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**LOW-SKILLED TEMPORARY FOREIGN WORKERS IN CANADA: HOW THEIR SUBORDINATE
STATUS IS DISCURSIVELY LEGITIMATED THROUGH PUBLIC OPINION**

by

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LOW-SKILLED TEMPORARY FOREIGN WORKERS IN CANADA: HOW THEIR SUBORDINATE STATUS IS DISCURSIVELY LEGITIMATED THROUGH PUBLIC OPINION

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to show how public opinion discursively legitimates the subordinate status that low-skilled temporary foreign workers are assigned in Canada. The author first shows how this status has been created through the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and, more specifically, the Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training. In order to analyze public opinion, comments made online in reference to news outlet articles concerning low-skilled temporary foreign workers were located. Using a dual labor market theoretical framework, a critical discourse analysis is performed on these comments, attempting to uncover how power and dominance are reproduced within them. The results of this analysis demonstrate how the discourse contained within public opinion helps to maintain the current status faced by this population.

Key words:

Canada; temporary foreign workers; dual labor market theory; critical discourse analysis; public opinion.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter 1 Literature Review	
1.1 Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program	3
1.2 The Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training	7
1.3 Themes Surrounding Temporary Foreign Workers	16
Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework	
2.1 Dual Labor Market Theory	20
Chapter 3 Methodology	
3.1 Search Strategy for Comments	22
3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis	25
Chapter 4 Results of Critical Discourse Analysis	
4.1 Text Analysis	29
4.2 Processing and Social Analyses	35
Chapter 5 Discussion	
5.1 Connections to Dual Labor Market Theory	38
5.2 Limitations	39
5.3 Areas for Further Research	40
Conclusion	42
Reference List	44
List of Acronyms	48

INTRODUCTION

The subordination of low-skilled temporary foreign workers within the secondary labor market in Canada was legally created by immigration policy and is discursively maintained through public opinion. This topic is relevant as Canada has demonstrated a growing reliance on temporary foreign workers (TFW), especially those in low-skill occupations, through the creation of the Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training (PP). While the admission of all TFW's is on the rise, the demand for low-skilled workers far outweighs all other categories. Paralleling this need has been a shift in the traditional source countries of the latter. As stated by Yessy Byl (2009), "the [Temporary Foreign Worker Program] has ceased to be a program to facilitate the temporary employment of select high end professionals and has instead become a pipeline for the importation of low-skilled labor from developing nations" (p.10).

This topic is also significant because workers within the PP category live and work in Canada without ever having the opportunity to apply for permanent residence. This exclusion from citizenship and numerous other stipulations of the PP place them in a precarious position and leave them vulnerable to subordination and exploitation.

Low-skilled TFW's in Canada have been constructed as unwanted 'others' through immigration policy and public opinion discourse. This construction has helped to maintain their precarious position in Canada as an exploitable workforce with a permanently temporary status.

This paper will take a critical look at the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP), with a specific focus on the PP, and the public opinion that surrounds it. It will attempt to show how this public opinion discursively legitimates and maintains the inferior

position that low-skilled TFW's hold in Canada. In order to do so, comments made online in response to specific news outlet articles will be critically analyzed.

In the first chapter of the paper, the findings from an extensive literature review on TFW's will be presented, in order to provide context on the TFWP and the PP, highlighting their distinguishing features. Themes surrounding TFW's, such as the latter's effect on the labor market and how they are constructed within immigration discourse will also be presented.

Dual labor market theory will be used as a theoretical framework, which will help to contextualize the TFWP, the PP, and corresponding public opinion. A basic summary of the theory is presented, followed by a discussion on its connection to the findings from the literature review, as well as the questions that guide this paper.

The next section of the paper provides the reader with a description of the methodology. An outline of how the comments were found is given, along with a description of each article used for the analysis. A summary of critical discourse analysis is also provided, demonstrating the method's relevance to this topic.

The results from the empirical analysis of the comments are then presented, separated by levels of analysis. The discussion section begins by linking the findings of the research and analysis to the theoretical framework. It then presents possible limitations to the paper and areas for further research.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to understand the TFWP and more specifically, the PP, it is important to first comprehend what a TFW actually is. In the most general sense, the latter can be defined as: “a foreign national who has been authorized to enter and remain in Canada, on a temporary basis, as a worker” (Government of Alberta, 2011, para. 33). It is also important to understand who employers are and what types of occupational sectors they represent. Although types of low-skill jobs vary, for the most part, employers doing the hiring of low-skilled TFW’s in Canada represent the oil and gas industry and the construction, cleaning, retail and restaurant sectors (Byl, 2007, 2009; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). An employer can be a single person or a large company or corporation, such as Tim Hortons (Contenta & Monsebraaten, 2009) or Maple Leaf Consumer Foods (Contenta, 2009).

1.1. Canada’s Temporary Foreign Worker Program

History of the Program

Although Canada has a long history of admitting migrant workers on a temporary basis, an official program, the Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program (NIEAP), was established in 1973 (Trumper & Wong, 2010; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Sharma, 2006). This program was created in order to provide the government with heightened control over the entry and exit of migrant workers and address labor market shortages (Sharma, 2006; Nakache, 2010; Trumper & Wong, 2010; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). The creation of the NIEAP signaled a shift from an immigration policy that emphasized settlement to one that emphasized temporary migration (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Lowe, 2010). As stated by Fudge and MacPhail (2009), “it also signaled the increased

reliance by employers on unfree labor to perform work that was not attractive to workers who enjoyed freedom in the labor market" (p. 5). In the 1990s, the NIEAP was renamed the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and was split into two streams that targeted highly skilled worker and low-skilled workers, which is where the disparity between these two groups began (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009).

The Current Program

The TFWP currently has several categories, the most well known being the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, the Live-in Caregiver Program, those for skilled and highly skilled workers and the PP (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Trumper & Wong, 2010; Nakache, 2010). Jobs are classified according to the National Occupational Classification (NOC), which groups jobs according to skill levels. The levels are: 0 (management occupations), A (occupations that usually require university education), B (occupations that usually require college education or apprenticeship training), C (occupations that usually require secondary school and/or occupation-specific training) and D (on-the-job training is usually provided) (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2011). Generally, workers in NOC 0, A or B categories are considered "skilled," while those in NOC C or D categories are considered "low-skilled." While the stipulations for each category vary, the underlying feature of all TFWP categories is that the TFW must be filling a position that cannot be filled by a Canadian (Trumper & Wong, 2010; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Sweetman & Warman, 2010). Consequently, it is not regulated by quotas and is employer-driven (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009).

The process for hiring TFW's remains fairly consistent within the program, with a few exceptions for specific categories. In general, an employer who deems it necessary to

hire a foreign worker applies for a Labor Market Opinion (LMO) from Service Canada/Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC), which is an assessment of how this hiring will affect the Canadian labor market (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a; Byl, 2007). It also outlines the terms and conditions of employment (e.g. prevailing wage rates for that type of job in that particular region), theoretically ensuring that employers do not take advantage of foreign workers. When assessing an LMO, Service Canada takes into account the recruitment efforts employers have made to hire Canadians/permanent residents (Sweetman & Warman, 2010). In order to demonstrate this effort, employers must advertise for workers domestically using a variety of public methods, with the conditions varying for each category. Categories that are exempt from this step include certain high-skilled workers, spouses/common-law partners of certain skilled workers and so on.

If the application is approved and the LMO is positive, an employment confirmation must be forwarded to the potential employee, along with a signed job offer and employment contract (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a). The work contract outlines wages, duties, job descriptions, hours, benefits, and employment rights (Gross, 2010; Nakache, 2010). With this information, the foreign worker can apply for a temporary work permit from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). The issuing immigration officer considers the validity of the job offer and the likelihood of the migrant worker leaving the country after the expiration of the permit. The length of work permits differ for each category but can range anywhere from six months to two years and, for the most part, are attached to a specific employer (Byl, 2007). Categories that do not require a work

permit in Canada are business visitors, foreign students working on campus and foreign representatives.

Spouses, common-law partners and children are not barred from accompanying TFW's to Canada, however, certain categories facilitate this more than others. TFW's that work in NOC 0, A or B categories are encouraged to bring their spouses, common-law partners and dependent children, as the latter can be issued open work permits, allowing them to enter the country without a specific job offer or LMO (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009).

Citizenship

While foreign workers in this program enter Canada on a temporary basis, certain categories are not excluded from qualifying, and eventually applying, for citizenship. Live-in caregivers, for example, are allowed to apply for permanent residence (PR) after completing 24 months of full-time work within four years of their arrival in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a). After obtaining PR, they are legally allowed to sponsor their family to immigrate to Canada on a permanent basis as well. Certain foreign workers are also encouraged to apply for PR using Provincial Nominee Programs (PNP) or the recently created Canadian Experience Class (CEC). PNP's allow a province/territory to nominate TFW's who "have the skills, education and work experience needed to make an immediate economic contribution" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011b, para. 1). Unfortunately, with certain rare exceptions, PNP's are also targeted towards higher skilled workers (Byl, 2009). The CEC, created in 2008, allows TFW's with at least two years of full-time work experience in Canada (among other conditions) to apply for PR (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). The work experience obtained must fall under a NOC 0, A or B category (Alboim, 2009).

1.2. The Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training

History of the Pilot Project

The Low-Skill Pilot Project (LSPP) category of the TFWP was created in 2002 (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Vineberg, 2010; Depatie-Pelletier, 2010; Alboim, 2009). Its main goal was to give employers the ability to quickly meet labor market demand for workers who were not eligible to come in as skilled workers, live-in caregivers or seasonal agricultural workers (Alboim, 2009). As previously mentioned, this category allows employers to hire workers for positions that only require a high school diploma or on-the-job training, classified as C and D level occupations under the NOC system (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Alboim, 2009; Sweetman & Warman, 2010).

When it was first introduced, the LSPP allowed TFW's to work in Canada for a period of one year, after which they had to return home for a period of four months before being eligible to apply for another work permit (Vineberg, 2010; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). In 2007, the LSPP became known as the Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training. At this time, regulations were adjusted to allow TFW's to stay in Canada for a period of two years before returning home (Vineberg, 2010). The work permit of the TFW was attached to one employer and they were not allowed to change employers without explicit consent from the federal government (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Reed, 2010; Depatie-Pelletier, 2010).

The Current Program

Similar to most other categories, the PP requires employers to obtain a positive LMO before hiring a TFW. As previously mentioned, this is done to ensure that such a hiring will not negatively affect the Canadian labor market.

The PP currently grants work permits for a period of 24 months, at which point TFW's are supposed to return to their home country for at least four months before applying for another (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a; Nakache, 2010). This last stipulation is only theoretical, as permit extension decisions "have no regulatory authority and are made on a case-by-case basis" (Nakache, 2010, p. 47). Subsequently, if an employer still has a positive LMO, their employee is potentially eligible to apply for a work permit extension without having to leave the country, creating a sort of permanent temporary state (Nakache, 2010). In response to this, though, as of Spring 2011, NOC C and D TFW'S are now subject to a four-year limit on the amount of time that they can work in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a). When they reach this limit, they cannot be granted another work permit until another four years has lapsed, at which point they are eligible to work in Canada again (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a).

The PP has certain stipulations that differentiate it from other categories of the TFWP. As with the others, employers must provide a work contract to the employee, during the application process, outlining wages, duties, job description, hours, benefits, and employment rights (Gross, 2010; Nakache, 2010; Byl, 2010). Unlike other categories, though, the employer must also cover the employee's return travel costs, arrange for reasonable accommodation, provide worker's safety insurance and arrange for private medical insurance until provincial coverage is intact (Gross, 2010; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a; Trumper & Wong, 2010). They are also required to cover any recruitment costs associated with the hiring of their employee, such as labor broker fees (Byl, 2007).

A Growing Reliance on Temporary Foreign Workers

As much of the literature shows, in recent years, there has been a growing reliance on temporary workers by the Canadian government (Siemiatycki, 2010; Nakache, 2010; Goldring, 2010; Trumper & Wong, 2010; DeVoretz, 2010; Canadian Council for Refugees, 2010; Flecker, 2010; Byl, 2007). In general, the admission of TFW's is on the rise (Goldring, 2010; Nakache, 2010; Sweetman & Warman, 2010), overtaking that of permanent immigrant workers (Trumper & Wong, 2010; Flecker, 2010; Depatie-Pelletier, 2010; Siemiatycki, 2010) and reaching a "historical high" (Hennebry, 2010, para. 2). The employer-driven demand for low-skilled workers, though, far outweighs the demand for other categories (Hennebry, 2010). As stated by Sharma (2006), immigration policy has been shifted "towards an increasing reliance upon...temporary migrant workers" (p. 20).

A Shift in Source Countries

The increased demand for lower-skilled workers has initiated a shift in the source countries of TFW's. In general terms, the shift can be described as one towards a more "south-to-north" flow of migration, rather than transatlantic (Reed, 2008, para. 3). More specifically, the majority of low-skilled TFW's are now from Asia, the Pacific Region, and Central/South America (Hanley, 2010; Trumper & Wong, 2010; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009).

This shift in source countries means that low-skilled TFW's are coming from poorer, less-developed countries (Piore, 1979; Reed, 2008; Byl, 2009). Subsequently, a significant income differential exists between the countries of origin and the destination country. Due to this economic disparity, migration can be seen as a means of gathering income (Piore, 1979). Workers' characteristics are also changing due to this shift. They are more likely to be visible minorities, making racism a potential issue (Byl, 2009). They are also less likely

to have a strong grasp of English and/or French, creating language barriers (Piore, 1979; Byl, 2009). A common third characteristic of low-skilled TFW's is a lack of formal educational qualifications, capital, and other requirements that would allow them to migrate to Canada as economic immigrants (Byl, 2009). As will become clear, workers' characteristics play a major role in creating and maintaining their exploitation.

Labor Brokers

Even before arrival, TFW's run the risk of being taken advantage of by labor recruitment agencies or brokers. Essentially, brokers act as an intermediary for Canadian employers looking to hire TFW's and "do the functions of recruitment, work permit processing and training" for a fee (Byl, 2007, p. 10). By law, brokers are not allowed to charge TFW's directly for their services. As stipulated by the PP, it is the employers that must cover all recruitment costs associated with hiring (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a). Unfortunately, while there *are* legitimate brokers in Canada that match TFW's with employers, these are the exception.

The main problem associated with labor brokers is that they are, for the most part, unregulated. While immigration consultants need to be licensed in order to provide services, brokers do not (Byl, 2007). Charging service fees to TFW's outside of Canada is also not illegal, meaning that many workers arrive to Canada already thousands of dollars in debt (Nakache, 2010; Byl, 2007).

Certain unscrupulous brokers have the ability to charge exorbitant fees on the promise of acquiring PR for TFW's. The latter are told that temporary work permits are the first step in attaining permanent status within Canada (Nakache, 2010). Unfortunately, as

will be discussed below, this is an empty promise on the part of labor brokers in order to make money off of hopeful migrants.

Family Members

As with all other categories of the TFWP, low-skilled TFW's are not barred from bringing their families with them. The stipulations of the PP, though, do not facilitate the process. Employees must be able to prove to an immigration officer that they will be able to support their dependents during their time in the country. They must also pay for their family's travel costs. These conditions, combined with the skill level of the occupation they will be working in, mean that, according to CIC, requests to bring family members raise "very legitimate concerns regarding the applicant's bona fides and ability to support their dependents while in Canada" (cited in Fudge & MacPhail, 2009, p. 12). Family members of low-skilled workers are not granted open work permits; they must apply for a LMO and work permit. As acknowledged by CIC, this creates a sizeable financial barrier that is difficult for low-skilled workers to overcome (cited in Nakache, 2010). Given the open work permits granted to the families of skilled-workers, one can see how the stipulations of the PP effectively discourage low-skilled workers from migrating with their family members, thus isolating them during their time in the country. As stated by Bauder (2006), workers that leave their families back home "tend to be a particularly attractive labor force" (p. 21). One could also argue that this stipulation attracts workers without families, therefore appealing to people who have the ability and independence to work in Canada over long periods of time.

Citizenship

The driving force for TFW's to come to Canada seems to be the hope of PR and citizenship, whether due to being unaware about Canadian laws or being misled by recruiters or potential employers (Byl, 2009). Another possibility is the fact that, as unskilled workers, they are "unable to enter Canada through any other avenue" (Sharma, 2006, p. 124). Regardless of the reason, this hope is not a reality for the vast majority of those coming in under the PP. As previously mentioned, the CEC offers the chance for TFW's to apply for PR after two years of work, but is only open to skilled workers (Byl, 2009; Siemiatycki, 2010; Worswick, 2010). PNP's are, for the most part, also only open to skilled workers (Byl, 2009). As Sharma (2006) says, "unskilled workers are disproportionately denied [citizenship]" (p.123).

This denial of citizenship, or precarious status, is identified as one of the key issues surrounding the vulnerability of TFW's (Tomie, 2010; Goldring, 2010; Sweetman & Warman, 2010; Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2009; Reed, 2008). According to Goldring (2010), precarious status can be understood as a person not being able to have full legal status, such as citizenship or PR. Unlike other categories of the TFWP, like the Live-in Caregiver Program or the skilled streams, workers in the PP have no pathway to PR. They are classified as non-immigrants and non-citizens and bear the consequences of this categorization (Sharma, 2006).

This lack of long-term status, and its accompanying rights and privileges, means that employees live in Canada at the mercy of their employers (Sharma, 2006). As previously mentioned, the work permit attaches employees to a specific employer. The former have little to no mobility within the labor force. Numerous authors have called attention to the

fact that employers can use this stipulation against TFW's, which is discussed below (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Sweetman & Warman, 2010; Siemiatycki, 2010; Flecker, 2010).

Exploitation and Abuse

The PP leaves TFW's vulnerable to exploitation and abuse (Byl, 2009; Alboim, 2009; Vineberg, 2010; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Siemiatycki, 2010; Reed, 2008; Flecker, 2010). As stated by Byl (2009), "it was the decision to expand the TFWP to include lower-skilled workers that...spawned the problems with exploitation and abuse" (p. 12). The main causes of this heightened vulnerability are: language barriers, a lack of knowledge about their rights, limited access to helping agencies, and inadequate enforcement of employment legislation (Alboim, 2009).

According to the literature, the most common forms of exploitation are: lower wages than promised, different jobs than promised, expectations of unpaid overtime work, substandard housing arrangements, promises of citizenship once in Canada and racism from employers/coworkers (Byl, 2009; Flecker, 2010; Reed, 2008; Siemiatycki, 2010; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). Workers also face expectations of travel cost repayment and threats of deportation due to their precarious status. It is this "fear of deportation...that is the overarching factor controlling these workers' militancy" and prevents them from retaliating (Sharma, 2006, p. 133).

Access to Social Programs

Although TFW's are legally entitled to work in Canada, they are regularly denied access to certain benefits given to non-migrant workers. Many are unaware that taxes and fees will be deducted from their paychecks and are shocked upon receiving their first one (Byl, 2009). Despite paying into these programs, they are oftentimes deemed ineligible for

social services such as unemployment insurance (EI), pension plans (like CPP) and social assistance (Bauder, 2006; Sharma, 2006). The fact that they pay millions of dollars in taxes and fees to the government and social programs does not seem to matter (Sharma, 2006).

In order to receive CPP contributions, the worker's home country must have a similar plan, which is extremely rare (Byl, 2009). The majority of TFW's are also not in the country long enough to benefit from their contributions into the plan. EI is just as difficult to access for migrant workers. Due to the fact that their work permit is attached to a single employer, many TFW's are not considered "available" to begin working for someone else, and therefore, are ineligible for EI (Byl, 2009). In order for them to be eligible for these benefits, the TFW would have to acquire a new work permit, meaning that they would no longer need EI.

Access to Health Care and Insurance

Although employers are responsible for arranging medical coverage for TFW's, there are different stipulations when it comes to accessing provincial health insurance (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a). Using Ontario as an example, TFW's face a probationary period of three months before being eligible for the Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP), but are entitled to private health insurance from their employer (Hennebry, 2010). Unfortunately, workers may be reluctant to access private health care due to fear of termination by their employer or an inability to pay any up-front costs (Hennebry, 2010). They may also be unaware of their rights to medical insurance coverage. For these reasons, TFW's may postpone receiving medical care and continue to work while sick and/or injured, especially during the probationary period (Hennebry, 2010). Given these barriers

and the fact that low-skilled jobs have higher levels of occupational health risks, TFW's are extremely vulnerable to poor health outcomes (Hennebry, 2010).

A Lack of Protection

While the stipulations surrounding the hiring of TFW's are very strict, there is a lack of government protection for the workers themselves. One of the main reasons for this is the division of power between levels of government involved in this program (Sharma, 2006). The federal government is in charge of the hiring process of these workers (through LMO's, work permits, etc), but the provincial government is in charge of enforcing provincial employment laws (Byl, 2010; Nakache, 2010; Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). More generally, the state has no authority to enforce the program that it administers. As stated by Sharma (2006), "federal employment agreements cannot be legally binding upon the employer since they are not considered labor contracts per se" (p. 133). Further, the federal government maintains that it is the responsibility of the employee to be aware of their (provincially set) rights in order to protect themselves (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a). Unfortunately, most provinces rely on employees to initiate complaints and, as previously mentioned, many PP workers are unaware of their rights upon arrival in Canada, usually due to language barriers (Siemiatycki, 2010; Byl, 2009; Nakache, 2010).

Newly introduced changes to the policies surrounding the TFWP have attempted to address these issues. CIC now performs "a more rigorous assessment of the genuineness of the job offer" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011c, para. 5). This includes reviewing whether or not the employer is able to fulfill the terms of the job offer and is actively engaged in the place of employment (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011c).

CIC now also has the ability to prohibit employers from hiring TFW's for a period of two years if they break the terms of the employment contract, with respect to wages, working conditions and occupation type (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011c).

1.3. Themes Surrounding Temporary Foreign Workers

Nationalism and the Construction of An 'Other'

Since the inception of the TFWP, migrant workers have been constructed as non-citizens. Their categorization as unwanted 'others' was predominantly based on race and helped to solidify their temporary status (Sharma, 2006). As has been shown, the exclusion from citizenship and its corresponding rights has left low-skilled TFW's in subordinate positions within the country.

This construction is also grounded in the notion that "foreigners are perceived as weakening the bonds of community said to hold the national family together" (p. 14). (Im)migrants were and are thought to pose a threat to Canada's national identity, an argument based almost entirely on racism (Li, 2001). These beliefs helped to shape the TFWP and PP that, in turn, "also shape implicit and explicit ideals and claims about who is of the nation, and who is (really) Canadian" (Goldring, 2010, p. 53).

Throughout this process, the norms of what kinds of jobs are acceptable for 'others' and unacceptable for Canadians were solidified (Sharma, 2006). Expanding on this notion, Bauder (2006) defines 'cultural representations' as "judgments that...assign [people] to particular social and economic roles" (p. 29). The temporary and subordinate position of low-skilled TFW's has been constructed as normative within society through racist notions of nationalism.

Employment and Wages

One theme that presents itself in most discussions of immigration is that of employment. More specifically, there is a widespread view that immigrants take jobs away from Canadians and permanent residents and drive wages down (Sweetman & Warman, 2010; Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989; Sharma, 2006; Li, 2001; Freeman, 1997). In the context of migrant workers, these concerns become even more evident. There seems to be a consensus that TFW's are in direct competition with Canadians for jobs and are therefore responsible for worsening wages and unemployment for citizens and permanent residents (Sweetman & Warman, 2010; Freeman, 1997; Palmer, 1996). Tied into the theme of nationalism is the belief that Canadian jobs "belong, first and foremost, to Canadians" (Sharma, 2006, p. 107). As 'others,' TFW's are constructed as only being entitled to a job if it is first refused by a domestic worker.

Numerous authors highlight the long-term, negative economic impacts of hiring of TFW's in Canada. In general, TFW's can be paid less than citizens and permanent residents (Sharma, 2006). Their hiring aids in lowering wage levels as a whole (Bauder, 2006; Freeman, 1997). As noted by Siemiatycki (2010), "the rising reliance on temporary foreign workers has been...an important means of achieving...cost containment" (p. 62). The premiums, such as travel costs and medical insurance, that employers are required to pay in order to hire a TFW may not be enough to prevent a permanent reliance on migrant labor (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). One must also take into account the fact that employers may not be paying the legal wage and may also be charging their TFW's illegal recruitment fees in order to negate these premiums.

In relation to unemployment, there is a condition built into the PP that supposedly addresses this issue. The LMO process is a “demand-management component” of the PP that exists to ensure that TFW’s are not simply replacing domestic workers to lower costs (Gross, 2010, p. 107). Despite this, though, it has been shown that hiring TFW’s increases regional unemployment because the cost of hiring a TFW is significantly cheaper than hiring a worker from another province (Gross, 2010). Instead of raising wages to attract domestic workers from other regions, employers depend on foreign workers to fill labor shortages.

The Invisibility of Temporary Foreign Workers

Another theme, as highlighted by Sharma (2006), is the relative invisibility of the TFWP. The difficulty encountered when trying to access basic statistics on entry levels only reinforces this. In order to find statistics on immigration levels, “one often has to contact the department and request information, thus assuming a certain awareness of the program” (Sharma, 2006, p. 135). Moreover, TFW’s are excluded from official annual immigration levels (Sharma, 2006), adding to the notion that the former are unwanted ‘others’ and keeping their predicament invisible as well. Due to the invisibility of the TFWP, the likelihood of the PP being widely known is quite low.

Voluntary Nature of the Program

There also seems to be a perception that TFW’s are “either fortunate to be able to work in Canada or that they themselves choose to work as unfree wage labor” (Sharma, 2006, p. 136). This is due to the (assumed) voluntary nature of migrant labor. In relation to nationalism, there is a racialized discourse surrounding these assumptions, as the majority of (low-skilled) migrant workers are non-White and from the global South (Sharma, 2006).

As noted by Arat-Koc, this discourse creates immigration as a “system of ‘charity’” (cited in Sharma, 2006, p. 136). Through this, the conditions faced by TFW’s within Canada are deemed irrelevant, as they *chose* to come.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Dual Labor Market Theory

In light of the findings of the literature review, dual labor market theory was employed as the theoretical framework of this paper. The basic premise of this theory is that labor markets are divided into two sectors: primary and secondary (Piore, 1979; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). As stated by Bauder (2006), the primary sector is “capital-intensive,” while the secondary sector is “labor-intensive” (p. 20). More simply put, the primary sector is comprised of jobs that offer good wages, benefits, security and working conditions, while the secondary sector is made up of jobs that are in direct opposition to this (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). As a rule, the secondary sector tends to have a higher concentration of women, racialized individuals and members of other marginalized groups (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). In times of economic stagnation, workers in the former are the first to be laid off and are, therefore, dispensable (Bauder, 2006).

In the context of immigration, and more specifically, TFW’s, dual labor market theory is highly relevant. Migrant workers tend to be clustered in the secondary sector of the labor market, while the primary sector jobs predominantly employ non-migrants (Piore, 1979; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). Given the aforementioned dispensability of workers in the secondary sector, “migration enables the non[-]migrant population to escape being used as expendable labor in the secondary market” (Piore, 1979, p. 41).

It is important to note, however, that labor market sectors are not uniform. As noted by Bauder (2006), there exist various ranges of “wages, working conditions, and opportunities for upward mobility” within the secondary sector (p. 20). TFW’s tend to be

concentrated within specific occupations within the secondary sector, such as manual labor or agricultural work (Bauder, 2006).

From the findings of the literature review, it is clear that low-skilled TFW's are kept within the secondary sector in Canada. It has also been shown that their maintenance within the latter helps to secure the jobs for Canadians in the primary sector. In light of these findings, the analysis of public opinion on the subject will attempt to show that this policy-sanctioned segmentation of labor and exploitation of these workers is legitimated through public opinion discourse. One of the main questions that guides this analysis is whether or not public opinion coincides with the themes uncovered during the literature review or presents new ones. Another is whether or not public opinion will, like the literature, recognize the exploitation and subordination this population faces as a result of the PP.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Search Strategy for Public Opinion

In order to assess public opinion on the issue of low-skilled TFW's in Canada, a critical discourse analysis of public comments (made online) in response to related articles from various news outlets was performed. The primary reason for using the comments as the focus of the analysis instead of the articles themselves was because the former represent public opinion free from intervention and manipulation. Readers are free to express their opinion anonymously, hopefully meaning that they are more truthful in their writing, as they do not have to fear directed backlash from others. All comments (unless deemed offensive by the administrator) are displayed, thus allowing for a more representative sample of public opinion than that included within the articles themselves. Thus, a more realistic representation of public opinion regarding the topic of low-skilled TFW's could be achieved. A secondary reason for choosing this method of analysis was due to its relative novelty when compared to the abundance of research utilizing media discourse analysis.

The search began by locating an online database of Canadian newspapers (onlinenewspapers.com), organized by geographical location. From this, an extensive exploratory search of the websites of daily/weekly newspapers in Canada's capital cities, as well as major daily national ones, was done using the terms "temporary," "foreign," and "migrant" in combination with "labor" and "worker." They were chosen because TFW's are often referred to in the media using a combination of the aforementioned words, like migrant workers, migrant labor and foreign workers. This was also done in order to ensure that the articles found concerned the specific population being studied by this paper. While

this search led to numerous articles concerning TFW's, very few allowed for public commentary, assumingly due to the potentially offensive nature of the latter.

During this exploratory search, a story about TFW's in British Columbia (BC) filing a lawsuit against Northlands Property Corporation was found. This company, which operates all Denny's Restaurants in Western Canada, is currently involved in a class action suit filed by numerous TFW's. The reasons for the suit are plentiful, but revolve around exploitative conduct allegedly executed by the company against its migrant workers.

Given this paper's aim in showing how public opinion discursively legitimates the position of low-skilled TFW's, it was decided that articles focusing on this case were an appropriate choice. The main reason for this being that the workers in question are all considered low-skilled and came to Canada under the PP. They also faced situations of exploitation and subordination within the secondary sector. Consequently, comments made on these articles would (theoretically) address the population in question and aid in addressing the research questions.

Using the aforementioned database, another search of daily/weekly newspapers in Canada's capital cities, along with major daily national ones, was performed. This time, the term "Denny's" was used in conjunction with "foreign," "temporary," and "migrant," as well as "labor" and "worker." The results of this search made it clear that most city-based newspapers, both daily and weekly, did not cover this issue. Searching the selected national newspapers also presented this problem, leading to a change in search strategy. A database of British Columbian news outlets, available online, was found and used to perform a search using the latter combination of search terms. In order to exhaust all possibilities, a supplemental search was done with these same terms using an online search engine,

Google. The result of this broad search was nine stories about the lawsuit, four of which had been open for comments and acquired them. These four articles were published between January 12th, 2011 and May 9th, 2011. In total, they provided a total of 91 comments made by the reading public to analyze.

Each of the articles presents a basic overview of the suit, some going into more detail than others. The article “B.C. Denny’s workers seek \$10M damages” is from CBC News’ website, which is a national news outlet, with a specific section focusing on BC (Ramu & Hadaway, 2011). The former provides the reader with a brief summary of the lawsuit, using quotations from an advocacy group’s spokesperson to highlight the vulnerability of TFW’s. Despite the relative shortness of the article, it garnered 68 comments from the public.

“Foreign workers seek legal grand slam against Denny’s” was taken from *The Tyee*, which is an independent daily magazine found online for the province of BC (Sandborn, 2011). This article is considerably longer than the previous one and provides the reader with precise details about the suit, using statements from lawyers representing the TFW’s, the CEO of Denny’s Canadian operations, and advocates for this population. The article also draws attention to the vulnerabilities inherent in the TFWP and provides the reader with basic statistics for TFW’s in BC. A total of 16 comments were made about this article.

The third article, “Denny’s responds to class action suit”, was taken from *The Hook*, which is a political blog featured in *The Tyee*, written by staff writers (Sandborn, 2011). It focuses on improvements that Canadian Denny’s Restaurants have made in the wake of the suit, while summarizing the latter for the reader. It mentions the “controversial” nature of the TFWP, but does not divulge any further information on what this means (Sandborn,

2011, para. 2). Basic statistics on the number of admitted TFW's to Canada and BC are given. This piece received two comments.

The final article, "Denny's worker fired for making complaint," was also taken from *The Hook*. It concerns a ruling that one of the TFW's involved in the suit, Alberto Sales, was wrongfully terminated from a Denny's Restaurant because he made a complaint against the company to BC's Employment Standards Branch. It presents a summary of the class action suit and mentions the vulnerability of these workers towards its end. This item acquired five comments from the public.

3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

In order to analyze public opinion of low-skilled TFW's in Canada, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was performed on what can be considered Computer-Mediated Communication, a form of new media (Gruber, 2008; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). This method was chosen as it views language as a form of social practice which is linked to particular historical contexts "and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served" (Janks, 1997, p. 329).

Critical discourse analysis, in general terms, aims to comprehend how discourse is connected to power relations (Janks, 1997). A feature of CDA that distinguishes it from discourse analysis is that it is distinctly political. Analysts are required to have a sociopolitical standpoint and target their work towards "the power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 252). Most importantly, analysts must perform their work from the viewpoint of those suffering from social injustice and aim to evoke change via critical understanding (Van Dijk, 1993).

In order to perform CDA, one must be acquainted with social power and dominance. Van Dijk (1993) states that social power is derived from access to socially valued resources and involves control of one group over others. The focus of CDA is power abuse or dominance, which is considered an unacceptable form of power. Dominance within discourse "is precisely to manufacture...consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 225). Critical thinking while performing discourse analysis is integral as power and dominance are oftentimes institutionalized (Van Dijk, 1993). The core of CDA is defined by Van Dijk (1993) as follows:

A detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence...socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, namely through their role in the manufacture of concrete models. (p. 258-9)

When considering the topic at hand in relation to CDA, one can see how social power and dominance are connected. In terms of low-skilled TFW's, they are systematically denied these privileges through the stipulations of the PP, like the denial of citizenship or the retention within the secondary sector, as has been shown. Therefore, applying CDA allowed for an analysis of the legitimation of this power and dominance via the Canadian public, who also hold positions of privilege over this group.

According to the CDA model, there are three dimensions of discourse: the object of analysis, the processes by which the object is produced and received and the sociohistorical conditions that govern these processes (Fairclough, 1995). The object of analysis is, in this case, verbal texts in the form of online comments. In order to analyze each of these dimensions, three types of analysis are required: text analysis, processing

analysis and social analysis (Fairclough, 1995). Another way of regarding each of these types of analyses is: description, interpretation, and explanation (Janks, 1997). A text analysis is done by analyzing the verbal signs, taking into account such things as mood, modality and lexicalization (Janks, 1997). In order to perform the processing analysis, one must consider both the situational and intertextual contexts. According to Janks (1997), analyzing the situational contexts involves questioning the time and place within which the text was created, which in this case would be in a Canadian context, between January 2011 and May 2011. Performing an analysis of the intertextual contexts means showing "how texts selectively draw upon orders of discourse" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 189). The social analysis involves attempting to explain the findings of the previous two steps within the larger sociocultural context. Performing all forms of analysis is necessary in order to incorporate all dimensions of discourse, as both former and latter are interrelated.

As a starting point, the comments were read, looking for patterns and themes. The articles deemed positive, like those that demonstrated an understanding of the exploitative nature of the TFWP and/or a support for TFW's, were kept in a separate category. The remaining comments were put into groups, based on the previously identified categories of employment and wages, nationalism/'other' identity, invisibility of the program, and voluntary nature of the program. Two new themes presented themselves during the CDA: the abuse of legal systems and TFW's as commodities. It is important to note that the majority of comments were categorized under more than one theme, as many touched on a combination of the latter. Comments that could not be categorized within the aforementioned groupings were classified as miscellaneous. After categorizing the 91 comments, 32 dealt with employment and wages, 37 with nationalism/'other' identity,

three with invisibility, three with the voluntary nature of the program, 14 with abuse of the system, and eight with TFW's being necessary commodities. Of the remaining comments, 19 were categorized as positive and nine as miscellaneous.

In performing the CDA, a text analysis was performed on the grouped comments, understanding that meaning cannot be assumed solely by reading the texts (Janks, 1997). The comments were analyzed according to their verbal signs, looking for patterns in the linguistics. Then the interpretation and explanation was performed through processing and social analyses. Due to the interconnectedness of these two analyses, it was decided that their findings would be combined in their presentation. Although each was performed, it was deemed more effective to present the time, place and sociohistorical contextual interpretations and the resulting explanation in one section.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

4.1. Text Analysis

In textually analyzing the comments, certain patterns and themes began to emerge. While the themes found during the literature review were present, there were also ones that had not been found in the literature.

Nationalism and the Construction of An 'Other'

The theme of nationalism and the 'other' identity of TFW's was present in almost 41% of the comments. Paralleled with the theme of employment and wages was the binary created between Canadian and non-Canadian workers, with the former being more deserving of employment. Some chose to highlight the fact that those born in Canada take precedent over all others, thus highlighting the fact that TFW's are NOT Canadians:

"...there are millions of Canadian-born people who needs jobs..."
"...look out for Canadians first..."

Other comments focused on the non-Canadian status of migrant workers by using the term "immigrant":

"No more immigrant workers..."

The TFWP not being a "proper" entry program for migrants was also commented on, constructing TFW's as being in Canada under less than appropriate circumstances:

"...apply to immigration properly...and once you are a Canadian citizen then go get a job..."

Following in this binary were comments that demanded that these, and one can only assume other, TFW's be sent back to their source country. Comments such as these imply that migrant workers should not be in Canada at all, as they are not worthy of being here:

"Send them back and let them fight their lawsuit from the phillipines [sic]..."

Employment and Wages

As seen in the literature, TFW's are presented as taking jobs away from Canadians and lowering overall wages. As one would expect, then, public opinion on low-skilled workers in Canada seems to coincide with the literature. These themes were present in 35% of the comments.

A pattern that emerged right away was the constant mentioning of Canada and BC's unemployment rates. The existence of unemployment in Canada was used as a basic argument against the hiring of migrant workers, as shown in the following excerpts:

"...especially when you look at the unemployed...stats [sic]."

"...when there is high unemployment in Canada."

Others chose to quantify their comments against TFW's with specific rates of unemployment, seemingly to give their opinion more authority, although the sources of the statistics are not mentioned:

"...meanwhile our youth unemployment hovers at about 15%."

"We have 8 percent unemployment..."

The economic effect that hiring TFW's has on the labor market was also commented on. Some people chose to stir up anti-Canadian sentiment in relation to employers hiring TFW's:

"...instead of supporting the economy of BC..."

Other comments constructed employers as being conniving by hiring TFW's in order to keep wages low, thus vilifying them:

"With imported labor [raising the minimum wage] can be bypassed quite easily."

The program itself was also blamed for its effects on the local labor market, using words such as "unfair" and "scheme" to evoke negative sentiment towards all involved in it, including, and especially, the workers themselves:

"...the...program allow[s] unfair market conditions so wages won't rise..."
"The program is...nothing more than a scheme to undermine wage levels..."

Invisibility of Temporary Foreign Workers

The invisibility of temporary foreign workers, which was uncovered during the literature review, was present in the comments, but only in 3% of them. One of the comments made it clear that the program itself is not visible, implying that TFW's themselves can go unnoticed:

"I didn't realize we have such a program."

Relating to the theme of invisibility was the presence of incorrect assumptions about the program. One comment highlighted the sentiment that TFW's are in Canada via fraudulent means by stating that they are illegally paid:

"These workers are paid under the table."

Another instance of misunderstanding surrounding the program also concerned wages, whereby the person assumed that TFW's make more than their Canadian counterparts, thus stirring up anti-migrant sentiment:

"They are actually making more than Canadians who perform the same job."

Voluntary Nature of the Program

The voluntary nature of the program, as previously discussed, was also mentioned in the comments, representing just over 3%. Some seemed to think that TFW's were aware of the risk involved in coming here, thus placing the onus of their situation on the latter:

"They took a RISK coming here...that's exactly what it is A RISK!!!"
"you take your chances..."

Other comments mentioned the fact that TFW's volunteered to come here, also negating the exploitation they faced upon arrival, as it was their "choice":

"these folks volunteered to come over here..."

Abuse of the System

A theme that presented itself during the analysis that was not uncovered during the literature review was that TFW's are abusing the system in one way or another. Comments concerning this theme represented 15% of the total. One of the most prevalent type of comment within this theme was that this group of TFW's was taking advantage of the legal system.

"...sublime abuse of our legal system."

Certain people chose to quantify the abuse, highlighting the amount asked for within the suit. In doing so, the reasons behind the suit become negligible in light of the amount of money each worker stands to receive:

"\$10,000,000 / 50 workers = \$200,000 per worker..."
"10 million you say, only 200K each, why not ask for 10 billion, seems just as reasonable."

One comment that seemed to echo the sentiment underlying the comments within this category cast an extremely negative light on the suit, ignoring all allegations against the company, and instead stating that it was merely a ploy for these TFW's to make money:

"Sounds like another scam to me. A get rich quick scam."

Commodification of Temporary Foreign Workers

Another theme that came to light during the CDA was the opinion that low-skilled TFW's are commodities or merely cheap labor. Surprisingly, given this theme's absence from the literature, they made up almost 9% of the total comments. Highlighting the previously mentioned economic disparities between source and destination countries, people constructing TFW's as merely cheap labor and nothing more was observed:

"The number one Philippine export is cheap labor..."

Following this, certain comments also seemed to demand why so much attention was being given to the issue, since TFW's are thought of only as "cheap labor." Their commodification essentially negates how they should be treated:

"These people are a commodity, so why aren't they being treated like one?"

Hand-in-hand with the commodification of migrant workers was the notion that they are necessary for the Canadian economy.

"...either the food chains increase hourly pay (increasing the cost to the consumer) or hire foreign workers."

Their necessity for the economy was also linked to the existence of a dual labor market and its maintenance:

"Try finding service industry workers locally who will work for \$10 an hour..."

Positive Comments

A theme that was not expected to be as prevalent as found was a recognition of the exploitative nature of migrant work and a support for this group. There was a surprising amount of comments (almost 21%) that showed an awareness of the TFWP (not the PP itself, perhaps highlighting it's invisibility) and empathy towards its workers. Certain comments highlighted the legal rights of TFW's to legal wages and benefits:

"...these people have a right to what[']s owed to them..."

"Good luck you guys, you have the rights."

Others went so far as to recognize the temporary stipulation within the policy and emphasize its exploitative nature:

"...once a worker arrives here they should be able to make an application to stay as a landed immigrant. These workers are highly exploitable."

Another comment even recognized the illegalities of recruitment fees and brought it to attention:

"These poor guys PAID \$6000 to come here."

Summary of Text Analysis Findings

To summarize the findings from the preliminary analysis of the text, all of the themes highlighted in the literature review were present in the comments. The negative views towards TFW's, especially low-skilled ones, made up the majority, with employment, wages and nationalism being the most prevalent. Within these themes, a large proportion of people felt that TFW's should not be present in Canada given current unemployment

rates. Many also felt that Canadian workers should be given precedence during the hiring process, raising wages to attract them if necessary. Underlying these was a dichotomy created between foreign workers and Canadians, the former being the unwanted 'other.' Comments highlighting the invisibility of this group were not as prevalent as expected, but were still present. The voluntary nature of the program was also mentioned, highlighting the fact that TFW's chose to come to Canada, thus minimizing their plight.

This review of public opinion also brought to light themes that were not presented by the literature. The abuse of Canadian policies/legal systems was mentioned in numerous comments, depicting TFW's as taking advantage of the legal system with their suit. This group was also commodified as cheap labor and/or necessary for the Canadian economy. Surprisingly, although the majority of comments would be considered negative, there was a relatively large number of people who demonstrated support towards this population. Many commended the actions of this small group of TFW's, demonstrating an acknowledgement of the wider issues at hand, like the exploitation these workers face in coming to Canada as migrants.

4.2. Processing and Social Analyses

In order to interpret the comments according to Fairclough's model, the situational and intertextual contexts were included. In terms of the time, place and sociohistorical conditions within which these comments were made, one can begin to speculate as to why the majority of them were categorized as negative.

As previously mentioned, the comments were all made between January and May 2011. Just a few years before this, beginning in 2008, the world experienced a detrimental economic downturn. Canada subsequently entered into a recession that lasted well into

2009, the effects of which were severe for many. Although considered to be “out” of the recession, the consequences of it are still being felt. Given this, the negative opinions reflected in the comments could be linked to the current economic context. As has been shown, opposition towards immigration rises in times of economic strife or increasing unemployment (Palmer, 1996; Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989). As stated by Freeman (1997), “those who lose their jobs or see their pay decline blame the foreigner who is close at hand and easier to understand than the impersonal forces of global change” (p. 47). This sentiment can be seen in the following comment, which relies on sarcasm to get its point across:

“I wonder if there's any connection [sic] between us having high unemployment, massive poverty and wealth disparity and at the same time...be brining in...foreign workers?”

One can also speculate that the discourse underlying the comments about being Canadian versus non-Canadian is based on racism given the fact that, as previously mentioned, the majority of low-skilled TFW's entering Canada in recent years are racialized. Migrant workers have been constructed as foreign ‘others’ and as unwanted in this country, based largely on racist notions of who and what an appropriate Canadian is and looks like. The following comment touches upon this notion, by emphasizing the fact that these (and other) TFW's are NOT white:

“multiculturalism in this land of sinless snow has made most white folks INVISIBLE.”

Linked to the binary of Canadians and non-Canadians is the notion that TFW's are fortunate to be in the country, let alone working in it. Temporary migration has been constructed as a “system of charity” since the advent of the NIEAP and the unequal

relationships it solidified between migrants and non-migrants (Sharma, 2006, p. 136). The discourse surrounding this construction means that Canadian workers are entitled to work in the country, while those from other countries are not. Therefore, those that are allowed in should consider themselves "privileged" (Sharma, 2006, p. 136). Unfortunately, this discourse means that hearing of the tribulations of this population can incite negativity from the non-migrant population.

The commodification of these workers can be linked to the economic differentials between the sending and receiving countries, the latter of which was previously discussed. When looking at the TFWP as a whole, one can see that the stipulations for higher skilled workers differ than those for low-skilled workers, which also coincides with country of origin. One could speculate that, as the source countries are now poorer and less-developed, low-skilled TFW's have become constructed as merely "cheap labor," as one comment stated.

When considering the comments as a whole, it becomes apparent that the discourses within them are interconnected. Comments regarding employment or wages, TFW's as 'others' or the voluntary nature of migration are linked. They are all connected to racist discourses of national identity and belonging. Wellman (1977) summarizes this interconnectedness best when stating that "racism is culturally sanctioned, rational response to struggles over scarce resources" (cited in Li, 2001, p. 80).

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1. Connections to Dual Labor Market Theory

Adopting a dual labor market theoretical lens, it can be argued that TFW's are beneficial to certain components of the economy. For native workers, the jobs that low-skilled TFW's are hired to do are at the bottom of the job hierarchy, which helps to secure the jobs in the primary sector for the former (Piore, 1979). Employers benefit as they are able to keep wages low and save costs (Sharma, 2006; Gross, 2010). They are also able to fill positions for jobs that are "unattractive" to Canadians (Sharma, 2006, p. 20). The vulnerability of these workers makes them easily exploitable and flexible, allowing employers to freely hire and fire employees (Siemiatycki, 2010). The motivation behind keeping this policy in place is because "temporary foreign workers can be integrated into the production system at the exact time when they are most needed" and returned when they are no longer needed (Reed, 2008, para. 19).

The existence of different labor market sectors also creates a divide between workers within each segment, which, in turn, justifies their existence. Hiring migrant workers to fill positions within the secondary sector can be regarded as a "divisive strategy," creating a gap between workers in either sector (Bauder, 2006, p. 21). Adding to this divide is the construction of migrant workers as not belonging in Canada by not allowing them full status. As was previously shown, citizenship shapes one's position within the labor market (Bauder, 2006; Sharma, 2006). Nationalist viewpoints depict jobs as belonging to citizens (and permanent residents) first, which helps "to construct the common sense that there exist two labor markets in Canada-one that is Canadian and another that is foreign-each with their differential entitlements and rights" (Sharma, 2006,

p. 107). This notion is emphasized in the following comment, which highlights the divisiveness of the labor market and the position of non-Canadians within it:

"It is good to know that [Citizenship and] Immigration Canada is not giving [c]itizenship to people taking low-skilled work."

Van Dijk's (1993) notions of power and dominance can also be connected to this theoretical framework. Social dominance can be "supported or condoned by other group members...legitimated by laws...and ideologically sustained and reproduced" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 255). Justification of this dominance can occur through public opinion (Van Dijk, 1993). This can be seen in the analysis of the comments made by the public. The opposition towards low-skilled migrant workers helps to legitimate their subordinate status. The public's opinion plays an important role in major policy formation, especially surrounding immigration (Li, 2001). The racist discourse and construction as 'others' helps to maintain low-skilled TFW's as secondary sector, as well as strictly temporary, workers.

5.2. Limitations

The first limitation that presented itself was the size and scope of the research. Given the time constraints, it was not possible to conduct research over a significant amount of time, as recommended by Fairclough (1995). Given the fact that the suit covered by the articles only became public in early 2011, collecting data over an elongated period of time was impossible. The dearth of texts on this topic also proved to be problematic, as very few articles concerning TFW's with comments exist. Due to the relatively small sample size of texts available for analysis, the findings from this paper cannot be extended to represent the opinion of every member of Canadian society. The analysis was based on the opinions of those who read those particular articles and had the ability and drive to

comment on them. One must also recognize the fact that certain comments may have been excluded from the comment board, perhaps due to inappropriate or offensive content, thus affecting the sample and subsequent CDA.

As with any type of discourse analysis, CDA is not without its inherent weaknesses. One of the most predominant limitations of this method is its subjectivity. Analyzing texts can depend on “the analyst’s experience of and sensitivity to relevant orders of discourse” (Fairclough, 1995, p.212). Coupled with this is the likelihood of injecting personal biases, interpretive or strategic, into the analysis (Fairclough, 1995). Given the fact that it is necessary for personal convictions and beliefs to guide the analysis of these comments, influencing their interpretation and explanation and subjectivity was unavoidable.

5.3. Areas for Further Research

One area that is highly relevant to this issue but could not be discussed in this paper is a more detailed analysis of discourse surrounding the intersection of gender, race and class in relation to the TFWP. As previously discussed, the number of low-skilled TFW’s has increased dramatically over the last few years and there has been a corresponding shift in countries of origin. Concurrent with these changes has been a phenomenon known as the “feminization of migration” (Gibb, 2010). This can be attributed, in part, to increasing demand for service sector jobs in Canada. According to Gibb (2010), women are over-represented in this sector and under-represented in non-traditional ones, like construction, which often offer better working conditions. In light of this, further research on public opinion on the intersection of these gender, race and class, with regards to the TFWP, could highlight more discursive legitimization of subordination.

Another area that would be interesting to explore is the discursive outcome of allowing status to this population. Manitoba is one of the few provinces that allows low-skilled TFW's to apply for PR under the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP). Workers can apply to the MPNP after six months of work for an employer who subsequently offers them a full-time position (Allan, 2010). Given the inherent vulnerability associated with the precarious status of these workers, a detailed study of the public opinion surrounding Manitoba's TFW's would provide a look into the discourse surrounding citizenship status for them and its possible outcomes.

CONCLUSION

Low-skilled temporary foreign workers in Canada have been constructed as unwanted 'others' through immigration policy and public opinion discourse. The Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training creates an exploitable workforce with a precarious status in Canada, which is helped maintained by public opinion.

Using dual labor market theory, this paper has attempted to show how the subordinate position that workers in this category of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program is discursively maintained. Temporary foreign workers represent a growing and permanently temporary category of workers that are deemed necessary to fill positions within the secondary labor market. As has been shown, the specifications of the PP, relative to the TFWP in general, mean that these workers are highly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Unlike skilled workers, they are not encouraged to migrate with their families, are denied access to citizenship and face potentially abusive working and living conditions. A lack of state protection means that the very people that encourage them to migrate to Canada in the first place are ignoring this problem.

As previously mentioned, the public's opinion plays an important role in major policy formation, especially concerning immigration. Given this, understanding the discourse within public opinion is extremely important in order to understand the creation and maintenance of immigration policy. Using critical discourse analysis, it has been shown that the discourse surrounding low-skilled temporary foreign workers in Canada accords with the themes in the literature, but also generates new ones. The results of the analysis show that public opinion discursively legitimates the exploitation and

subordination of these workers. It justifies their position as permanently temporary workers, restricted to the secondary labor market.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BC-	British Columbia
CDA-	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEC-	Canadian Experience Class
CIC-	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CPP-	Canada Pension Plan
EI-	Employment Insurance
HRSDC-	Human Resources and Development Canada
LMO-	Labor Market Opinion
LSPP-	Low-Skill Pilot Project
MPNP-	Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program
NIEAP-	Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program
NOC-	National Occupational Classification
OHIP-	Ontario Health Insurance Plan
PNP-	Provincial Nominee Program
PP-	Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training
PR-	Permanent Residence
TFW-	Temporary Foreign Worker
TFWP-	Temporary Foreign Worker Program