# **RESEARCH REPORT**

# Interrogating the Impact of Recent Changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program on Temporary Foreign Workers in Alberta

# **Investigators:**

Bukola Salami, (Assistant Professor, Nursing, University of Alberta) Elise Hervieux (Research Assistant, University of Alberta) Sara Dorow (Associate Professor, Sociology, University of Alberta) Poushali Mitra (Edmonton Temporary Foreign Workers Support Coalition) Marco Luciano (Migrante Alberta) Philomena Okeke-Ihejirika (Professor, Women and Gender Studies, University of Alberta) Ethel Tungohan (Assistant Professor, Political Science, York University) Nicola Piper (Professor, Social Policy, University of Sydney) Yessy Byl (Edmonton Temporary Foreign Workers Support Coalition)

# **Research Trainee**

Robyn Playfair (Master of Nursing student, University of Alberta)

#### **Funding Agency**

This project was supported through funding from the Kule Institute for Advanced Study, University of Alberta

#### Abstract

Following a peak in the number of migrants admitted to Canada via its Temporary Foreign Worker Program, the program underwent significant changes in 2014 and 2015 that will undoubtedly affect the lives of temporary foreign workers in Canada. These changes include a limitation on the length of time temporary foreign workers are allowed to remain in the country, a greater distinction between high- and low-wage workers, and more restricted rights for lowwage workers. So far, the impacts of these recent policy changes on temporary foreign workers in Canada have not been the subject of much research. Thus, we sought to examine the impact of recent policy changes of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program on these migrants specifically in Alberta. Using a critical qualitative research methodology, we conducted three focus groups with thirty-five temporary foreign workers in Alberta. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and thematically analyzed with the aid of an NVivo qualitative data analysis software. Findings from the focus groups reveal that the recent changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program policy have created a burden for temporary foreign workers as well as their employers, intensified the exploitation of migrant workers, and contributed to a high level of anxiety and poor mental health status among these workers. This study has two major policy recommendations: (1) grant open work permits to temporary foreign workers, and (2) create pathways to citizenship for lowskilled temporary foreign workers in Alberta. The study also recognizes a need for future action research.

# Interrogating the Impact of Recent Changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program on Temporary Foreign Workers in Alberta

#### Background

Canadian employers have been using the federal Temporary Foreign Worker Program to meet labour shortages at low-costs for decades. Many employers, particularly in hospitality and service, oil and gas, domestic work, and agriculture, had come to rely on temporary foreign workers in recent years to fill low-skilled jobs in their sectors. Following a peak in the number of employers using the program and workers admitted under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program, several changes were made to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program that affected the lives of these migrants. One of the most significant changes has been the introduction of a four-year limitation on migrants living and working in Canada. On April 1, 2015, the contracts of an estimated seventy thousand temporary foreign workers expired, necessitating the "voluntary" departure or forced deportation of tens of thousands of temporary foreign workers whose sole alternative was to risk going undocumented (OFL, 2015). Other significant changes include the application of a greater distinction between high- and low-wage workers, which restricted the rights of low-wage workers in Canada; the implementation of an increased processing fee for a Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA), and increased processing time for applications under this program. In addition, a cap has been placed on the proportion of low-wage temporary foreign workers employers can bring into their workforce. Rapid policy changes without adequate notification have become a regular feature of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. These changes have further reduced temporary foreign workers' options for acquiring permanent residency and have put them at risk of leading more precarious lives. Limited research has examined the impact of these changes. Thus, this project sought to address a current gap in

research and immigration policy in Alberta by examining the impact of these changes on the lives of temporary foreign workers in Alberta.

#### Purpose

The primary purpose of this pilot study was to explore the impact of recent changes to the federal Temporary Foreign Worker Program on the lives of temporary foreign workers in Alberta. The secondary purpose was to engage temporary foreign workers to help identify critical research areas in the initial step of developing future research projects that address the needs of these migrants in Alberta.

#### Methods

This pilot study was conducted using a critical qualitative approach to collect the testimonies of temporary foreign workers in rural and urban Alberta. Given our critical approach, we were sensitive to issues of power as well as how the intersecting effects of gender, race, class, and nationality influenced migrants' experience in Canada. The study received ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board. In three different focus groups, a total of thirty-five temporary foreign workers were interviewed using a semi-structured interview format aided by an interview guide. Twenty-six of the workers were men and nine were women. Participants' countries of origin included the Philippines, India, Nepal, Jamaica, and Bangladesh. Focus groups lasted one and a half to two hours; they were audio recorded and then transcribed verbatim. The principal investigator and a research assistant conducted all focus groups. Detailed field notes, including on the context of the interaction and non-verbal cues, were also taken. We also exercised reflexivity and examined our positionality throughout the research process by keeping reflexive memos and examining the influence of our gender, race, class, and nationality

on the research process. Data analysis was then completed using thematic analysis aided by NVivo 10 qualitative data analysis software.

#### Findings

Some common themes emerged from the three focus groups regarding the impact of changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. The four most prevalent themes were: (1) burden on employers, (2) burden on workers, (3) increased worker exploitation, (4) intensified mental health issues. Participants also proposed solutions to effect policy change and directions for future research to tackle the inequities migrants face in Canada.

## 1. Burden on employers

Temporary foreign worker participants indicated that the changes that the Temporary Foreign Worker Program sustained in 2014 and 2015 had an impact on Canadian employers who relied on the program for labour. Many low-skilled positions for which temporary foreign workers are typically hired go unfilled by Canadian citizens. The participants spoke of some of the pressures that the policy changes have placed on their employers, such as the need to replace workers whose four years is up. In some circumstances, the cap placed on the proportion of temporary foreign workers permitted on an employer's workforce (30%) prevents employers with a large number of Temporary Foreign Workers on their staff already from renewing their LMIA, regardless of the remaining time on the workers' work permits. Employers have expressed concern at the increased challenge and complexity of getting LMIA. The increased cost of LMIA applications, which the employers are expected to cover, is one that many are not willing to pay, and many employers pass the fee on to their foreign workers. Of course, this process results in intensified forms of exploitation for the temporary foreign worker. Furthermore, work permits can now take many months to process. As most LMIA are valid for two years before they must be renewed, even promptly submitted renewal applications have scarcely enough time to be processed. Workers are often forced to leave their positions during the time that their LMIA and work permit applications are being processed. Finally, policy changes are often made with very little warning, making it difficult for employers to respond accordingly.

#### 2. Burden on workers

Temporary foreign workers bear a more significant burden than employers. They invest significant time and money to migrate to Canada and experience significant cultural and familial upheaval in moving to Canada to work. The greatest consequence of the changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program that workers face is deportation. Participants are wary of being sent back to their country of origin if their employer's application for LMIA renewal is denied for having too many low-skilled temporary foreign workers in their workforce, regardless of how much time remains on their work permits. The lack of adequate warning regarding immigration policy changes also takes a significant toll on temporary foreign workers, who already experience a great sense of precariousness and anxiety regarding their status in Canada. During the focus groups, participants explained the risk they face of their permits expiring while they await the approval of their renewal applications, meaning they must remain in Canada without authorization to work, or they must leave. Many expressed the anguish of constantly waiting for their futures to be determined by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The following comments by participants describe their predicament.

Rahul: We have to go back [if I'm unable to get an LMIA]. So your process is not yet complete ... The whole process gets messed up. [...] You have two years and your processing time taking two and a half years.

Participants also expressed the hardship of being in between permits without work for as long as eight months. Below, a different participant explains the consequence of not being able to get an LMIA on time.

Rishabh: Can you [Citizenship and Immigration Canada] extend my work permit until I get LMIA? They reject it. So now, I'm in a [restoration?] period. So four months I don't have a job and nothing here. So, health card has expired, my licence expired, everything's expired. I don't have money. So now my friends are helping me to stay here.

Most foreign workers incur great costs to come work in Canada. If a worker loses work, he or she risks having his or her work term cut short, which in turn deprives the worker of the ability to earn back the exorbitant funds they put into their arrival in Canada. Immigration policy changes exacerbate the burden on workers because LMIA and work permit renewal fees usually fall on their shoulders. Finally, temporary foreign workers' chances of being granted permanent resident status as low-skilled workers has decreased as an effect of the recent changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program; shorter work permits and the restriction on returning once four years have passed eliminates the opportunity for many workers to have their appeals considered. The recently introduced Express Entry immigration processing system provides the opportunity for skilled workers to quickly and directly obtain permanent resident status. The majority of those interviewed for this study were low-skilled workers who did not qualify for permanent residence visas through the Express Entry immigration system. For some, the only way to remain in Canada is to become undocumented. Participants described the more intensified forms of exploitation for individuals who work in the underground economy.

# 3. Worker exploitation

#### a) Foreign worker vulnerability

Worker exploitation is a major and recurring theme identified by participants interviewed. Temporary foreign workers are vulnerable to exploitation because they do not have citizenship or permanent resident status. They are temporary and are thus treated as disposable second-class workers without rights. Increased precariousness due to recent changes to the amount of time temporary foreign workers can remain in Canada further increases the vulnerability of this group of migrants. Closed work permits, which tie temporary foreign workers to their employers, also makes leaving an abusive employer or bad working conditions very challenging. Participants expressed uncertainty or lack of knowledge regarding their rights, where to go for help, and what to do to protect themselves against maltreatment. The following comments by foreign workers during the focus groups echo the sentiments of many other participants:

Suraj: But there is nobody to fight for us. We live, we only stay here two months, but no one like guide. Who is the person to guide us for what uh, is our rights? If we know something also, where we have to apply? Where we have to go? Where we have to knock the door, we don't know anything.

Aashish: So, everybody have to follow one thing I think, but we don't know nothing, so I have to ask you. And you tell me another way and he tell me another way. So I don't know where we go! [Yeah] This is for us a big problem.

Even when temporary foreign workers are able to access information, as the last participant stated, there are often inconsistencies in the information about services and rights of temporary foreign workers. Inconsistencies in information can be very confusing for these workers as they settle in Canada. Those who are aware of their rights fear advocating for themselves lest they lose their job, worsen their situation, or ultimately get deported. The conversation below concisely narrates this point.

Rahul: They can fire you anytime, with reason, without reason. [...] Interviewer: So the employer has all the power.

# Rahul: Yeah.

Participants bemoan their inability to pay a lawyer bill or to stay in the country long enough should they pursue any legal action. This has been especially the case given the recent implementation of the four-year limit on staying in Canada. Some participants said they did not want to ruin the reputation of other foreign workers from their countries, and they avoided conflict for that reason.

#### b) Exploitation at hands of recruiters

Recruiters, or agents, who live in the countries of origin of the foreign workers and who connect migrants with a job overseas, are frequently used by temporary foreign workers. Recruiters charge up to \$25,000 for their services—a price that some participants we interviewed paid. Moreover, a few participants described experiences in which their agents brought multiple workers to Canada to fill a single position, collected their fee from each of them, and left them in Canada with no work, as described below.

Sumit: I saw people who come here with an LMIA but they don't have a job. Even myself, I came here, at that time my employer said, like, you're not supposed to be here. Because there is somebody else here. I don't need you. But the agent did a wrong thing, [...] if employing one person, they get five LMIAs. Just for one job. And then they bring five people here and everyone pays, like, \$10,000 to the agent.

As stated, recruiters often engage in illegal and exploitative practices by demanding money from workers and bringing them to Canada when there is no job for the worker to fill. In this kind of scenario, the migrant has lost his life savings but must be employed officially as a temporary foreign worker to legally remain in Canada. In such cases, the temporary foreign worker often faces deportation, given that his or her skills have not legally been deemed required in Canada. For those who are victims of this type of fraud and want to remain in Canada, many remain in the underground economy as undocumented migrants.

Moreover, recruiters sell "the Canadian dream" to their clients; they mislead them by telling them that workers will be granted permanent resident status in two to six months, and that they will have access to free health care and education. To achieve this dream, many foreign workers either sell their homes or businesses or take out loans in their countries of origin to fund their arrival to Canada. In some South Asian communities, it is very common for parents to also sell their properties to fund the huge recruitment fees demanded by recruiters in hopes that their son or daughter will be able to become a permanent resident in Canada. Numerous participants had preconceived notions about Canada, including how much money they would earn and how high their quality of life would be, all of which has proven to be grossly overstated. As one participants said they could have made more money working back home or in another country (especially in the Middle East) than they are making in Canada. The quote below sheds light on the corrupt recruiting industry.

Lily: When the Express Entry started in 2015, January, I had a lot of friends back home in India who were attending conferences put in by CIC using their, you know, there were lots of agents involved. I don't know for sure it was put in by CIC but it was associated with the Canadian government in some form or other. They go to these posh hotels and, in southern part of India or northern part of India, and they would sell you a future of, that they would sell you the Canadian dream. And I have copies of those brochures my friend sent to me from Bangalore. You know, they would make it such a smooth sailing story for people like us in India, Bangladesh, Philippines, Pakistan. The moment you take the Air Canada flight, your life is like smooth sailing, rosy petals. So they are selling these dreams and they are charging at every step.

Information provided to temporary foreign workers prior to arriving in Canada, especially regarding access to permanent resident status and financial security, is often inaccurate. Moreover, those who were in Canada on April 1, 2015 when the new changes were implemented often did not have information about the changes before they migrated. They were under the impression that they will be able to work in Canada for as long as possible and they would be able to transition to permanent resident status. As most have realized at the time of our focus groups, this is far from the reality.

#### c) Exploitation at hands of employers

The majority of participants interviewed are subject to exploitation at the hands of their employers. As a result of their vulnerable and temporary status, many temporary foreign workers' employers renege on their contracts in various ways, including failing to pay negotiated wages. Some participants spoke of being paid seven or eight dollars per hour—nearly 40% less than Alberta's current minimum wage—and many participants discussed regularly working up to fourteen hour days for six or seven days per week. Health insurance is often promised and is supposed to be paid by employers, as are LMIA fees, and yet these are often costs that temporary foreign workers are required to pay. Many employers fail to honour contracts by neglecting to provide affordable accommodation for the workers they hire, while some employers even overfill their own housing properties with the temporary foreign workers they have hired, whom they overcharge for rent, and whom they do not permit to look for accommodation elsewhere. In response to a question asking how many temporary foreign workers experience exploitation, a participant responded,

Maria: Oh, a lot of people I think, you guys might have majority, I'm telling [you that] 99% work overtime. Do you guys get overtime? No. The contract says, the LMIA says you get insurance and health coverage. Do you get? No. And it also says that your accommodation is covered by the company when you are in the contract, when I came [Yeah] but it wasn't covered. I pay my rent. They didn't pay anything.

Employers cut costs by denying their temporary foreign workers safe working conditions, by severely overworking their employees, and by underpaying workers who fill supervisory roles. Participants consistently discussed working above the skill level that they are hired for but getting paid as low-wage workers:

Mehedi: Oh yeah. Currently I'm on a work permit as a food counter attendant. I'm in Alberta almost for three months. So my work permit says food counter attendant and it has a job description. But then the real job that I do is a supervisor job.

Given the current policy landscape in Canada, it was difficult for this employee to exercise her right to a fair wage. Some participants described that their employer would regularly demand illicit cash payments of \$1,000 every month for the temporary foreign worker to maintain his or her job, and threatened those who contested with deportation. Other participants mentioned their employers restricted or tracked their behaviour outside of the workplace, including restricting their access to immigrant permanent residents who may be able to inform the temporary foreign worker of his or her rights. Finally, participants spoke of suffering physical abuse at the hands of employers. Experience with this sort of regular mistreatment led a participant to make the following comment:

Aashish: When I come here, I heard about Canada. Canada the human rights is good but what I, what I feel when I come here, there is nothing. Canada is good country, but they have also human rights for people who are permanent residents, not for us [temporary foreign workers].

# 4. Mental health issues

As a result of their circumstances, many temporary foreign workers experience negative mental health effects. Analysis of the interviews indicate that many of our participants continuously suffer from anxiety and stress due to the demands placed upon them by their work and immigration statuses.

Manish: It's really stressful because you are thinking, what is going to happen tomorrow, what is going to happen the next day. So it is stressful...What do I do now? Do I go back to, where do I move on? You can't make any decisions...

Participants consistently agreed that their mental health was poor, but given the great threat of their precarious migration status and the need to provide for their family, they have minimal to no time to address issues related to mental health.

# a) Impact on families in home countries

A significant stressor to temporary foreign workers is the dependency of their family members overseas; it is common for temporary foreign workers to work in Canada in order to send remittances back home to dependent families. Whether the temporary foreign workers' family is abroad or with them in Canada, the responsibility of being the sole breadwinner, compounded with the pressure to remain employed in Canada in a tenuous position, causes mental health issues for many individuals. Many participants also spoke of the pain of separating their families in order to be in Canada, as many do not bring their spouses or children with them. A participant became quiet and hung his head as he discussed his family back in his home country. The following comment sheds light on his experience:

Paolo: I don't want to talk about my personal life [Yeah] share it with someone else [Yeah], but that's the hardest thing to do, you know? [Yeah] Leave your family behind back home and start your life in a different, overseas, different country, you know? It's very hard [Yeah].

The recent changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program also have an impact on families of temporary foreign workers in source countries who rely on them to meet their economic needs.

#### **b)** Sources of support

The indeterminacy of participants' status in Canada is a primary cause for their mental health problems. It is so difficult to acquire permanent resident status, to endure harsh working conditions and exploitation as a temporary foreign worker, to make ends meet as well as to support family overseas that it is too much to bear for some—all in an unfamiliar culture and climate, no less. Temporary foreign workers seem to be interminably waiting—for applications to process while others expire—which leaves them in a constant state of anxiety. The rapid policy changes that are implemented without adequate notice intensifies the hardship of the changes on temporary foreign workers. Focus group participants also mentioned that accessing services in support of their mental and emotional well-being is an uncommon practice in their cultures, and that doing so carries a certain stigma. Not only that, but some lacked knowledge of support services, as well as the time required to do so. For instance, upon completion of some interviews, participants asked the interviewer about accessing mental health services and

revealed their lack of knowledge about the scopes of practice of a psychiatrist versus a psychologist and how to access them.

Most of the participants stated that socializing with others in their communities is the best way for them to cope. The following conversation substantiates their point:

Mehedi: And my friend, he called me, like, last week it happened, he called me at midnight and he started crying. [Oh] Yeah, could you please come and visit me and...then I have to take a cab and go to his place, like, you know, have a good chat, make him feel comfortable.

Interviewer: Yeah, and what was the source of his stress?

*Mehedi:* Okay, the source was, like, he was thinking about his family, [yeah] about the situation here.

Daniel: Yeah, it's unstable, very unstable, yeah. Yeah, and again, I'm single but I'm stressed. If I have a family, I don't know how it would be...more, yeah.

Not only do other temporary foreign workers share similar experiences, but they are also able to rely on one another to share financial or logistical burdens. Often temporary foreign workers will share living quarters to minimize their regular housing expenses. And when someone loses work or needs a place to stay, they can often turn to their peers for help while they wait for renewal applications to process. This support network is demonstrated by the following comment:

Interviewer: Yeah, but how do you cope? I mean...because I know that this, I mean I can't imagine being in Canada and not being able to work. How do you survive? Sumit: My friends are helping me.

# c) Survival

The theme of survival came up a great deal in the focus groups. The most common responses to questions asking how participants cope were answers along the lines of, "we don't know, we just do." Many alluded to the fact that they are just getting by, or taking things day by day. Survival requires diligence and perseverance, and a large portion of interview participants felt that, despite their immense efforts, they are barely making it by. Nonetheless, one participant revealed her irrepressible spirit:

*Michelle: There is no choice. You just have to survive and see and believe that things will be better, and try your best. It's really hard, yeah.* 

## **Proposed Solutions**

An objective of this pilot study was to identify policy implications of temporary foreign workers experiences of the recent changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and to gather suggestions for improving the experiences of temporary foreign workers in Canada. Participants contributed numerous ideas, most prominent of which was the suggestion to improve rights education to newly arrived temporary foreign workers. The concept of a one-stop location for resources, services, and aid was discussed, as seen below.

Martin: So if you have one-stop services, and as soon as the people came from overseas as a foreign worker—because I guess 99% people doesn't know about the things that are happening around here. By the time you know something, LMO [Labour Market Opinion, the precursor to the LMIA] is expired.

Participants also proposed ease of access to information and services as well as government advocates for foreign workers or access to pro bono legal aid. In the following quote, a participant rationalizes this wish: Gabriel: I think that the province should have, appoint an advocate for temporary foreign workers, one that can speak on behalf of the foreign workers rather than speak on behalf of the government and employer.

Interestingly, participants also stated their desire for social action led by themselves: they articulated a desire for a program that would create solidarity among the diverse groups that make up temporary foreign workers in Canada. Pre-migration counselling overseas, in order to provide clarity to those who are considering coming to Canada, was suggested as well. Participants unanimously want to see open work permits to protect workers against exploitative employers and unfavourable employment conditions, as well as extended LMIA so that wait times associated with re-application cease to pose a threat to workers' ability to remain in the country. The four-year limit for staying in Canada is met with great disapproval, and participants expressed that pathways for permanent resident status ought to be created for temporary foreign workers who are already in Canada. In reference to LMIA, a participant said the following, *Rahul: LMIA shouldn't be one year. Can they make, like, two years? Like, we are allowed to stay here four years. Why they cannot give LMIA for two years second time?* 

#### Conclusion

Findings from the focus groups show that the recent changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program policy have created a burden for employers and temporary foreign workers, intensified the exploitation of migrant workers, and contributed to a high levels of anxiety and poor mental health among this group. The findings suggest several implications for policy and practice. We present these implications below.

# **Implications for Federal Immigration and Labour Policy Makers**

- Grant open work permits to reduce experiences of exploitation. Open work permits would also help to reduce stress and improve mental health of temporary foreign workers.
- Increase pathways to permanent residence for low-skilled temporary foreign workers, including permanent residence upon arrival in Canada.
- Prosecute employers who exploit temporary foreign workers, especially those who demand money from temporary foreign workers and bring them to Canada when there are no jobs available. Mandate these employers to refund the full cost of their illegal action and face prosecution.
- Screen and monitor employers to ensure employees they bring to Canada have jobs upon arrival.
- Reverse the fee increase for obtaining LMIA and remove the limitation on how many low-skilled workers an employer can hire.
- Implement pre-migration counselling for temporary foreign workers to ensure they are well aware of their rights before arriving in Canada.
- Ensure Labour Market Impact Assessment for temporary foreign workers is valid for the duration of their stay in Canada.

# Implications for Provincial Human Service, Immigration, and Labour Policy Makers

• Recruit a temporary foreign worker advocate in Alberta who will assist temporary foreign workers in exercising their rights in Canada. This advocate must be able to develop relationships and trust with the most marginalized and vulnerable groups of temporary foreign workers.

- Continue to support services and programs delivered by immigrant-serving agencies in Alberta for temporary foreign workers, including those provided by Calgary Catholic Immigration Society and Catholic Social Services.
- Ensure a stable funding envelope for temporary foreign worker programs and services.
- Provide adequate notice before changes are made to programs and policies that affect temporary foreign workers in Alberta, such as the Alberta Immigrant Nominee Program.
- Fund integrated one-stop services for temporary foreign workers, including those that provide legal support.

### **Implications for Immigrant Service Practitioners and Service Providers**

- Ensure consistency and accuracy in information provided to temporary foreign workers.
- Ensure programs and services address the mental health of temporary foreign workers in Alberta.
- Engage temporary foreign worker communities in order to ensure that services reach the most vulnerable and isolated groups.
- Continue to deliver integrated services for temporary foreign workers, including information on their rights and assistance with legal issues related to exploitation and abuse.

Our initial motivation for this study was to determine possibilities for future research about the well-being of temporary foreign workers in Canada. Indeed, there is a need for action research projects to address the needs and rights of temporary foreign workers in Canada. Future research projects must be sensitive to migrant workers' precarious status and their vulnerability in Canada. Such a project can not merely educate workers about their rights, as the ability of temporary foreign workers to exercise their rights is limited by their precarious immigration status. Rather, creative and innovative strategies must be created to ensure that migrant workers know about their rights *and* are able to exercise their rights in Canada. One temporary foreign worker suggested that this may involve a link to policy that mandates all employers and temporary foreign workers to complete rights training before employment in Canada. Our experience collecting data in different locations and working with different ethnic groups also suggest that differences exist in migrants' experience across ethnic, class, gender, sector, and geographic categories. Hence, future research should be concerned also with these differences and their implications for policy. Our research has taught us that there is a great need for research with this community; migrants are willing to participate in research that is not only highly sensitive to their vulnerable status in Canada, but also betters their lives and the lives of fellow temporary foreign workers in Canada.

#### References

"OFL Statement for December 18, 2015, International Migrants Day." (2015, December 17). Retrieved December 17, 2015, from http://ofl.ca/index.php/migrantsday2015/