

**In pursuit of permanence: Examining lower skilled temporary migrants'
experiences with two-step migration in Manitoba**

By

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Abstract

This dissertation interrogates the links between immigration, citizenship, and social inequality by exploring temporary migrants' lived experiences of social exclusion in Manitoba. Based within a provincial context that supports temporary migrants' transitions to permanent residency through the Provincial Nominee Program, I examine how the promise of permanent settlement and a two-step immigration process influences migration decisions and the lived experiences that follow. Also, this dissertation highlights the ways in which temporary migrants find ways to exercise agency as they negotiate a complex migration system that is designed to exclude them.

Drawing on twenty-six in-depth qualitative interviews and informed by a narrative methodology, I analyze accounts of temporary migrants who work in the hog processing industry in two rural communities. Using a theoretical lens informed by segmented labour market theory and citizenship theories, the dissertation reveals how processes of social exclusion are the outcomes of both labour market positions and legal exclusion from full membership in a nation-state. As a result, temporary migrants are positioned in an uncertain state of partial legal and social belonging. Theorizing the social effects of temporary migrants' location both in the labour market and in the complex matrix of legal statuses demonstrates the nuanced ways that temporary migrants understand how they can and do fit in Canadian society and make decisions based on such understandings.

A significant empirical finding from this research is that having options for permanent residency is not a panacea for temporary migrants' unequal and marginalized social locations. In fact, the promise of permanent residency can contribute to an imbalance of power where employers have control over the futures of temporary migrants and their families. Pervasive effects of non-permanent status persist long after transitions to permanent resident status and are compounded by social dimensions such as language, class, gender, and race to shape temporary migrants' ability to engage in Canadian society. My analysis reveals the ways in which government designations (legal status) lack the ability to entirely erase social markers, making it questionable whether such classifications can restructure the social interactions and experiences of temporary migrants.

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List of Acronyms

CBSA - Canadian Border Services Agency

CEC - Canadian Experience Class

CIC - Citizenship and Immigration Canada

ESDC - Employment and Social Development Canada

IMP - International Mobility Program

IRPA - Immigration and Refugee Protection Act

LCP - Live-in Caregiver Program

LMIA - Labour Market Impact Assessment (formerly known as a Labour Market Opinion - LMO)

NOC - National Occupational Classification

PNP - Provincial Nominee Program

SAWP - Seasonal Agriculture Worker Program

SLSO - Stream for Lower Skilled Occupations

TFWP - Temporary Foreign Worker Program

UFCW - United Food and Commercial Workers

WRAPA - Worker Recruitment and Protection Act

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In recent years, no other immigration issue has caused as much public fervour in Canada as the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP). Despite the recent attention, however, the TFWP quietly grew in size, scope, and importance, with little public debate or attention beyond that of small groups of concerned academics, advocates, and labour unions. As recently as 2007, the TFWP was but a small component of the program at the annual National Metropolis Conference, which is one of the most vibrant sites of multi-stakeholder immigration discussions in the country. A few years later, the topic of temporary migration dominates agendas at conferences, meetings, and workshops across Canada with a welcomed plethora of edited book volumes, journal articles, and working papers enriching our knowledge of the nature of the TFWP. It has also become a topic of much political debate as the public is now aware of the program's inherent problems and its scope (Clarke, 2014; Goodman, 2014; Grant & Curry, 2014). Beginning in 2006, temporary foreign worker entries to Canada have controversially outpaced entries of permanent economic immigrants, altering the immigration landscape from one focused on long-term nation-building through permanent settlement, to one that expediently addresses labour shortages in specific sectors, on a short-term basis at the behest of employers' demands. The social, political, and economic ramifications of this shift toward a just-in-time approach to both labour shortages and immigration are far-reaching and continue to be worthy of rigorous academic, political, and public interrogation.

What has often been neglected in discussions of the TFWP in Canada, though, is the perspective of the individuals who are most affected by the program. It is rare to hear the voices of temporary migrants at conferences or to read their words in the media, but it is precisely their voices that must be heard to better understand what the phenomenon actually means to those most intimately involved. In addition, international migration scholarship has also largely silenced

the voices of migrants, favouring instead to focus on quantifiable research on labour market outcomes, which hides the rich details of what is a dynamic social process (Clark-Kazak, 2011; Deaux, 2006; Vandsemb, 1995). We do not yet understand the complex perspectives of individuals who leave behind their families and all that is familiar for the opportunity to work in a foreign place at jobs that are often physically demanding and undesirable to the citizen workforce. This dissertation endeavours to fill that gap in knowledge to more thoroughly comprehend what the experience of temporary migration offers and does to individuals.

Temporary migrants are not permanent residents of Canada and most have no rights to remain in the country permanently. Their legal status is precarious, impermanent, and tenuously tied to their employment conditions. As such, they suffer from the ills associated with vulnerable noncitizen legal status, which contributes to abuses, exploitation, exclusion, and marginalization. Policy also excludes temporary migrants from many of the social resources, supports, and rights that are designed to help other immigrants as they encounter the challenges of moving to a new country. Their work permits are tied to a single employer and their ability to stay in Canada, albeit for a short while, depends on continued employment, which is based entirely on the decisions of their employer. Temporary migrants' non-permanent legal status creates additional "layers of vulnerability" that are differentially manifested and compound to negatively impact daily experiences, contribute to social inequality, and produce poor health outcomes (McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013). These layers of vulnerability are, as Lenard and Straehle (2012) articulate, products of "legislated inequality", perpetuated by government policy that is designed to allow permanent settlement and a fuller array of rights only to those deemed worthy of belonging in the country. It is the permeating effects of temporary migrants' vulnerability, exclusion, and inequality in Canada that concern this dissertation.

A noteworthy case study in which to examine temporary migration in Canada can be found in the Province of Manitoba. Compared to the most common Canadian migrant destinations of Alberta, Ontario, and British Columbia, Manitoba receives a small fraction of Canada's total temporary migrant entries. Only 1.9% of all temporary migrant entries to Canada in 2012 were to Manitoba (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013)¹. However, this relatively small group of non-permanent residents encounters a situation that is unparalleled in Canada. While pathways to permanent residency for temporary migrants are limited by federal immigration policy to only higher skilled migrants and domestic caregivers, the Province of Manitoba encourages and routinely allows temporary migrants of all skill levels to pursue permanent settlement through the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP)². Given the nature of Canada's shared jurisdictional responsibilities for immigration, provinces do have the ability to set their own strategies and priorities, which includes using PNPs to admit immigrants based on local and regional needs. In Manitoba, lower skilled temporary migrants can apply to the PNP and, if successful, may pursue permanent residency and settle in Canada with their families. Despite the relatively small number of temporary migrants arriving to the province, Manitoba persists as one of the most interesting and progressive contexts in which to study the intricacies and implications of the TFWP and the growing phenomenon of two-step immigration³.

Since the federal government's implementation of the lower skilled stream within the TFWP in 2001, many temporary migrants coming to work in Manitoba have been hired as industrial

¹This data includes only foreign workers and excludes arrivals of international students and other temporary migrants. More recent data has been released, but because of a change in how numbers are reported by the federal government, there is no straightforward and consistent way to report on annual migrant entries.

² The only group of temporary migrants not able to apply for permanent residency in Manitoba are those arriving through the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP).

³ The term 'two-step immigration' is increasingly used to account for the transition from one status to another. In this case, it refers to migrants entering through the TFWP (step one) and then, while in Canada, applying for permanent residency through another avenue such as the PNP (step two) (Hawthorne, 2010; Hennebry, 2012; Nakache & D'Aoust, 2012).

butchers in the hog processing industry, which is an industry that is plagued by high rates of employee attrition and labour shortages⁴. In the province, the sector is dominated by one company with a large-scale slaughter and processing operation located in Brandon and another smaller company with a slaughter and processing operation in Prairieville⁵. Therefore, many temporary migrants coming to Manitoba are working and living in non-metropolitan communities, which have only recently began to welcome immigrants and lack supports and services specific to the new population. In light of the combined effects of labour practices and two-step immigration, these communities are experiencing rapid changes as they grow and become more diverse. This dissertation, therefore, presents an account of temporary migration in non-traditional immigrant destinations (i.e., rural communities), detailing the effects of policy and labour practices on both individuals and communities.

Theoretical guidance for studying the experiences of migrants is slim since scholarship on international migration has largely been preoccupied with quantifiable and generalizable studies. For this dissertation, which endeavours to position temporary migrants' perspectives as a rich source of knowledge, I draw from theories on migration, segmented labour markets, citizenship, and social inequality to reveal how processes of social exclusion are the outcomes of both labour market positions and legal exclusion from national membership. As an excluded and marginalized group, lower skilled temporary migrants are, from the outset, deemed to be unworthy of inclusion and citizenship. By engaging with accounts of their migration experiences in a theoretical framework that considers the hierarchical nature of the labour market, the exclusionary tendencies

⁴In 2012, employers in Manitoba's meat processing industry requested about 1,100 temporary foreign worker positions, which is distantly followed by the trucking sector with 395 temporary foreign worker position requests (Economic and Social Development Canada (ESDC), 2014).

⁵The actual name of Prairieville is not referenced so as to protect the anonymity of research participants. I have chosen to use a pseudonym for the town because it is quite small, especially in comparison to Brandon, and I do not wish to risk identification of migrants through this work.

of citizenship, and the institutionalized nature of inequality, we can learn how holding a precarious and vulnerable legal status influences the nature of migrants' interactions with institutions, how they make (or do not make) plans for the future, and how they both engage with and are disengaged from society. As such, the following four research questions guide this inquiry:

- 1) From the perspective of temporary migrants, how does temporary resident status contribute to and shape social exclusion (marginalization) and inequality?
- 2) How do temporary migrants arriving through the Stream for Lower Skilled Occupations (SLSO) experience social exclusion and inequality?
- 3) Are these experiences influenced by a transition from temporary to permanent resident status in Manitoba? Do pathways to permanency and eventually citizenship enhance temporary migrants' social position?
- 4) How do structural processes and practices operate in shaping the lives of temporary migrants?

To address the research questions, I use feminist-inspired qualitative research to articulate a narrative account of the migration experiences of lower skilled temporary migrants by tracing the reasons for their migration, the contours of their work and community life, and their process of becoming a permanent resident. Such a holistic perspective presents temporary migrants as people trying their best to negotiate a very complicated system that has been designed to limit their autonomy and construct them as merely labourers, unworthy of employment mobility, social services, and, ultimately, inclusion. The dissertation demonstrates, unpacks, and problematizes the everyday effects of noncitizen status and the internalization of the norms of precariousness for migrants as they strive to achieve a better life for themselves and their families. The purpose of this dissertation is not necessarily to support or completely discredit the phenomenon of temporary

migration and Canada's TFWP. Rather, it is meant to offer pause to reflect on the experiences of those who arrive to Canada through the TFWP. I highlight how social exclusion and inequality are subtly and obviously created and recreated in migrants' daily experiences through the practices of employers and policies of government. Ultimately, the goal of this dissertation is to understand temporary migrants as individuals rather than merely contingent labourers.

The logic, justification, and failure of temporary migration programs

Programs that facilitate the hiring of temporary foreign labour exist throughout the world and have for decades. Temporary migration is and has been a common occurrence in global migration patterns, facilitated through a variety of ever-changing programs and policies. Much of Western Europe experienced large-scale temporary migration in the post-war years through guest-worker programs. Between 1945 and the early 1970s, these programs focused on bringing labourers from poorer European countries to work in the expanding economies of countries such as Germany, France, Belgium, Britain, and Switzerland (Brubaker, 1992; Castles & Miller, 2009; Joppke, 1999)⁶. After a brief slow-down in temporary migration flows, European countries have seen a recent increase in guest-workers in the post-Cold War era, albeit on a smaller scale (Castles & Miller, 2009). The United States also has a history of using temporary migration programs, which have largely been conceived as strategies to curb undocumented migration from Mexico, in addition to addressing sector specific labour shortages⁷. As will be further discussed in Chapter 4,

⁶ For example, the *Gastarbeiter* program began in Germany in 1955 with a bilateral agreement that facilitated the entrance of Italian farm labourers to work on German farms (Martin, 2003). Soon after, bilateral agreements were signed with other countries to meet labour demands in German industries. According to Martin (2003), migrants constituted 12% of Germany's wage and salary workers in 1973. There were no policies to support their settlement and integration needs because government and employers believed they would leave after achieving certain financial goals. However, the program grew and many migrants did not return to their home country, choosing instead to settle in Germany.

⁷ At the beginning of World War II, the US government, which was influenced by farmers, signed a bilateral agreement with Mexico to facilitate the legal entrance of labour to fill shortages in the agriculture industry. The

Canada also has a long history of allowing employers to hire foreign labour on a short-term basis to address immediate labour shortages in agriculture-related industries. Across advanced capitalist economies, hiring temporary foreign labour has always been facilitated by government programs designed to produce a cheap and contingent workforce from developing countries for the benefit of employers.

There are reasons for the enduring existence and widespread use of temporary migration programs, which largely centre on the fact that both employers and governments derive significant economic benefits from such initiatives. In the face of labour challenges such as shortages or seasonality, employers benefit from accessing foreign labour through expedient and flexible channels. When employers face difficulties staffing their operations, temporary migration programs allow them to hire workers when domestic strategies fail. The programs also enable employers to fill shortages without pursuing new ways to attract domestic workers. As Massey and Liang (1989) explain, “rather than allowing market forces to respond to a shortage of workers within the domestic labor market, the state arranges to import workers from abroad under terms that are advantageous to employers and, by extension, consumers” (p. 201). As such, employers do not need to raise wages or better working conditions if they can fill positions by hiring foreign labour that is often willing to accept employment in a developed country on any grounds. Therefore, temporary migration programs are attractive to employers as they keep labour costs low and supply high, without requiring positive changes in working conditions, domestic recruitment strategies, or wages.

Bracero (meaning one who works with arms) program was justified by the purported benefits to both farmers and Mexican migrants. Farmers could hire hard-working, efficient labourers for low wages and migrants could access relatively higher wages, in addition to gaining American work experience (Plewa, 2007). Continued political pressure from farmers sustained the program for twenty-two years, despite public criticism from religious and labour organizations. In light of unanticipated economic costs (i.e., it drove down wages), social costs (i.e., contributed to exploitation and poor working conditions), and its inability to curb unauthorized migration, the program ended (Hanson, Scheve, Slaughter, & Spilimbergo, 2002; Martin, 2003; Massey & Liang, 1989).

Aside from their ability to quickly produce cheap labour, temporary migration programs are appealing to labour-receiving states because they maximize labour inputs, while minimizing the cost to welfare states. Migrants work for a specified period of time, after which they must return to their home country. Such programs do not add permanent residents to a population, which is appealing to governments because labour needs are addressed without concern for long-term social costs (Martin, 2003). In fact, as Williams (1989) explains “the cheapness of this labour force lay [...] in the fact that their social costs (their own education, and often the welfare of their dependents) was borne by the countries from which they came” (p. 108). Unlike permanent immigrants, temporary migrants will not, and cannot, access social support services or produce long-term concerns for settlement and integration (Djajić & Michael, 2013; Winters, Walmsley, Wang, & Grynberg, 2003). Also, since migrant workers must (ideally) return to their home country when demand for labour decreases, the receiving country bears none of the costs associated with unemployment. As such, temporary migration programs are desirable to states because of the relatively low input costs compared to the high economic pay offs. To have temporary migrants work for a prescribed length of time, contributing to the economy and enhancing capital accumulation is an attractive labour market strategy for governments in countries that face sector-specific labour shortages.

Temporary migration programs are generally understood as a win-win scenario for nation-states. Labour-receiving countries derive economic benefits and labour-sending countries draw benefits from both remittances and the eventual return of internationally trained workers (Hennebry, 2010). In addition, labour-sending states can alleviate the costs associated with domestic unemployment, prompting some countries to actively encourage their citizens to enter temporary migration programs (see Chapter Five for more details) (Martin, 2003). Temporary

migrants are more likely than permanently settled immigrants to send remittances because they often leave behind immediate family members who depend on money earned overseas (Djajić & Michael, 2013). Furthermore, labour-sending countries can expect their citizens to return with enhanced social and human capital through their attainment of foreign work experience.

Evidence for the extent to which temporary migration programs are, in fact, a win-win scenario for labour sending and receiving countries is mixed at best. Temporary migration programs have proven time and again to fail. The central failure of such programs is the inevitability of permanent settlement, which occurs in nearly every context. Even though the logic of temporary foreign labour programs rests on the assumption of temporality, they often lead to permanency. As Martin (2003) notes, "all guest worker programs fail, [...] leading to the aphorism that there is nothing more permanent than temporary workers" (p. 1). Such permanency is based on two common outcomes. Firstly, not all temporary migrants return to their home country and many wish and attempt, to remain permanently in the receiving country. Secondly, employers come to rely on continued access to foreign labour through such programs. Even if migrants leave after their work permit expires, employers continue to require labour, therefore engaging in an endless cycle of recruiting, hiring, and training foreign labour (Plewa, 2007). The result of both outcomes indicates that temporary labour migration programs fail in their purpose to facilitate the entrance of foreign labour on a temporary basis for temporary needs.

The failures of temporary migration programs, however, appear to pale in comparison to the derived benefits for industry and government, because how else can such programs continue to operate and be supported by governments? These programs continue to exist and grow in a context of constant reinvention and change. Rules are changed to counteract the problems of the past, while programs are added and removed based on industry needs, as will be demonstrated in

Chapter Four. These programs lurch forward with the hope that changes will alleviate past problems and anticipate future ones. With careful and innovative policy and program design, policymakers hope that temporary labour migration programs can continue to function according to their internal logic. However, mounting evidence would suggest that such programs are inherently contradictory and challenging to regulate as they distort labour markets and produce exploitative labour practices (Byl & Foster, 2009; Faraday, 2012; Gross, 2014; Helly, Depatie-Pelletier, & Gibson, 2014). Those who are most affected by the ills of such programs are the individuals who, in the face of few other options, pursue migration through an impermanent avenue with the hopes of providing a better life for their families. Such programs are sometimes - yet controversially - justified on the basis that migrants too are a part of the win-win scenario, benefitting from access to higher wages and work experience in a developed country (Phillips, 2009). Years of documented workplace abuses, poor health outcomes, marginalization, and vulnerability would suggest, though, that in pursuit of a better life, migrants bear the burden of a program designed to benefit economic interests and ignore social costs.

Beyond the failure of ensuring that temporary migration programs remain temporary, such programs have also created considerable concern for the well-being of migrants themselves. Since the purpose of such programs is to keep input costs low, migrant workers have restricted access to rights while working in the receiving country. Also, settlement and integration concerns and supports are largely ignored by the state because such programs are designed to add temporary labourers rather than citizens to a country. On the whole, protections for migrants and monitoring of their living and workplace conditions are nebulous, at best. Migrant workers are not entitled to the same rights as permanent residents or citizens, they are unable to reunify with family for the duration of a work permit, and they have limited access to public services (Basok, 2002, 2004;

Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010; Preibisch, 2010; Sharma, 2006). Researchers, advocates, and labour unions have long denounced the ills of temporary migration programs as instances of exploitation and mistreatment at the hands of unscrupulous employers and third-party labour recruiters endanger migrants and their families. Since their rights and entitlements are restricted, migrant workers are also socially excluded, isolated, and marginalized from social networks and information sharing resources. While states put into place temporary migration programs to assist employers, concomitant protections and supports for migrants are largely neglected.

Temporary migrants are an extremely flexible and disposable source of labour that is often willing to work for poor wages in substandard conditions. They are, as Fudge (2011) suggests, "the exemplary post-Fordist workforce" (p. 5). As noncitizens, temporary migrants have few economic and social resources and lack political power, lending to the creation of a docile and often obedient workforce that exists in precarious and vulnerable circumstances under the constant threat of deportation (Attas, 2000; Baines & Sharma, 2006; Basok, 2003; Basok & Carasco, 2010; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). Furthermore, most lower skilled temporary migrants are unable to become permanent residents of the country to which they contribute their labour. Their social position is characterized by a strange and contradictory form of membership whereby they are simultaneously excluded from political membership in a nation-state, but included in the labour market and economy. Attas (2000) links this contradictory position to the contradictions inherent in globalization - simultaneous tendencies that are both globalizing and nationalizing - and suggests that such tensions enable "the exploitation of guest workers and legitimises it in the eyes of the host society" (p. 91). Temporary migrants do not have full membership in the society in which they work, have little power to exercise, face marginalization, but yet fill a purportedly necessary function in the labour force. Their complicated inclusion exemplifies the contradictions of

citizenship, which, as a gatekeeping mechanism for nation-states, necessarily keeps some people out while allowing others in. It is the effects of this institutionalized exclusion that concerns this research.

Contributions and relevance

This dissertation makes important contributions to a wide range of academic scholarship and policy-related research to advance an understanding of the lived experiences of temporary migrants as they negotiate the challenges and opportunities associated with impermanent migration to Canada. Primarily, it presents a novel approach to studying temporary migration, which, as Pratt (2012) urges, "destabilizes assumptions about the temporariness of temporary migration" (p. xxii). In light of the continued failure of temporary foreign labour programs, it becomes necessary to find new ways of positioning the temporary nature of temporary migration. Migration theories such as the neo-classical theory and the new economics of labour migration theory neglect to consider the complexity of temporary migration, especially when non-return and permanence become norms. In one of few theoretical pieces that interrogates this gap in knowledge, Khoo, Hugo, and McDonald (2008) argue that migration theories do not adequately make the distinction between permanent and temporary migration, focusing their assumptions only on permanent immigrants. This work, similar to that of Khoo and colleagues, interrogates the relationship between permanent immigration and temporary migration, while not necessarily treating the two as dichotomous. Using the case of Manitoba demonstrates how permanent settlement and temporary migration are importantly intertwined and for migrants the distinction between the two is not obviously evident. As has been found in other studies, temporariness does not characterize temporary migrants' orientation toward their migration process and permanent settlement becomes an essential part of the migration experience (Khoo et al., 2008; Nakache &

D'Aoust, 2012; Pratt, 2012; Torres, Spitzer, Hughes, Oxman-Martinez, & Hanley, 2012). These are individuals wanting, planning, and hoping to become permanent residents of Canada and they have few intentions to return as they make plans for the future in their new homes.

Moreover, the work contributes to studies of temporary migration and noncitizen status by focusing on how provincially legislated pathways to permanency influence the lived experiences of lower skilled migrants and their families. Previous studies on temporary migrants' transitions to permanent residency have largely focused on live-in caregivers who become permanent residents through a federally legislated path (Pratt, 2012; Torres et al., 2012). My work offers an opportunity to interrogate how becoming a permanent resident through a two-step process, which is a result of provincial immigration policy, influences individuals' migration experiences. It emphasizes a view of migrants' lives as constituted and driven by long-term goals, which are only achieved through permanent settlement. To speak of long-term plans in the context of temporary migration is to upset the very premise upon which temporary foreign labour programs are built and is somewhat anachronistic. I challenge readers to think of temporary migration, especially in the context of Manitoba, in a different way, presenting a case where people pursue permanent residency before setting foot in Canada, but do so through a program that has no intention of permanently settling such individuals. Overcoming complex bureaucratic processes, language barriers, strenuous work, changing policies, and isolation, the temporary migrants in this study dream of permanently settling in Canada so their families may access education, employment, and financial opportunities that could not be achieved without migrating. They plan to buy a house, enrol children in university, or enrol themselves in university and do not plan on returning to live in their home country. Temporary migrants' motivations and plans are not unlike those of permanent economic immigrants, even though they occupy very different social locations and are entitled, for a period of

time, to a limited set of rights and resources. In this way, too, we can begin to understand the long-term outcomes of temporary migration (Pratt, 2012).

In addition, this dissertation informs the study of international migration in sociological studies by expanding upon the current body of literature that all too often focuses on labour market participation, economic outcomes, and quantitative measures of integration. I challenge the economic-centrism of immigration studies that inform the field by presenting migration as a complex social process that is tied to, dependent upon, and shaped by political, social, and economic practices (Castles & Miller, 2009). I do so through an epistemological framework that is inspired by feminist scholarship with the purpose of unveiling how institutions and structures impact the daily lives of individuals (Bilger & Van Liempt, 2009; Liamputtong, 2007). Rather than seeking generalizable findings, I embrace the complex nature of migrants' lives and prioritize their interpretations of their experiences, which allow participants a part in shaping the research. Furthermore, this research takes seriously an approach to social science research that is sensitive to the precarious social locations of marginalized and vulnerable populations by carefully designing processes and practices that foster participants' comfort and trust in a non-threatening, interactive, and participative research environment. Inspired by Michael Burawoy's organic public sociology and by feminist scholarship, this research seeks social justice and political change through the engagement of marginalized groups in social science research (Burawoy, 2005, 2007a). Its central intention is to use sociological knowledge to contribute to some modicum of social betterment through empowerment and policy change so as to cautiously reveal and alleviate the struggles of groups who remain at the margins of society.

A note on terminology

Mainstream media, government documents, and some scholarly work often refer to the individuals arriving through the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) as temporary foreign workers, or TFWs for short. Throughout this dissertation and all of my work, I actively and explicitly avoid using the acronym “TFW”. In fact, I favour the terms 'temporary migrant' or 'migrant' over 'temporary foreign worker'. This preference is based upon observations of how the widespread use of 'TFW' reduces individuals to an acronym and prioritizes their identity as labourers, which is a notion inspired by the following assertion from Sharma (2012).

The state-mandated category of "temporary foreign worker" is thus profoundly ideological. First, the category comes to stand in for the actual people whose lives are ordered by it. Their histories, their reasons and desires for moving, their struggles, and their acts of agency - indeed, every aspect of their daily lives except their exploitation as labour - are subsumed under this state category (p. 39).

In some way, using the terms 'temporary migrant' or 'migrant' prioritizes individuals' movement and does not render them merely objects of the labour market.

Additionally, I add the term 'lower skilled' to 'temporary migrant' to specifically refer to those individuals who have arrived through the SLSO, which, until late 2014, was a particular stream within the broader TFWP. 'Lower skilled' does not mean that temporary migrants are without education or skills. In fact, a number of participants arriving through the SLSO have university degrees and are highly skilled. Foreign domestic workers and seasonal agriculture workers would also be categorized in the lower skilled category, but migrants in these streams are typically referred to by the aforementioned terms, referring specifically to the program through which they have arrived to Canada. Clarification around terminology is important since the specific term used delineates the particular stream that individuals have arrived through, the details of which have

implications for migrants' social location, access to social supports, and ability to become a permanent resident.

Structure of the dissertation

The main body of the dissertation is intentionally structured in a way that facilitates a (relatively) chronological account of twenty-six migrants' experiences by following both the natural unfolding of their narrative accounts and the flow of the migration experience. After providing an in-depth account of the theoretical, epistemological, and methodological framework for this work, I provide the reader with an overview of the policy context of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program, which includes a description of how temporary migrants access permanent residency in Manitoba. I also provide an account of the recruiting and hiring practices and procedures of employers, which is described from the perspective of migrants who carefully negotiate the process that eventually leads to their settlement in Manitoba. Following the contextualization, I begin tracing temporary migrants' experiences by analyzing and interpreting their reasons for initially pursuing migration, which is complimented by a discussion of the global processes that facilitate and spur emigration and immigration. I then follow their experiences by exploring what happens once they move to and settle in Manitoba. Their post-migration lives are dominated by challenges that must be negotiated on a daily basis as they struggle with physically demanding work in an unfamiliar culture and community without their family. All of their struggles, though, are but mere obstacles to their ultimate goal of permanent settlement, which provides the motivation for their entire migration experience. Permanent residency enables migrants to settle in Manitoba with their families and realize long-term goals. The last substantive chapter of the dissertation focuses on migrants' plans for the future and details their pursuit of permanent resident status, the complications therein, and the impact of receiving permanent residency on their lives.

The Temporary Foreign Worker Program has emerged as one of the most controversial social and political subjects in the years since this dissertation research began, as many of the substantial changes occurred after I completed the interviews. In addition to tracking the innumerable policy changes since this research began, I have been fascinated by the growing public concern for a population that had remained invisible for many years. Publicized stories of worker exploitation, workplace deaths, sexual harassment, and alleged displacement of citizen employees has brought much needed attention to the many problems with Canada's TFWP and contributed to public discord. However, one thing to keep in mind while reading this dissertation is that the problems inherent in the TFWP are manifested in different ways depending upon the context in question - a point which is not often noted in media accounts of the program. Many temporary migrants have positive experiences, which are shaped by a multitude of factors including their employer and the province in which they work. The participants in this study receive wages equal to their Canadian counterparts and they are members of an active labour union that ensures all workers have access to health and dental insurance, time off for holidays, proper compensation for overtime hours, basic language training, workplace safety instruction, and supports for immigration. The examples in this research indicate there is room within the overarching federal policies that govern migration to alter and reformulate how temporary migrants are or can be included. Within this small space are actors who support temporary migrants and individual migrants who actively navigate their circumstances to find better outcomes for themselves and their families. The unfolding text is not one of utter despair for there are individuals who feel that the chance to work in Canada, regardless of the temporariness, is like winning the lottery.

Chapter 2: Fragmented and Segmented Inclusion: A Theoretical Framework for Understanding Temporary Migration and Noncitizen Status

One of the central goals of this dissertation is to provide a theoretical focus that will guide and inform understandings of international migration. Primarily, it brings concepts of social exclusion and inequality to the study of migration by interrogating the implications of the temporary movement of people for employment purposes and centralizing the experiences of precariously statused migrants as they navigate migration processes. Temporary migration remains theoretically underdeveloped and as such there are no established theoretical foundations on which to build this inquiry (Khoo et al., 2008). More broadly, the field of international migration also struggles with theoretical exercises and pursuits as it encompasses complex, interdisciplinary, and evolving social, economic, and political terrain. Further, theoretical approaches to international migration often focus on but one small piece of the phenomenon, favouring either macro-structural or micro-level issues, with the former receiving more attention than the latter. Therefore, this theoretical framework necessarily brings in discussions of the structural context of migration while also advancing understandings of the nature of individual experiences. Individuals' experiences of social exclusion, inequality, and migration are situated in broader contextual circumstances and processes, which shape, enable, and constrain migrants' lived experiences.

There is no general theory of migration and, of course, how could there be? As Arango (2004) states, "migration is too diverse and multifaceted to be explained by a single theory" (p. 15), so instead there are a multitude of approaches, accounting for specific dimensions and elements of migration processes. A migrant is not a migrant the world over and as such the particularities of migration remain irreducible. The context from which one migrates may be one of economic, social, or political necessity. Or it may be one borne of a sense of adventure, education, or self-fulfillment.

Or it may include all of the aforementioned reasons at the same time, or none at all. A migrant can be a refugee escaping a war-torn country, a business person fulfilling the requirements of a promotion, a domestic worker desperate to feed her children, a trafficked woman hoping for a better life, a student seeking a Western education, a spouse reunifying with his partner, a young woman who wants to gain Canadian work experience and then return to her home country, or an individual and his family looking for work in a place with purported job opportunities, better wages, and more security. As any other dynamic social phenomena, immigration is complex and difficult, if not impossible, to explain through a single theory. Instead we have numerous theories, evolving throughout time, adjusting to include new policies and economic situations, and emerging from new global phenomena (Portes & Borocz, 1989). Following the suggestion of Constant and Massey (2002), this dissertation does not rely on a single theory to explain or understand migration, instead drawing on the foundations of multiple perspectives and building toward a framework that further problematizes migrations' complexity.

This chapter serves three functions. First, it provides an overview of theories that can explicate at least part of the international migration experience, upon which a foundation of understanding temporary migration may emerge. It broadly focuses on theories that articulate why people choose to migrate and what propels international migration. The framework situates the findings of this research in broader understandings of international migration, while explicating the points at which the current iteration of temporary migration in Canada challenges conventional theoretical assumptions of migration. Secondly, while the theoretical framing does rest on some foundations based in conventional immigration theories, to comprehensively and sociologically engage with temporary migrants' experiences of social inequality it looks to theories of citizenship and emerging perspectives on the social location of noncitizens. It brings to the study of migration

a focused consideration of the concept of social exclusion to problematize the workings of a hierarchy of migration statuses. Social exclusion is a necessary concept to bring to migration studies because too often social factors are ignored in favour of economic or labour market factors. It allows us to see migration experiences differently. Further, it is necessary to bring concepts of social exclusion to temporary migration studies because temporary migrants are, in the simplest sense, excluded from the social yet included in the economic, albeit temporarily. Lastly, then, the emerging theoretical framework urges migration studies to consider factors beyond macro-structural economic and labour market arenas. Sociology, as a discipline, is well positioned to expand migration theories to consider the social processes and experiences of migrants, how they are implicated in larger structures of power and ideological discourse, and how this is manifested in lived experiences.

Positioning social inequality and exclusion

Exploring the contours of social inequality is a fundamental practice in sociology. Classical and contemporary theorists have long been concerned by the contributors to and outcomes of the stratification of social groups and unequal social locations. In this dissertation, I use social exclusion to provide conceptual grounding upon which to consider experiences of marginalization and inequality, while also revealing the barriers and structural processes that contribute to such conditions.

Social exclusion is not explained by one particular theory and there is a well-established literature on the theoretical contributions of the concept (Basok, 2004; Calavita, 2005; Hills, Le Grand, & Piachaud, 2002; Munck, 2005; Silver, 1994; Taket et al., 2009b). Weber explained social exclusion as a form of social closure and others have used it to elaborate upon social inequality (Grabb, 2007; Hills et al., 2002). Social exclusion is dynamic and complex, influencing the

experiences of individuals in different ways over time and across various spheres (Taket et al., 2009a). As Taket and colleagues (2009b) explain,

[t]he concept of social exclusion attempts to help us make sense out of the lived experience arising from multiple deprivations and inequalities experienced by people and localities, across the social fabric, and the mutually reinforcing effects of reduced participation, consumption, mobility, access, integration, influence and recognition (p. 3).

Examining social exclusion allows for a multifaceted way to understand how individuals are formally, informally, or perceived to be denied access to rights, participation, and membership in society, therefore making it particularly suitable to examining the lived experiences of lower skilled temporary migrants, who have unequal access to "material and non-material resources, supports, provisions, and opportunities" (Hyman, Mercado, Galabuzi, & Patychuk, 2014, p. 86). Studies that use the concept of social exclusion to theorize about temporary migration emphasize the multidimensional nature of migrants' marginalization and oppression (Basok, 2004; Wang & Zong, 2014), and in so doing are consistent with other theoretical frameworks on the social exclusion of marginalized groups (Galabuzi, 2006; Lightman & Gingrich, 2013; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Taket et al., 2009b). This multidimensionality is characterized by "layers of vulnerability" (McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013) and "compounding insecurities" (Landolt & Goldring, 2013) leading to cycles of precariousness and vulnerability, which are products of policy mechanisms.

At the heart of many migration experiences is the desire to alleviate multiple deprivations and inequalities and, as will be elucidated, the implications of inequality are embedded in theories on international migration. Many migration theories posit that migrants decide to move in search of enhanced financial situations and access to more resources as they seek to mitigate the less than favourable conditions of their home country. Macro-structural migration theories posit that globalization and advanced capitalism have rendered developing countries profoundly unequal

through exploitative political and economic relationships, resulting in the displacement of populations and the creation of global inequalities (Goss & Lindquist, 1995). Ultimately, the decision to migrate is rooted in systems of inequality, and we cannot look at the social and individual dimensions of international migration without considering how inequality influences the phenomenon.

Why migrate? Micro-level theories on deciding to migrate

Immigration scholars have long been concerned with detailing the reasons for migration. Motivations for migrating are generally explained by some combination of macro, meso, and micro level factors, both in the receiving country and in the sending country. A once common, yet antiquated and now dismissed way of analyzing the reasons for migration centred on factors that would *push* migrants to move and *pull* them into certain new countries. The push/pull theory has been criticized because it is overly simplistic (Castles & Miller, 2009), void of historical context and, as Portes and Borocz (1989) suggest, it cannot predict migration flows or account for diverse patterns of migration. As such, it largely functions as a post hoc explanatory device. While the push/pull theory is no longer widely used, the basic elements of it do inform some contemporary functionalist theories (such as those listed below) of why people migrate. In essence, there is something about the home country that prompts migrants to leave and something about the receiving country that draws them toward it, often rooted in the quest for financial and employment opportunities.

Neo-classical theory of international migration

Conventional theories on migration emphasize the economic imperative to migrate. The neo-classical theory of migration, which is rooted in economics and remains similar to the push/pull theory, suggests that international migration occurs because individuals make a rational decision to

maximize their earning potential by moving to places where wages are higher (Arango, 2004; Borjas, 1989; Castles & Miller, 2009; Massey et al., 1993). Migration decisions are based on a cost and benefit analysis of the economic outcomes of moving. The theory focuses on the individual and their decision-making process, largely ignoring historical or social considerations. In drawing out the limitations of the theory, Castles and Miller (2009) explain that it "assumes that potential migrants have perfect knowledge of wage levels and employment opportunities in destination regions, and that their migration decisions are overwhelmingly based on these economic factors" (p. 22). Individuals use their knowledge of employment and economic opportunities elsewhere to inform their decision to migrate, which is based on rational calculations. Assuming this to be the case, then, only poor people - and large numbers of them - would choose to migrate to countries that are richer than their home country. But, why do only very small numbers of people migrate⁸? What about the barriers to immigration that may restrict people from moving to rich countries? How can the migration of global elites be explained? The neo-classical theory of migration erroneously assumes that potential migrants always operate under perfect knowledge of labour market characteristics, unfettered by structural constraints and motivated by purely economic reasons.

The new economics of labour migration theory

The new economics of labour migration theory takes exception with the notion that migration decisions are individualistic and rational and puts forth an interdependent approach to decision-making that remains based on rational choice (Arango, 2004). In this theory, the decision to migrate is made at the level of a household or family unit. Like the neo-classical theory, the assumptions of the new economics of labour migration theory are based on seeing migration as a

⁸ In fact, only 3.24% (232 million) of the world's total population migrated internationally in 2013, according to the United Nations (2013).

response to poorly compensated labour and few work opportunities in one's home country, but it adds in the process of managing risk by diversifying household income through remittances garnered by migration. The outcome of migration is not purely the pursuit of higher wages, but rather to pursue capital that will allow for long-term stability and investment in such things as land. In this approach, migration remains a process of "economic betterment" within the context of managing household risk (Stark & Bloom, 1985, p. 173). Money gained through remittances mitigate risk in economies with under-developed insurance markets and poor credit options (Massey et al., 1993). The theory also assumes households seek to increase income relative to other households, limiting relative deprivation (Stark & Taylor, 1989)⁹.

Even though migration theories have yet to grapple with the nuances of temporary migration, both the neo-classical and new economics of labour migration theories can offer some analytical insights into why people would or would not decide to engage in temporary migration. On one hand, the new economics of labour migration theory does not assume people intend to stay in the receiving country. It understands migration as a household decision to diversify income and limit risk, so temporary migration would be a suitable option to achieve this goal. In fact, returning to one's home country would be considered a successful outcome (Stark & Lucas, 1988). Migration is not necessarily a permanent move to a new location. On the other hand, the neo-classical theory, along with most industrialized nations' immigration policies, assumes the majority of migrants desire to settle permanently in the receiving country (Constant & Massey, 2002). Returning to one's home country after migration is then considered a failure. As such, the neo-classical theory is unable to account for the prevalence of TFWPs across the world and temporary migrants' desire to

⁹ Arango (2004) summarizes the assumption for migration flows stemming from the notion of relative deprivation: "It can be inferred that the more unequal the distribution of income in a given community, the more intensely relative deprivation will be felt, and the more incentives will there be for further migration to occur" (p. 23).

permanently migrate. The new economics of labour migration theory more closely aligns with the reality of temporary migration in Canada, but it still does not fully capture the phenomenon, especially within the context of transitioning temporary status to permanent status. Furthermore, none of the theories that centralize the role of pursuing higher wages can explain why there isn't more international migration in the world.

Migrant networks theory and transnational theory

Both the new economics of labour migration theory and the neo-classical approach posit migration decision-making as a rational choice, highlighting the economic factors that "push" people to pursue migration. Such perspectives still leave many questions left unanswered, though. Explaining migration cannot be limited to economic or labour market factors since migration is, in fact, a complex phenomenon involving the interplay of social, political, and economic factors and subjective decision making of actors themselves (Castles & Miller, 2009).

Some migration scholars who emphasize the social nature of immigration, argue that the phenomenon is linked to social ties and networks (Castles & Miller, 2009; Massey, 1990; Massey et al., 1998). People follow patterns of migration and are more likely to migrate somewhere if they have familial or social connections to that place (Arango, 2004). In studies on Mexican migration to the United States, Massey, Goldring, and Durand (1994) find that migration is more likely to occur if prior migration of an individual or family members has occurred. Networks theory can also predict where migrants will go, since patterns of familiarity are replicated and become self-sustaining (Portes & Borocz, 1989). A good example of this is Filipino migration to Winnipeg, Manitoba. Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Filipino migrants moved to Winnipeg to work as nurses or in the textile industry (Vachon & Toews, 2008). Since then, Filipino migration and settlement has continued and, in 2011, the Filipino population represented just over eight percent of Winnipeg's

total population (Statistics Canada, 2013). By examining the role of social networks and existing ethnocultural communities in a place, network theory brings to migration studies a social element and pushes scholars to think about migration patterns beyond responses to wage differentials and economic pursuits.

Closely related to migrant network theory is transnational theory, which links the notion of social ties and connections to the increasingly technologically interconnected world that is a by-product of globalization (Castles & Miller, 2009). Communications technologies and the proliferation of air travel have made it easier for migrants to maintain ties across borders and oceans, enhancing migrant networks and cementing economic and social links (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999). Transnational theory, as broad as it may be, conceptualizes these linkages across nation-state borders, highlighting the prevalence of multiple arenas for belonging. It also provides a framework for understanding the experiences of migrants once they move to a new place, which will be explained later. For immediate purposes, transnational theory, as it relates to the increasing social, economic, and cultural interconnectedness of people across borders, can also partly account for why migration continues to occur.

The above theories lend conceptual tools that help us understand why and how immigrants choose to migrate. However, significant elements of international migration remain unexplained. While migrant network theory and transnational theory both attempt to inject social considerations, complexity, and multidimensionality into a discussion that had been severely lacking in such issues, these approaches neglect to consider the demand side of international migration. Indeed, some people choose to migrate for rational, individualistic reasons or do so because they know someone who has already migrated, but there also needs to be places for them to migrate to and structures that facilitate this process. As Zolberg (1989) explains, contemporary

migration is not perpetuated by merely individual response to "differential opportunities", but rather it is characterized by the "movement of workers propelled by the dynamics of the transnational capitalist economy, which simultaneously determine both the 'push' and the 'pull'" (p. 407). Therefore, macro-structural theories and conditions must be considered to understand the larger context in which migration occurs.

The macro-structural dimensions of international migration

Macro-structural theories on international migration provide a framework for thinking about international migration in a context that stresses the role of both political and economic dimensions of the phenomenon (Arango, 2004; Zolberg, 1989). Whereas micro-level theories prioritize the role of economics and individual decision-making processes, macro-structural theories bring to the discussion the prominence of politics and nation-states in influencing migration flows. Such perspectives stress the role of social, political, and economic structures in influencing international migration by demonstrating how the demand for foreign labour interacts with globalization processes and people's search for a better life. Two common theoretical positions applicable here are world systems theory and segmented labour market theory. While the former warrants mention, it is the latter that is more thoroughly considered since it is highly applicable to the case of temporary foreign labour in Canada.

World systems theory

World systems theorists argue that international migration is a by-product of a particular ordering and structure of the global economy. At the centre of this approach is a consideration of historical relationships between states and regions, which have led to an ordering of the world economy into cores and peripheries. The core consists of those societies with advanced capitalist economies and the periphery includes historically underdeveloped economies. Foreign investment

and capital flow from core economies into peripheral societies, as capitalist development expands around the globe. According to Massey et al. (1993), from this perspective, "the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, noncapitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad" (p. 444) and therefore "migration is a natural outgrowth of disruptions and dislocations that inevitably occur in the process of capitalist development" (p. 445). As the influence of the market permeates peripheral economies, people who have made their living off subsistence and agricultural activities are forced from their land into cities or abroad. In addition, capitalist enterprises typically establish factories in the periphery, offering jobs that are poorly paid and arduous. Instead of accepting such work, people, who have established cultural and ideological ties to core societies through an increasingly globalized world, engage in international migration, reversing the pattern of foreign investment flows. Immigration is then a reaction to the implications of an increasingly developed global capitalist economy (Robinson & Santos, 2014).

A central criticism of the theory is its assumption that global capitalism is all-encompassing and deterministic, which largely negates the role of individual agency in migration flows (Castles & Miller, 2009). According to the theory, we can expect migration to flow in the opposite direction of capital, but there are many cases where people do not necessarily move from the periphery to the core and may, in fact, move from one peripheral country to another nearby peripheral country. The influences of global capitalism cannot be the sole explanation for the nature of migration flows today, yet it is a vital consideration.

The specifics of world systems theory are largely beyond the scope of this dissertation, but a cursory explanation is useful in framing the factors that prompt people to engage in temporary migration, and will be briefly discussed again in Chapter 5. It helps understand how people's

motivations to migrate are rooted in structural conditions related to poor economic opportunities and the encroachment of advanced capitalist economies. The theory can also contextualize why some countries are sources of migration while others are migrant destinations as it provides explanations of historical international trade and development patterns.

The segmented labour market

Segmented labour market theory also explains structural considerations of international migration, but it is firmly rooted in a demand-based approach. In his foundational work on migration and the segmentation of labour markets, Piore (1979) explains that his theoretical purpose is to better understand migration beyond the confines of income differentials. He sets out to consider the characteristics of labour markets that demand foreign labour in certain sectors. As he explains, "the critical factors governing the migration process are the social forces that differentiate the market for men from the market for shirts, and that it is those social forces that the analytical apparatus must bring to the fore" (p. 8). Piore's work is an attempt to account for the demand for labour, further explicating Marx's division of labour by examining the structure and characteristics of jobs in capitalist economies, rather than only the process of production (1979, p. 11). Advanced capitalist economies require a reserve army of cheap labour to maximize profits, so therefore migrants become attractive and plentiful sources of workers. The seemingly endless supply of foreign labour fills jobs that the citizen workforce will not.

Within this theoretical perspective, the labour market is split into (at least) two sectors or segments. The primary sector is capital intensive and includes coveted occupations that are considered good, stable jobs. Employees, who are typically considered highly skilled, are rewarded through increased wages, promotions, and benefits in these white-collar jobs. The secondary sector is characterized by labour-intensive occupations that are unskilled or low skilled, poorly paid,

and very often not unionized (Bauder, 2006; Piore, 1979). Such a labour force is also largely disposable and easy to exploit (Castles & Miller, 2009; Harrison & Lloyd, 2012; Massey et al., 1993; Schmitter Heisler, 2008). It is the secondary segment that bears the burden of seasonality and cyclical demand, often experiencing layoffs during economic downturns. Given characteristics of each of these sectors, the segmented labour market is inherently unequal with inequality as the central organizing feature. Those with "good" primary sector jobs find themselves in preferable, stable and well compensated positions, while those with "bad" secondary sector jobs remain precarious and poorly rewarded for their labour.

Typically, in advanced capitalist economies many citizen workers find jobs in the secondary sector unappealing and eschew such positions for the stability and prestige of the primary sector, if they, in fact, have the ability to choose. Facing a limited supply of workers, employers must then seek their labour force from groups with less agency which has historically meant that racialized minorities, women, children, and youth populate the secondary sectors. Since the nature of women's work experiences and child labour laws have considerably changed over the years, employers have turned to recruiting non-permanent, contract workers, racial minority groups, and immigrants to staff the least desirable occupations (Arango, 2004; Bolaria, 1992; Castles & Miller, 2009; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006; Galabuzi, 2006; Hudson, 2007; Massey et al., 1993; Piore, 1979; Standing, 2011). According to Piore (1979), immigrants accept such work because they either are not familiar with their new society's occupational structure and culture or because they view work as temporary and purely instrumental to achieving economic goals (p. 81)¹⁰. In addition, language barriers, discrimination, and a lack of foreign credential recognition can relegate immigrants to

¹⁰ Cultural factors that immigrants bring from their home society have a role in shaping their participation in a segmented labour market and can also be considered as barriers to leaving the secondary sector (Bauder, 2001; Lusi & Bauder, 2010).

undesirable occupations (Anderson, 2010). Since immigrants are over-represented in the secondary sector as are citizens in the primary sector, there exists, as Piore explains, "a fundamental dichotomy between the jobs of migrants and the jobs of natives" (p. 35). Highly skilled jobs are coveted and valorized in comparison to the undesirable low skilled jobs in the secondary segment (or at the lowest rungs of an occupational hierarchy).

According to segmented labour market theorists, immigration, in fact, stabilizes the labour market for citizens, allowing citizen workers to continue eschewing the secondary sector (Bauder, 2006, p. 20). In this view, immigration does not upset social stratification systems, occupational prestige and status, or other inequality perpetuating hierarchies (Harrison & Lloyd, 2013). Rather, it supports advanced capitalist economies and contributes to the stratification of workers. Immigrants can be counted on to fill the sectors at the bottom of the labour market hierarchy because they do not have - or are perceived not to have - the resources or skills to pursue employment in the primary sectors (Lusis & Bauder, 2010; Schmitter Heisler, 2008). Also, immigrants may not count on their work for anything other than a wage or for temporary purposes (Piore, 1979). Employers then have an interest in maintaining international migration to ensure a plentiful source of lower skilled labour, which can be recruited from the global reserve army of labour (Robinson & Santos, 2014; Schierup & Castles, 2011). To fill positions in the secondary segment, employers recruit foreign labour who will accept poor wages, subpar working conditions, and unstable employment.

Segmented labour market theory is one of few migration theories with direct relevance to explaining the presence of TFWPs in Canada today. Piore (1979) suggests that many migrations actually begin as temporary endeavours, and it is this temporariness that forms migrants' decisions to accept work in the secondary sector. In more recent works, Bauder (2006) and Basok (2002) have

used the theoretical approach to explain aspects of temporary migration in Canada, arguing that temporary migrants are attractive to employers because of the flexibility and limited responsibilities inherent in TFWPs. Once focused on attracting high skilled workers, Canada's TFWP is now tailored to lower skilled occupations, which have, purportedly, experienced labour shortages as more Canadian workers seek jobs in the primary sector (Gross & Schmitt, 2012). The SAWP and the SLSO are two streams of the TFWP that direct foreign labour into undesirable jobs. Both programs address labour shortages in occupations that are poorly paid, seasonal or cyclical, unstable, and not unionized, with concomitantly poor working conditions. Since their status in Canada is precarious and dependent on being employed, noncitizens are a compliant and easily exploitable workforce, ideal for employment in the secondary sector. Furthermore, as Arango (2004) explains, they "are willing to accept such jobs because low wages are usually high if compared with standards back home" (p. 25). So, TFWPs directly support the segmented labour market by offering employers a conduit through which to fill positions in the secondary sector with a labour force that is, for all intents and purposes, tied to their workplace and unable to leave.

Despite its explanatory relevance to the TFWP in Canada, there are indeed gaps in this theory. Since it emphasizes the role of recruitment, the theory cannot explain why immigration may occur outside employer-driven demand (i.e., refugees or family reunification) (Arango, 2004). Segmented labour market theory can, then, account for why employers would demand foreign labour, but, by placing sole emphasis on the demand-side of international migration it ignores migrants' reasons for moving, which cannot be entirely accounted for by recruitment. It is a useful theory for examining the presence of TFWPs from an economic and labour market development perspective, but, despite Piore's intentions, it still lacks room to view migration as a complex social phenomenon that can occur for reasons beyond the demands of capitalist economies (Castles &

Miller, 2009; Massey et al., 1993). Furthermore, while the theory accounts for some of the reasons we find so many immigrants working below their skill level and in sectors deemed undesirable by the citizen workforce, it rarely considers the social implications and experiential side of this segmentation and hierarchical ordering of jobs. Lastly, theorizing on the segment labour market and the role immigration plays in it does not comprehensively consider the effect of immigration class or citizenship, despite the fact that labour markets, particularly in the US and Canada, are becoming increasingly stratified by legal status (Harrison & Lloyd, 2013; Hudson, 2007; Landolt & Goldring, 2013; Latham, Vosko, Preston, & Breton, 2014; Standing, 2011).

This dissertation is situated within a perspective that assumes, at least to some extent¹¹, the presence of a differentiated labour market in Canada, with the purpose of articulating what drives TFWPs and how temporary migrants are implicated in associated labour practices. The differentiation, however, is more complicatedly ordered than conventional segmented labour market approaches have suggested. To address theoretical gaps, this dissertation draws attention to how citizenship and associated immigration policies contribute to the segmentation of labour and focuses on the ways in which a segmented labour market perpetuates inequality. Addressing this emerging issue, Anderson (2010) argues that immigration policies "produce 'precarious workers' that cluster in particular jobs and segments of the labour market" (p. 301). She further argues, "through the creation of categories of entrant, the imposition of employment relations and the construction of institutionalised uncertainty, immigration controls work to form types of labour with particular relations to employers and to labour markets" (p. 301). The role of immigration

¹¹ I say "to some extent" because of the shortcomings of the theory. It remains difficult to verify since measuring and investigating the various segments of labour markets is not always clear and, as Massey et al. argue (1993), the distinction between the primary and secondary sectors can be arbitrary (p. 458). There may be overlap between or further differentiation amongst the segments, and it has yet to be determined how best to articulate the dimensions and borders of these segments (Hudson, 2007). So, while I assume the presence of a segmented labour market in Canada, I am not concerned with measuring or empirically identifying its characteristics.

policy and access to citizenship supports and perpetuates the segmented labour market in a manner that limits migrants' ability to access secure jobs and exit the precariousness of the secondary sectors. Nowhere is this more evident than in the dynamics of the SLSO.

In addition, I use segmented labour market theory to illustrate the ways in which precarious and undesirable work is experienced. Through the example of shop-floor hog processing work in Chapter 6, I elucidate how the secondary sector is experienced on a day-to-day basis by people who have noncitizen status, and whose right to move beyond such jobs is restricted by the parameters of the SLSO. I contribute to the theory an understanding of how the segmented labour market is negotiated and experienced by labour that is explicitly recruited to fill occupations in the secondary sector. The theory provides a basis on which to explore all four of my research questions as it illuminates the nature of temporary migrants' inequalities in the labour market by outlining a way to think about social inequality in relation to the hierarchical ordering of desirable versus undesirable jobs.

Citizenship and exclusion: The role of legal membership in migration

The labour market is segmented by many intersecting variables and characteristics, often differentiated by classist, racist, and patriarchal values. The importance of citizenship, both in the formal (as a legal and institutionalized status, which includes a set of rights and entitlements) and informal (as social belonging and participation in a community) sense, as a contributing variable to the segmentation of labour markets is receiving increased attention, despite the fact that it has long been associated with ones' participation in and contribution to the labour market (Bauder, 2001; Hudson, 2007; O'Connor, 1998). Citizenship is, and has always been, a highly differentiated status that is experienced and accessed in a variety of ways, manifesting itself in varying degrees of social participation and inclusion (Bauder, 2008; Castles, 2005a; Ong, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 1999). For

example, women, racialized groups, children, and youth have been and, arguably, still are excluded from many of the so-called inclusive features of citizenship (Abu-Laban, 2000; Lewis, 1998; Morissens & Sainsbury, 2005; O'Connor, 1998; Quadagno, 1998; Vosko, 2009). In his foundational piece on citizenship, T.H. Marshall (1950) conceives of citizenship as an inclusive and nuanced status holding considerable promise for alleviating the inequalities perpetuated by class divisions. To have citizenship in a nation-state, according to Marshall, is to have equal rights that are bestowed upon all who belong to a particular territory, creating equality of membership.

However, the fallacy of citizenship's ability to alleviate inequality continues and it remains an exclusive status, especially when international migration is considered. As Brubaker (1992) states in his influential work, "although citizenship is internally inclusive, it is externally exclusive" (p. 21). There are individuals who can and do legally belong (citizens) while there are others who cannot and will not legally belong (noncitizens), creating stratified social groups unequal in rights and membership (Baines & Sharma, 2006). Brubaker (1992) conceives of citizenship as a mechanism of social closure, which is in direct contrast to Marshall's conceptions of its inclusive potential. Therefore, when considering how citizenship is regulated, it remains inherently exclusionary, differentiated, and unequal (Abu-Laban, 2000; Bosniak, 2000; Jenson & Phillips, 1996; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005; Turner, 1993a).

Afforded to those with appropriate birthright or residency, citizenship (as evidenced by the possession of a passport) in countries such as Canada is a coveted status. Indeed, citizenship signifies complete membership and belonging. Increasingly, the concept has become of interest to social scientists as an analytical tool to examine rights, social membership, and legal status in nation-states. Outlining a theory of citizenship through a sociological perspective, Turner (1993a) defines citizenship as "that set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a

person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups" (p. 2). Turner also explains "citizenship is essentially about the nature of social membership within modern political collectivities" (p. 3). In this way, citizenship is inherently sociological as it brings into question people's social location and access to resources. Citizenship is not merely about holding a passport and obtaining associated rights; it involves a complex relationship of obligations, rights, membership, and participation between individuals and nation-states that is negotiated and produced through social processes. As a theoretical framework, it articulates people's differential relationship to the state, the nature of social membership, and the contours of social inequality.

Citizenship and immigration

Globalization and immigration have, without a doubt, challenged the inclusive and equality functions of citizenship as more people reside within a state, but yet may not be entitled to citizenship. What Marshall could not anticipate when he promoted citizenship's social functions was the challenge migration flows would present for nation-states' practices around regulating access to rights and membership (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Joppke, 2005, 2010). Classical conceptions of citizenship have failed to capture and engage with the complexities of international migration (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). With increasing populations of noncitizen residents who have complex and multi-sited relationships with more than one country, immigration forces nation-states to re-think inclusion and exclusion, and re-evaluate membership. The result is often a retrenchment of exclusionary practices, for it has to be decided who can become citizens and who cannot (Bosniak, 2000). As Zolberg (1989) argues, "it is precisely the control which states exercise over borders that defines international migration as a distinctive social process" (p. 405). Governing

migration occurs through restrictive border policies that limit the ability of people to cross political boundaries while also protecting national sovereignty (Brubaker, 1992; Coutin, 2007).

Considering the social processes of citizenship and its exclusionary tendencies has become a salient framework in which to discuss the social, legal, economic, and political implications of exclusion and inclusion and the functioning of the nation-state vis-à-vis immigrants (Isin, Brodie, Juteau, & Stasiulis, 2008; Janoski, 1998; Joppke, 2007; Soysal, 1994; Turner, 1993a). Theoretical explanations of citizenship that focus on immigration often fall into two broad categories conceptualizing the nature of membership, rights entitlements and the role of the nation-state (Joppke, 2010). First, there are theorists who contend that modern citizenship is inextricably and entirely based in and linked to the practices of nation-states (Brubaker, 1992; Lister, 2007). This perspective represents a traditional view of citizenship as "master status" in a nation-state (Joppke, 2007, p. 37). Through the strict control of national citizenship, nation-states remain "internally inclusive" and "externally exclusive" (Brubaker, 1992, p. 21). As such, nation-states solidify their role as the sole guarantor of rights and decider of membership.

In light of new realities in Europe with regional amalgamations and changing immigration policies, other scholars have observed an unhinging of citizenship and rights from the control of nation-states (Basok, 2004; Joppke, 2010; Morris, 1997; Soysal, 1994). Thus, post-national citizenship emerges as the second theoretical perspective linking immigration with citizenship. This approach suggests that national citizenship is losing its hegemonic position as the sole institution for determining rights and membership as borders become easier to traverse and global connections are entrenched in daily lives. Rights tied to legal status are giving way to broader rights based on personhood and international human rights regimes supplant conventional citizenship rights (Jacobson, 1996; Soysal, 1994). Post-national citizenship is often used to advance the

argument that the nation-state is losing ground as the guarantor of rights in light of globalization and transnationalism. Inherent in both national and post-national frameworks is speculation on how immigration and globalization are, or are not, changing the practices associated with citizenship. There are other conceptual versions of citizenship such as global citizenship (Falk, 1993), multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka, 1996), denizenship (Hammar, 1990), and multi-layered citizenship (Yuval-Davis, 1999), but they are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Such versions also attempt to capture the changing nature of membership and rights in an increasingly globalized world.

Throughout my academic endeavours, both at the Masters and doctoral level, I have considered the veracity of both perspectives on citizenship and see evidence in support of both. Through considerations of examples such as transnational civic engagement, supranational organizations, and international human rights conventions, I note evidence supporting the idea that citizenship, belonging, and membership are disentangling from the nation-state. Soysal's (1994) work prompts me to ponder whether international or universal human rights are increasingly bestowed upon people regardless of national membership. In fact, it is such work that inspired me to study immigration at a doctoral level. However, over the years, I also note evidence for the boundedness of citizenship as it is entangled with nation-state policies meant to regulate membership, rights distribution, and national security. I am painfully aware of the effects of the exclusionary nature of citizenship, and see that government policies are, however flawed, the most realistic - at least for now - arena in which to address inclusion. Universal claims for human rights do not exist if nation-states fail to act as signatories on conventions or demand compliance (Brysk & Shafir, 2004). Indeed, I am inspired by thoughts of post-national membership and universal human rights entitlements, but the empirical evidence gathered for this dissertation and recent practices of

the current Government of Canada convince me that citizenship remains embedded within nation-states that continue to regulate who gets in and who does not.

It cannot be underestimated how important citizenship as a legal entitlement to rights and membership is in analyzing the social and economic experiences of migrants. In Canada, citizenship policy is inextricably linked to immigration policy, as evidenced by the federal government's Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Decisions on accessing citizenship are inevitably tied to decisions on immigration. Therefore, drawing on theories of citizenship as heuristic mechanisms that define the nature of exclusion or inclusion for lower skilled temporary migrants is a natural extension of the Canadian state's orientation to such topics. Why is it that some people get to pass through Canada's national border and others do not? Why are some people allowed to gain legal membership while others remain forever tenuously and precariously (dis)connected? We cannot begin to understand the nature of social inequality for temporary migrants without interrogating the ways in which citizenship shapes their experiences, and we cannot understand immigration to Canada without understanding the institution of citizenship.

Creating noncitizens and producing precariousness

Assuming, then, that nation-states remain the primary guarantor and regulator of rights and legal membership and the main arena in which citizenship, and the lack thereof is practiced and experienced, by what criteria do states decide who is worthy and who is not? Upon four years of residence within the past six years in Canada and following successful tests and language assessments, permanent residents can apply for Canadian citizenship¹². If an immigrant has been admitted to Canada and meets residency, language, and other aptitudes they can become a

¹² Prior to changes made to citizenship policy between 2014 and 2015, citizenship was based on three years of residency and less emphasis was placed on language requirements (i.e., immigrants could obtain citizenship with lower levels of English or French).

naturalized citizen. The federal government creates a version of its ideal citizen through the criteria by which it admits immigrants into federal immigration streams and through its citizenship policies. Historically, those who receive citizenship are those who are similar in skin colour and cultural background to those who are already citizens here¹³. Many would argue that this is still very much the case. Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) discuss the links between the exclusionary tendencies of citizenship and constructs of the ideal citizen:

Citizenship, even within states that pride themselves on being democratic and multicultural, reflects tensions between claims to universalism, and the tendency towards exclusion and inequality based on the value accorded to a certain ideal type of citizen. The preference given in citizenship to subjects bearing particular valorized combinations of race, gender and class is expressed in contemporary immigration policies (p. 13).

Also added into constructions of the ideal citizen are preferences for skill level, education, and language. Potential immigrants to Canada are evaluated according to such criteria and then granted or denied entry based upon a tally of such characteristics.

Canadian immigration policy rests on the logic that there are rational reasons for guarding citizenship against those deemed undeserving (Satzewich, 1991; Sharma, 2006). Historically, race and labour market participation were central characteristics used to either include or exclude people from citizenship. Perhaps less explicitly used by the government nowadays, many argue that race continues to shape the contours of citizenship and immigration policies (Abu-Laban & Stasiulis, 2000; Galabuzi, 2006; Preibisch & Binford, 2007; Satzewich, 1991)¹⁴. In addition, from a policy perspective, the most important and explicit contemporary factor is skill level, as conceived as some ideal set of education attainment, official language ability, and work experience. The ideal

¹³Nation-states have differing policies on extending citizenship. It can be given to people who are born to parents who are already citizens of a particular place (*jus sanguinis*) or it can be given to anyone born within a given territory (*jus soli*). States can also distribute citizenship based on other grounds or a combination of factors.

¹⁴As the 2015 federal election is proceeding at the time of writing this dissertation, race and religion are becoming central election issues as the Conservative government gains support around their ban on wearing the niqab in citizenship ceremonies.

immigrant, as determined by government policy, is not one who can labour in difficult and physically demanding jobs, but one who has the training and experience to ostensibly succeed in a knowledge-based economy. Herein lies the contradiction of Canada's current immigration practices and policies. This ideal immigrant will most likely find herself excluded from precisely those occupations she is trained for because of continued implicit and explicit discrimination based upon the place of her work experience, the colour of her skin, the sound of her name, and the foreignness of her education. She may quickly find herself in a difficult and labour intensive job, where her skills and education far exceed those of her Canadian co-workers. She will find herself in the lowest segments of a stratified labour market.

Where do temporary migrants fit into discussions of immigration and citizenship? These are individuals who are included as active participants in the Canadian labour market, but excluded from full rights and membership. Temporary migrants are noncitizens in Canada and the logic of TFWPs rests on the assumption that they will never settle permanently. They are aliens, without many protections or entitlements (Bosniak, 2000). Their right to be in Canada is tenuous and they may be deported at any time (Basok, Bélanger, & Rivas, 2013; Joppke, 2010). Temporary migrants, especially those with lower skill levels, are often poor men and women from countries of the Global South - the Philippines, Jamaica, Mexico, El Salvador, and so on - and, as such, may not possess those "particular valorized combinations" of characteristics (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005, p. 13). In Canada, as in many other countries, permanence is privileged (Rajkumar, Berkowitz, Vosko, Preston, & Latham, 2012); those worthy of the status receive rights and benefits, and are therefore included while most temporary residents are not.

The dichotomous and value-laden relationship between permanent and temporary, or citizen and noncitizen has implications for individuals and society. Citizens, who have full rights of

membership, are afforded freedoms and benefits; for the most part, they have the freedom to dismiss certain types of jobs, move freely throughout the labour market, cross borders, and expect a modicum of benefits from the state. Citizenship is a permanent status that typically cannot be stripped away¹⁵. Noncitizens, however, do not have such freedoms. They do not have protections and are subject to governing controls by the state and employers (Anderson, 2010; Schierup & Castles, 2011). Brubaker (1992) succinctly, yet thoroughly sets up the contrast between citizens' and noncitizens' differential rights and the implications this has for life chances:

Citizens alone enjoy an unconditional right to remain and reside in the territory of a state, including the right to reenter should they leave for any reason. The territory of the state is their territory, and they can plan their lives accordingly. Noncitizens' entry and residence rights, in contrast, are never unconditional. Some noncitizens - clandestine entrants, for example, or persons at the end of a legally limited period of residence - have no such rights. But even privileged noncitizens - those formally accepted as immigrants or settlers - remain 'probationary' residents, subject to exclusion or deportation in certain circumstances (p. 24).

Exclusion from rights and membership restricts and impacts the day-to-day lives of lower skilled temporary migrants through the conditionality of their status. Amongst many other things, these migrants are excluded from pathways to permanent residency and they have no rights to employment and geographic mobility. Their relationship to residency in Canada is precarious and may come to end at a time not of their choosing.

Integral to understanding the implications of noncitizen status are the "mechanisms of social control" (Basok, 2002, p. xviii) inherent in citizenship and immigration policy. Such mechanisms are part of the governing structure of TFWPs and manifested in both governments' and

¹⁵ The political climate regarding citizenship and its revocation is changing dramatically in Canada. Recent changes to the Citizenship Act by the current Conservative federal government have given the state powers to revoke citizenship from anyone deemed to be a threat to national security (i.e., a terrorist). Individuals who are dual citizens or those who are naturalized citizens can now be stripped of their Canadian citizenship, which recently happened to an individual who allegedly participated in the Toronto 18 bomb plot in the summer of 2006 (Crawford & Mas, 2015). Citizenship in Canada is becoming increasingly differentiated and not applied equally to all who hold it.

employers' relationship to temporary migrants, which leads to precariousness, marginalization, and vulnerability. The constant threat of deportation, restrictions on geographic and employment mobility, exclusion from inclusion, and 'unfreedom'¹⁶ hamper temporary migrants' relationship to the community in which they live and work and their relationship to rights and accessing resources (Anderson, 2010; Preibisch & Otero, 2014; Sharma, 2006). The structural mechanisms that operate in and on the daily lives of temporary migrants restrict their ability to exercise what little rights they have, and explicitly excludes them from belonging to a social community (Basok, 2004; Parreñas, 2001a). The relationship between accessing rights and gaining membership in a community is inextricably linked, with one influencing the other in important ways.

Temporary migrants' inclusion and exclusion: Segmentation and citizenship in the everyday

Shifting from considerations of the structural nature of labour markets and citizenship policy, I now provide perspectives on the post-migration experiences of migrants, linking together theories on integration and assimilation with transnationalism and citizenship. I detail how immigration policies affect the way people are viewed - and view themselves - in the labour market and in communities. In addition to sorting people into various legal categories, immigration policies also sort and define the nature of social relations. Migration status undoubtedly affects how receiving communities understand the longevity of migrants' stay and therefore impacts the extent to which social support resources are expended on welcoming those with temporary status (Foster & Taylor, 2013).

¹⁶ The concept of 'unfreedom' has come to be an important concept in theoretical frameworks used to interrogate the situations of temporary migrants in Canada. It encompasses the outcomes of myriad restrictions and controls on temporary migrants, leading to a situation of limited to no freedom (Baines & Sharma, 2006; Basok, 1999; Fudge, 2011; Satzewich, 1991; Sharma, 2006)

Migrants' incorporation in host societies and transnational ties

What is often neglected in macro-structural and economic-centric theories of immigration are explanations of what happens to migrants and receiving societies after migration has occurred. The theories discussed in the previous sections account for the nature of migrant flows and the ways in which nation-states are simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, but they do not necessarily consider the societal and individual level effects of the process. Migrants move to a community and in this process there are expectations and obligations for contributing to and being involved in a new social milieu while still being attached to their country of origin. As migrants adapt to their new surroundings, the receiving community also adapts to welcoming newcomers. It is expected that immigrants will adopt the customs, values, and norms of their new home while the receiving society facilitates access to the labour market and provides support services.

Looking to explain immigrant incorporation, the assimilationist approach, which has strong roots in the discipline of sociology, explicitly focuses on what happens to immigrants once they arrive in a new society and how the receiving society is implicated in this event (Portes & Borocz, 1989; Schmitter Heisler, 2008). Such theories assume that after time immigrants adopt the same culture, values, and norms as the receiving society, therefore becoming similar to, if not the same as, citizens. Assimilation was initially theorized to be a step-by-step, straightforward process (Alba & Nee, 1997). However, over the years, empirical evidence has countered and transformed the assimilation perspective as immigrants do not follow a linear process of assimilation and continue to practice the customs and religions they brought with them to the new society (Alba & Nee, 1997; Brubaker, 2001; Gans, 1992). Ethnic, cultural, and religious practices continue as identifiable and celebrated markers of difference.

One of the explanations for the enduring place of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic traditions, customs, and practices in immigrants' lives is their continued link to their home country. Through international travel and communications technology, immigrants often maintain close connections with family and friends who live abroad. The transnational ties of immigrants help to maintain language and culture, directly contradicting the underlying assumptions of assimilation perspectives and presenting implications for the nature of settlement. Transnational theory focuses on such cross-border linkages and draws out how immigrants' transnational ties create and re-imagine arenas of belonging that operate outside the confines of geographic territory (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994; Brettell, 2008; Levitt & De La Dehesa, 2003). Regarding the contemporary nature of immigration and settlement, Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999) suggest that immigrant-receiving countries are "composed of a growing number of persons who live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across borders" (p. 217). Many immigrants lead complex, cross-border lives that are composed of a patchwork of identities, connections, and cultural practices. Even though transnational theory is largely focused on the macro-level ways in which globalization alters the terrain of cross-border interconnectedness, it can also be used for its contributions to understanding the micro-level ways that immigrants piece together forms of belonging that borrow from both their home society and their host society.

The most pertinent benefit of visiting transnational theory in this project is that it broadly allows for a consideration of the nature of cross-border social institutions (such as family and citizenship) by demonstrating the social relations, linkages, and networks that proliferate and function between sending and receiving countries (Castles & Miller, 2009). It illuminates the predicaments of temporary migrants' impermanent status as they navigate differentiated inclusion

and exclusion in two localities. Temporary migrants necessarily lead transnational lives because they are precluded from permanent settlement. They leave their families at home, maintain citizenship in their home country, and, typically, expect to return. Also, assuming they remain temporary, temporary migrants become a transnational labour force, moving between home and host countries as the duration of their work permits dictates (Preibisch, 2007). TFWPs encourage transnational engagements that complicate migrants' identities, sense of belonging, and connectedness to institutions and communities. Temporary migrants may encounter challenges participating and being included in the host society since their daily experiences are split between two locales.

In addition to being criticized for being unable to explain the enduring quality of cultural practices, assimilation theories have been largely discredited because their melting pot and conformity-based views of immigrant incorporation are seen as paternalistic and overly prescriptive. Therefore, the straight-line assimilation perspective was largely abandoned and gave way to transformed and re-imagined versions of incorporation that explore such phenomena as ethnic networks and neighbourhoods or segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Incorporation is not something that happens in a step-by-step manner and it does not occur without the intervening influence of structures and processes in the receiving society. Immigrant incorporation is theorized as far more complex than assimilation perspectives can consider, involving differentiated processes based upon the nature of the labour market, immigrants' skills and education, the class structure of the receiving society, and racial inequality (Schmitter Heisler, 2008). Assimilation theory is discussed here because, in many respects, the phenomenon it is trying to understand is inclusion or integration, if stripped of its cultural connotations. Instead of theorizing immigrants' adaption to cultural norms, recent studies on immigrants' incorporation

have been redirected to considering labour market participation. Immigration researchers and policymakers have become preoccupied with labour market and economic outcomes as the most 'objective' indicators of immigrants' success and inclusion in their new home. This dissertation, however, seeks to move beyond concepts such as integration and indicators such as labour market participation to include day-to-day instances of *social* exclusion and inequality. I do not believe labour market participation should be the basis upon which we judge the extent to which immigrants are included or not. The lived experiences of migrants are too complex to limit analyses to wages, employment, and economic outcomes. Temporary migrants present an interesting case to the labour market participation supporters since this is a group that is fully included in the labour market with relatively positive economic outcomes, but yet face marginalization and precariousness owing to their non-permanent status. Capturing merely labour market indicators does little to illuminate the lived experiences of temporary migrants and the intervening role of noncitizen status.

Hierarchical belonging and fragmented inclusion

There is a growing body of literature that explores the implications of noncitizen status for individuals, in the context of social processes and relations. Such research complicates the relationship between legal status, rights, and social membership. Being categorized as a noncitizen precludes individuals from fully participating in a community since they are, for all intents and purposes, merely sojourners with no long-term ties. Basok (2004) argues that noncitizens' exclusion from membership in a community complicates their ability to exercise their meagre rights and further limits access to resources. Examining the case of seasonal agriculture workers in Ontario, she explains, "the denial of social membership in a community of citizens to some categories of migrants deprives these migrants of the opportunities to acquire knowledge, learn skills, or secure

support to claim the legal rights to which they are entitled" (p.51). Basok does not deny that seasonal agriculture workers, in fact, are entitled to some rights by way of their employment status; what she problematizes is their ability to access and exercise these rights. Temporary status excludes them from social membership in rural Ontario, therefore depriving them of social resources. So, having rights is not a prerequisite for exercising rights. As Olsen (2011) notes, "while people may be equal in their possession of certain rights, they are far from equal in their ability to exercise them or benefit from them" (p. 100). Migrants who are deprived of social membership are also deprived of agency and disempowered by social exclusion. As a result, they become vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous employers or others who may wish to take advantage of a group with little power and limited access to material and non-material resources (Hyman et al., 2014; Schierup & Castles, 2011).

Depriving people of social membership can also lead to profound senses of alienation and detachment in a situation where there is already loneliness and vulnerability. Migrants internalize their social location as they feel and suffer the effects of exclusion. As Parreñas argues, "[not belonging] transforms to a consciousness that conditions the behavior and outlook of migrant Filipina domestic workers in the community" (p. 201). Related to this notion, Landolt and Goldring (2013) explain, "social relations and practices mediate noncitizenship, turning an insecure legal category into a social location and lived experience that has long-term negative outcomes" (p. 155). Precariousness and exclusion from legal belonging, however conceived, is produced and reproduced in the lives of temporary migrants through daily interactions. Noncitizen status and its corollaries - precariousness, vulnerability, exclusion, etc. - become internalized through temporary migrants' experiences of social institutions and processes, shaping how they see themselves, their relationship to a community, and their location within a nation (Basok, Bélanger, & Rivas, 2012;

Goldring & Landolt, 2011). In this way, citizenship is socially produced and has meaning beyond the confines of a legal status; it is therefore an inherently social process that is navigated and negotiated on a daily basis, which is a well-established way of theoretically positioning citizenship vis-à-vis immigration (Basok, 2004; Coutin, 2007; Isin et al., 2008; Parreñas, 2001a; Sharma, 2001, 2006; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005).

No longer can there be claims that citizenship is inherently universal since it is certain that the inclusion of some inevitably points to the exclusion of others, contributing to differential access to rights and membership (Brubaker, 1989; Castles, 2005a; Stasiulis, 1997). Further, citizenship is multidimensional and not merely a legal status. It is a mechanism of social closure that ensures the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others; both inclusion and exclusion can be partial, and each can be experienced in differing ways (Parreñas, 2001b; Yuval-Davis, 1999). Harkening back to Brubaker's quote on the differences between citizens, noncitizens, and what he calls privileged noncitizens, it becomes apparent that legal status and access to membership is hierarchically ordered, with concomitant benefits and restrictions. Citizens experience the most freedom and the fewest restrictions. Noncitizens, and especially those who are not ideal potential citizens, experience the most restrictions and the least freedoms. Following this perspective, Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) note, "citizenship exists on a spectrum, involving a pool of rights that are variously offered, denied, or challenged, as well as a set of obligations that are unequally demanded" (p. 2). Citizenship, and noncitizenship, is highly stratified, with multiple and variable categories, each with varying implications for access to resources and experiences of social inequality.

Categories of citizens and noncitizens are articulated through government policy, legal requirements, and, importantly, reproduced through social processes, interactions, and constructions. The nature of temporary migrants' social exclusion, as Baines and Sharma (2006)

argue, is a product of citizenship and immigration policies in Canada that construct these "hierarchies of belonging" (p. 209). People's ordering in this hierarchy of belonging is further differentiated and determined by skill level, source country, and employment sector, with each level of the hierarchy meaning something different for accessing to permanent residency, social resources, and protections (Hennebry, 2012; Rajkumar et al., 2012). Of course, this hierarchical ordering has implications for people's access to rights and resources, participation in the labour market, and inclusion in society (Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Hudson, 2007; Latham et al., 2014; Macklin, 2010; Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013; Preibisch & Otero, 2014; Sharma, 2006). Citizenship is a contemporary variable organizing various aspects of daily life, contributing to a stratified and unequal society. Therefore, immigration status contributes to marginalization and shapes vulnerable social locations (Bilger & Van Liempt, 2009; Lahman, Mendoza, Rodriguez, & Schwartz, 2011; Liamputtong, 2007).

If we accept that differences in citizenship are socially produced, then we must also accept that there are ways to subvert the ascribed characteristics of such categories. As Glenn (2011) argues in her 2010 Presidential Address to the American Sociological Association, "citizenship is not simply a fixed legal status, but a fluid status that is produced through everyday practices and struggles" (p. 1). The noncitizenship categories that temporary migrants are organized into are not concrete or immune to change¹⁷. Furthermore, it is not beyond the ability of individuals - both citizens and noncitizens - to renegotiate, shape, and shift what it means to be a temporary migrant living in Canada. As will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the case of lower skilled temporary migration in Manitoba illustrates how a nationally produced category can be moulded to suit the needs of particular localities. Of course, the category of "temporary migrant" is not entirely

¹⁷ The two-step migration processes that facilitate the movement from temporary to permanent status demonstrates this notion.

negotiable and there are many aspects of the status that hampers, restricts, and confines the lives of migrants. In very important ways the category is deeply prescribed and impermeable, but it is worthwhile, within a framework that views citizenship as socially reproduced, to consider the possible ways that migrants might resist noncitizen status (Basok, 2004; Basok et al., 2012; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005).

Lower skilled temporary migrants are a vulnerable, marginalized, and socially excluded population in Canada. However, we do this population a grave injustice if we limit our understanding of their daily lives to such descriptions. Their lives are characterized by multiple 'layers of vulnerability' and the "cycle of precarity" (Landolt & Goldring, 2013) that noncitizen status leads to is difficult to escape. Within this, though, they navigate a terrain that is trying to exclude them by finding opportunities to achieve their goals. They are not passive recipients of exclusion and they do not, on the whole, see themselves as vulnerable once they have made it to Canada. As Lahman and colleagues (2011) contend, they are "competent and capable yet vulnerable simultaneously" (p. 305). Defining precariously stuated individuals only in terms of their vulnerability acts to 'other' such populations and deny their agency in negotiating their daily lives. Yes, they are 'unfree', subject to 'legislated inequality' that ties them to a single employer and limits the rights they are entitled to, but when we consider their perspectives and stories we see examples of their agency as they continually push toward their goals.

Conclusions

Immigration scholarship has not engaged well with the circumstances of temporary migrants and while some theories explain why labour markets have come to rely on TFWPs and others offer insight into why people decide to engage in temporary migration, none theorize the contours of the temporary migration experience. Furthermore, lower skilled temporary migration

presents a chance to analyze a sub-population of foreign labour that is, from the outset, excluded and deemed to be unworthy of inclusion and citizenship. Through lower skilled temporary migrants' experiences we can observe how exclusion is manifested, articulated, and negotiated in daily life. We can learn how being precariously statused and fragmentally included influences the nature of temporary migrants' interactions with institutions, how they make (or do not make) plans for the future, and how they both engage with and are disengaged from society.

Immigration policy, according to Sharma (2012), has become a state tool for regulating differences amongst people. Following Sharma's (2001, 2006, 2012) work, in addition to the work of Preibisch and Otero (2014) and the scant literature on how immigrant status influences the segmentation of the labour market (Bauder, 2003, 2006; Hudson, 2007), I add to the debate further contributing factors to this hierarchically ranked categorization of belonging. Through the example of lower skilled temporary migrants, we begin to see how ideologies around skill level are manifested through immigrant status. At the level of federal government regulations, lower skilled temporary migrants are in no way desirable citizens. They are contingent labourers, at best, with no right to settlement services or social supports. Whereas some literature explores the dualism between permanent and non-permanent immigration status, Canada's practices around extending pathways for permanent residency to *some* temporary migrants demonstrates that the dualism becomes more complex with some non-permanent residents preferred over others (Brubaker, 1992). If a non-permanent resident is highly skilled, then they have the right to permanent residency and belonging in the Canadian state. If the non-permanent resident has lower skill levels, they have no rights to permanent residency and do not belong.

What is central to the theoretical framework of this dissertation, and to understanding lower skilled temporary migration in Canada, is the experiences of hierarchical statuses and

fragmented inclusion, which are created and re-created by immigration and citizenship policies. It is within this hierarchy and fragmentation that the temporary migrants in this study experience life in Canada. They are implicated in a normatively ordered immigration system that privileges permanence, exalts education and higher skill levels, and excludes those who will not "succeed" in the labour market. Even though there is plenty of evidence that the Canadian labour market needs lower skilled labour, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Four, immigrants without high levels of education and training remain unable to access Canada's immigration system by means other than temporary migration.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Immigration research is increasingly criticized for its pursuit of quantification and focus on macro-structural issues pertaining to the labour market and associated economic indicators. Such modes of inquiry are necessary for policymakers to make informed decisions, but they tend to treat migrants as a homogenous group, denying individual agency and accounts of how different characteristics can influence experience. The immigration experience is not generalizable, but rather multi-layered and widely varied (Clark-Kazak, 2009; Deaux, 2006). The decision-making process, goals, and experiences of refugees will differ from permanent economic immigrants which will also differ from those of lower skilled temporary migrants. We need research that illustrates the perspectives of migrants and encourages researchers to connect with participants to gain in-depth accounts of their stories. To put the individual experiences of twenty-six migrants at the forefront of my research, I use qualitative narrative inquiry and in-depth interviews, following other researchers who contend that such modes of inquiry represent rich and valuable methods for understanding the process and experiences of migration (Cederberg, 2014; Clark-Kazak, 2011; Eastmond, 2007; Pavlish, 2007; Vandsemb, 1995).

Quantitative research projects are, of course, necessary in migration studies, but they lack in-depth explorations of the fundamental experiences of day-to-day life, personal and familial struggles, and stories of those most intimately involved in the migration process (Deaux, 2006). As McHugh (2000) explains “migrations are cultural events rich in meaning for individuals, families, social groups, communities and nations” (p. 72), and as such warrant more qualitative attention from researchers. More specifically, Vandsemb (1995) argues that narrative research is particularly useful for understanding migration experiences since the approach “has the potential of capturing the variety and the indeterminacy of migrants’ experiences and the complexity of the decision to

migrate” (p. 412). Studies that only seek generalizable and statistical findings miss the experiential element of the migration process and are not able to detail the exigencies of daily life. Following Clark-Kazak's (2011) research goal, this work strives to move from "counting migration to recounting migration" (original emphasis, p. 6). Qualitative research allows researchers a necessary opportunity to listen to the rich and multilayered stories of individuals' experiences, embracing differential perspectives and confronting homogenizing generalizations.

This dissertation endeavours to inform a theoretical framework for critically examining how precarious legal status and TFWP policy mechanisms interact to influence the daily experiences of social exclusion, inequality, and vulnerability for lower skilled temporary migrants. By exploring how temporary migrants negotiate the precarious terrain upon which they live and work, it highlights the intertwined factors (including the characteristics of source countries, familial dynamics, desire for permanent residency, prescribed skill level, and localized policy innovations) that interact with legal status to shape and constrain the aspirations of individuals. Working within a segmented labour market in an advanced capitalist economy, lower skilled temporary migrants occupy positions on the bottom rungs of both an occupational hierarchy and a hierarchy of migration statuses. They work in undesirable jobs with little opportunity for forward advancement and they receive no options from the federal government to permanently belong in Canada. This dissertation illustrates the lived experiences of those bottom rungs of the labour market and migration status, exploring how temporary migrants navigate their plans for the future in such constrained circumstances. The purpose of the methodological framework adopted here is to extend to temporary migrants the opportunity to detail their social position and how they negotiate their everyday experiences.

An epistemological framework for researching temporary migrants

"The world of our lived experience, the lifeworld, is the very ground from which all understanding grows; what we know is always negotiated within the culturally informed relationships and experiences, the talk and text, of our everyday lives" (Angen, 2000, p. 384).

Studying migration from the perspective of migrants contributes much knowledge to understandings of international migration, but yet remains methodologically underdeveloped. Theoretically and methodologically there are few places to turn for epistemological guidance on studying the experiences of migrants. Migration studies are inherently interdisciplinary because, as a phenomenon, international migration involves a complex system of social, political, and economic processes, institutions, and experiences that traverse place, space, and time. Migrations are events that affect individuals and families as they traverse and negotiate multiple cultures, languages, and customs. Necessarily, then, this work crosses disciplinary boundaries as it draws on work from sociology (Landolt & Goldring, 2013; Preibisch & Otero, 2014), social psychology (Deaux, 2006), anthropology (Ong, 1999), and interdisciplinary studies (Cederberg, 2014; Clark-Kazak, 2011; Eastmond, 2007). More specifically, though, my epistemological approach is one rooted in a careful consideration of researching vulnerable and marginalized populations, which is an emerging focus in studies on migration (Bilger & Van Liempt, 2009; Landolt & Goldring, 2013).

When studying marginalized and vulnerable populations, one of the most valuable places to turn is feminist research, which shapes the foundation of much qualitative knowledge creation in general. Feminist researchers make significant contributions to research on sensitive topics and provide methodological guidelines for understanding social inequality (Lee & Renzetti, 1993). Bilger and Van Liempt (2009) contend that feminist social science research is no longer limited to only gender-related questions as it can unveil "how societal structures and institutions shape and impact migrants' lives and their strategies to cope with it" (p. 7). In addition, Liamputtong (2007) explains

that feminist qualitative research "pays attention to issues of difference, questions social power, resists scientific oppression, and commits to political action and social reform. Essentially, feminist research aims to give voice to the marginalised" (p. 12). In this way, a feminist epistemological framework provides a rich methodological ground on which to base inquiry that is focused on socially excluded, marginalized, and vulnerable populations.

A number of researchers working with foreign domestic workers use feminist perspectives to interview and analyze the experiences of international migrants. Taking conceptual, theoretical, and methodological inspiration from feminist migration scholars (Parreñas, 2001a; Pratt, 2012; Preibisch & Hermoso, 2006; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005), this dissertation draws on feminist social science research because of its emancipatory and empowering goals, its foundation of politically motivated scholarship, and its careful consideration of the nature of the relationship between the researcher and researched. It also celebrates diverse knowledge and does not treat migrants as a single, unified group (Parreñas, 2001a). My research strives to establish a research relationship based on reciprocity so as to limit the power imbalances inherent in the research process (Harrison, MacGibbon, & Morton, 2001). However, given the nature of the population being studied, I recognize this as a near impossibility given my privileged position and that one's particular socially situated perspective shapes the ways in which we create and define knowledge (Doucet & Mauthner, 2007). This dissertation adopts a methodological approach that explores the nature of social exclusion and marginalization through a sensitive lens, inspired by those who have devoted efforts toward crafting emancipatory, empowering, and participatory research methods (Lahman et al., 2011).

Following the goals of feminist research, this project seeks to have marginalized people's experiences and knowledge count, and to use such accounts to inspire social and political change.

Like many studies on temporary migration in Canada, this work is politically motivated, which is something Denzin supports for all qualitative research (Denzin, 2004). My political motivations are embedded in a long history of frustration toward the unjust treatment and exclusion of 'precariously-statused' migrants. It stems from observations of the disjuncture between the policymaking processes (and the nature of those policies) and concern (or consideration) for individuals whose daily existence is affected by policy. It harkens to Michael Burawoy's calls for an organic public sociology that seeks social justice and political change through the engagement of marginalized and powerless groups in sociological research (Burawoy, 2005, 2007b). I see social science research and sociology in particular, as sources of knowledge that can contribute to social betterment and cautiously alleviate the struggles of groups who remain at the margins of society. At the heart of this dissertation is a reflection on the purpose and potential outcomes of our sociological work, rooted in inquiry that emphasizes the disciplines' focus on inequality and the social processes that create it. The goal of my methodological decisions align with Geraldine Pratt's (2012) goals for her work on Filipina live-in caregivers; through the process of understanding and presenting migrants' daily lived experiences, I wish to reclaim the humanity of temporary migrants "beyond their economic value as workers" (p. xxviii).

Within this framework, I am careful to not claim to represent 'the' voice of temporary migrants. I follow Reissman's (1994) cautionary note, "we cannot give voice, but we do hear voices that we record and interpret...Investigators do not have direct access to another's experience" (p. 8). My desire to understand the experiences of temporary migrants is not necessarily a matter of 'giving voice' to this marginalized and vulnerable group for I cannot 'know' their experiences in the truest sense of the word. My interview guide, the overall tone of each individual interview, and all associated communication were deliberately designed to extend to migrants the room to offer their

perspectives on their experiences, how they see their lives in Manitoba, and what they perceive as challenges. I did not go into interviews assuming that everyone understood their circumstances through the lens I have spent years crafting and informing; my utmost desire was to have temporary migrants define their experiences through their own lens so that I could leave room to see their circumstances differently. The project endeavours to understand their social location and the contours of social exclusion and inequality. However, I did not want to assume that temporary migrants define their experiences within such a framework. Qualitative researchers, and academics more generally, are not experts in speaking *for* individuals (Acker, 2005); all we can do is present what we have heard with the tools we gather through years of training.

Combining the epistemological foundations of feminist social science research with various theoretical understandings of migration to grasp temporary migrants' lived experiences of inequality, exclusion, and vulnerability expands migration studies beyond quantification and elementary explorations of the migration experience. It allows for an informed consideration of what shapes inequality and how marginalized populations are denied from fully participating in society, and, most importantly, the implications of social exclusion. Arguing for more qualitative studies on migration, Deaux (2006) contends,

[Interpretivist qualitative researchers] have a much greater sense of the immigration experience as a dynamic process rather than an easily tabulated change of location. So too do we begin to appreciate the importance of the context into which an immigrant comes and the ways in which the features of that context - the social networks, the opportunity structures, the confrontations with hostile or supportive members of resident host communities - play an important role in the overall experience (p. 2).

By focusing on individuals' lived experiences of migration through narrative-inspired, open-ended, unstructured interviews, this work brings to the sociological study of international migration a new epistemological and methodological framework for studying temporary migration. It takes seriously

the effort to have temporary migrants' stories heard amongst a loud choir of policymakers who silence their personhood and, through discourse, render their contributions to society purely economic. I use feminist-inspired qualitative research to explore the everyday experiences of temporary migrants and a narrative approach to interviewing that encourages a chronological re-telling of the migration experience and the compounding layers of vulnerability to address the following four research questions:

1. From the perspective of temporary migrants, how does temporary resident status contribute to and shape social exclusion (marginalization) and inequality?
2. How do temporary migrants arriving through the SLSO experience social exclusion and inequality?
3. Are these experiences influenced by a transition from temporary to permanent resident status in Manitoba? Do pathways to permanency and eventually citizenship enhance temporary migrants' social position?
4. How do structural processes and practices operate in shaping the lives of temporary migrants?

Reflexively positioning the researcher

Before proceeding, I must position myself in this research and explicate why it is that I have come to be interested in temporary migration. Reflexivity is an important exercise as it situates the researcher within historical contexts and potential power relations that influence all aspects of qualitative research, including the interview setting and the nature of data interpretation (Cederberg, 2014; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). It also constructs a clearer picture of the researcher's epistemological and ontological assumptions that shape the interpretation and presentation of knowledge. As Bourdieu notes, "social agents are the product of history, of the

history of the whole social field and of the accumulated experience of a path within a specific subfield" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 136). This research is a result of years of training as a sociologist and experience as a community-based researcher. It is informed by past feminist research projects and a continuing interest in understanding the social mechanisms contributing to marginalization and inequality. Also, it is situated in a context where I, as a non-migrant, privileged, English-speaking, white academic, interview and take knowledge from precariously situated, non-white migrant workers. My social location vis-à-vis the participants in this study plays a central role in the nature of the project, as does the knowledge and experience I bring to the study (Reinharz, 2011).

My interest in temporary migration began during previous work experience as a researcher at the Rural Development Institute (RDI) in Brandon between 2007 and 2009. During this time, there was scant research on temporary migration in Canada, but academic and policy interest in the topic was increasing. The SLSO (which had a different name at the time) had been firmly established and arrivals of temporary migrants were rapidly increasing across Canada. In Brandon, the effects of the hog processing company's hiring practices were becoming evident as temporary migrants applied for permanent residency and brought their families to Canada. Affordable housing became scarce as prices rose without more development. The school division saw significant growth in their student population, when previously numbers of new enrolments remained stagnant or declined. With relatively large families, former temporary migrants made an indelible mark on the demographic composition of Brandon and its service infrastructure.

At the RDI, we became concerned about the lack of information sharing and community collaboration on matters relating to demographic change and migration. Observing the rapid changes in Brandon, we noted the need for more informed dialogue on how the community could

welcome newcomers while alleviating burdens on service providers and other infrastructure. We conducted multiple community-based research projects with the purpose of working with stakeholders to develop relationships and information sharing across sectors. We began using the term "transitional" to refer to foreign workers since the majority of temporary migrants at that time were becoming permanent residents. Research focused on enhancing community responsiveness to immigrants and ensuring stakeholders understood that there is nothing temporary about temporary migration.

It was at RDI in early 2009 that I developed a desire to bring an academic focus to studying transitions to permanent residency for lower skilled temporary migrants and the effects of this on rural communities. Our research at RDI did not have many opportunities to speak with migrants or their families, and this became my goal for a doctoral research project. I mention the work at RDI here because it is inextricably linked to all aspects of this dissertation and my research. My previous work experience helped to build networks in Brandon, Prairieville, and the provincial and federal governments, which I drew upon throughout this research. My current understanding of temporary migration is rooted in these past experiences where I continue to witness the often contradictory and surprising evolution of discourses, policy, and concern on the matter. Many of my conceptual and theoretical assumptions are based on this past research experience, in addition to a deeper understanding of the academic implications of such work. From this reflexive exercise, I turn to a discussion of the mechanics of my research project.

The research project

What is narrative research?

Contemporary understandings of narrative research have emerged from recognition in the social sciences that knowledge is created by individuals through life experiences, that knowledge is

not objective, and that there are many ways of knowing or interpreting. The conceptual framework used to describe the characteristics of narrative research rests heavily upon the discipline in which the researcher is working as well as the focus of one's research questions. Narrative can take many forms and may be emancipatory, critical, feminist, linguistic, or historical¹⁸. Essentially, according to Chase (2005), narrative inquiry is informed by diverse approaches from many disciplinary backgrounds and its properties are centred "around an interest in biographical particulars as narrated by the one who lives them" (p. 651). As Marshall and Rossman (2011) summarize, "an interdisciplinary approach with many guises, narrative analysis seeks to describe the meaning of experience for those who frequently are socially marginalized or oppressed, as they construct stories (narratives) about their lives" (p. 22). Narrative studies may seek to understand the nature of groups or communities, events or actions, or life history, but regardless of the focus it is always through the lens of how individuals understand their own lived experiences (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Richardson, 1990).

Since there is no single way or set of procedures to conduct narrative analysis (Riessman, 1994), I rely on the work of Vandsemb (1995), who studies third world migration through narrative inquiry, Cederberg (2014), who uses biographical interviewing to understand migrants' stories, and Eastmond (2007), whose narrative approach details the lived experiences of refugees. Vandsemb's work stresses the importance of time and place through a chronological sequencing of events to construct and tell stories of experience (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Polkinghorne, 1995). In this way, stories have a beginning, middle, and an end. As Vandsemb (1995) explains,

¹⁸ Some other common forms of narrative research include biographical study, autobiography, life history, and oral history (Creswell, 2007, p. 55). According to Richardson (1990), others include every day, autobiographical, biographical, cultural, and collective narratives.

Stories are a means of interpreting or reinterpreting events by constructing a causal pattern that integrates what is known about an event, as well as that which is uncertain but relevant to interpretation...To tell one's story is not only to talk and remember, but to reconstruct the meaning of the past from the viewpoint of the present and also to give meaning to the past in a way that has meaning for the present (p. 413).

Explaining the value of narrative inquiry for migration studies, Vandsemb continues,

How people understand and relate to the opportunities and constraints they are facing are essential factors to the understanding of migration. Thus, in migration studies, people's stories are important. Narrative is a useful method for understanding cases because it seeks people's own formulations of their situation and how people come to make the decisions they make (p. 414).

Narrative research involves embracing subjectivities, engaging in an intimate understanding of the rootedness of experience in time and place, and acknowledging how the reconstruction and telling of such experiences shape and represent the unique identity and story of individuals. It also allows researchers to see how structural forces play into individuals' decision-making processes. Narrative inquiry can be used to help define what motivates some people to undertake a life altering event such as migration and how this event impacts their aspirations.

Often narrative research presents the stories of a small sample, illustrating a thorough account of individuals' experiences and stories. For the purposes of this project, though, I gathered more data than is typically required by narrative research. Therefore, I have adopted a more flexible narrative approach that uses the tenets of the method to gather data rooted in time and place and present stories in a manner that follows a sequencing of events, emphasizing migrants' perspectives and details around decision-making and motivations, aspirations and goals, and experiences in the workplace and society (Cederberg, 2014; Pavlish, 2007). It integrates narrative research's focus on individuals' stories, but also incorporates knowledge from stakeholders, policy details, and understandings put forth in other research to illustrate how individuals' experiences are embedded within broader structural (social) forces (Vandsemb, 1995). I use a broader narrative

approach to illicit stories of experience that challenges the over-generalization of 'the temporary foreign worker experience' (Eastmond, 2007). Also following Eastmond, I bring together stories from multiple people - as opposed to individual narratives - organized around a broad chronological and thematically organized account of collective migration experiences of individuals arriving to work in the same industry and in the same province, while also demonstrating "the internal variation among them" (Eastmond, 2007, p. 253).

Considerations for sensitive research with vulnerable populations

"Ethical issues are acute when dealing with individuals who are not in a position to control the fate of their stories, and demand considerably more of the researcher in terms of sensitivity to questions of power, confidentiality and accountability than in many other fields" (Eastmond, 2007, p. 261).

This dissertation, along with nearly all research on the circumstances of temporary migrants or others with precarious noncitizen status, can be classified as sensitive research. According to Sieber and Stanley (1988), socially sensitive research "refers to studies in which there are potential social consequences or implications, either directly for the participants in the research or for the class of individuals represented by the research" (p. 49). These consequences are borne of marginalized and vulnerable social locations, being denied necessary material and non-material resources. As such, sensitive research often examines vulnerable populations, which is defined by Moore and Miller (1999) as follows.

Individuals considered vulnerable are those who lack the ability to make personal life choices, to make personal decisions, to maintain independence, and to self-determine. Vulnerable individuals are therefore more likely to experience real or potential harm and require special safeguards to insure that their welfare and rights are protected (p. 1034).

Because of the precarious legal status held by this study's participants, I take seriously the guidelines provided by researchers conducting sensitive research with marginalized and vulnerable populations. Temporary migrants do fall within the definition of vulnerable, as outlined above.

Conducting sensitive research with vulnerable populations is a challenge and should not be

approached lightly. Researchers must be astutely aware of the inherent risks of their projects and do all they can to limit adverse consequences. Sensitive research requires thoughtfulness in research design and approach, in addition to a careful navigation of institutional research ethics procedures (Bernhard & Young, 2009; Sieber & Stanley, 1988). Even though it can produce problems, sensitive research should not be shied away from as it often uncovers social injustice and can spur social and political change (Lahman et al., 2011; Sieber & Stanley, 1988).

Researchers have commonly cited difficulties engaging temporary migrants as participants in research (Basok, 2002; Bilger & Van Liempt, 2009; Cornelius, 1982; Goldring, 2010; Sharma, 2001, 2006). The reasons for this difficulty revolve around their precarious legal status and the possible consequences of voicing concerns. As Basok (2002) explains, temporary migrants are subject to "mechanisms of social control" (p. xviii) that reinforce compliance and social isolation. Temporary migrants fear retribution from employers in the form of deportation if they openly discuss workplace experiences (Basok et al., 2013; De Genova, 2002; Harrison & Lloyd, 2012). Their legal status renders them vulnerable to punitive disciplinary mechanisms from employers, sanctioned by government policy on employer-tied work permits. Temporary migrants fear discussing their employer in a disparaging manner and they do not want their employer to learn of their participation in research critical of employment practices. In addition, temporary migrants are often socially isolated, experience language barriers, work long and demanding hours, lack social networks, and maintain transnational relationships with families, leaving little extra energy and time to participate in research projects.

Following the work of Basok (2002) and guidance from other work on sensitive research topics with marginalized populations (such as feminist research), I took much effort in designing a study that is considerate of people's precarious circumstances (Düvell, Triandafyllidou, & Vollmer,

2010; Lahman et al., 2011; Lee & Renzetti, 1993; Sieber, 1993). One of the most important decisions was around the matter of recruitment; I did not recruit participants through employers. In the end, I also chose not to interview employers because I did not want to compromise employees' identities in any way and my express intent is to represent the story of migrants, rather than imbue them with employers' perspectives. I also consciously scheduled interviews in a safe and non-threatening location at a time that was most convenient to participants. Eventually I employed a translator for five interviews to alleviate language barriers. Questions were open-ended and designed to be positive, uncontroversial, and welcoming to build trust and create a comfortable environment.

Despite my focused and informed efforts to establish a sensitive research design, many participants were suspicious of my intentions and questioned my affiliations at the beginning of interviews. I provided reassurance that I, in no way, was affiliated with their employer and, in fact, I did not intend to speak with employers at all since I wanted to emphasize migrants' stories. I also had to reassure participants that I was not working with the government. Once I stressed that I was a student at a university, participants seemed to be satisfied that what they said would be kept in confidence and would not directly impact their jobs and legal status. In the data analysis and reporting phase of the project, pseudonyms are used and other identifying characteristics have been stripped from the data. The smaller of the two research sites is also assigned a pseudonym and even though they could be identified, I chose not to refer to the two employers by their company name.

The research sites

A central piece of this research is the place in which it is situated. All interviews were conducted in two Manitoban communities, which are each considered non-traditional immigrant

destinations¹⁹. Since Manitoba is the only province to allow transitions to permanent residency regardless of maximum caps and skill level, it is the only context in which such research could have been conducted. All findings must be considered as particular within this context. In many respects this project is a case study of the Province of Manitoba and its immigration practices. It is an illustration of how local practices can shape national and international phenomena.

I chose to conduct research in Brandon and Prairieville for a number of reasons. First, in a very pragmatic sense, conducting research on temporary migrants was, for me, easiest in these two communities. Stemming from previous work experience, I could access comprehensive professional networks, with gatekeepers who were easy to identify and willing to assist with my research. Also, there is a density of temporary migrants in both places, with nearly 2,000 located in Brandon and just over 500 in Prairieville, which made it easier to conduct purposeful snowball sampling. I had been willing to expand my research elsewhere, but the ease of access to gatekeepers and populations in the two communities acted as a useful starting point from which to begin research. Furthermore, since I wanted to focus only on lower skilled temporary migrants, I knew that the majority of the populations in both communities had arrived through the SLSO, making it somewhat easier to find the target population.

Also, there are a number of similarities and differences between the two communities, which create bases for contrast and comparison. For example, the vast majority (nearly all, in fact) of lower skilled temporary migrants in both communities work or worked in the hog processing industry. The unmet labour needs of two hog processing companies - one in each community - is what facilitates foreign recruitment and hiring of temporary migrants. As the largest hog processing

¹⁹ I use the term 'non-traditional' to refer to regions and communities that are not among the most common immigrant destinations in Canada. Typically, 'non-traditional' refers to destinations outside major metropolitan areas, which includes smaller cities, rural communities, and non-urban regions.

plant in Manitoba, the company in Brandon can process 4.5 million hogs a year by operating two shifts and employing over 2,300 workers. The facility in Prairieville can process 1.4 million hogs in a year and requires approximately 900 workers (Honey, 2014). Given such labour demands, and the relatively small population from which to draw in the surrounding rural region, both companies have turned to the SLSO to staff their operations, which are both unionized workplaces (United Food and Commercial Workers Union).

What also makes both communities interesting research sites for studying international migration is that, as small centres, they both have limited recent histories of immigration. Brandon is considered an urban area (in 2011, its population was over 46,000, according to Census data), but it is also an agricultural hub and service centre that is still quite rural in nature. Despite its current diverse population, Brandon has had very low annual immigration levels. In 2001, the community received 69 immigrants. A decade later, immigrant arrivals increased twenty times (Government of Manitoba, 2013). For Prairieville, which is very much a rural community (its 2011 population was just over 3,000), immigration rates were not large enough to be reported until 2010 when the community received nearly 200 immigrants. Two years later, Prairieville was highly ranked in a list of Manitoba's top immigrant receiving destinations (Government of Manitoba, 2013). Both communities have experienced significant population growth, which has put pressure on social services, housing availability, and the education system²⁰. They are non-traditional immigrant destinations with underdeveloped service capacity, but yet because of industry practices and government policy, must adapt and adjust to growing populations with increasingly diverse needs.

²⁰ For example, beginning in 2005, the Brandon School Division saw enrolment of students requiring English as an Additional Language increase exponentially, which necessitated hiring more teachers and expanding physical space (Moss, Bucklaschuk, & Annis, 2010).

Recruitment and participant selection

A non-probability sampling strategy was adopted for this project, as is the case in nearly all qualitative research projects (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Miles & Huberman, 1994). However, knowing that temporary migrants are a hard to reach population, my selection strategy needed to remain flexible and I adapted techniques as the project progressed (Abrams, 2010; Basok, 2002). A combination of purposive sampling, snowball sampling, and recruiting through agencies and gatekeepers was used to ensure that a diverse population of temporary migrants was reached.

To gather rich data on how obtaining or being promised permanent residency influences lower skilled temporary migrants' lives, I needed to ensure a sample that includes both current and former temporary migrants who arrived through the SLSO. Desiring maximum variation (Miles & Huberman, 1994) at the beginning, I initially kept my sampling parameters broad to include migrants working in any occupation, but given the nature of temporary migration in rural Manitoba, it became evident that the majority work in the hog processing industry, so I shifted focus to one industry. I had no specific requirements regarding age and gender; since the majority of migrants in the area are males, I anticipated that I would interview mostly men, but I did want to interview at least some of the few female temporary migrants working in the hog processing industry. To respect individuals' time and efforts, I offered a \$25 honorarium to each interview participant, which was noted on the recruitment poster. In my initial recruitment efforts, I also sought participants who could conduct an interview in English, since I lacked the funds and time to employ an interpreter. I distributed posters and project information in English to attract such participants.

Given the nature of temporary migrant populations in both communities and based on the design of other researchers' projects, I knew that snowball sampling through gatekeepers would be the most effective way to find participants (Bilger & Van Liempt, 2009; Dahinden & Efonayi-Mader,

2009). However, I began recruitment through poster (Appendix A) distribution amongst broad professional networks. After these initial recruitment efforts failed to yield a single participant, I printed project information on business cards (Appendix B) and gave them to a Brandon-based immigrant service provider who is a former temporary migrant and an "insider" in the Spanish-speaking community²¹. This strategy yielded four participants and initiated snowball sampling. The initial interviews were with recently arrived Honduran temporary migrants who spoke excellent English and facilitated interviews with four more people from their social networks, who were also recently arrived Honduran migrants. After interviewing eight people from a similar background I once again revised the recruitment strategy to garner a diverse sample.

Next, project information cards were distributed through the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW). Representatives at the union facilitated and coordinated connections with temporary migrants in both communities, and purposefully chose who provide my contact information based on my sample criteria. Snowball sampling was once again used through interview participants. Eventually, though, conducting interviews only in English limited my sample and I eventually involved a Spanish-language interpreter who also coordinated the last five interviews.

Once participants independently contacted me via email or text message, I sent them a brief preamble about the project (this information was also provided to gatekeepers). For those participants who were comfortable communicating in English, I sent a few sample questions and

²¹ The poster was distributed through Manitoba Labour and Immigrations' networks of service providers, through local organizations and churches, and through social networks. It included required text from the Research Ethics Board and a QR scan code for smart phones that directed readers to a blog with project details. One of the failures of the poster could be attributed to the fact that it was written in English. While I entertained having it translated, I chose not to. The rationale rested on my need to conduct as many interviews as possible in English, so if someone could not read the poster then I assumed they would not be able to conduct an interview without an interpreter, which I could not afford. During interviews I asked participants how they learned of my project. Some saw the poster, but did not initiate contact through it because they were intimidated by its official look and extensive text.

the informed consent document in advance so they could be well-informed. This communication was also an effort to establish rapport and limit any unease participants had going into the interview. We still went through the informed consent document at the beginning of every interview, but at that point many participants had become somewhat familiar with the lengthy text of the document. Interviews were then scheduled around participants' work schedules and my ability to travel to either research site.

Interviews were conducted in the community in which participants live²². In Brandon, UFCW offered office space to conduct interviews and most were done there. Participants were familiar with UFCW and felt comfortable getting there, the space was quiet, and it allowed interviews to be conducted at times that were most convenient to participants. Two interviews in Brandon were conducted in coffee shops, which were loud and not private, negatively impacting the quality of the interviews. In Prairieville, all interviews were conducted in UFCW office space, which was housed in the immigrant service centre. Conducting interviews in union offices provided a safe and neutral space in which to speak with temporary migrants, since everyone was familiar with the location and seemed quite comfortable there.

The interviews

During the interviews, special attention was paid to drawing out the lived experiences of being temporary and transitioning to permanent residency. Following Riessman's (1994) suggestions for doing narrative research, I focused on structuring interviews around open topics

²² Another challenge with recruitment was the over 200 kilometre distance between myself and the two communities. Given the work schedules of both myself and participants, dates and times of interviews were limited to weekends, meaning I would conduct a minimum of three interviews per day, back to back. This schedule was exhausting, especially after a two hour drive, sometimes in treacherous winter weather. Since my schedule was so rigid, I did not have time to schedule spontaneous interviews with friends of participants. There were some cases where a participant offered to get a friend or two, or have them come for an interview the next day, but I was unable to do so. A longer immersion in Prairieville and Brandon would have made recruitment and data collection easier.

that allowed participants to construct their own answers in a way they find meaningful. The interview guide, while being unstructured, was designed to prompt discussions that reveal the inequalities faced by temporary migrants, how they negotiate their precarious legal status, and what role achieving permanent residency plays in their decisions and daily experiences. After securing informed consent (Appendix G) from each participant and giving a \$25 honorarium in a thank-you card, interviews began with a short demographic survey (Appendix C) to collect data on age, previous occupation, legal status, education, and family characteristics. An open-ended interview guide (Appendix D) was then used to ensure that certain themes were discussed, but I cautioned against a question-and-answer style of interview, preferring a nondirective style of interview that functions like a comfortable conversation as participants openly express their thoughts and feelings about their experiences (Essed, 1991). In addition, establishing rapport with interviewees was a central goal and for this reason I carefully framed questions in a positive manner to elicit a culturally sensitive interview environment (Lahman et al., 2011).

Despite what I anticipate to be a significant criticism of this project, I consciously chose not to directly ask participants if they had experienced racism. Following the work of Essed (1991, 2007), I carefully considered the implications of explicitly asking about racism and chose to allow participants the subjective space in which to make sense of their experiences, encouraging them to define their own experiences with discrimination, racism, and prejudice (Romm, 2010). Using a nondirective approach to understanding their experiences with discrimination and racism, I tried to "reveal, rather than impose" such interpretations, prompting participants to discuss aspects of their social life that might encourage them to consider instances of discrimination and racism in their everyday life (Essed, 1991, p. 63). I framed discussions around their challenges at work or in the community and asked about their social life, leisure time, and friendships. I also asked if they had

met many Canadians and what they thought about Canadian people, in general. If they told stories of being treated poorly, I asked them why they thought this occurred. Many would ask me if I was inquiring about experiences with racism, to which they would adamantly say no. Only one person thought their mistreatment was because of their race. Also, many did not interpret their lives as ones defined by exclusion, racism, or discrimination. I do revisit the subjects of racism and discrimination throughout the following chapters since they are important parts of this research topic and inevitably contribute to the marginalized social location and exclusion of migrants. However, race and racism were not central themes of the research.

When entering the research field, it is impossible to anticipate the exigencies that can and do occur when engaging with individuals. I attempted to control the process as much as possible, but, of course, flexibility and adaptability became necessary traits for this researcher. As many studies before mine, I encountered challenges during data collection that altered previous plans. Some challenges are attributable to the nature of my study population while others are fundamental challenges associated with conducting sensitive research with human beings.

Three things in particular challenged my intended methods and interview structure. I speculate these are largely attributable to both unclear explanations and language and cultural barriers, which complicate the research process, (Basok, 2002; Bernhard & Young, 2009; Bilger & Van Liempt, 2009; Lahman et al., 2011). Firstly, because literature on narrative research suggests that people have an almost natural impulse to narrate and tell stories, I intended for participants to tell me long stories of their migration experiences, starting from the moment they decided to migrate and ending with their future plans to settle or migrate again (Riessman, 1994). This was the intention, but not necessarily the outcome. Narrative inquiry is criticized for its assumption that people tell structured stories of their lives. In fact, people understand their lives and retell stories in

an unstructured manner (Vandsemb, 1995). Despite encouraging interviewee freedom over the flow of the interview, many were unsure of how to proceed. Partly because of language and cultural barriers and partly because of their social location, participants were not comfortable talking about themselves for any length of time without prompting. This is explained by Cederberg (2014) as an issue of how "individuals have differential access to narrative resources and thus may be more or less constrained in their narration", which is linked "to their position and the power relations implicated in it" (p. 135-136). In the majority of cases, I had to structure interviews with more questions than I would have preferred, but I learned to be accepting of this. My intended narrative methodology had to be more flexible as it became more about a biographical account of migration stories and less about a structured narrative story with a beginning, middle, and end. One of the intentions of this project has always been to allow migrants to openly speak of their experiences and I learned that when participants are given the opportunity to direct their story, it takes the researcher in far-off directions (Riessman, 2001). The flexible narrative approach that emerged created more space for participants to comfortably construct their own stories.

Secondly, I planned to incorporate innovative research methods inspired by photo-voice projects. Temporary migrants were asked to bring documents or photographs to interviews that would help tell their stories. However, only about three people brought items. Many did not understand what I wanted them to bring or they were suspicious of the request. Coordinating the request was also a challenge when gatekeepers scheduled interviews. While additional documents and photographs may have personalized interviews and acted as explanatory devices, I do not think they were necessary for participants to tell their stories. Those who brought items showed me their work permits, work contracts, union agreements, pictures of their children, and news stories from their home country. However, I was unable to make copies of documents and therefore could not

incorporate them into my findings. I did take minimal field notes on the documents, but, in the end, they were inconsequential to my findings and only acted to familiarize me with some elements of the temporary migration process.

Thirdly, there were three separate incidents where a scheduled participant came to the interview with another interviewee. In two cases, the interviewees were roommates and were scheduled for back-to-back interviews on the same day, so instead of coming separately, they came together. In the moment, I could not tell one to wait outside for over an hour while I interviewed the other for fear of compromising rapport and making participants uncomfortable. In the other instance, an interviewee's wife joined and stayed for the whole interview session. All three joint interviews resulted in fruitful exchanges and I in no way felt that this style compromised the data. In the joint interviews, participants had very similar stories and they would corroborate each other's experiences or help each other choose the right words from Spanish or Tagalog to English. These interviews were jovial, yet serious, and I did not get the sense that participants guarded their answers because of the presence of another person.

The other challenges I encountered were, in large part, because of my own personal and emotional journey throughout the interviews. I anticipated feeling empathy during interviews, but I could not predict the visceral emotional connections I made with people's stories. Throughout my engagement with individuals, I had difficulties sticking to what I felt was a 'professional' persona and I was often conflicted about how to proceed with personal and emotional interactions (Düvell et al., 2010; Lahman et al., 2011). I shared tears, outrage, and laughs with participants, for I am a feeling human who empathizes with individuals' struggles and admires their strength. It was challenging to know how to limit my involvement with participants, especially after learning intimate details of their lives. Like Düvell and colleagues (2010), I found myself having to "negotiate

a balanced attitude between contrasting perspectives and opposing aims and interests" (p. 23). My approach was to take the interviews as an opportunity to learn about the individual and treat the interaction as I would any encounter with someone I had not met before. When human beings are marginalized and vulnerable, it seems to me that holding on to one's distance as an academic, professional social scientist in an emotional interview is insensitive and problematic to the fundamental tenets of qualitative research. Therefore, I embraced the emotional detours as part of the research process.

The qualitative researcher regularly faces many unanticipated outcomes and must negotiate how she reacts in the research setting, embracing the unknown and recognizing the value of such interactions in the research relationship. Such situations reinforce my need to be flexible, adaptable, empathetic, and, if the situation warrants, open to a different style of interviewing.

Data collection and analysis

Characteristics of the sample

This study includes interview data from twenty-six individuals. Two interviews were conducted for a class project in the spring of 2011 while the rest were conducted between January and June 2013 in Brandon and Prairieville. All interviews were between one and two hours in length. Seventeen interviews were conducted in Brandon and nine in Prairieville. The sample consists of interviews with eight women and eighteen men. The majority of participants were born in either Latin America (primarily El Salvador or Honduras) or the Philippines. Only four people had lived and worked in another country prior to migrating to Canada.

At the time of the interview, fifteen participants held temporary work permits, ten had permanent residency, and one had Canadian citizenship. All of those who were temporary residents at the time of the interview planned to apply to the PNP and become permanent

residents. Twenty-three participants were working full-time jobs in one of the two hog processing companies and three had quit their meat processing job after receiving permanent residency to work in other sectors or attend university. Only six participants have previous meat processing work experience and six had worked in an industrial manufacturing sector prior to their arrival in Canada. The previous work experience of all other participants is diverse; the sample consists of nurses, social workers, accountants, university students, and general labourers. Three individuals have a university degree, four have a college diploma, and eight have attended college or university without completing. Nine have their high school diploma and one never completed high school²³.

The average age of participants is thirty-five years, ranging from twenty-two to forty-five. At the time of their arrival in Canada, though, the average age is thirty-two years, with the youngest person arriving at the age of nineteen and the oldest at the age of forty-three. The majority of participants (eighteen) were married or in a common-law relationship at the time of the interview and prior to moving to Manitoba. A couple of participants had a change in marital status since migrating (either got married or divorced) and the others were single. Seventeen had at least one child when they migrated and two have had a child since migrating. Three participants had at least one child under the age of one when they departed for Canada. See Appendix E for a table of demographic data. Some data has been excluded to preserve the anonymity of participants.

On the whole, all interviews were rich in data and contributed to fascinating conversations. Given the emotional nature of international migration, a number of participants cried during their interview, especially when family was discussed. Other times, we shared hugs following particularly emotional stories or descriptions of loneliness. Many participants were proud to be able to participate in a university-based study and they were thankful to have someone listen to them.

²³ One elected not to answer the question.

One person brought me homemade food after our interview and others kept in contact after the interviews via text messaging. A number of participants said they found the interviews cathartic and valued being able to reminisce about their past experiences, reminding themselves of where they came from and the challenges they had successfully navigated. Some viewed the interview as a way to practice their English and learn more about the Canadian university system. Others saw the interviews as a chance to voice their concerns and frustrations about their employer or the immigration system. The interview process meant different things to each individual, but, on the whole, everyone appreciated being able to speak of their experiences. Also, all participants expressed their desire to receive a synopsis of the research findings, which I will do once the project is complete.

In addition to the open-ended interviews with temporary migrants, semi-structured interviews were conducted with four key stakeholders in Manitoba. These interviews were with current and former policymakers in the provincial and federal government, a union leader, and a representative from municipal government (see Appendix F for the interview guide). The purpose of these interviews is to inform an answer to my fourth research question - how do structural processes and practices operate in shaping the lives of temporary migrants? Informed consent was secured from all four stakeholders prior to conducting the interview. These interviews were not digitally recorded, but I took extensive written notes during them. Excerpts from these interviews are not used, but the data are used to complement understandings of policy and community responsiveness to temporary migrant populations. Also, numerous informal conversations occurred with other stakeholders, researchers, advocates, and service providers who helped shape my thinking on temporary migrants' challenges and aspirations. While informed consent was not received from such individuals and specific data is not used from these conversations, interacting

with them and learning their perspectives is essential to the interpretation of data and goals of this project.

Use of a translator

In the planning phases of this project, I anticipated that one of the largest hurdles would be the language barrier between myself and participants since temporary migrants in Brandon and Prairieville are from non-English speaking countries. When entering the field, I tried to conduct as many interviews as possible in English²⁴. I hesitated to use a translator for three main reasons. First, I did not have the funds to pay for an interpreter or the time to coordinate with one. Second, I worried about the possible complications in employing an interpreter since quality and rapport in interviews could be compromised. As Chen and Boore (2010) explain, a translator requires an exceptional ability in both languages as well as content-specific knowledge, so I was wary of my ability to find someone with such capabilities. Lastly, and related to the second point, I worried about the meaning of interviewees' stories being lost through the translation process. However, despite my trepidations, I quickly learned the extent to which language is a barrier and that I could not be satisfied with my project if I failed to employ an interpreter. Having to conduct interviews in English limited my ability to find a diverse sample as it scared away people who were not confident or able to speak to me in their second (or third) language. Additionally, for participants who did feel comfortable using English, I felt that meaning was occasionally lost in stories. I used an interpreter because I felt it was the only way to reach populations of people who might be further marginalized because of their struggles with communication.

²⁴ Initially, I thought interviews with temporary migrants who had received permanent residency could be conducted in English because of the length of time they had been in Canada. I assumed an interpreter might be needed only for those who had recently arrived. Surprisingly, the opposite was true. I had few problems finding newly arrived temporary migrants who could speak English, but I struggled to find those who had become permanent residents, which I attribute to a recent policy change that has prompted employers in both communities to hire people with higher levels of English (details to follow).

Made possible through UFCW's generosity, I was able to employ a Spanish-language interpreter, who was paid by the union. Not only did this person provide translation services during the interviews, but she also had extensive networks amongst the Spanish-speaking community in Brandon, especially with people who had arrived when the hog processing company began hiring foreign workers. She has exceptional abilities in Spanish and English and considerable rapport with interviewees²⁵. In addition, she is part of a community-based language cooperative with its own set of institutional guidelines for professionalism in translation services. Through previous work experience, she has extensive content knowledge about the subject matter and offered rich, nuanced background information that complemented people's stories. She is a friend to many participants, which led to open, comfortable, and emotional interviews. Her professionalism and interpretation abilities during the interviews still allowed me to connect with interviewees and I did not feel her presence interfered with the interview process. In fact, she enhanced interviews and at times I even forgot she was in the room.

In retrospect, I should have prioritized the use of an interpreter. I observed that those participants who are uncomfortable with conducting interviews in English have fundamentally different experiences and daily struggles than those who are fluent in English, which is an important finding of the study and an important methodological lesson for me. I believe that I would have heard more stories of exclusion had I interviewed more people who prefer to conduct the interviews in another language. I also suspect that I would not have had such difficulties with recruiting.

With this discussion I follow the advice of Edwards (1998) and others (Palmary, 2011; Squires, 2009; Temple & Young, 2004) by acknowledging these challenges through a critical and

²⁵ To ensure confidentiality, the interpreter signed a privacy document (see Appendix H).

reflexive process that explicitly details my use of an interpreter and my erroneous assumption that I could do the project without one. Conducting interviews with an interpreter was a fruitful experience that I believe extended greater sensitivity and respect toward participants. As Palmary (2011) notes, "translation is first and foremost a process of acculturation, which aims to make the speech familiar in the target language so that the listener may recognise her own culture in a cultural other" (p. 102). It allowed for a cross-cultural, emotional exchange that would not have otherwise occurred. Participants in the interpreted interviews often ended our conversations by telling me how they appreciated being able to talk to a "Canadian" and share their experiences beyond their social group of Spanish-speaking friends and family. Many said that no one (i.e., "Canadians") had ever asked them about their migration experiences before and they took pride in getting to do so during the interview. Employing a knowledgeable and professional interpreter allowed such exchanges to occur as she translated both words and emotion, creating a cross-cultural exchange that both my participants and I appreciated.

Data analysis

All interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed verbatim. For those interviews conducted with an interpreter, only the English data was transcribed. All interviews were assigned a reference number for my own tracking purposes and each participant was then assigned a pseudonym, derived from a list of the most popular names in their home country. Two research assistants transcribed a total of ten interviews, while I transcribed the remainder²⁶. Transcribing is a tiresome and tedious process, but one which I am now convinced is a beneficial process for qualitative researchers to endure. I coded while I transcribed and became immersed in my data in a more intimate manner than merely reading through a transcript. In the end, I do not feel that

²⁶ Employing transcribers for this project was enabled by the generous funding provided by the Faculty of Arts at the University of Manitoba through the J.G. Fletcher Award.

having my interviews transcribed by others saved me much time since I needed to listen to those ten interviews to re-familiarize myself with the participants, the content of their interviews, and the tone of the interview.

In the first round of analysis, I engaged in a process of re-familiarization and immersion with data. Taking the work of Lyn Richards (2009) as a guide, the first round of data analysis involved a focus on single interviews within a singular context (i.e., the context of the participant him/herself). In this way, an individual participant's experience and unique self could emerge from the data as I did not attempt to develop links across interviews. I wanted to get to know the experiences of the individual and understand their stories prior to juxtaposing them with other situations. During the process I developed a document that noted observations on each individual, highlighted demonstrative quotations, and tried to capture the unfolding of their migration story. For those interviews where I made extensive field notes, I included them in these documents. I noted general observations from the interview, its tone, themes, and only preliminary thoughts on how the individual's experiences might be linked to the emerging context of the dissertation project.

I follow Richards' (2009) advice throughout the coding process. She explains, "coding is not merely to label all the parts of documents about a topic, but rather to bring them together so they can be reviewed, and your thinking about the topic developed" (p. 94). My coding process was emergent and designed to learn from the data. As I transcribed and listened to interviews I wrote down common themes that depict the nature of migrants' social experiences and the topics central to their telling of migration stories. I wrote memos in the margins, linking migrants' experiences with one another and with the wider literature. Eventually I found several broad themes that were important to each participant, applicable to my research questions, and punctuated a chronological

development of participants' migration stories²⁷. Within these broad themes there were sub-themes, which I used to organize and code data. Further, I did not use computer software to code or reduce data, but rather I carefully read through each transcript, extracted relevant quotations, and inserted them into Microsoft Word documents organized by sub-themes. I made comments in the margins of the documents, wrote observations from listening to the interview, and highlighted exemplary quotations that succinctly and astutely summarized a circumstance, experience, or observation.

The broad themes that emerged from the data form the findings chapters of this dissertation. Participants' accounts of their migration experiences often began with their reasons for migrating, the role of their family in their decision, and the details around the pre-departure processes that culminated in their move. They would reflect on their initial impressions of Manitoba and the community they moved to, followed by long accounts of their experiences at work. Aspirations for their future and the future of their families would conclude each interview as migrants' reflected on the decisions, processes, and challenges that led them to their current circumstances. Codes emerged based on the sequencing of events and on the recurring themes in interviews. Conversations about work, family, and permanent residency constitute the largest categories of codes as these are the three things participants are most concerned about. The findings chapters that follow are organized around the sequencing of participants' migration experience, beginning with the nature of their motivations to migrate, then accounting for their

²⁷ Polkinghorne (1995) and Riessman (2008) present two types of data analysis in narrative research - analysis of narrative and narrative analysis. Analysis of narrative involves coding data for important themes that emerge from stories of an important life-changing experience, breaking data into manageable pieces and forming groups of related parts. Narrative analysis, as Polkinghorne (1995) explains, is "the procedure through which the researcher organizes the data elements into a coherent developmental account" (p. 15). The researcher links events together to illustrate the influence of time on experience. For the purposes of this study, and given the nature of my data, I use a combination of both types of analysis, coding participants' stories for emerging themes while emphasizing the importance of the sequence of events and the role of exploring experience in a chronological manner.

experiences in Manitoba, and ending with their plans for the future. The interviews often followed such a trajectory, with occasional diversions between past, present, and future reflections on their migration experience.

Limitations of this study

Conducting research that seeks stories of experience and then presents such stories raises questions about who's version of the story is being told (Vandsemb, 1995). I take Coffey and Atkinson's (1996) assertion to heart: "We do not merely report what we find; we create accounts of social life, and in doing so we construct versions of the social worlds and the social actors that we observe" (p. 108). Since I, as the researcher, have reconstructed the migration experiences of these twenty-six individuals along thematic and chronological categories, I have imposed a structure on the individual stories and linked them into a broader narrative of migration. I have decided what portions of their stories to interpret and present, leaving out important parts of the stories while emphasizing others. In a true narrative study, I would focus on a smaller sample size and present each individual story, from beginning to end. However, for the purposes of this doctoral dissertation I have gathered a much larger sample size that is not conducive to a full narration of individuals' migration experiences. Instead, I have used a flexible narrative approach that incorporates biographical interviewing and a more general account of migration experiences.

I also acknowledge that the cross-cultural nature of this study, in addition to language barriers during interviews conducted in English and the influence of interpretation and translation in other interviews, may impact both interview data and analysis. There are clear misunderstandings throughout most interviews both in conversation and transcription. Some words are inaudible in the recording and, at times, there were misinterpretations of questions, words, and concepts during the interviews. Furthermore, in the process of translation, the meaning

of words and experiences may have been lost (Squires, 2009). Such limitations are, in many ways, part of conducting qualitative research as an 'outsider'.

Conclusions

This dissertation research contributes to an emerging research agenda on lower skilled temporary migration by illustrating the experiences of twenty-six individuals through a theoretically informed and methodologically grounded study that is both reflexive and critical of its own limitations. Throughout this chapter I have detailed both my epistemological framework and methodological approach with the purpose of explicating the nature of the decisions made in research design, execution, and analysis. As such, I follow Cederberg's (2014) advice regarding narrative research: "Biographical narratives are complex, multi-faceted and situated, and they need to be analysed as such, by highlighting tensions and contradictions, and by considering the interview context, the researcher's role and the performative aspects of narratives" (p. 145). The appeal of qualitative research, then, is not to strive for simplistic generalizable findings or singular truths, but rather to open space in which the very complexity of social phenomena may be celebrated and explored in order to develop further paths of inquiry.

The dissertation proceeds according to a broad reconstruction of migrants' experiences. First, it details their motivations to migrate and the nature of their decision-making process. For the majority of participants, narratives begin with the reason for migrating and how they decided to accept work in Manitoba's hog processing industry. These narratives are contextualized within the particular political, economic, and social circumstances of their home country. The second organizing feature of temporary migrants' experiences follows with how they encounter their new home and workplace. They attempt to make sense of their new surroundings while being exposed to immense hardships and challenges. The third main element of temporary migrants' experiences

is how they see their future. Many have aspirations to reunify with family, buy a home, and send their children to school, all of which cannot be realized without become a permanent resident. It is from this structure that the following chapters unfold.

Chapter 4: Situating Temporary Migration in Policy, Industry, and Community Contexts

It could be argued that no federal government program has seen as many changes in recent years as the TFWP. These changes have produced profound consequences for employers, policymakers, and migrants. A large and complicated structure of federal, provincial, and municipal policies, programs, and industrial practices has contributed to these changes and influence how the TFWP plays out in local contexts. This structure of evolving processes has a direct impact on the lives of individuals as it moulds daily experiences and shapes the nature of decisions. Recent changes to the TFWP have been significant, some contradict previous policies and all make for a confusing policy landscape that, ultimately, continues to reinforce the marginalization of lower skilled migrants. This chapter provides but a brief overview of the policy context in which the individuals I have interviewed are situated. It also primarily addresses my fourth research question: How do structural inequalities operate in shaping the everyday lives of temporary migrants?

To speak of temporary migration is to bring forth a host of considerations, concerns, and caveats, the precise explanations of which are too vast to cover in just one chapter. The Canadian TFWP is a large program and a full account of its many streams is beyond the scope of this work. However, an attempt is made here to introduce the reader to government policies and industry practices that have shaped the lives of the temporary migrants in this study. Their past, present, and future experiences are situated in structural and historical contexts shaped by global political and economic processes (as will be discussed in chapter 5) that are articulated at the national level through social policy. Furthermore, their experiences are situated within particular practices of the province and industry in which they work and the community in which they live, impacting and contributing to their social exclusion and inequality.

The migration experience, as any other experience, is inherently shaped by external forces and structural processes. Experience does not exist in a vacuum, it is historically contextualized and rooted in ideological systems and processes (Scott, 1992). Nowhere is this more evident than in the ideologically-charged area of international migration. In her work on female foreign domestic workers, Parreñas (2001a) stresses the need for situating experience within different levels of analysis to reveal the various social and political "dislocations" that migrants must resist or negotiate in their everyday life. As she notes, "subjects cannot be removed from the external forces that constitute the meanings of their existence. At the same time, agency is not denied in this conception. Instead in this view agency is enabled and limited by the structures that constitute subjects" (p. 24). Following this, Sharma (2001, 2012) argues that the very concept of "temporary foreign workers" is socially (and politically) constructed, producing marginalizing and exclusionary results for the lives of migrants. As such, temporary migrants are caught in an evolving, entangling, and muddy mess of political posturing, nationalist policies, discourse, and sentiment, and exploitative industry practices that they must negotiate if they are to achieve their aspirations and fully participate in the society they wish to belong to. We cannot understand the experiences of temporary migrants if we do not consider the policies and practices that dictate their exclusion (or occasional inclusion).

The external forces and structures influencing the participants in this study are uniquely situated and particular. Central to this dissertation is the realization that much of what happens in the two case study communities is borne of a negotiated policy context that is the product of provincial government actions. The particularities of temporary migrants' experiences in Manitoba cannot be found in other provinces. There is something about Manitoba and the ways in which government policy and precedence interacts with industry practices to produce an exceptional

situation for lower skilled temporary migrants. Although migrants living and working in Manitoba may have similar experiences to those located in other provinces, the protections afforded and opportunities extended are not found to the same extent elsewhere. The findings and conclusions of this study must be considered within such locally specified particularities. The experiences presented herein are locally situated and constituted (Ong, 1999).

Regardless of where they operate, temporary migration programs inherently involve three central actors – the state, employers, and migrants – with varying roles and responsibilities. This dissertation focuses on the experiences of migrants in this process, but it is also necessary to draw out the roles and responsibilities of government and employers. Throughout this chapter, the important ways in which the state and employers shape and influence temporary migration programs will become evident. It is the state that establishes the policy framework, regulates minimum labour conditions, determines the use of quotas, establishes selection and entry criteria, and affords at least a minimum level of rights. State involvement in the regulation of these programs varies, with some strictly managing the programs while others take a 'laissez-faire' approach and allow significant influence from employers (Ruhs & Martin, 2008). Without the demand and needs of employers, temporary migration, of course, would not exist. Employers put pressure on governments to facilitate their access to a global labour pool. It is through employer demand that the number and type of workers are determined. Employers' influence on the nature of TFWPs cannot be underestimated. States and employers often work in a complementary fashion to ensure that the labour market functions at its most productive level by expediently and cheaply addressing labour shortages.

This chapter begins by discussing the regulation and management of the TFWP by the federal government. In this context, it is impossible to discuss the federal government's role in the

TFWP without providing a brief account of the recent overhaul of the program. Focusing the discussion on lower skilled temporary migration, the chapter then details how a pilot project became one of the most used and contested streams of the TFWP. Scholars have referred to the TFWP in Canada as "legislated inequality" because of the ways that legislation and policy continues to marginalize and exclude lower skilled migrants by restricting their access to permanent residency (Lenard & Straehle, 2012). The options for temporary migrants for permanent residency are discussed before adding an account of how provincial government policy influences the characteristics of the TFWP in Manitoba. Within a particular policy context, the chapter then provides an illustration of employer demand and the nature of hiring and recruitment procedures. Lastly, to ground the experiences of temporary migrants in a particular locality, the chapter discusses how federal, provincial, and industry policies and practices are manifested in the communities that receive temporary migrants.

Legislated inequality: The Temporary Foreign Worker Program in Canada

Immigration to Canada has occurred, in various forms, since the country was founded. Until the 1960s, Canada's international migration policies were overtly discriminatory toward racial and ethnic minorities and only white European immigrants were desired because of their supposed ability to better integrate into Canadian society (Li, 2003; Satzewich, 1991). Once such discriminatory policies officially came to an end, Canada introduced a federal immigration program that is often referred to as "the points system", whereby potential immigrants are awarded points based on their education, abilities in either French or English, and their work experience. The program is designed to facilitate the entry of highly skilled immigrants who will successfully integrate into the labour market. Contributing to and participating in the labour market has become the central benchmark upon which integration is measured and therefore potential

immigrants are assessed according to their human capital and ability to achieve economic and work-based successes²⁸.

Despite immigration policy's emphasis on attracting only the best and brightest immigrants, there remains a gap in the labour market where lower skilled jobs are filled by these highly skilled newcomers who are not working in fields that align with their skills and education or the jobs go unfilled. These are the jobs in the lowest segment of the labour market, which the domestic workforce prefers not to pursue, yet employers demand workers who are willing to accept the poor working conditions of these low-ranked positions. A solution for addressing jobs in such sectors is often foreign labour. For example, the Bracero program in the US enabled employers in the agricultural sector to employ Mexican migrant labour and address a labour shortage that purportedly could not be filled by the domestic labour force. Temporary migration programs then become an attractive solution to addressing shortages in lower segments of the labour market because migrant workers are often willing to accept poor pay and/or working conditions and they can be forced to return to their home country when labour demands dwindle (Castles & Miller, 2009; Preibisch, 2010; Preibisch & Binford, 2007; Ruhs & Martin, 2008).

Allowing employers access to a global supply of temporary labour has long been an economic development and labour market strategy sanctioned and managed by the Government of Canada. It may seem that the Canadian public has only recently paid attention to the ills of temporary migration, but an iteration of this program has brought seasonal agriculture workers to the country for nearly 50 years (Preibisch, 2010; Satzewich, 1991; Sharma, 2006). Prior to the

²⁸ The legislation regulating immigration to Canada is the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act of 2002* (IRPA), which is enacted through the actions of the federal department of *Citizenship and Immigration Canada* (CIC). Through IRPA and CIC, the federal government determines selection criteria and immigration policy objectives, with contemporary goals focused on family reunification, economic development, and the protection of refugees.

implementation of a seasonal agricultural worker program, government and employers unsuccessfully tried to recruit domestic agricultural workers in Ontario, where seasonal agriculture labour is most common. Labour recruitment focused on mobilizing and hiring unemployed populations from urban centres, residents of Quebec and the Maritimes, children, and students (Satzewich, 1991). Despite such efforts, the post-war agricultural sector continued to face labour shortages. Employers then successfully lobbied the federal government for the right to hire foreign labour and in 1946, the first group of workers was hired. Comprised of Polish war veterans, this group entered Canada as permanent immigrants and, after experiencing the intensive physical labour of agricultural work, eventually moved on to other sectors. After other efforts to hire farm labour of European origin failed, employers' continued lobbying led to the development and implementation of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP). Bilateral agreements with Caribbean countries govern the program and allow employers to hire foreign labour on a seasonal basis. In 1966, the first group of farm labourers arrived from Jamaica with short-term work permits, and the seasonal arrival of workers has continued ever since (Hennebry, 2012; Satzewich, 1991).

Looking even further back, foreign labour campaigns have been used for large-scale infrastructure projects throughout the country. In fact, current foreign labour practices are reminiscent of historical migration trends whereby lower skilled labour is imported from less-developed countries to do those jobs that citizens will not. For example, in the late 1800s, Chinese immigrants were recruited to work in dangerous and demanding jobs such as building railroads and mining. Echoing much of the public sentiment around temporary migrants nowadays, Canadian citizens blamed Chinese immigrants for taking their jobs and keeping wages low (Wang & Zong, 2014). They were not included as contributing members of society and relegated to menial jobs in the low end of the so-called secondary sector. These labourers were desperate to establish a better

life and ensure their family members had access to more opportunities. They were willing to take risks in dangerous occupations because the rewards would be more than they could achieve at home. Employers' demand for cheap labour willing to work in poor conditions and migrants' desires for a better life have shaped the nature of migration throughout history and it is important to note the similarities across generations.

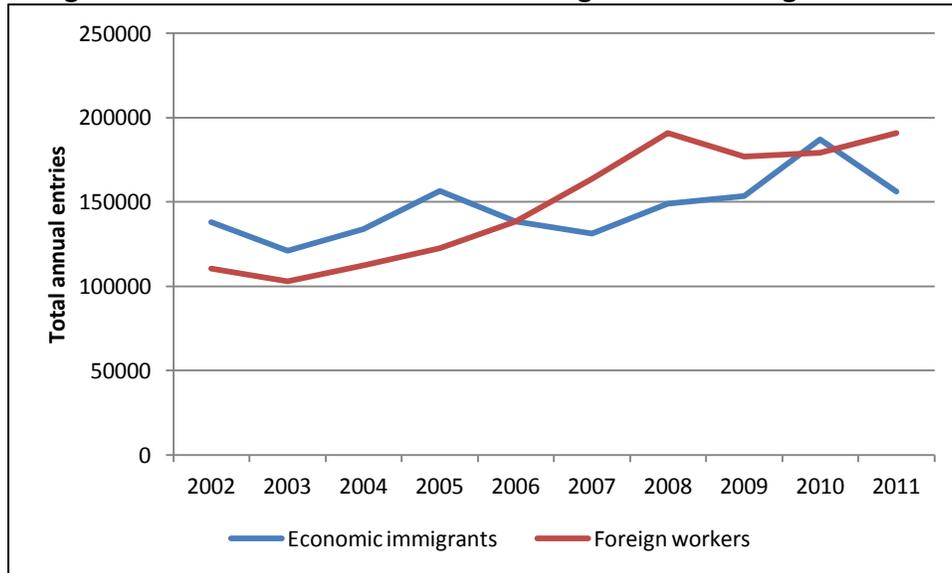
What is evident from the above discussion is that temporary labour migration is not a new phenomenon in Canada. Interestingly, as a self-proclaimed and widely recognized settler nation, Canada's relationship with temporary migration has grown parallel to its prioritization of permanent immigration (Rajkumar et al., 2012)²⁹. Typically, countries with national immigration policies that object to permanent immigration flows tend to prefer guest-worker programs to address labour demands (i.e., Germany), while the opposite is true for countries with policies that encourage permanent immigration. However, Canada has, in recent years, seen the total number of temporary foreign worker arrivals exceed permanent economic immigrant arrivals (Dauvergne & Marsden, 2014; Hennebry, 2012) (see Figure 1). The ratio between foreign worker and economic immigrant entries did slightly shift in 2012, with 213,573 foreign worker entries and nearly 257,887 economic immigrant arrivals³⁰. From this data, it would seem that Canada reveals characteristics of a guest-worker approach toward international migration, belying the carefully crafted image of a settler nation. However, to counteract such trends over the past five years or so, the current Government of Canada is undergoing a significant overhaul of the TFWP, with the intentions of demonstrating and reasserting its commitment to permanent immigration by limiting the use of the

²⁹ A comprehensive discussion of immigration to Canada over the years is beyond the scope of this work.

³⁰ This data refers only to foreign workers admitted and does not include international students, humanitarian entries, and other categories of temporary residents. When considering all temporary residents, there were 421,075 entries in 2012. I am using the data from 2012 because the most recent data released by CIC for 2013 makes it impossible to compare temporary resident (and foreign worker) entrance data. CIC changed the way data is reported on temporary resident entries.

TFWP. The effect of such changes on the total number of temporary foreign worker entries vis-à-vis permanent immigrant entries remains to be seen, although the ratio between the two has shifted over the last two years or so.

Figure 1: Annual Entries of Economic Immigrants and Foreign Workers



Source: (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012)

Immigration policy in general has experienced massive overhauls in recent years under the current federal conservative government. With the overarching intention of making a more efficient and flexible program that facilitates the entry of highly skilled immigrants, while combating immigration fraud, immigration policy in Canada now looks very different than it did when I began my PhD program in 2009. The names of programs have changed, government departments have changed names, legislation has changed, and new programs have been introduced. The most recent overhaul of the TFWP occurred in June 2014, following public controversy around employers' practices of hiring temporary migrants (Clarke, 2014; Goodman, 2014; Grant & Curry, 2014). Previous large-scale changes resulted from consultations with stakeholders and different levels of

government on how to improve the TFWP and took effect on April 1, 2011³¹. Throughout this section I account for these changes to the best of my ability, but admit that it has been a challenge to keep track of exactly what has and has not changed. Also, since my data was collected prior to the major overhaul, interview participants arrived through previous iterations of the TFWP and therefore were largely unaffected by the most recent changes.

Originally implemented in 1973, the TFWP (which was referred to as the *Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program*) has typically focused on addressing the labour needs of higher skilled sectors, facilitating the entrance of highly skilled temporary migrants such as doctors, engineers, or information technology workers (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Hennebry, 2010; Lenard & Straehle, 2012; Sharma, 2006). In reaction to pressure from certain sectors, the TFWP eventually opened to hiring lower skilled foreign labour. It is the large-scale hiring of lower skilled temporary migrants that has led to the growth of the TFWP in Canada. Initial requirements for hiring lower skilled foreign labour were strict, but over the years the federal government has made it increasingly easy for employers to hire lower skilled temporary migrants in an expedient manner (Lenard & Straehle, 2012).

Currently, the Temporary Foreign Worker Program consists of a number of streams, distinguished by skill level, work permit duration, source country, and industry sector. Recent changes have created two broad programs categorizing foreign labour to Canada. The Temporary Foreign Worker Program, which, prior to 2014, had been the umbrella term used for all foreign labour options, now includes only those streams (or sub-programs) based on employer demand and

³¹ These changes included in-depth assessments of formal job offers, an enforced two-year period of ineligibility to hire foreign workers for employers violating the conditions of contracts (i.e., wages and working conditions), and what has been referred to as the Four-by-Four rule, which took effect as of April 1, 2015. The Four-by-Four rule means that temporary migrants can only work in Canada for a maximum of four years - which would result from work permit extension - in Canada before they must return home. Individuals are then not allowed to be re-hired for four years (Zell & Marcelino, 2015).

require a positive Labour Market Impact Assessment (more on this later). The TFWP is mostly comprised of lower skilled jobs and includes the SAWP, LCP, and SLSO. Temporary migrants arriving through the TFWP hold employer-tied work permits. The International Mobility Program (IMP), which was created in 2014, includes all other temporary foreign labour entries that are not based on employer demand and are exempt from assessments. Based on the objective to advance economic and cultural national interest, the IMP typically provides migrants with open permits. It is based on multilateral or bilateral international agreements such as NAFTA (Government of Canada, 2014). The Government claims that the purpose for reformulating the TFWP in general and establishing these two distinct programs is to increase accountability; under this reorganization, Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC) is the lead department for the TFWP and CIC is the lead for the IMP.

The majority of temporary migrants arriving to Canada come through the TFWP. In the TFWP, employers wishing to hire temporary migrants require a Labour Market Assessment (LMIA), which entails a bureaucratic process where employers obtain permission from the federal government prior to hiring overseas (formerly known as a Labour Market Opinion or LMO). The LMIA process is the government's mechanism for ensuring that foreign labour is genuinely needed by an employer who cannot find Canadian workers. Employers must demonstrate to ESDC that they have advertised jobs for at least four weeks through the Job Bank of Canada and two other sources appropriate for their industry. An LMIA application must include a \$1,000 fee, which is an increase from the previous \$275 fee. This increase is, according to the Government, required to cover administrative costs associated with processing the LMIA, to offset the costs of delivering the program, and to deter employers from making many requests. A positive LMIA is issued if all

prerequisites have been met and it has been demonstrated that there are, in fact, no Canadian workers available for the specific position.

After receiving a positive LMIA, employers can recruit and hire temporary foreign labour, according to the parameters of their LMIA. They may recruit on their own or through legitimate third-party recruiters in the source country. Once an employee has been identified, each potential worker must obtain a work permit, which is issued by CIC and allows migrants the legal entitlement to work in Canada. For temporary migrants in the TFWP, the work permit is tied to a specific employer and details the maximum length of time that one can legally work in Canada. The length of time for the work permit depends on the specific stream and it has changed occasionally. Within the SAWP, work permits are issued for a maximum of eight months while the Live-In Caregiver Program and the SLSO typically offer two-year work permits³². Once a temporary migrant receives their work permit, they must then pass through the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) as a final step into Canada. If they are deemed to be a threat to Canadian safety, CBSA can deny entrance, even if a work permit has been successfully obtained.

There are many other changes that have come into place over the last few months and a comprehensive account of these are beyond the scope of this work³³. I have attempted to provide a brief description of those changes that are most pertinent within the context of my research and other changes will be discussed in subsequent sections.

³² With the 2014 changes, work permits for the SLSO are now one year in length.

³³ Other changes include caps on the number of lower skilled temporary migrants a company can hire, restrictions on hiring foreign labour in regions of relatively high unemployment, accountability and regulatory mechanisms, stricter punishments for unscrupulous employers, and more transparent information sharing (Government of Canada, 2014).

The Stream for Lower Skilled Occupations (SLSO)

The streams within the TFWP have been re-categorized from ones based on skill level and job sector to ones based on wage. Prior to 2015, some streams of the TFWP were categorized according to skill level as assessed by the National Occupational Classification (NOC). After recent controversies, the Government of Canada has deemed NOC categories too abstract and now organizes the TFWP around the ostensibly more objective measure of wages. Prior to the changes, the streams included in the TFWP were: high-skilled workers (NOC levels A and B), low-skilled workers (NOC levels C and D), Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, Agricultural Stream, and Live-in Caregiver Program. Now, the categories are: high-wage (at or above provincial or territorial median wage), low-wage (below provincial or territorial median wage), Primary Agricultural Stream, highest-demand, highest-paid or shortest-duration, and In-home Caregiver Program (Government of Canada, 2014). Of course, within the waged definitions of the streams are assumptions of skill level since highly paid jobs typically require high levels of skills and training, but wage, according to the Government, is now used because they are a more accurate reflection of skill and demand.

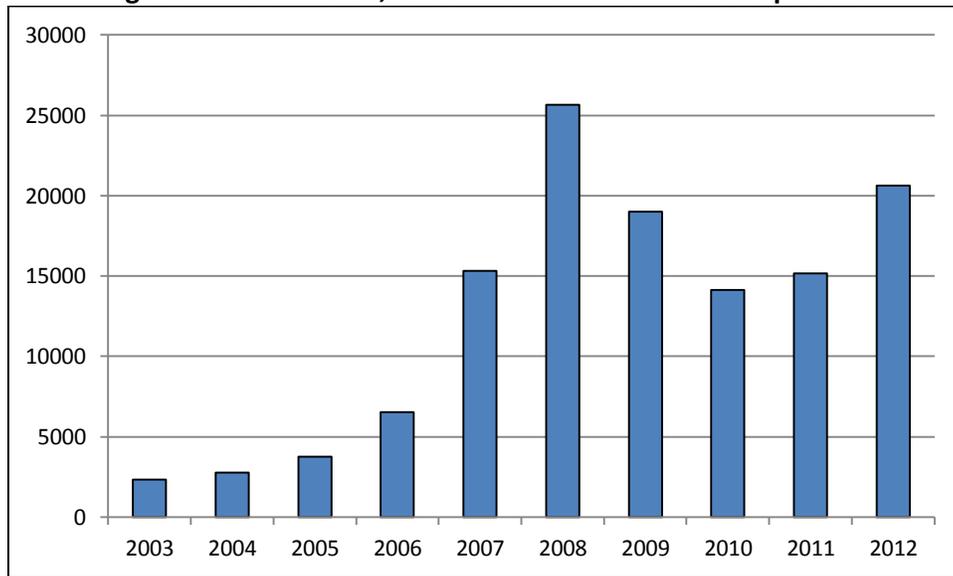
Currently, the SLSO no longer exists since the Government switched their categorization scheme. However, I continue to refer to the SLSO because it is through this stream that all interview participants arrived to Manitoba. The changes to the stream occurred over a year after my data was collected. Now, the SLSO has transitioned into a low-wage category of the TFWP, still facilitating the entry of temporary migrants into lower skilled sectors such as food service and retail³⁴. This change marks yet another alteration to the lower skilled stream of the TFWP over the past decade. Admittedly, since its implementation in 2002, it has been difficult to keep track of the name of the SLSO, never mind the myriad policy changes. It's official name had been the *Pilot*

³⁴ There are, of course, lower skilled occupations that are highly paid.

Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training (NOC C and D), but it is more often referred to as the *Low Skill Pilot Project* and then the *Stream for Lower Skilled Occupations*. Throughout the name changes were also changes in the length of time issued for work permits, vacillating between one and two years (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009).

As demonstrated by the multiple name changes, the SLSO has been somewhat nebulous, yet important from its inception. A lower skilled stream of the TFWP began in 2002 under the Liberal government and was prompted by pressures in the tar sands in Alberta and construction in Toronto (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). Originally referred to as a pilot project, it has long surpassed an exploratory stage and quickly became a central pillar of the TFWP. Furthermore, it has changed the Canadian immigration landscape by contributing to ever-increasing flows of temporary migrants into lower skilled sectors. Amongst all streams of the TFWP (in its pre-2015 iteration), the SLSO experienced the largest growth, increasing 11 times between 2003 (one year after it began) and 2008, when it reached its peak (see Figure 2). In 2008, entries through the SLSO surpassed the SAWP, which is consistently the largest TFWP stream. Certain industries quickly came to rely to the SLSO to meet labour needs, with fears that some employers have built their business model based on their continued ability to access foreign labour.

Figure 2: Total Entries, Stream for Lower Skilled Occupations



Source: (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013)

The SLSO includes those occupations requiring a high school diploma or a maximum of two years of on-the-job training. Sectors that have commonly used the SLSO include retail sales and service, hospitality and tourism, food services, agriculture, and general labourers. Within the policy parameters of the SLSO, employers are required to meet a number of obligations, which largely distinguish this stream from others. Employers must pay return airfare for each person they hire and at no point are they allowed to recoup these costs from employees. Prior to hiring, the employer must ensure that there is affordable and adequate housing available in the area, but they are in no way required to provide housing as is the case with the SAWP. An employee-employer work contract must also be signed, ensuring that employees receive the prevailing wage rate for that job and detailing the hours to be worked per week. Until provincial health care coverage begins, employers must provide employees with health insurance. Hiring temporary migrants involves many upfront costs for employers and there a number of things that have put into place to ensure that temporary migrants do not bear costs associated with their employment.

Even though temporary migrants bare very few financial costs when migrating through the SLSO, they bare significant social and familial costs³⁵. Lower skilled temporary migrants are not entitled to government-funded settlement supports in Canada and are expected to have their needs met by employers, or not at all³⁶. Given the sectors they are typically employed in, few lower skilled temporary migrants work in unionized jobs and therefore have few advocates. Furthermore, and most importantly, lower skilled temporary migrants do not move to Canada with their families. Technically, they are not barred from having family members (spouses and children) join them, but their spouses can only work if they have been hired through an LMIA and are not entitled to open work permits. Also, since they have accepted such work for lack of other opportunities in their home country, temporary migrants and their families cannot typically afford the costs of transportation and resettlement (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Hughes, 2012; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010). As a result, temporary migrants and their families endure long periods of separation, which puts strain on marriages, parental relationships, and mental health. The social costs that temporary migrants bare lead to loneliness, social isolation, social exclusion, and vulnerability.

Pathways to Permanent Residency

Temporary migration programs are not designed to be immigration programs. However, as the failures of such programs demonstrate, they can become avenues through which individuals

³⁵ The Province of Manitoba places strict restrictions on the nature of third-party recruitment and associated fees that can be collected. However, many temporary migrants hoping to come to Canada do bear the financial cost of paying third-party recruiters for their services, which can be exorbitant.

³⁶ Immigrant service providers do extend some settlement supports to lower skilled temporary migrants, but they do so in a constricted capacity and often without government funding. While the federal government does not provide funding for temporary migrants' settlement needs, some service provider organizations have either sought alternative funding to do so or have offered clandestine services. For example, until recently, settlement service providers in Manitoba were not necessarily turning away temporary migrants who entered their offices. However, with the recent centralization of the settlement service funding model, organizations are now required to explicitly state and enforce that only those with permanent residency may access settlement service supports or risk having federal funding retracted.

pursue permanence, whether legally or not³⁷. Increasingly, in Canada the discussion of making temporary migrants permanent dominates critiques of the TFWP. The slogan, "good enough to work, good enough to stay" has come to represent many critical positions on temporary migration, calling for an option for lower skilled temporary labour to work and remain in Canada (Hanley, Shragge, Rivard, & Koo, 2012). Transitions to permanent residency from temporary status has been increasing over recent years and now this "two-step migration" has become part of public discourse (Gates-Gasse, 2010; Hawthorne, 2010; Hennebry, 2010). Of course, legitimizing and extending the two-step process from temporary to permanent status contradicts the very premise upon which temporary migration programs are built, but critics and analysts in Canada have deemed this to be one of the most promising ways to address the injustices of the TFWP (Nakache & D'Aoust, 2012; Tilson, 2009). It is this assertion that my dissertation problematizes.

Just as the streams in the TFWP differ by skill level, sector, and work permit length, they also differ in the extent to which the federal government affords opportunities to transition to permanent residency, therefore differentially valuing individual migrants' potential contribution to Canadian society in the long-term. Highly skilled temporary migrants are valued as potential citizens and have been afforded a path to permanent residency through the *Canadian Experience Class*³⁸. Live-in caregivers are also afforded a path to permanent residency, based upon specific prerequisites. Seasonal agricultural workers, however, can never become permanent residents,

³⁷ Ruhs (2006) explains the different approaches to granting permanent residency to temporary migrants, the criteria for which are at the discretion of receiving country. Governments may grant permanent residency to migrants who have worked in the country for a specified period of time or it may be granted for non-economic reasons such as marriage to a citizen/permanent resident. Another approach is to never grant permanent residency to temporary migrants, or do so for only certain categories of migrants. It is this third approach that Ruhs refers to as a "more extreme policy position" (p. 9), and it is, in fact, the approach adopted by the Government of Canada.

³⁸ The Canadian Experience Class (CEC) no longer exists since the 2014 overhaul of the TFWP. Now, highly skilled (or high-wage) temporary migrants and live-in caregivers can apply for permanent residency through the newly created Express Entry program. The CEC was also a pathway accessible to international students, who now must also apply for permanent residency through Express Entry and with much less success than previously.

regardless of how long they work in Canada. Like, seasonal workers, lower skilled temporary migrants are not afforded federal avenues to permanent residency, stemming from the hierarchy of belonging previously discussed. Such differentiations establish a socially constructed hierarchy of temporary migrant "classes" vis-à-vis the Canadian state, making some more valued than others (Lenard & Straehle, 2012). Rajkumar and colleagues (2012) develop a typology of temporary migrants that classifies the extent of their temporariness. There are those temporary migrants, typically the highly skilled, who are temporarily temporary. These migrants are the most privileged in the sense that they are entitled to eventually become permanent resident because their skills are valued by the Canadian government. Alternatively, there are those temporary migrants who are permanently temporary, which includes seasonal agricultural workers who have no options for permanent residency. These migrants are not valued for their skill level and are required to leave Canada at the end of their work permit³⁹.

For this and many other reasons - the majority of which are discussed throughout this chapter and dissertation as whole - the TFWP in Canada has been referred to as "legislated inequality" (Lenard & Straehle, 2012). Given the differentiated access to permanent residency and some rights and entitlements, TFWPs create groups of temporary migrants who are socially excluded and vulnerable, with some more valued over the long-term than others. Sharma (2012) argues that the very categorical classification of "temporary foreign worker" is a construct created by the Canadian state. She further argues that temporary migrants in Canada "exist within a state bureaucratic classification scheme designed to hold people in a particular relationship of exploitation and social/political subordination" (p. 35). The government exhibits its preference for including some temporary migrants and not others by granting only those with higher skill levels

³⁹ Rajkumar and colleagues (2012) do note a third category - temporarily permanent - which refers to the deportability of permanent residents.

(and live-in caregivers) the chance to permanently belong in Canada. Even though TFWPs are to function according to the principle of temporality and are not designed to be immigration programs, the Canadian government has decided that some temporary migrants are worthy of permanent residency while others are not.

Manitoba and the political economy of migration

In 1996, Manitoba became one of only three jurisdictions to gain responsibility over the nature of its settlement service delivery model⁴⁰. The *Canada-Manitoba Agreement on Immigration* allowed the Province to tailor its service delivery model to address the unique differences amongst regions and communities in an effort to influence a more equitable distribution of immigrants throughout Canada (Clement, 2002; Clement, Carter, & Vineberg, 2013). Building on a legacy of community-based engagement and consultation regarding immigrant settlement and integration, the Province established a model of service delivery that facilitated ease of access for newcomers, fostered community engagement, and supported community economic development (Clement, 2002; Silvius & Annis, 2007). Despite what has been considered a success, the Agreement was terminated in 2013 as the federal government made sweeping changes to how settlement services are delivered in Canada with the purpose of centralizing services and establishing nation-wide benchmarks for settlement service delivery.

With the *Canada-Manitoba Agreement on Immigration* also came the establishment of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), which was the first PNP in Canada and, arguably, the most successful. In addition to delivering settlement services, the PNP made immigrant attraction and retention part of the Province's immigration-related vision. There has been a parallel developmental process between the PNP and settlement service delivery, which works to establish

⁴⁰ Immigration in Canada is a matter of shared provincial/territorial and federal jurisdiction (Nakache, 2010).

a mutually beneficial relationship between communities and economic development. Further, it has led to a settlement service delivery model that is bolstered by an emphasis on regionalization strategies, recognizing the unique needs of the Province's communities and regions. Often cited as the most successful and ambitious PNP in Canada, the majority of the Province's increasing immigrant arrivals enter through the PNP. In fact, 22.2% of all provincial nominees that arrived in Canada in 2013 landed in Manitoba (Government of Manitoba, 2014). It is through the PNP that the Province of Manitoba has developed a pathway for temporary migrants to become permanent residents.

Provincial nominee programs have become another source for two-step migration. For those that do allow temporary migrants' inclusion into their PNPs, provincial governments will assess whether a temporary migrant is qualified to pursue permanent residency, basing the decision on a nomination from an employer, job experience in the province, and whether they will contribute to the provincial economic and social fabric over the long-term. While a number of provinces offer such an option to at least some temporary migrants, few have opened their PNP completely to lower skilled temporary migrants, with the majority either placing caps on the number of lower skilled workers that can apply or limiting the opportunity to highly skilled migrants. Manitoba is the exception and since 2006 there have been approximately 5,900 temporary migrants transition to permanent residency, of which over 2,100 worked as industrial butchers and/or meat cutters (Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program data, 2014)⁴¹.

The fact that lower skilled temporary migrants have an institutionalized path to permanent residency in Manitoba is something that is, to a large extent, particular to this Province. Why is this

⁴¹ The Government of Manitoba's main immigration website - *Immigrate Manitoba* - explicitly states that temporary migrants of all occupations are eligible to apply to the PNP, provided they have been working in the Province for a minimum of six months continuously and that an employer offers a permanent job.

the case? The answer is, of course, speculative, but it is based on historical experiences with requiring lower skilled labour and a legacy of viewing immigration as a source of community economic development. Manitoba has a history of heeding employers' demand to hire foreign workers in an effort to address sector-specific labour shortages. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the garment industry faced significant shortages of sewing machine operators. To address this problem, employers encouraged the government to recruit between 300 and 500 foreign workers, who arrived as temporary migrants because their skill levels and education did not qualify them for permanent federal immigration streams. Eventually, the federal government approved the permanent residency applications of the sewing machine operators.

Having past experiences with migrant workers does not entirely determine future policies, though, and it is not this experience alone that led to an opening of avenues to permanent residency for lower skilled migrants. The recruitment and hiring of sewing machine operators marked the Province's first experience with temporary migration and transitioning a needed labour force into permanent immigrants. In addition to needing ways to expediently address sector-specific labour shortages, the provincial government has also looked to immigration as a way to build its population and encourage community development. Based on conversations with former and current policymakers in Manitoba, an orientation toward recognizing immigration policy's potential to build communities, rather than in purely economic terms has been observed as *modus operandi* in the provincial government for decades, regardless of partisan politics. Therefore, temporary migrants have always been viewed as assets to the provincial government and industry. The provincial government adopts a logical and humane approach toward temporary labour migration, recognizing temporary migrants' contributions to the labour market while also ensuring their social integration needs are met.

Given that Manitoba and its communities have not been traditional immigrant-receiving destinations, attraction and retention of newcomers has always been a challenge. Before the initial stages of more focused and aggressive immigrant attraction and retention strategies, the Province did not receive its proportionate share of immigrants to Canada (Carter, Morrish, & Amoyaw, 2008). In the late 1990s, while the Province was struggling with labour shortages and depopulation in smaller communities, it became increasingly evident that immigration was the solution to such challenges and the key to provincial growth strategies. Since "people attract people", as a former policymaker of the provincial government explained, the Province was in need of some 'pull factors' to draw diverse groups of immigrants through critical mass toward its communities. And so began Manitoba's focus on attracting immigrants to non-traditional destinations, using the PNP to build communities of newcomers such as the Mennonite population in the success stories of Morden and Winkler (Carter et al., 2008; Silvius & Annis, 2007). The approach was centred on building communities through family connections and social networks. Although economic development did contribute to the Province's desire to attract immigrants, the strategies were not entirely calculated based on the demands of the labour market. The framework for attraction was built on a notion of bringing people rather than only supporting industry and bringing labourers. It was the intention to ensure newcomers had ties to communities beyond employment, which would positively contribute to retention.

In line with the general ethos toward immigration in the Province, policymakers began to see the ever-increasing numbers of temporary migrants and international students as obvious sources of immigrants and potentially long-term contributors to communities. These are individuals who do establish ties with a community while they are working or studying in Canada, so it made sense to the provincial government to allow them to apply for permanent residency through the

PNP. Regardless of skill level, if temporary migrants have been working in the province for at least six months and receive support from their employer, they can apply to the PNP and become permanent residents⁴². In fact, approximately 80% of all temporary migrants who apply to the PNP are successful (Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program, 2014). Receiving a successful nomination from the Province allows temporary migrants to bring their families, change jobs if they desire, and settle in Canada permanently.

The reputation of Manitoba's PNP has spread throughout the country and it is seen as an easy way to gain access to permanent residency. International students and other temporary residents in provinces such as Ontario move to Manitoba to work, apply to the PNP, become permanent residents, and then move on, all within a fairly short time. Sometimes this option is learned through social networks and sometimes it is recommended by employers or service providers. Roberto provides some details of the phenomenon.

Here in Manitoba it's really easy to get [permanent residence]. That is why a lot of people I know from [the company] from India they come to work here but they were studying maybe in Toronto [...] chemical things like that degree. But they came here to work at [the company] because they want to be a resident of Canada and they know here in Manitoba it's really easy. The time and the paper are really [...] less than the other provinces.

In an era where formal citizenship is sought on any grounds possible, Manitoba has become a site where people can relatively easily pursue permanent residency. All they have to do is work in the hog processing industry for a short time. The provincial government has, however, recently implemented residence requirements for the PNP after they noticed high attrition rates of recent provincial nominees.

⁴² A recent federal government policy change has added language level to the prerequisites for a successful PNP application. Now all provincial nominees must have a Canadian Language Benchmark level four. More on the language requirements is discussed in the Chapter 7.

Continuing with their humanistic approach toward international migrants, the Government of Manitoba established the *Worker Recruitment and Protection Act* (WRAPA) in 2009, which is ground-breaking legislation that protects temporary migrants. Observing both the increased use of the TFWP in the province and the gap in protections for temporary migrants, the provincial government sought to guard against the actions of unscrupulous recruiters and employers. The WRAPA was developed proactively with the purpose of addressing migrants' vulnerability through enhanced employment standards and affording the provincial government more control to monitor and regulate employers. The Act enhances employer accountability by requiring employers to register with the province and use a licensed recruiter, if they intend to use third-party recruitment as part of their hiring strategy (Allan, 2009; Carter, 2012). It also strictly regulates the involvement of third-party recruiters by ensuring that no temporary migrants are charged for their employment. Stringent fines and potential hiring restrictions face employers who violate the terms of WRAPA. More than 1,700 employer registration certificates were approved in 2013, representing just over 5,300 positions for which employers were hiring temporary migrants (Government of Manitoba, 2014).

The legacy of cooperative, proactive, and innovative policymaking in the Province of Manitoba has positively influenced its experiences with immigration. Year after year, Manitoban communities continue to grow through immigrant attraction and retention. The PNP combined with an integrated settlement service delivery model has led to increasing numbers of immigrant arrivals and high rates of retention (around 87% as estimated by the Province) (Government of Manitoba, 2014). However, the federal government's recent changes to settlement service delivery and the TFWP have the potential to end what has been a success for Manitoba.

The labour practices of industrial hog processing in Manitoba

The agricultural sector in Canada is often characterized by work that is low-wage, not unionized, dangerous, intensive, and seasonal. For these reasons, most Canadian workers avoid these jobs. Consequently, employers have turned to immigrant and foreign migrant workers to staff their operations. Indeed, for decades, foreign workers have been the main source of seasonal labour in agriculture (Basok, 1999; Preibisch, 2010; Preibisch & Binford, 2007; Satzewich, 1991). Employers in the primary agriculture sector have been able to access foreign labour through the SAWP since 1966, but this program does not apply to other agricultural industries that are in the secondary sector and lack seasonality. For example, employers in the meat-processing industry cannot access the SAWP. However, since 2002, more secondary agricultural industries have been able to recruit and hire lower skilled foreign labour through the SLSO to address purportedly chronic labour shortages.

Labour challenges have long plagued the meat-processing industry. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the North American meat-processing industry restructured and operators began moving processing facilities away from larger urban areas into rural regions. Locating closer to cattle producing areas reduced animal transportation costs and hiring non-unionized, rural workers reduced labour costs. Consequently, plants became fewer, larger, and more mechanized as conveyor-operated carcass disassembly lines became the industry norm (Novek, 1992). In actuality, high employee turnover and small rural labour pools meant employers had difficulty recruiting adequate numbers of workers. In the US, meat-processors solved this problem by hiring both legal and illegal immigrants, predominately from Latin America countries (Parrado & Kandel, 2008). Canadian meat-processors, however, did not have access to a large and ready supply of immigrant workers, especially in rural regions, because federal immigration policy prioritizes highly skilled

immigrants who typically settle in urban areas (Broadway, 2007). Only some Canadian meat-processing companies were able to access immigrant and refugees workers who were already in Canada prior to the availability of the SLSO (Broadway, 2013; Charlebois & Summan, 2014). As some of the least desirable occupations in advanced capitalist labour markets, the meat-processing industry relies on foreign labour to fill dirty, dangerous, and demanding shop floor positions while management and supervisory positions are reserved for the citizen workforce.

In Manitoba, restructuring of the hog processing industry, in particular, has resulted in the closure of several plants since the late 1980s as well as an increase in capacity of two slaughter-processing plants and one ham-processing plant (Honey, 2014). Located in Brandon, the largest of the two slaughter-processing plants can process 4.5 million hogs a year by operating two shifts and employing over 2,300 workers. The second facility, located in Prairieville, can process 1.4 million hogs in a year and requires approximately 900 workers (Honey, 2014). Like many other meat-processing facilities, neither company has been able to secure enough local workers to sustain high-volume production. Indeed, upon opening in 1999, the Brandon facility experienced unsustainable employee turn-over rates. Wages at the plant were raised and labour recruitment widened to include the Atlantic Provinces, but finding an adequate supply of labour within Canada remained a struggle for the company.

In 2001, management at the company in Brandon began to consider hiring temporary migrant labour after the SLSO was implemented (Bird, 2001; Bucklaschuk, Moss, & Annis, 2009). The Brandon plant initiated foreign recruitment in Mexico with the first group arriving in early 2002. Very few of the temporary migrants from Mexico chose to remain in Brandon and, as such, this hiring process was considered a failure by the company. After, the company carefully revised hiring strategies by considering the lessons learned in their first foreign recruitment campaign. Since

then, the company has hired over 1,500 temporary migrants from China, El Salvador, Colombia, Honduras, Mauritius, and Ukraine, with many remaining in Brandon and at the plant for many years. Witnessing the relative success in Brandon, the hog processing company in Prairieville also turned to the TFWP to address their chronic labour shortages, hiring about 500 temporary migrants from South Korea, Ukraine, the Philippines, and Ireland.

Both companies' use of the TFWP has been and will continue to be impacted by the constant changes to the SLSO and immigration policy more generally. For example, when the federal government instituted a minimum language level for lower skilled PNP applicants, the company in Brandon began including a minimum English requirement in their foreign job advertisements to more easily facilitate two-step migration through the PNP. Only very basic English levels are required for work on the shop floor, but with the changes to PNP requirements, employers had to ensure that their workforce had a higher than functionally necessary language level. The 2014/2015 overhaul of the TFWP will also have significant impacts on the labour situation at the plants. One of the most damaging changes will be the institution of caps on hiring lower skilled temporary migrants. Whereas no caps existed before, large employers now must ensure that no more than ten percent of their workforce at a given worksite is a lower skilled temporary migrant. This will be a problem for both plants considering that a very large proportion of those working on the shop floor are temporary migrants. The caps on hiring lower skilled temporary migrants has the potential to negatively impact production levels as domestic recruiting campaigns are unlikely to staff two production line shifts at each plant (Cotter, 2014; McNeill, 2015).

Getting a job as a temporary migrant in the hog processing industry

Even though government policy on the TFWP influences how employers can hire new workers, each company has developed their own internal mechanisms and strategies for recruiting and hiring foreign labour, which differs depending on the source country and time period⁴³. During the interviews for this research, I asked participants to provide as much detail as possible about their hiring process. Through their narratives, the evolutionary nature of the Brandon-based company's hiring procedures was evident. Although I did not interview employers and do not have information on the hiring process from their perspective, I do have details from the perspective of those who applied and successfully navigated the process. At a very basic level, temporary migrants read about the job opportunity in a newspaper advertisement, deliver their resumes to a specified location, participate in an interview, and undergo both physical and psychological testing. Upon passing all tests, applicants would have to obtain a visa and participate in initial orientation sessions prior to leaving their home. However, the details therein vary depending on the source country and time they were hired.

In 2002, the company in Brandon recruited workers from El Salvador for the first time. They advertised in a newspaper and applicants submitted their résumé and other necessary documents at the Ministry of Labour in San Salvador. Successful applicants received an interview by company officials, which involved psychological tests and "meat testing", as Carla called it. This "meat testing" involved demonstrating to company representatives their ability to work with a knife on a production line. After each round of tests, some applicants were unsuccessful and others would continue to other tests⁴⁴. If all tests are passed, applicants then sent documents to the Canadian

⁴³ I did not interview employers or human resource personnel, but I have learned much about the hiring process through participant interviews, discussions with the labour union, and casual conversations.

⁴⁴ Diego, who arrived in 2005, explained that his first and second interviews were with the Ministry of Labour, occurring three months apart. A third interview was conducted with representatives from the company. Ana

Embassy, which would either support or deny a visa. Upon receiving a visa, groups of new employees are given a departure date by the company. On that date, they, along with many others, would fly to Winnipeg where they are met by company officials and then transported to Brandon where they are placed in temporary housing such as a university dorm until an apartment or shared house could be secured. In Carla's case, she arrived with 44 others, who all arrived in Brandon on Saturday and began work on Monday.

Following the initial hiring process in El Salvador, which was deemed a success because workers remained at the plant, the company in Brandon continued to recruit Salvadoran workers in 2005, 2006, and 2008. Word about the jobs and potential for Canadian permanent residency spread throughout social networks in El Salvador and such jobs became highly coveted⁴⁵. People would hear about subsequent hiring efforts through friends and family already in Brandon, through newspaper advertisements, or at job fairs. Applicants began to learn ways in which their applications could be more successful and appealing to the company, based on previous hiring efforts and tips from those who had already navigated the process. The company was not looking for people with university education or white-collar jobs since the work in the plants is physically demanding and requires manual labour. So, applicants wanting a chance to move to Canada were inclined to hide any education or office work experience they had in order to increase the likelihood of getting the job. This strategy was cited on a number of occasions.

In addition to successful interviews and passing physical and psychological testing, participants were required to take basic English classes in El Salvador. These classes, which were about six weeks long, required many to quit their jobs so they could devote three hours a day to

estimates that it was four to five months from the time she conducted her first interview to the time she left for Brandon.

⁴⁵ Elena estimates that there were over 1,300 applicants in her hiring process, which occurred in 2005. Only 86 people were given employment in Brandon.

learning introductory English. Very few participants had understanding employers who would allow them to balance their work with the classes. Many struggled throughout this period of time since they were not earning money and were preparing to leave their families for a job in a new country. The waiting time between receiving the job in Canada and actually departing is one fraught with tension, stress, and uncertainty. Migrants are not sure of what awaits them and they face the profound heartache of saying goodbye to spouses, children, parents, and siblings. Their initial departure date is often changed, resulting in a longer period of time without an income.

The most recent hiring process for the company in Brandon was one conducted in Honduras, just a few months before I began conducting interviews. In a similar fashion to recruitment in El Salvador, applicants learned about jobs in Canada through newspaper advertisements, and sometimes websites. These advertisements highlight job details, illustrating salary and an English language requirement⁴⁶. According to participants, advertisements did not indicate the company's name, which raised some suspicion and trepidation amongst applicants.

Similar to processes in El Salvador, Honduran applicants took required paperwork to a specified office building a central city. Demand for such jobs is so high that people would begin lining up at 2:00am and it would not take long for lines to circle the building. Applicants worried that if they arrived too late their ability to get through the door would be compromised and they would either have to return on another day or forego the process entirely. Some participants estimate there were 400 to 600 people standing in line on any given day; only 150 applications were successfully accepted in a day. Applicants are vetted while in line by Spanish-speaking

⁴⁶ Given the changes to government policy on language requirements for applications to the PNP, the company in Brandon altered their requirements for hog processing jobs to include language. Prior to the government changes, language was not a central part of the job requirement. Some participants told me that the job advertisements in Honduras stated that applicants needed to be bilingual.

Hondurans hired to manage the process⁴⁷. Paperwork is checked and preliminary questions about work experience and English language ability were asked. If a person's paper work is incomplete, they would be required to correct the mistake and return another day. Given that some people traveled for hours to apply for the job, this was a burden. If someone is unable to prove their English is not at a sufficient level, they would also be sent away. Or if someone demonstrated a university education or white-collar work experience, they would be excused from the line. Given all the possibilities of being rejected, hopeful applicants would sometimes attempt to sabotage others by spreading rumours about certain requirements. Competition for such jobs is fierce as people desperately desire stable employment and to move to Canada.

In Honduras, once all paperwork is approved and English levels deemed suitable, initial interviews are conducted with the International Organization of Migration (IOM). Approximately one to three weeks after the initial interview, successful applicants were contacted for a second interview with the company. Luis estimates that about 800 people received a second interview, but only 120 were hired. In the second interview, applicants were asked about their English, relevant work experience, and whether they would like to stay in Canada permanently. Both psychological and physical tests are also completed at this time.

Once they are successful in the interviews and testing, applicants applied for a visa. Many noted that waiting on their visa approval was the most tense period since they were so close to successfully getting a job in Canada. In fact, during the Honduras hiring process, it was discovered that a few applicants had neglected to report they had once illegally migrated to the US, which disqualified them from working in Canada. This occurrence held up the entire hiring process for over two months as the company and the Embassy rechecked all applications. According to

⁴⁷ It is unclear whether these people are employees of the company or the International Organization for Migration, which was also overseeing the process in collaboration with the employer.

Ernesto, the Canadian Embassy cancelled 20 visas for Honduran workers at this point in the process, frightening all applicants who were worried everything would be cancelled. All Honduran participants told me of their fears during the delay. Many quit their jobs in Honduras once they had been successful in the hiring process, expecting to start working in Canada shortly. However, the extended time it took to leave for Canada threatened their financial wellbeing. The entire hiring process is fraught with uncertainty and stress for migrants and their families who desperately want to be successful; a delay in the process only compounds the anxiety involved.

The company in Prairieville only recently began hiring through the TFWP and therefore has not developed a finally honed process in the same way as the company in Brandon. Their initial hiring campaign was conducted in South Korea, but it was not on a large scale. They subsequently recruited in Northern Ireland, which resulted in obtaining migrants who were in Ireland from other countries. An employment agency in Dublin advertised jobs in Canada and applicants merely signed up with the agency. Interviews with the company were conducted via Skype, and the entire process was remarkably quick with people leaving for Canada only days after having a successful interview. The numbers of people hired using this process were quite small.

The largest hiring campaigns conducted by the company in Prairieville were in the Philippines. Applicants learned of the jobs in Canada through newspaper advertisements and through licensed employment agencies. At the time applicants submit their resume, they are vetted and given a preliminary interview at the agency. If they are suitable, an interview is scheduled with the employer, after which applicants are required to take a written exam. It took anywhere between one and four months to complete the final interview after applying. Like the process in El Salvador and Honduras, successful applicants in the Philippines told me that the most stressful part was awaiting their visas. Since many quit their jobs when learning they had been

hired, a longer wait on visas meant compounding stress and vulnerability. Michael waited months before getting his visa, while Andres said that it took just over a year after the initial interview to be able to move to Canada. Once arriving in Winnipeg, human resource personnel met the new workers at the airport and accompanied them for the over two-hour drive to Prairieville. They arrived in groups of between 15 and 26. Their accommodations were throughout Prairieville and beyond, with some staying in a motel or on farms outside the town.

Hiring temporary migrants through the SLSO has become a relied upon and successful labour strategy for both plants. In general, hiring foreign workers through the SLSO has reduced employee turnover, which is a product of both temporary migrants' restricted mobility and their commitment to achieving their financial and residency goals. Also, since work permits are issued for a specified length of time, turnover becomes more predictable and employers can better manage the ebbs and flows of their labour supply. Being able to access a supply of foreign labour has become a structural necessity for much of the agriculture industry in Canada (Basok, 2002; Bolaria, 1992). Within the context of Manitoba, the opportunity to transition temporary migrants to permanent residents has meant a long-term solution to labour demand for hog-processors. In fact, out of the ten former temporary migrants I interviewed, only three left the hog processing industry for other employment and they did so well after they had received permanent residency (more on this in Chapter 7). Therefore, combining the PNP with the SLSO into a two-step migration process has been a labour retention success for both companies. The SLSO, then, has become a seemingly permanent strategy used by hog-processors in Manitoba to secure a committed labour force.

The protective benefits of a labour union

Many researchers argue that one of the most effective ways to protect migrant workers is through participation and membership in labour unions (Alberti, Holgate, & Tapia, 2013; Holgate, 2011). Unfortunately, though, few migrant workers are union members and, in some cases, are actively dissuaded from joining or establishing unions (Basok, 2002; Read, Zell, & Fernandez, 2013). Since temporary migrants are often hired for jobs that occupy the lowest segments of the labour market, workplace protections and unionization are rare.

However, both plants in this study are unionized, so, unlike many other workplaces that use TFWPs (Alberti et al., 2013; Gabriel & Macdonald, 2011; Hanley et al., 2012), temporary migrants in the hog processing industry in Manitoba have the protective benefits of a strong labour union. Once workers arrive to Manitoba, they participate in initial orientation and information sessions that prepare them for work in the plants and living in the community. They are taught about local laws, customs, work health and safety practices, and community services. It is during these sessions that they are introduced to their labour union, which is their biggest advocate and a central resource. The *United Food and Commercial Workers Union* (UFCW), which operates throughout Canada and is a strong advocate for the rights of migrant workers, has assumed a central role in providing services and supports to temporary migrants. UFCW translates its collective agreement into multiple languages, offers services to members in multiple languages, extends English language training classes to temporary migrants, helps with income tax preparation, and ensures that both companies participate in the PNP. As the only non-government organization in Manitoba with a license to offer language services to immigrants, UFCW fills an essential service gap while also actively assisting temporary migrants through all aspects of their settlement in the province. The work that the union does to help temporary migrants is immeasurable and invaluable.

Brandon and Prairieville as new migrant destinations

The arrival of temporary migrants not only changes labour practices in workplaces, but it also fundamentally changes receiving communities. While temporary migrants may be largely invisible in large cities, they are quite visible in those smaller communities with a large agricultural or resource based economy. Employers in sectors such as resource extraction or industrial manufacturing and processing that are located in non-metropolitan areas often struggle to secure a local labour force given the ratio between willing workers and the overall population. So, it is not uncommon for large numbers of temporary migrants (or immigrants and refugees) to be employed in such areas. For example, the oil sand development in Fort McMurray, Alberta has attracted unprecedented flows of labourers, both domestic and, more likely, foreign. Brooks, Alberta is also a common example of rapid population growth attributable to the labour practices of a large industrial employer. In both cases, population growth has contributed to stress on physical and social infrastructure, producing social conflict alongside economic development (Broadway, 2013; Foster & Taylor, 2013).

Like Fort McMurray and Brooks, Alberta, the demographic characteristics of both Prairieville and Brandon are profoundly altered by the hiring procedures of a large industrial employer (Bucklaschuk et al., 2009; Moss, Bucklaschuk, & Annis, 2010). To cope with pressures put on public infrastructure and to develop adequate social support services for an increasingly diverse population, early collaborative and community-wide information sharing efforts were initiated by the City of Brandon to encourage communication amongst multiple sectors, including industry. These efforts allow service providers to anticipate the nature of population changes, create innovative community-based services such as a language cooperative for translation and interpretation services, and, in general, ease the challenges associated with such growth.

When large numbers of temporary migrants arrive in a community they require language supports, housing, and basic orientation just to achieve a modicum of functionality on a day-to-day basis. Municipalities are not often equipped to address such needs and considering that temporary migrants are technically only temporary residents then considerations for long-term settlement seem irrelevant. Given that context, then, communities receiving temporary migrants are faced with two general options or orientations toward "settling" temporary migrants. The first option is to adhere to the notion that they are merely temporary and will eventually leave. Such an approach has been preliminarily observed in Prairieville. When the hog processing plant began foreign recruitment about six years ago, there was little effort to establish settlement support resources and strategies⁴⁸. This option is unsustainable when it becomes apparent that there is nothing temporary about temporary migration. As the company continued to hire temporary migrants and as those already in Prairieville became provincial nominees and reunified with family, the community was, and continues to be, faced with burgeoning demands for housing, stress on infrastructure, and increasing demands for services. The stresses are partly attributed to short sighted planning and inadequate pre-emptive action.

The second option for communities is to treat temporary migrants as they would treat permanent immigrants. Brandon is an exemplar in this case. Characterized by a proactive city government that adopted the terminology of "transitional" foreign workers to refer to temporary migrants, the City established multi-sector stakeholder groups to ensure that housing, language, health, and schooling needs were addressed. Collaboration and public engagement with the main employer meant that service providers, policymakers, and government received regular updates on

⁴⁸Unfortunately, I have been unable to become familiar with efforts toward multi-sector collaborative efforts in Prairieville partly because I was not as intimately involved in the community as I was in Brandon and because I have seen little evidence of such initiatives. When the first groups of temporary migrants arrived Prairieville, local government was reluctant to establish collaborative efforts similar to those operating in Brandon.

recruitment efforts, including source country information, number of workers expected, and projected family size. Such engagement allowed for an integrated approach to developing local initiatives such as a language cooperative, pre-registration for schools, and housing development (Bucklaschuk et al., 2009). Something is working well in the City because it is estimated by both city officials and union representatives that between 80 percent and 90 percent of temporary migrants stay in the community, even after receiving permanent residency. While there have been and remain challenges for Brandon, viewing temporary migrants as potential permanent residents who will contribute to the community and eventually bring family contributes to an environment in which temporary migrants are not entirely excluded and isolated.

Conclusion

As discussed in the introductory chapter, the rationale for temporary migration programs is one based on employer demand and labour and skills shortages. Ostensibly, labour shortages are seen as temporary or seasonal, part of a cycle that eventually results in a time when foreign labour is no longer needed and domestic workers can address the demands of the labour force; however, this has been merely a discourse and justification for continued reliance on temporary migrants. Employers and migrants come to rely on such programs. Employers make personnel decisions based on the availability of such programs, while migrants and their families count on being able to access foreign employment and wages. Given that temporary migration programs have been around for decades, it is fair to question the extent to which they address short term labour needs and rather provide long-term supplies of cheap, available labour for industry.

The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize temporary migrants' experiences. By doing this, I illustrate how the participants in this study live and work in a province and community that is quite unique from the experiences of other temporary migrants. Manitoba provides an exceptional

example of how local practices can positively influence what is all too often seen as a mine-field of controversy, mistreatment, and exploitation. The TFWP has generated the ire of the public while politicians scramble to save face and make amendments to a program that many feel has gotten out of control. In Manitoba, though, provincial policy and legislation combined with some elements of a welcoming community and an active labour union have developed a relatively positive environment in which lower skilled temporary migrants are valued as potential contributors to society and members of a community. They are, of course, valued for their labour, but they are also extended opportunities to belong and are protected by WRAPA and UFCW. The findings from this study and the narratives of temporary migrants are firmly rooted in this particular context.

Chapter 5: Migration Decisions and Motivations

"I had to [move to Canada] because my family wasn't going to eat love." - Elena

The international migration process begins long before an immigrant sets foot in a new country, and pre-migration actions are very much part of the experience. Many theories on migration seek to compartmentalize the process by exploring only one aspect of the entire experience, neglecting to view migration as a complex process situated in multiple places. The migration experience should be viewed holistically if we are to understand what this profound social process means to individuals, families, and communities; therefore, an analysis of pre-migration experiences such as decision-making is necessary. Examining pre-migration experiences positions migrants as agentic individuals who, for many reasons, have deemed it necessary or desirable to migrate. They come from places with few employment opportunities and make decisions within a context of global inequality, constrained choices, and, often, limited resources. Considering the pre-migration experiences, decision-making process, and motivations to migrate contribute to an understanding of how temporary migrants experience social exclusion and inequality and how structural processes and practices operate in shaping their lives (these constitute the first and last research questions of this project, respectively).

The migration experience is one comprised of a series of decisions, compromises, and risks that are negotiated prior to boarding a flight or passing through border services. As the opening quote from Elena so clearly demonstrates, one's reasons for migrating are rooted in lived experiences that culminate in migration being the most viable, attractive, or necessary option to allow individuals and families to achieve goals, escape dire circumstances, or simply survive. One's motivations to migrate construct the entire migration experience for individuals, becoming embedded in migration narratives, informing how individuals and families make sense of their

migration experiences (Deaux, 2006; Hagelskamp, Suárez-Orozco, & Hughes, 2010; Sladkova, 2007). As such, the nature of migrants' motivations to move has long-term implications for settlement.

It is too often assumed that migration predominately occurs because of narrowly conceived economic pursuits, and, in fact, this shapes public discourse and opinions on immigrants in society. Immigrants' ability to economically contribute to Canada is judged and vetted by government, and the Canadian public wants to be reassured that newcomers will not be an economic burden, unnecessarily drawing resources from Canada's welfare state (Li, 2003). Embedded in this economic concern is the sentiment that while they may have the human capital needed to economically succeed, immigrants will then steal jobs from Canadians. Such sentiments arise in times of high unemployment rates and economic turmoil, or when it is perceived that immigrants will undercut employed Canadians by accepting lower wages (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Harell, Soroka, Iyengar, & Valentino, 2012; Palmer, 1996). Such opinions pervade and evidence can be found in any comment section of on-line immigration-related news stories wherein one is bound to find numerous anonymous users espousing such misunderstandings and discriminatory musings.

Anti-immigration sentiment is motivated by a deep misunderstanding of the phenomenon of international migration combined with a homogenizing tendency to treat and view all immigrants as the same⁴⁹. Within this misunderstanding is the fallacy of the immigrant who will supplant citizen labour or the bogus refugee who will take advantage of social supports (Diop, 2014). When considering temporary migrants, further misconceptions abound and we, in fact, know very little about why people would engage in a form of migration with little to no prospects of long-term

⁴⁹ I have only briefly introduced one source of anti-immigration sentiment here - that which is economically focused. Of course, missing from the discussion here is sentiment fuelled by racial and cultural differences. Li (2003) accounts for the racial subtext to anti-immigration discourse, arguing that one of the most important factors contributing to negative attitudes toward immigrants has been the rise of immigration from non-white countries and, what he refers to as, the emergence of 'visible minorities'. Anti-immigration debates are multilayered and complex, and beyond the scope of this chapter. I introduce the topic here to justify why it is necessary to understand what motivates people to migrate, expanding the discussion beyond economic reasons.

security. I cannot help but think that with in-depth understandings of the conditions of migrants' lives both pre- and post-migration, the myth of job-stealing, social support-draining, devious, and unwelcomed newcomers would be debunked through careful consideration of the social, political, and economic factors that inform individuals' and families' decision to uproot their lives and move to an unfamiliar, and potentially hostile, environment.

In general, there is much to contribute to the study of migration motivations, especially through in-depth qualitative data (Hagelskamp et al., 2010). There are few sources to turn to for insights into migrants' motivations, and it is all too often simplistically assumed that migration is done to earn more money. Immigration theories have wrestled with the factors that contribute to the initiation and perpetuation of international migration, but they result in aggregate, generalizable push/pull explanations that assume a homogeneity amongst migratory movements. Theories such as neo-classical and new economics of labour migration attempt to explain why people migrate, but they are criticized for solely highlighting the role of rational calculations and economical motivations. Castles and Miller (2009) discredit such simplistic accounts of international migration and put forth the following perspective.

[It is] crucial to reconceptualize migration as a complex process in which economic, political, social and cultural factors all work together. Concentration on push or pull factors is simplistic and misleading. Migration decisions are influenced by a wide range of conditions in both sending and receiving areas (p. 25).

Individuals' histories, culture, family structure, education, and social locations all interact in complex ways to inform decision-making processes, which are importantly situated in individual, local, national, and global contexts. Some combination and iteration of these factors will contribute to one's decision to migrate or not to migrate as well as the structured opportunities that exist to migrate (Deaux, 2006).

International migration and the reasons for uprooting one's life are far more complex, nuanced, and dynamic than what can be captured in any individual theory of migration (Arango, 2004; Castles & Miller, 2009; Goss & Lindquist, 1995; Massey et al., 1993; Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002). This chapter demonstrates the complexity by detailing the interplay of factors shaping and informing people's decision to become a temporary migrant. In their decision-making process, migrants are primarily influenced by economic concerns, but these concerns are borne of a complex combination of political, economic, and social factors in their home country and the draw of opportunity in the receiving country. Their psychological characteristics, family structure, age, sense of well-being, previous experiences with migration, and the labour market conditions in their home country are just some of the variables that influence, shape, and inform their decisions (Deaux, 2006; De Jong, 2000; Hagelskamp et al., 2010). Ultimately, migrants are motivated to move to achieve particular goals, which are targeted at enhancing financial, physical, and social well-being. Migration, then, is often borne of the inability to attain a better life in one's home country and a desire to have access to material and non-material resources that will allow people the ability to fully participate in society.

Migration scholars continue to struggle with reconciling the micro and macro level explanations of international migration, and many now see migration as far too complex to isolate these levels in analyses. Related to the macro-micro level concerns, scholars also recognize the need to reconcile the rational-economic choice approach with structural explanations of migration, acknowledging that both offer value in understanding how and why international migration occurs (Goss & Lindquist, 1995; Massey et al., 2002). In articulating lower skilled temporary migrants' motivations for migration and the influences on their decision-making process, I discuss both the structural political and economic conditions in which such decisions are made and individuals'

accounts of how such conditions have shaped their lives. In addition, I acknowledge the importance of both structure and agency, drawing attention to how agency is exercised within constrained conditions (Coe & Jordhus-Lier, 2011; Giddens, 1984; Goss & Lindquist, 1995; Richmond, 1988). Rational economically-motivated choices are made by people as they decide to migrate and it cannot be denied that earnings and employment factors are pervasive motivators. However, such agency is exercised not only by individuals for their own goals and these decisions are often made with less than full knowledge of the situation to which they migrate. The new economics of migration approach, which highlights the importance of economic factors and the pursuit of intergenerational social mobility, is needed to articulate the centrality of the family unit and households both in decision-making processes and shaping motivations. Lastly, and where immigration theory is so far lacking, is the overwhelming importance of pursuing permanent settlement in a more-developed country to initiating and realizing migration.

Individuals' and families' motivations to pursue international migration are decidedly multi-layered and multi-faceted. Yes, some may be primarily motivated by economic reasons, but their pursuits are not merely for increased earnings. Understanding migrants' reasons for moving rests on the acceptance that motivations are overlapping and intersecting, unable to be entirely examined in isolation of one another (Semyonov & Gorodzeisky, 2005). Economic reasons for migrating are difficult, if not impossible, to decouple from other reasons. Such economic reasons are not singularly defined by a desire for higher earnings, but rather they are defined by the reason for wanting higher earnings. Why do migrants want to earn more? The neo-classical approach rather simplistically ignores the factors that contribute to migrants' desire for higher earnings. There are structural conditions that many people wish or need to escape, and while earnings definitely play a role in the decision-making process, this does not constitute the whole picture.

Because of global inequalities, and associated economic conditions in less-developed countries, individuals' ability to pursue opportunities are constrained. They still have aspirations and goals for themselves and their respective families, but they lack the means and resources to attain them. This chapter articulates the web of elements that culminate in a decision to become a temporary migrant in Canada.

Structurally propelling migration: Modern capitalism and neoliberal globalization as instigators

Focusing first on the macro-level processes that contribute to the conditions in which people decide to migrate, I discuss the role of the global political economy in instigating international migration. In the previous chapter, I detailed some of the conditions that have contributed to the current iteration of TFWPs in Canada, but here I draw attention to the ways in which global economic and political conditions may foster international migration. This discussion is predominately framed by a historical-structural approach, borrowing from world systems theory to understand the role of global processes and capitalism, providing a background for contemporary international migration.

Widespread poverty and the unequal distribution of resources can prompt international migration and, therefore, migration can be understood as a product of global inequality (Arango, 2004). Castles (2013) argues that the complementary nature of social transformations in less-developed countries, from which people migrate, and more-developed countries, to which people migrate, is a primary driver of international migration. In less-developed countries, the penetration of capitalism and, more recently, the effects of neoliberal globalization have resulted in the abandonment of agrarian livelihoods as agricultural production becomes increasingly commercialized and industrialized, which is a phenomenon captured in the tenets of world systems

theory. States no longer have monopoly over economic capacity and peasant-based economies erode, leading to rural-urban migration and the explosion of urban slums (Harvey, 2005). People move to urban areas seeking employment, financial security, and a better way of life, which they do not always find. Rural-urban migrants experience unemployment, precarious employment, or informal employment, resulting in surplus labour that is concentrated in urban areas of less-developed countries and unable to be fully absorbed by formal and stable labour markets (Arango, 2004; Davis, 2006). As such, some less-developed countries actively encourage citizens to engage in international migration (Phillips, 2009).

While the first social transformation can account for the supply-side of labour, the second social transformation discussed by Castles accounts for the demand for labour in more-developed countries. Demographic changes such as low birth rates and an aging population in more-developed countries result in labour shortages in many sectors. The population in more-developed countries, on the whole, is pursuing higher levels of education, leaving positions unfilled in lower skilled sectors of the labour market. Since more-developed countries' industries continue to require lower skilled workers they must attract labour from elsewhere. Immigration policies then articulate the characteristics of labour required by the labour market, allowing large companies to recruit and hire foreign labour, which facilitates the flow of often temporary labour into the country (Castles & Miller, 2009). Those in less-developed countries are enticed, whether through social networks, job advertisements, or recruitment practices, by opportunities to work in more-developed countries where they can earn relatively higher wages and, hopefully, obtain stable employment. Migration then becomes a global source of labour, which is plentiful and often cheap and flexible (Burawoy, 1976; Robinson & Santos, 2014; Sassen, 1990, 1998).

Countries that encourage emigration mostly do so because of the economic benefits they anticipate through remittances. Governments of labour-sending countries may view migration as a beneficial phenomenon since it alleviates their labour markets, social services, and infrastructure of burdens, attracts foreign currency, and diversifies the income of citizens (Phillips, 2009). The World Bank (2014) has projected that over US\$454 billion will be remitted to developing countries in 2015. Including higher income countries, global remittances flows are projected to exceed US\$608 billion worldwide in 2015. Remittances are an important source of income that, in some countries, greatly exceeds the total of foreign direct investment. In fact, these projections are thought to be much larger since the actual total of money sent across borders is grossly underreported. In this sense, then, migration may be positioned as a potential form of development for labour sending countries.

An important element of the new economics of labour migration theory, remittances factor into families' decision-making process and can act as one of the motivations to migrate. Income gained through remittances can help families pay down debts, diversify household income, and develop investments. States then benefit from the increased consumption spending and investments of their citizens, and may view remittances as income that is "cost-free" (Hernandez & Coutin, 2006). However, there is a rich debate in the literature on whether states should rely on remittances for development since they lead to dependence and an untenable reliance on migration, breaking apart families, contributing to 'brain drain', and depriving developing nations of specialized skilled labour (Coutin, 2007; De Haas, 2010; Hernandez & Coutin, 2006; Phillips, 2009; Sana & Massey, 2005; Taylor, 1999). Regardless of the potential problems with relying on remittances as a development strategy, which are beyond the scope of this work, sending money to family members who stay in home countries is a common motivation for people to move and work

in another country. It leads to the increased attractiveness of international migration for families and states, prompting governments to encourage emigration and transnational ties with diasporas.

Structural conditions of migration from the Philippines and Central America

Participants in this study are predominately from common labour-sending countries such as the Philippines, El Salvador, and Honduras. Such countries have suffered the effects of economic crises and the penetration of capitalism, as agrarian livelihoods erode in favour of commercialization and industrialization. The rampant displacement of rural people results in mass migration to urban areas where informal economies grow and unemployment spreads. These regions have become both sites of low-cost manufacturing for transnational companies and, borrowing from Robinson and Santos (2014), sources of "a virtually inexhaustible immigrant labour reserve for the global economy" (p. 1).

The intertwined influences of neoliberal globalization, a colonial past, and a recent history of economic struggles have prompted the Philippine government to foster a culture of emigration and create one of the world's most prolific labour-sending regimes (Guevarra, 2009; International Organization for Migration, 2013). In 2013, there were just over 2 million registered Filipino emigrants, with almost 20% of those living in Canada. The Philippines registers as the third most common source country for permanent immigrants to Canada in 2013 (29,539), down from a first place rank during the previous three years. Also, it is consistently the top ranked country of citizenship for temporary foreign workers (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014). Exporting labour has become a lucrative and financially valuable practice as remittances constitute a significant part of the country's GDP⁵⁰. The Philippines' "ethos of labour migration" is promoted by the state, employment agencies, and workers, and, as Guevarra (2009) argues, further perpetuated

⁵⁰ The World Bank (2014) has estimated that the Philippines will have received over US\$2 billion in remittances in 2014.

by "a persistent global division of racialized and gendered labor" (p. 5). Combined with the relatively high level of English language ability amongst the general population, the culture of emigration in the Philippines has also informed the practices of international companies looking to recruit temporary foreign labour in lower skilled sectors of more-developed countries such as Canada.

Exporting labour is so essential to the Philippines that the national government encourages citizens to obtain certain types of education that are transferable or demanded by labour-importing countries. For example, women are encouraged to go to university to become nurses because it is assumed that such skills will be internationally transportable to places where nurses or caregivers are needed and well-compensated. These individuals are not necessarily entering the nursing sector abroad, but rather they often undergo a process of deskilling as their skills allow them entry into domestic caregiving migration programs (Parreñas, 2001a; Pratt, 2012; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). The nursing and caregiving profession then becomes a valuable source of remittances for the Philippines (Masselink & Lee, 2012; Salami, Nelson, Hawthorne, Muntaner, & McGillis Hall, 2014). In addition, the state publically exalts the virtues of migrants, constructing them as national heroes through public service campaigns that highlight their essential contribution to the social and economic fabric of the country (Parreñas, 2001a). Therefore, people in the Philippines are socialized in a context where emigration is normal and celebrated.

The prevalence of Filipino emigration is reflected in nearly every story told by participants from the Philippines. Everyone had a cousin, friend, or sibling who had migrated or who was currently living in another country. Many participants have either lived transnational lives themselves or have family members who have done so. For example, immigration is a reality in Arnel's life. Prior to his move to Canada, Arnel's wife was living and working in Hong Kong and had

been doing so for four years. It was not until he moved to Canada that she moved back to the Philippines to care for their son. All of Joseph's siblings have migrated from the Philippines to Western Europe and the Middle East to work. He spent two years working in Taiwan and always knew that he would move abroad to work again, especially since this was the only way he could earn enough to support his family. It is clear amongst participants from the Philippines that migration and transnationalism are normal parts of their everyday lives in the way that they discuss their exposure to the process of emigration. They cannot find suitable work in the Philippines so they pursue an option that many before them have done.

Exporting labour and importing remittances also occurs at a large scale in much of Central America. Governments pursue remittances as a partial financial solution to continuing economic struggles (Blanchard, Hamilton, Rodríguez, & Yoshioka, 2011; Coutin, 2007; Orozco, 2002). Remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean are expected to grow to a projected US\$75 billion in 2015, three-quarters of which will come from the US (The World Bank, 2014). In 2013, 16.4 percent of El Salvador's and 16.9 percent of Honduras's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was derived from personal remittances (The World Bank, 2015). To support the continued flow of remittances, temporary labour migration may be encouraged in the region through bi-lateral agreements, such as those signed by Canada with Guatemala and Mexico to facilitate hiring seasonal agricultural labour. However, Central America does not yet appear to have the same institutionalized social and political structure that encourages and supports emigration as is found in the Philippines (Phillips, 2009). Emigration from Central America has followed a different course than from the Philippines, which is in large part because of Central America's proximity to, and its political and economic relationship with, the US.

The social and economic impacts of neoliberal globalization and widespread political instability (including warfare) have pervasive effects on the nature of emigration from Central America⁵¹. Since the 1980s and 1990s, neoliberal forces and export-oriented political economies in the region have resulted in the movement of industrial production to low-wage economies in areas such as the maquiladoras in Mexico, profoundly changing labour practices in the region (Castles & Miller, 2009; Morton, 2003). Multinational corporations take advantage of cheap, plentiful labour and offer only poorly compensated, impermanent, and labour intensive work in the factories they have relocated to the region. Providing observations on what is happening in Honduras, in particular, the following account from Roberto illustrates how neoliberalism, politics, economics, and the practices of multinational corporations act as catalysts for international migration.

The thing is, when we talk about immigration, why people decided to immigrate, the thing is at the end, it's about political fails. Because [international companies] take money from the country and they don't give the opportunity to people like us [...] to get a good job and they don't attract [more investment] to the country [...]. [The companies are now] going to Nicaragua because the minimum salary is less and they don't have that much of political problem like [in Honduras].

Roberto has witnessed the ills of international trade and blames the practices of multinational corporations for the deteriorating employment situation in Honduras. Such companies moved production facilities to Honduras in search of cheap labour, but as they continue their push to maximize profit at any cost they will move to another country with poorer labour conditions and a larger pool of willing workers.

In addition to the results of neoliberal economic transformation as detailed by Roberto, Central America has also been influenced by political instability, warfare, and US military intervention. During El Salvador's Civil War, which ended in 1992, many citizens sought asylum in

⁵¹ Of course, the histories and economies of each country in the region differ in important ways, but here I focus on El Salvador and Honduras, which are common sources of labour for the hog processing company in Brandon.

the US. Even after the war, Salvadorans continued migrating to the US to join family members, seek employment, and security (Coutin, 2007; Menjívar, 2000). As Sladkova (2007) explains, the combined effects of foreign countries' exploitation of Latin American countries and political corruption have resulted in widespread inequalities and poverty, prompting people to seek opportunities elsewhere.

Although emigration in the region is a common phenomenon and option for people, often following social networks and employment opportunities, it is not always through authorized paths. The extent of unauthorized migration is difficult to measure, but Passel and Cohn (2014) have estimated that of the 11.2 million unauthorized migrants living in the US in 2012, 6.1 percent are from El Salvador and 3.1 percent are from Honduras⁵². Many people desperately wish to leave such countries, but face few opportunities to do so legally. Unauthorized migration is a dangerous and sometimes deadly pursuit, but for many it is their only hope for entry to the US as they pursue supposedly better opportunities (Coutin, 2007; Massey et al., 2002; Sladkova, 2007). Hopeful migrants will pay exorbitant fees to *coyotes* (smugglers) or ride, hopefully undetected, on the roofs of trains heading across state borders. As Roberto told me, "*[that is] their American dream*".

Nearly every participant from Honduras, El Salvador, and Colombia had at least one family member who migrated to the US. The reality and commonplace nature of illegal migration in the lives of Latin American participants took me by surprise. Elena describes her friend's suggestions to addressing financial woes, demonstrating the normalcy of migration in her social circles.

Once, I was in a bad economic situation and a friend said, 'let's go to the United States.' I said, 'so they can kill me on the way? I have to be crazy. And who's going to help my mom?' And she said to me, 'you don't know what will happen on the way.' But, there's two things that can happen; good things and very bad things.

⁵² Such estimates are not available for Canada.

Illegal migration and its potentially dangerous outcomes informs many public and government perceptions of migration. Even though it is seen as a potential solution to struggles, migration is often approached with trepidation and suspicion. When Diego announced that he and his brother would be migrating to Canada, his mother worried, as the following quote demonstrates.

[My mother] didn't know what we were doing here [and] how we were. In my country a lot of people worry because when a relative leaves to the United States they're going illegally. So, they go through very dangerous moments going through Mexico and the United States. So, the relatives there are always with that worry.

When Ernesto told his father about his plans to migrate, he had a similar reaction to Diego's mother.

In the beginning, my father, he didn't want that I come here because one of his brothers he was an immigrant. He immigrated from Honduras to the United States. After that [my father] never know anything about him. Some people told him that he was murdered [...]. For this reason my father didn't want me to come here.

To demonstrate the pervasiveness of illegal migration in Honduras, Roberto showed me news articles documenting the deaths, both accidental and intentional, of people from Honduras trying to migrate to the US atop railcars. He told me stories of friends and family members whose whereabouts remain unknown long after they attempted to migrate. It is difficult to estimate how many people actually reach the US-Mexico border; in her study, Sladkova (2007) provides estimates indicating that only about 25% of the approximately 80,000 Hondurans who try to cross the border to the US annually are successful.

Transformations in how and to what extent people are able to access necessary material and non-material resources result in such mass displacements of people. These displacements may occur within a country - farmers move to urban areas - or across international borders - either through authorized or unauthorized paths. On the whole, it cannot be assumed that people desire such moves or would leave their homes if they felt they had much choice in the matter. As Castles (2013) argues "people rarely leave their home communities just to gain higher incomes, as long as

their ways of living and working are still viable. It is the undermining of these modes of existence that triggers departure" (p. 125-126). The decision to migrate is one that is made within the context of considerable constraints and it is not necessarily an ideal option. Joseph, for example, was a small-scale farmer in the Philippines, growing rice, vegetables, and fruit on 50 hectares of land prior to migrating. Farming became too expensive, risky, and difficult, and he could not earn enough off the land to put his children through school. Arnel farmed 4 hectares of mango trees and also had to quit farming in the face of increasing expenses. Both were upset about having to give up a way of life they deeply loved and would go back to farming if it became financially viable. While not farmers, Marlon and Carla also support Castle's argument and feel as if they did not enter into migration of their own choice.

It's hard in the Philippines to raise my children because my salary is too small. And then I want to give for my kids a better school and then good studies, that's it. And that's why they kind of forced, that's one reason they kind of forced me [to migrate].
- Marlon

I came to [the company] because I didn't have any alternatives. - Carla

If given a true choice, and one that does not exist within structural economic constraints, many people would have stayed in their home country, surrounded by their families and culture. Many choose migration out of desperation and would return to their home country if they were able. However, the labour conditions in their home countries made their goals and aspirations untenable, so they had to seek opportunities elsewhere.

When participants told me of their reasons for moving, many lamented the conditions of the labour market in their home country, demonstrating the pervasive impacts of neoliberal globalization on less-developed countries. Many participants explain that permanent jobs are hard to find, no matter what sector one works in. Honduras has become one of Latin America's poorest countries. According to the United Nations Statistics Division (2014), in 2010, 60% of Honduras's

and 36.5% of El Salvador's population lives beneath the poverty line. With neoliberalism's push toward the increasing flexibility of labour, jobs are becoming precarious and impermanent, with temporary contracts limiting labour's stability and access to security (Robinson & Santos, 2014; Standing, 2011). Although this trend has undoubtedly shaped the rise of TFWPs in Canada, it has concomitantly pushed individuals in less-developed countries to seek employment elsewhere (Overbeek, 2002). Such instability is not limited to one country, with participants from the Philippines, El Salvador, Colombia, and Honduras voicing their frustrations as they move from one contract to another. David sums up his situation: "*You work for temporary periods, maybe 3 months, 4 months, and then you are resting and you are doing different jobs [...]. You can't just focus on one job.*" Maricel describes the labour situation in the Philippines as one characterized by intense competition for all jobs that often only have five month contracts. Stable, permanent jobs are hard, if not impossible, to find and once employed, people do not earn enough to support their families.

Furthermore, participants have observed that once they grow older, they have fewer job opportunities. Particularly, in Honduras and the Philippines, finding and securing employment when one is over the age of 35 is a challenge. When asked if he moved from the Philippines in pursuit of higher earnings, Michael's response involves some nuances.

It's not really the money. It's the stability of the jobs [...]. If you're going to reach the age of 35 [or] upwards, it's hard to find jobs in the Philippines". He goes on, "they say that there's no discriminations, but the companies [...] are looking for the age, the sex preferences, [and] the height sometimes".

Oscar, Earnes, and Carlos have also observed age discrimination in their home countries and one of the reasons they decided to come to Canada is because they want to be able to work when they are over the age of 40. Labour practices under neoliberalism create precarious populations where people decide to migrate because they cannot find secure work in their home countries.

The segmented labour market and the role of employers in shaping decisions

As previously mentioned, a central element of the global political economic conditions that initiate migration is the demand for labour in more-developed countries. This demand most often exists within the lower skilled sectors of labour markets. Segmented labour market theory explains that the demand for migrant labour is rooted in developments of modern capitalist economies where employers need a source of labour to fill jobs in the least desirable segments of a hierarchically ordered labour market (Hudson, 2007; Lusis & Bauder, 2010; Massey et al., 1993). As Massey and colleagues (1993) explain, "what employers need are workers who view bottom-level jobs simply as a means to the end of earning money, and for whom employment is reduced solely to income, with no implications for status or prestige" (p. 442). The advanced capitalist labour market functions only when there are people who are willing to accept jobs in the lower segments because they have few alternatives or because wages will be relatively higher than those they would receive for similar work in their home countries. In this way, migration is not merely a matter of individuals choosing where to move to, but rather it is shaped by the nature of a global division of labour, which is constituted by inequalities and mined by employers requiring specific characteristics of labour.

Dynamics leading to the deliberate recruitment and attraction of immigrants are integral to the migration process and shape the context in which decisions to migrate are made. Both employers and governments mould, facilitate, and engage in the recruitment of foreign labour for economic growth (Massey et al., 1993). Companies such as the one in Brandon have a highly developed internal human resource mechanism that carefully considers the characteristics of populations in countries that may be good candidates in which to recruit foreign employees. Oftentimes these countries are ones characterized as labour-sending countries, with large

proportions of their population already engaged in international migration. Source countries are not randomly chosen by employers using TFWPs - there must be a willing and able population from which to choose workers. The labour pool must meet certain prerequisites, including skill level, work experience, and language abilities. The hog processing companies decide where to hire foreign workers according to a matrix of country-level demographic characteristics and generalized assumptions about the potential pool of labour. These corporations hire from countries where there is surplus labour, high unemployment rates, and relatively low wages, taking full advantage of the global supply of labour⁵³.

How the package of migration is marketed to potential migrants and the promises made by recruiters and potential employers influence decisions and shape the nature of migration motivations. The employers' role in constructing a scenario that is appealing to potential employees cannot be underestimated. Companies sell themselves to workers as offering secure employment, relatively high wages, opportunity for advancement, and, in the case of Manitoba, possible sponsorship for permanent residence. These selling points are included in job advertisements and interviews. Some participants told me that it was the suggestion of permanent residence, as listed on a job advertisement, that made them decide to interview for the jobs and eventually migrate (more on this in Chapter 7). Employers take advantage of the global political and economic conditions in which neoliberalism and the transnationalization of capital have led to the creation of cheap and flexible pools of seemingly endless labour who are enticed by promises and potential from a position of insecurity and precariousness. Such labour will accept employment

⁵³ I have not conducted interviews with human resource personnel in either of the two companies, so I cannot officially confirm such practices, but these observations are garnered from participant interviews, anecdotal evidence, and previous work experience.

within the lowest segments of more-developed countries' labour markets because it represents opportunity and way to alleviate their inequality.

In sum, within narratives of temporary migrants' motivations to migrate there is evidence of the inequality in which they have always lived. They do not just face inequality when they get to Canada; they have been victim of global inequalities their whole lives. Most grew up in poverty and face the prospects of raising their children in poverty and instability. Macro-level forces come into play and impact the micro-level experiences, forcing people to consider alternative ways to access resources. Neoliberal globalization, political conflict, and corruption influence local labour markets and impact day to day experiences and struggles. The people in this study have had their livelihoods negatively affected by forces larger than them and have come to see temporary migration as one of the only ways to ameliorate their situations. As Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) argue about foreign domestic workers, conditions in home countries cause people to "seek citizenship on virtually any terms in richer states" (p. 42). The decision to migrate is situated within structural forces, both in migrants' home country and in the receiving country. Conditions in the home country subject people to an unstable economic life whereby the opportunity to migrate represents a chance of increased financial stability and access to more resources.

Individuals' and families' decisions and motivations to migrate

Migration is not solely determined by the aforementioned structural forces. In fact, the historical-structural and world systems approaches have been criticized for allowing capital to be too deterministic in migration flows, neglecting the actions of individual migrants. Such approaches posit migrants as products of capital and reduces them to their labour (Arango, 2004; Castles & Miller, 2009). Migrants do exercise agency and they are not purely subject to structural or economic contexts. Their decisions, however, are still made within such structural constraints. The

historical-structural and world systems approaches fail to consider agency, the neo-classical approach is criticized for placing too much focus on agency and neglecting the role of structural contexts and the role of state (Castles & Miller, 2009; Goss & Lindquist, 1995; Massey et al., 1993). However, agency cannot be ignored and temporary migrants' decisions are, to a certain extent, determined by rational choices where a cost-benefit analysis is carefully considered. As this dissertation demonstrates, migration does involve knowledgeable actors who negotiate complex structures and processes while defining a path that meets their needs and goals (Coe & Jordhus-Lier, 2011; Goss & Lindquist, 1995).

The centrality of economic motivations cannot be discounted and they remain the most salient motivators in migration decision-making processes (Hagelskamp et al., 2010). As Massey and colleagues (2002) explain, "migrants seek to go to places where, given their skills, they can be more productive and earn more money" (p. 11). Becoming a lower skilled temporary migrant in Canada represents such an opportunity. Both Elena and Maria unequivocally state that their sole reason for migrating was to earn more money. David and Martha decided that he should migrate because they could not earn enough to support their large family. In fact, everyone had economic and employment goals when they decided to move to Canada. In many respects, I could analyze the motivations of temporary migrants from a neo-classical approach since it is supported by many accounts from participants. At the heart of everyone's reasons for migrating is to make more money. Potential migrants analyze the possible costs and benefits of migrating, only deciding to relocate when the benefits outweigh the costs. Aside from the fact that it is a temporary migration program, the SLSO represents a very rational way of entering Canada and earning in the Canadian labour market. Indeed, the program is based on a model that assumes a neo-classical explanation of migration whereby migrants will move to earn more money, with little other consideration.

When adopting the neo-classical approach, one should not expect migration to occur in instances where the migrant will earn less after migrating since this a fundamental contradiction to the assumptions of the theory. However, individuals in constrained circumstances do make choices that belie this rational economic perspective, illuminating the limitations of any single theoretical approach to understanding the caveats, permutations, and nuances of international migration. A fascinating contrary example to the neo-classical approach was found amongst some temporary migrants in this study. Carla, Juan, Maricel, Roberto, and Carlos gave up secure, well-paid jobs in their home countries for the opportunity to migrate to Canada. In fact, Carla and Juan were both discouraged by colleagues and friends to migrate for work in the hog processing industry. Juan was going to earn less in Canada than he did in Honduras. Roberto, who had a good education, a respectable job, and considered himself of the upper-middle class, felt that conditions in Honduras were becoming so unstable that he had to leave for his own security. Because of his class position and his education, he did not want to tell his friends and relatives that he would be going to Canada to work as a meat cutter. Even though he would be wilfully deskilling himself, he pursued migration. Such work fell below these individuals' skill level and experience, in addition to paying less than what they were earning in their home country. And yet, all of these individuals decided to migrate, without the singular motive of pursuing higher wages. Such instances provide evidence that the reason for migrating, especially as a temporary migrant, is more complex than existing theories can explain and reasons for migrating go far beyond the rather simple pursuit of higher earnings

However, such decisions are made in a fairly rational and somewhat informed manner. There are two significant advantages of the SLSO program considered by migrants before moving, each of which demonstrate their use of agency in the migration process and extend beyond the pursuit of higher earnings. The first advantage that temporary migrants see is that there is little to

no upfront financial cost. When assessing the costs and benefits of migrating, entering Canada through what many refer to as "the Program" represents the most appealing migration option they had learned about to date. One of the reasons Arnel accepted the hog processing job is because it was the easiest, cheapest, and quickest way to migrate to Canada. In the Philippines, a friend of his paid millions of pesos to a corrupt agency for immigration paperwork and medical documents, only to wait years before finding out the process was unsuccessful. Unlike other migration options, temporary migrants entering the SLSO accrue no immediate financial costs for their move. Their flights are paid for, they have guaranteed employment upon arrival, and they receive some initial settlement assistance from their employer⁵⁴. Such minimal financial input greatly influences migrants' decision to move and the costs outweigh the risks.

Juan's accounts of his motivations to migrate and his decision-making process demonstrate his agency to pick the cheapest way of migrating. He and his wife chose to move to Brandon because it was the rational and economically sound option. Juan's wife had applied to attend university in Alberta prior to learning of jobs in Brandon. Once he received a job offer, they had to decide which route they would take to Canada. Juan describes how they decided that he should become a temporary migrant rather than his wife an international student: "*So, we were, like, we go for free with [the company] to Brandon, which was not our first choice, or we spend [a] whole lot of money and go with student visa.*" Because they would save thousands in international student fees and travel costs, Juan and his wife made their decision based on the option that came with the

⁵⁴ This discussion represents an ideal scenario, which has occurred for the majority of participants in this study, but does not occur for all temporary migrants to Canada. Temporary migrants do arrive to Canada only to find they were offered a bogus job or have to pay exorbitant recruitment fees. Every instance of temporary migration through the SLSO does not turn out as well as migrants may expect and there is still inherent risk in migrating through the program.

least cost. Many others described, with enthusiasm, the role that having a "free" migration route played in their decision-making, especially in light of their limited financial resources.

The second advantage of migrating through the SLSO program is that it is a legal, documented migration opportunity. Migrants choose to enter Canada through this means because the alternative, given their skill level, is to move somewhere as an unauthorized migrant. A common reason for pursuing work in Manitoba through the SLSO was because it represented a legal avenue for migration. People would not have to worry about being detained or deported, they would have documented status in Canada, and their families would not have to worry about their fates, as they do for those individuals who have migrated to the U.S. illegally. Like many others in this study, Javier had always wanted to move, but knew he had few opportunities to do so legally. The following quote from Javier demonstrates both of the advantages temporary migrants ascribe to the SLSO.

I never thought that I was going to leave the country. How? It's very hard to immigrate, like many people immigrate illegal, but I never thought that was a position for me to come. So when I hear that everything would be legal and visa and stuff, yeah, it's like, that's good. Why not, I thought [...]. I didn't have to pay anything.

Roberto even thinks that the Canadian TFWP could act as deterrence for illegal migration from Honduras to the US. From his perspective, hiring processes for jobs at the plant in Brandon come around regularly, and he thinks that people would work toward obtaining the requisite English levels and skills if they had knowledge of such opportunities. Of course temporary migration is not a panacea, but having legal documents is an important part of the migration decision-making process.

Migrating is often a distant dream with a very low possibility of being realized through legal routes for lower skilled individuals in less-developed countries. Despite wanting to move, many

realize that their socioeconomic standing and skill, language, and education levels do not afford them many international migration opportunities. The TFWP then presents a chance to legally and (relatively) safely move to and work in another country with minimal financial costs, therefore establishing the foundation upon which temporary migrants make their decisions to move.

Winning the future lottery: Migration decisions for and with family

One of the most common themes throughout every interview with temporary migrants is the role of the family in the decision-making process and people's desire for their family to have enhanced opportunities for the future. The new economics of migration theory is helpful in grounding how to understand the role of the family in discussions of migration motivations and decision-making. Whereas the neo-classical approach views migration as a product of rational calculations made by individuals, the new economics of migration theory posits that decisions are made amongst family members and the motivations and needs of this larger group are what initiate migration. Households wish to diversify income and resources by sending a family member overseas to work and remit money for the purposes of achieving some goal (Massey et al., 2002; Sana & Massey, 2005; Semyonov & Gorodzeisky, 2005; Stark & Lucas, 1988; Taylor, 1999). Migration then becomes something that is for the benefit of a larger social unit and, while not at all discounting the importance of economic factors, it does more realistically reflect the reality of many migration decisions.

As David and Martha's story demonstrates, migration is necessary for the needs of the household. They were a poor family in Colombia with high debt levels, insecure employment, and many household costs. They could not borrow money from a bank so they went to a dubious source for a loan, which they could not pay back. They were six months behind on their mortgage payments and often did not have enough money to buy groceries. David and Martha decided,

together, that migration was the only option to address their household challenges. The family, then, is involved in the migration process in two central ways, which are described in more detail below. First, family members are agents in the decision-making process. Their involvement and support for the process is vital. Second, migration is a means to achieve goals for the future of families. Parents want opportunities for their children that cannot be attained in their home country, and adult children want to be able to provide for their parents and siblings. Migration is an event that is pursued for collective needs and with the direct involvement of the family unit.

The centrality of family members in the decision-making process cannot be overlooked, which is one of the most important contributions of the new economics of migration theory to the study of international migration. All participants in this study recalled how family members - spouses, parents, and siblings - factored into the decision-making process as active agents. Husbands consulted wives, wives consulted husbands, daughters consulted mothers, sisters consulted sisters, brothers consulted brothers, and grandchildren consulted grandparents before making the decision to move to Canada. Many heard of the opportunity to work in Canada through brothers or parents. In fact, Liliana's mother put in an application for her prior to Liliana having knowledge of the job. For those who were married prior to migrating, spouses' opinions and assistance were important factors. No one made the decision to migrate on their own. Many went through a collective process of balancing risks against rewards and ultimately decided that entering into the TFWP was the best decision for the sake of the family.

Making the decision to migrate within a household or family unit involves the consideration of all exigencies associated with the migration process. For temporary migrants, this involves a period of separation from one's spouse and children and therefore support for this experience is required. Profound adjustments occur at the level of households, where a nuclear family will turn

into a transnational family that is suddenly a single-parent headed unit. For the period of separation to work, there must be a support system in place so that children are cared for in the absence of a parent (Pratt, 2012). When one parent leaves, they rely on their spouse/partner, in-laws, and parents to care for their children. Maricel, who was the only woman who had children and was married at the time of her migration decision, required the full support and participation of her husband to make migration possible. Her husband had to learn how to manage a household and care for their seven children on his own, navigating and negotiating gender roles and responsibilities. Liliana, who was a single mother when she moved, needed her mother to take care of her daughter. All fathers in the sample were married at the time of their migration and relied on their wives, parents, and in-laws to care for children. So, within the decision-making process it is necessary for families to navigate the support structure that will enable migration and create a transnational family, which is not an easy process.

Intergenerational social mobility and educational goals

Family members are both part of the decision-making process and inspiration for migrating. It may be that migrants are primarily motivated to earn more, but the reason for earning more is to attain aspirations and goals. The most common reason to migrate was overwhelmingly centred on bettering the lives of family members, primarily children. The individuals in this study are, on the whole, not motivated to migrate for solely individualistic reasons. They are not migrating for themselves, but rather for a type of future they could not otherwise obtain for their children. Most are not looking for immediate, short-term benefits from migration, but rather they desire future-oriented, long-term successes for their family. Such sentiments are aptly demonstrated in the following quotes.

I foresee something else that's for my kids...I did the best I could in Honduras [...but] I'm sure that I can do even better here. I'm trying to do, to give [my children] the best and to have what I couldn't. - Earnes, father of two.

We need to do this because it's for [our children]. It's for them. - Rodel, father of one.

How can I tell you? For me, to stay here in this country is [...], it's like to win the lottery. And for my children, to bring them here is like they win the lottery in the future. - Humberto, father of four.

If you are police officer [or] if you are a government employee in [the] Philippines, you cannot enrol your children in, for example, medical courses, like doctor[...]. Your salary is not enough. That's why I go here, for the future of my family. - Arnel, father of one.

Parents want a better life for their children than what they had and they see migrating to Canada as one of the only ways to achieve their goals.

In the countries that participants come from, they could earn more money if they were to work longer hours or have multiple jobs. For many, obtaining more money can be done within their country, but it may not be enough to pursue their goals or it may be done at the expense of any quality of life. When he was working in the Philippines, Marlon was working so hard to earn enough to support his family that he would sometimes get between three and four hours of sleep a night. After migrating, he earns as much in an hour of work as he did in one week in the Philippines, his shifts are regular, and he has a better work-life balance. Migration was not merely a means to earn more money for Marlon; it was a means to achieve a better future for himself and his family. This better future, of course, rests on having higher wages, but it also rests on having more time to spend with his family. Marlon, like many others, views migration as a way to enhance the present and future well-being for himself and his family (Kley, 2011).

A better future, according to participants, involves having more opportunities in life. As demonstrated by Arnel in the previous quote, typically, parents see education as a way for children to access and enjoy enhanced opportunities. Participants lament that they could not afford to send

their children to good, private schools in their home country, instead facing the regrettable reality of having their children attend overcrowded, understaffed public schools where they feared their children would not obtain the education necessary for social mobility. Before migrating, Joseph wanted to enrol his two children in private school, but on the money he earned as a farmer this would be impossible. Parents also want their children to attend university, but cannot afford to assist them in paying for tuition. So, given such constraints on their children's education opportunities, they decide to move to Canada where earnings are higher and primary school is both free and, as they perceive, of higher quality. Their goal is to enhance the human capital of their children through a better education.

Similar findings are not uncommon in immigration literature. Many immigrants place considerable value on education as a way toward social mobility and the potential for such intergenerational social mobility is often cited as the primary motivation for migrating (Hagelskamp et al., 2010; Kandel & Kao, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Lower skilled and low-income parents who were raised in unstable, less-developed countries do not want their children to suffer through the same challenges. The decision to migrate, while not a simple solution, represents the potential for parents to see their children obtain post-secondary education, enhanced social status, and a more secure financial future. The success of this pursuit, however, requires a commitment from parents to continue working and from children to pursue education (Hagelskamp et al., 2010; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Migrants' motivations for moving shape how they understand, negotiate, and communicate their experiences now and into the future. Intergenerational social mobility becomes part of the narrative that parents recount to their children, who, in turn, internalize such expectations and obligations (Hagelskamp et al., 2010; Sladkova, 2007).

Evidence of intergenerational social mobility as a motivation for migrants can be found in nearly all parents' narratives and answers to my question, "why did you decide to move?". Their commitment to doing everything they can to ensure their children attend school and aspire to a post-secondary education is palpable. Parents are prepared to work in a hog processing facility if it means their children will have access to better opportunities. Many accept their own class position, but want more for their children. Ramos clearly illustrates this sentiment: "*I'm the one who works in the factory, but my kids, I want to put them in good education [and] to have a better job than what I did now. That's what I want. That's all I focus on now.*" Parents use their own situation to demonstrate to their children the value of education and reinforce the desire for intergenerational mobility (Lopez, 2001). Earnes also holds such beliefs. He is prepared to work hard and earn money now if it means that his children will not have to engage in such labour. Andres and Rodel desperately do not want their children to become meat cutters and Carla would be heartbroken if her daughter ended up working at the company in Brandon. These are not desirable jobs that migrants wish for their children to pursue. The majority of participants are not becoming production line workers in the meat processing industry to advance their careers; they are taking such jobs to support a better future for their families and escape, to the best of their abilities, precariousness and insecurity.

In turn, it would seem that many children of former temporary migrants aspire to continue with their schooling and achieve such long-term goals. I did not interview any children, but parents proudly told me of their children's educational goals and achievements. For those with school-age children, remarking on grades, extracurricular involvement, and career aspirations were central to their migration narratives. It brought a smile to participants' faces, and I sensed that such stories constitute migrants' personal justification for doing what they have done. Their children's

educational and career goals were impressive. Carla's daughter wants to study medicine. Arnel's child also wants to pursue medicine. David and Martha's children all aspire to pursue professional careers. Their children adapt well to their new homes, learn English quickly, and have no intentions of ever leaving Canada. The goal of intergenerational social mobility will hopefully be achieved as children graduate from high school and look toward university⁵⁵.

The commitment to one's family and their future permeates all migration narratives in this study, regardless of the familial structure. For those participants who do not have children, many are motivated to support their parents and siblings who remain at home and their narratives are not entirely different than those who have children. Some plan to sponsor their siblings so they can migrate to Manitoba, while others plan to continue sending money home to support parents and siblings. Isabel is from a large family and as one of the oldest children she feels responsible to earn money so her other siblings can go to school. Her parents do not earn enough on their own to support everyone's education, so Isabel and her family decided that she would contribute by migrating and remitting her earnings. She is now the primary financial supporter of her siblings' university education, and as she wistfully says, *"I'm the one [who] suffers and sends the money. Everything they need [...] I'm the one who is like their mom, for every single thing"*. Although she is not supporting children, in many respects Isabel is acting in the same manner that parents do and is motivated by similar goals.

Diego, who also does not have children, migrated so that he could offer his mother a better life. She was unhealthy and in need of expensive medication, so Diego pursued migration as a way

⁵⁵ There is considerable literature on the economic, labour market, and educational outcomes of the children of immigrants that is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The successful attainment of intergenerational mobility is variable and often depends on parental characteristics such as skill level, employment, and country of origin. Some groups of second-generation immigrants achieve higher economic and education outcomes than their parents, while some do not (Borjas, 1993, 2006; Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2005; Hammarstedt & Palme, 2006; Kandel & Kao, 2001; Kao & Tienda, 1998; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

to help her. However, shortly after he moved to Manitoba she passed away. Despite such a loss, Diego does not regret his decision and has fulfilled his commitments to his family by facilitating his brother's move to Manitoba and initiating the process of his sister's move. Elena did not have children when she decided to move to Canada, but her motivation was to help support her mother and developmentally disabled sister. Prior to migrating, she had a stable job in El Salvador, but she did not earn enough to support her family and cover the expenses associated with her sister's needs. Now she has a child born in Canada and continues to support her mother and sister in El Salvador. An individual's commitment to their families' betterment pervades nearly all migration narratives, often regardless of family structure or life stage.

Despite the overwhelming importance of family to the decision and the collective aspirations of the family unit, there are cases of individualistic motivations as well, especially for those without a spouse or children. Those without children, on the whole, tend to have more individualistic goals, focused on their own education attainment and sense of adventure. For example, Ana saw migrating as an opportunity to learn English and have an adventure. She does financially support her family, but her reasons for migrating were rooted in rational, individualistic goals. She had no intentions of staying in Canada, so her plan was to learn English as way to achieve better employment prospects in El Salvador and to earn enough money to pay for her university graduation. Javier moved because his brother was already in Brandon and so he could earn enough money to return to El Salvador to attend university. Now he supports his family, but it was never his primary motivation or desire to do so. Ernesto also saw the TFWP as an opportunity to realize many of the education goals he had for himself, which he could not pursue in Honduras. Ramos loves to travel and saw the job in Canada as just another opportunity to live and work in a different country. He wants to get Canadian work experience since it will benefit his resume when

he is applying for jobs in other countries. Becoming a temporary migrant means something different to everyone, but, on the whole, people see it as a quick way to earn more money as they pursue future goals and aspirations.

Safety and security as motivation

As part of their aspirations for a better life and future for their children, fleeing violence, crime, and unrest constitutes a less common, but yet significant part of migrants' motivations to leave their home country. Although not typically the sole reason for their migration, pursuing a safer environment does factor into decisions to migrate, especially for temporary migrants from Honduras, which was recently found to have the highest homicide rates in the world, at 90.4 per 100,000 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2014).

Unsurprisingly, all participants from Honduras discuss concern for their safety and encountering a violent event was often the tipping point in their decision to migrate. Some participants had been robbed at gunpoint, others often heard gun shots in the streets near their home, and all feared for their children's safety on a daily basis. Violence was part of Juan's daily life, even though he and his family lived in a good neighbourhood. One evening while he was at home, he heard multiple gunshots less than a mile away. He and his wife turned on the news to discover that the gunshots were a result of a gang war that had left 17 people dead. He will not let his son play outside or walk the five blocks to school. Juan describes how crime in Honduras factored into his decision to move.

We hadn't really thought about moving. I mean we had a really nice life back home. We had two homes and two cars. One child. We lived in a nice neighbourhood, but the country is extremely violent. I was making more money back in Honduras than I am here [...]. So it was like, I was like ok, should I leave or should I stay? I'm making more money here but I'm not safe [...]. It's a really, really violent country.

Earning more money did not factor into Juan's decision to migrate since he has taken a pay cut and now works in a job that is well below his training, experience, and education. Similarly, Carlos told me that earning more money was not the reason he wanted to migrate, and he, like Juan, earns less now than he did in Honduras. He had to find a safer place for his family to live. Juan suggests that of the 31 Hondurans who came in his group, approximately 90% chose to migrate not because of the money, but because they desperately want to leave the violence of Honduras.

Such crime is attributed to political and police corruption, a rampant drug trade, and profound gang violence. Participants from Honduras see little hope in the future of their country and feel that it is better to leave than wait for social change. When I asked Luis why he decided to leave Honduras, he replies, "*because I knew the direction that my country [was] going in. You know? I saw that it is like Honduras is in the edge of the mountain or the abyss and I knew that people were doing nothing to help our country*". Humberto echoed this sentiment and became increasingly frustrated with the apathy and lack of change in Honduras. Roberto brought for me online news articles explaining the level of violence in his country and people's desperation to leave via any means, including taking dangerous train rides to cross the border into the US illegally. In light of the potential options people have for escaping the violence in Honduras, becoming a temporary migrant is viewed as the safest and most expedient path.

Escaping violent and unsafe conditions of one's home country may be a motivating factor in migrants' decision-making process, but let it not be used to position TFWPs as a solution to political, social, and economic unrest in the world. The TFWP is not a humanitarian program. When responding to the notion that Filipinos use the TFWP as a way to escape violence in the Philippines, Pratt (2012) proclaims that Canadians often "imagine Canada in general, and a temporary work migration program in particular, as a refuge from a menacing Third World" (p. xxvi). She argues

that TFWPs, especially the domestic caregiver program, actually create further problems and potentially violence for those that participate in them. Migrating to Canada may be an immediate solution to peoples' frustrations and fears in their home country, but it is not a guarantee that life in Canada is free of injustice and mistreatment. In fact, there are plenty of documented cases of temporary migrants encountering violent and unjust circumstances while working in Canada (see recent news stories on vehicular accidents and deaths of agricultural workers or the sexual assault of two female temporary migrants in Ontario, to name a few incidents). The rhetoric of comparatively better situations cannot be used to support TFWPs, although it does shape the narrative of many migrants.

Temporary migration, like many other migrations, is a result of decision-making processes within and for the family unit and is rarely solely based on economics. The ultimate goal of migration is to pursue opportunities culminating in a better life, primarily for children, but also for siblings, parents, and extended family members. One's motivations to migrate play out in various spheres of the migration process and shape narratives as migrants remind themselves and their family of the root causes, goals, and aspirations of their move. Children are urged to achieve the education and skills required for social mobility as parents do not want to see them working in lower skilled jobs. Migration is motivated by a desire to escape the results of global inequality and everyday struggles.

Achieving permanent residency as the penultimate factor

It is particularly striking that temporary migrants' motivations and goals for their family can only be achieved within a context where permanence is assumed. Indeed, within the new economics of migration framework paying for children's education, buying a house, or paying down debts can be attainable goals that, once achieved, will prompt a migrant to return to their home

country (Constant & Massey, 2002). However, the educational goals that parents have for their children can only be realized if family reunification and permanent settlement occurs in Canada. For temporary migrants, we should not expect educational goals to be so pervasive - but they are. How is it that temporary migrants have come to have such long-term goals for their families in Canada? Nearly all participants desire their future to be in Canada.

According to Carens (1987), citizenship in western liberal democratic countries can be compared to a form of modern "feudal privilege - an inherited status that greatly enhances one's life chances" (as cited by Stasiulis and Bakan, 2005, p. 14), therefore it is highly coveted by those in less-developed countries. Many participants had spent their lives dreaming of one day moving to Canada. Arnel calls Canada his dream land. Andres and Rodel both spent many hours dreaming of moving to Canada. After losing his father at a young age, Luis focused on learning English so that he could one day move to Canada. Participants want to enhance their life chances and they want a better future, which they believe can be achieved in Canada. During the hiring process, many temporary migrants are told by recruiters and human resource personnel representing the companies that permanent residency is a potential outcome, which then structures their decision to migrate. These are not migrants who plan their futures as a temporary or circular migrant would and they have long-term intentions for settlement. It is notable that many participants do not refer to themselves as "temporary" and their migration narratives are reflective of migrants who have always intended to permanently move. In many cases, the promise of permanent residency trumps all other reasons, as it is what enables long-term security for families and enhanced opportunities for children's educations. Many plan their futures based on their expectation to settle in Canada; they quit their jobs, prepare their spouse and children, sell their homes, and look toward the future as they do what is necessary to achieve permanent residency.

Literature on the LCP in Canada elucidates some of the motivations for becoming a temporary migrant, and the findings from these studies can be used to shed light on the lesser studied SLSO. For those arriving through the LCP, obtaining permanent residency is a policy-based outcome of the program. Becoming a permanent resident and settling in Canada long-term with one's family, then, is a major motivator and factor in the decision-making process (Salami et al., 2014). In large part, the reason that obtaining permanent residence in Canada motivates people to enter into the LCP is because they can provide a better life for their families. Although the process of becoming a permanent resident is not rooted in federal policy for temporary migrants in the SLSO, the majority of participants in this study applied for and accessed jobs in the meat processing industry because they had been told permanent residency was an option, therefore presenting an opportunity to provide a better life for their families.

Of course, some participants came to Canada as the quintessential "temporary" migrant, as assumed in the new economics of migration approach. Prior to relatively widespread and almost normalized use of the PNP as a pathway to permanent residency in Manitoba, temporary migrants made their decision to move on the basis that they would achieve short-term financial goals and then return to their home country. Carla planned to earn enough money so that she could pay off her house in El Salvador, and then she would return home. Ana migrated so that she could earn enough to pay for her final year of law school. Javier planned to move to Canada temporarily so that he would earn enough to pay for university in El Salvador. However, once the opportunity to settle in Canada permanently was presented, Carla, Ana, and Javier decided to stay longer and have few intentions of ever living in El Salvador again.

In sum, permanent residency is essential for the temporary migrants in this study to achieve their goals and escape the constrained conditions in which they previously lived. It is the final piece

in their migration puzzle, without which only a few of their goals could ever be realized. When investigating what prompts people to migrate through TFWPs, it is essential to understand their perceptions of such programs vis-à-vis the reality of policy. More on the complicating factor of permanent residency is discussed in Chapter 7.

Conclusions

Being a temporary migrant, suffering through family separation, and working long hours are but short-term sacrifices for long-term goals. In their research with internationally educated nurses from the Philippines who are in Canada as live-in caregivers, Salami and colleagues (2014) detail the sacrifices that such women bear so that eventually their family will have a better life in Canada. These women, who have professional training as nurses, endure domestic caregiver jobs that are demeaning and deskilling, while spending over two-years apart from their family. I found very similar stories amongst lower skilled temporary migrants. Regardless of their previous training or education, they are willing to sacrifice in the short-term if it means their long-term goals are reached. Such long-term goals are most often based on achieving comfort, stability, opportunity, and success for their families. The reasons that people enter into TFWPs are hardly different than the reasons that other people move and, in fact, support some of the tenets of traditional migration theories. What remains difficult to reconcile, though, is the pervading significance of achieving permanent residency through a two-step process.

This chapter highlights how desires for employment stability, higher earnings, a better future, and security combine with structural factors in one's home country to prompt migration. Add to this equation the characteristics and promises stemming from foreign labour recruitment campaigns and the intricacies of immigration policy, and only then does one begin to see the complexity in which decisions to migrate exist. Such decisions are not merely borne of individuals'

wants and desires; they are more complicatedly implicated in nation-states' approaches to both immigration and emigration and characteristics of labour markets in both the sending and receiving country. The migrant does, of course, exercise agency in such processes, but they cannot be extracted from the processes and practices of larger institutions that shape migration flows. Daily experiences of precariousness, instability, and poverty lead to migration decisions where people seek increased human capital and economic resources. On the whole, these are not people who look toward migration as the ideal scenario for escaping inequality, but it does become a viable option emerging from constraining structural conditions that limit people's ability to access the resources they need to participate in society in a fulfilling manner.

Chapter 6: Temporary Migrants' Daily Life in Manitoba

After successfully navigating the hiring process and making the decision to migrate, temporary migrants attempt to inch closer to their aspirations and goals. They leave behind the continuous cycle of precariousness, insecurity, and frustrations encountered on a daily basis in their often politically, socially, and economically unstable home countries in pursuit of a better life. Migration presents to them possibilities and opportunities for the future. However, when they arrive to Canada they continue to occupy precarious social and economic locations as they work in the lowest segments of the labour market and hold temporary legal status. Once in Canada, the nature of their inequality and precariousness takes a different form. They enter workplaces and communities where they are often racial and linguistic minorities. They may earn more money than ever before, but their expenses are higher as they maintain transnational households. They occupy marginalized social locations in their new home and are not fully included in the place they live and work. Lower skilled temporary migrants enter a society that devalues their work, is highly suspicious of their motivations, and plans for their exit. They enter the migration experience with hope and, although they are prepared to work hard and sacrifice, they are unprepared for the myriad challenges they encounter.

This chapter explores what happens to temporary migrants once they arrive to Manitoba as they find a place to live, begin work, and come to terms with their separation from all that is familiar. It details the manifestation of exclusionary policies and practices in daily experience while also illustrating how individuals and communities negotiate, navigate, and challenge such unequal and differentiated practices. This chapter further elucidates the sites at which temporary migrants experience social inequality by focusing on the extent to which social exclusion, vulnerability, and precariousness are experienced in their daily lives once they arrive to Canada.

Temporary migrants occupy complex social locations where they are not entirely excluded nor included in the society in which they live and work (Attas, 2000; Castles, 2000; Foster & Taylor, 2013). I demonstrate how and where temporary migrants experience simultaneous processes, sources, and outcomes of inclusion and exclusion after migrating. Their non-permanent legal status precludes them from legally belonging in Canada, denying access to political participation and citizenship, and making them vulnerable to deportation while they provide significant resources to the labour market (Basok et al., 2013; Foster & Taylor, 2013; Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Landolt & Goldring, 2013). Such a conflicted and differentiated position affects all aspects of their daily lives and permeates their workplace where they are often reminded of the ramifications of their non-permanence. Social isolation, homesickness, long working hours, and language barriers combine with noncitizen status to create significant challenges and barriers for temporary migrants as they carefully navigate their settlement process.

Although, focusing on the negative outcomes of their legal status ignores the important ways in which temporary migrants and other actors circumvent some of the adverse consequences of noncitizen status. When considering their lived experiences, as told from their perspectives, it is apparent that social exclusion is not necessarily the defining feature of their daily experiences. Of course their legal status contributes to vulnerability and marginalization, but this does not mean they understand their lives as such. If we listen to migrants and consider their stories, we learn they do not always silently suffer as they act in ways to redefine their lives. Many remain cautiously optimistic of the future and are focused on realizing their goals, while trying to ignore the challenges and frustrations they have encountered in their new community and job. Temporary migrants and their allies (i.e., UFCW, service providers, and community members) are involved in

processes of active negotiation and navigation through an institution (the TFWP) that is designed to repress and marginalize such individuals.

Moreover, for the participants in this study, vulnerability, marginalization, and exclusion are not as clearly demarcated in daily experience as previous research on temporary migrants demonstrates. Participants in this study reside in shared accommodations with co-workers located in town and are embedded in a larger community beyond their workplace, which is contrary to seasonal agriculture workers who live in accommodations on the farm where they work (Basok, 2002; Preibisch, 2004) or domestic caregivers who live in their employers' home (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Parreñas, 2001a; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). The day-to-day actions of SAWP migrants are often restricted to the extent that they are assigned specific days when they can go to town to buy groceries and because of their restrictive schedules and immobility they rarely have opportunities to interact with locals, which further entrenches their exclusion and marginalization (Basok, 2002; Preibisch, 2004). Similarly, live-in caregivers are often confined to their residence and because of employers' demands they are allowed little time to socialize outside their workplace (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Parreñas, 2001a; Pratt, 2012; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005; Torres et al., 2012). Temporary migrants, regardless of their work and accommodation arrangements, always remain vulnerable, but some are afforded less restrictions on their daily lives than others.

This chapter details the intersecting effects of insecure legal status, low-ranked jobs, and non-belonging on daily life after migration within a context of negotiation and (some) agency. Throughout, it provides examples of temporary migrants' agency as they negotiate their legal status by etching out some semblance of inclusion and building toward a future with uncertainty. The following discussion is divided into two main sections, with one focusing on temporary migrants' work life and the other focusing on their community and social life. I outline what it is like to work

in some of the lowest ranked jobs in the segmented labour market within a workplace that is differentiated according to citizenship status. Hog processing work is injurious and stressful, so temporary migrants learn to cope with such challenges by developing physical and mental defence mechanisms to get used to the job (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Simpson, Hughes, Slutskaya, & Balta, 2014). Adding to the stress, some managers and supervisors use the impermanence of noncitizen status to discipline and poorly treat temporary migrants, reminding them of their deportability and creating a compliant workforce (Basok et al., 2013; De Genova, 2002; Harrison & Lloyd, 2012; Preibisch & Otero, 2014; Taylor, Foster, & Cambre, 2012). The threat of deportability permeates some of their social interactions, but it is ultimately a combination of language barriers and their fixation on goals to support or reunify with family that shapes the extent to which they socially engage. Temporary migrants look upon the communities of Prairieville and Brandon favourably, but a combination of maintaining transnational ties and having temporary resident status keeps them in a position of limbo, never fully belonging to one place or another.

"Same job, same job. Every day": The work life of temporary migrants

Imagine going to work, prepared to spend the day slaughtering and/or butchering pigs. After learning the hard way, you dress in long, warm layers, covered by protective clothing, and white coveralls before entering the shop floor. Now you look indistinguishable from the hundreds of others who will be joining you on your shift. Your workplace wreaks of a peculiar cocktail comprised of thousands of dead animals and chemicals, which hit you in the face every time you open the doors to the place you will be spending the next eight hours. It is a sterile, fast-moving, mechanized, dangerous, and cold environment. You walk to your station, past long lines of others clad in white coveralls, a yellow hard hat, and face guard, all with their heads down, focusing on their work. You take your place along a conveyor belt where you will spend hours washing out

mouths, just as you did yesterday. This may not be a pleasant job, but you are thankful that you are not responsible for hanging the 90 kilogram carcasses, which is done at the speed of 10 per minute. Your friend, who arrived to Canada with you a few weeks ago, is working in another area where he must remove the kidneys from a carcass in only four seconds before the conveyor moves the animal to the next person to be further disassembled.

In a full day, including the second shift that operates at night, you and your colleagues will slaughter and process over 6,000 hogs if you work in Prairieville. During your orientation sessions, you have been told that this scale of hog processing is only possible if every spot along the conveyor belt is filled with hard working employees, such as yourself. Each and every person along that conveyor must work quickly, follow protocol, and push themselves to work extraordinarily hard so as not to compromise this finely tuned process. You stand along that line, focus on washing those mouths, but ultimately look forward to one of your two short breaks just so you can get some fresh air and massage the cramp that is becoming more severe in your upper back.

During your shift you cannot acknowledge that pain for fear of slowing down production and upsetting your supervisor. In fact, this back pain just distracts you from the fact that you have been unable to fully close your left hand for a week or sleep at night because of the numbness in your arms. Luckily, while at work, you have learned how to will the pain away by thinking of your young daughter and spouse who depend on your \$12 per hour pay cheque to pay for medication, food, housing, school, and clothes. You just want to get through your workday so that you can go home and chat with them for a brief moment before they must go to sleep for the night. You hope to someday come home to them here in Canada, but only after you put in your time at the plant and become a permanent resident. It is such thoughts that keep you from succumbing to the pain in your body, which is often less severe than your homesickness and loneliness.

Another friend of yours arrives to work for the evening shift where he has been assigned by management to the sanitation department. He spends his shift scrubbing equipment and washing floors, desperately hoping for his supervisors to acknowledge his skills as a deboner, which he developed through years of hard work in the Philippines. He wants to be promoted to a different department where he can spend the days working with a Whizard knife, making more money and honing his skills, which he had been led to believe were valued and needed in the company since he thought this was the reason he was hired. However, his request for a transfer is repeatedly denied. He begins to suspect that his supervisor does not like him. During a shift, he questions his supervisor's instructions and then the next day receives a suspension from work. It becomes increasingly evident that his supervisor is treating most people on the sanitation shift poorly, but others fear complaining. Your friend engages the union and hopes not to get fired since he, like you, is hoping to become a permanent resident.

In addition to learning a new job, you are trying to adjust to a new way of life. The work is not the only difficult thing that you are encountering. You are experiencing new customs, new people, new foods, and a new culture. Thankfully, though, you can speak English quite well, since this was, of course, a requirement for getting the job. Being able to ask others for help or an explanation has made your adjustment to this new life easier. However, on your line at work you meet someone who has been at the plant for eight years and can only speak to you in broken English, barely able to ask you where you are from before reverting to Spanish. Apparently, the previous hiring processes did not require English. When speaking to this co-worker, you wonder how she ever learned how to do the job. Even though washing pig's mouths is not a highly technical process and there are interpreters within the company, you cannot fathom learning about workplace safety and union benefits without being able to understand English. Further, you cannot

imagine how scared and frustrated she must feel when buying groceries, going to the doctor, or processing paperwork. She says she can understand English well enough, but is not confident in speaking. You decide that you will do your best to help her speak more English and, at the very least, you offer to help her talk to your supervisor about taking time off to visit her gravely ill mother, who she has not seen since she moved to Canada. Previous attempts, you learn, have been denied since she has missed too much work because of her own work-related sickness. Over lunch in the cafeteria, you look around and see the faces of people from so many different countries and wonder about their struggles.

This story does not belong to a single participant, but rather it is an illustration of aggregate stories commonly told by temporary migrants at both plants. It details the many less than desirable aspects of hog processing work, which are made more challenging by compounded factors associated with being a foreign worker. The brief story is meant to be a window into temporary migrants' work lives, punctuated by daily struggles with injury, homesickness, language, and conflicts. It sets the context for the rest of this chapter. Everyone's stories of work are unique, but what permeates all is the centrality of work in their daily lives. Work is a source of income, benefits, cultural learning, frustration, social exclusion, and social inclusion for all. Work is the reason they have been brought to Canada. Temporary migrants depend on their work for both financial resources and a path to citizenship. Work is also a site in which noncitizen status is reproduced and where migrants are reminded of their precarious social location (Anderson, 2010; Vosko, 2009).

Through their multifaceted dependence on work, temporary migrants are a compliant workforce with limited employment mobility. Their work permits are tied to their employer, and in Manitoba, their ability to become permanent rests on their workplace performance as employers

decided whether to sponsor someone for permanent residency. Through the TFWP, immigration policy creates compliance and dependence, leaving temporary migrants little recourse for coping with workplace stresses, abuses, and challenges without compromising their long-term aspirations (Anderson, 2010; Preibisch & Otero, 2014).

"Getting used to the pain": Injury, stress, and adaptation on the shop floor

After sector-wide restructuring in industrial meat processing industry, the division of labour in these larger, mechanized, and more efficient plants became highly specialized as facilities developed capacities to conduct all steps of the slaughter to packaging process of whole animals. A Fordist industrial model shapes industrial meat processing as mechanization and assembly line practices rest on pillars of productivity and efficiency for maximum capitalist accumulation, creating standardized products for a mass market (Stull & Broadway, 2004; Troughton, 2005). Speed, specialization, precision, and routinization are needed to ensure that the industrialized process of disassembling hogs runs efficiently and that production levels are high. The productivity levels associated with this model of meat processing contribute to a dangerous work environment as concerns for maximum daily outputs often trump worker safety and health concerns (Charlebois & Summan, 2014; Novek, 1992; Preibisch & Otero, 2014; Stanley, 1992).

Beginning as early as the hiring process, temporary migrants attempt to prepare themselves to work hard in an unfamiliar environment of unanticipated hardships. When asked to describe their first day of work, nearly all participants note their surprise and shock as they first observe the large-scale, highly industrialized and mechanized operations. All employees watch orientation videos and attend introductory training sessions, but the reality of the work environment is still startling. As Ana explains, "*you don't realize at the beginning how actually it is.*" Many do not have previous meat cutting or industrial work experience, so the scale of production overwhelming at

first. Compounded with the pain of doing such physical labour for eight hours, many participants question their ability to continue to work for the duration of their work permit. Javier explains his struggles during his first days of work.

I wanted to come back to my country. I thought this is not for me [...]. I don't have this kind of experience. I didn't like it at all. I think nobody likes it. Yeah, I wanted to come back. Yeah, and my thoughts were, I hope this time pass quickly [...]. As quickly as possible so I have the chance to come back.

Javier was not planning to remain in Canada permanently and his temporary migration experience was to be a means to an end, returning to El Salvador upon earning a predetermined amount of money. The demanding nature of the work was enough for him to consider returning home before fulfilling his goal. Juan, who came to Canada with the intention of staying permanently, echoes Javier's sentiment of the initial shock of entering the shop floor.

The first day I walked down, I went to the plant [and] I'm like, oh my god! What did I just do? [...] We get ready, get our smocks on and hard hats and all that. We go down, they open the door and the smell hits you like, boof! [...] I'm like, ah man this is going to be a long 3 years. Really. Oh my god what did I just do. For real.

Diego explains how he felt during his first few weeks of work.

The first week I started work I felt a bit like, like desperate. I remember the first week, I thought, wow, what I am doing here? I would've been better in my country. And I thought no, and I'm here, I've got to hang in there whatever happens.

No one truly begins to like their job, but they focus on their future goals in an effort to make it through a workday or to the end of their work permit. To say that hog processing work on an industrial level is difficult would be an understatement; there is a reason companies in the sector have high turnover rates and hire foreign workers (Charlebois & Summan, 2014; Novek, 1992).

Even for those migrants with previous work experience in the meat processing sector, getting used to the push toward efficiency and productivity through specialized and routinized divisions of labour is difficult to get used to. A very different model of meat production exists in the Philippines. One worker at one work station will kill, prepare, and butcher one hog before moving

on to another. All work is done manually, as Michael explains, "*pig by pig, from start to the end.*" Both Michael and Joseph, who are experienced meat cutters, do not particularly enjoy the conveyor system since it means that, as Joseph observes, you have one job to do and "*that's what you do every day. Same job, same job. Every day.*" In a typical day at a hog processing facility in the Philippines there would be a maximum of 500 hogs processed compared to the 1,000 per day in Prairieville. When they begin working in Manitoba, though, they have to adjust to the specialized division of labour, coping with repetitive strain injuries and stress related to productivity demands. For example, Arnel, who was a meat cutter in the Philippines, explains that he has four seconds to scrape lard from a hog before it moves along the conveyor. Andres, who also has previous experience, highlights the effects of such a mechanized process.

It's not easy. Nothing like what we are deboning in the Philippines. It's different, 'cause, uh, especially the conveyor. The speed [...]. Sometimes we feel tired and of course stress. That's what we feel, you know?

[Interviewer: What is the stress related to?]

I think, the count of the hogs. The speed and there's so many. You thinking that, uh, no more, no more hogs!

These are not inherently enjoyable jobs and having previous experience as a meat cutter does not make it easier to work in such a mechanized environment. The jobs are physically demanding for everyone and the difficulty of such work cannot be overstated.

Indeed, the meat processing industry is both physically demanding and poses high risks to worker injury (Charlebois & Summan, 2014; Novek, 1992; Novek, Yassi, & Spiegel, 1990; Stanley, 1992). In Manitoba, the mean injury rate (both time loss and no time loss) for meat processing work between 2003 and 2013 is 20.1 injuries per 100 full-time workers for industries covered by the Workers Compensation Board (Safe Work Manitoba, 2014). Compared to a mean rate of 13.6 for all manufacturing jobs and an overall rate of 7.9 for all industry sectors over the same time period,

meat processing ranks as one of the most injury prone sectors in the province. It is unsurprising, then that every participant has either been injured at work or suffers from chronic pain. When asked whether they have experienced injuries or pain resulting from their work, many participants said "*of course*" or "*everybody gets hurt*".

Injuries and pain are most common during the first few weeks of work as the body adjusts to such physical labour. Even though they receive instruction on workplace safety and proper cutting or lifting techniques, doing the same repetitive motions all day still leads to problems. Wrist, finger, hand, or arm pain and injuries were cited by nearly all participants and some said they could not open and close their hands after the first few days of work. After a week on the job, Juan had limited mobility and numbness in his hands and arms. Because of the workload and pain, he refers to the plant as "*hell*". Additionally, others lost sleep at night because of pain and discomfort while some developed fevers and illness from being ill-prepared for the cold environment.

Despite the tremendous pain and injuries, quitting is not an option since their ability to stay in Canada rests on their continued employment. Studies have found that given their precarious legal status, learning to endure such undesirable jobs is a common coping mechanism for temporary migrants in various sectors (Binford, 2013; McLaughlin, Hennebry, & Haines, 2014; Preibisch & Otero, 2014). With plans to permanently settle in Manitoba with their families, temporary migrants must learn to cope with the difficult and demanding nature of their jobs and they have little choice but to endure their physical ailments. Many do exercises learned from co-workers, take vitamins, use muscle creams, apply ice or heat, or seek alternative therapies. However, the most common way to cope is to just "get used to it". David found ways to soothe his swollen hands by running cold water over them at breaks, eventually getting used to the pain.

Javier also learned to get used to the pain in his arms and hands. Carla, who got sick from cold temperatures in the plant, took over a year to get used to her discomfort and pain. As she explains

You get over everything, it's a matter of habit. You've got to get used to it [...]. And the happiest moment is when you are paid on Friday, every Friday. The pain and the sadness go away then.

Similarly, Diego proclaims.

I've got to do whatever I've got to do, I'm not going back. So I got used to the temperature and after a while I got used to the cold.

Implicit in this, too, is a mental defence mechanism that temporary migrants learn. The pain does not actually go away and workers just learn to deal with it, in their own way.

Other studies have found that people working in such occupations make sense of their work by invoking notions of sacrifice and accepting the physical demands as part of the job (Simpson et al., 2014). This notion of sacrifice is demonstrated by Arnel, who convinces himself that he loves his work, but to do otherwise would be a burden. In the moments when he feels tired or stressed, he repeats the following to himself:

This is the future of child. This the future of my son, the future of wife, and my family. That's just the secret, the defence mechanism.

Getting used to such a difficult job becomes the only thing temporary migrants can do to get through a day. They accept their situation as one that is necessarily difficult yet worth pursuing because of their long-term goals. Such mental exercises and self-denial may get people through a workday, but it does not directly deal with the problems. Using defence mechanisms and "getting used to" pain puts workers at higher risk of long-term debilitating injury since they do not get necessary medical attention (Preibisch & Hennebry, 2011; Sargeant & Tucker, 2009).

Such coping strategies compromise temporary migrants' ability to experience a healthy life as they sacrifice their bodies in order to reach their aspirations (Binford, 2013; Simpson et al., 2014). They do not have the choice to find alternative work and if they quit they will have to return

to their home country, crushing their dreams of a better life. They recognize the effects of their precarious status and know, or perceive, that it leaves them vulnerable to the possibility of being denied permanent settlement. When Ana had a workplace accident, she was informed by a health practitioner that complaining about the injury might compromise her opportunity to stay in Canada. Similarly, when recalling conversations with co-workers about the inherent risks of reporting injuries, Juan explains.

They say they won't deny it to us, but we're not going to press our luck [...]. Sometimes we're in real pain, but we keep working [...]. I haven't seen it happen or whatever, but you kind of feel like if you start complaining they're not going to like it. So you're like, ok, I better keep quiet and keep working. That's it. Zone out and keep doing whatever it is.

Unlike Canadian workers, temporary migrants face more severe consequences if they quit or leave their job. Because they fear the consequences of addressing injuries through proper channels, they get used to the pain. They fear the consequences of taking time off work for doctor's appointments and recovery. They want to be good, productive workers so employers will support their PNP application. They live under the constant threat of deportation and therefore a compliant workforce is created (Anderson, 2010; Basok et al., 2013; De Genova, 2002)⁵⁶. The potential consequences of reporting injury result in temporary migrants' unequal access to proper health care resources and supports, contributing to their social inequality and exclusion (Hyman et al., 2014).

Surprisingly, despite the difficult and dangerous nature of their work environment and the fear of deportation, many participants believe their employers to be good. The nature of this 'goodness' differs though and is influenced by what participants value in an employer rather than a

⁵⁶I use the term deportation to refer both to an occurrence that could happen prior to the expiration of a work permit and the act of having to return to one's home country after the expiration of a work permit. Temporary migrants in Manitoba do plan to become permanent residents and if their applications are unsuccessful they, for all intents and purposes, will be 'deported'.

reflection on the type of work they are doing. For example, some cite the availability of health benefits as something that makes their employer good. Carla, who insists that the company is "good" and "nice", is thankful for the pay and benefits she receives, which help her support her family. Others, like Humberto, are impressed by the extensive training, safety, and quality assurance processes at the company. Although Javier does not explicitly call his employers 'good', he does provide a detailed description of why he thinks his employment experiences have been mostly positive.

Supervisors really care about...I think they care. Well, all the supervisors I had were very good guys. Like they train me and stuff like that, they try to understand me, they try to explain [...]. I think the company has done very good thing for us. They, they understand you from the beginning and they knew what we were facing and it wasn't easy for us [...]. They were aware of that and they tried to, they tried to help us as much as they could. So, yeah, I think, I'm very grateful to them, they gave me the opportunity to train.

Based on the nature of participants' narratives around the notion of working for a good employer, it is often a qualified discussion, with a distinction between the company and the work. For example, even though Carla insists that the company in Brandon is "very nice" and a "good company", the work itself is "very heavy". She suffered from a fever in her first weeks of work and since then has tried getting used to the work. Not dissimilarly, Ana thinks that the company in Brandon is a "good employer". However, she follows this statement with a story about an on-the-job injury that was poorly treated. By no means do they love or enjoy their work, but they value having a stable and relatively well-paid job with benefits that will allow them an immigration opportunity.

On the one hand, then, participants espouse the virtues of their employer, but on the other hand they present workplace experiences that reflect negatively upon that same employer. Many participants credit their employer for bringing them to Canada, which makes them grateful and shapes this notion of a "good employer". But, nearly everyone has negative experiences at work. It

is not lost on me that perhaps participants have created a more positive narrative of their employer, based upon their gratefulness for being in Canada, in an effort to present socially desirable responses. However, it seems as if some participants set up a distinction between the employer or company and the work itself to establish an opinion on their working situation. Temporary migrants have, like others working in unpleasant and so-called "dirty" jobs, developed plenty of mechanisms to cope with the nature of their work (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Simpson et al., 2014). They recognize and accept that the work is hard, but conclude that at least their employer provides benefits, decent pay, and an opportunity to become a permanent resident. Perhaps, then, their seemingly conflicting representations of work are based on comparing their past work situations, which were more precarious and less compensated, with their current one. Temporary migrants endure their workplace circumstances in order to realize their aspirations, resulting in a compliant and disciplined workforce.

The Role of the Union

The TFWP outlines a basic array of rights and benefits that temporary migrants are entitled (see Chapter 4). All other rights and benefits received by temporary migrants are tied to the employer and negotiated by the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW). As a result, all of the benefits that participants value would not be possible without the active presence of a labour union that has fought for the protection of temporary migrants across Canada. It cannot be denied that the most important factor shaping the workplace experiences, and many social experiences, of temporary migrants in the two plants is the presence of the union. They have negotiated a collective agreement that is translated into multiple languages, extends health and pension benefits to all employees, and includes specific clauses for foreign workers and pathways to

permanent residence⁵⁷. In addition, work hours, breaks, and holidays are determined in the collective agreement, mitigating chances for abuses and exploitation by employers. Overtime is negotiated, either at the request of the employer or the employee, and the corresponding rates of pay are outlined in the collective agreement. It is possible that such issues could be covered in an employer-employee contract without the presence of a labour union, but temporary migrants face challenges in ensuring the enforcement of such agreements without a mediating actor (Holgate, 2011).

It is most often the case that temporary migrants in lower skilled sectors are barred from unionizing (for example, seasonal agricultural workers) or do not work in a company or sector with an operating union, leading to the potential of workplace exploitation (Alberti et al., 2013; Gabriel & Macdonald, 2014; Hanley et al., 2012; Holgate, 2011; McLaughlin et al., 2014). A lack of unions is characteristic of jobs in the lowest ranks of a segmented labour market where workers are considered to be disposable and employers seek to extract as much labour as possible at the lowest cost. Since immigrant labour often populates many of the occupations in the low-ranked segments of the labour market, the ill-effects of a non-unionized workplace are often felt by newcomers. In particular, as noncitizens, temporary migrants have very little economic and social resources and lack political power, making them a domicile and often obedient workforce operating under the constant threat of deportation (Attas, 2000; Baines & Sharma, 2006; Basok, 2003; Basok et al.,

⁵⁷ All reference to the collective agreement is based on a hard-copy version between UFCW and the company in Brandon. I have been assured by UFCW that the language in the collective agreement is identical for both companies. As stated in the agreement, the translation of all documents must be completed in languages where there are 100 or more employees claiming a particular first language. The company pays for such translations and agrees to pay for translators when requested, which is a clause written in the collective agreement. Regarding health benefits, the collective agreement states "the company agrees to pay a forty cent per hour contribution for all hours worked" (p.82) into the UFCW/(Company) Benefit Trust Fund, which provides all employees with dental care and a pension plan. Also, the collective agreement stipulates that the company must process all immigration-related paperwork in a timely manner including that which is related to permanent residency.

2013; Basok & Carasco, 2010; Macklin, 2010). In such circumstances where a workforce lacks permanent legal status, an active labour union is necessary to guard against exploitation.

However, the situations of temporary migrants in this study are relatively unique because they are included in a strong labour union with a collective agreement designed to limit the ways in which employers could mistreat employees. As is evident in both companies, the role of UFCW in ensuring that temporary migrants receive fair treatment and are not exploited is essential. UFCW thoroughly informs temporary migrants and ensures they are aware of and able to exercise their rights. Whereas Basok (2004) cautions that many migrants do not have the resources required to understand that they are actually being denied rights, the UFCW mitigates this possibility by ensuring all of their members know, from the day of their orientation sessions, what rights they are entitled to and how those rights may be exercised. The union is responsible for ensuring that such rights exist and are enforced for all employees, regardless of citizenship status.

Even though an employee may be aware of their rights, it may not result in actually exercising one's rights, which is a common problem (Basok, 2004; Basok & Carasco, 2010; Turner, 1993b). In fact, there are many barriers that can limit one's ability to exercise rights. For example, language and trust can act as barriers that make it difficult for temporary migrants to express concern or fear of losing one's job can hamper efforts to address issues (Basok, 2004). One of the ways that UFCW has attempted to make exercising rights less intimidating is to appoint shop stewards, who act as intermediaries between workers on the shop floor, supervisors, and other union representatives, providing information to all parties and clarifying concerns. The shop steward is someone that line workers trust and can talk to. As outlined in the collective agreement, a shop steward must be on the floor at all times, during all shifts. The union has taken an extra step to ensure that the concerns of temporary migrants are addressed by including the following: "the

Union will have the right to appoint one (1) additional Shop Steward per shift from each ethnic community represented by more than one hundred (100) people, if there is no Steward from that ethnic community on that shift" (p. 73). The clause does not ensure shop stewards can speak a particular language, but it is implied, or perhaps hoped, that some challenges associated with language will be mitigated.

I interviewed two temporary migrants who were shop stewards. It is an empowering position that allows them to exercise their rights while also helping others do so. Michael has been a shop steward for nearly a year and a half, entering into the role because he wanted to address issues he had witnessed while working on the kill floor. He and both foreign and Canadian co-workers felt that there was "*too much work, too much speed, too much hours [and] a lot of injuries.*" After being vocal about such issues, he was nominated by his union representative for the position of shop steward. Trained in the social service sector in his home country, he has experience helping people and therefore takes his role very seriously. He explains that he has to be quite resourceful to get the information he needs because the company is not always forthcoming with answers to his questions. Without his constant questioning, he believes that the employees would not receive necessary information to exercise their rights and access benefits.

Maricel is also a shop steward. When she was asked to apply for the position, she was excited to be able to inform newcomers and others of their rights while also learning more about what rights workers are entitled to. She is a strong advocate for the union and finds herself often convincing co-workers of the virtues and necessity of having a labour union in their workplace. Before she became a shop steward, Maricel would spend time reading through the collective agreement so she could learn about her rights and teach others about them. Now that she is a

shop steward, both her superiors and co-workers will listen to what she says. It has given her a stronger voice in the plant and for this she is deeply appreciative. As she exclaims

I want to make a harmonious relationship between us [foreign workers] and the management. Because if there is a harmonious relation, we can make a lot of production, with rights.

Both Michael and Maricel are driven individuals who desire to make a better workplace for those who have arrived to Canada in the same manner as them. They are well informed of their rights and as such do not fear reprisal for their advocacy. In this way, temporary migrants have an opportunity to have a voice within the union and in their workplace. They are not discarded as merely temporary workers, but rather included as important contributing members of an institution.

Many employees do recognize the importance of the union and are happy to be members. They go to the union for assistance and information regarding workplace concerns, settlement help, or immigration matters. Most of all, they recognize the union as their sole source of power within the workplace. When Marlon expressed his frustrations regarding the company's refusal to hire his wife, he cited the union as his source of recourse, noting his inability to approach his employer.

We have no power to ask question to the company 'cause we are only a worker. There is someone, uh, maybe, the higher to us to ask question to that. Or maybe the union. The union is the best thing maybe to question that one, 'cause they are the one to, uh, impress what is inside, inside to the company [...]. They will fight for you.

Javier also understands the importance of the union.

And the union that we had they give us a dental plan and stuff like that. So, yeah, it was a good thing [...]. They treat us like a citizen after that. I think we have all the rights as a, as a worker.

Luis sees the union as a way to learn both about his rights and his obligations to the company. The orientation sessions offered by the union taught him how to navigate the work culture and expectations of the employer.

We know what's going to happen with our salaries after 6 months, you know, because it will be increased. But also the good part is that they are teaching us about our obligations with the company. I mean, I know that we have rights, but we have obligations with the company.

Holding a very important role in the workplace lives of temporary migrants, UFCW is a central actor in fostering the inclusion of all employees by providing information and extending a welcoming institution in which to express concerns. UFCW also acts to enhance the social inclusion of temporary migrants by providing settlement services, language lessons, social gatherings, and a community of people who work together for a better workplace. Such support networks and services are otherwise denied to lower skilled temporary migrants who are excluded from conventional immigrant support systems.

Exclusion and inequality at work

Despite the belief amongst some that the companies are good and the actions of a strong labour union, workplace challenges beyond physical ailments and pain are rampant and many participants perceive their treatment at work to be unfair. Some challenges are related to workplace practices such as placement and promotion, while others are of a social nature involving interactions with co-workers. Some participants notice that processes and practices in their workplace are differentiated between Canadian and foreign workers or between those with permanent residency and those with work permits. They notice that temporary migrants are treated differently than Canadian or permanent resident workers. Few have explicit evidence of such discriminatory behaviour, but many perceive it to be true or base their conclusions on stories or rumours. They feel they have been treated unfairly for a variety of reasons, but they most commonly cite language barriers and legal status as sources of discord. Unequal treatment and discrimination at work have been found to lead to a variety of negative social and health outcome

amongst migrant workers (Bloomekatz, 2006; de Castro, Fujishiro, Sweitzer, & Oliva, 2006; Yoo, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2009).

Like most workplaces, there is an occupational order in the plants. There are line workers, who report to a lead hand, who reports to a supervisor, who reports to a manager, and so on. Temporary migrants are hired for the most dangerous and difficult positions - line work on the shop floor. There is an occupational ladder that can be climbed within the companies and it is not uncommon for temporary migrants to have a lead hand or supervisor who was once a line worker. However, many management-level and human resource positions are populated by Canadian workers and it is rare for migrant workers to receive such jobs, even after receiving permanent residency. Of all participants, only one person had received promotion from a shop floor position to a human resource job, but this followed failed attempts and countless hours of studying English. In each plant there are noticeable distinctions between line workers and those in managerial positions according to one's immigration status. Better paid, more professional positions are filled by permanent residents or, more likely, Canadian citizens, while temporary migrants are denied entrance into such jobs (Harrison & Lloyd, 2013; Preibisch & Otero, 2014). Many studies have found that since migrant workers constitute a compliant workforce and citizen workers eschew shop floor-type jobs, employers have an interest in segregating their labour force to maximize profit and therefore keeping migrant workers in the low ranked, least desirable jobs (Anderson, 2010; Basok, 2002; Bloomekatz, 2006; Harrison & Lloyd, 2013; Preibisch & Binford, 2007; Preibisch & Otero, 2014). Furthermore, immigrants in Canada often experience barriers to promotion and movement into managerial positions (Reitz, 2005).

The segmentation of work in industrial hog processing is further differentiated, with line work hierarchically structured. There are positions along the production line and in different

departments that are ranked according to skill level, with concomitant wage differences and prestige⁵⁸. All temporary migrants want to earn as much per hour as possible, so many covet the jobs that earn the most. They struggle to enter such positions, though. At the top of the production work hierarchy are the skilled positions, and in particular those that participants refer to as "deboning". These jobs are highly specialized and only experienced meat cutters get the opportunity to do such work. Participants from the Philippines who have previous meat cutting experience had expected to be placed in deboning positions. For example, Marlon is a skilled meat cutter and was surprised when he was assigned to the packaging department upon beginning work in Manitoba. Not only is he unable to use his skills, but he also earns five dollars per hour less than someone who debones. Marlon explains his frustrations and illustrates the differences in wage amongst the various positions in production work.

When I arrived here I expected to they put me at the deboner 'cause I know how to debone, 'cause I'm a meat cutter. But they put me in the packaging.

[Interviewer: Did you want to be in the meat cutting part?]

Right now? Yeah. I want, because that's my job. Because when they put us at the packaging it's a big difference for the meat cutters' salary. The packaging is, uh, right is 12.45, but if you are in the meat cutter or deboner you get 17.45. Five dollars. That's it. When in 6 months they gonna post a job posting so I signed for sanitation because it's a big difference for salary. In sanitation its \$16.45. When I start here my rate is 11.85 for the packaging and then after 6 months I go to sanitation and then I get my bracket 5 of \$16.45 and then that's it. But sanitation is so far from my own job, yeah, from my skills. 'Cause I'm a deboner!

⁵⁸ Wage classifications and pay per hour are detailed in the collective agreement. Most line workers start in "General 1 or 2" categories and move into "Semi-Skilled 1 or 2", then into "Skilled 1 or 2". Each task of slaughtering and butchering a hog is specifically associated with a skill level, segmenting the entire process into a hierarchy of disassembly. "General 1" positions include removing a kidney, operating a bung vacuum, shaving a hog before slaughter, or unloading coolers. "General 2" jobs include chasing hogs before slaughter, notching the front feet, removing the stomach, removing lips, or weighing packages. "Semi-Skilled 1" jobs include trimming bellies, de-rindng hambones, or removing heads. "Semi-Skilled 2" jobs include separating inedible render, removing tongues, or removing sirloins. "Skilled 1" jobs include sticking hogs, operating a brisket saw, inspecting carcasses, or boning. "Skilled 2" jobs include lead hand, corporate trainer, removing tenderloins, exposing lymph nodes, or operating a split saw.

Marlon's experience with deskilling is by no means uncommon. Ramos has deboning skills from previous work in Ireland, but he was assigned to the shipping department. Andres and Rodel consider themselves to be deboners, but they have been working in the slaughter department since arriving. Such experiences are counter to what they had been told during the hiring process. The companies' explanation to workers for not matching skills with jobs is that production has not increased to the point where there are enough of the coveted positions to accommodate all trained deboners, but this does not convince all employees, as Juan suggests below.

You're supposed to have the same opportunity. Well, in theory we do, but I don't think we do.

Juan and others wonder if they are being kept out of deboning positions because of their non-permanent status. The type of job one will be placed in is not outlined in their work contract, but trained deboners came to Canada expecting to continue with their trade. Not unlike the deskilling process and foreign qualification recognition barriers faced by many immigrants to Canada, temporary migrants' employment expectations do not line up with employers' practices.

Similar to other immigrants arriving to Canada, meat cutters are not working in jobs that match their skills and experience, which can be frustrating and disillusioning. Although literature on skills mismatch and failure to recognize foreign credentials is often reserved for immigrants in higher skilled occupations (Boyd & Thomas, 2001; Dean, 2010; Wald & Fang, 2009), it would be short sighted to assume those in so-called lower skilled sectors do not experience the same challenges and barriers to fully realizing their occupational potential. Many temporary migrants were hired because they had demonstrated meat cutting experience in job interviews. They now face the prospect of not using the skills they spent years developing. Maricel, Marlon, Joseph, and Ramos remain optimistic that they will one day be able to practice and hone their skills in Canada, earning a wage that is concomitant with their work experience. As the literature demonstrates,

over time immigrants do find employment that matches, or more closely aligns with, their skills and previous work experience (Preston et al., 2010; Wald & Fang, 2009) Further, like other immigrants, temporary migrants are not given the same workplace opportunities as other workers. Such practices reinforce labour market segmentation and temporary migrants' exclusion from jobs higher in the hierarchy (Bauder, 2003).

There are also differences in how temporary migrants are treated in other aspects of the workplace. Temporary migrants are not blind to the ways they are different from Canadian workers, and supporting evidence presents itself in various ways. For example, when Ana began working at the plant in 2005 there was very little effort to translate documents, signs, and instructions. Employees received misconduct notifications in English and have no idea what the document said or why they had been disciplined. People who were called upon to translate in the plant were those who struggled with English only a little less than others, so much was lost in interpretation. Even though translation in the plants has improved, language remains a basis upon which many temporary migrants at the plants struggle, as frustration and misunderstanding occur on the shop floor. When he started at his job in Brandon, Juan was introduced to two employees who were to train and mentor him, but they could not speak English and communicated by pointing. Juan could not learn his job because he did not know the terms for equipment or the names of cuts of meat, but he was still expected work quickly and efficiently.

Another example of temporary migrants' differential treatment is presented by Juan, who has, on a number of occasions, witnessed things that lead him to conclude workers are treated differently based on where they are from. Juan is astute and had been aware of the potential for unequal treatment in Canada after spending time researching attitudes toward migrants on local

online discussion forums. Juan, who witnessed different training practices for employees, explains one of many instances that have upset him.

You know what makes you kind of mad in the end? Is that like two weeks ago or three weeks ago, they had another group, but they're from here, they're locals. They went in and the supervisor goes like this [indicating calling someone over]. Hey [Juan], these are the new guys. Ok, you should teach them how to bag and all that. Don't have them do anything, just watch. Just have them watch. I'm like, they didn't do that to me. Just have them watch? And after an hour maybe have them bag one or two bags just to make them get a hang of it. I'm like they didn't do that to us at all. Yeah we were commenting on that. Yeah, yeah you're Canadian resident, they're Canadian born and we're not [...]. Since we set foot on the plant we haven't been standing there.

Juan believes employees from Honduras did not receive adequate on-the-job training and have received imbalanced workloads. He observes that Canadian-born workers receive slower, more specific training than did he and his cohort from Honduras. On numerous occasions he has been told to not complain because he does not have permanent residency. He's been informed that complaining could compromise his chance of receiving provincial nominee support from the company.

The stories of differential treatment are examples of discrimination, but they are often perceived or implicit. Of course, holding the threat of deportation over temporary migrants is quite explicit in its discriminatory nature, but many stories participants told were based on hearsay or threats were intimated through tone and expression, which is not uncommon in research on precariously stashed workers (Anderson, 2010; Binford, 2013). Some participants did, however, experience egregious and more explicit examples of workplace bullying, racism, and discrimination. Arnel tells stories about workplace bullying that he attributes to "*just one or maybe two [...] bad guys*". He is hesitant to discuss the nature of the bullying and downplays the extent of it upon further questioning, blaming family background for their behaviour. Making excuses for the behaviour of superiors has been found to be a way that migrant workers cope with workplace

abuses (Cohen, 1991). The following quotation depicts both the conflicted way Arnel represents this bullying behaviour and the way he excuses their behaviour.

You know, there are many bad guys who are bullying you. But don't mind, just smile.

[Interviewer: Is it bosses or coworkers?]

Uh, just only a few. In a 100% there's just one or maybe two.

[Interviewer: Why do you think they would be bullying?]

I don't know, because I, uh, I think for the upbringing of the families [...]. Because that guy who bullied you, if you background him or her, if you background their family you can see what's the, what's the situation of their family.

[Interviewer: Is it targeted to you or all sorts of people?]

All sorts of people.

Without any other details, it is difficult to discern the nature of the bullying encountered by Arnel. However, others cited verbal abuse and unfair treatment from their superiors, suggesting that such behaviour is directed only to temporary migrants and those from other countries. In Maria's case, she experienced bullying and outright discrimination and racism. After telling stories of being continually yelled at and belittled by her supervisors, Maria began to cry during the interview and remains scarred by their actions. She spent eight years at the plant for lack of other employment options, but suffered nearly every day.

Never I liked to work at [the plant]. [The plant] only have aggressive people, Canadian. Yes, they don't like immigration people, I don't know why. Very harassing [...]. [I] hate working at the plant. Supervisors really racists[...]. Everyday immigration people cry. Really racist. My ex-supervisor really a bad man [...]. Never did they say, "hi, how are you?" They only said, "what the fuck?" Bad word all the time. Yell, everyone yell [at] only immigration people [and] Canadian people, no. Canadian people don't have good? [Supervisors] say, whatever! Him don't care. Immigration people do something and yell, yell.

Sadly, her experiences at the plant have left her mistrusting Canadian people in general and left her deeply wounded.

Few participants cite stories as terrible as Maria's and there were limited examples of explicit racism experienced at work. However, others feel they have been discriminated against

because of their language. Through the privileging of one language over another, language becomes a site of social exclusion and linguistic inequality can have negative impacts on individuals (Duchene, Moyer, & Roberts, 2013b; Piller & Lising, 2014; Yoo et al., 2009). As Duchene, Moyer, and Roberts (2013a) explain "language operates as an instrument of power across and beyond institutions" (p. 3). Furthermore, they explain

Language is considered a practice as well as a resource that can have both symbolic value and exchange value in a market economy and where knowing the right kind of language or variety can enable access to desired resources such as jobs or to public and private services provided by the state (p. 3).

Current immigration policy is fixated on 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991) and language has become a resource that defines migrants' inclusion and exclusion. Although participants did not express experiences of discrimination or being mistreated because of the colour of their skin, some were targeted because of their language abilities. Echoing anti-immigration sentiment, Ana tells of her friend's experience with linguistic discrimination as she sought health care from a nurse at the plant.

If you don't speak English what are you doing in Canada?. Go back to your country, it's not my business if you don't speak English.

Some participants recognize they will not receive promotion without learning English while others are outright shunned by co-workers because they cannot speak their language.

As will be discussed later, discrimination based on language is not confined to the workplace, but it does shape workplace interactions in important ways as workers' health and well-being is compromised by the linguistic distance between personnel in the plant.

In the workplace, precariousness is reinforced by both the structure of employment and the practices of managerial, health care, and supervisory personnel. Legal status not only limits temporary migrants' inclusion within the nation-state, but it is also used as a mechanism to discipline a workforce that fears compromising their chances of obtaining secure status. Migration

status organizes the workplace and this is especially evident in the lower ranked segments of the labour market where jobs are undesirable, difficult, and often dangerous (Bloomekatz, 2006; Preibisch & Otero, 2014). Temporary migrants experience and endure poor treatment in their place of work because they lack the power to contest their circumstances and fear the ramifications, which would have disastrous effects on their lives and the lives of their families.

Members of a community? Temporary migrants' inclusion in the social arena

Recent literature on temporary migrants in Canada concludes they are a socially excluded and marginalized population with few ties to the communities in which they work (Basok, 2004; Foster & Taylor, 2013; Preibisch, 2004). They do not participate in the social life of the community because of their demanding work schedules and a sense that they are unwelcome (Basok, 2002; Preibisch, 2004; Smart, 1997). Furthermore, the very nature of temporary migration precludes migrants from forming long-term ties to the community in which they work (Foster & Taylor, 2013; Martin, 2002). Social exclusion and marginalization are built into the policy instruments of TFWPs, which permeate the experiences illustrated throughout this chapter. For example, since employers using the SAWP and domestic caregiver program are required to provide housing for employees, accommodations are often located on farm property for the former and in employers' houses for the latter, isolating temporary migrants and giving employers the ability to constrict social contact. Temporary migrants are also restricted from accessing government-funded settlement services and language learning opportunities, which are often significant sources of social networks and support. Without language learning opportunities, temporary migrants without conversation-level English are further isolated and unable to interact with English-speakers. Non-permanent status shapes the ways in which temporary migrants can and cannot participate in society and the extent of this participation is stratified according to which stream of the TFWP individuals have been hired

through (Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Landolt & Goldring, 2013; Macklin, 2010; Preibisch & Otero, 2014).

Employers hiring temporary migrants through the SLSO only have to ensure there is adequate and affordable housing available and, in the case of the communities in this study, migrants do not live on company property. Therefore, temporary migrants live in the community in which they work, renting either a house or an apartment and always sharing the accommodation with other temporary migrants⁵⁹. They are restricted from accessing government-funded settlement services and language learning opportunities, but until recently had, informally, been extended some support through some settlement service organizations. If not for UFCW, though, temporary migrants would be largely on their own to navigate settlement needs. The union offers basic English classes for all members and opportunities for social events as well as assistance with taxes and immigration-related paperwork. Beyond the union, some service providers, local government, and other actors in Brandon make efforts to include and assist temporary migrants, contributing to a welcoming and mostly friendly environment. All of the aforementioned factors have put temporary migrants in Brandon and Prairieville at an advantage since it is by no means a guarantee that temporary migrants in the SLSO experience such inclusion. That being said, temporary migrants in Brandon and Prairieville do encounter a number of barriers to full inclusion and membership in society, which are outcomes of policy associated with the TFWP and the result of being understood and understanding oneself as not entirely belonging to the society in which their labour is used (Foster & Taylor, 2013).

⁵⁹The nature of accommodations for temporary migrants differs depending on the industry, company, and community. For example, temporary migrants working in the oil sands in Alberta live in segregated work camps that are physically separate from the larger community (Foster & Taylor, 2013).

Welcoming communities? Community receptiveness and discrimination

Despite the fact that temporary migrants often struggle to participate in the community in which they live and work, many feel welcomed in both communities. For example, Oscar, who had temporary status at the time of our interview, feels that he can be part of the community now and into the future. His quote is quite striking in the sense that he demonstrates no indication of being excluded from the wider community.

So here in Brandon, I like Brandon. Here is different and that's what I like. And we have a lot of opportunity to grow in the community, to fit in to the community and there are a lot of assistance centres that can give you assistance and then orientation. And so that's what I like here [in] Brandon.

Many participants have been surprised by the support they receive from community residents when they first arrive, which exceeds their expectations. Others have been surprised by the friendliness they encounter on the street or in grocery stores, often exclaiming that such collegiality would not occur in their home country. Arnel appreciates that people say hello in the streets or from their front porches, which does not happen in the Philippines. The following quotes further demonstrate the positive feelings participants have toward community residents.

People here is really, really, really gentle. You know? It's, wow, everybody is trying to help us, you know, giving us things, asking us, how are you? Are you ok? Do you need something else? - Luis

People is friendly and able to help you any time you ask for anything. The place, I love the place. - Oscar

I need to say something about the people. In the bank, in the library, and in the stores and Superstore wherever, some people is so kind. This is something special. The bus driver. Everyone. Always is somebody is not, but everyone's like, how do you say, 90%, 99% maybe, they are so good with us. It's a pretty good experience. - Carlos

Such positive perspectives are not held by all participants, but many do feel included in a community that cares about their well-being. The positive experiences stand in contrast to research on SAWP migrants in Ontario or SLSO migrants in Alberta (Basok, 2002, 2004; Byl & Foster, 2009; Foster & Taylor, 2013; Preibisch, 2004)

In Brandon, there are a few supportive community members who have become involved with mobilizing assistance efforts for temporary migrants. Some people act as necessary yet informal translators while others have collected basic apartment furnishings to give to migrants who have recently arrived. Nearly all participants can cite the name of an individual, whether it is a union representative, a landlord, a bus driver, or a kind-hearted impromptu tour guide who has gone out of their way to help or offer support. It is reassuring that participants have good experiences in the community and people are friendly to them. Of course, there are negative experiences, but, on the whole, participants feel that residents of Brandon and Prairieville are friendly, at least in comparison to their home country. This community orientation, coupled with the collaborative efforts of municipal government and stakeholders, contributes to a mostly welcoming context for temporary migrants who are all too often susceptible to exclusion and marginalization in the community in which they live and work.

Of course mere friendliness is not the sole factor contributing to social inclusion and I cannot conclude from such examples that all is well in terms of temporary migrants' inclusion in society. When I was in the field, the owner of my accommodations reacted to my dissertation project by telling me her thoughts on immigration to her community, which are both racist and assimilationist. Her observations are guided by a narrow-minded and prejudice orientation toward "those people" who only speak "their" language, which she feels is incredibly rude because if she went to "their" country she would be expected to speak "their" language. Furthermore, she concluded that "this group" was immoral and lacked proper socialization after learning from neighbours that "they" have sex in their yards and urinate in the streets. Given the extensive literature on rural communities' challenges with welcoming diverse populations, I was unsurprised that people have such feelings (Broadway, 2007; Dalla & Christensen, 2005; Fennelly, 2008;

Gozdziak & Bump, 2004; Preibisch, 2004). However, I was appalled by her characterizations and complete comfort in telling me of the perceived problems her community faces. I have heard other stories of such prejudice and "othering", but rarely did participants mention such attitudes directed toward them. I would have missed this side of the community had I not told the proprietor about my research. Racism and discrimination are not always openly or publicly expressed through direct action. Prejudice can remain hidden, reserved for conversation between residents, behind closed door. On the surface communities can appear to be welcoming and inclusive. However, on a day-to-day basis, subtle - or explicit - forms of discrimination are expressed and experienced.

Unfortunately, stereotypes, bias, and discrimination do exist. As Deaux (2006) argues, such tendencies "lurk below the surface" and "they give durability and longevity to the often-negative group stereotypes and in turn influence many of the daily encounters that immigrants have" (p. 82). Indeed, a few participants cite stories of either direct or indirect prejudice or discrimination. Even though I purposefully did not ask participants if they had experienced racism or discrimination, it often came out in conversation about their daily challenges, albeit through cautious reflection. One of the examples of direct discrimination is outlined in the previous workplace story from Maria and another comes from Ana. Shortly after she arrived, Ana was leaving a shopping mall one day when a car full of young men called her "a fucking immigrant". Stories of perceived discrimination also exist. Martha told a story about how her husband, who was helping a Canadian homeowner with landscaping work, was never offered a glass of water or rest on a hot day, which she perceived to be discrimination. Javier said he had never experienced racism directly, but while walking on a sidewalk he has noticed people look at him and then cross to the other side. Both real and perceived encounters of discrimination have harmful effects on people's feelings of belonging, their health, and well-being (Deaux, 2006; Li, 2003; Yoo et al., 2009). Each person dealt with such

experiences differently, but it is evident that encountering real or perceived discrimination contributes to feelings of social isolation, stress, and exclusion.

Social networks

Community receptiveness toward temporary migrants is not the only factor to consider when examining the nature of their participation and inclusion/exclusion. Having opportunities to build social networks and interpersonal connections are also important to fully participating in society and may not necessarily evolve out of pleasantries in the street or at the grocery store. Considering their non-permanent status in Canada and the conditions of their accommodations and work life, temporary migrants have few opportunities or resources to devote to establishing connections. Since social networks often serve a function for longer-term social capital gains (Kazemipur, 2004; Lin, 1999; Li, 2004; Sanders, 2002), without permanent status or an opportunity for it, there is little incentive for temporary migrants to make connections beyond their workplace. Given this consideration, there is little research that considers the state of temporary migrants' social participation and the extent to which they may attempt to establish social networks. Unlike immigrants, temporary migrants are not expected to integrate or settle so the literature on social capital attainment does not consider their situations and experiences. Also, since they are only temporary residents, policy is not concerned whether temporary migrants have the social resources necessary for integrating because integration is seen as a longer term project rooted within a present and future commitment to Canada (Hennebry, 2012). However, since most temporary migrants in this study do not see themselves as temporary and they continue throughout their daily lives with an eye toward long-term settlement in Canada, it is pertinent to address this gap in knowledge and consider the nature of their social participation and interpersonal networks.

One of the ways in which social participation and engagement can be pursued is through voluntary activities within one's ethnic community (Couton & Gaudet, 2008). Given the nature of both hog processing companies' hiring strategies, there are substantial populations of temporary migrants from similar ethnic backgrounds in both communities. Until recently, public ethnic celebrations or organizations in Brandon and Prairieville were limited to groups who had settled in the Province in the 1800s (such as Ukrainians, French Canadian, German, and Icelandic groups). In Brandon, diverse ethnocultural communities are now encouraged to gather around the city's Lieutenant Governor's Winter Festival, which is an annual celebration of various ethnic and cultural groups, and organize pavilions to showcase regional foods, cultural artefacts, and performances. Interestingly, few participants mention involvement in such events and few cited examples of participating in ethnocultural organizations or events at all. That being said, though, the Winter Festival has been made possible by the growing diversity in the city and its inauguration coincided with recent demographic changes.

In Prairieville, Filipino temporary migrants have put considerable effort into establishing networks and connections amongst one another and also with other community residents. For example, Marlon volunteers with a community safety program to get to know the community and become involved. Also, a growing cultural association assists newly arrived temporary migrants, celebrates and promotes culture, and organizes social activities. Arnel, who is part of the formal structure of the association, is proud of its vibrancy and quick growth. The association is registered with the government, has formal bylaws and a mandate, and has over 100 members, after being in operation for only two months. The association also serves a number of practical functions. Part of its bylaw document indicates that the organization must help Filipinos with their applications for permanent residency. Maricel explains that the association is a source of initial settlement support

for newcomers. In addition to providing local information and a support network, members of the association do their best to provide basic necessities to newcomers. They also maintain transnational ties and organize fundraising campaigns if someone has a sick family member or for people in the Philippines struck by natural disaster. At the time of the interviews, the association was raising money to send to the Philippines after a disastrous typhoon. Marlon is also quick to point out that the association, which he refers to as "Fil-Toba", addresses a very important social function - they often organize parties and invite Canadians.

Yeah, the Fil-Toba organization, the Philippine group, when they get the Fil-Toba party they invite Canadians [...]. 'Cause when Filipino and then Canadian always combining in one party, they are gonna know each other.

Through their various inclusive community events, the association raises the profile of Filipino temporary migrants in Prairieville and bridges potential gaps between the citizen residents and newcomers while also maintaining transnational ties.

Even though there is some evidence of temporary migrants participating in organizations, this is by no means a commonly cited occurrence in their lives. When asked about their social lives or leisure time, few said that they participate in formal organizations or volunteer. Some participate in church groups or pursue language learning opportunities and many pursue social activities in smaller groups or on their own. Many of the stories that participants tell about their social networks involve co-workers, who are often from the same ethnic and/or linguistic group. Participants' interpersonal networks are largely confined to their colleagues since they work all day with them, share similar backgrounds, speak the same language, and often co-habitat either together or nearby. This is not an uncommon finding amongst immigrant populations (Breton, 1964; Chiswick & Miller, 2005; Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002). Some participants have met Canadian friends through work and form friendships beyond the plants while others stick close to those who

share similar backgrounds. When Ernesto was overwhelmed during the first few days of orientation, he was relieved after meeting other Hondurans and Latino workers who then became his friends. It meant a lot to him because these were people who had been in Canada longer than him and, as he says, *"it was cool because they talked to us [newly arrived temporary migrants] like a family because they came here the same way."*

Temporary migrants bond with one another on the basis of language and experience. They mostly understand each other, with some going through the entire hiring and migration process together. Once in Canada, they meet others who have been through the process, which acts as a source of comfort and information during such an overwhelming time. Their social contact beyond those who share similar experiences and language is often limited, contributing to isolation from a larger community.

Barriers to social inclusion and sources of social exclusion

Even though many participants' socialize almost entirely with their colleagues, this does not necessarily mean it is a choice. They encounter very real structural and interpersonal barriers to social inclusion, engagement, and participation on a daily basis that are shaped by the policy parameters of the TFWP itself and their status as non-permanent residents. This section discusses a number of the barriers to social inclusion and layers of vulnerability that temporary migrants face and experience on a daily basis, including the nature of their work, language, transnational connections, and discrimination. These barriers are interrelated and often must be navigated concurrently. Furthermore, there will inevitably be more barriers encountered by temporary migrants, but those included here are cited most often by participants and directly relate to their social position as lower skilled noncitizens.

On the whole, temporary migrants desire more diverse interpersonal networks and connections than those confined to their colleagues or ethnic group. However, they spend the majority of their time working and maintaining such schedules leaves little time or energy to devote to establishing social connections. Therefore, work contributes to a state of social isolation, restricting social participation and acting as a barrier to social inclusion (Basok, 2004; Couton & Gaudet, 2008). For example, Carla, who describes her first year in Brandon presents a story that is quite similar to others. Her first year was spent getting adjusted to her new life, coping with homesickness and loneliness, and navigating new customs. Work is initially, and always, difficult and takes time to get used to. The culture, way of life, and weather is dramatically different, so that also takes time and energy to learn and negotiate. As Carla explains, most of all, though, the first year or so is spent working as hard as possible and saving (and remitting) as much money as possible to support family.

Since all we did was work, we rested a lot 'cause we were very tired when we left work. We hardly went out. We stayed at home and we just went to shop at Superstore. Nothing else, just save money.

Carla's work allows her to support her family and pay off her house in El Salvador, but she has had to compromise a social life and learning English to achieve such goals.

I wanted to earn a lot of money to pay for my house. That is what I came here for. Sometimes I do regret having come because I haven't done anything except work. I didn't take care of learning English.

Work is such a central part of temporary migrants' lives that participants spent much of their interview speaking of workplace concerns and experiences rather than social activities. Work is the fulcrum upon which their migration experience balances, forming the central activity of their lives upon which all else revolves. When asked what they like to do outside of work, many said "rest", "sleep", or "relax". The physically demanding nature of hog processing work leaves little energy for post-work activities and the centrality of work results in limited social connections.

Language

In addition to work, language is pivotal to the stories of all participants and, I would argue, it is one of the most important factors in determining the extent of temporary migrants' social exclusion (Duchene et al., 2013a; Piller & Lising, 2014). As Maricel asks, "*if you don't know how to communicate how can you work or even how can you express emotion*"? Given the significance of daily communication, it is no surprise that language plays a central role in shaping migration experiences. Immigration scholars have been studying the effects of language on immigrants' labour market, health, and social outcomes for decades (Chiswick & Miller, 2003; Derwing & Waugh, 2012; Dustmann & Soest, 2002; Pottie, Ng, Spitzer, Mohammed, & Glazier, 2008; Yoo et al., 2009), yet little attention is given to temporary migrants' experiences. Therefore, the short- and long-term effects of language on their lives have not been examined. Since they have been admitted through the SLSO, temporary migrants working in the hog processing industry do not necessarily have education beyond a high school diploma and are not required to have a minimum language requirement⁶⁰. The company does offer very basic English classes as part of their pre-orientation sessions in source countries, but these do not amount to enough to navigate life in Manitoba. As such, language is the most commonly cited daily challenge encountered by temporary migrants and it remains, for some, an insurmountable barrier to being able to fully participate in society⁶¹.

⁶⁰ The SLSO has no minimum language requirement. Employers decide what level of either official language is required for the job. To become a permanent resident through a PNP, though, all temporary migrants are required a Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) level 4. The changes to language requirements for the PNP have led to two distinct groups of lower skilled temporary migrants working in the hog processing industry in Manitoba: (1) Those arriving before the changes had very limited English. Some studied and learned the language, and some have not. (2) Those arriving after the changes who come with moderate to advanced English levels and can, at least, navigate daily communication.

⁶¹ Given the frequency that language-related challenges were discussed, the implications and effects could constitute an entire chapter. Here they are described with great simplicity out of concern for space.

Language contributes to the layers of vulnerability encountered by temporary migrants as it severely restricts their ability to engage in social interaction, gain membership in a community beyond their particular linguistic group, find alternative employment, communicate workplace injuries, realize rights, and, in some cases, become permanent residents (Piller & Lising, 2014). All participants recognize the significance of language struggles. For some, English language challenges are perennial and continually lead to social isolation and frustration. Others have become determined to overcome these challenges and focus their resources on learning English. Javier came with basic English, but after suffering social isolation and workplace frustrations he devoted over \$1000 and all of his free time to studying. His account below summarizes many of the challenges that are encountered by temporary migrants, detailing how language frustrates nearly all daily interactions.

I think the language is the first thing, the big challenge. It was very difficult to go to a restaurant, order a meal, or went to the doctor and say what's your problem. It was very hard in many sense. Like, you wanted to have, you know, friends from here, how could you communicate with them? How to meet them? And for everyone the language is the first, the first, or the main problem. The main issues. Yeah, it's horrible. When I thought about it, I think, wow, how could I learn anything? [...] Sometimes you felt like it's better to stay at home. Why should I go outside? I can't talk, I can't ask for what I want, or I can't express myself. I think that give me, you know, give me, encourage me to learn the language, to become eager to learn. And say, I want to learn! I want to communicate! I want to express myself!

Not being able to communicate at work and in the community is embarrassing and frustrating. It leads to immense anxiety at the grocery store, when trying to take a taxi cab, figuring out the bus schedule, or determining the name of a particular cut of meat at work. Beyond the frustrations in daily interactions, language has very real implications for temporary migrants' futures in Canada. Language levels interact with non-permanent status to reinforce marginalization and

precariousness, keeping temporary migrants socially excluded and limited in their ability to better their circumstances.

Not everyone is able to study and learn English to the extent that Javier has, and, in fact, only one other participant pursued studies beyond basic classes. It is difficult for temporary migrants to find the time and resources to study, especially if they are supporting family members and saving for family reunification, as Maria explains.

[Interviewer: Is it very difficult for you to learn the language?]

Yes. It's very difficult. I come here for work, work, work. [I] only [work here for] money for my sons to come here. Right now I only have 3 months [of English language classes]. I study English at Westman Immigration only [for] 3 months, [but] I have 8 years live here!

After being in Canada for eight years, Maria has only recently found the time and resources to start studying. She has brought her sons to live in Brandon and saved enough money for their education, so only now is she able to pursue English classes. Diego, through a Spanish interpreter, echoes Maria's sentiments and struggled to find time and energy to study during his eight years in Brandon. Learning a language is no simple task. Jeff Traeger of UFCW estimates that it takes approximately 1,000 hours to successfully complete each English level. So, for a newly arrived temporary migrant with the most basic level of English (CLB 1), it would take approximately 3,000 hours to reach the required level for a provincial nominee application (CLB 4). This must be achieved within the duration of a work permit and prior to applying to the PNP. The union can only offer language classes up to Level 5, so if temporary migrants want to advance their English levels they must pursue more expensive classes at either a college or university. Even though there are some opportunities to learn English, very few people are able to balance language learning with the demands of both work schedules and familial responsibility. In fact, the two participants who were

able to study English were single and without children, giving them more leisure time and resources to engage in such a pursuit.

Many participants express a desire to make Canadian friends, often so they can informally learn English. However, such a desire is restricted by a cycle of isolation whereby their challenges with the language result in limited interpersonal connections beyond family and co-workers. Therefore, they meet few people with whom they can learn and practice their language skills. In the above quote from Javier, he demonstrates the angst associated with language struggles, which often culminate in a desire to stay at home and not engage with the outside world. Both Diego and Maria feel extremely socially isolated and have made very few Canadian friends because of the social barriers caused by their language struggles. Isabel, who is not yet a permanent resident and has been in Manitoba for only a year, also struggles with English and desperately wants to meet Canadian people so she can learn the language and successfully become a permanent resident. However, she has not been able to meet people beyond her Filipino neighbours and co-workers. The solution for those struggling with English is to retreat from active social participation and/or associate only with those who share their language.

Some participants have come to Canada with an advanced level of English, which leads to a noticeably easier settlement and transition period than those who have nearly no understanding of the language. For those who are bilingual, social inclusion and diverse interpersonal connections are much easier to achieve in a short period of time. Furthermore, they do not live with the constant fear of failing to achieve the requirements for permanent residency. They can express themselves, ask questions, and learn from others. Luis, who arrived with advanced English, has been able to sort through the specifics of Canadian immigration policy, his employment contract, and the union's collective agreement with little difficulty. Ernesto insists, in English, that he

encounters very few challenges on a daily basis. Ana, who came to Canada with only minimal English levels, quickly became friends with Canadian co-workers because she desperately wanted to learn English so she could more easily navigate life in Brandon. Arnel had a very similar experience and quickly made friends with Canadian co-workers who assisted him with his language learning and taught him about Canadian culture. Javier recognized how important English would be for his future in Canada, so he devoted much of his leisure time to listening to English music and paying for advanced English lessons. Learning English has been empowering endeavour for these participants as they enhance their linguistic capital. It has led to enhanced social networks, closer friendships, and afforded them the ability to help other newcomers navigate the migration experience. For those with advanced English, they are confident in their ability to interact with their employers, navigate their new home, and pass the necessary tests for obtaining permanent residency.

Even though, until recently, language was but a minor factor in the hiring matrices used by hog processing companies it is a major factor in the community and workplace experiences of temporary migrants. The contrast in experiences between those who arrive with moderate to advanced English proficiency or learned the language while here and those who have not been able to learn the language is profound. Such differences are instigated by the federal government's changes to the minimum language requirements for PNPs and industry's reaction to such changes. As Piller and Lising (2014) have suggested, there are dual actors (industry and government) with competing interests in the governing of language requirements for lower skilled migrants. In general, companies have little interest in minimum language requirements in sectors that, in fact, require little spoken interaction. Government has much interest in setting minimum language requirements for permanent immigrants since it is a major variable in ensuring successful integration. In light of increasing transitions to permanent residency for temporary migrants via

PNPs, the federal government now ensures such transitional foreign workers have language proficiencies akin to permanent economic immigrants. Industry's reaction in Manitoba has been to hire migrants with higher levels of English to avoid the costs associated with sending their workforce home. Caught amongst such competing interests and evolving practices are migrants, who now must ensure their language levels are appropriate if they wish to stay in Canada. Language has become both a site of and barrier to social inclusion as it also acts as a gatekeeper to permanent residency (Duchene et al., 2013a).

Family

One of the ways temporary migrants cope with their language learning struggles is to rely on family members to navigate community life. As other studies have found, children learn English quickly in school and often act as interpreters for their parents, limiting some of the isolation participants feel (Derwing & Waugh, 2012; Hagelskamp et al., 2010; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Beyond acting as interpreters, the arrival of spouses and children establishes an intimate interpersonal network for temporary migrants who have often spent years apart from their family. Prior to family reunification, though, the absence of family members can be a barrier to social inclusion and community membership. For many, such distance leads to profound loneliness and heartache, which in turn leads to isolation. Many participants recall the first months after leaving their family as some of the hardest times in their lives. In cases when participants began to cry during interviews, it was always related to stories of saying goodbye to or being separated from family. Nearly all participants mentioned that being separated from one's family caused enough pain to consider returning home. In fact, some participants cited stories of co-workers returning home after a few weeks because they could not handle the distance. I have also been told that one of the main reasons for temporary migrants' return is because of family. When

they are not working, temporary migrants spend as much time as possible communicating with their family via Skype, Facebook, or telephone, but the pain associated with family separation does not easily dissipate.

It is for the future of their family that many temporary migrants uproot their lives and initiate this period of separation, but the distance can have deleterious effects on parents and children (Parreñas, 2001a; Pratt, 2012). Luis describes the stress and worry he has for his family who is not yet with him.

Your family is there, you are here. You know that everything here is ok. Here is, you don't have problems like in our country - fevers, kidnappers, and yes, that's the problem that I'm here. I'm ok. But they're over there. I don't know what's going on. You know, people die every day.

While they are apart, temporary migrants worry about the family members they have left behind in circumstances they desperately want to leave. Carla describes the sadness she felt when communicating with her children, breaking into tears halfway through this story.

When I talked to my kids, the only thing they would say is that they wanted me to go back. And I cried a lot. But that's over. It was hard. I kept thinking about how far away everyone was at my home in El Salvador. By car it was 30 minutes from my parents. And here, even if I wanted to, how could I see them? There's no way. It was too far.

Earnes, who is waiting for his family to join him, describes his wife's challenges with the distance and his increasing challenges in communicating with his children.

Sometimes she's missing me, too. She's like, you know what, I miss you. Now it's even harder than before, because my kids are at school now, so I don't have time to speak with them. Because when I am working they are home, and when they are at school, I'm home. So there's a time that I could speak with them, but that time, my wife spends that time driving them from school to home. So I can't. So what I, I call them on weekends, and I just let them speak!

Carlos misses his family and has also realized the financial stresses associated with supporting himself and his family who remains in Honduras.

Sometimes it's difficult because I am, like, two families. I am here paying everything, paying for food, paying for the house, and it's another there.

It is difficult for an individual to feel settled and part of a community if they miss and continually worry about and support the most important parts of their life, which remain thousands of miles away. Before becoming permanent residents, temporary migrants are in a period of waiting and longing to achieve the purpose of their venture - family reunification.

Their transnational lives do not end upon family reunification either, but remain tied to family that cannot migrate. Since parents, siblings, grandparents, and other relatives cannot come to Canada through the same mechanisms as spouses and dependent children, the majority of temporary migrants' family remain at a distance. Oscar explains how he anticipates staying connected with his mother in Honduras.

I think, even with my wife and my daughter here, I'd probably go to Honduras to see my mom because, actually, we won't be able to bring my mom here. I don't know how it works.

Many temporary migrants continue to support family members in their home country even after their immediate family has moved to and settled in Manitoba, which maintains transnational ties.

Maintaining transnational connections is both important and confusing for temporary migrants, leading to the conflicted transnational identities illustrated by Foster and Taylor (2013). They, along with many other types of migrants, maintain strong social, familial, and economic connections across borders (Constant & Massey, 2002; Ottonelli & Torresi, 2010). Temporary migrants continue to hold citizenship in their home country, but cannot access the associated rights while living and working in Canada. They exist in a strange transnational space where, on the one hand, they do not reside and cannot participate in the society in which they are full members and, on the other hand, they cannot fully participate in the society in which they reside. Understandably,

feeling as if they truly belong to a community may never occur for many temporary migrants. Ana summarizes her conflicted transnational identity, which was echoed by others.

When I have holidays and when I have money, the first thing that I think of is, I'll go back home. So I still have, I think I have two homes right now 'cause I see El Salvador as my home still and every time I can, I want to, I want to spend time there. My friends are still there. I have a lot of friends here now. I have Canadian friends. I have friends from all over the world and I love that about Canada. But, every time I have time and money I want to go back home [...]. I think it's because I don't have my own family yet. And even if I have my own family, I think I still have a lot of connection with them [in El Salvador] because our families are very close.

Even though family is at the centre of their transnational identities, other mechanisms interact to contribute to and mould Ana's conflicted feelings toward her new home and the place she was born. The structure of the TFWP precludes lower skilled temporary migrants from fully severing ties with their home for as long as they remain temporary, and, for some, even after transitioning to permanent residency.

Contributing to their conflicting transnational identities is the tenuousness of their anticipated permanent settlement. For as long as they remain temporary and without permanent resident status, they must consider that a return to their home country is possible. They will do anything to limit their chances of being denied such an opportunity, including regulating and monitoring their social behaviour. The fear of deportation influences all aspects of their daily lives as temporary migrants adjust both their work and social activities in ways they perceive to be proper. Some participants speak of needing to carefully manage their public personas and behaviour so as to not get caught breaking rules or laws, as they understand them, for fear of either having to return home or not being supported for permanent residency, which ultimately both hold the same magnitude of consequence. For example, Carlos recounts his attendance at a house party that ended when police were called because of a noise complaint. After the party, he became concerned of how such encounters could threaten his chances of remaining in Canada.

And then I heard it [can be] dangerous to be in the place [with parties] because we are immigrant. We are lots here. If something happen, we don't have many opportunities.

Also demonstrating such worry, Marlon chooses to drink by himself at home since he does not want to be caught drunk in public. Many believe that breaking rules can lead to deportation and then they overcompensate, which, in the case of Marlon, leads to further isolation. Others obsessively care for their lawns or shovel snow so as to avoid conflict with neighbours. Such worry is a manifestation of the precarious status of temporary migrants and while they may not, in fact, be deported or know anyone who has been deported, it is the looming threat of deportability and the anticipation of deportation that conditions their behaviour (Basok et al., 2013; De Genova, 2002; J. Harrison & Lloyd, 2012). Managing precarious status in a social arena has the potential to lead to further marginalization, exclusion, loneliness, and isolation.

In sum, contrary to findings in works by Basok (2002) and Smart (1997), participants, on the whole, had multiple examples of social contact and relationships with Canadians both in the workplace and in the community. Although, like the aforementioned studies, long hours at work and language barriers are contributing barriers to social exclusion. Unfortunately, there is a certain inevitability to the social exclusion and inequality of lower skilled temporary migrants. The barriers erected by non-permanent status, and the TFWP in general, can only lead to a state in which temporary migrants are not able to fully participate in society. Maintaining transnational ties with family also inhibits social inclusion as migrants negotiate the sense of having two homes. In addition, living with the constant threat of deportation and the reminders of impermanence leads to a sense of unease, fear, and stress for migrants as their workplace relies on their compliance and willingness to do dirty, dangerous, and demanding jobs. However, many temporary migrants

persevere, develop coping mechanisms and learn to navigate the state of their exclusion, while enjoying a modicum of inclusion within a community they believe to be friendly and welcoming.

Conclusions

Federal government policy has done its best to institutionalize the social exclusion of lower skilled temporary migrants by establishing increasing barriers to the very things that migrants require to be included and settled. There are realms in which temporary migrants, for as long as they remain temporary, cannot participate. For example, they cannot vote and often work in occupations that are barred from unionizing. They are excluded from government-funded settlement services and language learning while also unable to access full health care coverage. They work in an environment that constructs compliance by using the looming threat of deportation to maximize productivity by limiting sick leave or time away from work. The threat of deportation is also conditioned by their vulnerable, precarious status as a temporary resident. Lower skilled temporary migrants are not a group for whom concerns of settlement, integration, inclusion, or welcoming seem to apply. However, there are spaces being created where temporary migrants can experience a modicum of social equality and where things are not entirely exclusionary. There are examples in both Prairieville and Brandon, and I am sure there are others across Canada.

To revisit a central point of this dissertation, to ignore the ways in which temporary migrants exert agency and consciously act to cope with and better their day-to-day lives only supports the vision of their complete subservience (Lahman et al., 2011). As Cohen (1991), in her study on domestic workers in Canada, argues, the deprived are not helpless and "although unduly oppressed, live-in domestics are able not only to cope with, but also improve their material situation and their cognitive state" (p. 211). Migrants in this study are not a passive group. Many

know their union rights, understand and use their health benefits, and know when they are being poorly treated. For example, based on his considerable understanding of Canadian immigration policy and the process of family reunification, Luis threatens to explicitly chain himself to the gates of Parliament if his mother and sister are unable to immigrate Canada. At the time of the interview he had only been in Canada for three months, but he learned about government policy in order to improve his situation. Many cope with their circumstances by developing defence mechanisms focused on the future and their families. Imagining the future, as Leach (2005) explains, "helps people get through the everyday" (p. 19).

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to counter stories of exclusion with accounts of inclusion and active negotiations. In this study, temporary migrants, through their own actions and the action of others, have circumvented some of the inevitable exclusionary realities of their status and social position. They can participate in labour unions, which gives them a political voice in their workplace while also protecting their economic interests. Socially and culturally, temporary migrants pursue friendships with co-workers, practice English with community members, engage in community events, and organize cultural associations and meetings. Compared to temporary migrants' experiences in other studies, the participants of this study are relatively active in society. That being said, though, there are some who do not or cannot socially engage, and this is complicated by their struggles with English, their fear of deportation, and their focus on earning the requisite money to support family and their eventual migration.

Chapter 7: Planning For a Future: The Reality of Permanence for Temporary Migrants

Every participant in this study has plans for the future and these plans cannot be achieved without permanently settling in Canada. Temporary migrants' reason for migrating is based on the pursuit of permanent settlement with their families as they seek a better life and access to more opportunities. They cope with immense loneliness and physical pain by imagining a future in which they reunite with their families. If they are to achieve the goals of their migration experience then these *temporary* migrants *must* obtain permanent residency, which is not a simple process and by no means is it guaranteed. Achieving permanent residency is the final stage of their migration experience and represents the most significant element of migrants' narratives, but according to the justification and logic of TFWPs it is not something they should anticipate receiving. Herein lies the inherent contradiction of temporary migration - there is nothing temporary about it. Such migrations have proven time and time again to be more permanent than temporary, as many migrants desire to permanently leave their home country and establish a life elsewhere (Khoo et al., 2008; Martin, 2003; Ruhs, 2006). As this chapter demonstrates, provincial policymakers, employers, and migrants do not operate in ways that support the temporary nature of this migration phenomenon and each have plans for the future that involve the permanent settlement of temporary migrants.

Why is permanent residency so important to migrants? Aside from the fact that permanent settlement is the only means by which temporary migrants and their families can achieve many of their long-term goals and aspirations, permanence in a developed country represents a step toward the penultimate form of belonging - that is, citizenship. Permanency is privileged and valorized in nation-states as it provides an entitlement to rights and benefits (Rajkumar et al., 2012).

Temporariness is not privileged and it is used to exclude migrants from rights and benefits.

Permanency and temporariness exist in a dichotomous relationship and immigration policy perpetuates the privilege of one over the other. Practices around transitioning lower skilled temporary migrants to permanent residency - and the actual availability of such opportunities - clearly illustrates the privileging of some migrants over others and points toward a hierarchical ordering of belonging in Canada. There are subtle, and not so subtle, policies that erect barriers for lower skilled migrants' inclusion, yet these do not exist for all temporary migrants. Lower skilled temporary migrants' experiences in Canada are mediated by exclusionary policies and practices that construct their inequality and precariousness. Gaining permanent residency through Provincial Nominee Programs is the only way for lower skilled temporary migrants to access the supposed benefits associated with permanency.

Conceptually, receiving permanent resident status should be the marker of an included and less vulnerable member of Canadian society, with all the same rights and benefits bestowed upon other residents with similar status. Even though they are not yet citizens, permanent residents have more security and freedom than temporary residents who are tied to an employer through a work permit. Liberal theorists such as Carens (2008) and Walzer (2008) , and others who advocate for easier temporary to permanent status changes, contend that eventually including temporary migrants as citizens would make them more like local workers, realigning their expectations of work and pay as they seek better jobs that are not in the lowest sectors of the labour market. However, Pratt (2012) asks "does naturalization so easily smooth the experience of being suspended between the two meanings of citizenship, neither fully outsider nor insider" (p. 7)? This chapter follows her question and asks if, in fact, permanent residency enhances (former) temporary migrants' social position or whether they continue to be excluded, caught in a cycle of precariousness and marginalization.

Informed by suggestions from academics and advocates for the permanent settlement of temporary migrants, I entered this project believing that the everyday experiences of former temporary migrants with permanent residency (or citizenship) would be markedly less precarious than those with temporary status. I had set out to argue that the best way to improve the lives of lower skilled migrants is to offer them legitimate pathways to permanency. However, I have been enlightened as to the complexity of this hypothesis and now realize the need to consider long-term consequences of precarious legal status that are carried forward past the temporary stage. Permanent residency is not a panacea for people who have spent much of their lives in vulnerable and marginalized circumstances and this chapter demonstrates the challenges associated with constructing migration projects around a two-step process that privileges permanence (Latham et al., 2014).

This chapter achieves two central goals. Firstly, it problematizes the idea that acquisition of permanent residency resolves many of the problems faced by temporary migrants by suggesting it is not a guaranteed way out of precariousness. It does not necessarily achieve equality and former temporary migrants tend to remain in the lowest sectors of the labour market. Yes, their status becomes less insecure, but the effects of vulnerability, inequality, and exclusion pervade their work and social lives well beyond acquiring the right to stay in Canada permanently (Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Landolt & Goldring, 2013). Secondly, the chapter, as well as the previous two chapters, details the ways in which temporary migrants' lives are influenced by the quest for permanent residency. There is normalcy in temporary migrants' pursuit of permanent residency and it permeates their migration narratives. Such aspirations are fuelled by the recruitment process in their home country where intermediaries, employers, and social networks tantalize potential migrants, stating that permanence is an attainable outcome of the migration process. Permanent

residency and transitioning statuses have been discussed in previous chapters, but here they are described in more detail and positioned as part of temporary migrants' future experiences, which, as Pratt (2012) argues, "destabilizes assumptions about the temporariness of temporary migration" (p. xxiii). Achieving permanent residency is the culmination of years of suffering and it is hoped that achieving it marks the end of a long and arduous journey of sacrifice and hardship. However, its pursuit involves a highly nuanced, tenuous, stressful, and muddy process that is easily derailed.

The following discussion proceeds as follows. It begins by briefly demonstrating the political context of the evolution of temporary to permanent status transitions. It then provides a reminder of how central permanent residency is during the hiring process and in decisions to migrate. The chapter proceeds by discussing details of the transitioning process and how it is navigated by migrants and other stakeholders. It follows by exploring the notable changes temporary migrants experience in their everyday lives after receiving permanent resident status and interrogates the extent to which permanency leads to enhanced social locations. Lastly, it problematizes the transition process by questioning the extent to which achievement of permanency can be guaranteed. This is by no means simple or straightforward and the outcomes of two-step immigration processes must be considered over the long-term.

The political positioning of transitioning from temporary to permanent status

It should come as no surprise that many temporary migrants wish to become permanent residents, yet policymakers have made few attempts to acknowledge this (Hennebry, 2010). As recently as 2007, discussions and considerations of migrants' permanent settlement in Canada were largely ignored by federal policymakers. Through previous work experience, I participated in meetings with CIC where information on transitions to permanent residency were requested, but we were told such information did not exist because the phenomenon did not, and *could not*,

happen. Because temporary migrants are, by definition, temporary and here to address purportedly short-term labour shortages, considering permanent settlement in this context was repudiated. Despite the policy-related intentions of TFWPs, ignoring both the occurrence and implications of the permanent settlement of temporary migrants is short-sighted and misguided.

No longer ignoring the phenomenon, the Government of Canada recently established institutionalized pathways to permanent residency for some temporary migrants, as discussed in Chapter 4. Transitions to permanent residency are now of great concern to the federal government as they have become part of labour market integration rhetoric and are cited as a way to strengthen the country's economic goals. At a 2014 immigration conference in Gatineau, Quebec, representatives from CIC presented new data on transitions to permanent residency, revealing that time spent in Canada prior to becoming a permanent resident increases economic outcomes and contributes to higher earnings over the long-term. While the phenomenon of two-step immigration was ignored by the federal government, it is now positioned as a suitable mechanism to enhance integration experiences of some migrants and contribute to economic development.

Researchers and advocates critiquing TFWPs have long argued that if temporary migrants are good enough to work in Canada then they are good enough to stay (Hanley et al., 2012; Lenard & Straehle, 2012; Pratt, 2012). For example, in May 2009, a Parliamentary report from the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration was released, documenting the results of a cross-Canada consultation with temporary migrants, non-status workers, and stakeholders (Tilson, 2009). The report represents one of the first comprehensive public consultations on growing concerns related to TFWPs. The Committee was critical of the Canadian labour market's increasing reliance on TFWPs to address labour shortages and made a series of recommendations they hoped would resolve problems, not the least of which was to reserve TFWPs for "genuinely temporary situations"

(p. 27). Although they were careful not to suggest an immediate overhaul of TFWPs, which would be disruptive and warrant a transition to some other form of labour solution, the Committee did recommend profound changes for the long-term. On a short-term basis, however, the Committee recommended the federal government institutionalize access to permanent residency for all temporary migrants. During public consultations, the Committee often heard the saying, "if a person is good enough to work here, he or she is good enough to stay here" (p. 53). Offering permanent residency to temporary migrants was echoed by multiple stakeholders as the best short-term solution for both addressing labour market challenges and alleviating migrants' precariousness. Extending options for permanent residency would also realign the trajectory of Canadian immigration policy back to one that prioritizes settling newcomers over the long-term.

Following the release of the Committee's report, the Government of Canada responded to the recommendations, noting that policy changes would ameliorate the TFWP by limiting employers' reliance on it, making the hiring of permanent skilled workers easier and more efficient. Further, the response highlighted Canadian Experience Class and LCP pathways to permanent residency, offloading lower skilled migrants' transitions to provinces and territories. Lauding the attraction of highly skilled workers and downplaying the shortages in lower skilled sectors, the response justifies the Government of Canada's stance on restricting lower skilled temporary migrants' options for permanence.

Lower skilled workers generally have limited training, transferable skills and linguistic abilities, which mean adapting to changing conditions and finding their way around in the Canadian labour market could be more of a challenge. Moreover, it does not appear that a broad-based long-term need for lower skilled workers exists across Canada to the same extent that experts and stakeholders have identified for skilled workers. Nevertheless, where provinces and territories have identified them

as sectoral and regional priorities, pathways to permanent residence for lower skilled workers exist through the PNP⁶².

The bedrocks of immigration policies, selection, and entrance criteria in Canada are skill level, language, and education, so it is unsurprising that pathways to permanent residency are also based upon such criteria. It is clear that the federal government exhibits no desire to include lower skilled migrants in its immigration program.

Even though the federal government does not consider lower skilled migrants as potential economic contributors to Canada, it is apparent that transitions from temporary to permanent status can no longer be ignored. In 2012, 79,154 temporary residents transitioned to permanent resident status, which marks the highest number of transitions in a single year. The majority of these transitions were from foreign workers to permanent economic immigrants through provincial and territorial nominee programs (27.4%), followed by skilled workers transitioning to economic immigrants (17.2%) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013). Two-step immigration is becoming an increasingly important piece of the larger immigration framework in Canada.

Employers' interests: Permanent residency as a recruitment tool and solution to attrition

Despite the federal government's position on the matter, the two employers in this study have supported transitions to permanency for many years. According to participants, employers and agencies helping them in source countries are clear and upfront about the opportunity to become a permanent resident⁶³. In some cases, job advertisements mention the possibility of permanent residency in Canada, which then becomes an enticement for applying. If such promises

⁶² This is an excerpt from the Government of Canada's office response to Tilson's (2009) report, which can be found at: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=4017803&File=0>

⁶³ Of course there are some exceptions. Carlos and Carla claim they were unaware of the chance to become a permanent resident until after they had arrived in Manitoba. With some of the earlier groups of foreign workers, transitions to permanent residency were not an immediate option since it had yet to be negotiated with the provincial government and the process was not yet put in place.

are not outlined in an advertisement then applicants are typically told about the opportunity during the application process or in subsequent interviews. David explains that during his interview process in Colombia, he not only had to indicate his willingness to permanently settle in Canada, but when filling out paperwork he also had to identify the family members he wished to eventually bring to Canada. Employers are not hesitant to ask potential temporary migrants to seriously consider the prospects of permanently settling in Canada even before they have officially been hired and issued work visas. They have a vested interest in keeping migrants as employees over the long-term to maximize labour outputs, address high employee turnover rates, and limit the costs of overseas recruitment process.

Temporary migrants have proven to be a devoted and compliant workforce for both companies, for many reasons that are outlined in this dissertation. When asked whether colleagues return to their home country, participants had only heard anecdotal stories of the very few who left. If people do return, it is usually because of family emergencies or workplace injury. In the initial stages of settlement, many entertain the idea of returning because of homesickness, disdain for their work, or injury, but the promise of permanent residency makes them stay. As Carlos observes, "*all the people think about [is] take documents, take residence here, all the people is focused on that.*" It is unsurprising, then, when Ana estimates that of the 65 people who came in her group, only about three did not apply for permanent residency and returned to El Salvador. Estimates on the retention rates of temporary migrants who stay in Brandon after receiving permanent residency are between 80 percent and 90 percent, with about 84 percent staying at the company⁶⁴. Only on the rarest of occasions will employers fail to support a PNP application and as

⁶⁴ These estimates are from interviews with UFCW and the director of economic development at the City of Brandon.

they finely tune their recruitment and hiring process, they become better at ensuring only the most suitable migrants are hired.

Although it is economically advantageous for employers to keep their temporary labour force as permanent employees, it is important to note that transitioning to permanent residency is not presented as a prerequisite for being hired. Some participants deliberately state that becoming a permanent resident was presented to them as an option. After six months of working in Brandon, Ana and her group had a meeting with the human resource department about applying to the PNP. As she says, *"they let us know that it wasn't, um, a must, right. We can decide if we want to do it or not."* It was not apparent to me that anyone felt forced to apply for permanent residency. However, this choice is made within considerable constraints as many are desperate to leave the circumstances of their home country. Lower skilled temporary migrants face few other immigration opportunities to pursue their goals, so, in essence, the choice to become a permanent resident is not one that needs to be considered in much depth.

A wonderful word: The pursuit and reality of permanent residency

For many, early promises of permanent residency are an impetus to apply and a motivating factor to move. Obtaining permanent residency in a country such as Canada is an unimaginable dream for many people in countries such as Honduras, El Salvador, Colombia, and the Philippines, especially those with few financial resources, limited English levels, and lower skill levels. After seeing the length of time, money, and difficulties a friend encountered when trying to immigrate through other avenues, Arnel decided to take a job as a butcher because it is a comparatively easy and inexpensive way to migrate. Juan and his wife had been looking for ways to leave Honduras for two years before getting the job at the company in Brandon. They had tried to access a permanent economic stream, but were aware of the length and uncertainty of the process. Juan's wife also

applied to universities as a way to enter the country. When the opportunity to apply to work at the plant in Brandon came up, they decided to use the TFWP as an avenue to Canada because the company would pay for Juan's travel to Canada. Ernesto saw the TFWP as an opportunity to get to Canada so he could eventually pursue the education goals he could not reach in Honduras. People recognize the difficulties in pursuing permanent immigration streams given their skill levels and face few chances of immigrating to Canada by any other means.

In addition to the immediate benefit of being able to earn money and financially support family, moving to Canada to work in the hog processing industry becomes an avenue toward a previously unattainable permanent immigration option for individuals and their families. Permanent residency is the proverbial carrot at the end of the stick throughout the entire migration experience (Hennebry, 2010). As Maricel emphatically states, "*[permanent residence is a] wonderful word that they give us.*" It is a far-off reward for enduring difficult work and homesickness. It represents an end to lifelong suffering and offers opportunities for children, financial and physical security, and stability for many. The promise or suggestion of obtaining permanent residency pushes many temporary migrants to accept their current circumstances with the understanding that someday they will achieve their goals.

However, not everyone comes to Manitoba with the express purpose of settling permanently. For Ana, getting permanent residency was mostly a means to make money for one more year and then return home. She did not have family to bring, but she liked Canadian culture and the safety she felt in Manitoba. It seemed like a good place to stay and work for another year, before returning to El Salvador. Similarly, Javier thought he would only be in Manitoba for two years, but when he was told about permanent residency after a few months of working, he did not hesitate to apply. Carlos was told about the possibility of work permit extensions in Honduras, but

he did not understand this as an offer of permanent residency. It was not until he moved to Manitoba that he realized he could eventually apply. Carla arrived in one of the first groups and operated under the assumption that she would return to El Salvador after her one-year work permit expired. When her work permit was near expiration, though, she was informed about the permanent residency process. Permanent residency is not necessarily the goal of all individuals who have become temporary migrants, at least at the beginning, but it is a welcomed perk.

This section details, from participants' point of view, the process involved in receiving permanent residency. For temporary migrants arriving through the SLSO to work in hog processing in Manitoba, there is a fairly clear and technical process that must be followed to transition statuses through the PNP. Temporary migrants in all occupations are eligible to apply to the PNP through an employer-driven stream. Provided that a temporary migrant has worked full-time for a single employer for at least six months and a permanent job is offered, then one may proceed with an application to the PNP. The process involves extensive documentation proving at least a Canadian Language Benchmark level 4 across four testing categories and an employer's signature guaranteeing the job offer⁶⁵. Applicants must also demonstrate long-term ties to Manitoba through a Settlement Plan that details intentions to stay and settle in the province. Finally, to ensure applicants have the financial resources necessary to establish themselves, the provincial government requires proof of settlement funds typically in the amount of \$10,000. However, in the case of temporary migrants, proof of current income is accepted toward an application⁶⁶. Such

⁶⁵ The English language requirement for PNP applicants was implemented by the federal government in July 2012. Prior to the change, there was no English language requirement for lower skilled temporary migrants applying to the PNP. Now, migrants must achieve at least a CLB 4 in listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The most common test used is the *International English Language Testing System* (IELTS).

⁶⁶ Evidence from interviews suggests that participants are not aware of these services and many focus on saving \$10,000, which is another considerable barrier in the road to permanent residency.

information is available through the provincial government's Department of Labour and Immigration website and is subject to change.

When considering how this process manifests in actual practice, though, a nuanced picture of the often confusing and convoluted procedures for applying to the PNP and for permanent residency emerges. The mechanics of achieving permanency are largely dependent on when migrants arrive to Manitoba, where they work, and the community in which they live. Furthermore, navigating the application process is highly contingent on the availability and quality of sources of assistance. Considering the many barriers in the way of transitions, which are all designed to keep out “undesirable” groups and maintain the temporariness of lower skilled foreign labour, migrants require many resources to ensure success as they prepare applications and supporting documentation.

Sources of assistance

It is no secret that immigrants require assistance with a diverse range of challenges as they navigate settlement in a new country. In Canada, there are federally funded organizations of trained individuals who have the expertise to help other immigrants through their myriad settlement endeavours⁶⁷. However, government funding for settlement service providers (SPOs) is specifically earmarked for permanent residents only. Until recently, service providers would not turn away temporary residents, providing services to those trying to navigate complicated bureaucratic processes. In 2013, the federal government changed how settlement services are delivered and funded, moving toward a centralized system that seeks to strictly control eligibility requirements for access to services. For fear of losing their federal funding and to adhere to government's rules, SPOs now state on their websites and at their front counter that services will

⁶⁷ In 2013, the federal government spent over \$600 million on funding settlement services for permanent residents.

only be provided to clients with provincial nominee approval or permanent resident status.

However, some provinces have either formally (Alberta and British Columbia) or informally (Manitoba and Saskatchewan) made concessions and provided additional funding to allow some basic assistance for temporary migrants. In addition, some SPOs are actively seeking private sector funding to be able to help temporary residents. Although it is intuitively ridiculous that temporary migrants are ineligible for settlement services, especially when the vast majority will apply for permanent residency, the federal government is steadfast on ensuring their belief in the temporariness of this labour supply⁶⁸.

For those temporary migrants arriving to work in Brandon, the application process for permanent residency has been relatively quick and efficient. During hiring and orientation sessions, temporary migrants are given pamphlets and information on applying for permanent residency. Then, after six months of working in the company, a cohort of temporary migrants is presented with options for applying to the PNP and, with the assistance of human resource personnel, they compile the necessary documentation and send the application package to the Manitoba Government. The company has developed a process for transitioning temporary migrants that is usually quite seamless, owing to the extensive assistance offered by human resource personnel and the union. More recently, though, temporary migrants face extra barriers, namely the English language requirement, which can delay the process and make transitions to permanent residency more complicated, especially for those with lower English levels who may require multiple attempts to pass the IELTS test.

For those temporary migrants working in Prairieville, the process of becoming permanent is essentially the same as those in Brandon, but without as much assistance from employers. Most

⁶⁸ The extent to which the 2013 changes will affect temporary migrants has yet to be seen. In fact, many participants had not accessed services through SPOs, which knew were not able to offer them services.

participants knew what they had to do in order to complete their paperwork, but they did not receive such extensive information through their employer. Often participants in Brandon would speak of the process as just an extension of their work life, but in Prairieville it was something they had to pursue outside of work, often through friends or the union. The company in Prairieville has less experience with such procedures, so perhaps they are still learning the process themselves. However, the more likely reason is, considering their smaller size, they do not have the internal human resources, time, or financial resources to develop such procedures⁶⁹.

Filling an evident gap in service provision, UFCW also assists temporary migrants working in both companies with their applications to transition to permanent residence. In addition to providing language training, UFCW helps temporary migrants with various bureaucratic procedures including PNP applications, family reunification documentation, and permanent residence applications. When temporary migrants were asked about sources of assistance, many said they went to the union. UFCW provides a pivotal role in the process of learning about and applying for permanent residency. During orientation sessions, they supply information to temporary migrants, including a collective agreement booklet translated into multiple languages. Written within the collective agreement, too, is a section that stipulates the responsibilities of employers in processing permanent residency paperwork and providing translators where needed. Such a condition ensures that temporary migrants receive the help they need in navigating a complicated process, in addition to guaranteeing the responsibilities of the employer in the immigration process.

⁶⁹ It was beyond the scope of this project to consider the hiring practices of other companies throughout Manitoba, but it should be mentioned that other employers throughout Manitoba use the SLSO to address labour shortages. The PNP is available as a path to permanent residency for all temporary migrants in the province, but the extent to which employers are able and willing to assist with the process will vary, just as it does in the two cases examined here. Furthermore, employers may be located in smaller communities or remote regions that have few or no resources for newcomers making the process much more challenging. I learned there are many employers, especially those hiring small numbers of temporary migrants, who do not or cannot assist with applications for transitions to permanent residency and therefore individuals are left to initiate and complete the process on their own.

Waiting and waiting: The process of becoming permanent

Once temporary migrants have endured the months of hard labour, separation from their family, and the adjustment to a new place, they can then begin to apply to the PNP, which is the first step toward receiving their permanent residency card. Even though there will be subtle differences for some cohorts, Juan's excerpt below summarizes what is typically needed to receive permanent residency. From this we can generally understand how temporary migrants transition to permanent residency in Manitoba.

We can apply for provincial nominee after May first. It's like eleven days from now. I have it marked on my calendar [...]. I have my papers ready and all. That day I'm sending it. Everything is ready. It all depends on that. When and if I get an answer from them with an approval then I can start my permanent residency papers and all that, but I don't know when that's going to be. So I have no idea. They said after 6 months we apply for the provincial nominee it may take 1, 2, 3, 5, maybe 8 months before we get an answer for the provincial nominee and then we can apply for permanent residency. It can take up to two years or something. It's two steps. The first one they say it's not so difficult, it's kind of fast. And the second one, aside from being so expensive, it takes too long [...and] we're looking at \$2000.

Juan's account includes many themes from other interviews regarding the importance of receiving permanent residency, the immediacy inherent in their desire to become permanent, the time and money required, and the uncertainty people face. Without a doubt, this is a potentially fracturable process that is precarious and tenuously tied to a complicated bureaucratic process that may breakdown at many crucial stages. Even though the general process can be straightforward, there are myriad problems that can be encountered. It is often arduous and stressful for individuals and their families, involving vast amounts of information, fees, an uncertain period of time, and the potential for failure, despite careful preparation.

Once they submit their PNP applications and await its approval, temporary migrants immediately begin preparing documents for permanent residency for this is a process they do not wish to wait on. Maricel is anxiously waiting for the appropriate time to submit her already

completed PNP application and she is already looking ahead to the permanent residency application process, which many say is much simpler than the PNP. Her thoughts on the process are echoed by many: *"It takes time. It takes money. It takes time."* Their applications require many supporting documents such as high diplomas, criminal records, birth certificates, and others that are not always easily or quickly obtained. Local infrastructure for addressing such needs often has a backlog, which only lengthens and complicates the process. Problems and expenses can occur both in the home country and in Canada, leaving temporary migrants worried about their prospects of permanent residency as they compete with the time constraints dictated by their work permit.

Many of the problems participants encounter with the process are beyond their control, resulting from issues with bureaucracy and geographic distance. For example, Arnel's high school diploma was lost in the Philippines and to get a new one would take at least two weeks, so he must wait on the government in his home country before submitting his application. Andres has had difficulties obtaining a police clearance document from a job he briefly held in Bermuda. Since there are no embassies nearby, he is unable to get the document and worries how this will affect his application. Such documentation, if it can be obtained, also comes with a cost. Juan has estimated that residency papers will cost \$600, with the whole process costing him at least \$1,000. Andres and Rodel estimate that the process will cost them between \$8,000 and \$8,500. Considering the amount of money temporary migrants need to support their families and their own living costs, this becomes financially difficult.

In addition, if a temporary migrant plans to bring their dependent children and spouse to Manitoba, they are required to obtain all supporting documentation for each family member. Birth certificates, passports, school documents, medical records, and others are needed. In many cases, family members do not have passports, so applying for one in the home country becomes a priority

and yet another financial burden. Family members also require medical exams prior to coming. Oftentimes it is the responsibility of the spouse to gather such documents and navigate the process in the home country, with instruction coming from Manitoba. In the case of David and Martha, the process of getting permanent residency involved three years of negotiations, paperwork, and heartache. David would rely on Martha to get the appropriate paperwork in Colombia, but the process became so difficult that he had to fly home to ensure that all of their children successfully received visas to enter Canada. Applying for permanent residency puts strain on all members of the family since so much relies on the success of this process.

Adding another layer of expense, time, and struggle onto the permanent residence application process is the new English language requirement. To demonstrate their language level, temporary migrants arriving after late 2012 must prove they meet the requisite level. The IELTS test, which is a common measure of English levels, costs temporary migrants approximately \$285 and many hours of studying. Andres planned to take his IELTS test as quickly as possible, but since he did not have the funds available to pay for it, he would have to delay it by a few months. The IELTS test adds more complexity and paperwork, and it is something that earlier groups did not have to complete. If someone does not pass their IELTS test, they will have to retake it, adding precious time to an already time sensitive process.

The length of time that it takes to complete the entire process of applying for permanent residency varies depending on when individuals arrived to Manitoba, which company they work in, and whether they have encountered problems with their applications. Further, when asked how long it took to get permanent residency, temporary migrants measure the time differently. Some interpret the question as when they get their permanent residence card and others say that it happens when their family arrives. For example, Carla does not remember exactly when she got

permanent residency, but she does remember that it took an additional two and a half years for her children to arrive. Maricel was told that it would take at least three years before her children would be able to come to Manitoba. Diego's process was quicker and he recalls it taking one year and five months to receive permanent residence status. Liliana's permanent residency was approved in one and a half years. Recent groups lament how much easier it was for previous groups to successfully navigate the whole process. Ernesto claims that earlier Honduran groups received provincial nominee status within six months and had their families here in about a year, which seems extraordinarily quick, but it may be possible given how much the process changes and evolves.

Such unpredictability in the length of time it will take to become a permanent resident makes it difficult to plan for the most important part of the process, which is family reunification. Families are anxious to move to Canada, but the timing of their relocation remains in flux until applications are approved. Oftentimes, people have to delay the arrival of their family because of uncertainty and complications in processing paperwork. As mentioned, it took David and Martha over three years to sort through their complications and reunite in Manitoba. Michael had anticipated his family's arrival in March of 2012, but when an application processing location closed in 2010 a backlog of applications occurred, causing his family's estimated arrival to be delayed until June 2013. When his permanent residency application was mired in such bureaucratic changes, Michael's family's medical exams expired and new ones had to be obtained, adding two or three additional months onto the process. The majority of Michael's cohort was affected by this problem, compromising the ability of people to reunify with family.

Despite such challenges, though, I did not hear stories of applications being denied and people giving up on the process. Those putting together their applications remain cautiously optimistic that all will work out. Those who have successfully navigated the process feel a sense of

relief and pride that they have become permanent residents. I cannot help but admire the attitudes that people have when encountering such challenges and the strength they exhibit throughout the tedious procedures. In the two communities here, temporary migrants are not entirely without assistance and many have support from others who have went through the process. Without such assistance and support, the challenges and effects from the ever-changing policy environment may seem insurmountable. It is important to note that the temporary migrants in this study are privy to more information and assistance than others may be, so despite the significant challenges they encounter, the chances of being unsuccessful are unlikely.

Family, security, and employment mobility: The impacts of permanent residency in everyday experiences

Critics of TFWPs as presently constituted argue that permanent residency must be extended to all temporary migrants as but one way of fixing the growing problems with the program. Being able to become permanent is seen both as a necessary courtesy to individuals who have worked in the Canadian labour market and contributed to society and as a fundamental right those temporary migrants of all skill levels should be extended. There is the correct assumption that permanent residency leads to obtaining an array of rights and freedoms that have previously been denied. Also, and probably most importantly, permanent residency, both conceptually and experientially, leads to more security. In their important theoretical advancements on the effects of precarious migration status, Goldring and Landolt (2011) suggest that secure legal status leads to "improved work outcomes, based on expanded rights and protections, other factors being equal" (p. 327). Although this may be the case for temporary migrants, they also argue that the associated effects of precarious legal status are not easily shed and precariousness is a condition that "sticks with you". The path to a less precarious and secure life may not be as straightforward as merely receiving

permanent residency and there are long-term implications of non-permanent status that continue to contribute to social inequality and exclusion. The findings presented in this section provide empirical support for Goldring and Landolt's work (Goldring, Berinstein, & Bernhard, 2009; Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Landolt & Goldring, 2013), expanding upon their focus on work outcomes of precariously statused individuals to also include social outcomes. This section details the ways that obtaining a less insecure legal status does and does not influence temporary migrants' access to material and non-material resources that will better their lives and lead to a state of fuller inclusion.

Being precariously statused for over twenty-four months influences all arenas of temporary migrants' lives. It negatively impacts their well-being, as is evident by the amount of tearful narratives I heard. When they are precarious, temporary migrants are without their families and are unsure of their futures. Noncitizen status also negatively impacts employment outcomes. Once they receive permanent residency, many continue to experience precarious employment opportunities; many believe they cannot find work beyond the hog processing industry and are resigned to remaining in dangerous, unfulfilling jobs they dislike. They continue to struggle with English and have not established social networks beyond their linguistic or cultural community. Diego, David, Martha, Liliana, Carla, and Elena, who have been permanent residents for many years, continue to worry about their financial futures, have difficulties with English, and remain at the company. They are thankful to be in Canada and believe they have better opportunities here than they did at home, but the effects of their precarious legal status continue to mould their lives as they struggle to shed their layers of vulnerability.

How participants understand the changes to their lives must be viewed in a broader, more holistic manner that moves beyond economic and labour market indicators of precariousness and inequality, though. When asked directly if getting permanent residency changes their lives, the

answer is often that it did not or that they did not notice any change, or perhaps such an assessment is difficult to describe. Marlon demonstrates a simple answer, yet poignant analysis of the changes in his life since becoming permanent.

There's nothing changes. The big difference is you're a permanent residency, you don't have to renew your work permit, because you are permanent resident. You don't have any more a work permit.

No longer needing a work permit signifies a shift in circumstance, but Marlon underestimates the importance of it. Furthermore, the biggest life changes occur for migrants when they move to Canada and everything that follows is part of an arduous immigration process. From their narratives, it was also difficult to ascertain if permanence leads to enhanced socio-economic outcomes. Many participants remain in the lowest segments of the labour market and only have distant hopes of leaving the hog processing industry. They generally earn more money than when they started, but this is because of scheduled raises rather than tied to permanent residency or promotion within the industry. The perceived array of benefits they receive does not change much because, from the day they start, they receive the same workplace benefits as citizen workers. At some point many will either buy a house or move to a better place of residence to facilitate family reunification, which typically constitutes the biggest change in their lives associated with becoming permanent.

Since many migrants do not consciously recognize changes, I reconsidered participants' reasons for migrating in many analyses on the impact of permanent residency on their lives. I examined the nature of their original goals, whether they have been achieved, and how essential a change in legal status is to realizing those goals. In this analysis, though, I am careful not to define 'success' for temporary migrants. If I think they continue to live precarious, marginalized lives after becoming permanent, it does not mean they think this to be the case. Their definition of a

successful migration experience involves reunifying with family, achieving security, and realizing a better life, all of which are, in fact, enabled by permanent residency.

Reunifying with family

As was discussed in previous chapters, bringing family to Canada is the central motivating factor for migration. The lynchpin of family settlement, though, is obtaining permanent residency. There is nothing barring temporary migrants from having their family come to live with them from the beginning, but many do not, cannot, or are lead to believe they cannot (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010). In addition to misinformation, there are significant financial and policy barriers that make for a complicated and often unattainable process. The majority of participants in this study speak of getting permanent residency as the factor allowing them to bring their families. Many told me that during the hiring process and initial orientation sessions they are told that permanent residency leads to the reunification of family, as Earnes explains

I remember the lady that interviewed me that day, and she told me [I could get permanent residency] and she said that would you? And then she asked me, if you get the residence would you take your family to Canada? And then I just had like two second to think. Because I didn't know it might be a tricky question or I don't know and I just thought in those two seconds and I said yes I would. If I can take my family to Canada legally, I will take them. And then she said oh, ok.

Similarly, Arnel links permanent residency with family reunification and uses that to calm his wife who deeply misses him while she remains in the Philippines. He tells her "*if God permit me to become a permanent resident I will get you.*" Whether all are told that permanent residence initiates the arrival of family or whether they merely perceive this to be the case is unclear, but in the case of Earnes, Andres, and others it was communicated early in the hiring process that permanent residency is equated with bringing their family.

Regardless of how and when family reunification is communicated to them, temporary migrants plan to leave their families for a period of time - generally the hope is that it will not be

much longer than two years - and then save the required funds to pay for the reunification process. It is this reunification that constitutes temporary migrants' central focus while they toil in the plants, working overtime to earn the required resources, and reminding lonely family of the day they will arrive in Canada. It cannot be underestimated how important family reunification is to many temporary migrants. The thoughts of bringing their families to Canada drive them to do physically demanding and unpleasant work. It pushes them through homesickness and immeasurable loneliness.

Family reunification does not motivate all temporary migrants equally, though, since those who do not have children or a spouse cannot engage in the process. Ana suggests that the emotions around becoming a permanent resident are deeply influenced by one's family structure. Since she was single when she arrived to Manitoba, she did not have the same singular focus as those with families. Her example provides an illuminating account of the differing levels of significance that those with families or without families place on obtaining permanent residence.

I filled the immigration papers for me. I never feel anxious or nervous. I just fill the papers and I send the papers and I wasn't even thinking, oh my God I'm going to get my permanent residency. It was, you know I get it, and we have to fill the papers and all that. But I remember my cousin, who was going to bring [...], she was excited, and she was like oh my God its 10 days and I haven't received the, the permanent resident card. She was just nervous all the time. And now I realize it's because she was going to bring his family, her family and I didn't have anyone to bring for me. So for me it was just for me, right? It didn't really mean anything for my family because I didn't get to bring anyone. But for her it was bringing her children over.

Ana is perceptive about the differences between her experiences and those of people with families. She filters a lot of her ideas through that lens and believes that her experiences are fundamentally different from those of her cousin who has dependent children.

Even though some temporary migrants do not have a spouse or dependent children at the time of their migration, this does not mean that the link between permanent residency and family

reunification is ignored. Many have brothers, sisters, or parents they wish to help. Despite wanting to do so, many learn that it is more challenging to bring siblings or parents than it is to bring immediate family members, yet it does not stop them from wanting to use permanent residency to sponsor family members' migration. Ernesto, who is single and without children, desperately wants to bring his parents to Canada, but because of their age he will be unable to do so. If he wishes to bring his siblings he faces a more involved and longer process than those who bring dependent children and a spouse. Luis is in the same situation and finds it incredibly unjust that he is unable to easily bring his mother and siblings. Rodel hopes that obtaining permanent residence will allow him to bring his sister so that she can enjoy a better life in Canada. At the time of her interview, Ana was in the process of sponsoring her sister. The process is more complicated for sponsoring siblings and other family members, but it remains an option and it is entirely contingent upon being a permanent resident.

Indeed, the most significant change to temporary migrants' lives is the realization of their most important goal - family reunification. Those who do not yet have permanent residency most look forward to bringing their families. Those who have permanent residency chose to pursue it so they could bring their families to settle Canada. To many participants, nothing else mattered. They entered the TFWP with the purpose of making a better life for their families, giving their children more education opportunities, and establishing a sense of security. The reason many stay in the hog processing industry is to continue to support their children's futures. Even though it may appear that some never really shed the negative effects of their precarious life, they do not see it as such. Their children are now in good schools, learning English, and planning to go to university. Parents do not fear for their children's safety and they can provide a comfortable home. Such achievements are what they came to Canada to obtain and they are proud of what they have

accomplished. Getting permanent residency is largely equated with enhanced opportunities for family and herein lies the most significant change to their lives.

Safety and security

Escaping unstable and unsafe countries with high unemployment and crime rates are reasons for migrating and settling permanently in Manitoba helps migrants achieve these goals. Temporary migrants feel safer and more secure once they become permanent residents with their families living with them once again. The security they obtain is related to having steady, guaranteed employment and their increased sense of safety is related to the relative calm and peace of living in smaller centres. Even though Liliana had only intended to stay in Canada temporarily, she realized that she could obtain more security and safety for herself and her daughter if she were to permanently settle in Manitoba. She explains.

[Interviewer: Why did you decide to stay permanently?]

Because of work, 'cause in our country it's 3 month contracts, you go without work for a year. It's really hard. And currently the situation in my country is very difficult. There is a lot of crime, lots of drugs, lots of delinquents, a lot of sexual abuse to children. So I felt like it's better here. [My daughter] feels better, calm. She can walk in the streets without worrying that some guy is going to take her, is going to hurt her. Lots of things.

Staying in Canada permanently means they do not have to go back to the poor and dangerous situations in their home countries, which brings many peace of mind for themselves and their families.

Also, and understandably, temporary migrants experience an added sense of security once they hold a permanent resident card. Until that point, they function under the constant worry that their application could be denied if they misbehave or break rules. They do what they have to so they are seen as good workers, worthy of sponsorship to the PNP. Most participants are aware that if certain prerequisites and conditions are not met, they could be sent home at the end of their

work permits. When she was still temporary, Ana was injured on the job resulting in severely impaired vision. She was still required to go to work, but was assigned light duties, which she struggled to accomplish because of her injury. During this situation, as Ana explains, she was reminded by a nurse of her temporary status and the privilege of being permanent.

And then I remember I was talking to the nurse and she said, are you a permanent resident now? And I said no, I have been here for 4 months, 5 months. And she's like, ah, that can be a problem and you know if I talk to my supervisor and she talks to her supervisor and you're not a resident. I don't want to scare you, and that can be a problem for you. We don't speak English, but we're not dumb, you know, we know what that means. That means they are going to kick me out and then I have to go back home.

Ana has seen how some people at work use the lack of permanent resident status against temporary migrants. She is careful to say that this does not include everyone, but there have been times when she felt threatened because she was not yet permanent. Juan has similar experiences and was reminded that non-permanent status puts him in an insecure position. He observes that recently arrived temporary migrants receive an overload of work compared to others. When he asked his supervisor about this, Juan was warned about complaining and recalls the following conversation.

[The supervisor said,] well the thing is the job has to get done. And you know what these guys they're all permanent residents and you guys are not. So you guys can't complain. He's telling it to my face. He's telling me as a friend and all. It's not his decision to make, its just orders from above.

As was discussed in Chapter 6, temporary migrants are led to believe they cannot complain about poor circumstances at work. Whether it means underreporting injuries or accepting large workloads, they understand their power is limited as they occupy vulnerable positions in the workplace. Permanent residency is used as a mechanism to control and discipline temporary migrants into being ideal workers as it is also used as a reward for such behaviour. Even though the threat of deportation still exists, temporary migrants who receive permanent residency experience

a sense of relief once their status changes, although the extent to which this changes their behaviour or the conditioned fear of being deported is unknown.

The right to employment mobility

More security and permanent status in Canada allows temporary migrants to pursue the third notable change in their lives - that is the right to change jobs and potentially their place of residence. Many participants acknowledge their work in the hog processing industry as merely something they must do to pursue something better, which could only be done upon receiving permanent residence. Once they are permanent, they are no longer contractually tied to their employer and have the security to enjoy employment or education opportunities there or elsewhere. Such freedom is something that temporary migrants without permanent residency look forward to, but it is something that participants with permanent residency exercise only to varying degrees. Prior to discussing the experiences of participants, it necessary to explore just how important employment mobility is and how it is limited for lower skilled temporary migrants.

It has been argued that TFWPs render individuals unfree labour because of the pervasive ties between employers and temporary migrants' existence in Canada (Preibisch, 2010; Preibisch & Binford, 2007; Sharma, 2012). One way such unfreedom is demonstrated is by the relative difficulty temporary migrants face if they wish to change employers during their work permit. For all intents and purposes, temporary migrants are denied ease of access to occupational mobility, further tying them to their employer. Such all-encompassing ties are not concretely stated in any contract or policy document, but rather a result of other structural barriers associated with work contracts and the TFWP, as explained by Nandita Sharma (2012).

[T]he Canadian state is able to legally bind 'temporary foreign workers' to particular employers, in essence rendering them unfree. A result of being tied to their employer and to a particular occupation is that they are also tied to a particular

geographical location[...]. '[T]emporary foreign workers' *cannot*, for the most part, leave their employment and seek alternative employment without the written permission of the Canadian state as represented by an immigration officer (p. 36; [original emphasis]).

Employment mobility is a right that all citizens have and if one wishes to find alternative employment they can⁷⁰. Such a right is not extended to those on the periphery of inclusion and is denied based on non-permanence. If temporary migrants wish to find alternative employment they must get permission from both their employer and the government (Preibisch, 2010). To approach an employer, who, it cannot be forgotten, determines whether temporary migrants stay or leave, and request employment termination is a daunting and intimidating endeavour, never mind having to alert the government, which also determines whether one stays or leaves.

Furthermore, if for whatever reason a temporary migrant wishes to change employers, the only hope they have to be able to stay in Canada is to find another employer with an open positive LMO⁷¹. The new situation would have to be in a sector for which an individual has the necessary skills and in a jurisdiction where the individual wishes to relocate. In addition, the employer has to be willing to hire the temporary migrant. The necessary alignment of factors that must occur for migrants to find new work in Canada would require considerable investigation, and some luck. Therefore, while the ability to change employers is possible, it is a daunting process with a low likelihood of success in the short and long-term. An employer-tied work permit profoundly impinges on individuals' rights to exercise the freedom of mobility. Employment mobility, while not technically forbidden, is riddled with barriers in practice (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010).

⁷⁰Sharma (2012) notes that the freedom to employment mobility is guaranteed in section 6 of the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The unfree conditions faced by temporary migrants are, as she argues, "considered *unconstitutional* when experienced by persons who hold 'citizen' or 'permanent resident' status" (p. 36).

⁷¹ In the recent TFWP changes, this would be a Labour Market Impact Assessment.

Adding to temporary migrants' limited ability to exercise any employment mobility rights is their desire for permanent residency. When considering two-step immigration through PNPs, a mechanism that ties temporary migrants to employers also becomes evident. If temporary migrants wish to apply to the PNP in Manitoba, a condition for their application is noted as follows.

The offer of long-term, full-time employment must be from the same Manitoba employer for whom you have been working full-time for at least six months (From immigratemanitoba.com).

Such a requirement greatly impedes an individual's right to employment mobility if they wish to apply to the PNP. To become a permanent resident by way of Manitoba's PNP, temporary migrants, whose visas only allow for a predetermined amount of time in Canada, must satisfy the requirement of working for a single employer for at least six months. Structurally, it would be nearly impossible for migrants on a two-year work permit to exercise any sort of employment mobility if they wish to become permanent⁷².

Many participants are aware of their inability to change employers while temporary, but note their desire to move on to another job after receiving permanent residency. Temporary migrants are aware of how permanent residency opens employment and education opportunities, but, in actuality, few exercise the right to employment mobility. In total, out of the ten people who had received permanent residency at the time of their interview, only Javier, Maria, and Ana left the industry. For example, Javier, who quit his job to pursue a university education, was told by his employer that he could do whatever he wishes after receiving permanent residency, and he chose to pursue post-secondary education.

[Once you receive permanent residence] you are free to go wherever you want and nobody is going to argue with you. They give you the freedom or the opportunity to

⁷² Also with the recent changes to the TFWP, work permits can only be issued for one-year, with an additional year renew if necessary.

decide what do you do before you become permanent resident. And I think its good thing, but they don't force you stay there.

Javier's statement demonstrates the 'unfreedom' temporary migrants face as it notes the controlling role of employers in their lives. However, it also demonstrates that employers are informing temporary migrants of their ability to leave after becoming permanent. Ana had a similar experience to Javier and left the company as quickly as possible in pursuit of another career.

Unlike Javier and Ana, Maria remained at the plant for many years after becoming a permanent resident before gaining courage and confidence to leave. Injuries and severe homesickness led Maria to want to quit her job almost immediately upon arrival and return home prior to receiving permanent residency. She felt confined by her non-permanent status and was very aware of her 'unfreedom' to leave both Canada and her job while temporary. As she notes, *"when you have only work permission, you don't have opportunity [to leave]."* If she was going to leave the company before receiving permanent residency, it meant she could not return and the chance to become a permanent resident would disappear. It was her family members who encouraged her to at least wait until she became permanent since this was seen as something that could increase opportunities for both Maria and her children. She endured remarkable hardship and successfully received permanent residency, which then allowed her to bring her children, return to El Salvador for visits, and eventually leave the hog processing industry to pursue another career. Permanent residency was Maria's reward at the end of a long struggle, but it kept her at a job she hated where she obtained numerous injuries and was repeatedly mistreated.

For the other seven people who have not pursued other employment, they are not staying in the hog processing industry because they enjoy the work. Many spend their days dreaming about finding work that is less dirty, difficult, and demanding. They stay because they, like Maria, are not confident in their ability to secure other work, which is often blamed on their struggles to

learn English. These experiences provide evidence of the ways in which changes from precariousness and insecurity to a secure legal status does not always lead to more fully realized opportunities. Research has found that past experience working in precarious jobs in the lowest ranked segments of the labour market can positively predict future employment in precarious jobs (Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Vosko, 2009). The achievement of the potential that comes with permanent residency is not always straightforward.

Many temporary migrants who are awaiting permanent residency cite the right to employment mobility as something they look forward to and eagerly anticipate the day they can leave their job. They plan to put in only the necessary time on the shop floor before promptly moving to another job or pursuing post-secondary education. Some want to move into management or administrative positions within the company, while others want to change industries entirely. Few talk about leaving Brandon or Prairieville since they do enjoy the lifestyle. Others plan to pursue higher paid employment or be closer to family in other provinces. For example, as a newly arrived temporary migrant, Ernesto's main goal is to finish university in Canada because for him, permanent residency means that he will be able to pursue his career goals. Working as a butcher is merely a means to an end. Michael plans to leave the company in Prairieville to find work elsewhere, preferably as a truck driver. Rodol and Andres also see their current job as merely a stepping stone into either a management level job at the plant or in another sector entirely.

Few participants are actually happy with their current work, but they recognize their inability to change jobs until they receive permanent residency. They are tied to their job and to the community. They see the work permit as dictating a period of time that must be endured until gaining autonomy. They may dream of pursuing other jobs or opportunities, but know they cannot

do so until they are permanent residents. Given that many of those who have obtained permanent residency remain at their hog processing job, it will be interesting to see if those who are awaiting their status change actually follow through with their plans to move on. It seems as though such dreams are largely determined by skill and English levels, with the more educated and skilled temporary migrants hoping to one day re-enter the occupation they left behind. Those temporary migrants who have entered with little to no English and lower levels of education remain at the plant long after they have received the right to occupation mobility and acknowledge the immense challenges in finding work elsewhere. Perhaps those who have recently arrived with higher levels of English and more advanced skills will face more employment opportunities and be able to exercise their mobility rights. Research has found that English levels prior to migration have an effect on migrants' likelihood of being precariously employed (Goldring & Landolt, 2011).

A tenuous promise: The trouble with offering permanent residency

In light of the previous discussion, should we laud the institutionalized pathways to permanent residency that are occurring amongst larger employers in Manitoba? Is this the solution to the inherent problems of temporary labour migration programs? I have often been asked if the so-called "Manitoba way" is a successful model for addressing concerns about the rights of temporary migrants and I continue to have no clear answer. Institutionalized pathways to permanent residency for lower skilled temporary migrants offers people who face no other prospects for immigration to Canada a chance to pursue many goals and dreams. Such pathways keep temporary migrants from having to return to the precariousness, poverty, and danger in their home countries. It offers families avenues to stable employment, learning English, pursuing post-secondary education, home ownership, and other life goals that seemed to be otherwise unachievable. Most importantly, though, extending an institutionalized pathway to permanent

residency recognizes the value and need of lower skilled labourers. It reinforces the notion that if you are good enough to work here then you are good enough to stay here. Temporary migrants are acknowledged as valuable contributors to communities and welcomed as long-term residents who have a necessary role to play in the advancement of economic and social development in the province. However, as Pratt (2012) and Phillips (2009) have cautioned, TFWPs cannot be viewed as a panacea for global inequalities or used as a tool for development. They advance capitalist accumulation through the neoliberalization of a global work force that is often willing to accept work conditions on any grounds if it will lead to a better life with more opportunity and the potential for settling elsewhere.

At first glance, Manitoba's practices seem to be the answer to many concerns about temporary migration within the country and, in fact, the province is often cited as a model of best practices (Carter, 2012; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Hennebry, 2012; Nakache & D'Aoust, 2012). Lower skilled temporary migrants' labour is valued, included, and recognized as important to provincial economic development. However, rather than replicate the model across the country as the solution to the plight of lower skilled temporary migrants, it is necessary to confront the debate on temporary labour migration programs in a more general sense. If their labour is permanently needed and their contributions to society and the labour market valued, then why is the best model for inclusion a two-step process? This model operates within a broader policy environment that continues to privilege highly skilled labour over lower skilled labour, as is evident by the exclusion of lower skilled immigrants from the federal system.

Such two-step immigration treats temporary migrants as probationary immigrants. When they are temporary residents, they endure a trial period that no other immigrant has to face. Employers 'try them out', assessing whether they are worthy of permanent residence or whether

they should be returned. Industry (not government) vets potential citizens in this process, determining, based upon workplace values, who should and should not stay in Canada. Furthermore, during this trial period, temporary migrants understand that they must impress their employer with their hard work, dedication, and willingness to follow the rules. As Carlos said, "*If Canada don't like me, I need to return.*" Just like that, if he is deemed undesirable for whatever reason, Carlos will have to return to Honduras. Promises of permanent residence act as a tempting prize that can be won if the employer and government approves, creating the ultimate compliant and contingent workforce. Although employers may not force temporary migrants to apply for permanent residency, they do exert considerable force and control over the process. Employers' approval is needed and temporary migrants know that to get such approval they must behave as model employees.

Even before temporary migrants move to Manitoba there are significant problems with the promise of permanent residency. When Ramos was making the decision to leave his job for the chance to come to Canada, permanent residency was the lynchpin. He knew of the option to stay permanently, but he remained skeptical and did not want to uproot his life on some vague promise. After a discussion with human resource personnel during his interview, Ramos was told the following.

If you come to Canada it will be six month time and then you become a permanent resident. They say guaranteed that six months to be a permanent residence and then in couple of years to be a Canadian citizen.

Such guarantees may not be made in every instance, but it was in Ramos's case, and this factored significantly into his decision to move to Manitoba. Even if the companies have every intention of nominating all foreign workers, which they nearly do, they have no business guaranteeing such a thing to potential employees. It is not something that is certain - a possibility, yes, but not a

foregone conclusion. Policy environments may, and clearly do, change and industry demands shift, resulting in lay-offs or blocked avenues to permanent residency.

Herein lies one of the most significant problems with promising or offering permanent residency to lower skilled temporary migrants. If it is true that they "guarantee" permanent residency and if people make their decisions based upon this promise, what happens if it cannot be achieved? For example, if there is a problem with paper work, language requirements, or if the company chooses not to nominate an employee to the PNP then permanent residency is no longer a possibility. When an immigrant arrives to Canada through a federal stream, their status in the country is, for the most part, guaranteed, but when a lower skilled temporary migrant arrives, their status is tenuous until a number of steps are successfully achieved, but at no point is such success a guarantee. Some temporary migrants recognize that permanent residence is not a foregone conclusion, but others may not. People's lives are at stake in this process. Participants told me of fellow migrants who sold all of their possessions - including their home - because of their belief in being able to settle in Canada permanently. Temporary migration, then, loses its temporariness as people make long-term settlement plans that can only be realized with a two-step immigration option. They are being hopeful, yet convinced of becoming permanent and for this we cannot fault them.

Notwithstanding the potential policy and industry complications that could threaten permanent residency applications, individual-level factors may confound the process. Applying for permanent residency is stressful and even though there is some assistance with the application process there are many things that can further complicate an already complicated process. It involves obtaining many documents from one's home country, all of which cost money. If a temporary migrant has family, then such documents need to be obtained for each member. If

something goes wrong with the paperwork or funds cannot be raised, then one's opportunity to become a permanent resident is jeopardized. For example, Maricel is unsure of whether she will be able to afford to bring her seven children and husband. Before she can even consider purchasing the approximately \$1000 one-way flights from Manila to Winnipeg for each family member, Maricel must ensure that she has enough money to pay for the cost for all supporting documentation. If there are problems with the paperwork, she will have to reapply and repay fees. She must pay to receive an English language assessment and pay travel costs to Winnipeg for such testing. She must pay for birth certificates and passports from the Philippines for all of her children and then have them sent to Manitoba. She must then ensure she has suitable living arrangements for her family, including furniture, clothing, toys, and so on. All the while, she needs another \$10,000 in her bank account to support the nomination of her husband and children. Maricel estimates that she will need to have saved over \$20,000 in order to even be able to consider bringing her family. Considering her \$12 per hour wage and less than full-time hours, this will be a feat. Such concerns are not unique and can act as barriers to getting permanent residency. Prior to coming to Canada, the extent of such barriers would not be fully realized. Even though many encounter other problems such as parental permission from a divorced spouse, adoption papers, or lost documents, the amount of people who successfully navigate the process in both communities is staggering.

Conclusion

There is enough evidence in the interviews to suggest that permanent residency is a recruitment tool, used to entice people to leave their countries in pursuit of something they would not otherwise be able to attain. It is a reward and a promise made by people who technically cannot guarantee that it will be attained. It is a manipulative tactic used in the way that financial bonuses or promotions can be used to ensure a compliant and dedicated citizen workforce.

However, in the case of noncitizens, suggesting a guarantee of permanent residency is quite dangerous and disruptive; these are people who have agreed to work in another country out of desperation to flee their homes in search of opportunity and security. Many do not and cannot return to their home country so they do whatever it takes to stay in Canada and bring their families.

By facilitating the permanent settlement of temporary migrants, the federal government and provincial governments are initiating and, to varying extents, institutionalizing a process that upsets the very intention of temporary labour migration programs. The federal government has always sold TFWPs as a way for employers to expediently address what are short-term labour shortages because to say otherwise would bring into question the need to call such programs temporary. However, institutionalized pathways to permanency through the federal and provincial governments are contradicting the very premise of temporary labour migration programs, with potential adverse or beneficial consequences of individuals and their families.

Evidence suggests, though, that there is a need to begin to treat TFWPs as immigration programs, dropping the facade of temporariness (Pratt, 2012). Furthermore, Khoo, Hugo, and McDonald (2008) contend that international migration literature, and I would add to this federal government immigration policy, has a "tendency to dichotomize permanent settlement and temporary migration as though they are two quite separate and unrelated processes" (p. 195). However, with increasing options for two-step immigration projects, the bridge between the two is no longer justifiable, as this chapter demonstrates the extent to which they are intertwined. By bifurcating permanent and temporary, harm comes to those that are temporary as they are excluded from the full rights enjoyed by citizens and permanent residents (Rajkumar et al., 2012). Temporary status hinders integration and permanence does not necessarily remedy the damage done by being precariously statused. As Hennebry (2012) urges, we need to consider new ways of

thinking about the permanent settlement of temporary migrants by redefining concepts of integration and removing the privilege reserved for permanence.

If we consider the perspectives of temporary migrants, we learn how the dichotomy between permanent and temporary is often false and not applicable (Khoo et al., 2008). Although researchers and policymakers get mired in debates about whether lower skilled temporary migrants can or should become permanent residents, migrants seem to be much less concerned with such issues. Commenting on his plan to stay in Canada permanently, Diego simply explains "*that was my plan, because to go back to my country, I wasn't going to go back.*" In fact, the extent to which migrants are even aware of their temporariness in Canada is something to consider. When asked about their legal status in Canada, many participants responded with a quizzical look and stated they had a work permit. No one said they were a "temporary foreign worker" or "temporary migrant". Many temporary migrants move with the intension of never returning to their home country. Researchers studying Canada's domestic caregiver program have long made this observation, as have others studying temporary migration elsewhere (Khoo et al., 2008; Torres et al., 2012). The distinction between temporary and permanent is merely a fine or non-existent line in the minds of lower skilled temporary migrants in Manitoba. It would do migrants well if such a perspective was adopted by those making policies that continue to exclude them.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

In a general sense, many of the experiences encountered by participants in this study are not unlike those of temporary migrants arriving through other streams of Canada's TFWP (Basok, 2002; Binford, 2013; Parreñas, 2001a; Pratt, 2012; Preibisch, 2010; Sharma, 2006; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). On the whole, temporary migrants' labour is used in sectors that cannot attract adequate supplies of citizen or permanent resident workers, they have little security, and they are often exploited and abused. Their position in Canada is predicated on their ability to work and their value as labour is derived from productivity, dedication, and compliance. A lack of freedom characterizes their location in the labour market since they are unable to change employers or get other jobs. Furthermore, if they quit their job or are unable to adequately work, their ability to stay in Canada is compromised. Temporary migrants in all three of the major streams (SAWP, LCP, and SLSO) of the TFWP are vulnerable and precarious, dependent upon their employers for many aspects of their well-being and excluded from a service infrastructure that is otherwise designed to assist newcomers. What sets the experiences of temporary migrants in this study apart from others is that they live and work in a province that allows SLSO migrants to transition from temporary to permanent residency.

Therefore, while the Stream for Lower Skilled Occupations does not include provisions for permanent residency through federal programs, some lower skilled migrants have been able to access a two-step process of migration through provincial government programs and then become permanent residents of Canada. This process of transitioning statuses provides a rich field of inquiry that is only recently gaining attention. We know a little about domestic caregivers' experiences with transitioning to permanent residency, but we know little about lower skilled temporary migrants' transition journeys. As two-step immigration becomes a more well-known and

acknowledged avenue into Canada, we know surprisingly little about the nature of this process and how individuals navigate a probationary period where they are tested for their abilities as workers and vetted for their value in particular industries, which then informs whether they will be supported by their employers in their applications to become a permanent resident of Canada. This dissertation offers a critical look into the process of becoming a permanent resident through a two-step process by highlighting the effects of temporary resident status on individuals and families. What has become but a stage to endure as they work toward achieving the ultimate goal of permanent residency, temporary resident status, I argue, has the potential to produce long-term negative effects on migrants, hindering their ability to escape social exclusion and achieve equality.

I began this inquiry not by asking *if* temporary migrants experience social exclusion and inequality, but rather *how* they experience it. Temporary resident status is itself a definer of inequality and it immediately renders its possessor vulnerable, marginalized, and precarious, so inquiry into the presence or absence of inequality is not required. Therefore, I wanted to learn what it is like to be a lower skilled temporary migrant in Manitoba and recount, from their perspective, the details of the experience, highlighting instances where migrants negotiate, navigate, and experience social exclusion and inequality. Participants' narratives reveal the rich details of the migration experience, which have not been adequately captured in the literature. Furthermore, their narratives demonstrate the ways in which migration is shaped by multiple actors and how the nature of the experience is a product of the actions of innumerable interested parties that direct how, where, and why migration occurs. Therefore, I follow many migration scholars before me and reiterate that migration is a complex and dynamic social, political, and economic process that is negotiated and renegotiated on a daily basis by migrants and their family members, policymakers, and members of both the receiving and sending society (Castles & Miller, 2009; Clark-

Kazak, 2011; Deaux, 2006). As Sassen (1998) states, "migrations do not just happen; they are produced" (p. 56). The outcomes of these productions are multidimensional, vast, and profound.

I did not want to structure migrants' stories as ones that begin in Canada, as many studies do, since, as Deaux (2006) contends, this ignores the breadth and scope of migrants' experiences.

Immigration is an experience that begins before people move away from their country of origin and that continues long after they arrive in a new country. Immigration is not a 'done deal' but instead a part of one's life that continues to have relevance in years and indeed generations to come (p. 4).

Therefore, the migration experience is not limited to one of settlement or integration, but rather it is a journey that is undertaken in multiple countries, beginning with decision to move and never truly ending. Often, migration is borne of inequality of opportunity, which is shaped by global processes, international relations, and other macro-structural conditions. This inequality is then perpetuated and compounded by exclusion and marginalization that persist after migration.

Viewing migration as an all-encompassing life event for migrants, I set out to illustrate a holistic account of the migration experience, encouraging temporary migrants to begin their narratives with the moment they decided to move to another country and end them with thoughts about the future. It is within such a context that we may better understand temporary migration in a way that reveals the multidimensionality of inequality and exclusion that shapes their lives.

Informing a theoretical framework for understanding temporary migration in Canada

The findings from this dissertation research yield a number of theoretical contributions to the sociological study of international migration. In a general sense, this study informs a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between temporary migration and inequality at the level of migrants' lived experiences. Given the largely atheoretical character of much migration scholarship and considering the essence of qualitative research, I approached this research as an

exercise in contributing to new ways of thinking about temporary labour migration, the migration experience, and migrants' inclusion and exclusion. This framework for understanding integrates considerations of the various factors that influence the pre-migration and post-migration social positioning of migrants, including explorations of both work issues and settlement experiences, necessarily integrating work experiences with social experiences. Studies on migration have too often isolated one aspect of the migration experience (i.e., motivations to migrate, assimilation, labour market participation, etc.) neglecting a holistic view of the phenomenon that considers interrelated concerns of belonging, inclusion/exclusion, and inequality. Such a view delineates the ways in which temporary migrants' social location is complicatedly tethered to simultaneous inclusion in the labour market and exclusion from legal, permanent membership.

Moreover, examining the experiences of lower skilled temporary migrants in Canada importantly reveals how access to citizenship is unequal as it creates inequalities and hierarchies of belonging (Castles, 2005b; Lenard & Straehle, 2012; Preibisch & Otero, 2014; Sharma, 2001). Some people get to belong while others do not. Some have full access to political, social, and economic rights while others remain only partially able to access and exercise those rights, if at all (Parreñas, 2001b). Despite Thomas Marshall's (1950) optimistic view that citizenship has the ability to alleviate inequalities, the institution continues to operate with walls erected around itself that allow only the entrance of certain groups and not others. While there may be a movement toward the expansion of citizenship rights via international human rights and, to a certain extent, postnational arenas of belonging that are no longer entrenched within the confines of the nation-state, legal belonging, and all rights associated with it, remains bound to citizenship as a governed institution. Studying the experiences of lower skilled temporary migrants demonstrates the important role of

the nation-state in setting the terms of belonging while constructing a regime of exclusion that denies membership to those who do not meet the prerequisites of belonging.

A finding I did not anticipate at the outset of this research was the paramount significance and centrality of permanent residency throughout migrants' narratives. Becoming a permanent resident of Canada is essential to their motivations to migrate, their ability to cope with day-to-day challenges, and their plans for the future. Therefore, this research contributes to studies that call for a realignment of thinking on the distinctions between permanent immigration and temporary migration (Hennebry, 2012; Khoo et al., 2008; Latham et al., 2014; Preibisch & Otero, 2014; Rajkumar et al., 2012; Torres et al., 2012). Given temporary migration programs' tendency to fail to account for the permanency in migration in nearly every context, there is a need to reconsider how temporary migration is theorized - or, rather, not theorized - vis-à-vis permanent immigration. Temporary migration is not only a momentary means to short-term economic gains for migrants and their families, as this study and many others demonstrate. Return is not the only outcome of temporary migration and there are new and emerging ends to the phenomenon. The temporary migrants in this study, as do many others, come to Canada with plans for the future that extend beyond the initial time period of their work permits. They make plans that are based on achieving long-term goals. What distinguishes temporary migrants from permanent immigrants, in this case, is the extra step that is required in realizing long-term settlement plans. Temporary migration is a stepping stone toward permanent residency and this probationary period is viewed by migrants as a phase of their *immigration* project. Temporary migrants are not always sojourners and, in many cases, they need to be included in ways similar to permanent immigrants. Their exclusion creates a group of neglected individuals who are left to navigate their new life on their own, often without family, a social network, or adequate communication skills. As Rajkumar and colleagues (2012)

argue there is a need to "undo the link between permanence and rights so that all temporary migrants, not just the privileged, enjoy full social and civil rights" (p. 505). Temporary migration and permanent immigration are not necessarily opposite and separate phenomena, but rather they are intertwined as part of complex, dynamic, and evolving migration projects pursued by people who want and need the opportunities afforded by international migration.

I join others in the call to theoretically position legal statuses as socially (re)produced and constructed categories that are permeable, yet often rigid in their ability to define people's social location (Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Landolt & Goldring, 2013; Sharma, 2001). In a number of ways, temporary resident status is a flexible and negotiable category, able to be redefined by provincial immigration policy, local actors, and migrants. The flexibility of the category comes from its intimate and intertwined connection to a process that involves changing statuses. The people I interviewed do not often refer to themselves as temporary migrants, instead they articulate their circumstances in terms of work permits, deadlines, and the possibility of becoming a permanent resident. They see themselves as probationary immigrants, here to be previewed by their employer and, hopefully, deemed worthy of permanent residency. In addition, members of the Brandon and Prairieville municipal governments and Manitoba's provincial government officials also approach the category of "temporary migrant" as something that can be negotiated and moulded. The fact that temporary migrants, regardless of skill level, can become permanent residents through the Provincial Nominee Program speaks to the permeability of such a legal category. Viewing legal statuses as sometimes fleeting and evolving upsets the very rigid bureaucratic confines of categorical definitions that can have negative effects on people's ability to meet their needs, access resources, and be fully participating members of society.

Yet, despite the ability to change statuses and the potential repositioning of distinctions between permanent and temporary, it would seem that the long-term effects of holding temporary resident status are profound. In this study, former temporary migrants are resigned to stay in jobs that are debilitating and unrewarding for long periods of time, they hesitate to pursue language training, and they remain marginalized. In many ways, migrants continue to bear the burdens of their once temporary status, which has also been found amongst groups of vulnerable migrants in other studies (Goldring et al., 2009; Goldring & Landolt, 2011; McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013). As Pratt (2012) explains in her book on the LCP and family reunification, "this temporary labor program subjects those enrolled in it to a form of social death, and that time working as a noncitizen creates enduring social exclusion for domestic workers and their families after they settle in Canada" (p. xxvi). While temporary migrants wait to apply for and receive permanent residency, they exist in a liminal period where their entire future is predicated on a change in legal status. It is an uncertain time that causes stress and anxiety, the levels of which one with secure legal status cannot comprehend. In addition to the tenuousness of their transition to permanency, migrants are subject to many other negative effects of temporariness, which includes the internalization of precariousness and vulnerability.

It is no surprise that noncitizen status regulates the lives of temporary migrants, but learning of the ways in which migrants' alter their social and workplace behaviours and understand their experiences as filtered through the internalization of their precarious circumstances is distressing. Temporary status becomes a disciplinary mechanism manifested through the constant explicit and implicit threat of deportation or denial of permanent residency, which, ultimately, are one of the same thing for migrants (Anderson, 2010; Basok et al., 2013; Coutin, 2007; De Genova, 2002; Harrison & Lloyd, 2012; Standing, 2011; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). As other studies have

found, it is not often the case that migrants actually witness deportations, but rather they fear being deported because they are deportable (De Genova, 2002; Harrison & Lloyd, 2012). Migrants' deportability is a creation of government policies that place the balance of power directly in the hands of employers who have the ability to say whether a migrant can stay or go. The threat of deportation, whether real or manufactured, is perpetuated by rumour, hearsay, and conjecture amongst communities of migrants whose very future is revocable. Employers have a vested interest in preserving the threat of deportation since it creates a workforce that is aware of their own vulnerability and not willing to compromise their futures in Canada. Therefore, temporary migrants become compliant in ways a citizen or permanent resident workforce never will, allowing employers ultimate control over their labour (Anderson, 2010). My research adds an empirical case to this area of theorizing, demonstrating through migrants' narratives the ways in which employer-supported options for permanent residency foster discipline in the lives of temporary migrants through the self-regulation of worker productivity, adherence to social norms, and hyper-sensitivity to laws and customs. As the proverbial carrot at the end of the stick (Hennebry, 2010; Siemiatycki, 2010; Valiani, 2013), options for permanent residency add to the multiple and intersecting "mechanisms of social control" that formally and informally govern and regulate temporary migrants' lives (Anderson, 2010; Basok, 2002).

This research also provides support for further theoretical inquiry into the role of legal status as a mediating factor in allocating work (Hudson, 2007; Landolt & Goldring, 2013; Lusi & Bauder, 2010). Denying citizenship and full membership to temporary migrants keeps them in precarious and tenuous relations with society, allowing for their marginalization in a labour market that requires such vulnerably positioned workers who will work for poor pay in undesirable working conditions. Indeed, TFWPs support and foster the segmented labour market. As segmented labour

market theorists argue, immigration does not upset social stratification systems, structures of prestige and status, or other inequality perpetuating hierarchies and, in fact, being able to access foreign labour reinforces the segmented structure of an unequal labour market (Bauder, 2003; Massey et al., 1993; Piore, 1979). Jobs in the hog processing industry in Manitoba are undeniably structured according to hierarchies of prestige, desirability, and opportunity. The lowest ranked jobs, which are those on the shop floor, are occupied almost entirely by (im)migrant labour while management and human resource positions are filled by Canadian citizens (i.e., locals). Promotion beyond the shop floor is closed to (im)migrant labour and even though many apply for higher-ranked jobs, few are successful. I did not explore this issue from the perspective of employers, but many other studies have found that immigrants are relegated to low-ranked jobs (or excluded from full labour market inclusion) because of employers' misperceptions and prejudice toward foreign work experience and education (Bauder, 2003; Lamba, 2003; Zikic et al., 2010). Migrants express concern for being excluded from promotion and non-shop floor jobs, often feeling that if they prove themselves to be good and productive workers they will be rewarded. However, as segmented labour market theory illustrates, the higher-ranked jobs will continue to be closed to marginalized social groups, which includes those with temporary resident status.

In addition to providing evidence for the presence of a segmented labour market in the hog processing industry in Manitoba, this dissertation also demonstrates how the segmented labour market is experienced by temporary migrants as they work in some of the most dirty, dangerous, and undesirable jobs in the country. It lends to the theory experiential accounts of how citizenship status interacts with the conditions of the lowest ranked segments of the labour market to contribute to vulnerability and precariousness amongst a group of people who are disciplined through the threat of deportation or the revocation of paths to permanent residency. Temporary

migrants experience the segmented labour market in ways citizens never will since they are denied the freedom to change employers, are recruited and hired to work specifically in lower skilled jobs, and can be deported if their performance is unsatisfactory. Despite significant injuries, chronic pain, and dissatisfaction with their work, temporary migrants remain compliant and silent so as to be seen as good and productive workers, worthy of permanent residency. This research demonstrates how the segmented labour market is experienced, reinforced, and socially constructed in the day to day lives of temporary migrants through the machinations of noncitizen status. It also moves beyond segmented labour market theory to further stress the perpetuation of social inequality through the hierarchical ordering of jobs and legal status, and associated short- and long-term implications for migrants.

To more traditional theories of international migration, the findings from this dissertation research contribute a nuanced understanding of the phenomenon by incorporating concern for the parameters of exclusion, in addition to considering the failure of temporary migration programs. The case of two-step immigration in Manitoba contradicts some of the assumptions of international migration theories, which, on the whole, do not engage well with the phenomenon of temporary migration and the case of non-return. The new economics of migration theory assumes that individuals are motivated to move to another country to diversify income, but with the goal of returning to one's home country once economic security is achieved. Temporary migrants in Manitoba do not, however, return home, and they have intentions to remain in Canada permanently. In its assumption of permanent immigration, the neoclassical theory of international migration cannot reconcile why migrants would migrate through a TFWP. Furthermore, nearly all theories of international migration assume that migrants' are highly skilled and therefore desirable to the receiving society. So, while many narratives from participants support aspects of the rational

economic theories of international migration - in that they are motivated to move to other countries to seek higher wages - these are not the individuals that such theories have in mind.

To understand contemporary immigration in Canada, we must look beyond theories of international migration for insights into the ways policies construct the continued marginalization and social exclusion of some migrants. As the regulator, manager, and creator of immigration policies and practices, the state sets the terms of belonging and membership, which therefore sets the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. These boundaries are characterized by preconceived notions of who will succeed (i.e., integrate) in Canadian society (i.e., the labour market) and who will not (Abu-Laban, 2014). Inherent in this formulation of who will integrate and who will not are assumptions of skill level, including education, work experience, and language. It is upon the presence of desirable characteristics that the parameters of inclusion are set. Therefore, individuals without high levels of human capital are excluded and rendered unequal. In this way, our conceptualizations of social exclusion and inequality are expanded beyond the common concerns of income disparity and poverty to include the ways in which government policy contributes to inequality through the creation of categories of belonging. As noncitizens, lower skilled temporary migrants have multidimensional experiences of social exclusion and inequality that are largely products of the social construction of desirability. Without a doubt, social exclusion and inequality characterize the migration experiences of temporary migrants and becoming permanent does not necessarily lead to equality or inclusion. After the effects of precariousness have been internalized by migrants for years, they continue to live their lives under the influence of their once held noncitizen status.

What is being done to address migrants' vulnerability, exclusion, and inequality?

As I noted at the beginning of this dissertation, there is growing public concern for temporary migrants in Canada. However, this increased attention has prompted many members of the public to further vilify migrant workers and call for the eradication of the TFWP, including a mass deportation of all 'temporary foreign workers'. Completely dissolving the TFWP will not solve any of the issues faced by temporary migrants and, in fact, it would only worsen an already precarious situation. Instead of further punishing temporary migrants, it is necessary to examine how their situations can be ameliorated so they may achieve equality and inclusion rather than entrenching marginalization. Achieving equality and inclusion for lower skilled temporary migrants, in particular, requires the complete realignment of thinking about temporary migration and considering the role a secure legal status can play in alleviating their precariousness. Furthermore, there is a need, as many others contend, to unhinge rights and inclusion from permanency.

Many studies examine temporary migration by starting from a rights-based perspective, arguing that inequalities are rooted in the absence of a full array of equally distributed rights (Attas, 2000; Basok, 2004; Basok & Carasco, 2010; Dauvergne & Marsden, 2014; Morissens & Sainsbury, 2005; Nakache, 2010; Soysal, 1994; Stasiulis, 1997). As noncitizens, temporary migrants are not entitled to the same rights as citizens or permanent residents, therefore compounding their exclusion and vulnerability. Most often, access to rights is entangled with citizenship and membership in a nation-state. However, those who approach rights-based analysis from a postnational citizenship perspective argue that there are increasing instances whereby rights are becoming universal and based on personhood rather than citizenship. Such scholars argue that the state is no longer the sole guarantor of rights as regimes of international human rights emerge. For example, international recognition for the plight of migrant workers has been captured in the

International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, which was approved by the *United Nations General Assembly* in 1990 and began in 2003. The purpose of the Convention is not to create new rights, but rather it ensures migrants have access to basic human rights such as freedom of expression, access to due process, personal privacy, and equality of treatment. Indeed, the Convention takes significant strides toward protecting migrants and their families within a postnational framework. However, only 47 states have signed or ratified the Convention, with the vast majority of signatories being labour-sending countries⁷³. Labour-receiving countries such as Canada, the United States, and Australia have not ratified the Convention. Therefore, the effectiveness of the Convention is severely inhibited (Morris, 2002; Ruhs, 2013)⁷⁴.

Despite what proponents of postnational forms of membership argue, international conventions and rights entitlements based on personhood fail to work if states refuse to participate (Hennebry, 2014; Stasiulis, 1997). Therefore, the protection of migrants is largely determined by states' willingness to recognize and address their needs. As Parreñas (2001a) argues in her critique of the postnational citizenship approach

Personhood does not transcend citizenship if integration is constrained by legal measures that limit the persons' labour market activities to particular low-wage sectors or restrict the person's legal status to 'guest workers' ineligible for permanent settlement. Instead, the conditions of citizenship (that is, incorporation) would still determine the migrants' sense of membership (p. 200).

Unfortunately for migrant workers, nation-states continue to be, as Joppke (1999) states, "rocks of facticity that defy universal justice and human rights" (p. 2) States set the parameters for who is

⁷³ Ruhs (2013) explains that the migrant workers' Convention is the "least ratified convention among all major international human rights treaties" (p. 1).

⁷⁴There are other international attempts to protect vulnerable workers. For example, the *International Labour Organization* (ILO), which is a tripartite agency of the United Nations that includes employers, governments, and workers in consultations on labour standards issues, strives to protect vulnerable workers such as migrant populations through numerous advocacy initiatives (Martin, 2003).

included, who is excluded, and who may exist in some in-between form where inclusion is granted yet rights and protections are restricted. Of course, states differ in how and why they exclude temporary migrants from rights, and if international conventions and frameworks for universal human rights are to be effective, then acceptance and commitment must come from those nation-states receiving large numbers of migrants.

Given the failure of international and postnational attempts to protect rights for migrants, how is it that temporary migrants can have access to rights and be able to exercise them? Furthermore, what options exist for achieving social equality and inclusion? A number of ways to address temporary migrants' struggles can be found in grassroots organizations that take on advocacy roles and bring attention to abuses and exploitation (Alberti et al., 2013; Gabriel & Macdonald, 2011; Hanley et al., 2012). For example, *Justicia for Migrant Workers* and *Migrante* are two advocacy-based organizations that fight for equality and justice for migrant workers across Canada. They organize protests, information sessions, and various other public campaigns to fight for better working conditions and access to rights and resources. Labour unions have also become effective advocates for temporary migrants. As I have previously discussed, UFCW acts as an advocate and service provider for all of their members, which, in Manitoba, include temporary migrants. Representatives from the union also travel the country speaking about justice for migrant workers at conferences and workshops. Unfortunately, some provinces do not grant all migrant workers the right to collective bargaining, so many migrants cannot be members of a labour union. Even though their efforts can be hampered, grassroots organizations have the ability to raise awareness of migrant workers' exclusion and inequality as they also provide migrants with social resources and supports.

The temporary migrants in this study are fortunate to be members of a labour union that ensures they have equal workplace rights, but even in a context where they are included as equal members of the workforce, they are unequal in myriad other ways. Through exclusionary policies, the federal government ignores any social aspects of temporary migration by entirely neglecting or acknowledging migrants' social needs, instead focusing on their value and contributions as labour. Even though their labour rights are largely protected by UFCW, the temporary migrants in this study are without many social and political rights that contribute to their exclusion and inequality. It becomes the responsibility of the wider community to assist temporary migrants, which is undertaken to varying degrees. Immigrant service providers are not funded to help temporary migrants, so more creative and collaborative community-based efforts are required to address the many challenges faced by migrants as they navigate their new home. Their legal status excludes them from many arenas, but the actions and practices of other actors, including local levels of government, service providers, and grassroots organizations, can contribute to a sense of membership and belonging as they provide supports.

In addition to extending more rights and supports to migrants, advocacy groups and researchers have deemed permanence as a solution to migrants' vulnerability and exclusion (Hanley et al., 2012; Tilson, 2009). Indeed, acknowledging temporary migrants, especially in places and circumstances where two-step immigration is a likely outcome, as permanent residents from the outset would work toward social inclusion. However, as I have argued, careful consideration must be given to the emphasis we place on increased paths to permanency for temporary migrants. It may not be wise to give credence to the increase in numbers of transitions, as the federal government has done in the recent past. If lower skilled labour is needed, why is it continually acceptable to put people through a probationary period where they are without their families and

live under the constant threat that promises may be revoked at the behest of labour and employment practices? Yes, paths to permanency are available to some migrants, but what if they cannot be realized? What if an employer fails to support migrants' applications, for whatever reason? Ultimately, what is needed is a break from the privileging of permanence and a move away from permanent residency and/or citizenship as the sole basis for rights entitlements. If someone is good enough to work in Canada, then they should also be good enough to enjoy a full array of workplace, social, and political rights that protect their well-being and contribute to equality.

Policy and research concerns for future studies on temporary migration to Canada

There are far too many policy recommendations and areas for future research than the space of this concluding section can contain. The federal government's recent overhaul to the TFWP does not, by any means, address the inherent problems of temporary migration and, in fact, they may exacerbate the ills of a flawed labour market strategy, leaving the terrain for suggestions and concerns vast. With this section, I try to focus specifically on concerns that have direct impacts on temporary migrants' vulnerable and unequal social locations, both in the short-term and long-term.

At the beginning of this dissertation and throughout, I argue that what has been forgotten in all of the political posturing about the TFWP is a concern for the well-being of migrants and their families. Very little public attention is given to the day-to-day struggles of migrants and their persistent exclusion from the society to which they contribute their labour. Recent and past policy changes have done nothing to address the social needs of migrants as they further marginalize temporary residents from potentially helpful social supports and services. Furthermore, the current federal government feeds and fosters anti-immigration sentiments with fallacies and exaggerations, further creating and sustaining support for policies and practices that marginalize some groups,

favour others, and outright exclude many. Immigration policies sort the world's potential immigrants into desirable and undesirable groups, with potentially dire consequences for the individuals that fall in the latter group. Even though some undesirable groups are momentarily granted access to Canada's borders, and particularly its labour market, they are never to be fully included or protected.

Placing the emphasis of the analysis on the nature of policies and practices of exclusion shifts attention toward the role of government in creating and perpetuating social inequality and exclusion. Too often policy research and studies on labour market participation ignore the ways in which immigration policy and government discourse, in fact, act as co-contributors to social exclusion, favouring instead to place blame on the practices of employers and the failures of immigrants. Canada is often lauded as a model for inclusive and welcoming immigration policies, but the government and public are increasingly hostile toward newcomers and particularly those who do not enter through permanent economic streams. Refugees and temporary migrants are increasingly excluded through racialized practices and discriminatory attitudes toward their potential to contribute to Canadian society. Instead of directing research attention toward labour market participation and economic outcomes as measures for inclusion, more focus needs to be placed on the ways in which government policy and practices explicitly and implicitly create social categories of desirable and undesirable migrants, and the resulting implications for individuals and families.

When studying social exclusion and temporary migration, it is important to acknowledge and explore the multiplicity inherent in lived experiences. More research is needed to identify the intervening role of various characteristics that can influence temporary migrants' experiences of social exclusion. As Landolt and Goldring (2013) have found, intersecting social dimensions such as

language, family, and education can produce varying experiences of precariousness and citizenship. My findings also demonstrate the multidimensional nature of the migration experience as factors such as English levels, education, and family status produce stark differences amongst participants' lived experiences of social exclusion. One of the many goals of this thesis is to demonstrate the multiplicity of migration experiences, but yet detail how such complex subjects (migrants) are governed by policies and practices that often treat them as singular. While they may come through the same program, these are not people who are all alike. These are individuals with complex motivations, experiences, and goals that differ depending on their family status, class, education, country of origin, and so on. Acknowledging how social exclusion can be experienced in multiple ways allows for an appreciation of the myriad ways in which people understand their own social locations and how they are able to navigate precariousness and vulnerability.

In addition, more work is required to unravel the long-term effects of temporary resident status on people who become permanent residents. In a time where two-step immigration is occurring at increasing rates, more attention is required to understand the effects of occupying such a precarious social position. Based on my observations and interviews, along with studies by Torres and colleagues (2012) and Landolt and Goldring (2011; 2013), I have reason to believe that two-step immigration and the probationary stage that precedes permanency hinders migrants' social and economic locations and outcomes, creating a new class of marginalized and racialized people who are multiply disadvantaged by immigration policies that operate to exclude them. This dissertation represents an effort toward better articulating the outcomes and details of two-step immigration, but much more work is required in theorizing and empirically studying this migration phenomenon. It is important to confront the implications of vetting Canada's potential immigrants through a process that involves a period where migrants must endure precariousness, the threat of

deportation, loneliness, and exclusion, to then have their futures placed on their perceived value and performance as labour. The case of Manitoba makes it possible to engage with the long-term implications of temporary status for individuals who transition out of one legal status and into another.

While this work focuses on a status transition process that moves from temporary to permanent, it must not be forgotten that there are many other permutations of changes in legal status. The move from temporary to permanent involves a shift away from precarious legal status toward one that is more secure. However, some temporary migrants who are unsuccessful in their plans to become permanent or who are unable to even apply may transition from temporary to undocumented, which involves a move toward a more precarious and vulnerable position (Goldring et al., 2009; McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013). As a number of researchers have poignantly noted, migrants can get caught in the "chutes and ladders" of legal statuses, involving complex webs of status changes that upset the dichotomy of permanent versus temporary and involve moves in and out of legality, precariousness, and security (Landolt & Goldring, 2013, p. 155). More attention from policymakers and researchers is required to delineate the implications of status changes on individuals and their families, moving inquiry beyond economic outcomes and toward social and health outcomes. The effects of temporary resident status on individuals who have become permanent residents are concerning, but will pale in comparison to the outcomes of moving between precarious, impermanent statuses that gird and traverse the boundaries of legality. Instead of excluding, demonizing, and criminalizing those who exist in liminal spaces of legal statuses, more is needed to ensure that individuals find their way out of precariousness and toward inclusivity.

As qualitative researchers, we hold a privileged position whereby our education and training grant us the opportunity to explore the nuances of lived experiences as presented by those who live them. We can coalesce the experiences we hear into a public call for social justice and policy change that attempts to alleviate the burdens and struggles of marginalized and vulnerable groups. However, we must approach such endeavours with careful reflective and critical engagement with the potential outcomes and consequences of our efforts. For example, when conducting research on the topic of temporary migration, more efforts need to be directed toward both actively engaging migrants in a participative research process and carefully documenting the details of engaging migrants in social science research. As researchers seek social justice for temporary migrants, it is necessary to learn from one another as we construct our research projects and carefully develop methodologies that are sensitive toward the vulnerable positions in which temporary migrants exist. Giving space in research for vulnerable and marginalized populations to direct conversations and punctuate the matters that are most important and critical to them is essential to designing methodologies that address unequal power relations both in society and in the research process. As the following quotations from David and Carla demonstrate, people like telling their stories and it can be a cathartic experience, especially for individuals who are socially excluded and do not have many opportunities to reflect on their experiences.

I like to tell these stories. It's good that people know that it's not easy to get everything [...]. And thank you for this. - David

I really enjoyed this interview because you've made me remember the years that have passed. It's very interesting to remember the past. - Carla

Qualitative researchers need to continue reaching out to groups who struggle to be heard, but this cannot be a process done without consideration for people's unique social locations.

Reconciling the irreconcilable: Narratives of hope, opportunity, exclusion, and heartache

As I conclude this dissertation, I continue to wrestle with two conflicting thoughts on temporary migration. On one hand, the TFWP creates, perpetuates, and requires inequality. It allows employers to hire workers from developing countries and bring them into structurally dependent work conditions. Abuses abound and temporary migrants are often treated like a second class of worker. TFWPs exploit difference and inequality for they are the program's prerequisites. People come to Canada to work demanding and unpleasant jobs, bearing the burdens of the hog processing industry so Canadian residents can pursue other work. Migrants suffer heart wrenching loneliness and losses while they are separated from their family. Their bodies fail and their resolve to endure is compromised on a daily basis. They face few prospects of advancing in their careers and they are often reminded by managers and supervisors of their position as a second class worker. However, on the other hand, TFWPs allow lower skilled individuals (i.e., those who do not meet the criteria for permanent immigration streams) a chance to pursue opportunity. Families in desperately poor financial circumstances in their home country can earn enough to pay previous debts, buy a home, and save for their children's university education. Sons and daughters can financially support their ailing parents or struggling siblings. For many, becoming a temporary migrant is an unimaginable achievement, as the following small sample of quotations demonstrate.

I never thought that I would immigrate. Maybe I used to think that maybe one day I was going to get out of my country only for visit another country, but not for work. - Ernesto

[Interviewer: What were you thinking when you got the approval to come to Canada?] *That I was blessed [...]. It is from God for you, I believe. I believe it's all in that way. To be here is a purpose from Him for me and, you know, it's like a second chance or maybe the opportunity that I couldn't have in my country. - Humberto*

I have four months here and it is like a dream [...]. Sometimes I think, I am really here? Yes, it's been good. - Carlos

Finally! I fulfill my dream. - Arnel

Since I began studying temporary migration, I have never been able to reconcile these contradictions and at the end of six years of doctoral research, I continue with my confliction as I reflect on the people who I met through this process.

After conducting twenty-six interviews, I also detected such contradictory feelings amongst temporary migrants. They are grateful for the opportunity to come to Manitoba, but they constantly wrestle with the daily struggle of being a noncitizen in a low-ranked job. I heard many stories of people who are trying, to the best of their abilities, to settle and establish the foundations of a new life in a new country, with hope for the future and excitement about the present. From the same people I also heard stories of unimaginable physical and emotional pain. Then, I was taken aback when I heard participants say they felt cared for by their employer or that their employer is good. Many characterize their newly acquired community as one that is friendly, welcoming, and inclusive, yet some find it very difficult to communicate with people outside of their own ethnic and/or linguistic social network while others have been victim of verbal abuses and threats. The people I interviewed are trying to make the best of a difficult situation that is simultaneously the biggest opportunity and challenge they have experienced. For many, the suffering, burdens, and difficulties are merely obstacles to a greater goal. Marlon explains the eventual insignificance of his struggles when compared to achieving his goal by recounting his thoughts when reuniting with his family at the Winnipeg airport after being apart from them for over two-years.

All of my burden, it skips out. Nothing. It's all nothing. It's gone because they are here. That's my goal, to bring them here and then study.

People's elation upon being hired by the companies and then receiving permanent residency is palpable, but their struggles throughout the journey and their exclusion in Canada is unjustifiable. I hope that this work sheds light on the experience of temporary migration by illustrating the nature of these contradictory positions, but never justifying the precariousness that these individuals experience.

Moreover, despite their hardships and the seemingly insurmountable barriers they experience on a daily basis, temporary migrants do find ways to cope with their situations. They focus on the future because they come to Manitoba with plans to settle and build a new life. Many of the migrants I interviewed will do everything that their limited amount of power will allow to realize their dreams, achieve permanent residency, and reunite with their family. It is the focus on these goals that pushes them to endure their exclusion, inequality, and hardships. As Leach (2005) explains, "[a]ctors take in meanings from their daily surroundings and from their pasts, and negotiate as they test them out and judge them according to daily exigencies. The capacity for agency is a human attribute that, through imagining the future, helps people get through the everyday" (p. 19). Temporary migrants are not always passive receptors of their inequality and many do act in ways to alter the structural conditions of their lives through the decision to migrate and become a permanent resident of Canada. The ways in which they make sense of their new lives in Canada are inextricably linked to previous work and social experiences, which inform their motivations to migrate in the first place. They inevitably interpret their new surroundings according to their past experiences, as we all do. This comparison to past circumstances makes having a stable, (relatively) well-paying job in a safe, clean, and quiet rural community extraordinarily appealing to temporary migrants. It is through such a lens that we must filter the narratives

provided by participants, since it partly explains the unexpectedly positive perspectives that many have provided.

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Appendix A - Recruitment Poster



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

SEEKING RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

"You can stay, you must go: The experiences of low-skill temporary migrants and their options for permanent resident status in Canada"

Have you:

- **Migrated from another country to work in Canada?**
- **Held or currently hold a temporary work permit?**

If so:

- Jill Bucklaschuk, a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, would like to learn about your experiences.
- Your stories will contribute to my thesis project, which focuses on the topic of temporary migration in Canada. I wish to learn about why you decided to migrate, your experiences of working in (British Columbia or Manitoba), and your future plans. Interview questions focus on the challenges and opportunities you have encountered, your opinions on migrating and working, and your plans to stay in Canada or return home.

Your participation would involve a 1.5 to 2 hour interview (and possibly a follow-up interview), conducted in English at a place, time, and date that is most convenient for you. If necessary, interviews may be conducted over the telephone, at no expense to you. A \$25 honorarium will be given for your time and participation.

If you would like to participate or have any questions, please call Jill Bucklaschuk at **XXX-XXXX** or email at _____. The QR code located on this poster will direct you to details about the project.

Involvement is voluntary and steps will be taken **to safeguard the confidentiality of your personal information.**

Thesis supervisor:
Dr. Lori Wilkinson

Appendix B - Project Information Business Cards for Recruitment

FRONT

- **Have you moved from another country to work in Canada?**
- **Have you held or do you currently hold a temporary work permit?**

If so, I would like to learn about your experiences.

I am a PhD student at the University of Manitoba in the Department of Sociology. I have chosen to study migration for my thesis project.
[See back for details.]

BACK

About your involvement:

Participation involves a 1.5 to 2 hour in-person interview about your experiences.
A \$25 cash honorarium will be given for your time.

If you would like to participate or want more information, please contact me, Jill Bucklaschuk, at:

Email: _____

Telephone (call or text): XXX-XXXX

Appendix C - Demographic Questionnaire for Temporary Migrants

Age, in years: _____

In which country were you born?: _____

In which countries have you lived?: _____

Marital status:

Married _____ Divorced _____ Common-law _____ Widowed _____ Unmarried _____

Do you have any children?: _____ If yes, what are their ages? _____

Yes _____ No _____

What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?

Elementary school or less _____ Some high school _____ High school graduate _____
Some college (including CEGEP) or trade school _____ Diploma from college or trade school _____ Attended university _____
University degree _____ Post-graduate degree _____ Other (please specify)

What is your current employment status?

Full time _____ Part time _____ Self-employed _____ Retired _____ Unemployed _____

What is your current status in Canada?

Visitor _____ Temporary (work permit) _____ Permanent Resident _____ Citizen _____

Appendix D - Interview Guide for Temporary Migrants

- 1) Beginning while you were in your home country, please describe for me in as much detail as possible how and why you decided to migrate to another country for work.
 - a) Why did you decide to migrate to Manitoba for work?
 - b) What were the most important factors in your decision to migrate?
- 2) Beginning with the day you arrived please describe for me your experiences upon arriving in Canada.
 - a) What were your thoughts and feelings upon arrival?
 - b) Have those feelings changed?
- 3) What have been some of the challenges that you have encountered since migrating to Canada?
- 4) What have been some of the benefits that you have experienced since migrating to Canada?
- 5) How long did you plan to stay in Canada when you first arrived?
- 6) Can you tell me about the job(s) you had/have?
- 7) What are your thoughts on receiving permanent resident status in Canada?
- 8) For those that have received permanent resident status, have your experiences in Canada changed at all since becoming a permanent resident?
- 9) Do you have a family and where are they living?
 - a) Did your family factor into your decision to migrate?
 - b) Do you keep in contact with your family? How so?
- 10) Looking into the next 2 – 3 years, where do you hope to be living and working?

Appendix E - Demographic Details of Research Participants in Brandon and Prairieville

Pseudonym	Age	Birth Country	Gender	Marital Status	Children	Education	Immigration status	Arrival year	Language of Interview
Ernesto	22	Honduras	Male	Single	No	Diploma from college/trade school	Temporary resident	2012	English
Luis	29	Honduras	Male	Single	No	High school graduate	Temporary resident	2012	English
Humberto	36	Honduras	Male	Married	Yes	Attended university	Temporary resident	2012	English
Earnes	30	Honduras	Male	Married	Yes	Attended university	Temporary resident	2012	English
Oscar	36	Honduras	Male	Married	Yes	Some college	Temporary resident	2012	English
Carlos	38	Honduras	Male	Married	Yes	Attended university	Temporary resident	2012	English
Roberto	27	Honduras	Male	Single	No	University degree	Temporary resident	2012	English
Juan	34	Honduras	Male	Married	Yes	Attended university	Temporary resident	2012	English
Maria	41	El Salvador	Female	Single	Yes	Attended university	Permanent Resident	2004	English
Ramos	27	n/a*	Male	Common-law	No	High school graduate	Temporary resident	2012	English
Maricel	43	Philippines	Female	Married	Yes	Some college	Temporary resident	2012	English
Michael	43	Philippines	Male	Married	Yes	University degree	Temporary resident	2011	English
Joseph	39	Philippines	Male	Married	Yes	Some college	Permanent Resident	2009	English

Marlon	36	Philippines	Male	Married	Yes	Diploma from college/trade school	Permanent Resident	2010	English
Arnel	38	Philippines	Male	Married	Yes	University degree	Temporary resident	2012	English
Isabel	26	n/a*	Female	Single	No	High school graduate	Temporary resident	2012	English
Andres	32	Philippines	Male	Married	Yes	Attended university	Temporary resident	2012	English
Rodel	33	Philippines	Male	Common-law	Yes	High school graduate	Temporary resident	2012	English
Carla	45	El Salvador	Female	Married	Yes	High school graduate	Citizen	2002	Spanish
David	44	Colombia	Male	Married	Yes	High school graduate	Permanent Resident	2007	Spanish
Diego	43	El Salvador	Male	Single	No	Some high school	Permanent Resident	2005	Spanish
Elena	43	El Salvador	Female	Married	Yes	High school graduate	Permanent Resident	2005	Spanish
Liliana	43	Colombia	Female	Married	Yes	High school graduate	Permanent Resident	2008	Spanish
Ana	29	El Salvador	Female	Single	No	Attended university	Permanent Resident	2005	English
Javier	24	El Salvador	Male	Single	No	High school graduate	Permanent Resident	2006	English
Martha	?	Colombia	Female	Married	Yes	?	Permanent Resident (arrived as a dependent)	2009	Spanish

* = details excluded to preserve anonymity

Appendix F - Interview Guide for Policymakers and Community Stakeholders

- 1) Please describe how your organization is involved with temporary migration, temporary migrants, or temporary migration programs.
- 2) Please describe how you are involved with temporary migration, temporary migrants, or temporary migration programs.
- 3) Please describe, in general, what are your thoughts on temporary migration in Canada, specifically low-skill temporary migration.
- 4) What are some of the challenges that you have encountered with temporary migration?
- 5) How have you seen temporary migration in...(your community or province) change over the past 10 years?
- 6) Have temporary migrants in... (your community or province) become permanent residents? If yes, how?
- 7) Do you think that temporary migrants arriving through the Low-Skill Pilot Project should be afforded paths to permanent resident status?
- 8) What do you believe will be the future of temporary migration in... (your community, province, or in Canada)?

For Community Stakeholders:

- 9) What have been the impacts of temporary migration on your community?
- 10) In what industry are temporary migrants typically employed in your community?

For Policymakers:

- 11) What are the policy-related challenges associated with temporary migration?
- 12) What are the policy-related opportunities associated with temporary migration?
- 13) In your opinion, should temporary migration continue to occur in Canada? Why or why not?

Appendix G - Informed Consent

For Temporary Migrants

Project title: You can stay, you must go: The experiences of low-skill temporary migrants and their options for permanent resident status in Canada

Principal Investigator:

Jill Bucklaschuk, Phd. Candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba

Research Supervisor:

Dr. Lori Wilkinson, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

You are being invited to be interviewed by the principal investigator, Jill Bucklaschuk, regarding your experiences as a temporary migrant (or foreign worker) in Manitoba. This research is being conducted by Jill Bucklaschuk for her doctoral thesis, under the supervision of her research supervisor, Dr. Lori Wilkinson, at the University of Manitoba. The primary goal of the project is to better understand migration experiences and social exclusion of temporary migrants arriving in Canada. Interviews will be held during the day in any location that provides reasonable privacy and is agreeable to both of us. The interview is not expected to exceed two hours in length. If you agree, a follow-up interview may be necessary, which will not exceed an hour in length.

You will be asked a series of questions about your decision to migrate for work, your experiences upon arrival in Brandon, and other topics related to the migration process. Questions will be focused on describing how and why you decided to come to Manitoba for work, your experiences since arriving, and your plans for the future. However, you will be encouraged to share your story and experiences in whatever manner is most comfortable for you. Throughout the interview, you will be encouraged to direct the discussion and provide information you feel is important to better understand your experiences as a temporary migrant.

With your consent, the interview will be audio recorded. If you do not consent to being recorded, the interviewer will take notes.

I have asked you to bring along photographs and any other documents that you feel represents any part of your migration experiences. I will discuss the significance of these during the interview with the hopes that this adds a more personal touch. I will not keep any documents or photographs that may compromise confidentiality, but if something seems particularly interesting (yet does not compromise confidentiality) I may ask to have a copy. I would treat any documents I keep in the same manner that I will treat interview transcripts and other data.

You will be given a \$25 honorarium for your participation. This will be provided, in cash, at the beginning of the interview and is not contingent upon the completion of the interview.

Please note that sharing one's migration story carries with it the risk of experiencing emotional distress. With this possibility in mind, a list of counseling resources in Brandon has been attached to this consent form for your assistance. There will be some direct benefits of participating, including the opportunity to describe to a concerned listener experiences that you may have found distressing. More long-term benefits will include your important contribution to an informed understanding of the migration experiences and social exclusion of temporary migrants.

Confidentiality will be respected and no information that discloses your identity will be released or published without consent unless required by law. This legal obligation includes circumstances such as suspected child abuse, infectious disease, and where research documents are ordered to be produced by a court of law.

Following the interview, I may need to contact you for a follow-up interview or to seek clarification, which would only involve going over questions already asked. This could be done over the telephone, in email, or in-person. This contact will be optional and I will ask separately for your consent to do so. At the end of the project, which will be in April 2014, you will have the option of receiving a brief summary of the findings.

At the end of the project, I will present findings in my doctoral thesis. In addition, I will publish my findings in journals and present them at professional conferences. However, in all cases I will do so without revealing identifying characteristics such as names, addresses, and specific employment details. Nonetheless, given the relatively small population of temporary migrants in the province and in your community, there is a risk that some elements of your story (such as your home country or type of employment) may be identifiable to others. I will only use quotations from the interviews after removing identifying details, so they cannot be attributed to any single person.

The only persons who will have access to information collected in the project are my research supervisor and me. All information will be kept strictly confidential. Documents related to the interviews will be stored on my password-protected personal computer. Recordings and handwritten notes, if any, will be stored in a locked cabinet in my office. I will transcribe interviews and, in the process, remove all personal identifiers. Data containing personal identifiers will be destroyed immediately after the completion of my thesis, in April 2014. All documents will be shredded and deleted in April 2015.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researcher from her legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Psychology/Social Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the

above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at XXX-XXXX. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

If you agree to each of the following, please place a check mark in the corresponding box. If you do not agree, leave the box blank:

I have read or had read to me the details of this consent form. ()

My questions have been addressed. ()

I, _____ (print name), agree to participate in this study. ()

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. ()

I agree to have my pictures and/or documents used in this project, if applicable. ()

I agree to be contacted by phone or e-mail for a follow-up interview or if further information is required after the interview ()

I agree to have the findings (which may include quotations) from this project published or presented in a manner that does not reveal my identity. ()

Do you wish to receive a summary of the findings? () Yes () No

How do you wish to receive the summary? () E-mail () Surface mail

Address: _____

Participant's Signature

Date _____

Researcher's Signature

Date _____

For Policymakers and Community Stakeholders

Project title: You can stay, you must go: The experiences of low-skill temporary migrants and their options for permanent resident status in Canada

Principal Investigator:

Jill Bucklaschuk, Phd. Candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba

Research Supervisor:

Dr. Lori Wilkinson, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

You are being invited to be interviewed by the principal investigator, Jill Bucklaschuk, regarding your professional experiences working with temporary migrants or on programs related to temporary migration in Manitoba. This research is being conducted by Jill Bucklaschuk for her doctoral thesis, under the supervision of her research supervisor, Dr. Lori Wilkinson, at the University of Manitoba. The primary goal of the project is to better understand migration experiences and social exclusion of temporary migrants arriving in Canada. Interviews will be held during the day in any location that provides reasonable privacy and is agreeable to both of us. The interview is not expected to exceed 1.5 hours in length.

You will be asked a series of questions about the work you do, your organization's role in immigration and temporary migration in Manitoba, and your thoughts on the future of temporary migration in Canada. Questions are focused on describing what you think are the main dilemmas, challenges, and opportunities associated with temporary migration and, more specifically, the phenomenon of transitioning temporary migrants to permanent residents through the Provincial Nominee Program. With your consent, the interview will be audio recorded. If you do not consent to being recorded, the interviewer will take notes.

There are no risks associated with participating. The long-term benefit of participating will include your important contribution to an informed understanding of temporary migration in Manitoba specifically and in Canada, more generally.

Confidentiality will be respected and no information that discloses your identity will be released or published without consent unless required by law. This legal obligation includes circumstances such as suspected child abuse, infectious disease, and where research documents are ordered to be produced by a court of law.

Following the interview, I may need to contact you for a follow-up interview or to seek clarification, which would only involve going over questions already asked. This could be done over the telephone, in email, or in-person. This contact will be optional and I will ask separately for your

consent to do so. At the end of the project, which will be in April 2014, you will have the option of receiving a brief summary of the findings.

At the end of the project, I will present findings in my doctoral thesis. In addition, I will publish my findings in journals and present them at professional conferences. However, in all cases I will do so without revealing identifying characteristics such as names, addresses, and specific employment details. Quotations may be used, but only after removing identifying details, so they cannot be attributed to any single person.

The only persons who will have access to information collected in the project are my research supervisor and me. All information will be kept strictly confidential. Documents related to the interviews will be stored on my password-protected personal computer. Recordings and hand-written notes, if any, will be stored in a locked cabinet in my office. I will transcribe interviews and, in the process, remove all personal identifiers. Data containing personal identifiers will be destroyed immediately after the completion of my thesis, in April 2014. All documents will be shredded and/or deleted one year later, in April 2015.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researcher from her legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Psychology/Social Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at XXX-XXXX. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

If you agree to each of the following, please place a check mark in the corresponding box. If you do not agree, leave the box blank:

I have read or had read to me the details of this consent form. ()

My questions have been addressed. ()

I, _____ (print name), agree to participate in this study. ()

I agree to have the interview audio-recorded. ()

I agree to be contacted by phone or e-mail for a follow-up interview or if further information is required after the interview ()

I agree to have the findings (which may include quotations) from this project published or presented in a manner that does not reveal my identity. ()

Do you wish to receive a summary of the findings?

Yes No

How do you wish to receive the summary? E-mail

Surface mail

Address: _____

Participant's Signature _____

Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix H: Privacy Agreement for Translator/Interpreter

Privacy Agreement
between
Jill Bucklaschuk (researcher)
and
(interpreter and translator)

Project title: You can stay, you must go: The experiences of low-skill temporary migrants and their options for permanent resident status in Canada

Ethics Protocol #P2012:074

Principal Investigator:

Jill Bucklaschuk, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba

Research Supervisor:

Dr. Lori Wilkinson, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology

This Privacy Agreement is to ensure that both the researcher (Jill Bucklaschuk) and translator/interpreter (name) maintain confidentiality of all participants at all times. The terms of confidentiality are outlined in the "Informed Consent" form.

I, _____ (printed name), agree to keep all information disclosed during the interviews in confidence and not reveal personal details beyond the interviews. I agree to the terms of confidentiality and informed consent as outlined by Jill Bucklaschuk in the "Informed Consent" form.

(translator/interpreter's signature)

(date)