled but hard labour, low-wage jobs, particular schools, and civic organizations. Moreover, Filipino civic contributions are centred in Filipino-dominated, ethnic minority dominated neighbourhoods and group contexts. This is thus one of the reasons the Filipinos interviewed for this research have attested to barely having regularly experienced blatant racist incidents personally. Despite being an ethnic minority within the context of a dominantly European-descended Canadian nation, Filipinos are nevertheless a sizeable presence in Winnipeg. Their general geographic and involvement placements in the city are in areas where they are an influential presence and thus less likely to be marginalized. The Filipino community is a testament of the considerable multicultural make-up of Winnipeg and Canada as a whole; however their integration leaves something to question as their association with non-Filipinos is not so immersed. Instead of extensive interaction
between Filipinos and non-Filipinos, there is only a selective, usually appointed, number of Filipino representatives who actually interact with non-Filipinos regularly.

Although there are no official racially segregated schools, the majority of Filipino students attend inner city and northern suburbia elementary, secondary as well as technically and vocational institutions. These Filipino-dominated institutions contrast with the tiny proportion of Filipinos who live in the southern and more affluent part of the city and attend its universities and exclusive private and independent schools. Accordingly, Filipino-dominated schools are usually located in said neighbourhoods, where there is a prevalence of ethnic-run stores, businesses and restaurants, many of which are Filipino. In Chapter Three, this paper will discuss how despite the significant population of Filipino students in certain schools, there is a clash within the racial group; there is no solidarity between its members. As will be demonstrated in later chapters, the pervasive use of racist language in schools amplifies divisions between races. For many of those seeking refuge and solace from the harsh words exchanged in the hallways and courtyards, they choose to associate with those of their own race because they experience and can relate to the same challenges of integration. The association with their heritage inspires young second generation Filipinos to mainly socialize with others of their same ethnic make-up, though not necessarily relate to the experiences of their parents and grandparents because the context is different. “Everybody is not friends with each other… there are cliques. It’s not just the Filipino immigrant. They all get cliquey. School isolates [us] in [our] own language,” says one grade twelve female student (Respondent 10). Young Filipinos are brought together through shared cultural experiences like language, ultimately strengthening the level of comfort they claim to have when interacting with those of their own ethnicity. However, as a result, there is a tendency for them to create exclusively Filipino groups.

1.3 Research Question

This paper will seek to understand how the Filipino community experiences social integration and exclusion into Canadian multicultural society. It will consider the various rights-claiming strategies used by the Filipino diaspora community, specifically in Winnipeg, in how they claim their human rights, with regards to problems of racism and discrimination, both system and institutional as well as personal and criminal. Touraine (2005) speaks of “a central importance to … actors’ orientation towards autonomous action, towards the production and defence of themselves … and integrated life-experience in a complex and constantly changing world” (Touraine, 2005: 202). Through an analysis of the internally diverse Filipino community, the research will be able to assess whether Canadian society and policy is truly inclusive in participation and access to all those considered its citizens.4

Main Questions:

• How does the Filipino community experience different forms of integration and social exclusion?

4 It needs to be acknowledged that not all Filipinos are fully initiated Canadian citizens, as many retain temporary status as skilled immigrants or visitors. However, it will be argued that Filipinos are still part of the Canadian context as residents and have some citizenship rights (and duties) by virtue of their contributions to the Canadian economy and society (Fleras and Elliott, 2006).
Sub Questions:

- How do internal divisions (generation, class, gender, arrival date, age) within the Filipino community in Winnipeg influence how Filipinos experience exclusion during the process of integration and ghettoisation?
- What can the Filipino experience in Winnipeg reveal about the nature of Canadian multiculturalism?

1.4 Research Methodology

This paper collected data from academic readings and secondary data such as media reports and articles on diaspora experiences, the Filipino migrant community in Canada and in Winnipeg, and anti-racism and minority rights in Canada. In terms of primary data, the research also involved first-hand contact with Filipinos in Winnipeg, through interviews with respondents from the city’s different sectors. Based on initial background research and literature review, key individuals in the community were identified, including those who have an understanding of Filipino-specific civil rights issues, as well as those involved in anti-racism movements or other kinds of strategies of rights-claiming. Moreover, I tried to ensure that my data reflected the diversity of Filipino Winnipeggers with interviewees from a range of ages, socio-economic statuses, generations, time spent in Canada, community involvement, job position and neighbourhoods. I was able to collect a variety of opinions on racism and multiculturalism in Canada from the interviewees thanks to their willingness to share experiences. What they said to me was grouped into thematic narratives, and ultimately conclusions were based on their similarities and differences. Three basic groups emerged from among the interviewees related to three kinds of ‘stories’ being told about integration and racism in Winnipeg. The first was the generation of first arrivals to Canada in the late 1950s, whom I have termed ‘pioneers.’ The newer contingent of migrant pioneers identifies as the second group. These individuals, also termed 1.5 generation, were not born in Canada, but have lived most of their lives in the country and are far more integrated than the older generation who arrived, for example, as adults. The third group are the second and third generations (usually young people; offspring of pioneers or 1.5-ers). These three main groups will be considered in relation to one another, as the ways they engage with multiculturalism and integration, with racism and social exclusion, and how to claim their rights will vary.

I also attended various cultural functions and observed the Filipino community experience from a variety of perspectives. From this, I was able to observe and take note of the daily interactions between generations. It soon became clear that there were also socio-economic differences between the groups, based on age, the length of time in Canada, intensity of integration and social mobility as a result of varying levels of financial security, education, and so on. In order to research the context of diaspora groups in Winnipeg and how Filipinos fit into the city’s social fabric, I also researched with the Manitoba Human Rights Commission (MHRC) to examine specific rights-claiming strategies, as well as consulting the Archives of Manitoba for a historical literature review.
1.4.1 Defining Key Concepts

A number of key concepts and terms are used in this paper. These are based on the themes that have emerged from the research question and sub-questions, which have subsequently been revised in light of findings and complemented by interviewees’ responses. One major point considered in the data collection process was the interviewees’ conceptualization of racism, discrimination, integration and multiculturalism as a related set of concepts. What in important to note is that all interviewees had more or less the same understanding of the idea of integration. The term was understood to mean the process of minorities fitting in and of multiculturalism as a way of living together for everyone involved in a society with multiple cultures. Every respondent acknowledged that Canada was a multicultural country. There was also some definite consistency, though not in identical terms among the various interviewees, in terms of their perceptions of how racism and discrimination should be defined and understood. All generations identified racism as a process by which someone is looked at or treated unequally and negatively based on their culture and/or inherited physical characteristics. Discrimination was considered as an event where one is denied fair and equal treatment, is put down or excluded, or is ‘bashed’ based on a certain quality they are believed to possess, including but also going beyond definitions of difference based on race.

However, although there was a consistency in definition, there was an interesting discrepancy in how the elders of the community and the youth perceived the concepts of racism and discrimination. The elders were all first generation and the youth reflected a mix of both first and second generations. Young people are more definitive when identifying acts of racism. Regardless of the relative nature of offence taken by a certain individual, the underlying discrimination based on physical characteristics of culture is nevertheless deemed an incident of racism. On the other hand, while the youth had little ambiguity in their definition of racism in this sense, the elders seemed to stress the relativity of how one person perceived what was offensive or not. Misinterpretations and ambiguity of what racial discrimination is adds much confusion to Filipino perceptions of racist or exclusionary experiences. Specifically, many elders seemed to excuse instances of interpersonal racism as ‘misinterpretations’ of Philippine culture by other Canadians. Likewise, they would see those who took offence at interpersonal racist incidents as having misinterpreted the individual who was seen as perpetrating the racism. The majority of first generation migrants interviewed for this research admitted that Filipinos, especially newcomers, tend to be highly sensitive to interpersonal racial discrimination, and do take personal offence to ignorance of culture (Respondent 1). One first generation Filipina spoke of a situation where several garment factory workers, who were chatting animatedly in the lunchroom, were told to “tone it down because it was antagonizing [the workers who were] non-Filipinos” (Respondent 3). To the Filipino workers, the incident was deemed a racist act because, specifically, they felt they were being discriminated against based on their Filipino nature of being outgoing. The point of contention focused on the noise level which non-Filipinos were incapable of tolerating. This was interpreted as a clash of cultures rather than a specifically racist-motivated episode. In the end, the Filipinos themselves concluded what the non-Filipino workers to have said as not racist or prejudicial. This example illustrates a cultural interpretation of racism.

In light of the way these identified key concepts and terms are perceived by the respondents interviewed and the subject group, this paper will maintain consistency by using
Fleras and Elliott’s (2006) definitions of racism, discrimination and integration. In doing so, there will be uniformity when referring to how these key terms strengthen the arguments presented in the following chapters, using the theoretical frameworks of internalisation and normalisation of oppression and racism, and coloniality.

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*Racism*: a complex set of ideas and ideology that assert natural superiority of one group over another in terms of entitlements and privileges together, in a way that denies or excludes those who belong to a devalued category.

*Discrimination*: the behavioural counterpart of prejudice consists of actions that have an adverse effect of denying or excluding someone because of who they are.

*Integration*: A model of race and ethnic relations as well as a policy framework for managing diversity. It is concerned with incorporating minorities into the mainstream so they can participate as equals.

(Fleras and Elliott, 2006)
CHAPTER 2
IDENTITIES SHAPED: THE PIONEERS

This chapter will cover the first two of three generational sub-groups within the Filipino diaspora community in Winnipeg: the early and new pioneers. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into two parts to denote a distinction between aforementioned groups. In each part, a contextual background with regards to the sociological and psychological development of the pioneers as well as an analysis of how social exclusion, specifically racial discrimination, is perceived and experienced by both early and new pioneers. Empirical evidence based on first-hand interviews will be interwoven with theories of colonial mentality, internalised racism and normalisation of oppression.

PART A
THE EARLY PIONEERS

“Filipinos are afraid to complain because they might be picked on, alienated.”

2A.1 Creating Community

The first Filipinos to arrive in Winnipeg were a group of four nurses in 1959. Later that year, more Filipino migrants began to come, mainly doctors, teachers and additional nurses (Cantiveros and Guiang, 2006). Then, starting in 1968, the Government of Canada initiated a pilot program to recruit Filipino garment workers to Winnipeg to help stimulate the city’s textile industry, which needed labourers to perform work tasks that were no longer desired by Canadian citizens. From the late 1960s, Filipinos began to migrate in large numbers, motivated by both the recruitment program and attracted to their perceived notions of Canada’s welcoming society. This influx of skilled workers was in part a result of the Canadian Federal Family Reunification Program, which has since been discontinued, to prioritize families and not just sole individuals to immigrate (Cantiveros and Guiang, 2006). In the 1980s, yet another government initiative started, this time recruiting young women to work under the Foreign Domestic Worker Movement (Poo and Tang, 2005). This program, later renamed the Live-In Caregiver Program, continues to attract young Filipina workers and is a contributing factor to the growing population of the community’s female contingent.

This paper will refer to the oldest generation of Filipinos in Winnipeg, the first generation of Filipino migrants who arrived in Canada as early as 1950, as the pioneers of the Filipino community. Notably, they were all born in the Philippines and most have, since settling in Canada, become naturalized Canadian citizens. The hybridity of citizenship, history and experience make up their unique identity, which I would argue has also been influenced by their colonial past and the way they have since established a new life within Canada’s multicultural framework. According to Cohen (1997), first generation migrants
continue to relate to the cultures and values practiced in their homeland around the time of their departure from it, even after having lived in their newly adopted country (Cohen, 1997). For instance, close-knit immediate and extended families are emphasized as important among Filipinos, no matter what generation (David and Okazaki, 2006; Espiritu, 2005). As one woman stated, having arrived in Winnipeg in 1988 independently as a single, highly skilled worker, “Filipinos are all well-connected within the community, even if not by blood… People called me “Tita” (Aunt) [even if we weren’t related]. There was a level of respect and people started confiding [in me]” (Respondent 3). The closeness of the Filipino community stems not only from the high density of Filipinos in certain areas of the city, but also the emphasis of communal living as valued by Filipino culture. “Everywhere you see others just like you,” added the respondent (Respondent 3).

A tight knit community often brings about the involvement of many members of said community into a particular situation. “A good number (in the Filipino community) tend to take up an issue without really delving into the whole issue,” commented a prominent Winnipeg pioneer, who had achieved many ‘firsts’ as a Filipino entering into Canadian medicine and politics (Respondent 5). However, there are disadvantages to these close political intra-group dynamics. “One must do their homework to know the issues,” instead of simply [getting involved] without full knowledge of the situation at hand (Respondent 5). According to this respondent, a working group of approximately 20 Filipino leaders was assembled in the 1970s before the establishment of the MHRC, to assess the various bases of discrimination against Filipinos. It was determined that much of the discrimination did involve race, as in the colour of one’s skin, one’s height, and the shape of one’s eyes and nose (Respondent 5). These racially-focused differentiations were used as the rationale to discriminate against Filipinos on the basis of their competence; people were being “denied fairness on the basis of things [they] could not change” (Respondent 5). In this case, racism was perceived not as blatant—but as subtle, manifesting in the form of exclusion and failure to receive adequate treatment and rights. Due to the dominant European-descended Canadian society of the mid-20th century, first generation Filipino pioneers were faced with challenges of integration, having to prove their credentials and competence despite prejudice against their accents, appearance and culture.

2A.2 A History of Colonisation

Prior to European colonisation, there were a number of civilizations inhabiting the islands of the Philippines (Go, 2004), which were small in size and dispersed. Royal leaders ruled each community, with no centralization of political power unifying them. Each community enjoyed commercial relations with traders who travelled to the Philippines by sea.

It is arguable that the lack of centralization between pre-colonial communities weakened the indigenous people’s resistance against the first colonisers, the Spanish. Admittedly, when explorer Ferdinand Magellan arrived in the Philippines to claim the islands for Spain, he was killed by local leader Lapu-Lapu and his warrior militia. Despite this, the Spanish continued to colonise the islands, taking advantage of the disunity of communities. In many cases, colonisation was violently imposed on the indigenous, with either the murder or exile of the communities’ rulers and many of its members in order to instil fear of the coloniser among the remaining survivors. “Colonized Filipinos are believed to have
experienced exploitation, brutality, cheating, cruelty, injustice and tyranny” (David and Okazaki, 2006: 7). Moreover, “[as] part of the ‘civilization’ process, the native Filipinos’ indigenous culture and beliefs were replaced by Spanish culture and the Catholic religion” (David and Okazaki, 2006: 7). Indigenous culture was deemed pagan and demonized by the Spanish, who sought to reform Filipino lifestyle. The Spanish managed to convert the indigenous living in the more-populous lowlands to Christianity and introduced education to the Philippine people in addition to founding and running colonial school institutions and hospitals. During this time, the Spanish tried to unify the various indigenous communities under a centralized Philippine state, as a member of the Spanish commonwealth. This idea was highly contested by Filipino patriots, who, despite seeing the benefits of a unified state, no longer could tolerate life under oppressive Spanish rule. These patriots’ revolutionary effort, though culminating in 1897, preceded Emilio Aguinaldo’s alliance with the United States, which in turn led to the Philippine’s declaration of independence from Spain.

The United States’ involvement in Philippine independence from Spanish colonial rule did not signify complete sovereignty. Instead, with the establishment of the American-overseen Philippine Insular Government in 1902 and then its inauguration as a Commonwealth with Manuel L. Quezén as president, the Philippine remained under –this time, American- colonial rule. “Spain sold the Philippines to the United States … and this began yet another long period of colonization for the Filipinos” (David and Okazaki, 2006: 7). During American occupation, Filipinos were again faced with colonial ideologies that suggested they were inferior to their coloniser, although perhaps these theories were not practiced as brutally as in the case of the Spanish colonisers. During the US rule, education, “… instead of outright military suppression, was the more effective means to pacify the Filipinos” (Espiritu, 2003: 26). However, the risk of American-style education included a distorted view of the United States, taught with biased paradigms through which the memory of colonialism has been taught to the Philippine people. As a result, “Filipinos may have developed a grandiose picture of anything American and mediocre attributions toward anything Filipino” (David and Okazaki, 2006: 7). The education the US gave distorted Filipino perceptions of American colonial history in the Philippines; Filipinos were taught to believe it was good. The idealization of American lifestyle was a subtle yet nevertheless a form of colonisation imposed on the Filipino people, prior to their full independence from the United States in 1946.

Colonialism and its legacy in forms of post-independence imperialism are undeniable legacies of Philippine history, with both Spanish and American rule and language being imposed on the Philippines over a period of three and a half centuries. Filipinos were subjected to various forms of oppression by European and American colonists (Campomanes, 2008; Espiritu, 2009; Go, 2004; McFerson, 2002; Ngozi-Brown, 1997). Moreover, US military occupation of the island continues to the present time. In both Spanish and American colonial society in the Philippines, racist generalizations and discriminatory language formed the basis of “derogatory discourse… pitched… to legitimate colonial occupation” (Go, 2004: 39). Filipinos were assumed to be unable to govern themselves or have the capacity to organize themselves politically. And the colonial rationale behind why not? “It is barely possible that … men in all the archipelago are capable of self-government. They are Orientals, Malays” (Go, 2004: 39). There was an assumption that Filipinos were racially inferior to those of Anglo-Saxon or general European descent. Edward Said’s analysis of the development of Orientalism specifically discusses the image created of non-European ‘Others.’ He notes how European colonisers, such as the Spain,
considered those from the ‘East’ as ‘Others.’ The concept of ‘Other,’ according to Said (1979) implies that one is “inferior, primitive, exotic, and uncivilized” (Said, 1979). Moreover, in addition to their cultural inferiority, their appearance and, ultimately, their biological make-up was viewed inferior. Winant (2000) contends that race can be used as a concept to describe how different types of human bodies validate the differences among them in terms of socio-political conflicts and interests (Winant, 2000: 172). He adds, “racial categorization of human beings was a European invention” (Winant, 2000: 172). Racial hierarchies and the belief in the necessity of transforming civilization by means of conquest were the impetus behind the colonisation of the Philippines and the imposition of colonial concepts on the Philippine people. “Soldiers and military officers saw the Filipinos’ inferiority as ‘hereditary and fixed’” (Go, 2004: 47). According to Ross (1901), colonists in the Philippines worked “to lift up a backward folk to the level of the best” (Ross, 1901: 67). Moreover, “this discourse fulfilled the function that all colonial discourse putatively fulfils: to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin in order to justify conquest”” (Go, 2004: 39).

However, despite the brutal reality of their colonial past, Filipinos have developed a unique and softened perception of their interactions with the Spanish and the Americans. According to Rimonte (1997), Filipinos have developed a sense of ‘colonial debt’ and a “tendency to accept maltreatments by the Spanish rulers as the natural cost for civilization” (David and Okazaki, 2006: 7). The continuous maltreatment imposed by the coloniser over several centuries tends to be rationalized as reasonable, and initial reactions rejecting the oppression are subdued. As a result, the oppression becomes internalised. In this way, “oppressed individuals and groups come to believe that they are inferior to those in power, as described as a salient consequences of systematic and sustained oppression” (David and Okazaki, 2006: 3). Over time, Filipino perceptions of their relationship with colonial oppressors have become reconstructed as a result of biased re-imaginings of their colonial experiences. In the following sections, the impacts of how a history of colonial oppression may have been internalised by Filipinos will be explored. It will be suggested that Filipinos may have developed a distinct colonial mentality that has also influenced those in the Filipino diaspora and their likely approach to becoming part of Canadian multicultural society. How they experience, perceive, and respond to multicultural offers of integration are in part a product of such past patterns of socialization, including the legacies of inherited colonial mentalities.

2A.3 Colonial Mentality

Of all Filipino migrants, those with the closest connection to historical internalised colonial oppression, and a ‘respect’ for the coloniser, are the earliest arrived first generation pioneers. Their connection to Philippine colonial history is that they have lived through it or heard about it from those who experienced it, such as their older relatives and friends. Hall and Taylor (1996) claim that there is a close relationship between institutions and behaviour. Their first element in their institutionalism theories is that of historical institutionalism: specifically referring to the power of a specific past institution, which was established over a substantial period of time, to continue to have a tremendous influence on the outcome and on subsequent behaviour and attitudes of those who were socialized through that institution.
Colonialism in the Philippines is one such institution. Hall and Taylor (1996) also speak of how historical attachments tend to solidify path dependence, and subsequently, can produce uninvited and unexpected consequences for those concerned. Within the context of this paper, it will be argued that despite the gradual process of decolonisation, the post-Spanish and post-US community of first generation Filipino diaspora may remain anchored in a view of the colonial past that implies that there was nothing fundamentally wrong with external rule. They have difficulty breaking with the dependent relationship with their own country’s colonial past.

[The history] and legacy of colonialism has important psychological implications for contemporary immigrant … individuals. … Colonial mentality is a psychological construct that is thought to play a major role in the psychological experiences of modern day [Filipinos] (David and Okazaki, 2006: 2).

The term ‘colonial mentality’ refers to a form of internalised oppression that manifests in both colonial and postcolonial societies as a result of years of external denigration that may be taken on board by the coloniser as a way to remove psychological dissonance (Memmi, 1965). This paper will make specific reference to the notion of internalised racism as a subset of more general forms of internalised oppression that can affect all subjugated individuals and groups.

Internalised racism can result from colonisation’s effects on how the Filipino evaluates psychological and social situation in the context of a diaspora community (David and Okazaki, 2006). If one is to say that Filipinos have become mentally colonised, then there should be evidence that they have internalised the oppression that were experienced in the colonial past. This in turn will affect how they perceive and react to the prospects of the integration into Canadian multiculturalism when it operates alongside various forms of racism. With the increase of global migration movements, the attitudes and ideas inherited from the colonial past are carried overseas by migrants from the Philippines to their new settlement homes abroad (Cohen, 1997). This becomes highly relevant when explaining how Filipinos experience multicultural integration and racism in Canada. The link between coloniality and the new environmental contexts emerges in interviews as we will show.

In Chapter One, the concept of cohesive community is mentioned as a cultural attitude the Filipino diaspora have brought over from the Philippines.

All diasporic communities settled outside their natal (or imagined natal) territories acknowledge that the ‘old country’ always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions… an escapable link with past migration history and a sense of co-ethnicity with others of a similar background (Cohen, 1997: ix).

In addition to community, there have been other cultural attitudes carried over by first generation migrants that are not necessarily advantageous or beneficial to their integration into Canadian society. These attitudes have often been a crutch for Filipinos confronted with issues of racism and discrimination, as they revert back to their diaspora communities instead of resisting the treatment they receive (Respondent 7). The relaxed nature of Filipinos can be interpreted as passivism and lack of willing resistance. One woman attested this Filipino cultural personality as inherent, but perhaps religiously-influenced: “not necessarily because the Spanish imposed the attitude… but religiously, of ‘where you just do your best, and God will do the rest’” (Respondent 3). Her use of Christianity to explain why Filipinos can come off as passive shows that for many Filipinos, the colonially introduced
Catholic concepts continue to prevail even into diaspora communities. Religion is one of many aspects that can get carried over from the homeland to migrant communities abroad (ter Haar, 1998). The formation of churches and religious groups in Winnipeg by Filipinos also indicates the facilitation and promotion of further colonially influenced religious thinking.

Another distinct cultural attitude of the first generation Filipino-Canadian pioneers is their bahala na reactionary take on controversial or uncomfortable situations, which stems from an indigenous saying meaning “let God.” For many first generation Filipino-Canadians, the legacy of this attitude can be linked to a tendency towards a more ‘conservative’ (or colonial) mentality in terms of their own evaluation of appropriate actions and reactions to external situations of injustice or discrimination. This may help explain why the pioneers tend to be hesitant when identifying social or racial discrimination, or to getting involved in combating prejudices Filipinos face in Canada. One first generation social worker explained why Filipinos aren’t willing to stand up when they are offended:

Filipinos have a “bahala na” personality… don’t rock the boat … a hesitation in pressing charges. People are afraid to complain because they might be picked on, alienated… they think it is too stressful or it’s not that bad (Respondent 6).

As it was a tradition long before colonisation, the notion of bahala na as used here by one of the Filipino interviewee is arguably an inherently indigenous Filipino concept that has been adapted to help Filipinos fit into immigrant life situations. However, after centuries of colonial oppression and the belittling of Filipino culture, lifestyle and mentalities, the idea of bahala na has evolved from a safety net of optimism and faith in divine intervention to also a reluctance through fear of potential consequences to confront injustice.

2A.4 Internalised Racism / Oppression

“Filipinos are sensitive.”

The narrative of the early pioneers is a generally positive take on Canada’s multiculturalism, with respondents asserting that although they experienced racism and discrimination upon their arrival in the country, it was minimal. One individual stated,

Filipinos are welcomed, no matter what… we should be grateful. Whites look to Filipinos with high regard… we speak their language. And our colour: we are not black, not white. We can easily understand and adapt (Respondent 1).

Admittedly, he also claims, “When I first arrived, there were misinterpretations (of how Filipinos were being welcomed). Filipinos are sensitive too… especially newcomers on brown and white topics” (Respondent 1). His perception of the discrimination he faced

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6 Bahala na is a Filipino ‘fatalist’ remark and has its linguistic roots in Bathala na, which means “let God.” “When a Filipino says bahala na it is his firm belief that he has exhausted all other avenues of escape out of a difficult situation” (de la Costa, 1965: 300). Bathala is the indigenous name for the creator God (De Mesa, 1979).
during his first few years in Canada as misinterpretations, on his and other Filipinos’ part, demonstrates a high degree of tolerance of the oppression that discrimination brings with it.

[Colonized] individuals may begin to view the colonizers as well-intentioned… [leading] to the normalization of… discrimination from the dominant group … maltreatments perceived as the natural cost for progress or civilization (David and Okazaki, 2006: 10).

This perception pervades in many of the pioneer respondents’ answers. According to Dario Villa (1995), “many Filipinos would deny that they have been discriminated against. Too many are so thankful to be (in America) that they shut their eyes to avoid seeing the injustices” (Villa, 1995: 179). Despite the fact Filipinos in Winnipeg were able to integrate, as facilitated by politicians, policy makers and migrant support groups, they were nevertheless perceived as different from Canadians of European descent and thus excluded and discriminated against as second-class citizens.

Notwithstanding the high level of government-programs supporting and facilitating the migration process of Filipinos into Canada, the pioneer Filipinos in Winnipeg faced a number of institutional barriers and challenges because of their race. They experienced discrimination not only from their employers but also from other Canadians of European descent. One Winnipeg Filipino activist who arrived in Canada in 1977 commented, “Whether you are educated or not, there is still discrimination against Filipinos based on culture… There are always assumptions” (Respondent 1). Many Filipinos come to Canada as highly educated and skilled workers, mainly trained professionals and some academics with post-graduate degrees (Jain and Hackett, 1989). According to the respondent, regardless of the amount of education or however distinguished a position a Filipino can attain through government-supported measures, within a multicultural context, racist perceptions are hard to overcome. Moreover, despite Filipinos gradually becoming more integrated, they still continue to experience feelings of being unwelcome. “Once I was shopping and I experienced covert racism in the store. I didn’t feel welcome and I was not approached to be helped,” told one young woman, who, having been born in the Philippines, has lived her entire life in Canada (Respondent 6). Even the most seemingly well-incorporated Filipinos in the relatively positive Winnipeg context experience both systemic and institutional discrimination.

The archives that document the growth of the Filipino diaspora in Winnipeg do not report historical incidents of racism. When questioned about the absence of Filipino complainants in human rights violation cases, one MHRC employee contended that, “Filipinos are hard working… perhaps this is to their advantage? They seem more welcomed… and are open when confronted by ignorance (ignorant statements)” (Respondent 17). Her view reflects many Canadians’ stereotype views that Filipinos are not only dedicated workers, but also relatively easy-going when it comes to topics of a potentially sensitive nature like discrimination, prejudice or racism. Similarly in the US, “mainstream images [project] Asian Americans as hard workers and studious wizards of math and science” (Pyke and Dang, 2003: 149). Both characteristics essentialise Filipinos, deeming them as appealing new migrants, in contrast to more ‘threatening’ new migrants.

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7 Since the 1980s, there has been very any racist incidents reported in ethnic newspapers. There is also an absence of a regular section dedicated to issues of integration, racism and discrimination.

8 See “Pervasive Stereotypes,” found in Appendix, on Canadian perceptions of Filipinos.
from other regions of the world. Ergo, it is assumed that being welcomed and, subsequently, integrating are easier processes for Filipinos because they do not appear to be complaining. “You sit back and do not say anything … Filipinos have a colonial mentality. They tend to not do anything” (David and Okazaki, 2006: 11). Even if Filipino pioneers deem certain comments as offensive or negative, there is a reluctance to raise one’s voice and complain or to go through formal processes to file a report and make a formal complaint.9

“*It’s better than it used to be.*”

Considering the fact that Filipinos have had a strong presence in the city of Winnipeg for several decades now, it should be expected that the community has become well integrated into Canadian society, perhaps better integrated than other diasporic groups that have started to arrive in the city only more recently. A prominent activist and pioneer in Filipino- Canadian involvement in politics explained,

> Employers have high regard for Filipino employees, known for their skills and dedication to their jobs. … The pioneers have done a good job of letting the community-at-large [know] that Filipinos are hard working, resilient, civic-minded and with many skills and talents (Respondent 4).

However, she acknowledged that “Filipinos in Manitoba… enjoy a special recognition that was not present decades ago” (Respondent 4). For her, since the 1950s, Filipino integration into mainstream Canadian society has been a continuous uphill battle with a range of both major and minor incidents of racism, known mainly within the Filipino community. One example of Canadian generalization about Filipinos was in the 60s and 70s, when a story began to circulate that Filipinos eat dogs. The Filipino community was greatly offended by the comments made and many considered it a racial slur (Respondent 5). Years later, during the 1990s, when a young child was accused of stealing, a Superstore employee was quoted as saying that all Filipinos were thieves (Respondents 1, 3, 5 and 6). The uphill battle continues, even with federal, provincial, civic and community grassroots initiatives to combat racism by non-Filipinos towards Filipinos. The very fact that even first generation young migrants arriving in the twenty-first century continue to give testimonies of unwelcoming experiences denotes that racism still exists. What is more, the manner in which they provide such testimonies, through informal anecdotes and not official incident reports to human rights complaint systems, further indicates the reluctance and perhaps disbelief among new migrants that they can fully participate in the formal processes of law and rights-claiming in Canadian mainstream society (David and Okazaki, 2006). According to one Filipino lawyer, “There aren’t any US Civil Rights’ movements because we’ve taken care of business already” (Respondent 13). He claims that there is no real need to stand up and resist racism anymore.10 His take of the situation, however, is overturned with a number of testimonies like one first generation young migrant, who claim that “In Canada, there is racism, but it is taboo to talk about it” (Respondent 6). Racism is a reality that many first generation Filipinos continue to experience, even after having lived in Canada for a

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9 Evidence of this is mentioned in “Punching Above Its Weight,” found in Appendix.

10 See “Punching Above Its Weight,” found in Appendix, assessing whether Winnipeg’s diverse, multicultural demographic indeed facilitates intercultural harmony.
substantial amount of time. However, it still remains a topic that is generally viewed as too sensitive to discuss, even with another member of the Filipino community.

While the first generation of Filipino migrants, specifically the community pioneers and elders, acknowledge that exclusion did occur when they first arrived in Canada, there is a sentiment among this group that discrimination has since tapered off as a result of successful integration and the more ‘fitting’ framework provided by multiculturalism. In some cases, respondents seemed to contradict themselves in their interviews, by first claiming that Filipinos did not experience racism and then by admitting they felt unwelcome or excluded at some point during their time in Canada. This inconsistency shows confusion in identifying incidents of racism. David and Okazaki (2006) contend that due to colonisation’s effects on the development of a Filipino diaspora psychology, there is an “ever-present Filipino ethnic and cultural identity crisis… [to determine what] one can be proud of… [this] may lead to the perception of inferiority toward anything Filipino” (David and Okazaki, 2006: 8).

Feelings of inferiority can thus lead to hesitance or reluctance when it comes to mobilising resistance movements against oppressive situations or examples of racism, whether personal or institutionalized. “Freedom involves making choices amongst various options, and our societal culture … provides these options,” with societal cultures meaning ethnic groups (Kymlicka, 1995: 83). However, in this case, the Filipino societal culture collectively chooses to hesitate and be reluctant in mobilising against racism. Although there is an acknowledgment of racial discrimination, there are barriers in the Filipino mentality and attitudes that seem to direct many Filipinos, especially among the pioneers, to accept a sense of being able to live with injustice peacefully. Tomasi (1995) cites Rawls, “parties … wish to avoid at almost any cost the social conditions that undermine self-respect” and “shrink the range of life options available to a person” (Tomasi, 1995: 584). Filipinos seek to ease their integration into Canadian society by avoiding confrontation, however this choice hinders their need to actively claim rights. While this may not reflect a sense of inferiority, it does imply a lack of motivation needed to be able to claim rights and protest when rights are violated.

One example involves a teacher who was one of the first Filipinos to arrive in Winnipeg. She spoke of the culture clashes between first generation Filipinos and non-Filipino teachers and described the responsibility of Manitoba Association of Filipino Teachers Incorporated (MAFTI), in trying to close the gap between Filipino parents and non-Filipino teachers. MAFTI would educate the latter on Filipino cultures and would be involved in intervening in related situations. However, although she accepted the existence of obstacles to integration as a result of either ignorance or even blatant racism, she professed, “I have never had encounters of racism in my experience” (Respondent 2). She then later acknowledged the difficulties some of her new migrant students have faced in their efforts to integrate. Her denial that racism exists was thus contradicted by her observations that her pupils were experiencing blatant racism and discrimination. By offering responses, the respondents in this paper do recognize that racism takes place against Filipinos, yet some continue to maintain that they themselves have never fallen victim to direct or blatant racism. What this may indicate is the difficulty of identifying oneself as a victim of racism for some pioneer Filipinos who need to ‘keep face’ and feel they need to set a positive, hopefully example for second generation Filipinos. On the other hand, there may also be an element of internalisation of the racial inferiority and oppression implied by such
incidents of racism in schools and the workplace, historically ingrained in the pioneers as a result of their own connection with colonisation.

PART B
THE NEW PIONEERS

“I think of myself as more a Filipino instead of Canadian.”

2B.1 Colonial Influence, New World

The second narrative identified from this paper’s research is of the newer contingent of first generation Filipinos. All individuals who were not born in Canada and who are in the country as a result of migration are referred to as ‘first generation.’ Those who have only recently arrived however are given the more specific label ‘new pioneer.’ Unlike the early pioneers, this group of people only recently arrived in Canada and have had much less time to integrate and to adjust to the norms of the society. The new pioneers who were interviewed during fieldwork for this paper all gave clear examples of experiences where they had felt excluded both by Filipinos and by non-Filipinos. In general, this perception was matched in the interviewees, by the view that Euro-Canadians and ‘ethnic’ Canadians, including Filipinos, perceive recent migrants as outsiders. According to Brysk and Shafir (2004), migrants are ‘non-citizens,’ as their “lives are subject to global markets and mobility without secure membership in a national community” and thus “are granted a lesser, conditional, or ambiguous status” (Brysk and Shafir, 2004: 6). Despite this, many newly arrived migrants also expressed the view that they were grateful to be given the opportunity to be part of Canadian society. As one youth stated, speaking on behalf of his new migrant cousins, “The only reason [Filipinos] move here is we have benefits here that we don’t have in our country. The only remark I hear is that we’re stealing jobs or something… but Canada is still my country” (Respondent 12). His empathy of his cousins’ exclusion is complemented with his assertion making a claim that Filipinos do have rights despite Canadian social differentiation and multiculturalism’s potentially divisive effects. Such a claim to social citizenship, T.H. Marshall (1965) would argue, “enables the disadvantaged to enter the mainstream of society and effectively exercise their civil and political rights” (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 355). In this case, it is up to the disadvantaged—the new pioneers to take on the responsibility to claim their rights as new arrived members of Canadian society, despite varying levels of institutional and systemic racial discrimination they experience.

The psychology of new pioneers, as they too are first generation Filipinos in Canada and therefore having been brought up and socialized in the Philippines is different from either the old pioneers or the second generation. They have not lived and experienced colonisation’s effects directly, but only indirectly through the education system, exposure to ideas transmitted through religion, and family. Unlike their children, the second generation Filipinos, despite being young they are not decolonised.
For many contemporary Filipino... immigrants... it is likely that the psychological legacy of colonialism, or colonial mentality, continues to exist through continued [colonization] of the Philippines that further cement ... [colonial] superiority over Philippine culture\textsuperscript{11} (Espiritu, 2003).

New pioneers experience life as migrants very similarly to how early pioneers experienced it when they first arrived in Canada. Attitudes towards authority and injustice that they bring with them are notably non-confrontational but nevertheless assertive. Their experiences are influenced by a combination of rights-claiming and colonially influenced thinking, brought over from the Philippines and manifested in the behaviour of Filipinos living in Canada (Cohen, 1997; Van Hear, 1998). New pioneers are just newly immersed within the Canadian context and thus are not as influenced by North American value systems as any of the other groups. It is for this reason that various challenges to integration emerge for the new pioneers in particular. Some of these challenges are elaborated on in the next section. Due to culture and generation clashes, new pioneers struggle to belong with not in relation to non-Filipinos but also in relation to early pioneers and, for the youth, their second generation Filipino peers.

\textbf{2B.2 Racism Normalised: Challenges to Integration}

As confirmed by both early pioneers and second generation Filipinos, new pioneers tend to experience a tremendous amount of discrimination when they arrive in Canada. The new pioneer respondents interviewed for this paper attested being excluded of and feeling unwelcome within the Canadian context (Respondents 6 and 7). While new pioneers, having not been initiated fully as Canadian citizens, do not feel a true sense of belonging by non-Filipinos, they are Likewise discriminated by some in the Filipino community. One new migrant observed of the second generation Filipinos in her school,

\begin{quote}
There are some people who care about the fact they’re Filipino, but more that they’re Canadian. They can’t even speak Filipino. Filipino values are lost. They don’t talk to the new people… [are] in denial of their Filipino identity… they act ‘Canadian’ (Respondent 7).
\end{quote}

In her testimony, this girl equates ‘acting Canadian’ as discriminating against individuals who are not identified as true Canadians. Arguably, there is a belief among some second generation Filipinos that there is a clear Canadian identity into which new migrants should ‘fit’ if they are to be accepted. Although “in Canada we are destined to be more, not less, ethnically and racially diverse than we are,” there continues to exist a sense of “cultural homogeneity and dominance, exclusion and coercion” (Wilson, 1993: 649). Those migrants who ‘fit’ are seen as more entitled to privileges, unlike those who have just immigrated to Canada and have not been able to make the adjustments needed. Similarly, early pioneers feel more entitled than their newer counterparts in claiming their rights and often resort to either excluding first generation migrants or dividing them by allowing cliques and rifts

\textsuperscript{11} Although this quote specifically concerns ‘Americanization’ and ‘American superiority,’ I have interpreted this to be relevant as generally ‘colonial.’
within the Filipino community. This fits in with what has been noted of Asian American immigrants more generally. One researcher has noted: “Asian Americans face immense pressure to assimilate in order to distance themselves from the stigma associated with their racial group” (Pyke and Dang, 2003: 151). Ultimately, first generation new migrants clash with both first generation early pioneer migrants and with second and third generation Filipinos because of a lack of understanding about what the new arrivals are experiencing and how the other Filipinos, more settled, affect the new pioneers when they distance themselves from identifying wholly with them as Filipinos, Canadians, or both (Pyke and Dang, 2003). This causes fundamental culture and value clashes in their experiences and how they perceive racism.

According to the first generation youth respondents interviewed for this paper, second generation Filipinos can be exclusionary towards their new migrant peers. As such, first generation youth, who are also excluded from joining non-Filipino circles, mainly come to associate with one another. As student explained in her testimony: “Most of my friends, they’re new (like me)… they just came to the country. They have difficulty integrating” (Respondent 7). To identify the specific forms of exclusion they suffered from, she further stated, “I think the breakdown is [based on]… stereotypes and race. Sometimes there is one person (who is different from the majority of a group) who lingers, but it’s so unlikely to see that” (Respondent 7). For the young new immigrants interviewed for this research, due to the exclusion experienced by both non-Filipinos and more-integrated second generation Filipinos, they feel more at ease interacting with others who endure similar experiences. According to a notable Filipino journalist, “Filipinos have this ghetto mentality… a tendency to cling together” (Respondent 3). This is reaffirmed with: “Filipinos like to approach other Filipinos. People go to who they know” (Respondent 11). One second generation man, who has been mistaken by other ‘offspring’ Filipinos as a ‘Fresh Of the Boat’ as a result of his proficiency in his family’s Philippine regional dialect, admits that he is often segregated and subsequently relegated to associate with new Filipino migrants. His extensive interaction with first generation migrants however, has given him insight on their reactions to the discrimination they experience. He explained,

Those who migrated from the Philippines… when they’re here, they stick together. Ones who were born here aren’t as close with them… I guess because of language. … it’s the whole comfort zone. At Maples (Collegiate), I didn’t see that many people from the Philippines mingling with those born here (Respondent 14).

There is a certain comfort for new migrants to interact with others like them, who have gone through or are currently going through similar challenges as newcomers to the country (Espiritu, 2005). More specifically, in schools where even fellow –though more integrated–Filipinos also discriminate against them, the tendency to look for comfort among specifically new pioneer Filipinos who have similar experiences is augmented.

However, association with exclusively other first generation Filipinos defeats the purpose of true integration into the multicultural social fabric of Canada. “[First generation] kids learn to cope with racism through their friends,” reported one social worker who works with many Filipino-Canadian generational clash cases. “In my experience in social work, camaraderie is good but there is a risk: the perpetuation of racism” (Respondent 6). Racist

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12 ‘Fresh Off the Boat’ is a pejorative term for a new Asian migrant, abbreviated colloquially as ‘FOB.’
terminology and inherited colonial mentalities brought over from the Philippines may be more easily maintained within a context that allows no other alternatives. More inclusive, more tolerant forms of thinking or mindset may not be available to those who are rejected both by the Canadian mainstream and by some in their own diasporic community. Moreover, the internalised oppression that occurs in early pioneers is reinforced in new pioneers through association with others who may also be mentally colonised (Espiritu, 2005; Pyke and Dang, 2003). Not only do new pioneers keep to themselves because they want to, but are forced to isolate to only themselves because they don’t fit even within the Filipino community. Passivism and reluctance to talk about and confront discrimination is one manifestation of this kind of internalised oppression. Specifically, pioneers deal with incidents of racism by internalising the pain they experience and isolating themselves in their daily interactions mostly to groups of almost exclusively new Filipino migrants, where they find comfort. Moreover, “cultural membership is crucial to self-respect because it provides salience to the options from which a person … [makes] judgments about how he can best live his life” (Tomasi, 1995: 584). However, this selective socialization inhibits Filipinos from making contacts outside of these circles and thus truly finding the means of integrating into the broader Winnipeg and Canadian society. Ergo, without a sense of belonging as Canadians, they feel unable to stake a claim to assert their rights or to protest about any unfair treatment they may experience.
CHAPTER 3
 IDENTITIES SHAPED: THE OFFSPRING

This chapter will examine the third narrative of the three sub-groups of Filipino diaspora in Winnipeg, as identified from the paper’s research: the offspring. Akin to Chapter Two, a background and profile will introduce the subjects, and will be complemented by an examination of how this unique identity and context influences and affects perceived notions and actual reactions and experiences of racism.

“There is a push and pull between being Filipino and being Canadian... a conflict of identity. Navigation is difficult.”

3.1 Bicultural Identities

The third narrative identified by this paper is that of the pioneers’ offspring: the second and even third generation Filipino-Canadians. Notwithstanding their distinct, in some sense more ‘decolonised’ experience as racial minorities in a dominantly European-descended society, the second generation continues to associate with their Filipino identity. This association is manifested not just in the maintenance of strong ties with their families and preserving cultural traditions and rituals, but also choosing to self-identify with other young Filipinos and be exclusive with them. Many young second generation Filipinos relate more with their heritage than they do with that of their birth country. Well-put by one youth, “I think of myself as more of a Filipino instead of a Canadian” (Respondent 12). However, as aforementioned, there is little true familiarity with their native culture; instead, second generation Filipinos live a re-imagined, decolonised version of their Filipino heritage which has been transmitted through media and peers as well as through their parents. Within this hybrid set of contextual influences, they are both ‘from’ the Philippines and socialized as Canadians. It may be why “there are first and second generation clashes” (Respondent 6). Another female senior at a different school, when asked what her opinion was on why Filipinos tend to choose almost exclusively Filipino friends, she justified it this way,

There are race cliques between all students. I see that because all my friends at school are Asian. I hardly ever talk to people who aren’t Filipino or Asian. … You can relate more and you can talk about the same things. It feels more comfortable (Respondent 7).

Other students interviewed during fieldwork confirmed her words in different ways, attesting to evidence of second-generation Filipinos sharing similar experiences. A pharmacy student at the University of Manitoba commented on the evolution of the ethnic make-up of his group of friends:

When you’re young, in elementary, you tend to hang out with everyone in the class no matter what race [they are], but when you get to high school, you only hang out with
Filipinos… like whites with whites. … When I was younger I had a lot of different friends, but then in high school, it was just Filipinos. I see it a lot (Respondent 8).

The self-segregation of second generation Filipino-Canadians into exclusively or dominantly Filipino social groups allows little opportunity for informal interactions with other diverse groups. “The stresses of migration—the struggles against xenophobia, cultural racism, and economic discrimination—have … firmly rooted Filipinos in joined struggles with each other … to define and claim their place in [the country]” (Espiritu, 2003: 16). Besides the formal efforts of government through formal means in education programs, what happens at schools is potentially aggravating racism and may lessen rather than improve the possibility of closer integration and interaction with non-Filipino-Canadians in the future.

The children and grandchildren of pioneers, those who constitute the second and third generation of the Filipino-Canadian community in Winnipeg, are arguably more integrated into the multicultural social fabric of the nation. Having lived their entire lives in Canada, it would seem they have little real connection to the Philippines except through their parents and ideas from more recent migrants and the media. Some have visited, but generally for short periods during holidays. They identify, however, by association and by means of the familiarity they feel through their elders, parents, relatives and family friends. “I was brought up and raised the way Filipinos in the Philippines are raised. And my family is mostly Filipino… maybe like three to five people are married to non-Filipinos,” said one youth, whose grandparents and parents emigrated to Canada in the mid 70s. He continued: “but more of my friends (who are Filipino) were born in Canada than in the Philippines” (Respondent 12). In the words of Espiritu (2003), “Filipino immigrants have shifted between multiple and dynamic identities, simultaneously narrowing and enlarging their scope of affiliations” (Espiritu, 2003: 16). As a result of the incredibly tight-knit Filipino community in Winnipeg, second generation Filipinos are very exposed to Filipino values and cultures, as brought over from the Philippines and transplanted into the diasporic setting of the city.

### 3.2 Decolonised Minds

How second generation Filipinos approach and react to racism sets them apart from their first generation counterparts, the pioneers. In recent years, a growing concern has developed among the Filipino community that, due to the increasing incidence of youth violence and racism, young Filipino-Canadians are losing touch with their roots. Groups like ANAK, which stands for Aksyon Ng Ating Kabataan (translation: Action of Our Youth or Filipino Youth in Action), were thus established to preserve and promote Filipino heritage and culture through education of young people of Filipino origin (Respondent 11). One of the founders of ANAK explained,

> There is a push and pull between [being] Filipino and [being] Canadian… a conflict with identity; navigation is difficult. … The more you know yourself (background, heritage, culture), the more successful you will be at coping, navigating and relating (Respondent 6).
Another founder confirmed, “Some don’t feel accepted by the Filipino community or they
don’t feel they can relate… Perceptions are changing. With strong self and community
comes non-discrimination” (Respondent 11). The absence of historical memory implies
both a freedom from oppressive mental stereotypes and behaviours inherited from
colonisation but also an ignorance of the hardships experienced by past generations and how
they overcame them following colonial violence and subjugation of the Filipinos and their
culture. Essentially, notwithstanding oral history passed on by elders and a continual
emphasis on hard work and diligence, second and third generation Filipinos are virtually
unaware of how their parents and grandparents’ true experiences Filipino integration into
Canadian society. “[Offspring] are told their whole lives that they’re lucky” and should
appreciate the endeavours of their parents, but they may not grasp the significance of these
statements, which do not seem to be geared to address the real problems they themselves
face (Respondent 11). The closest they come to some understanding of their family’s earlier
challenges to integration into Canadian society arise from identifying with the general
struggles of Filipinos. A second generation grad student attested, “My parents were not
welcomed with open arms. [As] an immigrant, you’re in survival mode” (Respondent 11).
Observing her parents’ efforts to belong and fit into Canadian society, she attempted to do
the same: “At first, I tried to integrate, fit in, be white.” Because second generation Filipinos
have rights-claiming agency to integrate within their diversity, through assimilation, they
learn to deny the experiences of the Filipino migrant in exchange for the perceived
dominance and status they attain with ‘white privilege.’ This is a trade-off: they gain
privilege but deny their roots, despite socialization with other Filipinos.

3.3 Perpetual Inferiority, Entitled Superiority

“Yes, there is racism.”

While some Filipinos in Winnipeg deny that discrimination is a reality, for others, the view
stated is that discrimination has not manifested itself in their own personal experience.
There are also some individuals who view discrimination as a necessary, though informal
part, of the integration process. This is not the same as denial of the existence of racism
against Filipinos, but denies that the effects are damaging to integration, preferring instead to
see racism as the ‘price to be ‘had’ for getting to an integrated state. In other words,
multiculturalism’s provision of a “political framework for the official promotion of social
equality and cultural differences as an integral component of the social order” needs to be
achieved first (Wilson, 1993: 654). In some cases, respondents present any discrimination
that has taken place or continues to take place as
normal. As new migrants, some see this
kind of treatment as something that should be expected, especially at first. Similarly, one
second generation 16 year old explained his situation in these terms:

Canada is one of the most multicultural countries in the world… [European-Canadians]
are welcoming, but just that some people have different point of views. Some people …
do say that immigrants are stealing their jobs and then they don’t really welcome other
ethnic groups. But yeah, I think Filipinos are well integrated (Respondent 12).
While on one hand, he recognizes that racist, unwelcoming statements have been made with reference to Filipinos taking job opportunities away from non-Filipinos, yet he believes that those making such statements are welcoming. He relativises the quite overtly racist nature of the statements such as ‘they steal our jobs,’ as simply ‘different points of view.’ The implication is that in a democratic society everyone is entitled to his or her ‘point of view,’ including a racist one. He chooses not to confront the heavy, accusatory nature of the statement about stealing jobs.

The normalisation of racism is arguably one of the implications of any system of internalised racism. Among second generation Filipinos, this has not developed as a result of a colonial mentality, since they were not directly exposed to the effects of colonisation during most of their socialization. However, only through socialization by first generation Filipino-Canadians did the second and subsequent generations indirectly experience a life systematically influenced by colonial thought and education. They learned and adopted an acceptance of racial hierarchies in general and took on as their own some elements of the inferiority complex absorbed and professed by their parents and grandparents (David and Okazaki, 2006). Thus the offspring, much like early pioneers, when they are faced with racism, either shrug it off or even join in, in an effort to not act adversarially towards the dominant culture and social group (Respondent 14). Although the Filipinos who are being discriminated against may perceive comments and exclusionary behaviour as offensive, they tend to internalise the pain and interpret and thus normalise the situation as something to be expected within any multicultural society. “There will always be racism,” reasoned a few second generation respondents (Respondents 9, 10, 12 and 14). “By accepting and internalising mainstream racist values and rationales… subordinates… justify the oppression of their group with a belief in their own inferiority” (Pyke and Dang, 2003: 151). Second generation youth’s cynicism on the status of racial discrimination indicates recognition of the socially-constructed racial hierarchies imposed by the dominant European descent Canadian society. What is interesting is how they place themselves within the hierarchy: the more integrated one is, the more one can decide whom to discriminate against (Respondent 14). The ‘justification’ for early pioneers to discriminate against new pioneers is often that the former are better integrated into Canadian multicultural society. Second generation youth thus also utilize their higher social status and level of rights position in comparison to first generation migrant youth in order to further normalise racism as a necessary aspect of initiation and social demarcation within multiculturalism.

“People think I’m a FOB.”

Second generation youth have even admitted experiencing exclusion themselves, despite being the best integrated of the various generations of the Filipino community, particularly in venues where they are visibly the definite minority. Initially, however, the majority of the second generation interviewees claimed not to have experienced any blatant racist incidents towards themselves first-hand. When asked “Do you think people are racist towards Filipinos?” or “Have you ever experienced racism?”, most responded with answers such as “No, I don’t think so.” However, after an extended discussion of concepts, almost all the interviewees volunteered anecdotes of having observed friends and classmates experiencing racism or even cases of having personally experienced racism themselves.

Although second generation youth have developed behaviours that reflect the context in which they grew up, as in mainstream white Canadian culture, they are still
‘Othered’ for looking and talking different, and for having parents who are not ‘true’ Canadians. Such ‘typical Asian’ stereotypes include “the wimpy nerd and the hypermasculine gangster, … the unattractive nonsexual nerd and the highly erotic female” (Pyke and Dang, 2003: 159). A few students stated that non-Filipinos tend to bully Filipinos for not only being different in physical appearance, accent, and culture, but also in how well they do in school and the extent to which they are involved in extra-curricular activities, including cultural events such as Folklorama and church groups (Respondents 15 and 16).

Despite being born and having grown up in Canada, second generation Filipinos have mostly adopted modified accents from their first generation relatives and family friends who usually converse in Tagalog and other Philippine dialects when at home. One 20 year old young man described how fellow Filipinos respond to him, “People think I’m a FOB… that I was born in the Philippines… because I always speak in Tagalog and my language, Kapampangan. They assume this because I speak so fluently” (Respondent 14). When asked to elaborate on what others’ treatment of ‘FOB’s was, he clarified that segregation and exclusion was the most basic form of discrimination against new Filipino migrants in Winnipeg (Respondent 14).

According to most second generation Filipinos, their non-Filipino peers at school and at work are usually able to distinguish the difference between them and first generation new migrants or those who everyone seemed to label as ‘FOB’ during fieldwork research. Part of this reason is because of the high density of Filipinos and Filipino circles in the inner city and north suburban neighbourhoods where they live. However, beyond these neighbourhoods, non-Filipinos are not able to distinguish between first generation and second generation Filipino youth, assuming that the Filipino community is a homogenous group. In some cases, non-Filipinos may have difficulty even distinguishing between Filipinos and other Asian groups. “This one incident… a Caucasian girl came up to me and asked if I was Pham’s cousin. It wasn’t because I was Asian. … She couldn’t tell us apart,” said one university student (Respondent 8). Ignorance is not just one manifestation of racial, and in this case more specifically—ethnic, discrimination, but also blatant racism. “I was only 12… a little Asian girl in a class of 18-20 white girls,” begins one junior high student (Respondent 9). “I could tell they were underestimating me… [they] bashed me (verbally). They were pretty much rich white girls who dance ballet and I was a little girl from the North End” (Respondent 9). Despite being well-integrated, second generation Filipino youth continue to battle stereotypes.

Although Asians in Canada are in many ways regarded as a model minority, based on their educational and economic successes, they continue to experience racism because of how they look and how their culture is considered by the mainstream society (Kim, 1999). This exclusionary treatment continues to occur even when Asians, as in this case of second generation Filipinos, are highly integrated, fluent in the language and habits of mainstream society. They thus experience into the third and subsequent generations a perpetual sense that they are given a position of inferiority in relation to the ‘mainstream.’ “Despite being culturally assimilated, … later generation Asian [Canadians] are classified as ‘ethnic’—more Asian than [Canadian]- and often assumed to be non-citizens” (Tuan 1998).13 Pejorative terms like ‘FOB’ or ‘whitewashed,’ the latter implying a disconnect between one’s identity and one’s parents’ heritage and culture within white European-dominated social norms,

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13 This quote concerns Americans; however, for this paper, I have interpreted the experience to nevertheless relate to Canadians.
continue to stigmatize both integration and retention of Filipino-based culture as signs of difference and inferiority. Differentiating Filipinos to the Nth generation as Others, regardless of their level of integration into Canadian society, is a form of multicultural racism, as we will argue in more detail in the following two chapters. Additionally, the denotation of being washed white implies a transformation from ‘

“He’s king of the school.’

As precluded in Chapter One, many second and third generation Filipinos continue to live in neighbourhoods and attend schools where they are the majority. In these areas, there is a substantial non-European presence, with a specific ethnic breakdown in which Filipinos, East Indians and Aboriginals predominate. Filipinos become a dominant group among the minorities. According to one high school student, being a member of an ethnic group that makes up the majority of students does have its advantages. “When you see others of your own race, there is a sense of pride… like you’re king of the school” (Respondent 14). For second and third generation Filipinos, the culturally pluralistic nature of their schools and neighbourhoods facilitates intermingling of various ethnic groups and is seen as unproblematic to the extent that Filipinos are the ones ‘in control.’ In the context of Canadian multiculturalism, the perception being expressed here is that the reality of Filipino-dominated schools and neighbourhoods in Winnipeg, in particular, does help to alleviate the discrimination that Filipinos otherwise would experience in predominantly white society, faced directly with the majority European-origin populations.

Certain racist terminology and perceptions of both new migrants and non-Filipinos have emerged in the past years. Such innovations have led to new forms of racism from within the second generation, which in some cases have led to significant rifts within local neighbourhoods, where multiculturalism thrives without necessarily promoting anything like cultural harmony. One second generation youth explained how racialisation was manifested in his school: “You know how high school is—people say stuff, just not to their actual face while they’re standing there. It’s more [that] people are always talking, but within their groups… on what they think, how they judge other people” (Respondent 14). Even individuals of the same ethnicity prevalently use racist terminology, especially directed at new Asian migrants. One student admitted how she learned about the ‘FOB’ terminology: “I always knew what it meant, and used it more often as I grew up” (Respondent 10). Her sister added, “Young people definitely talk about race. … Our environment is influenced by different people’s opinions” (Respondent 9). This rationalisation of racism’s validity perpetuates the discrimination multicultural policy was established to combat.

“Multiculturalism provides a vision for a strategic policy designed to shape, redefine and manage Canada’s racial and ethnic diversity—a purposeful attempt to address the historical and contemporary exclusion of ethnocultural and racial minorities” (Wilson, 1993: 654). Unfortunately, multicultural policy’s emphasis on the importance of valuing difference has encouraged its highlighting and thus the deliberate exclusion of cultures like the Filipino community to live amongst primarily only Filipinos.

One form of racism that is perpetuated within the evolution of the Filipino diaspora community in Winnipeg is that directed towards the new contingent of first generation migrants. Although the first generation pioneers have asserted that they are “helpful, generous and caring… to newcomers,” second generation youth are not so welcoming (Respondent 4). “Whereas ethnic distinctions are largely presumed to be racial in origin, the
erection of intraethnic boundaries reconstructs ethnic distinctions along acculturative rather than racial lines” (Pyke and Dang, 2003: 164). When asked whether there was racism at school, a number of the second generation high school students interviewed acknowledged there was, particularly against new migrants. “Yeah, especially against FOBs,” declared one grade 12 girl, “The majority of them are immigrant Filipinos. (Us) Filipinos that were here before, we bash them more than (we do) Caucasians” (Respondent 10). When asked why they ‘bashed’ FOBs, her sister responded, “[because] they hang out only with each other. You can really tell that they’re FOB by who they’re hanging out with” (Respondent 9). On one hand, the challenges of integration into Canadian society may intimidate new migrants from genuinely associating with other, more ‘Canadian’ Filipinos, and learning from them. There also appears to be reluctance from the side of the second generation migrants to be open to this kind of association that might facilitate the newcomers’ integration and acceptance into Canadian society. To second generation offspring, new migrants are an easier, more accessible target than Caucasians, where fear of retaliation might prevent criticism, attacks or complaints. This is an example of horizontal racism directly inside the community: internalised oppression. The openly and sometimes even violently racist perceptions of some second generation Filipinos about recent arrivals can certainly push new migrants away from interacting with this group of young people, including in school and outside (Espiritu, 2005).

When asked how new migrants are different, many responses given by second generation respondents demonstrated a clear prejudice towards their first generation peers. One example goes as follows:

You can just tell [they are different]. Their haircut, the way they put their clothes together… It’s their appearance. … And the way they talk and the way they look at you… as if they are so much better than you. They also have really nice cars… I don’t know where they get their money (Respondent 9).

In the first half of this answer, appearance, though not necessarily physical but in fashion, and perceived demeanour are the main foci of contention as to why second generation young people might consider first generation migrants as different. The final sentence, however, is a discriminating statement based on the assertion that new migrants are less financially secure than those who have settled in Canada for longer. “By mocking coethnics… respondents make clear that there are others to whom this stereotype applies, but not themselves. In so doing, they emerge as non-stigmatized ‘normals’” (Pyke and Dang, 2003: 159). Within growing racism of Canadian society, stigmatizing new migrants for having money implies they get rich through suspect means, and perhaps should not own the material wealth that they do. Both groups are of Filipino descent, yet there are in fact real and distinct cultural differences in how they were raised and in the environments in which they have lived during most the majority of their lives. Cultural clashes can result, but are always mediated by winder notions of the Canadian ‘norm.’ One girl explained the ‘culture clash’ in the following way:

Like for example, relationships. Guys when they like you, it’s like stalker. They’re kind of creepy. They talk to you all the time… they’re clingy. I feel bad when I say mean things, but they act childish. They talk so ignorantly and so loud. They’re so used to (doing) it in the Philippines, but that environment is different than here (Respondent 10).
There is a strong set of assumed differences in this particular account in terms of how gender roles operate in the Philippines and in mainstream ‘normal’ Canadian society. Thus second generation young women also demonstrate a specifically feminist criticism of new migrant male behaviour. This does not make up for the deliberate ignorance that is expressed here of what might be more similar than she implies. “By distancing herself… [she] suggests that the negative images of [Filipinos] perpetuated in the majority culture do not apply to her” or to the boys that she likes from the second generation or from wider Canadian society (Pyke and Dang, 2003: 165). Her validation of her own behaviour towards the new arrival young men diminishes the value of attitudes, behaviour and entitlement to full participation in school and the community of first generation fellow Filipinos, especially the males who are seen here as ‘backward’ in their attitudes towards women.

The second and even third generations of the Filipino-Canadian community in Winnipeg is a testament of multiculturalism’s contributions to the social fabric of the nation. However, there is a sense of disunity between Filipino sub-groups, which highlights the differences within rather than between cultures.
CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION: A DIVIDED COMMUNITY

This chapter will boil down the interwoven theoretical and empirical arguments made in the previous sections, analyzing and summarizing the major themes that have emerged. These themes list generational clashes, intra-Filipino discrimination and structural conflict.

“We have a good sense of community, but it is ‘biwa-biwalay’ (divided).”

4.1 Social Hierarchies: Early vs. New Pioneers

Despite the process of decolonisation, postcolonial development in Southern states is “still in effect being colonised by their own ruling elite” (Calvert, 2001: 51). The significance of this ruling elite within the context of colonialism is that their more privileged status would indicate some closer historical connection to their previous colonial rulers (Calvert, 2001; Harsgor, 1978; Winks, 1976). Regardless, both ruling elite and less privileged classes within a postcolonial society are ultimately still affected by colonisation’s contributions, despite no longer being directly colonised. Winks (1976) explains that “modernity,” an element of development, “arises from big-power conflict” (Winks, 1976: 546). Power relations continue to prevail even in postcolonial phases, including the migration of supposedly decolonised communities. With relevance to this paper, it is undeniable that internal, mental colonialism persists in postcolonial re-imagining of the Filipino diaspora society. The members of the new neo-colonial elite merely continue legacy of oppression, however this time within the body of the colonised.

In Winnipeg, the oppression manifests in the early pioneers ‘Othering’ new arrivals. There is discrimination against less-Canadianised Filipinos. Freire (1970) argued that people who are oppressed choose to disassociate with those who remind them of their or their culture’s perceived inferiority. Nevertheless, however hard they try to replace their internalised inferiority with their apparent privileged status, the Filipino elite also experienced racism; moreover, they were oppressed by their colonial imposers. Their earned status comes at the price of enduring a process of assimilation to colonial life and rejection of native Filipino culture, what was deemed as ‘uncivilized’ and thus unacceptable. Under US rule, Filipinos were “scripted as ‘children’ … locked in a ‘rudimentary state of political development’” (Go, 2004: 40). The American administration, under the leadership of Governor William Taft and approved by President McKinley, thereby passed a policy called “benevolent assimilation” that patronizingly aimed to help, civilize, and educate Filipinos so that one day they too could run their own government independently (Go, 2004: 48). Thus, when independence was granted in 1946, a substantial number of Filipinos were fluent in English, literate, and had adopted American democratic ideologies. The most educated of these Filipinos were appointed to leadership roles. Incidentally, because these selected Filipinos were also the most assimilated into American colonial culture, they idealized and
heralded American values, celebrating the resulting contributions from the US's relationship with the Philippines' and ignoring the oppressive aspects of their past.

With the benefits of a strong and tight-knit Filipino community also come detriments. Although all Filipinos are united under the idea that the cultural group is a relatively new presence within the Canadian social fabric, having only established roots in the country in the latter half of the 20th century, social hierarchies have nevertheless emerged from within the Filipino community. According to Espiritu (2003), the emphasis of family in Filipino culture can lead to formation of social groups and an emergence of class, perhaps reflective of similar structures in the Philippines. The Filipino community in Winnipeg, particularly among the first generation migrants, has created a distinction of the elite based on those who arrived earlier juxtaposed with the non-elite based on newer arrivals. “We have a good sense of community… [but it is] ‘hiwa-hiwalay’ (broken up, in divisions) usually,” said one woman, who has lived in Winnipeg for over 20 years (Respondent 3). “We have tons, hundreds of community groups. The reason? People like to stay in positions… or they want to just associate with themselves… it is clique-ish” (Respondent 3). In a sense, a neo-colonialism has become apparent: these are the pioneers who were able to secure employment positions upon arrival as professionals rather than vocational or technical labourers and have since established themselves both socially and financially. They have gained an advantage over first generation new migrants because they have been in the country longer and have thus had more time to integrate better into the dominantly-European-descended Canadian society as leaders of the Filipino community. While this division is not racial, it is class-based.

Such divisions create obstacles to unity within the cultural group. Arguably, first generation pioneers “are known to be helpful, generous and caring… to newcomers,” as declared by a local Filipino-Canadian politician (Respondent 4). However, she admitted that there are “rifts or differences within the Filipino community… mainly [due to] personality clashes or conflicts among leaders and members, in addition to personal issues or problems” (Respondent 4). Despite both being first generation migrants to Canada, the pioneers and new arrivals continue to experience a sense of divisiveness as a result of distinct life experiences and levels of integration into Canadian society. It would seem that those who have lived in the country longer have more validity in their participation as leaders and members of society rather than their more-recently arrived counterparts. There is discrimination within the cultural group, despite shared initial events of immigration and integration. Thus, internal ethnic division within the Filipino community becomes a bigger challenge for the group in resisting external racism.

4.2 Playground Politics: The Offspring vs. New Migrant Youth

Interviews with both first and second generation youth, as indicated in Chapter Two, confirm there is a clash between the two groups. Strobel (1997), having performed similar research to that of this paper, speaks of the cognitive dissonance that occurs within second generation migrant youth in their endeavour to separate themselves from association with their non-Canadian identity. A 26-year-old that Strobel interviews is quoted:
My idea... of Filipino culture and identity is split into two forms: the FOB... and the Filipino American. I did not associate with “FOBs.” They were backward, had accents, and just acted weird. Then there was me, the non-“FOB,” who spoke perfect English, born and raised here, had only white friends... I was “white” in every way except my skin, my nose, and my eyes. I hate to admit but I have been an accomplice to the cruel acts that have been perpetrated against Filipinos (Strobel, 1997: 67).

As a result of prolonged exposure, immersion and thus subsequent idealization of white society in the Canadian context, second generation youth reject the Filipino aspect of their bicultural identities. Unlike their parents, first generation early pioneers, the offspring are not influenced by colonial mentality and internalised oppression imposed for centuries by coloniser dominators. However, although decolonised, the offspring have normalised racism based on their different contextual maltreatment by non-Filipinos and have conceptualized a social hierarchy of races. Consequently, they have reasoned their discrimination as acceptable because they have lived in Canada all their lives. “[Second generation] minority individuals [have a] strong desire to conform to the values, attitudes and beliefs of the dominant group (white Canadians), which may include the dominant groups’ discriminatory attitudes and practices” (David and Okazaki, 2006: 10). Moreover, they feel that because they are Filipino, it is better for them to be racist against other Filipinos than non-Filipinos.

4.3 Cliques, Rifts and Family Ties

Large, extended families are a major reason for the size and spread of the Filipino community in Winnipeg. Since the first pioneers began to arrive in the country in the 1950s, they worked to sponsor other members of their family to come live with them. As Canada boasts an immigration policy that values the importance of family reunification, it is to no surprise that many of the workers of Filipino descent in Winnipeg have family in the city.

The concept of a tight-knit support network implies cohesiveness and strength in numbers. This support network thus becomes the nucleus context in which children are influenced. The perhaps colonial, strong nature of community adds to the continuous presence of family values and thinking, including particular prejudices carried over from the Philippines. “There are personality clashes and conflicts, in addition to personal issues or problems... which causes rift of differences within the Filipino community” (Respondent 4). Moreover, “the disadvantages [include]... if something goes wrong, everyone knows... gossip. Some adult Filipinos even move away. When there is too much gossip, people become disgruntled. They psychology of rumour is that if you hear something, it can be misinterpreted” (Respondent 3). The presence of family allegiances mixed with pervasive misconstrued gossip leads to conflict within the group. Intra-Filipino politics develop over time and involve key leaders who have established themselves in Canada and to whom many first generation new migrants seek for advice and assistance. “There is a level of respect and people [start] confiding” in these leaders about the challenges of fitting in, finding work, and

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14 Although this quote refers to Filipino Americans, this paper would argue its relevance to Filipino Canadians.
settling into their neighbourhoods, schools and workplaces (Respondent 3). However, this results in clashes between the leaders, who form divisions and their own circles. Circles can comprise of first generation pioneers, their second and possibly third generation offspring, and members of the first generation migrant contingent. It is for this reason that “Filipinos do feel welcome;” said one boy, “because our families introduce us to other families and friends (Respondent 12). But social hierarchies nevertheless exist, with the pioneers emerging as the elite of the Filipino community. The self-imposed ranking that results leads to a form of divisive and non-cohesive neo-colonialism, which hinders true efficacy to confronting prejudice. This paper would assert that the rifts carried over from the Philippines and continue to thrive even within a new context perpetuate both the internal discrimination regarding class and social status as determined by date of arrival in Canada among Filipinos, in addition to the external racism and stereotyped perceptions non-Filipinos have of this ethnic community.

Although specific incidents are not reported, as demonstrated in the interviewees’ responses for this research, Filipinos do indeed experience racism. However, the racism experienced is not isolated to external events, perpetrated by non-Filipinos. Particularly among the youth, there is a clash between second generation Filipinos who are the offspring of the pioneers and first generation new migrants. There is a cultural divide as a result of a differing of contextual upbringing and experiences, even though the two groups share the same heritage. Based on the second generation interviewees’ explanation of their reactions towards first generation migrants, this paper would argue that families play a significant role in influencing the youth on perceptions of others, whether they are non-Filipino or also Filipino.

There is an argument to be made that the parents and grandparents of the second generation have been a more direct influence in shaping their offspring’s eventual racist mindset. One young student, having attended a dominantly Filipino high school and lived in a neighbourhood where the ethnic make-up is mainly Filipino, East Indian, and Aboriginal, commented that people in his own family have always had distinct perceptions of other ethnicities. “It doesn’t matter what age [Filipinos] are, people say panas (read: Aboriginals) are troublemakers” (Respondent 14). Another student agreed: “I hear my Lola (grandma) saying something about panas and how bad some of them are. Something about what they look at… but Filipinos are in the middle of being racist… not super racist, but not not-racist. White people are more racist” (Respondent 12). From these two examples, one can discern two things. First, the racial and arguably xenophobic biases of first generation Filipinos makes a strong impression on their children and grandchildren, ultimately encouraging the perpetuation of discrimination against other individuals who are unlike them. Secondly, the second generation, having learned by example, seem to embrace this kind of discrimination as acceptable in relative terms to other races who can also be racist. Through intergenerational socialization, second generation Filipinos learn to idealize the same things and act the same way as their parents and grandparents (David and Okazaki, 2006:8). There is a sense of rationalization that because everyone is racist anyway, it is just to also act so. This mode of thinking is particularly strengthened when members of one’s family supports these beliefs and values.

Conversely, it can be argued that family can influence the opposite effect: teach their children to not discriminate. However, one major challenge for the immigrant is to be able to acquire a job that will provide a sufficient salary to support his or her family. Due to obstacles regarding accreditation as well as possible prejudices in hiring processes against
new migrants, racialisation of physical features, accents, and lowered discriminatory performance expectations against having obtained an education in a developing country, Filipino migrants are not always successful in securing high-level positions. As a result, many first generation pioneers have had to work overtime or even multiple jobs in order to ensure they have a satisfactory income. In the words of a Filipina social worker who has observed closely the situation of many Filipino migrant families, “Filipinos work really, really hard and often don’t have time for family. Kids are not properly pacified. Good attitudes and values are left at the wayside. Parents assume [their children] know what to do, so kids are not actually told” (Respondent 6). When parents are too busy to teach their children not to discriminate against other cultures, or even against other Filipinos who are continually filtering into the country as new migrant workers, the second generation learns from their friends and through interactions with other cultures, which are not necessarily facilitated to specifically combat stereotypes and racism.

IV. Final Conclusions

Re-imaginings of traditional cultural concepts are changed in the diaspora context. The experiences of mental colonisation that Filipino early pioneers, parents and grandparents might have experienced are virtually non-existent among second generation offspring. They have not had the same first-hand contact with colonial attitudes and their reverberations through generations have therefore lessened. Canada as a multicultural society is supposed to provide a distinct context in which the offspring of migrants can live their lives as first-class citizens rather than subjects of a colony like Spain or the United States. Unlike their ancestors, second-generation Filipino-Canadians are free to choose their identities, at least in principle. As such, the relationship of second generation Filipinos with the Philippine side of their identity is less intense than for first generation migrants, and yet this Filipino side remains central to how they choose to define themselves in contrast with the mainstream European-based identity of Canadian society, multicultural and ‘other’ or not.

The internal diversity of the Filipino community in Winnipeg, particularly regarding generational difference, is the reason for vastly dissimilar perceptions and experiences of racism. Based on arrival dates and thus duration of time spent in Canada, Winnipeg Filipinos have formed distinct identities, notwithstanding their associative solidarity as Filipino-Canadians. Specifically, first generation Filipinos who have a strong connection to the Philippines having actually spend a substantial period of time there prior to migrating to Canada have vastly different takes on Canadian society and what it means to be a Canadian compared to second generation Filipinos who are only really familiar with Canada. Likewise, there are significant discrepancies in the nature of the struggles and opinions between first and second generation Filipinos, although racial discrimination against them as individuals of non-European descent may be shared.
References


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1 Article

UN calls Canada racist for 'visible minorities' tag

Canada's use of the term "visible minorities" to identify people it considers susceptible to racial discrimination came under fire at the United Nations Wednesday - for being racist.

BY CANWEST NEWS SERVICE
MARCH 8, 2007

UNITED NATIONS - Canada's use of the term "visible minorities" to identify people it considers susceptible to racial discrimination came under fire at the United Nations Wednesday - for being racist.

The world body's anti-racism watchdog says in a report on Ottawa's efforts to eliminate racial discrimination in Canada that the words might contravene an international treaty aimed at combating racism.

Members of the watchdog - the Geneva-based Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination - also questioned other terms used by the federal government, among them "ethnocultural communities."

Other highlights of the report include a call for Canada to provide welfare to undocumented immigrants and failed refugee applicants; an expression of concern about "racial profiling" in Canada; and a recommendation that Canada pass laws to prevent Canadian transnational companies from trampling on the rights of indigenous peoples overseas.

Released Wednesday, the report presents the committee's findings after its members last month grilled a Canadian Heritage-led delegation on Canada's anti-racism policies.

All countries that have signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination must appear periodically before the committee to explain how they are respecting the treaty.

While the committee's recommendations are not legally binding, Ottawa says it is taking note.

"Constructive suggestions made by the committee may be useful to Canada in order to enhance its implementation of the convention," says Canadian Heritage spokeswoman Dominique Collin.
The committee's 16 members are mainly academics or former diplomats from around the world, but none is from Canada.

Ahead even of concerns they have raised in earlier years about the plight of First Nations peoples in Canada, committee members latched on to the government's use of the words "visible minorities" in numerous official documents.

"The committee is concerned that the use of the term ... may not be in accordance with the aims and objectives of the convention," says the report.

It adds Canada should "reflect further ... on the implications of the use of the term" - but it is mute on what wording Canada might adopt to replace it.

Canada's Employment Equity Act defines "visible minorities" as "persons, other than aboriginal people, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour."

To the committee, highlighting a certain group does not appear to be consistent with Article One of the convention, which says racial discrimination occurs when equitable treatment is upset by "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin."

Speaking at the committee grilling of Canada last month, committee member Patrick Thornberry went further.

"The use of the term seemed to somehow indicate that 'whiteness' was the standard, all others differing from that being visible," says the British international law professor, according to UN note-takers.

Neither Thornberry nor other committee members responded to a request for an interview, saying through a secretary that the report speaks for itself.

Eliminating all forms of identification would raise the question: How can minorities be helped or protected if there is no definition of who they are?

"I don't think the committee members could have realized that Canada's use of the term 'visible minorities' is aimed at ensuring positive discrimination," says Martin Collacott, a former Canadian ambassador to a number of Asian and Middle Eastern countries, and currently senior fellow at the Fraser Institute, a Canadian think-tank.

"It is a form of discrimination, of course, but of reverse discrimination. While I would also argue against it, I think it's clear the UN assumes that it aims to discriminate against people."
On undocumented immigrants and people who have been declined refugee status, the committee says Canada should pass laws ensuring they are everywhere "provided with access to social security, health care and education."

Regarding Canada's efforts to combat terrorism, the committee says it is "concerned about the heightened risks of racial profiling," and says Canada should amend its Anti-Terrorism Act "to include an explicit anti-discrimination clause."

The report gives no examples of Canadian-based companies it believes have harmed indigenous peoples overseas by exploiting their resources, but says Canada should be prepared to report to the committee on anything in this regard, as well as on any measures taken to prevent exploitation.

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Source: canada.com, Canwest Publishing Inc.
Map of Canada

Source: Aboriginal International Business Development Group
3 Ethnic Breakdown of Winnipeg’s Demographic

Source: Statistics Canada, 2009

Source: Statistics Canada, 2009
4 Breakdown of Interviewees

* Of the 17 individuals interviewed, one was non-Filipino. The table below only factors in the first and second generation Filipino respondents.

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<tr>
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**Age:**

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<td>25-55</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>56+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 List of Interviewees

First Generation: The Early Pioneers
   Respondent 1: male, age 56+
   Respondent 2: female, age 56+
   Respondent 3: female, age 56+
   Respondent 4: female, age 56+
   Respondent 5: male, age 56+

   First Generation: The Early Pioneers
   Respondent 6: female, age mid-30s
   Respondent 7: female, age mid-teens

Second Generation: The Offspring
   Respondent 8: male, age mid-20s
   Respondent 9: female, age mid-teens
   Respondent 10: female, age mid-teens
   Respondent 11: female, age mid-20s
   Respondent 12: male, age mid-teens
   Respondent 13: male, age mid-30s
   Respondent 14: male, age mid-20s
   Respondent 15: female, age mid-teens
   Respondent 16: male, age mid-teens

Human Rights Commission
   Respondent 17: female, non-Filipino, age 56+
6  Pervasive Stereotypes

By Johsa Manzanilla, 2009

Stereotypes of Filipinos, reinforced through images of immigrants in the media and partly grounded on cultural attitudes, rituals and traditions, are yet another dimension that aggravate both positive and negative racial discrimination against Filipinos. In the words of one pioneer activist, “Immigrants try really hard… they are excelling. This helps combat racism and perceptions” (Respondent 1). These efforts have assisted in the creation of an image of Filipinos as a model minority of new Canadian immigrants, as Asians are generally regarded as a model minority immigrant group, based on various exaggerated successes in education and business (Kim, 1999). However, their perceived successes have led to their exclusion, as demonstrated by the respondents interviewed for this paper. Even perceptions about Filipinos in Canada that seem positive, such as expectations that they are smart because they are Asian, community and family oriented, and hard, dedicated workers, have subjugating, condescending undertones. A Filipino teacher, in her defiance that racism against Filipinos exists, asserted, “Filipino students are clean, work hard and are supported by their parents. Teachers love Filipinos! They are not really discriminated against” (Respondent 2). While their teachers or bosses may treat Filipino students preferentially, this does not mean their peers wholeheartedly embrace them, especially those who are not Filipino and therefore do not necessarily receive similar praise. In fact, some Filipinos perceive this special treatment as offensive, as it highlights difference and essentialises Filipinos as having certain traits. “White people are racist… they say ‘Asians are so smart’ or I’d hate to be Asian because their parents are so strict when it comes to grades,” said one high school student who finds stereotypes, including complimentary ones, insulting (Respondent 12). Positive characteristics of Filipinos that help foster a sense of belonging within the ethnic group, as in that of the importance of community and family, creates perceptions among non-Filipino Winnipegers that Filipinos are exclusive. In one letter to the editor to The Filipino Journal in April 1991, a disgruntled reader by the name of Leslie claims discrimination also happens within the Filipino community, towards non-Filipinos; essentially, to Leslie, Filipinos are exclusive (FJ, 1991: 10). This kind of sentiment aggravates the further integration of Filipinos into the greater Winnipeg community. As a result, although their civic, commercial and political contributions resonate throughout Winnipeg, there is little intermingling with non-Filipinos outside of Filipino-dominated areas. Essentially, the sense of Filipino community does indeed grow stronger, but at the expense of culturally pluralistic interface.

The stereotype that Filipinos are hardworking is a significant cultural typcast that brings about the most contradictory of reactions from non-Filipinos. Numerous times throughout this paper’s interview process, Filipino respondents repeatedly describe how members of the Filipino community in Winnipeg “work really, really hard” (Respondent 6). Likewise, non-Filipinos confirm this, including those at the MHRC, who reason that perhaps the low number of complaints involving Filipinos can be explained because Filipinos are so hard-working and therefore more welcomed than other visible minority groups (Respondent 17). While, on one hand, dedication and hard work has indeed been a quality among Filipino migrants that has been admired by their employers, teachers and perhaps even peers, it does not necessarily aid in the social mobility of Filipinos. Instead, images of the Filipino
migrant in hard labour and domestic service positions are reinforced, ultimately relegating Filipinos to minimum wage jobs. Notwithstanding the successes of many first and second generation Filipinos to break away from prejudicial expectations and to disprove the stereotype in their struggles, the large number of Filipinos who do not hold professional jobs as a result of a lack of acknowledgment of accreditation despite having the education is telling. Ultimately, the stereotype that Filipinos will continue to work hard and persevere even in pressing and trying conditions perpetuates the unfair expectation that Filipinos are naturally adept to such situations and can thus take it.
Punching Above Its Weight

By Johsa Manzanilla, 2009

Among Canadian cities, Winnipeg is known for its diverse ethnic make-up, resulting from an influx of immigrant workers who were attracted to the area’s thriving economy at the turn of the twentieth century. In many national and global features of the city, Winnipeg is heralded for its multicultural mosaic and the apparent harmony between different cultural groups. The city’s small size is also a substantial factor in facilitating awareness of cohesive and involved ethnic communities. Despite this seeming peace, however, Winnipeg is not racism-free. With such a diverse cultural demographic comes both positive and negative intercultural discourse. The MHRC reported in its 2007 Annual Report that of 355 total complaints filed, 44 were based on ancestry, national origin, or ethnic origin, indicating that incidents concerning racial discrimination do occur in the city (MHRC, 2007: 25). What is interesting, however, is the absence of Filipino complainants or respondents in these cases. This apparent absence thus became the impetus for this paper to be written: does the absence of reported complaints correlate with a lack of racism against Filipinos in Winnipeg?

In initial conversations with leaders in the Filipino community, I was given the impression that Filipinos are extremely well integrated into the city’s diverse community. A second generation Filipino-Canadian lawyer explained,

In any other city, the Filipino-Canadian community may be bigger proportionally, but here you can listen to the Filipino radio, go to Filipino stores, read Filipino newspapers. Winnipeg is so small, it fosters a sense of community. It’s not an uncomfortable place… in other places, they can’t pull it off. This [Filipino] community punches above its weight (Respondent 13).

He further asserted that because integration is so significant, there is no reason for social justice movements protesting racism. In other words, racial discrimination against Filipinos is a thing of the past, in incidents involving early pioneers. Since these early years of Filipino immigration, the lawyer claimed that Filipinos have integrated well enough to be laid back when ignorant comments are made. Furthermore, with the high number of Filipino-owned businesses, organizations and community initiatives, enhanced by Winnipeg’s small area and supposed welcoming demographic, it would seem that Filipinos have already tackled any questions relating to their presence in Canada. Essentially, even if there continues to be minimal racist incidents, the battle is being won.

At first sight, the lawyer’s assertion seemed reasonable. However, as interviews progressed, what began to emerge was how complaints and protests around racism and discrimination were muted amongst Filipinos. Complaints are more apparent and more vocal, for example, from other migrant communities, such as African-Caribbean people and indigenous groups. If their resistance to injustice appears to be far more assertive and

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15 The ethnic background of complainants and respondents are always noted in cases of racial discrimination, as this is considered a relevant detail.
confrontational, is this because they experience more racism? This research cannot answer that question, but can show that racism is not absent from the experiences of Winnipeg Filipinos either. It is relatively rare for Filipinos to be seen engaging directly with these movements. The main kinds of political and cultural activities that Filipino migrants tend to get involved in are those that emphasize intercultural harmony. Strident anti-racism and anti-colonialism do not seem to attract the Filipino diaspora community; on the contrary, they seem to repel them. “[Filipinos] are afraid to complain because they might be picked on, alienated… they think it is too stressful” (Respondent 6). Whereas members of the Filipino community, like most other minority communities do report that they suffer from various forms of racism, discrimination and marginalisation, their responses also show that they do not necessarily see this as ‘racism’ or as grounds for political action to confront racism.
A new immigrant family’s first winter in Canada, February 1990.
Source: Johsa Manzanilla

A young Filipino interacts with her predominantly non-Filipino classmates.
Source: Johsa Manzanilla
Source: Johsa Manzanilla
FTPAM (Filipino Technical Professionals Association of Manitoba, Inc.’s annual summer picnic at Assiniboine Park, Winnipeg, circa 1995.
Source: Johsa Manzanilla

Flag-raising ceremony with Mayor Susan A. Thompson at Winnipeg City Hall, circa 1993. The author is pictured second from the left.
Source: Johsa Manzanilla