BEHIND THE COUNTER: MIGRATION, LABOUR POLICY AND TEMPORARY WORK IN A GLOBAL FAST FOOD CHAIN

by

Aida Geraldina Polanco Sorto

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the shift from local to global recruitment practices in western Canada’s low-waged service sector, with fast food and Tim Hortons serving as the industry and case study for this project. By examining the recent expansion to Canada’s Temporary Foreign Worker Program, I show how a market-driven immigration program is resulting in new flows of workers entering Canada for low-waged occupations like fast food service. These workers are primarily young, educated, eager and able-bodied male and female migrant workers recruited disproportionately from the Philippines. They are new in the sense that they are part of a highly qualified flow of migrants who no longer have the opportunity to permanently immigrate and become full members of the Canadian polity. They enter Canada in pursuit of the classical immigrant dream only to discover that the context of reception has changed. They are recruited through a labour migration program that offers migrants few if any opportunities to transition from temporary to permanent residency status, and one that encourages migrants to compete for permanent residency within the worksite, at improbable odds.

This study draws from 62 semi-structured interviews, ethnographic field research conducted in Canada and the Philippines, and freedom of information data gathered on Tim Hortons’ recruitment practices of migrant workers in Alberta and British Columbia. I show how: the tourism and hospitality industry was instrumental for institutionalizing an employer-friendly market driven immigration program; how the Filipino migration apparatus seeks to deliver culturally appropriate workers to foreign employers; how the turn to migrant labour by fast food is providing employers with young, able-bodied and an industry-preferred workforce; and how the Canadian dream operates to enlist the consent of migrant workers within the worksite. This study has implications beyond fast food and western Canada given the proliferation of migrant worker programs on a global scale, and the status of Canada and the Philippines as model immigration and labour programs.
Preface

This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Aida Geraldina Polanco Sorto. Ethics approval was required to carry out this project. The research board that reviewed this project was the “UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board”. The Certificate Number obtained for this project was H10-00814.
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1 Migrant Workers and the Social Imaginary: Pursuing the Canadian Dream through Fast Food Employment

On 20 June 2011 in Makati, Philippines, I sat in a sushi restaurant with Kyla [pseudonym], a well-educated and articulate 26-year-old Filipina woman. At the time I was in the Philippines conducting field research for my doctoral project on temporary labour migration from the Philippines to Canada. I was introduced to Kyla through a mutual acquaintance. At the time, Kyla was an employee at a Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) company in central Manila. BPOs provide outsourced services to (mostly overseas) clients for a range of business operations including accounting services, software development and call center work. By local standards jobs in BPOs are well paid and prestigious especially those in Makati, the financial centre of the Philippines. They draw workers primarily from young, educated, and English-speaking segments of the Filipino labour market.

Over the course of our conversation Kyla told me about Camille [pseudonym], her 28-year-old friend and ex-coworker. Kyla thought I might be interested in hearing about Camille given my research on Filipino labour migration to Canada. Like Kyla, Camille holds a master’s degree from a well-respected local university. She is friendly and physically attractive. In 2010 Camille migrated to Alberta, Canada for employment in a Tim Hortons restaurant. I recount my conversation with Kyla because her insights are deeply informative of the global hierarchies and dreams that shape migration flows from the Philippines to Canada. As Kyla recalled, Camille went to great lengths to secure an overseas fast food contract in Canada. At the end of each shift at the BPO Camille would cross the street to a local fast food chain to work the evening shift behind the counter. For over a year Camille worked at a pizza establishment to accrue the necessary work experience required to qualify for a temporary work contract in a comparable worksite in Canada. “She didn’t have previous experience in fast food?” I asked Kyla, to which
she responded “Of course she does not have any experience in fast food chain!” Clearly, fast food was well below Camille’s social status, at least in the Filipino context. According to Kyla, Camille embraced the low-waged employment because she was intent on using fast food as a strategy for accessing Canada.

Following a year of concurrent employment in the Filipino labour market’s upper and lower tiers, Camille was finally offered a fast food position in Canada. Upon accepting the offer she quit her job at the BPO; she believed she was en route to a better life in Canada. However to her dismay over the course of two months the recruiter kept postponing her departure. Eventually Camille lost hope and returned to her job at the BPO. She was therefore surprised to receive a text message from the recruiter an entire year following her initial hire informing her that her departure arrangements had been set. The last Kyla heard from Camille she was still employed in Alberta, Canada on a temporary work contract in a Tim Hortons restaurant.

While I often heard accounts like Kyla’s over the course of my research, I was nevertheless puzzled by Camille’s persistent desire to go to Canada. Camille did not represent the impoverished third-world subject that colloquial discourse suggests engages in temporary South-North migration. Indeed, her relatively high earning capacity and social status in the Philippines should have shielded her from a desire to engage in transnational, low-status service sector employment. She also invested significant efforts with few guarantees that she would attain a Canadian fast food contract, contrary to what one might expect from *homo economicus*, the rational actor looking to maximize economic gains in a rational labour market (Bowles and Gintis, 1993: 83). Instead, Camille was willing to work at a low-status job well below her social location and earning capacity (in both the Philippines and Canada) for the opportunity to access Canada.
Camille’s desire to migrate to Canada through a temporary fast food work contract draws attention to new flows of workers entering Canada. The expansion to Canada’s Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) through the introduction of the Low-Skilled Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training (LSPP), now the Temporary Foreign Worker Program - Stream for Low-Skilled Occupations (S-LSO), introduced a new set of young, eager and educated workers entering Canada as temporary foreign workers (TFWs) for employment in the bottom rungs of Canadian labour markets. As Kyla later told me, Camille was determined to be selected for employment in a Canadian fast food restaurant because of the ideas and dreams she associates with Canada. She believed that a temporary work contract in Canada (including in a Tim Hortons restaurant) would lead to permanent residency for herself and a better life for her family. She believed that because Canada’s long-standing live-in caregiver program (LCP) facilitates the ability for domestic workers to transition from temporary to permanent status that the same conditions would also apply to her. What Camille did not know was that the S-LSO is not the same as the LCP with regards to prospects for transitioning from temporary to permanent status. She also was unaware that the immigration system and cultural context of reception in Canada has changed. Rather than a country of permanent migrant settlement, Canada has moved toward a model of temporary status migration.

Over the past five to ten years there have been major changes to Canadian immigration policies that are making young, educated, temporary foreign workers like Camille increasingly more common in Canada. In 2010, the number of individuals entering Canada on temporary visas surpassed those selected for permanent migrant settlement (CIC, 2011), undermining Canada’s tradition of being a country of permanent - rather than temporary or circular - migration. From 2000 to 2011 the number of TFWs employed in Canada rose from 89,746
workers to 300,111 workers (Faraday, 2012: 10-11). The Philippines is the largest source country sending migrant labour to western Canada with an almost five-fold increase between 2002 and 2010 (CIC, 2012). With no set quotas for the S-LSO, a large number of Filipino migrants like Camille are being recruited for employment in a wide range of “low-skilled” Canadian occupations like hotel room attendants, meatpackers and as food counter attendants.

As the case of Camille suggests, one of the primary factors motivating her mobility to Canada was the desire to attain the promises she associates with Canada, what I refer to as the Canadian dream. As I describe throughout this dissertation, the Canadian dream rests largely on the opportunity to access generous social services and to make material gains, but also the promise that future generations will likewise benefit through pathways to Canadian citizenship. A growing number of Filipino migrant subjects like Camille are recruited on temporary work visas and channeled into segmented labour markets, confined to low-skilled and low-status occupations with limited opportunities for upward mobility. Unbeknownst to many of these workers they face a system in which they have minimal control and few options for transitioning from temporary to permanent status. The S-LSO is highly insecure and ambiguous with regards to the prospects of attaining permanent residency, as I describe in chapter two. It neither directly excludes settlement in Canada (like Canada’s longstanding Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)), nor does it provide a two-step (Hennerby, 2010) institutionalized path toward permanent residency like the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). Instead, under the policy framework of the S-LSO, TFWs are enlisted to compete with other migrant workers for the opportunity to obtain permanent residency through a Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), a

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1 Literature has shown that not all workers manage to obtain permanent residency through the LCP (e.g. Oxman-Martinez et. al, 2004). However, while some do not manage to secure permanent residency through the LCP there is nevertheless an institutionalized pathway. Workers also have the right to initiate the process after meeting a set of criteria.
competitive, employer-initiated immigration program. As I show, the percentage that transition from temporary to permanent status through a PNP is small relative to the total number of temporary foreign worker entrants. Instead, migrants like Camille enter Canada without the legal right nor a formal denial to settle permanently, introducing a new precarious and institutionalized form of mediating belonging and integration into Canada. As a result, through the S-LSO Tim Hortons restaurants - along with other bottom tier employment sites - are being transformed into transnational spaces, “zones of encounters” (Faier, 2009) in which desiring subjects are enlisted to compete with other TFWs for the Canadian dream.

In this dissertation I examine why subjects like Camille, representing a new set of workers engaged in temporary, low-status labour migration to Canada, are currently pursuing fast food employment in western Canadian Tim Hortons restaurants. My research questions explore: Where do the ideas Filipino subjects associate with Canada and other potential host countries come from? How are institutional actors (like employers, third party labour recruiters and the Filipino migration apparatus) involved with the production of these ideas? In what ways do cultural sensibilities and preferences for select destinations shape migration flows? In turn, how do cultural imaginations like the Canadian dream influence worksite dynamics and operate as social forces that benefit Canadian employers? As I show through this study, ideas about host countries are generative social forces involved in organizing global labour flows, segmenting specialized workers onto specific circuits of labour, and influencing worksite dynamics. The ideas and imaginations associated with Canada and other potential destinations, in concert with activities on the part of sending and receiving states, shape desires amongst qualified subjects like Camille to (unknowingly) gamble for the promises they associate with the Canadian dream.
1.1 **Subjectivity, Migration and Transnational Worksite Organizations:**

Global hierarchies consist of objective inequalities that separate the global North and the global South, including material differences that encourage people in the developing world to engage in South-North migration. Countries like Canada boast higher standards of living, the potential to earn more money, and less social unrest. They also, however, are more favourably positioned on a hierarchy of subjective and imaginative dimensions. Global hierarchies and dreams are important dimensions shaping migration; migration is an economic as well as a cultural practice.

A growing body of literature considers the role of imaginations and dreams in shaping cultural flows and contributing to migration practices. Appadurai’s (1996) work on the imagination has been especially influential to this field of study. According to Appadurai, the imagination operates as a powerful social force through which modern subjectivities are formed under conditions of increased global connections. As he contends, the imagination is the product of a culturally organized field of social practices currently operating on a global scale. Through innovations in technology, cultural flows circulate at unprecedented rates, uniting individuals within “imagined worlds.” Given the new levels of heightened interconnections and the global circulations of cultural flows, the subject is formed within a new global cultural economy.

Others have built on Appadurai’s work to explore how structures of capital accumulation and cultural dimensions influence subject formation and mobility practices. Ong (2006) for instance examines how economic structures and power relations shape desires and mobility, showing that potential subjectivities are constrained by cultural institutions, markets, and other social and structural factors. Like Appadurai, she regards the cultural realm as important to
global cultural flows. However, unlike Appadurai, Ong also explicitly traces how power and economic structures limit potential social fields of imagination, including potential subject formations. In a similar tradition, Parreñas (2001) focuses more on economic structures and the interplay of economic and cultural forces to the production of subjectivities and imaginations. She argues that while economic structures and the imagination are important dimensions in subject formation, migration is in itself a process of subject formation; the process of migration is the figurative location of subjection. She identifies a shared subjectivity she refers to as “dislocation” amongst Filipina migrant workers recruited to Rome and Los Angeles as domestic helpers.

Ana Guevarra (2010) draws from theorizing on the social imagination and applies it to the study of the Filipino migration apparatus. In so doing, she shows how the state and employment agencies actively market and manufacture a social imaginary of the Philippines as the “Home of the Great Filipino Worker”. Unlike Rodriguez (2010), Guevarra (2010) focuses primarily on the “cultural logics” of labour brokering, including how Filipino migrants are manufactured into appropriate Filipino migrant subjects and citizens, serving the interests of both employers and the state (4-8). As Guevarra explains, the Filipino migration apparatus markets and manufactures dreams and subjectivities. Under the guise of “empowerment”, the state and employment agencies discipline workers through promoting a subjectivity amongst migrants of an “ethic of responsibility to their nation, families, and the image of the Great Filipino Worker” (Guevarra, 2010: 5). Through the labour brokerage state, this worker possesses an “ethos of labor migration” as well as a disciplined migrant subjectivity produced through a gendered and racialized moral economy. This social imaginary ultimately benefits the Filipino state who can rely on the remittances of Filipino migrant subjects.
Other scholars have contributed to theorizing the role of the social imaginary as pertaining to the Philippines and the global economy. For example, Tadiar (2004) theorizes how capitalism and state rule is informed by the workings of the imagination; the political economy is organized as much through “practices of economic structure” as through “culturally organized social practices” (4). Taking the nation-states as her unit of analysis she shows how countries come to possess subjectivities and are capable of engaging in cultural practices. Moreover, nations (like people) can engage in desiring actions. Tadiar introduces the concept of fantasy-production to refer to the process by which nations come to experience subjection and engage in desiring actions within a world system. This hegemonic global order sets limits to the dreams that nation-states (as subjects) can have. In the case of the Philippines, this has led the state to actively participate in its subjugation within a global economic order by (for example) implementing a sexual economy. As she emphasizes, this is both an economic and cultural process. There is an economic and cultural interplay involved in the production of world systems and global hierarchies.

Global Hierarchies and Migration:

A growing body of literature examines mobility, dreams and the social imaginary with regards to hierarchies and perceived differences between host destinations. For instance, in her study with Filipino migrants Leiba Faier (2009) shows that while her subjects migrated to Japan, their ultimate dream was to migrate to the United States. Given historical migration flows of Filipina women streamed to Japan for employment in the entertainment industry, there is an association of female migration to Japan with sex work, whether or not this perception is real or
perceived (see also Parreñas, 2011). Japan also does not offer the kinds of material benefits associated with the United States. Instead as Faier (2009) describes, her participants “dreamed of visiting or living in a place they called ‘America’”. As she elaborates, “these women relayed a range of dreams about the pleasures and comforts of professional lives in cities like New York and Los Angeles.....The things and people that these women associated with ‘America’ were prized symbols of status and figures of desire” (Faier, 2009: 97). As Faier’s study illustrates, receiving destinations are not equally valued. There is a clear hierarchy of potential host destinations.

Ana Guevarra (2010) makes similar observations through her study with Filipina nurses and domestic workers recruited from the Philippines to the United States. As she explains, the United States is *the* sought out and ideal destination (167). Other regions (like Libya, Saudi Arabia and Singapore) are simply “stepping-stones” for eventual migration to the United States (171). The basis for this favourable positioning lies primarily in the (presumed) ability to mass consume in the United States. As she shows, the social imaginary of the American dream for many Filipinos “revolves around material acquisition and a heightened power to consume material goods” (Guevarra, 2010: 166). The benefits of (presumed) mass consumption draws both migrant workers and immigrants to the United States. As Silver and Slater (1999) note, the dreams associated with America revolve around ideas of liberty and mass consumption; a “good life”, even for immigrant and working-class masses (Hochschild, 1995).

With regards to my project, what is particularly relevant about Guevarra’s study is that she examines how the Filipino migration apparatus (through the discursive workings of the state, employment agencies and migrants themselves) actively produce the social imaginary and dream of the United States as the ultimate opportunity for potential migrants. Along with labour
brokering activities on the part of the Filipino labour brokerage state, the Filipino migration apparatus not only markets and delivers workers to global employers but likewise generates desires amongst Filipino nationals to engage in outward labour migration (see also: Gonzalez, 1998; Lorente, 2011; Rodriguez, 2010). I build on this and related literature by considering the importance of global hierarchies and social imaginaries in shaping migration flows to countries like Canada. Drawing from my primary field research data gathered on the dreams and social imaginaries that the Filipino migration apparatuses generates about different host destinations (in conjunction with activities in the receiving destination), I show how preferences and sensibilities amongst workers for potential host destinations shape migration flows. In particular, I consider how the specific features of the Canadian dream stimulate desires amongst subjects like Camille to yearn and actively work towards fast food employment in a destination like Canada. This dissertation examines a Canadian-Filipino fast food labour chain in order to better understand how global hierarchies, transnational relations, structures of power, and dreams influence global mobility and shape workstie dynamics.

1.2 Organization of Dissertation:

In chapter two, I show how the introduction of the S-LSO has contributed to an increase in the number of temporary status migrants entering Canada, and changed the context of reception for newcomer subjects. The possibility for migrants to obtain permanent residency and become full members of the Canadian polity has decreased under the PNP and S-LSO, institutionalizing a system of cultural and legal exclusion in Canada. In particular, it has made the possibility for attaining permanent residency arbitrary, highly insecure, and ambiguous. Employers and employment agencies in tourism and hospitality (including Tim Hortons) have
been active in promoting these market-driven immigration programs. Not surprisingly, these immigration policies have favoured capital at the expense of workers.

In chapter three of this study, I turn to the Philippines to examine how the Filipino migration apparatus stimulates new transnational labour migration flows by producing and reproducing aspirations amongst its national citizens to migrate to desirable overseas locations like Canada. I show how in contrast to other potential receiving destinations, Canada is imagined as being higher up in the global hierarchy. This motivates young, qualified working professionals like Camille to pursue fast food labour migration to Canada. Tim Hortons has a strong preference for recruiting migrant workers from the Philippines in part because of the qualities they have come to associate with this national workforce. Compared to other migration apparatuses, the Filipino labour brokerage state (Rodriguez, 2010) has a comparative advantage of being able to supply workers who can “fit” anywhere in the world. With fierce competition on the part of migrant sending countries to deliver workers, the Philippines markets and produces specialized workforces, from agricultural, construction and fast food workers to intimate labourers. A host of transnational actors select, produce and deliver specialized workers to distinct regions for employment in specific occupations. Filipino overseas foreign workers possess the characteristics and cultural knowledge considered appropriate for the occupation and region in question, including the ability to navigate the cultural landscape of the receiving context. This is more precise than the delivery of docile, disciplined, and eager workers previously identified in the literature (e.g. Guevarra, 2010; Rodriguez, 2010). With a large reserve army of workers - embodying a range of qualities and eager to engage in global labour migration - the delivery of specialized bodies for specialized destinations is the comparative advantage of the Filipino migration apparatus.
In chapter four, I counter conventional wisdom that suggests “low-skilled” employers turn to guest workers as a way of securing a “cheap” and “disposable” workforce. Instead, my research findings suggest a more complex scenario of fulfilling employers’ human resource desires in worksites characterized as interactive, physically demanding, and geared towards meeting objectives of speed and efficiency. This chapter seeks to make two empirically informed theoretical interventions. First, it emphasizes the physical nature of fast food and the multiple methods through which fast food employers and corporations compete to make a profit in an overly saturated market beyond the lowering of wages. Second, it highlights the need to consider the industry-specific advantages for employers when drawing from a migrant worker labour force beyond cheapness and disposability. This includes more than the ability to select workers along dimensions like nationality, ‘race’ and sex as scholars like Preibisch (2010) have previously identified, but also those who embody qualities deemed particularly advantageous for the specific industry and occupation in question. Moreover, the sharp increase in labour mobility programs globally and the diversification of industries turning to migrant labour on a global scale shows the need to more systematically consider industry-specific challenges and the benefits of employing TFWs. This chapter also draws attention to the impacts on (devalued) domestic workers resulting from the transnational employment of migrant workers.

In the last empirical chapter of this dissertation I put labour process theory into conversation with literature on desires and dreams to show how under the S-LSO employers can increasingly rely on the Canadian dream to discipline workers within low-waged worksites. As the case of Camille illustrates, Filipino TFWs go to significant lengths to attain a Canadian temporary work contract and consider the worksite the space where they will gain rights to the Canadian dream. More specifically, through the PNP (an immigration program that requires an
employer nomination to transition from temporary to permanent status) employers can (un)knowingly rely on the desires and dreams workers associate with their fast food employment to attain an eager, disciplined workers within “low-skilled” worksites. Many Filipino workers aspire to attain permanent residency through their fast food employment and the worksite becomes the physical space in which they actively pursue this dream. In practice this includes working exceptionally hard, never complaining, and at times accepting outright employment violations. Moreover, through the introduction of market-driven immigration policies like the S-LSO and PNP low-status service sector employers gain access to young, educated, able-bodied and eager workers.

1.3 Methodology for Exploring a Global Fast Food Chain:

The research design for this study is mixed-method and transnational in nature. It consists of: sixty-two semi-structured interviews with research participants in Alberta, British Columbia and the Philippines (mostly in person though at times via telephone or Skype); ethnographic research in British Columbia and two short research trips to Alberta between 2009 to 2011; and ethnographic research in the Philippines from May 2011 to July 2011. This was also complemented by analysis of Tim Hortons’ transnational recruitment practices of migrant workers under the TFWP obtained through Freedom of Information (FOI) requests from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC). Key informant interviews were conducted with Canadian and Filipino government employees (n=11); Tim Hortons franchise owners in Canada, all of whom own several restaurants (n=3); labour consultants and recruiters in Canada and the Philippines, all of whom recruit for service sector or fast food restaurants (n=12); frontline settlement workers and supporters of migrant workers in Canada including grassroots
organizers, church affiliated supporters and union staff (n=14); and Tim Hortons food counter attendants (n=19). The latter includes both current workers (domestic and guest) and those returned to the Philippines post-contract. Interviews were also conducted with “low-skilled” temporary foreign workers employed in other restaurants (n=3). Ethnographic research included participant observation in government and industry conferences, in grassroots organizing spaces in Canada and the Philippines, and in the Philippines community visits to “migrant communities,” recruitment fairs, and government-required and operated Pre-Departure Orientation Seminars (PDOS). Data was also generated through numerous (informal) conversations with similarly positioned key informants; relevant information was digitally recorded and transcribed or recorded as ethnographic fieldnotes. The project’s methodological framework was informed by the global ethnographic method.

1.4 Fast Food Employment in the Service Economy:

The shift toward transnational labour recruitment on the part of employers like Subway, McDonald’s and Pizza Pizza is significant beyond the quick service restaurant (QSR) industry. In particular, fast food is the ideal industry for considering the future of work and employment in an increasingly interconnected, service-oriented economy. McDonald’s has become a powerful symbol of globalization and the service society and “McJobs” are said to represent everything that is wrong with low-waged, service sector work (Schlosser, 2002: 4). Employment in low-waged service sector occupations offers part-time, low-status and low-waged work with few employment benefits and significant insecurity (Newman, 2000; Royle and Towers, 2002; Sassen, 2002; Williams, 2006). This contrasts sharply with normative employment conditions under the Keynesian period. Fast food worksites are therefore more than sites where Timbits are
baked and burgers are flipped. I contend they epitomize everything that is wrong with the new economy.

The new economy refers to the most recent manifestation in the structures of power and the social relations of work under late capitalism. This new (service-oriented) economy has been associated with a polarization amongst workforces, especially in Western urban centers. In Canada, these processes have been described as promoting an “economic apartheid,” marked by growing income gaps and an intensification of a feminized and racialized poverty (Galabuzi, 206). While workers employed in the bottom rungs of urban labour markets are an integral component of the engine that supports the new economy, their work and employment conditions do not reflect this reality (Sassen, 1991). Instead, those regarded as “knowledge and information” workers (including high-tech and finance workers) have generally experienced a stark increase in earning capacities, while “labour intensive” workers (such as janitorial, restaurant and retail workers) have experienced marked deterioration in their working conditions and a casualization in the employment relationship (Appelbaum and Albin, 1990). A small segment of workers have benefitted from this labour market reorganization, though the majority of workers in both blue and white-collar jobs have experienced downward pressures to their employment conditions (Beck, 2000). The impact of these changes is profound given that “the service economy has grown to include almost three-quarters of all employment in most capitalist countries” (Wallace et. al., 2010: 47).

While mobile industries have taken advantage of global connections and technological innovations by decentralizing and respatializing the labour process in the pursuit of profits (e.g. Collins, 2003; Salzinger, 2003), for “immobile” occupations this has generally not been considered a possibility. Instead, employers in grocery stores and fast food establishments have
had to draw from marginalized segments of local labour pools to staff their worksites, including youth, immigrants, women, single mothers, and aging populations (Reiter 1996, 2002; Royles and Towers 2002; Tannock 2001). However with the expansion of the TFWP, employers in previously “immobile” service sector occupations can now figuratively “relocate” to global labour pools supplying workers with desirable characteristics that can resolve industry-specific challenges. In the process, socially devalued domestic workers who rely on these worksites (due to minimal or marginal alternatives) are circumvented.

Beyond a Canadian-Filipino fast food labour chain, this study draws attention to some of the changing conditions to work and employment when recruiting low-waged, service sector workers transnationally. In the case of this study, this shift benefits the fast food sector by facilitating employers’ access to young, able-bodied workers that are physically coveted and willing to work hard for low wages, resolving sector-specific challenges when confined to recruiting from domestic labour pools. Employers also gain access to specialized workers prepared by sending states like the Philippines for employment in destinations like Canada, allowing employers to be highly selective when recruiting workers, even for low-waged and low-status occupations. Employers also gain access to workers that are highly disciplined and willing to consent sometimes to outright labour abuses in exchange for the prospect of attaining the Canadian dream, a new transnational management regime requiring minimal effort by managers or employers in the worksite. Moreover, this study illustrates that beyond Tim Hortons and a Filipino-Canadian fast food labour chain there will be longer-term consequences to work and employment conditions in the bottom tiers of service sector labour markets if these programs expand or continue in the longer term. Employers are taking advantage of global hierarchies and
inequalities in the pursuit of profits, and the S-LSO allows them to diversify their strategies to meet these ends.
Regulating Belonging: Market-Driven Immigration Policies and the Turn Towards Precarity

On 19 October 2011 in Calgary, Alberta I sat in a coffee shop with Rachel [pseudonym], an in-house human resource specialist for a fast food company. I met Rachel the previous day while conducting participant observation research at an industry conference. The two-day event was geared toward personnel involved with recruiting migrant workers for a range of occupations from medical professionals, business executives to food counter attendants. Rachel had agreed to join me for a research interview. Over the course of an hour she recounted the many features she found disturbing concerning the fast food sector’s turn toward migrant labour. For instance, she described at length her disbelief that the Canadian government was making guest workers available to fast food employers given that the labour shortage only exists because compensation is low and working conditions “bad”. She was new to her job; she had worked in the human resources field for years but never previously in fast food, so she self-identified as still trying to accustom herself to the sector. Her position was refreshing as she had not yet been normalized into the cultural landscape of the Quick Service Restaurant Industry and appeared eager to unload her insights and frustrations.

After describing the local challenges faced by franchisees in different regions across Alberta she sat back, put her coffee down, and started shaking her head. Inching slowly towards me she whispered “but you know what I really can’t stand? What really gets to me? It’s how these franchisees call me, leave me a message, ‘Get me a Filipino. I want a Filipino’”. I smiled back at her hoping that at that moment she would not misread my body as Filipina or racialize me as “of Colour” in turn deterring her from her honest reflections. “Why do you find that disturbing?” I asked her. She looked a bit taken aback by my question (perhaps unaccustomed to the seemingly obvious questions researchers have a tendency of posing) and sat back, taking a
moment to reflect. Finally she responded, “I guess [long pause], whatever happened to just hiring teenagers? I mean, do you think it’s OK that [name of corporation] gets to hire these young college grads? You know, so many of them even think they’re coming to immigrate, bring their families....I don’t know, it just feels wrong” (Fast Food Human Resource Specialist, Calgary, 19 October 2011).

Rachel’s sentiment that “it just feels wrong” to import low-waged workers on temporary work contracts derives in part from a cultural sensibility amongst Canadians that qualified newcomers should be granted the right to settle permanently and sponsor the migration of their families. Indeed, her astonishment that the Canadian government is facilitating employers’ ability to recruit “a Filipino” was repeatedly expressed over the course of the interview. As she later explained she considers this transnational employment practice rather “un-Canadian”. Rachel has an idea of what Canada is (a country where newcomers are selected for entry and granted rights to permanent settlement) and by her account this is not the landscape that many newcomers now face when entering Canada. Instead, rather than migrant subjects being selected for permanent membership in the Canadian polity, a growing number of migrants are recruited for temporary work in service-sector occupations and face barriers toward belonging and integration. The expansion to Canada’s TFWP has played an important role in changing this newcomer context of reception.

In 2006, Monte Solberg, then Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), jokingly stated that when labour shortages “start to affect our ability to go to Tim Hortons and get a double-double, it ceases to be a laughing matter” (Bourette, 2007). He relayed this situation as the motivation for implementing policy changes that in effect render it easier for employers in Alberta and British Columbia to recruit “low-skilled” migrant workers through Canada’s
Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP). His joke, no doubt, was intended to be funny. It nevertheless draws attention to the contemporary and unprecedented practice of employing migrant workers in service sector occupations like fast food. Less than a year after Solberg told this joke Nicholas Osoreveen (who at the time oversaw the Immigration Department of the Canadian Embassy in Manila, Philippines) told a group of participants at a trade luncheon in Vancouver that requests by Canadian employers seeking to hire temporary foreign workers (TFWs) was staggering. He specifically identified Tim Hortons as striking in the degree to which it is taking advantage of this program, stating that in 2007 alone Tim Hortons’ human resource executives had been to the Philippines three times looking to recruit approximately one thousand employees (Goodine, 2007: 17).

Over the past ten years a new trend is becoming visible in Canada, one in which migrant workers are being recruited for employment in a range of low-waged service sector occupations. While Canada has a long history of relying on guest workers, in the case of “low-skilled” occupations this has generally been limited to agriculture and domestic caregiving (e.g. Basok, 2004; Colby 1997; Gross and Schmitt, 2009; Pratt, 1999, 2012; Sharma, 2006; Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010). Agricultural workers have been streamed through the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) since 1966, and domestic caregivers through employment visas and other labour programs since 1955 (Fleras and Elliott, 2003: 50). In 2002 Canada introduced the Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training (LSPP), now the Temporary Foreign Worker Program - Stream for Lower-Skilled Occupations (S-LSO). This has expanded recruitment of “low-skilled” migrant workers in a variety of sectors and occupations like construction labourers, hotel room attendants, meatpackers and as food counter attendants. Under the S-LSO, employers can now recruit foreign workers from any country, for employment
in any occupation classified under the federal government’s National Occupational Classification (NOC) system as “low-skilled” (NOC C and D levels). This has increased the role of the TFWP in shaping work and employment conditions in the bottom rungs of the Canadian labour market including (but not limited) to fast food restaurants.

The expansion of the TFWP to include any “low-skilled” occupation, in conjunction with the ability to draw labour from any country, has affected migration patterns to Canada. With no set quotas for this program, the number of “low-skilled” workers recruited for employment in a wide range of Canadian occupations like hotel room attendants, janitorial staff and workers in Denny’s and White Spot restaurants has sharply increased. As graph 2.1 shows, the number of “low-skilled” TFWs in Canada each year more than doubled between 2003 to 2012, from 20,799 to 46,928 workers.

**Figure 2.1 Low-Skilled Migrant Workers in Canada by Year**
Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) Facts and figures 2012
Immigration overview: Permanent and temporary residents. Temporary Residents.
Canada - Foreign Workers Present on December 1st by Gender and Occupational Skill Level
The sharpest increase in low-skilled workers has been for those employed under the LSPP / S-LSO. As graph 2.2 shows, between 2003 and 2012 the number employed under this program grew from 1,578 to 30,267 workers per year. In fact, by 1 December 2012 migrant workers employed under the LSPP outnumbered those employed under Canada’s two long-standing “low-skilled” migrant worker programs, the LCP and SAWP. Moreover, the S-LSO has quickly become the migrant worker program through which most low-waged TFWs are employed in the bottom rungs of Canadian labour markets.

![Graph 2.2: Low-Skilled Migrant Worker Programs and Temporary Residents in Canada](image)

**Figure 2.2 Low-Skilled Migrant Worker Programs and Temporary Residents in Canada**
Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) Facts and figures 2012
Immigration overview: Permanent and temporary residents. Temporary Residents. Canada – Temporary residents present on December 1st by yearly sub-status

In 2010, the number of individuals entering Canada on temporary visas surpassed those selected for permanent migrant settlement (CIC, 2011), undermining Canada’s tradition of being a country of permanent - rather than temporary or circular - migration. The shift toward temporary (labour) migration has also been accompanied by changes in the composition of the
TFW labour force with a growth in low-skilled workers and an associated feminization and racialization of the TFW labour force (Thomas, 2010; Trumper and Wong, 2007). The Philippines is the largest source country sending migrant labour to Western Canada, with an almost fivefold increase between 2002 and 2010 (CIC, 2011). As graph 2.3 shows, this low-skilled migrant workforce is largely female; 29,783 low-skilled workers were legally employed in Canada on 1 December 2012 in contrast to 76,711 female workers. Moreover, the move toward relying on guest workers in low-paid, “low-skilled”, and low-status occupations within the service sector is unprecedented. These trends have introduced new patterns of social exclusion and discrimination in Canada.
Figure 2.3 Low-Skilled Foreign Workers in Canada by Gender
Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) Facts and figures 2012
Immigration overview: Permanent and temporary residents. Temporary Residents. Canada - Foreign Workers present on December 1st by gender and occupational skill level

In this chapter, I show how employers have managed to define and demonstrate a labour shortage in western Canada’s service sector and lobbied for employer-friendly, market-driven immigration policies that facilitate the ability to recruit TFWs for a range of low-waged occupations. Through the LSPP (now the S-LSO) employers can recruit workers for occupations like janitorial staff, hotel room cleaners and fast food counter attendants, a practice that is unprecedented in the history of Canada. In so doing, they have changed the cultural and legal landscape of incorporating newcomers into Canada. As I show, this new context marks a shift from a multicultural version of belonging toward a market-driven version of belonging.
Moreover, changes to immigration policies have culturally and legally institutionalized barriers to inclusion for many newcomers and as Rachel alludes, changed the conditions and meanings of belonging in Canada.

2.1 Immigration Policies and the Institutionalization of Non-Belonging:

Throughout most of its history Canadian immigration policy has been geared toward populating the country, addressing labour market pressures, and building the nation. While there have been documented instances of discrimination against racialized groups, immigration models have generally encouraged newcomers to migrate and settle permanently. This is an important feature of Canadian belonging and reason for which many Filipino TFWs (amongst others) believe they will eventually be granted formal legal membership in the Canadian polity. However, in recent years there has been a sharp increase in the number of temporary status migrants recruited to Canada. Many of these individuals (including TFWs recruited under the S-LSO) are confined to insecure and ambiguous systems for transitioning from temporary to permanent status. These changes reflect adapting priorities to Canada’s economic development project and new strategies for addressing labour market pressures. They also reveal a changing context mediating belonging in Canada.

Canadian immigration policy has been guided, since inception, with the objective of addressing labour market pressures. The federal institutions currently involved with this task are Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). HRSDC seeks to resolve labour market pressures while CIC regulates and documents migration flows. Together, they collaborate to address labour shortages through

\[2\] There are important exceptions with the LCP and SAWP which are examined in more detail further in.
programs like the TFWP. Increasingly provincial governments are also playing a more active role in shaping migration through Provincial Nominee Programs (PNP). The historical patterns in Canadian immigration trends illustrates the changing regulatory context of belonging, and new systems of cultural and legal exclusion in Canada.

Peter Li (2003) has proposed four national waves of immigration to Canada. These periods mark different economic systems and social conditions for regulating newcomer belonging. During Canada’s earlier years between 1867 to 1895, immigration policies were geared toward domestic and infrastructure development in central Canada. A laissez-faire philosophy toward immigration sought to attract people of European descent and encourage production in factories and mines, and other non-agricultural sectors. While the period 1867 to 1895 is described as an open-door period there were already signs of racial exclusion. In 1885 the Chinese Head Tax was introduced to exclude those of Chinese descent from entering and settling in Canada. However, the bulk of those looking to enter Canada during this period were ‘white’ individuals from the European continent and they along with Chinese subjects were granted the right to settle permanently in Canada.

The second period, 1896 to 1914, marks the highest wave of immigration in Canadian history. This period was characterized by acute labour shortages (especially in the agriculture sector) and immigration policies were geared toward promoting settlement in the prairie provinces. In spite of labour market pressures not everyone was considered desirable for entry; racialized subjects were explicitly deterred from migrating to Canada. The Chinese Head Tax of 1885 had increased from $50 to $500 by 1903 (Li, 2003: 19) and in 1908 the Continuous Passage

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3 PNP programs are immigration programs jointly administered by CIC and respective provincial governments. Their stated objective is to fast-track employer nominated temporary foreign worker applicants for permanent residency into occupations identified as under pressure (Government of Alberta, 2013). I discuss the PNP program in more detail when describing attempts by “low-skilled” TFWs to secure permanent residency through fast food employment.
Act was introduced to exclude nationals from India from setting foot on Canadian soil; those who set foot had the right to settle permanently in Canada (Simmons, 2010: 56). What is significant about the Chinese Head Tax and Continuous Pass Act is that while race-based criteria was a factor for deterring racialized subjects from entering Canada, those who did manage to migrate had the right to settle permanently. This does not apply to TFWs recruited through the S-LSO.

Post-war immigration policies and the introduction of the 1967 point system marked important qualitative shift in Canadian immigration policies. From the mid 1940s to the early 1960s Canada’s model gave preference to immigrants applying from identified preferred countries, namely the United Kingdom, the United States, France, and various Commonwealth countries. By the early 1960s Canada began moving toward a model of selecting entrants based on identified skill needs. The stated objective of the shift was to implement “tools for controlling the occupational composition of immigration” (Green and Green, 1995: 1007). Beginning in 1962, Canada began selecting newcomers based assessments regarding their individual attributes including personal characteristics like age, education, official language skills, and regional employment prospects for migrants’ skills. Sponsored dependents and nominated relatives were also identified under this new point system, though they received points for having relatives in Canada sponsoring them, and they could enter with less points than those required for independent applicants. Cumulatively, the implementation of the universal points system was guided by the objective of selecting newcomers based on perceived suitability to integrate into Canadian society, to be financially supported, and (most importantly) to address identified labour market needs based on regional and national demands (Green and Green, 1995; Ongley and Person, 1995).
Over the years, immigration policies have moved beyond explicitly race-based criterion, privileging instead occupational skills and higher levels of human capital. The 2001 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act institutionalized a framework for selecting entrants that rewarded higher levels of human capital rather than identified skill sets that would (in theory) resolve identified labour market pressures (Li, 1998, 2003; Reitz, 2004; Simmons, 2010). In its current form, Canada’s economic development project - and in turn, immigration program - prioritizes building a knowledge-based economy with a corresponding emphasis on human capital. Indeed, as Jason Kenney, the recent Minister of CIC stated, “‘we should pick the best and [the] brightest and seek to attract them in what is increasingly a global marketplace for human capital’” (in Chase, 2011).

The limits of Canada’s current immigration directive is that, as Saskia Sassen (1998) observes, socially undervalued, low-paid service sector workers are an integral component of the engine that supports the running of a knowledge-based economy. This is the case even if Canadian federal immigration policy wants to limit permanent entry to those with higher levels of human capital. Moreover, while Canada seeks to restrict permanent entry to a limited number of those it defines as skilled or those with financial resources to invest through initiatives like the Business Immigration Program (BIP), there is still a need for cleaners, meat packers and manual labourers to support the running of a knowledge-based economy. There are also unique regional and labour market pressures. The TFWP addresses the shortcomings of this development strategy both in that it responds to specific labour market pressures (real or perceived) and addresses needs for workers in the lower rungs of Canadian labour markets. Canada has moved from an immigration system of permanent migrant settlement toward a market-driven, temporary program. In so doing, these policy shifts are reshaping conditions for belonging in Canada.
2.2 From Multicultural to Precarious Belonging:

Conditions of belonging are historically and contextually specific and vary depending on the value systems and power relations that organize a society. As Yuval-Davis (2011) argues, these conditions are an intersection of multi-layered projects and struggles. There are different conditions for becoming full members of a polity though the state-citizen relationship plays a central role. In Canada, multiculturalism as an ideology has for decades defined the dominant model of belonging. It was first introduced in 1971 by then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau who declared that Canada would adopt multiculturalism as an official policy. Canada was the first country in the world to do so. Multiculturalism as a formal policy emphasizes respect for diversity. In Canada this includes the rights of Aboriginal peoples, acknowledgment of Canada’s two official languages (English and French), and the claim that immigrants “can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging” (CIC, 2013). Moreover, regardless of diversity, citizens (including racialized subjects) can expect to become full members of Canadian society.

As an official policy of belonging the multicultural framework implies that Canada is an immigrant nation of permanent migrant settlement. It is a place where diverse subjects immigrate to with the intent of settling, and upon arrival are encouraged to participate as equal members in the dominant society. They can expect to benefit from the rights associated with Canadian membership. This includes rights to access public settlement services like English courses and legal aid, and benefit from a generous welfare state including access to medical services and educational institutions. It also includes the ability to access employment insurance during difficult times and to sponsor the immigration of family members. In short, migrating to Canada
means benefitting from a government that takes care of its people in a society that celebrates diversity and equality. While research has shown that the multicultural model of belonging has always been more of an archetype than lived reality (e.g. Sharma, 2006; Thobani, 2007), the S-LSO represents a shift away from this model of belonging. As Rachel uncomfortably alludes, migrant workers are being recruited for temporary employment in low-status occupations without rights to belong to the Canadian polity. Precarious belonging has replaced the previous model of multicultural belonging.

Precarious belonging is the name I give to describe the new version of belonging that is starting to take form in Canada. It highlights the quantitative normalization of precarious status migrants with few and insecure pathways for transitioning from temporary to permanent status (e.g. Goldring and Landolt, 2012; 2013) and the new cultural and legal systems of exclusion denying newcomers the right to integrate and settle permanently. It differs from the multicultural model of belonging by denying newcomers access to the rights and benefits that have long been associated with migration and integration into Canada because of their temporary status, including the right to settle permanently and benefit from the welfare state through programs like settlement services and English language training courses. Moreover, it has institutionalized a model of cultural and legal exclusion in Canada. In so doing, it denies middle-class newcomer subjects meaningful access to legal protections, limits opportunities for upward mobility, forecloses opportunities for future generations to benefit from existing opportunities and in turn normalizes sentiments of non-belonging in the nation. The following describes the landscape in which precarious belonging is being normalized in Canada. In so doing I provide a framework for considering how the institutionalization of the S-LSO imposes barriers for migrants who are pursuing a multicultural, middle-class, permanent version of belonging.
2.3 Toward Social Exclusion and Precarious Belonging in Canada:

Precarious belonging includes marginalization along three dimensions of precarity: generalized precarity, employment precarity, and labour market precarity. Together, these three conditions of insecurity limit possibilities for belonging amongst relative newcomers (including Tim Hortons TFWs) as migrant subjects struggle to access middle-class, multicultural membership in Canada. Generalized precarity (the product of neoliberal state policies) has created conditions that generally deny newcomers opportunities for upward mobility through employment in a polarized labour market. Migrants face an inability to fully integrate and belong because of new legal and structural conditions that are mediating their conditions of reception.

The concept of precariousness is extensively employed to describe widespread conditions of risk and insecurity currently characterizing societies. Bourdieu (1998) was amongst the first to articulate precarity, introducing what he referred to as the “precarious generation”. This generation is burdened with a broad range of new risks and insecurities, which promotes common sentiments of insecurity and a generalized level of precariousness. Others have advanced theorizing on generalized precarity. Fantone (2007) argues that with the rise of the information and risk society insecurities prevail to the point that “precariousness is a life condition” (5). For Saskia Sassen (1998) globalization has produced systemic conditions of insecurity including a polarization in earning capacities and casualization in the employment relationship. A large segment of urban service sector workers are now increasingly engaged in new forms of employment-centered poverty (137). Cumulatively, this has encouraged general “trends toward greater inequality and insecurity” (138). Immigration is a constitutive means
through which this new general economic insecurity has been perpetuated, and as I show a central feature of the new transnational political economy.

Due to widespread and systemic conditions of insecurity, subjects like Tim Hortons migrant workers face increased risks and fewer options when entering Canada. Guy Standing (2011) introduced the concept of the *precariat* to describe these new widespread conditions of insecurity, emphasizing how neoliberalism has rendered a growing proportion of workers increasingly precarious. He describes this as “an agenda for transferring risks and insecurity onto workers and their families” (Standing, 2011: 1). The “precariat” represents a play-on-words, uniting the concepts of proletariat (wage worker) and precarious (insecure). The insecure wage worker, the precariat, faces a generalized insecurity. S/he does not represent a class unto itself, but rather belongs to a group of individuals with common and shared conditions of vulnerability to insecurity. Currently, millions around the world lack an anchor to stability because of neoliberal policies (Standing, 2011: 1). Standing (2011) observes that migrants increasingly represent a growing share of the world’s precariat (90).

For precariat subjects like the Tim Hortons TFWs in this study, employment and labour market conditions are central features that organize their insecurity in the labour market and marginalize them in broader society. The changing organizational context of the employment relationship is especially important. Increasingly, employment relations have shifted the balance of power further from workers to employers. The new social relations between employers and workers have contributed to dramatic transformations in societies. While varied, this generally includes greater economic inequality, higher rates of poverty, debt and bankruptcies, the dislocation of people physically, psychologically and morally, and a decline in the middle class
Risk, uncertainty, and unpredictability have been downloaded from employers to workers, creating favourable conditions for capital accumulation.

The social processes underlying labour market organization and a capital-friendly employment relationship shapes the experiences of precariat subjects like Tim Hortons TFWs. Cranford et. al. (2003) have proposed the “continuum of precarious employment” as a model for examining the social variables that influence degrees of precariousness in the Canadian labour market. They find that in Canada, gender, age, ‘race’ and ethnicity are important variables for determining degrees of employment precarity. Fuller and Vosko (2008) bolster these findings by empirically demonstrating that immigrant status, in conjunction with gender and ‘race’, also shape the ability of workers to negotiate precarious employment relations. Legal status is particularly important in shaping conditions of precarious employment. Goldring and Landolt (2012; 2013) introduce the concept of “precarious legal status” to describe all individuals without permanent residence status. They find that initial entry into the Canadian labour market with a precarious legal status is linked to long term negative economic outcomes, even after transition to a more permanent status (Goldring and Landolt, 2012; 2013). They also show that the labour market is segmented along lines of legal status and that precarious legal status increases probability of employment and labour market insecurity. Moreover, not everyone is equally vulnerable to conditions of economic and labour market precarity and those with precarious legal status are particularly vulnerable to low-waged and precarious employment.

What the above studies show is that in Canada (as elsewhere) a new norm of generalized precarity has emerged. Within this landscape precariats are more vulnerable to employment and labour market insecurity in what is increasingly a polarized labour market. Indeed, Filipino fast food TFWs are precarious status migrants, the majority of them racialized subjects, and
segmented into low-waged worksites in the bottom rungs of Canadian labour markets. This employment and labour market insecurity forecloses opportunities for them to be upwardly mobile and even if labour market conditions afforded newcomers security through access to well compensated employment, migrant workers are not legally allowed to circulate in the labour market. Rather than broad conditions of economic security and a large middle class, the context of reception for low-waged TFWs include polarized labour markets and a growth in conditions of employment-centered poverty. This is the landscape in which Tim Hortons migrant workers are trying to incorporate into Canada. These new conditions create significant barriers for the prospect of attaining a multicultural version of belonging precisely because the conditions in which belonging were previously facilitated no longer exist. Employment and labour market conditions in tandem with changes to immigration policies have institutionalized policies that promote precarious belonging for many newcomers to Canada. The power of employers to promote market-driven immigration policies have been central for ushering in a new version of cultural and legal exclusion amongst newcomers to Canada.

2.4 Meeting Employer Demands for TFWs in Tourism and Hospitality:

In Western Canada the tourism sector has actively lobbied provincial and federal levels of government for employer-friendly amendments to the LSPP, now the S-LSO. Changes have been geared towards facilitating the ease and speed by which employers can recruit and employ TFWs. As a member of the restaurant sector, Tim Hortons is considered a part of tourism and hospitality. They, along with other employers and corporations, have been actively involved with efforts to expand the TFWP. So, too, have other social actors in tourism and hospitality. In Western Canada, this includes tourism associations and councils like the Alberta Hotel and
Lodging Association, the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, The Canadian Tourism Human Resource Council, the Canadian Restaurant and Food Services Association, and Go2. Cumulatively, these organizations lobby for the interests of employers in the tourism sector through strategies like advocating for employer-friendly employment conditions (including lowering of minimum wages), public campaigns to improve the public image of tourism work, and conducting labour market research to empirically demonstrate the need for more workers. Tourism and hospitality encompasses numerous social actors including employers, capital stakeholders and industry associations. Together they have been an effective force in expanding the TFWP through convincing government officials that there is a labour shortage in western Canada’s service sector, and lobbying for programs that facilitate the ability of tourism employers to recruit TFWs.

Over the course of my research, labour recruiters, immigration lawyers and labour consultants identified 2005 to 2010 as a period of reluctance by the government to accept the existence of a labour shortage in the bottom tiers of service sector. Aggressive lobbying by the tourism industry had to occur for this attitude to change. As an immigration lawyer in Vancouver explained, during that period “there was an ideological opposition on the part of this government to the foreign worker program.....They weren’t anti-immigration at all. But they were anti-temporary immigration. And I’m not sure why the federal government was so scared of it....it took a lot of convincing” (Immigration Lawyer, Vancouver, 1 September 2010). As a labour consultant further explained, for recruitment of TFWs to really “take off” efforts had to be made to convince officials that there was a shortage. In his words, “the attitude was we understand the need for temporary foreign workers for nurses or for engineers but the culture, the mindset in that department [HRSDC]....was just go out and hire one.....that was sort of the milieu that we
operated in” (Labour Consultant, Vancouver, 14 September 2010). Moreover, in order for the recruitment of low-waged TFWs to occur including for employment in Tim Hortons restaurants the tourism industry had to convince the government that there was indeed a labour shortage.

At the turn of the millennium, the impending 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games made the tourism sector a central feature of British Columbia’s development project. As such, the Olympics rendered government particularly responsive to the identified needs of tourism and hospitality. The tourism and hospitality sector took advantage of this moment in history. In 2003, Go2 (a tourism NGO) was rebranded as part of an initiative to support the tourism industry’s plans to grow in British Columbia. It began by setting up a steering committee which included employers and corporate stakeholders. The objective was to garner support for employers’ claims that the sector was experiencing - and would continue to experience - labour market pressures. Go2 conducted labour market research in different regions of British Columbia and consulted with tourism stakeholders, including restaurant corporations like Tim Hortons and Boston Pizza. During an interview with a senior employee at GO2 in Vancouver on 24 August 2010, he recounted the organization’s role in initiating the expansion of the TFWP. He explained that in 2004 and 2005 the industry was already starting to feel labour shortages but no one was taking the lead in how to access more workers. So Go2 decided to get involved. There was already a low-skilled pilot project at the time, since 2002, but as he said, “there were virtually no occupations in the tourism industry that were being granted labour market opinions [the first step in the process of recruiting TFWs]”. So Go2 met with government officials but mainly Service Canada, the servicing arm of HRSDC. As he elaborated, “the attitude seemed to be it’s low-skilled, you should just go out and find somebody. You don’t have to bring someone over from the Philippines or whatever”. Given this perception, Go2 conducted a labour market study to
gather empirical data to lobby the government for access to TFWs. As he elaborated, “part of the reasons we were doing the labour market study was to quantify what industry already knew......So we strategically looked at the Whistler Area.....we were using that for support on why the TFWP should expand.....we made our point. And the government finally said OK we’ll start approving labour market opinions” (Go2 Employee, Vancouver, 24 August 2010). Pressure had to be exerted in order for the government to allow for, in practice, inclusion of service sector occupations although the LSPP existed in policy since 2002.

In explaining the government’s response to pressures for expansion of the TFWP, a senior-level government bureaucrat at Service Canada told me that while the TFWP has a longstanding history in Canada there was no program for low-skilled employers (outside of live-in caregiving or agricultural work) to recruit TFWs. As he explained, “it was because employers had repeatedly come to government saying they were unable to identify workers.......we brought in, based on industry feedback, the Low-Skilled Pilot” (Canadian Bureaucrat, Vancouver, 20 September 2010). He then elaborated that with the economic boom, “when things skyrocketed”, they created the Expedited Labour Market Opinion Project (E-LMO). The E-LMO was initially introduced in September 2007. The Alberta, British Columbia and Federal government announced the implementation of the project; the aim was to facilitate access to TFWs for occupations identified as experiencing acute shortages. Initially the project included only 12 occupations – largely in the construction, healthcare and hospitality industries – but by early 2008 this number had almost tripled to include 33 occupations. These lists were produced in consultation with industry. As he further elaborated, “if I look at the tourism and hospitality sector, we have longstanding, positive relationships with some of the key representative groups and that’s something that helps us on a regular basis in terms of identifying projected labour
market needs like the E-LMO and gaps in policy issues” (Canadian Bureaucrat, Vancouver, 20 September 2010). Amongst occupations identified as under pressure were construction labourers, hotel and hospitality room attendants, food counter attendants, and residential cleaning and support workers. The E-LMO was in operation until 15 April 2010, just over a month after the closing of the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games.

The termination of the E-LMO was repeatedly identified as a setback during research interviews by employers, labour consultants, immigration lawyers, and industry associations who felt frustrated by the implications of this decision. The E-LMO had reduced wait times for labour market opinions in relevant industries from (sometimes) months to 5 days, and with its termination wait times increased, though nowhere near the pre E-LMO era. The extension in the length of work visas to 24 months and subsequent reduction to 12 months meant that in practice employers had to recruit workers more frequently or engage in more paperwork for additional LMO and visa applications. Both shifts were repeatedly described by tourism stakeholders as significant setbacks. While all of my interview participants were well aware of the economic downturn and rising domestic unemployment levels, many stakeholders were nevertheless still openly critical of these policy changes, but especially the loss of the E-LMO. Some were quite candid that the growing unemployment rate is irrelevant to the ability of employers to attain food counter attendants; the shortage is not a numerical one but rather a question of available and preferred workers to labour in low-status jobs under unfavourable conditions. For instance, during an interview with a fast food labour consultant he explained that the LSPP (now the S-LSO) exists to recruit workers into occupations that are “unattractive to Canadians” and in which the only people available for the jobs are “people that you would not want to employ to serve food in the restaurant because you’ll lose your restaurant”. As he elaborated, while some of these
workers would like employment “they have to be able to handle customers, handle health regulations and do things in a reasonably methodical time manner, make change, and there’s lots of people out there that are not capable of that”. He later identified Aboriginal peoples, recent immigrants, and aging populations as constituting this group of undesirable workers. As he stated, “maybe with a lot of coaching, but when you’re running a Tim Horton’s or a Subway you are not running an employment repatriation course [laughs], you know?” (Labour Recruiter, Vancouver, 6 October 2010). Moreover, it is not a question of a numerical shortage but rather of preferred workers available for these jobs in the local labour market, and the ability of tourism and hospitality employers to now turn to global labour pools to staff their worksites.

The power Tim Hortons exerts both in the economy and within government is impressive and discernible when considered in relation to the TFWP. Tim Hortons was an active member on the “Labour Mobility Working Group” which resulted in the “The Canada-Mexico Partnership on Labour Mobility – Temporary Foreign Worker Pilot Project”, a bilateral labour mobility program between Canada, Mexico and the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba and Quebec. While bureaucrats and tourism stakeholders were often reluctant to name Tim Hortons or the corporation’s human resource specialists by name, many described Tim Hortons’ Labour Strategies Manager as a “maverick”, particularly concerning his participation in the working group and resultant bilateral labour mobility program. He was considered by many to have no reserve in promoting the interests of Tim Hortons (including the fast food sectors ability to recruit migrant workers) and willing to be vocal in defining these interests and lobbying the government. Under the Mexico-Canada bilateral labour mobility program, two pilot projects were launched, one for the Tourism/Hospitality sector, and the other for Construction. For
Tourism/Hospitality, food counter attendants are an included occupation in the pilot. Tim Hortons has streamed food counter attendants to Western Canada through this project.

On 18-19 October 2011 in Calgary, Alberta, I attended an industry conference on TFWs geared toward human resource specialists, recruiters and lawyers. In attendance were over 60 delegates, primarily employers, immigration lawyers, third party labour recruiters, human resource specialists, and medium to high-ranking government bureaucrats involved with the TFWP portfolio. Also present was a senior human resource specialist for the Tim Hortons Corporation. In observing interactions between Tim Hortons’ human resource specialist and government bureaucrats I initially thought the former was a high-ranking government bureaucrat. He appeared well acquainted with the majority of government bureaucrats and their exchanges were jovial and friendly. Those unacquainted with him (especially human resource specialists) swarmed around him. They appeared eager to make his acquaintance. On more than one occasion I witnessed government bureaucrats refer both employers and human resource specialists to the Tim Hortons human resource specialist when they themselves were unable to answer questions regarding the TFWP low-skilled stream. At one point during the conference a high ranking government bureaucrat proudly stood at the podium and referred to him as “our [the government’s] resident expert on the NOC-C/D Program”, the title widely employed by those in government to refer to the LSPP, now the S-LSO. Over the years I have observed government bureaucrats at Metropolis Conferences jokingly refer to the LSPP (now the S-LSO) as “the Tim Hortons Program”. Tim Hortons human resource specialists have made their mark with government and are knowledgable and reliant on the TFWP to the point of being regarded as the resident expert.
The ability of select industries and corporations to promote policy changes favourable to their interests reflects broader economic conditions and structures of power. As I demonstrate in chapter four, the Tim Hortons corporation is a major corporate entity in Canada; they control one-quarter of the fast food industry. In concert with other players in the tourism sector, they have championed the expansion of the TFWP in terms that largely benefit their interests. During the economic downturn there was a reversal in the willingness of government to allow the entry of migrant workers for employment in many occupations. Yet in both Canada and the Philippines stakeholders were amazed that fast food (but in particular, Tim Hortons) was continuing to recruit migrant workers, especially in contrast to other sectors where this option had contracted. Tellingly, on 23 September 2009 the Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, opted to take a tour of Tim Hortons’ plant in Oakville, Ontario, rather than attend Barack Obama’s first address to the United Nations General Assembly (Campion-Smith, 2009). The event was part of Tim Hortons public announcement that it would be returning its headquarters to Canada after fifteen years of being based in the USA. This action by Harper shows the importance of Tim Hortons as a corporate power and cultural entity in Canada. Tim Hortons, fast food, and the tourism sector have been powerful advocates in the expansion of the program. Their efforts have facilitated “low-skilled” employers’ abilities to transnationally recruit service sector workers.
2.5 Precarity Regulating Belonging:

The S-LSO is the migrant worker program through which “low-skilled” (NOC C&D) workers are recruited to Canada, including food counter attendants. Unlike the SAWP and the LCP, the S-LSO is a relatively new program. Since its adoption, it has experienced a series of ongoing amendments. At the federal level, the TFWP is jointly administered by Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC); this reflects the close integration of labour and immigration policy in practice.

Institutionally, HRSDC seeks to resolve labour market pressures while CIC regulates newcomer entry and the granting of citizenship. Together, they regulate employers’ recruitment and employment of migrant workers, with the provinces playing a pivotal role particularly with regard to applications for permanent residency under Provincial Nominee Programs (PNP).

At the outset, any employer seeking to recruit a TFW must apply for a Labour Market Opinion (LMO) from Service Canada, the servicing arm of HRSDC. An LMO is an application for a labour market analysis of the potential impact to job markets resulting from recruiting migrant workers in select regions and occupations. In theory, domestic workers should not be negatively affected by the labour market participation of migrant worker(s), including ensuring there is no displacement of local workers. Moreover, part of the LMO assessment includes verification that employers have gone through select steps deemed to denote efforts to draw labour from domestic labour pools. Previously, the E-LMO had defined certain occupations as chronically under pressure in Alberta and British Columbia, expediting (and almost guaranteeing) a positive LMO outcome for the 33 identified occupations, including food counter

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4 This does not include “low-skilled” workers recruited as the live-in domestics or agricultural workers who are recruited through the LCP or SAWP, respectively.
5 This applies only in theory. As I show in chapter four local workers are being displaced by the TFWP.
attendants. The termination of the E-LMO re-introduced a barrier that the tourism sector had worked hard to eliminate in their efforts to expand employer access to TFWs.

Once an employer has received a positive LMO from Service Canada, they can begin the recruitment process. For Filipino workers, Canadian employers (or their designated third-party labour recruiter) contract a recruiter in the Philippines who will conduct the recruitment on the ground in the Philippines. During the recruitment process, employers are solicited by the recruiter to specify the quality of the workforce they desire. The recruiter then goes about the task of attaining said workforce. Once a worker has been selected (often a joint effort between the recruiter and employer), the Canadian Embassy in Manila evaluates the visa application by considering the suitability of the applicant for temporary employment in Canada. Consideration is determined along numerous dimensions, including past work experience in the occupation, adequate levels of language capital to perform the job, education, health exams, and recent ties to the Philippines (the latter presumably ensuring the worker will not try to overstay their contract, or go “underground”). For food counter attendants, work visas extend to a maximum of 24 months, though they generally range from 12 to 24. The wage a worker is allocated in their contract must be consistent with the prevailing median wage identified in the National Occupational Classification (NOC) system. In Canada, every occupation is assigned a prevailing median wage, which is “the median hourly wage paid to Canadians working in an occupation in a specific geographical area” (HRSDC, 2013). In the case of unionized workers, the wage is allocated through the collective bargaining agreement. TFWP policy stipulates that TFWs must be extended the same benefits as those offered to domestic workers, including medical coverage and registration in compensation and workplace safe insurance plans. Employers must also cover
the transportation costs to and from Canada, and assist migrant workers in finding suitable and affordable accommodations (HRSDC, 2013).

In theory, TFWs enjoy the same employment rights as other workers in Canada. However, migrant workers are disproportionately vulnerable to exploitative working conditions, in part because their “temporary” citizenship status, vis-à-vis the state, disempowers them from accessing their employment rights (e.g., Goldring and Landolt 2012, 2013; Preibisch 2010; Preibisch and Encalada Grez 2010; Sharma 2002, 2006; Thomas 2010; Trumper and Wong 2007). TFWs recruited through the S-LSO also face challenges beyond the worksite that stem from the policies and regulations shaping the S-LSO. I found settlement workers to be especially informative about the kinds of challenges faced by service sector TFWs. A constant challenge identified was a desire to leave an abusive employer. As a settlement worker in Prince George told me during a phone interview, “We see problems between employers and employees. That’s the main issue. The worker is so upset and wants to leave the job but they also want to stay in Canada so they want us to help them get another employer. We sometimes try to help, but how can we? We are not in the employment industry, you know?” (Settlement Worker, Phone Interview, 5 October 2010). As another settlement worker in Vancouver echoed, “Many of them come and ask me to find employment for them....Many of the workers would come and tell me well if I want to be a whistle blower and talk about the issues, what is the protection that you can give me? And unfortunately I don’t have that” (Management Position in a Settlement Organization, Vancouver, 20 January 2011). Workers’ legal right to stay in Canada is tied to their employment contract meaning that in spite of maltreatment workers are unlikely to exit the employment relationship without another LMO and work contract.
Workers recruited under the S-LSO are denied the right to access settlement services unlike those recruited for permanent migrant settlement as well as migrant workers recruited through the LCP. This is a challenge for migrant workers both because they are excluded from settlement services like English language training courses but also because they do not technically have the right to access public advocacy support systems like legal aid which could potentially help them resolve employment or related issues. As a settlement worker said, “where can we refer these people? Who is the advocate that can help them? So at the level of advocacy there is really not much that can be done” (Settlement Worker, Vancouver, 14 September 2010).

As another settlement worker explained, “Many of them would come desperately and panicky looking for assistance......They would need legal representation [but] we don’t have the capacity.....of doing that......we cannot meet these demands (Settlement Worker, Vancouver, 20 January 2011).

The difficulties Tim Hortons workers face both in the worksite and beyond was often expressed by participants themselves during research interviews. Most migrant workers in my study told me at length about their work challenges including how their employers would speak rudely to them or assign them the most difficult tasks in the restaurants like taking out the garbage or cleaning the bathrooms, which they attributed to their migrant worker, (“non-Canadian”) status. Violations by employers including unpaid wages and overtime was also a point of stress for many workers. However, many were reluctant to confront their employers because they did not want to seem troublesome. Beyond my study, these challenges are widespread and have been featured in the news. For instance, in British Columbia four ex-Tim Hortons workers filed a human rights complaint against a franchise-owner in Dawson Creek. According to the complaint, the owner referred to these TFWs as “Mexican idiots”, assigned
them the most menial jobs in the restaurant, and punished them for speaking Spanish while on the job. Two of the workers were fired and sent back to Mexico (Carman, 2012).

Beyond the worksite, limitations surrounding accommodations was also a problem faced by migrant workers. Under the S-LSO employers have the responsibility to assist workers in finding suitable accommodations. Some employers capitalize on this policy by buying homes and over-charging TFWs on rent to pay off the mortgages. Others facilitate the ability of their friends to do the same. Subjects in my study made reference to this situation. One worker who was employed in Alberta told me that she and her roommates (who were also Tim Hortons TFWs) would take turns sleeping because there were five of them in a two-bedroom apartment owned by her employer. They were each charged seven hundred dollars a month for this accommodation (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Kalibo Philippines, 26 May 2011). In the Dawson Creek human rights case, the Tim Hortons franchise owner housed up to ten workers in a five bedroom house that he owned. He initially agreed to charge the workers two hundred dollars a month but later began charging them an additional two hundred dollars mid-month, raising the rent to four hundred dollars a month (Carman, 2012). The house was also a forty minute walk from the worksite which was inconvenient for the workers. In a similar case, a Mexican TFW (Erik Flores) was recruited to Regina, Saskatchewan, for employment in a Tim Hortons restaurant. The employer housed Flores and five other Mexican migrant workers in a three-bedroom basement suite owned by a friend. In the suite, there were no food preparation facilities beyond a microwave and bar fridge, the workers were denied the right to shower between midnight and six in the morning (which was a problem for some working the overnight shift), and they were each charged rents between five to six hundred dollars a month. In the case of Flores, beyond housing challenges the employer also owed Flores holiday pay which was
eventually reimbursed but only after the Saskatchewan government's Labour Standards Division reviewed the matter (Carletti and Davison, 2012).

As these examples show, low-waged migrant workers are segmented into sectors of the labour market with the most unfavourable work and employment conditions and are particularly susceptible to maltreatment including verbal abuse, being assigned the most difficult and unfavourable job tasks, unpaid wages, overpriced living conditions, and threats of / or repatriation. In the case of Filipino TFWs, this scenario is exacerbated by the migration histories linking the Philippines with Canada, and the misinformed belief on the part of many Filipinos that a temporary work contract in Canada will guarantee them permanent residency.

2.6 Migration Regimes and Prospects of Canadian Citizenship - the Case of the Philippines:

Filipinos have a long history of migrating to Canada both as immigrants and migrant workers. Given the migration history linking Canada and the Philippines, there is an inaccurate belief circulating in the Philippines that a temporary work contract in Canada will guarantee one permanent residency and eventually Canadian citizenship. During the 1960s and 1970s immigration to Canada by nurses was followed in the mid-1970s by immigration of garment workers and family members through family reunification policies. By the mid-1980s, Filipinas were being recruited primarily as live-in domestics under the Foreign Domestic Movement, now the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) (Pratt in Collaboration with the Filipino-Canadian Youth Alliance 2003). Under the LCP, workers can initiate the process of attaining permanent residency once a set of criteria have been met. Moreover, while imperfect they have a direct institutionalized path toward permanent residency through the LCP. The S-LSO therefore marks
a shift from permanent to temporary migration because under the S-LSO the prospect of attaining permanent residency is both indirect (it is initiated by the employer at their discretion) and numerically improbable (many workers are not selected for permanent residency). However, because of Canada’s migration history with the Philippines, the discourse that circulates in the Philippines is that a temporary work contract in Canada will lead to permanent residency. As one of my research participants stated, “Because the nannies, or the women caregivers, after two years they get nominated.....So I thought for sure, me too” (Tim Hortons Worker, Vancouver, 25 April 2011).

The prospect of being nominated for permanent residency and the presumed benefits associated with Canadian citizenship exerts a strong disciplinary force on workers. As a returned Tim Hortons TFW told me, “They [the employer and managers] treat you bad but is part of the work......it is OK because I am motivated....[I used to think] maybe I will be nominated this year” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Puerto Princesa City, 17 June 2011). By “nominated” Filipino migrant workers are referring to the possibility of being nominated for permanent residency and eventually attaining Canadian citizenship through the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). PNP programs are immigration programs jointly administered by CIC and respective provincial governments. Their stated objective is to fast-track employer nominated temporary foreign worker applicants for permanent residency into occupations identified as under pressure (Government of Alberta, 2013).

In the western provinces of Alberta and British Columbia there are PNP programs that fast-track permanent residency applications for food counter attendants. In Alberta, fast food workers can be nominated under the “Semi-Skilled Foodservices Industry Pilot Project” and in British Columbia the “Entry Level and Semi-Skilled Category, Tourism and Hospitality”.
Unbeknownst to most workers, however, is that nomination under the PNP is not the same as attaining permanent residency through the LCP. While LCP workers initiate the immigration process after meeting a set of criteria, under the PNP employers have the power to decide whether they even want to nominate a worker. Tellingly, in 2011 just over 38,000 workers were admitted under all PNP programs, in contrast to the over 190,000 TFWs admitted to Canada that same year (CIC, 2012). The TFWP and PNP therefore creates fierce competition amongst workers to be the “chosen one” selected for nomination. In fact, in Alberta fast food employers can only nominate one temporary foreign worker per restaurant, a framework encouraging workers to be disciplined and motivated for the (improbable) chance of attaining Canadian citizenship.

As the discussion of how the S-LSO lends itself to employment abuse and maltreatment showed, migrant workers recruited through the S-LSO are often willing to accept employment violations for the opportunity to be legally granted access to permanent residency and a middle-class, multicultural version of belonging. As I elaborate in chapter five, they will often perform the most difficult work tasks, not complain over unpaid wages, live in over-priced accommodations, and sometimes accept outright abuse for the opportunity to access the promises they associate with Canada. This provides employers with a relatively permanent workforce and one that is highly disciplined and eager in a low-waged and low-status occupation. This marks a significant change from previous immigration programs. Rather than qualified newcomers benefitting from an immigration program that allows them to legally integrate (like the Federal Skilled Workers Program or LCP), the S-LSO empowers employers’ with the ability to regulate the opportunity for legal incorporation through inserting employers directly into the immigration
process. In the process, this limits opportunities for workers to culturally and legally belong in Canada, to the benefit of low-waged employers.

2.7 Precarity Shaping Belonging and the Social Fabric of Canada:

In this chapter I have described the new cultural and legal landscape through which newcomer belonging is currently being regulated in Canada. Drawing from research on Canadian immigration policy, literature on precarity, and studies of employment patterns in Canada, I advance a framework for theorizing practices of discrimination and the institutionalization of non-belonging through recent amendments to Canadian labour and immigration policy. I refer to this new model of exclusion as conditions of “precarious belonging”. Rather than the previous framework of multicultural belonging whereby individuals were granted access to the full range of opportunities that exist in Canada, precarious belonging denies subjects access to inclusion along contextually significant cultural and legal dimensions. In the case of Canada, precarious belonging includes limiting opportunities for upward mobility, denying meaningful access to legal protections, normalizing sentiments of non-belonging from the dominant culture, and foreclosing the opportunities for future generations to benefit from existing opportunities. This is juxtaposed to the multicultural model of belonging which promotes inclusion along these dimensions. Through the introduction of temporary labour programs like the S-LSO a system of legal and cultural discrimination is being institutionalized in Canada. The purpose of this chapter has been to consider the role of the S-LSO and the Tim Hortons Corporation in promoting conditions of discrimination and non-belonging through market-driven immigration policies.

I began this chapter by outlining a definition of Canadian belonging and the value systems that have shaped the cultural and legal framework of belonging in Canada. I show how
through the values systems of multiculturalism and the welfare state, belonging includes the promise of generous social services, opportunities for mass consumption, and general sentiments of belonging and incorporation within the nation. While these ideas have always represented more a fantasy than lived reality, I show how recent amendments to immigration policies have exacerbated exclusion and discrimination along these lines. Indeed, the normalization of precarious status migrants and the challenges they confront bears witness to these new realities. Moreover, while racism and discrimination has largely characterized how newcomers have been integrated into Canada previous immigration policies have been more inclusive concerning prospects for cultural and legal belonging. To illustrate these changes in incorporation I have outlined the migration histories linking the Philippines with Canada and the significance of changes in immigration policies to prospects of belonging.

Filipino nationals have a long standing history of migrating to Canada first as immigrants, and later through family reunification and migrant worker programs. Both as immigrants and through the LCP Filipino newcomers could once reasonably expect to be incorporated into the legal and cultural framework of belonging in Canada. First, they had the right to access the services available to citizens and permanent residents through the welfare state or reasonably expect to eventually gain access to these services after meeting a set of criteria under the LCP. Second, possessing permanent resident status, or having a direct pathway toward permanent residency, could also be translated into a reasonable expectation that future generations would also benefit from the promises of Canada. Further, the expectation of permanent residency also meant more cultural inclusion within the dominant cultural fabric of the nation. However, through programs like the S-LSO these conditions are increasingly no longer the norm. Now, the growing presence of precarious status migrants and conditions of
precarious belonging is being institutionalized through immigration policy. Even under these conditions Filipino migrant workers actively pursue conditions of middle-class, multicultural belonging at improbable odds.

PNP programs are immigration programs through which migrant workers can be transitioned from temporary to permanent status. The conditions for being transitioned from temporary to permanent status, however, are limited, highly arbitrary and dependent on an employer nomination. As I have shown, this renders TFWs vulnerable to a range of work and employment violations and susceptible to abuse and non-inclusion within the broader society. This framework also forecloses the opportunity for future generations to benefit from the promises of belonging in Canada. On a global scale, fierce competition by migrant sending countries to supply workers across the world coupled with the eagerness of subjects to pursue the promises they associate with Canada are an important component of facilitating these kinds of cultural and legal discrimination practices in host destinations. We now turn to the Philippines to explore how Filipino labour recruiters and the labour brokerage state shape these conditions of non-belonging and promote temporary labour migration of subjects like Camille to western Canada.
3 Specialized Bodies for Specialized Destinations: Transnational Flows of Filipino Migrant Workers to Western Canada’s Fast Food Industry

On 28 April 2011 in Vancouver, British Columbia, I met with a Filipino bureaucrat at the Philippine Consulate General office, elsewhere known as the Philippine Overseas Labour Office (POLO). I was excited about the meeting, eager to gain a more personal and Canadian-based account of the Filipino migration apparatus and its transnational regulation. POLO offices are the operating arm of the Philippine government’s Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) in receiving countries. They exist primarily to administer and enforce the Filipino government’s policies and programs as related to Overseas Foreign Workers (OFWs). Moreover, they are one component of the highly celebrated Filipino labour brokerage state that manages migration through mobilizing, exporting and regulating the flows of migrants to and from the Philippines (Rodriguez, 2010).

Upon commencing the interview I realized how fortunate I was to be meeting with Manuel [pseudonym], my research participant. He had a wealth of first hand experience working in POLO offices across the world, and spoke freely of the situation of OFWs in comparative perspective. Manuel began by describing the role of the Philippine Consulate General office in Canada and elsewhere, its diplomatic and marketing practices, and his views on the benefits of temporary labour migration. He also relayed his insights of why countries like Canada require Filipino OFWs:

“My labour market analysis of Canada is that this is a country which really needs immigrants and foreign workers.......It [Canada] cannot close its doors....First, if you talk about the area it’s so huge. You really need people. Second, it’s an aging society. The birth rate is so low. Most of the people are in senior homes already you know?..........You need immigrants, foreign workers to run the society. And in the Philippines, we have so many workers!.......If you close your doors who’s going to clean the toilet? Who’s going to wash the cars? Who’s going to wheel the disabled and elderly? Who’s going to serve the food at the counter?” (Filipino Bureaucrat, Vancouver, 28 April 2011).
Manuel’s account offers a glimpse into key dynamics underlying Filipino labour migration to Canada. While most Filipino TFWs in Canada are highly educated (Pratt, 1999), they are recruited to work primarily in low-status occupations that domestic workforces are generally unmotivated to work in, such as cleaning toilets, washing cars, caring for the elderly, and serving food behind the counter of fast food restaurants. His comment is also a very pragmatic acknowledgement of the discrepancies between Canadian and Filipino labour markets. Canada is a country with an aging population and a low birth rate. In contrast, the Philippines has an over abundance of young workers eager to be selected for employment abroad. Moreover, Manuel’s description reveals that he considers global labour migration to be the result of complementary shortcomings in transnationally connected regions.

Over the course of my research in both Canada and the Philippines other social actors offered similar descriptions to explain the labour flows linking the Philippines with Western Canada. As Lao [pseudonym], a Manila-based Filipino bureaucrat employed at the Philippines’ Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) elaborated “the unique situation that Canada finds itself in with its acute labour shortages was a good match for the Philippines overabundance of labour. It’s an aging population......You couldn’t find people to flip your burgers [locally so]........you’ve got these people [Filipino TFWs] to help you out” (Filipino Government Bureaucrat, Manila, 28 June 2011). Moreover, the characteristics of available labour pools and the social undervaluing of many occupations in tandem with existing transnational networks underlies labour migration practices.

Like Lao and Manuel, many studies have explained the global movement of workers from developing to developed countries by emphasizing Northern countries’ economic growth and severe demographic decline and so-called reserve armies of (young), eager and available
workers in the global South (e.g. Borjas, 1990; Munck, 2005; Piore, 1979; Sassen, 1988). The shift towards temporary labour migration over permanent migrant settlement is considered the product of these and other natural complements (like skill discrepancies) between different countries’ strengths and weaknesses. Indeed, this logic has clearly led subjects like Lao and Manuel to view the global movement of workers as a “win-win” situation for sending and receiving countries like the Philippines and Canada. However, while persuasive these macro-structural accounts imply that “humans are more or less atomistic individuals that operate in an institutional, social, and cultural void” (Haas, 2008: 9). The social and cultural context in which the global workforce migrates is absent from these structural accounts.

In this chapter, I examine how Filipino migrant workers are selected and prepared for export in what is increasingly a landscape of specialized bodies for specialized destinations. In a progressively more globalized world wherein a growing number of countries supply workers to meet global demands (Stalker, 2000), employers have the capacity to be significantly more choosy about their workforce when drawing from global labour pools. For example, transnational employers can ‘pick labor’ on dimensions like sex, ‘race’ and nationality (Preibisch, 2010). Scholars like Guevarra (2010) and Rodriguez (2010) show that compared to other sending countries the Philippines has a comparative advantage because it can deliver docile, hardworking, English-speaking and loyal workers. It accomplishes the delivery of these coveted workers through the workings of the Philippine’s highly regulated migration apparatus (Rodriguez, 2010). Additional research shows that beyond qualities like “hardworking” and “loyal”, employers drawing from global labour pools also make assessments about worker suitability along dimensions like age, gender, ‘race’, nationality and religious orientation (e.g. Lazaridis, 2000; Margold, 1995; Tacoli, 1999). Moreover, having the opportunity to recruit from
abroad facilitates employers’ ability to be more selective and recruit their preferred workforce, even for low-status occupations.

In this study I seek to build on these bodies of literature by showing how beyond supplying workers with a “comparative advantage” (including traits like docile, hard working, and loyal) (Guevarra, 2010; Rodriguez, 2010) the Philippines aims to deliver workers with knowledge of cultural norms in host destinations. This is another dimension through which the Philippines seeks to deliver a “superior workforce”, subjects better equipped than other foreign nationals to navigate the cultural landscape of the receiving destination. A transnational “migration industry” (Castles and Miller, 2003: 114) has emerged that facilitates job matching between employers and workers along dimensions like ‘race’, age, nationality, gender and skill set. These social actors (including government bureaucrats, human resource specialists, and labour recruiters) play an important role in the social organization of globalized labour markets through selecting, preparing and delivering workers to global employers. As I show, the ability to culturally navigate the host context is a dimension of job matching that the Philippines (through its highly regulated migration apparatus) prioritizes when selecting and preparing workers for export. Along with bureaucrats and recruitment agencies, worker preferences for desired destination sites also mediate these flows.

The Filipino labour brokerage state stimulates migration flows amongst its nationals by producing and reproducing ideas and desires to migrate to specific destinations. Worker preferences for select destinations influences the desires of workers to be inserted onto specific circuits based (in part) on the hierarchal ordering of these ideas and destinations. This in turn shapes the social characteristics of flows beyond brokering activities. In the case of my study, Canadian fast food employers gain access to highly qualified workers in part because of the
favorable ideas associated with Canada and its high location on the hierarchy, as described in the previous chapter. Indeed, Canada is imagined favourably especially in contrast to other potential destinations like Asia and the Middle East. Cumulatively these processes and conditions facilitate the ability of Tim Hortons employers to be very choosy and receive a specialized worker for employment in their franchise restaurants.

3.1 The Filipino Labour Brokerage State and the Production of Desires: the role of Culture in the Delivery of Superior Workers:

The Philippines has received considerable scholarly attention for its unmatched role in labour brokering and exporting workers across the globe (e.g. Gonzalez, 1998; Lorente, 2011; Parreñas, 2001, 2013). Scholars like Guevarra (2010) and Rodriguez (2010) have paved the way for better understanding how the Filipino migration apparatus operates. In particular, they illustrate the means through which government bureaucrats and recruitment agencies produce “superior” Filipino workers for export. Rodriguez (2010) provides a detailed account of how the Filipino labour brokerage state accomplishes this task through a three-pronged strategy of researching markets, training workers and documenting mobility.

The Philippines researches global labour markets to identify (anticipated) shortages of workers in foreign labour markets. The two institutional bodies involved in labour market research are the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) through its Marketing Branch, and the International Labor Affairs Service (ILAS) through consular and POLO offices in host destinations. Moreover, researching labour markets is a transnational and diplomatic process. In the Philippines, the POEA’s Marketing Branch researches countries anticipated to face labour shortages by region (like Europe, the Americas and the Middle East).
In the receiving context employees of ILAS (who work as bureaucrats in consular and POLO offices) conduct complementary research on the ground. They do so through activities like networking with employers, business associations, and liaising with local government officials. Together, this two-pronged strategy is coordinated to identify labour shortages and market Filipino workers on the ground in (potential) host destinations.

In the introduction of this chapter I introduced Manuel, an employee of the Filipino consulate office in Vancouver. Through his job at the Filipino consulate office in Vancouver, Manuel is involved with identifying labour demands in western Canada, relaying this information to the POEA’s Marketing Branch, and marketing Filipino workers in western Canada. As Manuel explained “Marketing is part of my diplomatic work. I go and try to convince them [local employers] to recruit Filipino workers over other foreign workers.......To impress upon them that we have the necessary skills to do the job. ‘Very good workers, we’re all over the world. Most of our employers are satisfied with their performance’” (Filipino Government Bureaucrat, Vancouver, 28 April 2011). Similarly, as Jose [pseudonym] from the POEA’s Marketing Branch in Manila explained to me:

“The Philippine overseas labour office [in receiving countries]....is providing us with information..... They are our eyes, ears, and soul in the foreign land. That’s the biggest part of their work, aside from the documentation of the Filipino workers jobs. So, they are there to look after opportunities. Where are they, and what are they? Can the Philippines come into the picture?......Who will be starting us to proceed in [marketing] missions? Try and check this out. Tell the [recruitment] agencies......that these occupations exist in Canada” (Government Bureaucrat, Manila, 21 July 2011).

Jose’s framing of overseas labour offices as the state’s “soul” in the foreign land is revealing of the value to which deployment of migrant workers is held by the Filipino government. The soul is the essence of a person, the nature of their identity. Moreover, the essence of the Filipino state is labour migration. As Manuel noted, he markets Filipino workers in cities like Vancouver as
part of his diplomatic work (for ILAS). As I learnt from Jose concerning the marketing process, subjects like Manuel provide employers with marketing booklets (such as “Hiring Filipino Workers: Employers Guide”) and videos (like “World’s No. 1”). Upon request, I was provided a copy of the latter from a POEA employee during my field research in the Philippines.

World’s No. 1 is a 15 minute video aimed at convincing local employers like Tim Hortons that the “great Filipino worker is the world’s number 1”. This message is relayed repeatedly in the video by showcasing young, attractive workers, emphasizing the rigorous educational systems workers must go through to be considered for employment abroad, and glowing recommendations by past employers. For example, we are told that because of their hard working, adaptable, loyal, fun-loving, caring, and daring spirits, “the Filipino [is] the preferred choice in the international labour market”. Indeed, “aside from the natural traits that set him aside from the rest, the Filipino worker has the competitive advantage over other nationals of labour sending countries. His education, training, and work values give him the distinct edge”. Moreover, “the Filipino worker has a passion for excellence in every work he does. The Filipino worker embodies hard work and dedication. The Filipino worker is a global worker, a competent and dependable worker....foreign employers are guaranteed only the best. Truly, the Filipino worker has made his global mark as the worlds’ no_1.” (DOLE, 2009).

Marketing materials like “World’s No. 1” and the qualities foreign employers are promised if they select Filipino workers is a point of interest for critical scholars. The Filipino labour brokerage state promises quality, cheap workers (Rodriguez, 2010), but also a workforce that has a comparative advantage. Their added export value as labour commodities derives from global tropes, including the trope of productive femininity (Guevarra, 2010). According to productive femininity, female workers are better suited to meet objectives of capital
accumulation because of their feminine qualities, including being cheap, docile, dexterous and obedient (see: Salzinger 2003). Filipino OFWs - particularly Filipino women - are considered to have a comparative advantage over other Third World subjects. The dimensions constituting this comparative advantage include the qualities featured in the video “World’s No. 1”, like docile, hard-working, English-speaking, loyal workers. Moreover, through the labour brokerage state’s marketing strategy (including activities on the part of POEA and ILAS bureaucrats) the Philippines competes with other countries to supply workers. The second strategy through which they attempt to establish their superiority is through the training of workers.

The training of workers with the skill sets needed to meet global demands is the second feature of the Filipino labour brokerage state. To accomplish this task the state relies on the transnational marketing research of ILAS and POEA officers. Based on this information they ascertain projected needs for workers (like nurses, construction workers or welders) and work towards preparing workers in the Philippines with these skill sets. Moreover, the range of program offerings are meant to align with global demands. The Filipino government accomplishes this through its Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA). TESDA’s mandate as a government agency is to train Filipino workers for the national and foreign labour markets (though it invests significant resources and energies on the latter). Through TESDA, the Filipino state licenses private facilities to offer courses and certification for a range of globally in-demand occupations like household domestics and welding (Rodriguez, 2010: 35). Indeed to be approved for deployment abroad many occupations require that the migrant receive certification from a TESDA course. The certification of workers is also how the Philippines markets its comparative advantage over other sending states; workers that are certifiably skilled for the specific occupation. The process of training workers is an important
element of manufacturing a workforce that is disciplined and with a comparative advantage (Guevarra, 2010).

The last process through which the Philippine state brokers workers to the world is through a documentary process. The goal of documentation is to promote the orderly and efficient movement of workers from and to the Philippines. Indeed, an important promise of the Filipino labour brokerage state is not only the ability to deliver a superior workforce but also a guarantee of returning workers to the Philippines post-contract. Documentation (like marketing efforts) is organized through the POEA. For a fee the POEA ensures that migrants have the necessary visas and related documentation to legally enter their specific host destination. Like with TESDA training courses, the Philippines generates significant revenues through the mandatory processing of migrant worker documents.

Robyn Rodriguez’s (2010) study of how the Filipino state brokers “superior worker” to global employers traces the discursive and institutional processes by which the Filipino migration apparatus operates. Detailing how migrants are prepared for export she offers a critical framework for analyzing how feminized and racialized subjects possessing essentialized Filipino traits are produced, and how they are marketed and deployed to employers across the globe (63). These flexible workers - embodying the qualities featured in the video “Worlds’s No. 1” - underscore the promise of the Filipino worker. As her account implies, this process is purposive; “Filipino labour”, with its distinctive qualities and the promise of a comparative advantage is being mobilized to generate remittances that can be leveraged to alleviate a failing economy and address exorbitant levels of national debt. The state engages in these practices irrespective of the vulnerability it exposes Filipino workers to, including the dependent position it places workers in vis-à-vis employers, labour recruiters, and other labour market intermediaries. What is absent
from her and Guevarra’s (2010) description is how specialized workers, embodying specific qualities, are manufactured for distinct regions. Indeed, while quality, cheap workers are the promise of the “superior” Filipino worker, my empirical data suggests that specialized workers are marketed and delivered for employment in distinct destinations. Moreover, as Lorente (2011) argues, the Filipino state does more than market, produce and deliver an essentialized Filipino worker. Instead, these workers are “superior” because they can “fit” anywhere in the world (185). The ability to “fit” involves supplying workers who embody the characteristics deemed appropriate for the region and occupation in question, and who can navigate the cultural landscape of the host destination.

Lorente (2011) focuses on language and draws primarily from secondary data including internet sources to show how the Filipino government creates culturally and linguistically appropriate workers for export. I build on Lorente’s theoretical claims by showing how cultural sensibilities and workers’ preference for desired destinations also influence choices about migration and mediate labour flows. I draw from interview, ethnographic and Freedom of Information (FOI) data to show how a host of transnational social actors produce subjects capable of navigating the cultural landscape of Canada for employment in Tim Hortons restaurants. With a large reserve army of workers embodying a range of qualities and eager to engage in global labour migration, the delivery of specialized bodies for specialized destinations is the comparative advantage of the Filipino migration apparatus. Willingness on the part of workers to identify with marketed qualities is likewise an important feature of delivering specialized bodies, a process explored in further detail in chapters four and five.
3.2 The Social Organization of Global Labour Flows: A Hierarchy of Workers and Destinations:

The Philippines competes with other labour sending countries to transnationally supply workers to employers across the world. While “win-win” discourses implicitly suggest that any (cheap) worker will suffice in fulfilling labour needs for low-status occupations, patterns in global labour migration show that different sets of workers get put onto different circuits of labour and segmented into different occupations. For instance, most female migrants get streamed for employment in “low-skilled” occupations like childcare, domestic and sex work (e.g. Kofman, 2004; Anderson, 2000; Chang and Ling, 2002; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003). Men dominate amongst those deployed for high-skilled occupations in the upper tiers of the knowledge economy (Castles, 1996) though large numbers of men get streamed to low-status occupations like construction and manufacturing in locations like the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan (Wickramasekera, 2000). Indian workers have become widely recognized in the information technology sector (e.g. Aneesh, 2006). However, the bulk of Indian migrant workers are low-status male workers in the Gulf States employed in occupations like construction (Abella and Ducanes, 2009). Mexican workers have a long history of performing agricultural work through circular migration programs like the Bracero Program and SAWP (e.g. Basok, 2004, Preibisch, 2010), though they (along with Central American workers) also cross the border into the United States as irregular migrants and are segmented into occupations like childcare, restaurant work, and janitorial work (e.g. Aguiar and Herod, 2006; Hanson, 2006). Moreover, different migrants from different source countries fill occupational demands in distinct destinations. The preferences of employers plays a role in this social organization of flows.
Religious orientation is an important dimension through which foreign worker suitability is assessed by employers in transnationally supplied worksites. For instance, in Lazaridis’ (2000) study of domestic work in Greece she discovered that Filipina domestic workers are preferred over Albanians. As she explains, Albanians are viewed by employers and the broader society as morally suspect Muslims, the “enemy at the doorstep” (55) whereas Filipina women are regarded as morally upright “nice Catholic girls” (55). Tacoli (1999) draws similar conclusions in her study of domestic workers in Rome. As she observes, employers prefer workers from countries like the Philippines and Latin America because of their predominantly Catholic upbringing. In Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States Margold (1995) found that an intersection of nationalist, religious, class and gender politics combined to culturally position Asian workers as preferable over foreign Arab labourers. As she found, in the construction industry non-Muslim Asians including Filipinos were preferred over other Asian source countries because they were considered unlikely to espouse pan-Arabist and Islamic ideals. They were viewed as “cleaner” (and therefore preferable) to Bangladeshis and Sri Lankan workers (Margold, 1995: 287). Beyond religion and local racisms, Li et. al. (1998) have shown that levels of education and language skills influenced employer recruitment preferences in Hong Kong. Of potential source countries, women from the Philippines were considered the ideal workforce for domestic and care work, especially over women from Thailand and Indonesia. Particularly amongst professional and better educated Chinese employers, Filipinas were esteemed because they could assist children with their homework and English language education. Moreover, taken broadly these studies show that in globally supplied worksites employers have socially and contextually specific preferences concerning preferred workforces. The Filipino migration apparatus is aware of the specialized bodies expected by employers in specialized destinations and aims to deliver
these workers (including workers with the cultural knowledge to navigate the host context in question) through its migration apparatus.

3.3 Manufacturing Cultural Subjects for Export:

The Filipino labour brokerage state organizes the various components of its migration apparatus to produce specialized workers for export. In 2007 the POEA proposed new guidelines in its “Reform Package affecting Household Service Workers”. Amendments would require household service workers to attend an OWWA country-specific language and cultural orientation. In theory, the orientation would facilitate workers’ ability to navigate the cultural norms in the receiving context. It would also include a specification of “dos and don’ts” in receiving destinations (Lorente, 2011: 196-201). Aside from preparing workers for overseas employment, the reforms would simultaneously facilitate the state’s ability to demonstrate workers’ “certified knowledge of the ‘necessary’ language and culture of their destination countries” (Lorente, 2001: 200). My ethnographic data shows that pre-Departure Orientation Seminars (PDOS) serve much the same purpose. During the summer of 2011, I attended six PDOS in Manila, including a session for migrant workers being prepared for employment in Canada.

PDOS are mandatory workshops for all emigrants and OFWs. In theory, they are meant to prepare migrants for employment and settlement abroad. Migrants must attend the session that corresponds to their migration; they are organized by immigrant status and skill and country designation. Different divisions of the Filipino labour brokerage state conduct PDOS sessions. For emigrants, sessions are conducted by the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO). For OFWs, PDOS sessions are organized by the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration.
(OWWA) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) subcontracted to conduct orientations\textsuperscript{6}. The former conducts PDOS for a limited number of countries including Canada. In contrast, NGOs conduct sessions primarily for those classified as “unskilled”, including domestic and construction workers bound for Asia and the Middle East\textsuperscript{7}.

PDOS range from half-day to full-day events. Content wise topics discussed include travel regulations, immigration procedures, and settlement concerns. Through attending six sessions, it became clear that there are general consistencies across orientations. In half the sessions I attended representatives from various banks were invited to give presentations, showcasing the ease by which remitting money could be facilitated through their institutions. In the remaining sessions, workers were advised of places they could go to get information regarding methods for remitting money. Workers were also reminded of the various government criteria they have to meet in order to be cleared for departure, including medical exams and PDOS sessions. A significant proportion of time was spent discussing regulations for travel, including appropriate luggage size and prohibited items of travel. While the general content of orientations were fairly standard including the obligations of Filipino migrants to their families and country, emphasis on cultural differences were also emphasized and markedly differed across sessions such as religion and gendered norms. As my data suggests, the process of preparing workers along dimensions of cultural difference is also an important feature of producing specialized migrants for export.

\textsuperscript{6} In some cases recruitment agencies run these orientations or are invited to assist in the facilitation. I explore this practice in more detail in chapter four.

\textsuperscript{7} Interestingly, the process of defining the skill level of workers and occupations in the Philippines includes factors like the status of the host country. Canada is not regarded to be a country that receives “low-skilled” workers (even for occupations like fast food) in part because of the status of Canada as a receiving destination. This theme is explored in further detail in chapter four.
On 25 June 2011 I observed a PDOS session for “low-skilled” workers organized by an NGO in Manila. There were 8 female participants at the session on that day, all contracted as domestic helpers for employment in the Middle East. Five of the participants had been previously deployed, while the remaining participants were novices. There were two presenters facilitating the session on that day, a Filipino man in his early forties and an older Filipina woman wearing a hijab. On the walls were large posters with Arabic text and a map of the Middle East. The space suggested the NGO conducts sessions primarily for workers en route to the Middle East, an observation later confirmed by the male facilitator. The content of the presentation emphasized Middle Eastern culture, religion, gendered norms, and techniques for navigating employment in that context.

At the outset, workers were warned that countries like the UAE, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are a “different world” from that of the Philippines. Respect for human life (but especially women) is not the same “over there”; it is crucial OFWs understand these differences and their place within that broader society. Much of the presentation revolved around these presumed cultural norms, including strategies for navigating a Middle Eastern destination. The women were encouraged to wear a head-scarf, cautioned to avoid unnecessary time in public, or making direct eye contact with men. They were discouraged from taking non-Muslim religious items with them and told to avoid religious conversations, unless directly questioned by their employer. The importance of establishing an obedient relationship with the female head of the household was also stressed, and they were told to avoid unnecessary contact with male household members. If the father of the house says “Maria, can you help me to take a bath?”, participants are instructed to respond “I am sorry sir, this is not part of my contract”. The facilitator later explained that rape amongst Filipina domestic workers by employers is rampant
in the Middle East.\textsuperscript{8} Other methods for avoiding sexual advances were also suggested by the facilitators, and the participants were reminded of their role as mothers, wives and “good Filipina women”. Moreover, gendered norms and racial hierarchies in both the home and broader society was the focus of the presentation. Also emphasized were strategies for behaving appropriately and navigating this new cultural context.

The session for emigrants bound for Japan was very different from that for migrants en route to the Middle East. On 6 June 2011 I attended a session for emigrants heading to Japan. While the orientation for the Middle East could be characterized as manufacturing workers through a strategy of despotism and fear, for Japan the emphasis was on motivating migrants to respect hierarchies and Japanese mannerisms and practices. A male facilitator was organizing this particular session. Much like the presentation for those bound for the Middle East, the facilitator began with, “the culture......Japan [it] is very different”. According to the facilitator, Japanese people are a reserved group of individuals with a more closed and serious culture. Hierarchies and demonstrating respect is of utmost importance for the Japanese, unlike dynamics characterizing relations between Filipinos. It is therefore highly inappropriate to treat them as one might treat a fellow Filipino. To that end, they are warned against being too loud, making too much physical contact, or cracking jokes. The facilitator would describe normative practices in the Philippines (like touching an acquaintance or commenting on a stranger’s baby) and once respondents were nodding he would explain that one does not do that in Japan. They are encouraged to bow their heads (especially with bosses and other superiors) and instructed to avoid making direct eye contact. There was a strong emphasis on appropriate ways to behave with one’s bosses and future husbands, and strategies for earning the respect of one’s superiors.

\textsuperscript{8} One recruiter told me that increasingly it is not even fathers committing these offenses but instead their teenaged sons.
The facilitator even demonstrated bowing techniques and the lowering of one’s head. Emigrants were also warned against the theft of their organs by people posing as medical professionals, similar to the warnings of rape to domestic helpers in the orientation for the Middle East. They were advised that if a doctor informs them they require surgery they should refrain from future contact, and if they are still concerned about their medical condition to return to the Philippines for further medical examination. The facilitator later explained there have been an increasing number of migrants returning to the Philippines from Japan with missing organs.

Some might suggest core differences between the two presentations stem from dissimilarity between the immigrant status of those being deployed to the Middle East and Japan. However, this does not explain the entirely different culture and context participants are being prepared to navigate. It also does not explain the dissimilar explanations workers are given for behaving in prescribed manners. Moreover, while important similarities exist throughout all presentations including manufacturing docile and disciplined workers, and methods for remitting money back to the Philippines (see Guevarra 2010; Rodriguez 2010), the subjectivities being prepared across sessions are culturally distinct and context specific. Workers are being prepared to culturally navigate the host context in question.

During my time in the Philippines I attended two sessions for migrants bound for Canada, one for emigrants and one for OFWs. The manner in which Canada is portrayed reveals the multicultural, orderly, and welcoming ideas that Filipinos have about Canada and which motivates Filipinos to migrate to Canada. In the case of Canada, migrants are informed they are going to a multicultural society so they should expect to, and embrace, getting to know people from all over the world. They are told that while they may be familiar with American culture like music, movies and food, there are additional features they should be aware of with regard to

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9 In chapter four, I describe in much more detail the session for OFWs bound to Canada.
Canada. For one, Canada is a very big, quiet and peaceful country; a land of polite and (mostly) accepting individuals. Migrants are told that upon arrival to Canada they will immediately notice that Canada is an orderly place. People walk to their right, respect physical space between each other, and form lines; they do not stand too closely or push to get on the bus, apparently in contrast to the Philippines. Canada is also a much more egalitarian society so they should not expect (nor be offended) if they are not addressed by their official title. However, one should not misinterpret this as an invitation to address their superiors (like bosses) by their first names. Instead, they should continue with “Mr” and “Ms” until directed otherwise. They are also assured that making eye contact in Canada is appropriate, though they are highly discouraged from being too loud or being overly touchy. “Do not ask to hold someone’s baby unless you are invited!” one of the facilitators warned. Also, “if someone trips, you don’t grab them! Don’t touch! You ask them first, can I help you?”

During my attendance at the session for OFWs bound to Canada, I was embarrassed to find myself being incorporated into the presentation. Participants were asked to guess my ethnic and racial background. Uniformly everyone nodded - of Filipina descent, maybe second generation. A few participants guessed I was half Filipina, half American (what I interpreted to mean ‘white’). They gasped when the facilitator told them I was not Filipina at all, but rather of Latin American descent. He then explained “she is Canadian” and elaborated “but look at Geraldina! Looks Filipina, like us right? And even someone that looks like her, that looks like us, can be Canadian!” There were nods and smiles across the room. It was clear these OFWs, many of them contracted for employment in Tim Hortons restaurants, were being enlisted to imagine incorporation into Canada, including dreams of citizenship through their practice of labour migration.
In the Philippines, the dream associated with Canada is that it is a country where even racialized immigrants of Colour can belong in the social fabric of the nation. Through migrating to a multicultural society on a work contract Canadian-bound OFWs can also expect to become full members of the Canadian polity. This includes the right to settle permanently, obtain citizenship, sponsor other family members, and access an array of rights and social services including a generous healthcare and education system. This stimulates a desire amongst migrants to pursue the Canadian dream. This contrasts with the messages being relayed about the Middle East and Japan. In the Middle East migrants are warned of a society where human life is generally not respected and a destination OFWs should generally fear (especially women). The PDOS for Japan invokes less fear than the Middle East though there is still no illusion that they will be incorporated into the social fabric of the country. Canada is preferable in this hierarchy of potential destinations.

3.4 Filipino Subjects and a Hierarchy of Potential Host Destinations:

Beyond state bureaucrats and agencies, migrants also produce messages about potential host destinations and the presumed benefits of specific destinations in the general society. Ideas regarding the benefits of migration circulate widely in the Philippines. Beyond the migration apparatus organizing state-citizen relations in a manner that promotes labour migration through discourses of OFWs as “modern day heroes” (Guevarra, 2010), citizens themselves are involved in collectively stimulating desires for outward migration in the popular consciousness. They do so through discourses and the circulation of national objects. The cultural logics implicit within these messages promote the idea that life in the Philippines is filled with poverty and high
unemployment whereas employment abroad is how wealth and income generating opportunities can be secured. Takes illustrations 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 as examples:

Illustration 3.1 Jeepney - Canada
26 June 2011, Metro Manila, Philippines. Photo by Author

Illustration 3.2 Jeepney - Australia
26 June 2011, Metro Manila, Philippines. Photo by Author
Illustration 3.3 Jeepney - USA
26 June 2011, Metro Manila, Philippines. Photo by Author

Illustration 3.4 Jeepney - Japan
26 June 2011, Metro Manila, Philippines. Photo by Author
Illustrations 3.1 through 3.4 are pictures of “jeepneys” I took on the streets of metro Manila on 26 June 2011. Jeepneys are a popular method of transportation in the Philippines. For many Filipino nationals, owning a jeepney is an income generating opportunity in a labour market of high unemployment. Culturally what is interesting about jeepneys is that many are decorated with flags and symbols of foreign countries. In illustration 3.1 the jeepney is decorated with a flag of Canada, in illustration 3.2 the jeepney is decorated with a flag of Australia, in illustration 3.3 the jeepney is decorated with a flag of the USA, and in illustration 3.4 the jeepney is decorated with manga (a symbol for Japan). These flags and symbols tell a story of how the jeepney was bought. Sometimes jeepneys tell more than just the country where the resources were earned to purchase the automobile.

Illustration 3.5 Jeepney - Singapore
26 June 2011, Metro Manila, Philippines. Photo by Author

Illustration 3.5 resembles the lion on Singapore’s flag. The boat and plane also suggest the resources used to buy this jeepney came from a land-based overseas foreign worker and a sea-based OFW. The building might represent a construction worksite. The circulation of these
national symbols and objects produce in the Filipino consciousness the idea that wealth and income generating opportunities lie outside of the Philippines. Houses relay similar stories, as well as more nuanced accounts of national hierarchies.

During my field research in the Philippines I spent a few days (from 19 May 2011 to 21 May 2011) in a rural community in Pangasinan. I was invited by organizers from the migrant worker organization Migrante International to accompany them on their visit to what they referred to as a “migrant sending community”, a region where a large proportion of the working age population is living and/or working overseas. During this visit we stayed in the home of Ina [pseudonym], a thirty-four year old Filipina woman. Ina was very friendly, and one morning she began to tell me about her experience as an OFW. From 1995 to 2002 Ina worked as a domestic helper in Hong Kong. She lamented that she could only go to Hong Kong (and maybe the Middle East though she feared that prospect) because of her limited formal education and “bad English”. It was clear she regarded Hong Kong as a low status destination. She then began apologizing for the “ugliness” of her house in contrast to the houses of others in the community, making reference to her employment in Hong Kong. I think she could sense my confusion by her comment because she escorted me down the road to physically show me.
Illustration 3.6 House - Hong Kong Remittances
20 May 2011, Pangasinan, Philippines. Photo by Author

Illustration 3.7 House - USA Remittances
20 May 2011, Pangasinan, Philippines. Photo by Author
Illustrations 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 are pictures of homes Ina used as examples to explain to me her misfortune of being confined to Hong Kong. Illustration 3.6 is a picture of Ina’s house, one that by her accounts is “ugly”. She compared her Hong Kong house to the houses in illustrations 3.7 and 3.8. As she explained, the residents of the house in illustration 3.7 have family members who migrated to the United States and in illustration 3.8 a family member living in Canada. These preferable locations have afforded her neighbours - by her account - nicer homes. These homes relay a message and hierarchy about the perceived wealth and quality of life that exists in different host destinations. The USA and Canada offer wealth and prestige for migrants. In contrast, Hong Kong (while offering some income generating opportunities) can only provide a marginally superior home.

National hierarchies and presumed benefits that are associated with different destinations are important dimensions that influence preferences and sensibilities with regard to migration. However, while there is a clear hierarchy of potential destinations not all locations are available to migrants. Ina would like to go somewhere “better” but is limited to destinations like Hong
Kong. In contrast, qualified subjects can hope to access Canada. Employer preferences for specific workforces also facilitate or constrain the opportunities available to global migrants, as is evident by the case of Tim Hortons.

### 3.5 Cultural Selection of Workers for Canada’s Fast Food Workplaces:

While Tim Hortons employers are free to recruit foreign workers from any source country\(^{10}\) they nevertheless recruit a fairly uniform workforce. The following data was gathered through a Freedom of Information (FOI) request to Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC). Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the top source countries of workers recruited to Alberta and British Columbia for employment as food counter attendants in Tim Hortons restaurants between 2005 and 2010 (as indicated through positive LMO applications). An LMO is a labour market assessment regarding the potential impact hiring foreign workers will have on Canadian labour markets; generally LMOs must be positive for Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) to process request(s) for temporary worker visa(s).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>52.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1156</td>
<td>32.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (55 countries Less than 1%)</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>7.89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.1 Tim Hortons TFWs by Top Source Countries - Including Canada**
Freedom of Information Data. HRSDC. Request and Calculations by Author

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\(^{10}\) There are no country restrictions under the LSPP, now the S-LSO.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>77.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>4.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>3.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>3.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (55 countries Less than 1%)</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>11.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2419</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 Tim Hortons TFWs by Top Source Countries - Excluding Canada
Freedom of Information Data. HRSDC. Request and Calculations by Author.

In total, Tim Hortons in Alberta and British Columbia received positive LMO requests for 3,575 work contracts. Of this workforce, 1,156 workers (32 percent) were recruited from within Canada. This most likely reflects an employer extending the stay of a foreign worker previously recruited (work contracts usually range from one to two years), or the recruitment of another migrant worker already in Canada. In examining table 3.2 (which excludes those workers recruited from within Canada) we see that 77.76% of the workforce recruited from abroad was recruited from the Philippines. 4.09% of the remaining workforce was recruited from India, 3.43% from Mexico, and the remaining 11.66% (282 workers) were recruited from 55 other source countries.

Aside from most of the workforce being recruited from the Philippines, increasingly the Tim Hortons corporation is taking over the third-party recruitment process for their franchise restaurants. Networks and policies facilitate the conditions for the global movement of workers. Due to the employer-led nature of the TFWP, a host of actors have emerged to assist employers

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11 Through conversations with migrants and migrant worker organizations like Migrante it is clear that while many TFWs would like to extend their contracts through obtaining another contract (in the same or different worksite) this process is not easy, especially in the case of a new worksite.
in selecting and recruiting workers. Some employers hire or specifically designate in-house human resource specialists to locate and recruit offshore labour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Franchisee</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tim Hortons Corp.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-Party Recruiter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 Tim Hortons Third Party Recruitment Practices
Freedom of Information Data. HRSDC. Request and Calculations by Author. (TDL Group is the official name of the Tim Hortons Corporation).

Table 3.3 shows that Tim Hortons’ human resource department supports franchise restaurants with the recruitment process to obtain foreign workers. They also support them with the networks to recruit this workforce. As I discovered over the course of my research, the recruiter for Tim Hortons in the Philippines is Mercan Canada Employment Philippines (also known as Mercan Recruit, or more commonly Mercan). In the earlier years of the LSPP (back in 2005) franchisees tended to conduct the recruitment process on their own, filing the LMO paperwork themselves and looking abroad for labour. They also tended to rely on a recruitment agency in Canada to locate foreign labour (such as Can-Phil Pacific Agency Ltd.). Indeed, as table 3.4 shows in 2005, 80% of the recruitment was conducted by the franchisor, 20% by a recruitment agency, and none by the Tim Hortons corporation. By 2008 this had changed; the franchisee conducted 54% of the recruitment, 19% was conducted by a recruitment agency, and 27% by the Tim Hortons corporation. By 2010 the Tim Hortons corporation had taken over most of the recruitment of TFWs for their Alberta and British Columbia franchisees, filing 59% of LMO applications. Moreover, the Tim Hortons corporation is increasingly taking over the
recruitment of migrant workers, and drawing this labour primarily from the Philippines through their Filipino-based recruiter, Mercan. The gendered composition of the workforce is not as feminized as one might expect. As table 3.5 shows, 41% of the workers were male and 59% female. Moreover, most of the migrant workers that Alberta and British Columbia franchise restaurants recruit are male and female TFWs from the Philippines.\footnote{Of all the LMO applications filed, 283 positions (8.6%) did not specify the gender of the worker. This figure therefore represents the gendered composition of the 3,292 workers identified.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1342</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40.77%</td>
<td>59.23%</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 Tim Hortons TFW Recruitment Practices by Gender
Freedom of Information Data. HRSDC. Request and Calculations by Author.

There are many selection criteria that employers (or their third-party representatives) consider when selecting workers, among them work experience, education, age, and gender, along with subjective qualities (such as perceived work ethic, comportment, and loyalty)\footnote{In chapter four I discuss in much greater detail how physical characteristics associated with the workforce Tim Hortons recruits satisfies employer demands for a more specialized workforce in fast food. However, in this chapter I focus primarily on the role of cultural attributes for informing a preference for Filipino workers (male and female) over other foreign nationals.}. At the outset, employers and / or their representatives make a decision about where in the world to draw their labour. For interactive jobs like fast food English language capital is of particular importance, meaning some countries like the Philippines are often preferred over other potential source countries like Mexico (Polanco and Zell, 2013). As the above graphs show, Tim Hortons - by far - draws most of its foreign labour from the Philippines and only marginally from other places like India and Mexico even though it can recruit its workforce from anywhere in the world. Subjective ideas regarding cultural suitability and the workforce embodying the specific skill set to work in distinct cultural destinations informs these global selection practices. As a Tim Hortons franchise owner explained:
“Oh there are foreign workers that come from many different countries. I’ve heard Turkish foreign workers, Moroccan foreign workers have been recruited into Canada....[But] Filipinos will speak English from a relatively young age......Culturally, it’s an easy fit for North America..... I mean we’re not North America we’re Canada but there has been a North American influence in the Philippines so that is one of the reasons why Filipinos find it easier culturally to transition.....That’s what I’ve been made to understand. So certainly I make that comparison to my Indian foreign workers......the Filipino foreign workers were more easier to acclimate than the Indian foreign workers....Not that they’re not good workers, they are, but there certainly was a difference” (Tim Hortons Franchise Owner, Langley, 9 September 2010).

As this employer further elaborated, his Filipino TFWs were better equipped to “understand” Canadians and Canadian culture, particularly when compared with Indian foreign workers.

While he stressed British Columbia is “very multicultural” and as such it is “great” to have workers from across the world, he still found that culturally Filipinos were better suited with the cultural background and knowledge to acclimate to Canada. This comment is very revealing. Indeed, it lends support to the activities of the Filipino labour brokerage state. This Tim Hortons employer desired workers that were young, male and female and English speaking but also a workforce that could navigate the cultural landscape of Canada. Indeed, he found Filipinos to have this comparative advantage over non-Filipino workers.

Identifying the ideal workforce for employment in specialized destinations involves a transnational, interactive negotiation between employers and recruiters, and interpretations about who makes the best cultural subject given the employer and destination. Recruiters aim to deliver employers the workforce they desire, and both recruiters and employers are influenced by a range of tropes regarding who constitutes the best workforce. National stereotypes feature prominently in organizing selection processes.

When describing why Mexican TFWs are less desirable for fast food employment than Filipinos, a recruiter in Canada explained, “I have brought in some Mexicans to do counter
attendant work . . . but quite frankly, the people that I’ve brought in are not really counter attendants. They are university students, really decent English, very upper middle-class, and they are up here for an adventure” (Labour Recruiter, Vancouver, 24 April 2011). As he further elaborated, the problem with drawing workers from this labour pool is that culturally they are unwilling to appease. Moreover, they are “easy to offend” and show their anger, a cultural characteristic he regarded as more common amongst Latinos than Asians. In contrast, he found that Filipino workers make better food counter attendants because they hide their feelings. He also claimed that in contrast to Mexicans they were very eager to appease. In his words, “they [employers] like the Filipinos because they......work hard, they kind of keep their problems in their back pocket, or if they are angry they very rarely show it to outsiders. And they have a very . . . gracious way of talking and presenting themselves” (Labour Recruiter, Vancouver, 24 April 2011). Later in the interview he compared Filipinos with Indian workers. Apparently, the relative shortcoming of Indians is their language skills (including perceived accents) and an inability to fit easily into a Western culture. He also observed that Filipinos generally get less home-sick than Indians, what he attributed to their culture of mobility, familiarity with American lifestyle, and long histories of overseas employment.

Subjective assessments like cultural stereotypes are articulated by a range of actors, and later put back into (global) circulation, with the result of mediating labour flows transnationally. Recruiters also have a vested interest in selecting only “the best” workers for deployment to Canada given the potential profits associated with further opening up the Canadian labour market to Filipino labour. Combined with the fees Canadian employers can be charged and the eagerness of Filipinos to be deployed to high-status countries like Canada (especially in contrast to regions like Hong Kong or the Middle East), recruiters indicated that finding workers in the
Philippines is both easy and profitable. As a Manila-based recruiter explained “you can get PhD people out here [laughs]! If you are talking about Canada.....For Canada we get the best” (Filipino Labour Recruiter, Manila, 28 June 2011). This reflects the eagerness of highly qualified Filipino nationals to be deployed to Canada because of the dreams they associate with Canada. Some recruiters even said they do not like to advertise jobs for Canada because of overwhelming inquires and responses by prospective OFWs. Given Canada’s reputation, there is a lot of desire amongst Filipinos to go to Canada.

While it was easy for Filipino recruiters to find workers eager to go to Canada, recruiters also found that identifying the preferred workforce of Canadian employers was not always a straightforward endeavour. When asked to describe interactions with Canadian employers, recruiters repeatedly lamented that Canadians lack forthcomingness about their desired workforce in contrast to Middle Eastern or Asian employers. In effect, this prolongs the process of delivering the specialized worker. As one recruiter stated “for Canada they [employers] are very careful because they don’t want to sound discriminatory. So we probe. Because for the Middle East they [employers] tell you exactly: age, must be male, not more than 45, and this is illegal in Canada, right? So in Canada they give us [the] job description and then we talk to them . . . We delve deeper” (Labour Recruiter, Manila, 20 June 2011). Concrete dimensions and subjective assessments inform the qualities of the workforce selected for employment abroad. It is interesting that the recruiter makes reference to the employer not wanting to sound discriminatory. This only further perpetuates the idea that in Canada discrimination is not openly accepted in spite of policies like the S-LSO.

The supply of specialized workers deemed suitable to global employers and the social and cultural dimensions shaping this suitability is informed by migration regimes and the
specific circuits of labour that are produced through transnational social regulation practices on the ground in the everyday. A host of social actors (such as sending and receiving government bureaucrats, employers and third-party labour recruiters) socially mediate opportunities and decisions about who “belongs” in specific regions and occupations, interactively defining the appropriately embodied specialized worker. The presumed culture of receiving destinations is an important variable in supplying workers to specialized labour markets. Labour markets are, after all, embodied spaces; they are socially regulated and contextually conditioned. Moreover, “job filling and labor allocation operate in rather different ways, and certainly with different effects, in different places….all labor markets are locally constituted” (Peck, 1996: 95).

Domestically, employers target specific geographical regions to recruit desired workforces, along axes like gender, age, ‘race’, and level of educational attainment (Hanson and Pratt, 1992). Localized industry norms and employer biases shape these preferences, and labour demand and supply are differentiated across industries and places (Storper and Walker, 1983). However, while mobility amongst employers is a common method for recruiting “appropriate” workers in sectors like manufacturing, it has generally not been possible to relocate worksites in pursuit of workers in less mobile occupations like food counter attendants. As these locally supplied labour markets “go global” through transnational labour mobility regimes such as the S-LSO, these programs have the effect of globalizing the supplying and regulation of labour markets. This allows employers to take advantage of incentives that do not operate in the host context. Tim Hortons employers can rely on Canada’s reputation and the location of Canada on a global hierarchy to propel qualified subjects to pursue the Canadian dream through employment in a Tim Hortons restaurant. In so doing, employers gain access to a culturally prepared, specialized worker.
3.6 Delivering “Only the Best” to Canada:

In this chapter I have described the means through which Filipino bureaucrats and the celebrated labour brokerage state produces specialized bodies for what are increasingly specialized destinations. I build on past studies examining the social organization of transnationally supplied labour markets along with research on the Filipino labour brokerage state to show the cultural dimensions through which the Philippines establishes its comparative advantage in the market for global labour. Research has shown there are social patterns to labour market organization in Canada with variables like gender, ‘race’ and immigrant status influencing occupational and sectoral opportunities, and levels of remuneration available to different segments of the population (e.g. Creese, 2007; Fuller, 2005; Goldring and Landolt, 2012, 2013; Vosko, 2000). On a global scale this same process operates; workers from different countries and possessing different social characteristics are preferred by global employers and therefore delivered accordingly to distinct destinations. These patterns and practices - in what are increasingly transnationally supplied labour markets - have promoted a specialization in global labour flows. Culture is an important dimension in this specialization.

The Philippines is widely celebrated as a model labour sending country in part because of its highly regulated migration apparatus. Beyond its reputation for preparing and empowering workers with the knowledge necessary to navigate their lives and employment contracts in foreign destinations, the Filipino labour brokerage state is also regarded as being capable of delivering esteemed workers possessing essentialized traits including docile, hard working, English-speaking and loyal workers. What my research adds to this existing literature is that beyond these essentialized traits the Filipino labour brokerage state can also supply workers who
can “fit” anywhere in the world. The ability to “fit” includes possessing the cultural knowledge of the norms and practices in host destinations. Moreover, the aim of this chapter is to illustrate how culturally knowledgable, “superior” migrants are produced for export, workers that are more specialized than the generic, essentialized worker. This chapter also considers the production of social imaginaries in host destinations, influencing desires and subject formation, and in turn mobility practices.

As described in the introduction of this dissertation, global imaginaries are powerful social forces shaping the ideas that people have about distinct destinations. These ideas are generative in the sense that they influence and shape desires amongst subjects and promote mobility to select destinations. Labour recruiters and the Filipino labour brokerage state are central actors in these processes. They circulate and produce ideas about global destinations through their discourses and practices like the content of PDOS sessions. In so doing they influence the desires and dreams associated with specific destinations. For instance, Canada is actively imagined to be a desirable country offering an extremely generous welfare state, opportunities for settlement (for the individual migrant and future generations), and possibilities for mass consumption. Through the circulation of these ideas, people (particularly those of higher social location) end up desiring the promises they associate with high status countries like Canada. In turn, they pursue migration opportunities to these destinations. Within a competitive landscape to be selected for employment abroad, Filipino recruiters can be highly selective in choosing and deploying workers. For high status countries like Canada they deliver only the “best” and the “brightest” while those considered lower skilled or of a lower social location get streamed to comparatively less desirable destinations. Moreover, the power of the social imaginary affects the options available to global employers. In the case of Canada, employers
benefit from the generous ideas associated with Canada. Beyond gaining access to a migrant workforce they regard as superior, these workers also offer employers the opportunity to resolve occupational and industry specific challenges, the focus of the following chapter.
4 Beyond Cheap and Disposable: Delivering Occupationally “Superior” Workers to Canadian Fast Food Employers

Seventeen eager participants sat in a large room in the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) office on 30 June 2011, in central Manila waiting for a Pre-Departure Orientation Seminar (PDOS) to begin for Filipino temporary workers bound for Canada. As described in the previous chapter, PDOS sessions are mandatory workshops for all Filipino emigrants and temporary workers going abroad and this particular session was aimed at providing participants important information about what to expect during their employment in Canada. In theory PDOS are part of a highly coveted and regulated Filipino system of managing global labour migration, organized to assist and empower emigrants and migrant workers in making informed decisions while in their countries of destination. In practice, however, they seek to produce “superior” workers for export; that is, disciplined, eager and committed workers trained to provide exceptional service to global employers, in turn promoting further labour migration of Filipino nationals (Guevarra, 2010; Lorente, 2011; Rodriguez, 2010).

The disciplining function of the PDOS seminar could be seen in the content of the presentations. A Catholic nun encouraged participants to be resilient and morally upright while abroad, emphasizing, “You will have to overcome challenges....like the Israelites of the chosen people. You must make sure that while you are abroad that you stay resilient”. Another presenter, a charming man in his mid-30s and employee of OWWA, emphasized the need for Filipinos to be grateful to “the Canadian government” for giving them “permission to work for these Canadian employers.” Of the seventeen seminar participants, ten were bound for employment in fast food restaurants under the category “food counter attendants” and the remaining seven were bound for employment as hotel cleaners and skilled trades people for oil
and gas. Of the ten workers being deployed for fast food, eight had been contracted for employment in Tim Hortons restaurants.

Before the third presenter stepped up to the podium he received the following introduction: “I would like to introduce the man with all the big contracts to Canada, for Tim Hortons, from Mercan, Carlo Bautista [pseudonym]”. My face, I am certain, betrayed my shock. Mercan (the recruiter for the Tim Hortons Corporation in the Philippines) had proven difficult to access for research purposes so I could hardly believe my good luck that the agency was participating in the session. Despite my ethnographic excitement, I felt uncomfortable with the presence of the Mercan recruiter and his role as a facilitator in the PDOS. How could Carlo, with his vested interest in supplying eager and disciplined workers to clients like Tim Hortons, simultaneously facilitate the ability of workers to be empowered in their employment contracts while abroad?

As I came to learn over the course of my time in the Philippines, Carlo’s presentation was neither surprising nor unusual; contracted recruiters of foreign employers regularly meet with migrant workers through PDOS sessions before they embark abroad to prepare them for their future life and employment in receiving destinations. Carlo offered pragmatic advice on how to adjust to their lives under transnational employment contracts in Canada such as legal information regarding tenancy acts. He also warned “you will see people of all ages working in the store, not like here. Canadians working in your store, people of 70 years old and children of 16, workers in Tim Hortons”. The OFWs seemed visibly grateful for the “opportunity” to work in Canada. As his presentation unfolded, however, the purpose of his participation became evident: he was there to motivate participants pre-deployment into being energetic, superior workers. Carlo described various employment scenarios specific to Tim Hortons restaurants,
such as “you will need to be able to make 300,000 sandwiches per shift and pour even more coffees, double-doubles, than that” (Recruiter, Manila, 30 June 2011).

Unlike conventional wisdom that suggests “low-skilled” employers turn to guest workers as a way of securing a “cheap” and “disposable” workforce, my research findings suggest a more complex scenario. Employers are fulfilling employer human resource desires in worksites characterized as interactive, physically demanding, and geared towards meeting objectives of speed and efficiency. Through the expansion of the TFWP fast food employers can circumvent local labour pools including youth, immigrants, women, and aging populations (a workforce they consider “slow”, “irresponsible” and “unmotivated”) in favour of a TFW workforce which they regard as superior. They do so irrespective of the costs associated with attaining TFWs. This superiority rests on the perception that migrant workers are cheerful, reliable, physically capable and committed in a sector where 150% turnover in a year is not uncommon (Blankenship and Schiemann, 2012).

Most literature to date has suggested “low-skilled” TFWs recruited to Canada are imported because they are a cheap and disposable workforce (e.g. Basok, 2004; Byl, 2007; Colby, 1997; Gross and Schmitt, 2009; Sharma, 2002, 2006; Thomas, 2010; Trumper and Wong, 2007; Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010). This line of inquiry, the result of research conducted primarily on agricultural work and live-in caregiving, requires that further consideration be given to industry specific motivations and the migrant worker programs under which TFWs are being recruited to work. Moreover, my dissertation research suggests that industry challenges and human resource objectives in fast food are distinct from those in agriculture and live-in caregiving. Recruitment costs also vary across programs. Unlike the SAWP where the sending country assumes the majority of the work of recruiting agricultural workers for Canadian
employers (Preibisch, 2007, 2010), Canadian fast food franchise owners and corporations invest significant resources to attain Filipino TFWs. They are also increasingly paying higher fees for processing paperwork and securing the necessary visas to attain workers. Moreover, the sharp increase in labour mobility programs globally and the diversification of industries that are turning to migrant labour suggests the need to more systematically consider industry-specific challenges and benefits of employing TFWs - embodying specific qualities - across occupations and sectors.

4.1 **Tim Hortons and Fast Food Operations:**

In Canada, Tim Hortons is the largest fast food corporation, controlling approximately 1/4 of the quick service restaurant industry (Penfold, 2008). It originated as a small donut and coffee shop and outside of Canada is referred to as Tim Hortons Cafe and Bake Shop. In Canada, Tim Hortons is arguably the essence of the quick service restaurant industry. It is responsible for 67% of fast food traffic in the morning, 77% of coffee poured outside the home (Calleja, 2010) and boasts more than double the number of McDonald’s restaurants (Flavelle, 2009). With a menu ranging from coffees, bagels, soups, sandwiches, and donuts, Tim Hortons has defined the Canadian fast food landscape. In fact, for many people both in and beyond Canada, it is considered to be a symbol of Canada and an important Canadian institution (Penfold, 2008; Viswanathan, 2007).

Tim Hortons is a growing presence in the quick service restaurant industry. In December 2012 there were 4264 Tim Hortons restaurants globally, 3436 in Canada, 804 in the United States, and 24 in the Gulf Cooperation Council (Tim Hortons, 2012). In 2010 Tim Hortons announced plans to open an additional 300 stores in the United States by 2013, and nearly 1000
more in Canada (Calleja, 2010). Tim Hortons also has a contract with Dubai-based Apparel Group to open up to 120 Tim Hortons restaurants in the Gulf Cooperation Council (McGinley, 2011). In explaining the corporation’s expansion in the Middle East, the managing director of international operations for Tim Hortons, David Roy, stated “we wanted to try this market and see how our brand is received internationally” (in Stone, 2011). Paul House, CEO of Tim Hortons, echoed this motivation saying that Dubai attracts tourists from cities like Russia where the chain may one day expand (Stone, 2011). Moreover, while Tim Hortons is generally considered to be a Canadian fast food corporation, it is actively expanding its brand beyond North America (Yew, 2012). As such, its operations and management practices (including the recruitment and employment of migrant workers) is globally significant.

Literature on fast food has identified features of the employment relationship and dominant management techniques characteristic of the industry. Included is the highly routinized nature of fast food work, low-investment in the employment relationship, high employee turnover rates, and easily replaceable workforce. While these conditions have been carefully theorized the labour-intensive, physically demanding and strenuous nature of the fast food labour process have not received adequate attention. Neither have ongoing strategies to speed up the production of work and the delivery of service through the application of new technologies. By examining these dimensions of fast food, including the importance of restaurant ambiance and customer service, strategies beyond lowering the costs of labour in the pursuit of profits become evident. Indeed, to compete in a highly saturated market fast food corporations like Tim Hortons engage in multi-dimensional strategies, including investing resources to attain a workforce capable of delivering what they consider industry specific “superior” service.
4.2 Fast Food Restaurant Operations:

The quick service restaurant industry is a labour intensive sector, one in which human resource costs constitute a significant proportion of business operations. As such, minimizing labour costs through the physical organization of worksites and the application of systems of control have long informed management strategies in the sector (Royle and Towers, 2002: 192).

To establish profitable work procedures, the fast food sector embraced scientific management principles of Fordism and Taylorism. The former promotes strategies of breaking down and simplifying the production process into monotonous and routinized tasks. The latter promotes the application of time and motion studies to make tasks faster and more efficient. Cumulatively, the application of scientific management principles in worksites made job tasks simplified and repetitive, and workers stopped being regarded and compensated as ‘skilled’ (Braverman, 1974: 73). The man responsible for building McDonald’s into an empire, Ray Kroc, often boasted of putting “‘the hamburger on the assembly line’” (in Penfold, 2008: 113).

Moreover, the application of scientific management principles facilitated the sector’s ability to use “low-skilled”, low-paid and therefore easily replaceable labour (Newman, 2000; Royle and Towers, 2002).

While purportedly almost anybody is suitable for fast food employment, the baked product offerings at Tim Hortons made the application of Fordist and Taylorist principles especially challenging. According to Ron Joyce, the co-founder of Tim Hortons, the main problem was the heavy, skilled and difficult nature of baking, and the quantity (and therefore speed) at which bakers had to complete tasks (Joyce, 2006). As Joyce (2006) recalls, “Tim Hortons was a labour intensive business. Training production took several weeks” (39-40). Further, “preparing the donuts was a significant undertaking....The biggest problem [was]....the
lack of trained baking staff...it was hot, difficult work” (36-53). In fact, “during training, I expected the baker to make 100 pounds of yeast-based donuts, and then the white and chocolate cake donuts, as well as the French crullers. The idea was to be able to do this within eight hours. The goal would be 200 dozen at the very least......But in order to do this, you needed a very disciplined schedule” (76).

The physically demanding, fast and skilled nature of baking made routinizing and standardizing operations in Tim Hortons difficult. To simplify and routinize restaurant operations in what began as a coffee and donut shop, Tim Hortons embraced numerous strategies including turning to supplied mixes and baking equipment to simplify and speed up the baking process (Buist, 2003: 62). To further simplify baking, in 2003 Tim Hortons implemented a “par-bake” system. Under par-bake, baked products are manufactured and partially baked in a plant in Brantford, Ontario, and then frozen and shipped to Tim Hortons restaurants. Once delivered, workers can “zap new batches as needed, in a glorified microwave oven” (Calleja, 2010), reducing - though not removing completely - the physical challenges involved in baking.

Strategies for reducing inefficiencies and increasing the speed of production are pivotal in fast food, with significant resources invested into creating efficient assembly lines and job procedures. In fact, the time required to deliver food to customers is measured in seconds (Sherman, 2012) and ergonomic opportunities for reducing arm stretches and footsteps are constantly explored (Brox, 2010). As Ron Joyce (2006) recalls of his earlier years in the fast food industry “DQ [Dairy Queen] taught me....the effective use of space. Their stores were very compact....staff could fill the ice cream orders and be immediately ready to take the customer’s cash. That kept walking to a minimum, which boosted efficiency” (29). Joyce also observed that “the proximity to the cash register and products were central to the way I would develop Tim
Hortons stores” (Joyce, 2006: 29). Other corporations have invested significant resources into maximizing spatial organization, especially with regards to drive-thru operations (Sherman, 2012). Corporations have also looked to maximize retail space in their pursuit of profits. In 2009, Tim Hortons signed an agreement with the ice-cream chain Cold Stone Creamery to create 100 co-branded stores in the United States. The logic behind co-branded stores is to temporally maximize menu offerings and restaurant space in the pursuit of profits. Because Tim Hortons generates most of its sales in the morning and early afternoon and Cold Stone Creamery in the afternoon and evening, the co-branded restaurants emphasize menu items accordingly (Dentch, 2009). Tim Hortons has also taken advantage of existing spaces like gas stations and established kiosk stores; baked goods are supplied by a nearby full service Tim Hortons restaurant.

Beyond organizing physical space with the intent of maximizing efficiencies, procedures are also geared towards increasing speed. Baking through the “par-bake” system is one example of a more efficient production process. Supplying Tim Hortons restaurants with supplied mixes and ground coffee over coffee beans is also another example of a corporate procedural change geared towards streamlining operations (Joyce, 2006: 116). McDonalds has experimented with robot prototypes that can cook french fries in 2 minutes or less (Pantelidis, 2009) and in recent years A&W Canada sent a group of regional managers to the United States to learn how to implement operational changes at the drive thru to speed up service (Hardy, 2012). Moreover, scientific management principles continue to inform ongoing strategies to streamline procedures and boost operational efficiencies.

Beyond the physical organization of space and establishing efficient procedures, there is also the expectation that workers will enhance the speed of service through the pace of their work. Unlike other restaurant categories in which speed of service is one of many service
criteria, in fast food the primary expectation is that food will be delivered fast. Indeed, as Scardapane, president and founder of Philadelphia fast food chain Saladworks notes, slowing down service in the quick service industry can be the “kiss of death” (in Brox, 2010). To this end, technological innovations and surveillance technologies have been applied to monitor, control and speed up the pace of work. For instance, point-of-sale (POS) cash registers track service delivery times and the sales of workers. Increasingly, they are linked to surveillance cameras connected to personal computers with internet connections. Through these technological arrangements employers can observe individual paces of work and track sales in real-time through hand-held devices (QSR, 2013). Some managers even post employee sale and delivery time reports in restaurants for all employees to see (QSR, 2012). The fast food sector is constantly seeking methods of promoting efficiency and speed among workers. As my data shows, this has implications for the workforce qualities that labour recruiters, employers and franchise corporations consider most suitable for employment in the sector. They seek workers who are young, fast, eager, and able-bodied.

The industry’s obsession with efficiency and speed derives in part from fierce competition in the quick service restaurant sector. Along with customers demanding more choices and “better” value for their dollar there are increasing numbers of fast food chains in Canada with which to compete, like Krispy Kreme Donuts, Chipotle Mexican Grill, and Carl Jr.. In this competitive landscape, fast food corporations are diversifying strategies to attract customers. McDonald’s is estimated to have spent over $1 billion in renovating its Canadian stores with couches and fireplaces. A&W has upgraded over 100 of its stores with modern furnishings, and Wendy’s has undergone an image makeover by adding comfortable chairs, natural light and flat screen TVs (McMahon, 2012). Wifi internet is increasingly the norm in
many fast food establishments, and healthy menu options are offered to attract health-conscious customers even though they are costly and generate minimal profits. Over the years, McDonald’s has offered promotions like free coffee to get customers through the door (Flavelle, 2009), and Tim Hortons now sells ground coffee in grocery stores. Most surprisingly Burger King has even experimented with home delivery (McMahon, 2012).

Competition for customers in the quick service industry informs many features of business operations, including the preferred qualities of the workforce. Indeed, the interactive nature of service sector work “differs most radically from manufacturing, construction, or agricultural work” (Macdonald and Sirianni, 1996: 14) given that within service sector worksites “the product being ‘sold’ by a service firm.....is often intangible, such as an experience or a feeling” (Sallaz, 2002: 396). While the challenge of convincing workers to deliver a pleasant interactions cuts across all interactive service sector worksites, it is particularly challenging in the quick service restaurant industry given that fast food is said to epitomize everything that is wrong with low-waged service sector work (Jaffe, 2012). Indeed, given the poor working conditions and low-compensation that characterizes employment in a fast and highly demanding sector, a chronic challenge that management must contend with is high turnover rates and the disciplining of workers (Leidner, 1993, 2002; Reiter, 1996, 2002; Royles and Towers, 2002; Talwar, 2002; Tannock, 2001). This is exacerbated by constant and increasing pressures to work fast. Because workers in fast food will often protest their poor working conditions by exiting the employment relationship, creating positive feelings while avoiding the creation of better working conditions is a principal management challenge. Significant management research has been devoted to the objective of garnering acquiescent workers while avoiding improvements to the
fast food employment relationship (e.g. Ball, 1992; Love and Hoey, 1990; Qin and Prybutok, 2008).

Employees’ rejecting poor working conditions by exiting the employment relationship has been a chronic management challenge in the fast food industry and other low-end, service sector employment niches. The investment in the employment relationship on the part of employers and employees is presumed to be low; since fast food work is highly routinized and “low-skilled” the employer has invested little in training or supporting the worker. Similarly, the employee has invested little in attaining the employment. Workers are hired and fired at whim given the low costs of replacing workers, and employees have similarly minimal investment in maintaining the employment relationship (Leidner, 2002; Reiter, 2002). The employment relationship is considered low-waged and low-commitment, resulting in high turnover rates in the sector (Leidner, 2002).

Literature on the fast food sector has taken many features of both the employment relationship and prevalent management techniques as established characteristics of the industry. As my empirical data shows, however, key assumptions underlying management motivations are not as universal as previous research might suggest. For instance, the practice of transnationally recruiting and employing temporary foreign workers makes the investment in the employment relationship high for both employers and workers. Employers and corporations invest time and resources to attain Filipino fast food TFWs through the S-LSO and workers are invested in the relationship because they aspire to attain Canadian citizenship through their temporary work contract (a feature examined in much further depth in the following chapter). While fast food draws primarily from vulnerable segments of local labour markets, that does not mean that anybody can easily perform fast paced, physically demanding work nor does it mean that
employers are attracted primarily by the inexpensiveness of labour. Features of the work organization and service delivery make young, eager and able-bodied workers particularly coveted, especially for positions that are fast paced, labour-intensive and interactive. Moreover, this chapter counters universal claims of cheapness and disposability applied to all “low-skilled” migrant workers.

4.3 Worker Qualities, Industry Demands and Temporary Foreign Workers:

When asked to describe their jobs in Tim Hortons restaurants, respondents repeatedly emphasized the fast paced, physically demanding and stressful nature of the work. In the words of a locally-hired 50-year-old female Chinese Tim Hortons employee who is a Canadian citizen, “it is a labour work....my body, my body is such tired...Lots of people cry there, I tell you truth. Lots of people cry because so stress. Fast food you do fast. Labour work. So every part, you have stress” (Domestic Tim Hortons Employee, Coquitlam, 24 April 2011). In explaining her challenge in working an 8-hour shift, a 52-year-old, permanent resident Iranian female Tim Hortons employee hired domestically stated, “It’s hard. It’s too much for muscles....too tired, because even you stand there 8 [hours], your feet is too tired, and for the health, is too much work” (Domestic Tim Hortons Worker, North Vancouver, 20 April 2011). A 47 year old Filipina immigrant woman also hired domestically and of permanent residence status emphasized the stressful and physical nature of the work, stating she resigned from her job in Tim Hortons because the pace of work and stress culminated in a worksite injury (Domestic Tim Hortons Worker, Surrey, 26 April 2011). Moreover, aging workers hired from the local labour market repeatedly emphasized the fast paced and physically demanding nature of the work. This also
characterized the working conditions of younger workers like TFWs though they rarely acknowledged the physical challenges of fast food employment.

Prior to access to migrant workers, fast food employers appeared to be unhappy with employee options available to them in Canada’s local labour market. As literature would suggest domestically available workers were primarily youth part time workers, single mothers, aging workers, women, immigrants (often “of Colour”), the latter usually regarded as possessing limited English skills. Perceived shortcomings of domestically available workers are specific to the segments of the labour pool employers are drawing from though generally revolve around limited employee commitment, perceived physical inability to keep up with the demanding pace of the work, and minimal employee motivation. More specifically, domestically available youth are considered to be uncommitted and unreliable workers because they are deemed to be working for extra spending cash (Tannock, 2001). In the words of a Tim Hortons franchise owner “student and part time workers are not working to pay the rent and you’re [sic] not working for groceries. You’re working for spending money and the motivation so [sic] reliability isn’t quite the same” (Tim Hortons Franchise Owner, Phone Interview - Alberta, 20 October 2010). When describing the qualities that make for ideal Tim Hortons workers, a franchise owner responded “energy level”. He continued, “you know, you been in a Tim Hortons, you’ve seen how much is going on behind the counter. There’s a lot of movement. The good workers are [physically] able to keep up” (Tim Hortons Franchise Owner, Vancouver, 27 October 2010). Given the unreasonably fast speed at which workers are expected to perform tasks, older workers have difficulties sustaining the pace and physically demanding conditions. Lack of English skills amongst immigrant workers (whether real or perceived) was also lamented by fast food employers, labour consultants and third-party recruiters.
The challenges older workers confront when employed in physically demanding and unreasonably high-paced worksites was repeatedly observed by consultants and recruiters when addressing the purported shortcomings of the locally available workforce. In the words of a Canadian labour consultant, fast food workers “have to be able to do things in a reasonably, methodical time manner.....there’s a lot of people out there [pause] older people and handicapped that are not capable” (Labour Consultant, Vancouver, 6 October 2010). Youthful migrant workers also acknowledged the physical challenges confronted by their domestically-hired coworkers. A 29-year-old Filipina guest worker told me at length about “Mama”, the nickname her and her coworkers had affectionately given a 60-year-old South Asian coworker who constantly struggled to keep up with the unrelenting and unforgiving pace of the work (Tim Hortons Worker, Kalibo (Philippines), 26 May 2011). Another guest worker recounted how much she disliked taking out the garbage yet acknowledged that at least for her it was not a physical struggle, unlike for some of her older coworkers (Tim Hortons Worker, Manila, 30 May 2011). While the fast pace and physical demands also characterized their own working conditions, for youthful workers their age and physical strength makes it easier to respond to these industry demands. She did, however, complain of being physically exhausted at the end of each shift.

The strenuous working conditions combined with low levels of compensation has created an industry environment whereby employees resolve their poor working conditions by exiting the employment relationship. Also, some young people leave to pursue other opportunities. Consequently, a chronic challenge confronted by fast food management is how to contend with high turnover rates in restaurants (Leidner, 1993, 2002; Reiter, 1996, 2002; Royles and Towers, 2002; Talwar, 2002; Tannock, 2001). Indeed, a Tim Hortons franchise owner in British
Columbia recounted that in 2008 the turnover rate in his restaurants maxed out at over 125% (Tim Hortons Franchise Owner, Langley, 9 September 2010). Two other employers relayed having to reduce their operating hours because of high turnover rates and an inability to staff their restaurants, particularly the overnight shifts. Employers want to replace domestic workforces with TFWs whose stay in Canada and opportunities to access the Canadian dream is tied to these low-status worksites. They are not as likely to exit the employment relationship until the termination of the contract.

While turnover is high and motivation low in worksites that are demanding yet minimally rewarded (Williams, 2006), for many segments of the workforce these are the only employment opportunities available to them. However, with the expansion of the TFWP my data suggests even these undesirable jobs are being contracted out rather than being offered to marginal segments of the domestic workforce. In British Columbia, an employment counselor for an immigrant settlement agency recounted how he used to receive job advertisements for food counter attendant positions in Tim Hortons restaurants. He recalled encouraging his clients, all recent immigrants, to apply for these jobs and remembers they would generally attain the employment. However, since the introduction of the LSPP and now the S-LSO he has observed his clients are no longer getting these jobs, in spite of continued job advertisements and the growth of the TFWP. Tim Hortons employers are not alone in displacing domestic workers with TFWs. Recently in Toronto, Ontario, a high-profile case sparked considerable controversy when 45 workers from the Royal Bank of Canada were replaced by Indian TFWs (Tomlinson, 2013).

Recruiters and employers articulated fairly uniform frustrations in explaining the human resource challenges the fast food sector confronts when they hire from the local labour market. As a Canadian labour consultant put it, “there are Canadians here, not a lot but there are some
who would do the job. But they won’t show up for work, they’ll quit after 2 days, they find the work physically hard, they’ll whine and complain and be lazy....[Employers] are sick of crappy, lazy workers....it’s tough to get really reliable workers here. It’s tough to buy loyalty with 8 dollars an hour” (Labour Consultant, Vancouver, 6 October 2010). In the words of another labour consultant who facilitates recruitment for a fast food chain in Alberta and British Columbia, “the only people that are available for those jobs are people that are practically unemployable.....people that you would not want to employ to serve food in your restaurant” (Labour Consultant, Vancouver, 14 September 2010). While overstated, the above respondents suggest the employee selection options available to employers pre-TFWs did not offer franchise owners the workforce they desired.

4.4 Beyond Cheapness and Disposability:

At the turn of the millennium Canadian employers began recruiting TFWs for employment in fast food restaurants. Initially recruitment was sparse; only 5 Tim Hortons employers in Alberta sought to recruit 184 TFWs in 2005. However, reliance on TFWs has since that time grown in numbers and been embraced by other fast food restaurants like Subway, A&W, Burger King, Dairy Queen, McDonald’s, and Pizza Pizza.

Every occupational category in Canada is assigned a National Occupational Classification System (NOC) number. For fast food counter attendants this NOC number is 6641. HRSDC allocates region-specific wages to every occupation listed under the NOC system. The assigned amounts are deemed average wages for the occupations. For NOC 6641 these wages are higher than the starting minimum wage, the rate at which domestic workers are generally hired from the local labour market. For example, in July 2010 the minimum wage in
British Columbia was $8 an hour. In the Greater Vancouver area, TFW food counter attendants were allocated a wage of $10.30 an hour, $2.30 more an hour than the minimum wage. Higher wages allocated to TFWs were widely recognized among employers and industry organizations and served as a point of contention with which they lobbied the government for changes to the TFWP.

That wages are often higher for TFWs under the NOC than for domestic workers was addressed by HRSDC in April 2012 when they introduced what is popularly referred to as the “15% rule”. Under this regulation, employers in high-skilled occupations could pay TFWs up to 15% less than the NOC specified median wage, pending they could provide documentation that they also pay Canadian staff members in the same location, and for the same occupation, the reduced rate of pay. For “low-skilled” occupations like food counter attendants employers could pay TFWs up to 5% less than the NOC specified median wage, pending the same application of conditions and documentation. In the Greater Vancouver area the reduced 5% rate still afforded TFWs a higher wage than domestic workers. In April 2013 the Canadian Federal Government retracted on this amendment and scrapped the “15% rule” for both high and low skilled occupations (Flecker, 2013), in effect raising the wages of TFWs relative to domestic workers. Fast food TFWs are also guaranteed full time hours unlike those hired domestically. Employers also must cover costs associated with the recruitment of TFWs including travel costs, even in instances where workers are also sometimes (illegally) billed these costs.

While lower wages have been identified as a principal benefit employers enjoy when employing migrant workers, “cheapness” is more broadly related to the role of vulnerability in generating profits for employers (Anderson, 2010). Migrant workers are regarded as having a stronger “work ethic” than domestic workers. Research shows they are more willing to work
overtime, weekends and longer days (Preibisch and Binford, 2007) and are less likely to demand overtime pay and compensation for unpaid work (Oxman-Martinez et. al. 2004). Because of vulnerabilities generated through immigration controls, TFWs will often withstand abuse and other difficult conditions (Goldring and Landolt, 2013; Gross and Schmitt, 2009; Thomas, 2010; Trumper and Wong, 2007; Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010). The fear of being fired and repatriated to the source country (their “disposability”) has also been identified as a structural feature of TFW employment that promotes compliance irrespective of conditions (Hennerby, 2012; Sharma, 2002, 2006).

While it is logical to conclude from the literature that employers turn to TFWs because they are uniformly cheap and disposable, my case study suggests this may not be exclusively - or universally - the case across industries and sectors. Unlike in agriculture where migrant workers are actually paid less than domestic workers (Preibisch, 2010), the NOC classification system and the S-LSO assigns wages to fast food workers that are not lower than wages for domestic workers, especially with the retracting of the “15% rule”. Also, under the S-LSO employers and corporations must establish the necessary business networks to recruit workers at a cost, unlike under the SAWP, where recruitment is conducted by the supply country through a bilateral program, government-to-government (Preibisch, 2007: 418). With regards to exploitability, TFWs selected for fast food from the Philippines are also of a higher social location than Mexicans agricultural workers; they are therefore less easily exploited even if vulnerability generated through immigration controls still exists. The interactive features of fast food employment also makes a pleasant worker crucial to the pursuit of profits, rendering labour practices against food counter attendants riskier for fast food employers than amongst other “low-skilled” occupations like agriculture. Unlike in agriculture in which demand for workers is
often seasonal, the demand in fast food is constant and year-round. The chronic need for workers and the employers’ investment in the employment relationship (of both time and costs) also makes TFWs employed in the sector less “disposable” than in agriculture.

Cheapness and disposability fails to fully capture the spectrum of motivations informing the employment of TFWs across programs and industries. While research shows that unscrupulous employers exploit the vulnerabilities of migrant workers in occupations like agriculture and live-in caregiving, it cannot be assumed all employers prefer TFWs primarily because of these vulnerabilities, especially in other occupations and sectors where other features of employment are paramount to the pursuit of profits. Additionally, it does not fully explain why the Tim Hortons corporation has acted as a leader in lobbying for the program given the costs associated with this corporate strategy. Instead, this immigration and employment landscape suggests a more complicated and nuanced intersection of factors motivating the employment of TFWs.

4.5 Delivering Young, Eager and Able-Bodied Workers to Canadian Fast Food Employers:

Drawing from interviews with employers, recruiters, and fast food workers my data suggests that fast food employers had low standards when they first began recruiting workers from the Philippines. In fact, fast food recruiters in the Philippines for a number of corporations were often amused by how easily impressed Canadian employers were with their available workforce. As a Filipino-based recruiter who deploys to Canada for a large fast food company told me during a research interview in Manila: “[employers] will tell me ‘Paul [pseudonym] these guys are great, it’s incredible, I can’t believe it. These applicants are great, they blew my
Recruiters were clearly proud of being able to provide their clients with a “manpower” product they regarded as “superior”. They explained they were able to do so in part through a rigorous selection process and an abundant supply of labour (as described in the previous chapter), but also through “tricks of the trade” they had learned with respect to fast food employee selection. As another Filipino recruiter who deploys to Alberta for a large fast food corporation stated during a research interview, “we recruit mostly managers [for entry-level positions] from the food industry here, it is a preference of our client because, of course, the managerial knows the whole system...best training for it, they [are] going more skilled for that occupation” (Recruiter, Manila, 23 June 2011). Ironically, employers prefer workers with a higher skill level for entry level positions in a sector widely regarded as unskilled. Every recruiter I interviewed in the Philippines who deploys for the Canadian fast food sector acknowledged that currently they recruit almost exclusively those with assistant managerial or managerial experience in the fast food sector. Some recruiters even told me they warned their clients against this practice because supervisors and managers are used to having more power behind the counter. One fast food corporation in Canada only hires workers with managerial experience for food counter attendant positions in their specific chain, ensuring easy employee transition and a skilled migrant workforce in their Canadian restaurants. Tim Hortons appears to have a preference for hiring workers with prior experience at Jollibee, a Filipino fast food chain that (like Tim Hortons) boasts the country’s largest market share in the industry. Of the ten workers bound for fast food that I met in the PDOS session, seven had previously been employed as managers or assistant managers at a Jollibee restaurant in the Philippines.
Given the occupational demands in the sector and the pressures of attaining a workforce regarded as “preferable”, employers can rely on recruiters to use strategies that are common in the Philippines but illegal in Canada. For instance, recruiters explicitly advertise for and consider age when recruiting potential workers in the Philippines, ensuring the selection of a young workforce able to keep up with the unrelenting pace and physically demanding nature of the labour process. Gendered considerations are also a common dimension along which workers are selected, and preference varied depending on gendered interpretations of job tasks. In the words of a Tim Hortons employer in British Columbia: “we were just not getting young guys. So to do the more physical jobs in the store we just could not recruit and retain young guys. This is where the foreign workers were very, very helpful, male foreign workers who could do the physical work…..worked really well for us” (Tim Hortons Franchise Owner, Vancouver, 27 October 2010). Job orders often specify the employer’s gendered preference for the worker; this allows employers to be more selective in attaining the gendered workforce they desire (see also: Preibisch, 2010). Fast food employers desire both male and female fast food workers, and given the physical demands of the position they are recruiting for, this raises interesting questions about their gendered assertions of whether a male or female employee is better suited for the job.

Third party recruiters make hiring decisions based on age, gender and levels of formal post-secondary education to provide Canadian employers with a workforce employers regard as “superior”. Other criteria used to select workers is more subtle though still informs hiring decisions and the transnational fabrication of industry defined “superior” workers. When applying for their jobs in Tim Hortons restaurants, some guest workers told me that the job advertisements they responded to indicated height requirements for applying (no less than 5 foot 4 inches); perhaps an ergonomically motivated criteria. Perceived English language competence
and social skills are also criteria along which workers are selected. Likewise is the perceived “loyalty” of the worker. Indeed, of my respondents who were TFWs all were charming, young, and in many instances physically attractive. Their English language skills were better than I expected, often superior than the immigrant Tim Hortons workers I had interviewed hired from the local labour market. Indeed, on two separate occasions Tim Hortons guest workers employed in urban Alberta recounted that they were initially concerned about their English language skills until they met their immigrant co-workers. Upon hearing their co-workers speak English and observing their challenges with communication they felt confident with their own superior language abilities. Recruiters also informed me that the personality of workers influenced their decisions; they selected workers considered “friendly” since these workers would be better equipped to provide superior customer service.

Decreased employee turnover is also a principal benefit employers enjoy when hiring from a migrant worker labour force. Because high turnover is a challenge fast food employers have chronically had to contended with (Tannock, 2001: 78) employers ironically attain a relatively permanent workforce through employing TFWs. Legally, TFWs stay in Canada is tied to their employer and work contract. Consequently, exiting the employment relationship due to difficult working conditions is not an action TFWs are normally willing to take. Because many workers aspire to attain permanent residency in Canada and believe that their temporary employment contract will facilitate this so long as they are excellent workers, they will often withstand difficult working conditions in pursuit of these objectives. In the words of a female, Filipina 28-year-old woman who had returned to the Philippines post-contract:

“You can’t quit. You’re under contract. Even if you really don’t like the job, your owner treats you bad, we cannot quit cause we want to stay....that’s why the management love us, all the people there, all the Filipinos cause we don’t complain. We just always say ‘Yes I will do that
“sir. Yes I will do’. We don’t complain. We want to bring our families. Even if we really want to complain, we cannot do that, cause we are under contract....Cause those white people do that ‘Oh, don’t shout at me! I can quit!’ But for us, no. Cause we are under contract” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Manila, 30 May 2011).

Not only does the respondent’s comment demonstrate her willingness to withstand difficult working conditions in pursuit of permanent residency, it also reveals how structural conditions garner the consent of Filipino TFWs. In an industry such as fast food where employers have long sought to secure a workforce that is motivated and disciplined, Filipino TFWs - in their pursuit of permanent residency - offer the perfect solution. This dynamic is the focus of the following chapter.

Overall, the policy shift in the TFWP has facilitated transnational employment practices for “low-skilled” occupations, providing both franchise employers and fast food corporations the opportunity to select workers they regard as “preferable” for the occupation and sector. The preferability of workers does not revolve solely around the ability to “pick labor” on dimensions of sex, ‘race’ and nationality as other research has already shown (e.g. Preibisch, 2010), but more specifically to select workers who resolve purported shortcomings of domestic labour pools specific to the sector and occupation. Also, migrant workers are not necessarily coveted because of their cheapness and disposability. Presuming that not all employers are universally abusive and unscrupulous, these workers cost at least what domestic workers do, if not more. Unlike in agriculture and domestic caregiving, fast food employers have also been generally able to recruit workers locally at no cost. There are also time and financial considerations associated with recruiting TFWs, for both franchise restaurants and the corporation. Instead, in the words of a Canadian labour consultant:

“When you are.....[an employer in the fast food] industry, you are drawing people from the worst parts of the labour force [i.e. the most socially
undervalued]. And here come these bright university graduate foreign workers that are delighted to be here, are happy for what you are paying them, they are not whining about their salary all the time, or expecting you to pay them double because they are charming.... [Employers] put up with a lot, they really do, a lot, and when they get these foreign workers, it’s a treat.....It makes a big difference. Maybe the labour shortage may not be as bad as employers make it out because they want those people. And if they can find them in the labour market they will hire them right away, you betcha. But those people in the Canadian labour market aren’t looking for those jobs” (Labour Consultant, Vancouver, 14 September 2010).

Given the physical and interactive demands of fast food work, employers prefer the worker qualities available abroad.

4.6 Temporary Foreign Workers and the New Value of Fast Food Work:

In this chapter, I have shown the occupationally-specific benefits afforded to employers who turn to migrant labour in the fast food sector. As my research suggests, employers desire young, eager, committed, and able-bodied workers that can provide “superior” interactive service and perform physically demanding work at a fast pace, the latter also a feature of fast food that has not received adequate attention in the literature. While there are workers locally available, probably more so than in agriculture or live-in caregiving, most of these workers do not meet the occupationally specific desires of employers in the sector. Perceived shortcomings depend on the segment of the labour pool from which employers draw. Aging workers struggle to perform the physically demanding work in the restaurant, especially at the unreasonably fast pace expected. Young workers are considered uncommitted and unmotivated and contribute to high turnover rates that have long burdened employers in the sector. A range of other perceived shortcomings exist depending on the segment of the local labour pool employers are drawing from. Moreover, global labour pools allow for the selection of industry preferable workers in what are
increasingly specialized occupations and labour markets, as the previous chapter illustrated from the perspective of a labour brokering country. The expansion of the TFWP has facilitated the ability of fast food employers to recruit young, eager and able-bodied workers for fast food employment in restaurants like Subway, McDonald’s and Tim Hortons.

The turn towards migrant labour on the part of service sector employers is displacing segments of local workforces. While aging, female (immigrant) workers, racialized workers and youth have historically been key suppliers of labour in the sector, fast food employers can now circumvent these marginal segments of domestic labour pools by transnationally recruiting and employing from a global workforce. In so doing, employment opportunities available to vulnerable domestic workers are contracted, further limiting employment opportunities for socially devalued workers. This denies employment opportunities for (even) conditions of employment centered poverty amongst socially undervalued segments of the workforce.

The introduction of a new set of workers into western Canadian fast food restaurants is also accompanied by new meanings attached to low-waged work amongst workers themselves. For those recruited domestically, many work in fast food restaurants because of a lack of alternative options. If given the opportunity for better paying or less (physically) demanding work many would exit the employment relationship as indicated by the high turn-over rates common to the industry. In contrast, TFWs recruited from the Philippines have a different relationship to their low-end employment. As the previous chapters have foreshadowed, for many Filipino migrant workers fast food work in Canada is considered a coveted opportunity. Consequently, these sets of migrant workers feel different about their fast food work. Instead of an option of last resort, the fast food restaurant is the space in which TFWs pursue belonging in Canada and the promises implied by the Canadian dream (such as permanent residency). This
motivation is altering management strategies for disciplining and garnering the consent of workers behind the counter. As the following chapter shows, it leaves migrant workers vulnerable to exploitation and the possibility of having to contend with the aftermath of broken dreams.
On 17 June 2011, I walked into a coffee shop in Puerto Princesa City on the island of Palawan, Philippines. I had flown to Puerto Princesa from Manila to meet with a returned Tim Hortons TFW. We spotted each other, and she waved me over. Maria [pseudonym] was a beautiful woman, slim, at least 5foot5 inches, with long black hair. A Coach bag sat on the table next to her. I had been connected with Maria through a TFW in Canada - they had worked together in a Tim Hortons restaurant in Alberta. We ordered speciality coffees and chatted for a while before Maria began telling me her story.

In 2006, Maria saw a posting in the classified section of a local newspaper for “service crew, Alberta, Canada”. She explained to me, “when I read that, I read [that the destination country was] Canada, I don’t know about Alberta but I know about Canada! ‘Oh I love it! I like it, I’ve read enough, yes!’” For Maria, Canada was a desirable destination and the job was therefore worth pursuing. Confirming she met the age, height and educational requirements detailed in the advertisement, she made her way over to the agency to apply for the position. She was devastated to discover the agency was looking to recruit 15 food counter attendants and more than 1000 applicants had already applied for the positions. She remained hopeful, however, that her physical attractiveness might assist her in attaining a contract; she recounted giggling how one of the recruiters had looked her over approvingly. Still, her enthusiasm had waned and she returned home disappointed but committed to continue her search for an overseas employment contract. A week later she was surprised to receive a text message from the recruiter inviting her for a “pre-interview”, which was later followed by an interview and eventually an orientation. A year after her initial application she boarded a plane headed for Edmonton,
Alberta, convinced she had secured the “golden ticket” to a “better life” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Puerto Princesa City, 17 June 2011).

Hearing her talk about her fast food employment contract in Canada as a “golden ticket” to a “better life”, I asked her to elaborate why she felt that way. Being a young, attractive, university educated, working professional, I wondered how baking timbits, cleaning toilets and taking out the garbage in a Tim Hortons restaurant could be better than her professional job as a development coordinator. After indicating the status and wages she could expect to attain by being deployed to Canada as a “service sector worker”, she stated:

“But my first motivation was [pause], I was dreaming that after two years I’ll be a permanent resident and I can get my loved ones. My parents, my siblings....I can get that dream and I will be happy....They [the employer and managers] treat you bad but is part of the work.....it is OK because I am motivated....[I used to think] maybe I will be nominated [for permanent residency under the PNP program] this year” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Puerto Princesa City, 17 June 2011).

We sat silently for a while as I tried to think of a gentle way to ask the obvious question: she had made many sacrifices to go to Canada in pursuit of her dreams, and yet there we were sitting in a coffee shop in the Philippines. Finally I asked her how she felt to be back in the Philippines, and what her plans were for the future. She explained:

“I was in Tim Hortons but when I saw that was not going to happen [I was not going to be nominated for permanent residency under the PNP], I transferred to the hotel. And then after that, it is no good. So I transferred again. I am here [in the Philippines] but I will keep trying. I’ll keep searching how to be immigrant there. I am looking right now, looking for a contract....I still have dream” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Puerto Princesa City, 17 June 2011).

Maria’s story provides a lot of insight into how cultural sensibilities and dreams influence desires and mediate migration practices amongst migrants. According to Maria, she yearned for the benefits she associates with the Canadian dream (including permanent residency and the opportunity to sponsor the immigration of her family) and she considered a temporary work
contract in a Tim Hortons restaurant (or a hotel) as the path toward this end. She even felt it was “OK” to be treated badly by her managers and employers in exchange for the benefits she associates with this dream. As she alludes, the Canadian dream includes membership in the Canadian polity, the right to settle permanently, obtain citizenship, sponsor family members to immigrate, and access an array of rights and social services afforded to Canadian permanent residents and citizens. Her presence in the Philippines however illustrates the inaccuracy of this dream; she has failed to benefit from the promises of legal and cultural incorporation into Canada. What is surprising about Maria’s account, however, is the power of the Canadian dream to draw qualified individuals in spite of improbable odds. Indeed, Maria’s lived experience should shield her from the desire to migrate to Canada as a TFW; she knows intimately the contradiction between this dream and reality. Instead however she is “looking for a contract” and if given the opportunity will (this time) knowingly gamble in pursuit of the Canadian dream.

National dreams are core myths about nations, “consensual hallucinations” informed by national cultural values (Francis, 1997: 10). The most widely circulated national dream is the American Dream, informed by myths of liberty and acquisition, and a social contract of mass consumption (Hochschild, 1995: 15). The Canadian Dream possesses many similarities with the American Dream, including the promise that hard work will be rewarded with wealth and upward mobility (Barsky, 1995: 126). However unlike the American Dream, the Canadian Dream also includes tropes of permanence and security through immigration programs, the possibility for equality, and widespread access to education and healthcare. The promise of the Canadian dream is an important factor that draws people (migrants and immigrants alike) to Canada.
Filipino migrant workers recruited under the S-LSO for employment in Tim Hortons restaurants are desiring subjects in pursuit of dreams. In this chapter, I put labour process theory into conversation with literature on desires and dreams to show how these sentiments and aspirations act as emotions that low-skilled employers can increasingly rely upon to attain eager, disciplined workers within “low-skilled” worksites. My objective is to demonstrate how the Canadian dream (as a cultural imagination) has influenced worksite discipline and control methods within fast food restaurants in western Canada through the introduction of the S-LSO and PNP immigration programs. As Maria’s account shows, many Filipino migrant workers believe they can attain permanent residency through guest worker contracts in Canada, a belief that propels their labour mobility practices to Canada. Worksites in which TFWs work therefore take on heightened importance as actors’ pursue their dreams within these spaces. Faier refers to “zones of encounters” or “sites of encounter” as the physical spaces in which desires are pursued. These sites represent transnational nodes of social relationships where “different histories, genealogies of meaning, and forms of desire coincided within unequal relations of power” (Faier, 2009: 41). Sites of encounter are therefore physical spaces for analytically examining how desires come together and are negotiated in the intimacies of the everyday. Fast food restaurants, like other worksites employing TFWs, are sites of encounters in which TFWs pursue their dreams.

5.1 Labour Migration, Subjectivity and Dreams:

A growing body of literature is contributing a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between desires, dreams, migration and economic practices. Appadurai’s (1996) work on the imagination has been foundational to this field of study. According to Appadurai,
the imagination operates as a powerful social force through which modern subjectivities are formed under conditions of increased global connections. Through technological innovations the imagination (once confined to the geographical circulatory power of the print press) can now circulate globally at a rapid pace and unite individuals within “imagined worlds”. Appadurai’s work had a significant impact; it drew attention to the new global scale through which culture currently flows. Within this global cultural economy, social imaginaries circulate at unprecedented rates through five primary dimensions. The self is produced through the transmission of these global cultural flows.

While Appadurai’s (1996) work on the imagination has been instrumental for theorizing subject formation under globalized conditions, his work does not critically consider the role of the political economy in mediating imaginations, cultural flows and subject formation. Ong (2006) builds on the work of Appadurai and analyzes structures of capital accumulation for shaping subjectivities and mobility practices. Like Appadurai (1996) she regards the cultural logics that shape imaginations and mobility as important dimensions of subject formation, but also explicitly examines how economic structures and power relations shape desires, imaginations and subjectivities. In her words, the “cultural logics that make actions thinkable, practicable, and desirable [and] which are embedded in processes of capital accumulation” (Ong, 2006: 5). In so doing, she shows there is a regulatory component to subject formation; potential subjectivities are constrained by markets, cultural institutions and other structural factors.

Parreñas’ (2001) has built on the contributions of scholars like Appadurai (1996) and parallels theoretical interventions like those by Ong (2006) through examining the cultural logics

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14 Appadurai (1996) builds on Benedict Anderson’s (1983) theorizing on “imagined communities” under less globalized conditions and applies this framework to the current condition of increased global connections.

15 Appadurai identifies ideoscapes, ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes and financescapes as the “fluid, irregular spaces” (i.e. figurative landscapes) through which the social imaginary flows. These scapes include dimensions like the people, capital and the internet.
that influence imaginations, subjectivities, and migration practices. Contributing to this line of inquiry Parreñas suggests the imagination does more than shape practices of migration but rather is itself a process of subject formation. Stated differently, migration as a social process is itself the setting of subjection. Drawing from her study on domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles she shows how her participants experienced a process of subjection that she refers to as dislocation. The subjectivity of dislocation is produced through four primary axes of domination: partial citizenship, family separation, contradictory class mobility and sentiments of non-belonging. Moreover, “subjects cannot be removed from the external forces that constitute the meanings of their existence” (Parreñas, 2001: 24) and through the process of migration the subject gets formed.

Scholars have built on these works and approached labour migration as both a cultural and economic practice pursued by desiring subjects in pursuit of dreams. Desire includes a wide range of aspirations, needs and longings. It does not come from an innate desire on the part of the subject but rather is often the product of corporate practices and state policies (Rofel, 2007). Moreover, the “subject of desire” embodies historical and institutional processes, organized along relations of power, setting the contours and limits of potential desire (Butler, 1987). While the motivations of migrants workers are primarily economically driven, these economic motivations are culturally informed. In Yanagisako’s (2002) words, “‘economic’ actions, like all culturally meaningful actions, are incited, enabled, and constrained by sentiments that are themselves the products of historically contingent cultural processes” (11). Research into desires and dreams provides a conceptual framework for considering the subjective dimensions of capitalist actions, given that “sentiments operate as forces of production that incite particular kinds of capitalist action” (Yanagisako, 2002: 32).
Lieba Faier (2009) draws from the theoretical insights offered by literature on desires and dreams to examine the cultural dimensions underlying migration practices. Like Rofel (2007) and Yanagisako (2002), she regards desires as emerging through material relations; they are the product of “historical processes and social and political-economic relations of power” (35). Dreams are the compilation of figures of desire; they are the figures of desire in their entirety. For example, many people yearn for the “American dream” which is informed by desires for wealth, security, and a cosmopolitan lifestyle. The Canadian immigrant dream (as described in previous chapters) is shaped by desires for permanent residency, access to generous social services, and the ability to sponsor family members migration (amongst other desires). In an increasingly globalized world, the desiring subject and the dreams they possess are produced through a complex range of transnational relations (Rofel, 2007). In the case of my study, this includes the dreams of both TFWs and domestic workers themselves. These two sets of workers from which fast food draws its labour attach different meanings to the Canadian dream and their fast food employment. As I show, this differently shapes management strategies for enacting worker consent.

5.2 Discipline and Consent in Service Sector Worksites:

The changing nature of the Canadian fast food workforce resulting from the transnational employment of TFWs is altering management strategies within service sector worksites. Labour process theory is the body of literature primarily devoted to examining the methods that managers rely on to extract maximum surplus value from workers through the physical organization of worksites and the disciplining of workers. This body of research has therefore provided insights that have facilitated a much deeper understanding into the micro, everyday
world of work, particularly as related to “concrete work practices and…issues of control and autonomy” (Leidner, 1993: 22). Also considered within this tradition are worker subjectivities in the organization of consent, and the relationship between power, control and subjectivity (Rowlinson and Hassard, 1994: 73).

In service sector worksites the means through which workers are disciplined, and what workers consent to, differs from manufacturing worksites. However, considering the differences between the two sectors illustrates what is specific to service sector work and provides a framework for analyzing how consent is organized under market-driven immigration policies. For instance, service sector worksites produce unique challenges for managers in contrast to manufacturing. In manufacturing, the physical organization of production and the extraction of surplus value from workers is a central feature of the work. In Braverman’s (1974) classic study he shows how through time and motion studies workers’ job tasks were rendered simplified and repetitive, in turn deskilling workers and diminishing their levels of compensation. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the logic of time and motion studies and efficient work procedures have influenced the quick service restaurant industry, and been extensively applied to the physical organization of work.

In Burawoy’s (1979) classic study he moves beyond consideration of coercive, hierarchal, unidirectional control methods advanced by theorists like Karl Marx and Braverman by introducing the role of the subject at the point of production. In so doing he draws attention to the possibility of consensual worker disciplining and the role of the subject in generating consent. Building on this tradition and introducing the role of the imagination, Salzinger’s (2003) study of Mexican maquiladora plants draws attention to the role of global and local discursive imaginings for shaping subjectivities and promoting worker consent. As she shows, employers
rely on cultural imaginings and discourses revolving around “third-world dexterous women” to obtain the workforce they desire or to discipline workers into interpellating into these images.

While the interventions offered in manufacturing studies are crucial for understanding the fast food industry and strategies of discipline and control, service sector worksites produce unique challenges. For instance, in manufacturing the object produced is the product sold whereas in service sector worksites workers represent both the inventory and the producer (Macdonald and Siriani, 1996: 12). In Hanser’s (2008) words, “the production of service is simultaneously the consumption of service” (10). Consequently, customer service in service sector worksites are an important component of product differentiation (Sallaz, 2002). Employers in interactive worksites must therefore attempt to control features of the labour process to deliver a better interaction including workers’ personal characteristics and appearance. Managers engage in bodily disciplining techniques (including defining appropriate hair and makeup styles, uniforms, and other aspects of physical appearance) and hire on the basis of personality, selecting candidates deemed most likely to “fit in” and deliver the desired interaction (Seymour, 2000). For example, in chapter three I showed how Tim Hortons employers have a preference for hiring Filipino TFWs in part because of the presumption that culturally they “fit in” better. Because the product delivered includes the appropriate emotional state of mind in customers, managers likewise engineer strategies to enlist workers to perform emotional labour at the point of interaction (e.g. Hochschild, 1979).

Beyond focusing on the physical and interactive components of worksite organization, scholars like Ching Kwan Lee (1998) have also shown that differences in workforces influence managerial strategies for enacting worker consent (much like the domestic and foreign workers in my study). In her study of two manufacturing worksites, she shows how managerial
disciplining techniques are explicitly linked to the characteristics of the workforce in question. In her Shenzhen fieldsite, management relied on strict and despotic management methods to control young “maiden workers” (9), a coercive disciplinary regime that exploited workers’ through their local networks. In contrast, in the Hong Kong factory a regime of “familial hegemony” prevailed, in which “matron workers” were controlled through familial responsibilities and the construction of women as veterans and domineering. In comparing these two sites, Lee concludes, “when the social organization of the two labor markets from which the enterprise draws its labor force differs....this difference determines managements’ strategies of incorporating labor” (1998: 12). Moreover, management relies on different strategies for enacting labour consent depending on the characteristics of the workforce in question.

Temporary foreign workers and domestic workers are two distinct workforces from which Tim Hortons draws its labour. As my study similarly shows, management relies on different strategies to discipline and enact worker consent depending on the characteristics of the workforce in question. With TFWs, managers can (sometimes unknowingly) rely on the Canadian Dream to discipline and enact the consent of workers, a managerial strategy of dream manipulation in which workers are enlisted to consent in pursuit of their dreams. In contrast, workers drawn from the local workforce have a distinct relationship to this work. Drawing on the experiences of racialized immigrant women in my study I show that, while many already have some elements of the Canadian dream (like citizen or permanent resident status) many felt cheated by the broken promises of the Canadian dream. They do not hold in high regard their low-status employment in contrast to Filipino TFWs. This difference in the meanings attached to the worksite produce unique challenges for managers in disciplining workers drawn from distinct labour pools.
5.3 Desires and Dreams:

On 23 June 2011, I met with a group of labour recruiters in Manila that deploy TFWs to Canada for employment in fast food restaurants. The focus group had been organized by a large Filipino recruitment agency that in the Philippines is well known and widely respected, and active in deploying workers abroad including to Canada for employment as service sector workers. I was grateful but confused by the degree to which the agency had gone to assist me in attaining research participants, and their willingness to vouch for me as a researcher. Once the focus group had ended I decided to find out why they had helped me so I asked Rommel [pseudonym], one of the agency recruiters, why they had bothered to go above and beyond to assist me with my research. Rommel looked at me intently. It appeared he was trying to gather some kind of information from my face. I laughed, encouraging him to be open and honest. Finally, he stopped staring at me and began shaking his head. As Rommel explained, he and many of his recruiter colleagues had been quite shocked and appalled by how grossly “unethical” Canadian recruiters had been in attaining workers, and the stories of maltreatment and abuse they had repeatedly heard from Filipino workers deployed to Canada. He shook his head saying “We trusted Canada......we had a different idea of Canada....we expect[ed] better”.

Over the course of my research, these sentiments were repeatedly articulated by other labour recruiters, as well as government bureaucrats and workers themselves. Rommel appeared happy to be sharing these observations, but a little reluctant to offend me. “What kinds of abuse?” I pressed him “Don’t worry, you’re not offending me” I tried to assure him. His face softened a little bit, and he responded:
“Here is the uniqueness of the Canadian market...... They [TFWs] go there as food counter attendants. What did they do? They serve coffee, they flip burgers, what have you. What else do they do? Not much. And high school people do that here, same as in Canada. Taking into consideration that these people [the ones who are selected and deployed] are college level educated, we got educators, we got professional, nurses, you know, engineers, PhDs taking these jobs......But since they [TFWs] are there [in Canada] they are thinking I’ve got my foot in the door. I’m gonna do what it takes to do to stay here in Canada which opens them up to a great deal of abuse, a great deal of abuse. And that is where all the problems come in. And the employer, no matter how well intentioned they are, they’ve quickly come to see that this is the case. These people will do as they are told primarily because they want to stay. That’s how it works......Making a profit out of these people’s desire to leave [the] Philippines to look for greener pastures and continue to abuse them overseas, taking advantage of their dreams and their desires. We expect it from other places, it’s terrible but it happens.....but [we] were surprised the amount of abuse [in worksites by employers] in Canada” (Labour Recruiter, Manila, 23 June 2011).

Labour migration to Canada is widely framed as an opportunity for Filipino nationals, and people like Rommel are part of a transnational labour export apparatus that encourages college-educated professional subjects to forego dreams of being nurses, college professors, or engineers in pursuit of the Canadian Dream. This dream rests largely on the opportunity to access generous social services and make material gains, but also the promise that future generations will likewise benefit from the Canadian Dream through pathways to Canadian citizenship. The reality however, as Rommel admits, is that many never attain the Canadian Dream. More specifically, as the TFWP currently stands most migrant workers will fail in their pursuit of permanent residency through the PNP and therefore the related promises associated with Canadian incorporation. Like most dreams, failure is the probable outcome, as has long been the case with the American dream: “the American dream is an impressive ideology. It has for centuries lured people to America and moved them around within it, and it has kept them striving in horrible conditions against impossible odds” (Hochschild, 1995: 25). Like the American Dream, the TFWP lures migrants to Canada at improbable odds of success, in the
pursuit of Canadian citizenship and in turn a generous welfare state, and the promise of mass consumption. However, this new Canadian labour regime is one in which migrant workers are competing not only for the promises of a comfortable life and mass consumption but rather are (unknowingly) gambling just for the opportunity to compete through the granting of permanent residency.

The manufacturing of the American Dream and its global spread of hegemonic tropes has its origins in struggles over international development. With the threat of communist ideologies and policies to the capitalist project during the Cold War, the United States promised affluence for the masses in order to promote capitalist expansion (Rosenberg, 2010). Ushering in a Fordist capitalist mode of production therefore required a social contract that guaranteed increased material wellbeing, including influencing social practices to include a norm of working-class mass consumption (Aglietta, 1976: 158). In the United States this promise functioned to tame and depoliticize labour-capital conflicts. On a global scale this social contract also functioned to suppress class unrests in developing countries, and the threat of socialist or communist expansion. In Silver and Slater’s words (1999), “during the postward decades, the United States actively sought to generalize the mass consumption social contract....and non-communist trade union movements” (206). Moreover, “the hegemonic promise.....was that all the peoples of the world could achieve the American Dream. Each country had to pass through a set of similar stages before arriving at the ‘Age of Mass Consumption,’ but everyone was on the road to this same (desirable) destination” (208-209).

Locally and globally, the United States and the American Dream came to be associated with mass consumption. The symbolic imaginaries and cultural sensibilities enlisted by this dream rests on the promise of a “good life”, even for immigrant and working-class masses
(Hochschild, 1995: 18). While the American Dream has features broadly associated with western capitalist social contracts, research also shows that different promises and social contracts are associated with different national imaginaries (Barmaki and Zangench, 2009: 576). In the case of the Canadian Dream, the social contract enlists a sensibility of “less” or “fewer” than the United States, including less opportunities, wealth, and power but also less pollution, drugs and discrimination. Indeed, central to the Canadian Dream are promises of “balance” and “calmness”, as well as “safe neighbourhoods, and a government which takes care of its people” (Barsky, 1995: 136). This contrasts starkly with the American Dream which favours minimal government intervention by celebrating the individual.

Over the course of my field research I discovered that Filipino subjects largely echoed these national symbolic imaginaries when describing their ideas about the West and Canada. Filipino subjects had very specific ideas regarding the benefits of life in America including the possibility of mass consuming material goods and living a comfortable lifestyle. While almost everyone I spoke with in the Philippines told me they had few specific ideas about Canada, they would then go on to describe possibilities for mass consumption (though explicitly less so than in the United States) followed by an explanation that the trade off with regards to Canada is that one can access healthcare and education. Many also further elaborated that after two years of employment in Canada one can attain Canadian citizenship (as is the case with the LCP, though not the S-LSO). As the following discussion shows, these globally circulating national dreams are productive sentiments for low-waged employers. They are precisely the cultural imaginings that inform desires amongst Filipino subjects to engage in temporary labour migration to Canada.

The Filipino state has invested significant efforts in manufacturing a desire amongst its citizenry to labour abroad, facilitated by labour demands in foreign countries. Beginning under
President Marcos in 1974 through presidential decree 442, what was initially a temporary strategy of exporting workers to alleviate foreign debt to the IMF and World Bank has since become a permanent program of labour export (Battistella, 1999). Within this political economic landscape, the Filipino state has actively managed Filipino aspirations by working towards creating sets of relations with Filipino citizens that promote practices of labour migration (Guevarra, 2010: 205). Being a “good” Filipino citizen “is increasingly construed as actually requiring employment overseas” (Rodriguez, 2010: 79). Indeed, the “Philippine state.....has necessarily rearticulated ideas of nationalism and national belonging.....working abroad and remittances are recast as nationalist acts” (Rodriguez, 2010: xxi). Overseas foreign workers in the Philippines are in fact heralded as “modern day heroes”. These discursive practices culturally produce desires amongst Filipino citizens and set the boundaries of potential dreams, namely shaping desires to labour abroad and to be disciplined workers.

Beyond state and corporate practices, material relations underlie the desires of subjects. In a nation where the Filipino state has failed to create viable employment opportunities for workers locally, subjects are left with few other options but to “desire” temporary employment abroad. Indeed:

although the state claims to simply support the inevitability of labor migration as an outlet for people’s economic despair, in fact, they are manufacturing its inevitability........The state makes labor migration inevitable by strategically failing to provide the infrastructure for young people and the citizenry at large that would allow them to see the Philippines as an economically viable country and local employment as a workable source of livelihood (Guevarra, 2010: 62-63).

The “desire” to work abroad, coupled with a lack of employment opportunities in the Philippines, compounded by discourses of overseas foreign workers as “modern day heroes” culturally manufactures desires and dreams amongst Filipino citizens to engage in labour
migrants. Dreams of overseas employment are produced through these place-based, historically specific, transnational material relations.

5.4 Pursuing the Canadian Dream:

Consistent with Maria’s account that a work contract in Canada was a “ticket” to a “better life”, the Filipino temporary foreign workers in my study believed they had secured a better future for themselves and their families by attaining a temporary work contract in a Tim Hortons restaurant. In fact, when describing the process of securing a job as a food counter attendant my research participants recounted applying for employment in “Canada”, not in fast food or in a Tim Hortons restaurant. As a 29 year old, female worker illustrates “It was my co-teacher who saw Canada and he was like, ‘oh Rowena [pseudonym], do you want to apply for Canada? They are looking for applicants to go to Canada....Canada to me sounds like a dreamland......When I saw Canada, it is an opportunity. I decided I will apply” (Tim Hortons Worker, Manila, 30 June 2011). As another TFW explained, “Canada is a dreamland....more money, and the benefits. I saw Canada, and I applied” (Returned Temporary Foreign Worker, Pangasinan, 26 May 2011). Another temporary foreign worker stated “I worked as a university instructor in [name of University] for two years before applying to Canada” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Kalibo, 26 May 2011). These accounts illustrate that Filipino TFWs interpret their overseas job contracts as “opportunities” to go to “Canada”, not noticing or paying minimal attention to the occupation in question. The dreams they attribute with Canada, including overly generous ideas regarding Canada’s welfare state, are rewarding for low-skilled employers who benefit from these dreams by attaining young, eager, and able-bodied workers.
Research participants had lavish ideas regarding Canada’s welfare state, and the benefits of being either a permanent resident or Canadian citizen. As one worker stated, “you work in Canada, you get everything. Your kid gets sick, it’s free. Your kid wants to go to school, you can send them. Do you know what it costs to send your kid to college here [in the Philippines]? But in Canada, all these services free” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Manila, 22 June 2011). As another worker explained, “that is why I choose Canada, the healthcare. You don’t have to pay. Everything will be paid for, even the drugs….and the education in Canada, is free. Is really good. My daughter can go to college and we won’t have to pay” (Tim Hortons Worker, Manila, 30 June 2011). Another worker explained, “I really want to work in Canada because I want to get my kids to study in Canada and my mom and husband to live there, my mom because the medical and everything, the benefits are free! Is so good. That’s why I work for two years there” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Manila, 30 May 2011). According to an aspiring Tim Hortons TFW, “I’ve never been to Canada, but I feel that no discrimination. That’s what I love about it. Everybody is equal. You will not feel out of place. Health and education is free…..That is what I love about Canada” (Prospective Tim Hortons Worker, Kalibo (Philippines), 26 May 2011).

These ideas, and similar tropes, circulate widely in the Philippines. Canada is imagined to be a fair and just country, the mecca for the welfare state. All social services are completely gratuitous for citizens and permanent residents, namely healthcare and education. As another worker summarizes, “you get taxed, but it all goes back to the people” (Returned Temporary Foreign Worker, Pangasinan, 22 May 2011). Discourses regarding nations are culturally and geographically specific; different tropes regarding nations circulate in different places. Moreover, subjects in different places imagine and attach different meanings to countries, and these meanings - and the desires born from these imaginings - shape the aspirations and desiring
practices of place-based subjects. In describing the culturally and geographically specific dreams of her Filipina subjects living in Japan, Faier (2009) notes, they “dreamed of visiting or living in a place they called ‘America’. These women relayed a range of dreams about the pleasures and comforts of professional lives in cities like New York and Los Angeles.....and of the possibilities for mobility attached to holding a U.S. passport. The things and people that these women associated with ‘America’ were prized symbols of status and figures of desire” (97). Moreover, dreams of different places are culturally and geographically specific. Dreams are productive for inciting culturally specific economic practices.

Because subjects believed that a temporary work contract in Canada would guarantee their attaining citizenship and the benefits they associated with this incorporation, their primary motivation for migrating to Canada on a temporary work contract was to attain permanent residency. As a Tim Hortons worker explained, “I have this idea that when you go to Canada after some time, you could apply as an immigrant. The reason for most Filipinos to go to Canada because we can be Canadian citizen”. In a similar vein, a 33 year old male Tim Hortons worker explained “It is an opportunity. I can bring my kids over with my wife, and we will be immigrants......I work there for two years and then while working I will go through the immigration process” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Manila, 22 June 2011). Another Tim Hortons worker stated, “I am not after the money, I am just after to get my family to live there, cause I really want my family to live there” (Tim Hortons Worker, Phone Interview - Alberta, 25 April 2011). Similarly, “I went because I wanted to immigrate, and my employer actually promised me. He said, ok Teresa [pseudonym] go get the LMO and we will put up your papers so you can apply for a PR [permanent residency], but they didn’t......I was hoping and praying that they were going to work my papers, but they didn’t” (Tim Hortons Worker, Vancouver, 27
April 2011). Workers had overly-generous ideas regarding Canada, including the benefits of the welfare state and the openness of the immigration system if entering on a temporary work contract, and these ideas motivated their desire to migrate to Canada as TFWs.

The inaccurate belief held by Filipinos that a temporary work contract will guarantee them permanent residency results in part from the migration histories linking the Philippines with Canada. During the 1960s and 1970s immigration to Canada by Filipina/o nurses was followed in the mid-1970s by immigration of Filipina/o garment workers and family members through family reunification policies. By the mid-1980s Filipinas were being recruited primarily as live-in domestics under the Foreign Domestic Movement, now the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) (Pratt in Collaboration with the Filipino-Canadian Youth Alliance 2003). Entering initially as temporary migrant workers, those employed under the LCP have a direct, institutionalized path towards permanent residency. The LSPP (now the S-LSO) therefore marks a shift from permanent to temporary migration of Filipino nationals. Because of these past historical trends, however, the discourse that circulates in the Philippines is that a temporary work contract in Canada will lead to permanent residency. As one of my research participants noted, “because the nannies, or the women caregivers, after two years they get nominated.....So I thought for sure, me too” (Tim Hortons Worker, Vancouver, 25 April 2011). Recruitment agencies and Filipino government bureaucrats also (mistakenly) uphold this idea through the content of PDOS sessions, recruitment advertisements and the recruitment process. As a government employee in the marketing branch of the POEA explained:

“some people here wouldn’t work in.....the fast-food industry [locally]. They didn’t want to be members of the crew, it is a very difficult job.... You begin with doing everything and you end up mopping, cleaning the walls, cleaning everything......it is very difficult. This is a job for......people who are young. They choose destinations like Canada for those where they can apply for residency or an immigrant status, because they also want status. If the stepping stone is
through employment, they will bite they, will bite at the opportunity”
(Government Bureaucrat, Manila, 21 July 2011).

Beyond a desire to attain citizenship and the benefits they associate with Canada’s
welfare state, migrant workers were are also driven by a desire to attain a higher social status. As
a returned TFW explained:

“I was given the chance to go to Canada and that was a big thing for
me.....because here in the Philippines there is a status.....And when I told people
Canada, [pause], ‘ohhhh’. They have value, they value the place where you
went....because I was a professional already and then I went to Canada. And when
I was working in Canada and I got here, they respect me a lot” (Returned Tim
Hortons Worker, Kalibo (Philippines), 26 May 2011).

As another worker described:

“If you go to Hong Kong.....they are thinking that you are not applying your status
- you are just degrading yourself if you are going to Hong Kong. You are earning
money, but you are degrading yourself. You go to Japan, same thing. Saudi? Be
raped!.....The Middle East scary.....But Canada? No, Canada is good. Very good.
Respect....High status, especially Canada” (Tim Hortons, Manila, 30 June 2011).

Similarly:

“cause Hong Kong for the Filipino is just because you are desperate, you need the
money....but for me, I graduated from University so I will not go to Hong
Kong.....I have more options. Those who are lower go to Hong Kong, Singapore,
Saudi. But for me, no. I would rather go to Canada....and people see that you go to
Canada, is good” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Puerto Princesa City, 17 June
2011).

As these accounts show, cultural desires - including a yearning for a higher social status and the
ability to gain this status through (labour) migration to a high-status country - motivated the
economic actions of aspiring overseas foreign workers in the Philippines. Moreover, while the
promise of mass consumption and material gains certainly informed their labour mobility
practices these accounts show that other factors, like a yearning for prestige and status, also
shape the economic actions of desiring subjects. International migration literature has often
focused on push and pull factors in the organization of mobility including higher wages in
destination countries and a lack of employment opportunities in sending contexts (e.g. Castles, and Miller, 1993; Sassen, 1988, 1991; Stalker, 2000). Nevertheless these accounts show that the cultural realm plays a significant role in influencing international migration practices. Further, these desires and dreams enact subjects’ labour consent within zones of encounters, including worksites like Tim Hortons restaurants.

5.5  Consent Behind the Counter:

Zones of encounters are the spaces in which dreams culminate and get played out at the level of the everyday (Faier, 2009: 79). The tropes underlying the Canadian Dream including promises of permanent residency and a higher social status (unintentionally) discipline workers; a new management system requiring little effort by employers, supervisors or managers. Moreover, through the Filipino transnational labour export apparatus and globally circulating nationalist dreams, disciplined and consenting workers are produced and delivered to employers in destinations like Canada. Consent is achieved even before workers have stepped foot in a Tim Hortons restaurant.

Workers consistently articulated being willing to withstand unfavourable working conditions in order to achieve the desires and dreams they associated with incorporation into Canada. As one worker stated, “it is passive. Like sometimes it is not perfect, they [management or the employer] will treat you bad....... But after that everything will be okay....because I am motivated to be nominated this year” (Tim Hortons Worker, Phone Interview - Alberta, 25 April 2011). Another worker explained:

“I want to bring my family here so I am going to work really hard. First point of the first day, I am working hard....we were all, we were even extending hours. 8 hours, we were even extending hours for them, for free! Because that is what
Filipinos are. We work hard because we are motivated....because everybody was saying, I want to be nominated. I want the company to nominate me, help me bring my family over” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Manila, 22 June 2011).

The prospect of being nominated and the presumed benefits associated with Canadian citizenship exerts a strong disciplinary force on workers. As elaborated in chapter two, by “nominated” workers are referring to the possibility of being chosen for permanent residency under the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Unlike the LCP in which workers initiate the immigration process after meeting a set of criteria including a specified length of employment in Canada, under the PNP employers have the power to decide if they want to nominate a worker. This policy framework therefore organizes worker discipline and consent behind the counter, as TFWs fiercely compete for permanent residency and pursue the Canadian Dream.

Some workers expressed a willingness to withstand outright labour abuse from managers and employers in pursuit of the desires and dreams they associated with Canadian citizenship. As one worker described:

“Those white people [Canadians], they do not [take abuse] because they can just quit. I can find a new one [job], but a foreign worker they have to stay. Like no, you cannot talk to me like that, you owe me my overtime! No. Treat you bad.....You cannot say that cause you are foreign worker. Work really hard, do everything...... I say [is] ok....I want to be nominated” (Tim Hortons Worker, Surrey, 25 April 2011).

Another worker explained:

“They say ‘fuck you’ in my country I say ‘fuck you too!’, right? But is different here, different situation....I am not in my country....because we have to prove it, prove that we can do. Prove to you the job we can do.....cause they [Canadians] are lazy. Even if they can do it they say no to owner.....but for me is okay ‘cause I have the papers. Is like a give and take. You are giving me the one who can process and support my papers, so I give you back my service....ok you can give me my process, I will service you. But once I have my papers, I won’t [allow them to] treat me like the old way” (Returned Tim Hortons Worker, Manila, 30 May 2011).
The importance of papers in a social landscape of intangible dreams featured prominently in my interviews with TFWs. Migrant workers had very specific ideas regarding the benefits of Canadian citizenship, and papers offer concrete evidence of progress towards achieving these objectives. Namely this included stability, material gains, and the belief that a brighter future could be achieved through permanent residency in Canada. Moreover, “papers” mediate worker disciplining and consent within the confines of Tim Hortons restaurants. Immigration policies therefore benefit “low-skilled” employers who, through these policies, attain a workforce willing to work hard and even accept outright abuse in exchange for the possibility of Canadian citizenship.

Beyond the dreams of migrant workers, other dimensions of the Filipino labour brokerage state likewise garner the consent of workers within service sector worksites, such as PDOS sessions and the practices of labour recruiters and other labour market intermediaries. As the previous chapters showed, PDOS sessions are portrayed as a strategy for empowering workers pre-departure, though their main purpose is to produce docile, culturally appropriate, eager, disciplined workers for export. The desire for the status associated with entry to a high-status country like Canada also motivates the practices of workers within zones of encounters, disciplining workers through global status hierarchies and inequalities. Moreover, through the ideas and dreams that Filipinos associate with Canada, and transnational state policies and corporate practices, “low-skilled” Canadian employers gain access to disciplined, eager workers that are locally unavailable. The role of desires and dreams in disciplining (or failing to discipline) employees within worksites is rendered even more evident when assessing the shattered dreams of immigrant workers.
Unlike TFWs, the (primarily) aging, immigrant, female workers of Colour in my study articulated sentiments of anger, shame, and betrayal at Canada and their failed pursuit of the Canadian Dream. As Sara, a Chinese immigrant describes:

“Our government [the Canadian government] say we [will have] a good chance here, a good employment, chance now. But for us [immigrants] we don’t think so. We don’t thinks so! We think it [the Canadian government] is a liar. We don’t think truth that this situation. Why are so many people, lots of people graduated from university and cannot get a right place or a job? [commensurate with their education].....If you leave your hometown [home country] you come here it is because you want to stay here, you want to build your new home here, but you disappointed you live here.........You thought you had chance to get gooder life. But we are headache, of basically just the food and the rent. Just to live! Not what we thought” (Domestic Tim Hortons Employee, Coquitlam, 24 April 2011).

In describing her employment in a Tim Horton restaurant, Sara does not show signs of being motivated to be a disciplined worker. Rather, she spoke at length about how ashamed and upset she was that she worked in fast food and that she has minimal to no other employment options.

As Beth, a Filipina immigrant worker similarly described:

“Sad, very stressful........I came here [to Canada] and look [at me now] ........trying to remember how many kinds of a donuts and what combo should go in what kind of sandwich......I have a good job [in the Philippines], my husband has a good job, we can travel. But now I thinking what kind of sandwiches you have? And what muffin?........Asking the customer: ‘what would you have for your double-double? A donut?’........[We] had expected good life here [in Canada].....We came here for our kids” (Domestic Tim Hortons Worker, Surrey, 25 April 2011).

While both Sara and Beth expressed trying to do a decent job in their fast food employment, they were clearly not driven to be exceptional employees like their TFW counterparts. In fact, Beth quit her job at a Tim Hortons restaurant shortly after our interview, although she still juggles multiple low-paying jobs and is finding life in Canada challenging.

During our interview Beth also described hoping to sponsor her brother and nieces immigration to Canada, another factor that had motivated her mobility to Canada. Moreover, her motivations for immigrating to Canada reflect features of the Canadian Dream outlined earlier in this chapter.
Sara and Beth’s accounts also draw attention to another trend; Canadian employers gain access to educated, immigrant workers through globally circulating tropes regarding Canada. The belief that Canada is a “dreamland”, a fair and equitable country, the mecca for the welfare state, motivates the mobility of immigrants as well as migrant workers. Canadian employers also attain access to educated, immigrant workers and benefit from the reproduction of these dreams in accessing skilled workers, with no cost to themselves or the Canadian government. Moreover, dreams surrounding Canada benefit Canadian employers, both “skilled” and “unskilled”, in attaining “cream of the crop” workers from elsewhere; the qualities constituting worker preferability depend on the occupation in question. For bodily work employers desire young, motivated, able-bodied and disciplined workers; TFWs provide Canadian employers with this workforce through programs like the S-LSO. In “semi-skilled” and “skilled” occupations employers can draw from the knowledge and work experience of immigrants, a workforce labouring in occupations incommensurate with their skill level, to the benefit of Canadian employers who can pay lower wages to workers classified as less skilled than their education should afford them. In both instances global tropes regarding Canada, the dreams desiring subjects have that informs their (labour) migration, and global hierarchies that bestow status to people and workers in motion are beneficial to Canadian employers. Dreams and national hierarchies are disciplining sentiments for Canadian employers; in the case of TFWs, this acts as unintended modes of labour control within fast food restaurants.

5.6 Dreams and their Value in the Delivery of Specialized Workers:

There is value for Canadian employers embedded in the Canadian dream, and management relies on different strategies to discipline and enact worker consent depending on
the legal status of the worker and the desires and dreams workers associate with the workplace. With TFWs like Maria, managers can rely on the Canadian dream to discipline and engender the consent of workers, a managerial strategy of dream manipulation in which workers are enlisted to consent in pursuit of their dreams. This management strategy of enacting consent includes transnational activities occurring outside of the worksite with little effort required by management. In contrast, workers drawn from the local workforce already possess some elements of the Canadian dream (like permanent residency) and/or their expectations of the benefits associated with the Canadian dream (like economic security and stability) have already been shattered, as is the case with both Sara and Beth. The differences in sentiments and motivations between these two workforces from which low-status employers can now draw their labour produce unique challenges for managers in the worksite. Nevertheless, with both immigrants and migrant workers the Canadian dream is a productive sentiment that Canadian managers and employers can rely on in the pursuit of profits.

What is interesting about this labour regime is that due to a market-driven immigration program, TFWs are not only competing for the promises they associate with the Canadian dream (like wealth and stability) but rather are competing just for the opportunity to compete. This is a subtle yet important distinction that deserves consideration. For instance, the American dream is a powerful social force that has managed to lure workers to America and keep them working in difficult conditions for the improbable odds of accruing wealth and (in turn) access to the “good life” (Hochschild, 1995: 18). In contrast, the regulatory framework of the S-LSO and the PNP do not even grant workers the right to compete for many of the conditions associated with the good life like wealth and a good education for their children. Rather, they are denied the opportunity to circulate within the labour market and bring their children and educate them. While the labour
market does not afford many the opportunity to accrue significant wealth in a highly polarized labour market (as I described in chapter two) the S-LSO nevertheless denies migrants even the opportunity to try. It also denies migrants access to a secure life through permanent residency and (in turn) the other benefits of belonging to the Canadian polity. Instead, workers stand on the sidelines flipping burgers and pouring double-doubles waiting for the (improbable) change to enter the game and compete. This difference (subtle yet important) is symbolic of a new “precarious migration labour regime” that currently exists in Canada.
6 Beyond a Canadian-Filipino Fast Food Labour Chain: Institutionalizing an End to the Immigrant Dream

When one enters a Tim Hortons restaurant a clean and comfortable ambiance usually awaits, along with a wide array of product offerings and the promise of speedy and efficient service. In cities like Edmonton and Vancouver the workers who have historically staffed these restaurants consist primarily of youth, racialized persons, women, (recent) immigrants and aging populations. The industry has long relied on marginal segments of the labour force by emphasizing the low status and repetitive nature of the work, and poorly remunerated levels of compensation. However, as I have shown in this dissertation the reliance on marginal segments of the domestic labour force is no longer the sole option available to employers in western Canada. With the expansion of the TFWP through the introduction of the LSPP (now the S-LSO), employers are recruiting a new group of workers to work behind the counters of fast food restaurants. In the case of Tim Hortons, these workers are primarily young, educated, eager and able-bodied male and female migrant workers who are recruited disproportionately from the Philippines. They represent new flows of workers entering Canada. They are new in the sense that they are part of a highly qualified flow of migrants who no longer have the opportunity to permanently immigrate and become full members of the Canadian polity. They enter in pursuit of the classic immigrant dream like many others before them unaware that the conditions for incorporation have dramatically changed. These new flows of qualified individuals (unknowingly) face a precarious labour migration regime, one that is risky, competitive and employer-driven. This context differs from the previous immigration system that was characterized by a model of permanent migrant settlement, especially for English speaking, young, educated professionals. Precarious labour migration regimes are labour migration programs that neither exclude opportunities for permanent settlement (like the SAWP) nor offer
a direct path toward attaining permanent residency (like the LCP). Instead, precarious labour migration regimes offer migrants the opportunity to compete for a chance at permanent residency through temporary employment in a low-status occupation. The regulatory framework facilitating or denying this opportunity is insecure and competitive. It offers migrants few if any opportunities to control the transition from temporary to permanent status and renders the worksite the physical and legal space in which migrants are solicited to compete for permanent residency at improbable odds. As an employment regime this empowers employers with the carrot of permanent residency and a figurative stick (denial of nomination) as a method to discipline and enlist consent.

Throughout this dissertation, I have told you about the stories of various people who are part of these new transnational flows of migrants from the Philippines to western Canada. In the introduction of this dissertation I recounted the story of Camille, a young, masters level educated, BPO worker recruited transnationally from the Philippines for employment in a Tim Hortons restaurant. In chapter five of this dissertation I told the story of Maria, a development worker in the Philippines who like Camille migrated to Alberta for employment as a food counter attendant in a Tim Hortons restaurant. Both Camille and Maria had good jobs in the Philippines, yet they chose to give those jobs up and instead take positions as TFWs at Tim Hortons fast food restaurants. A generation ago someone like Camille or Maria would have most likely entered Canada through the Federal Skilled Workers Program (the “points system”) owing to her qualifications and professional experience. She could reasonably expect to be a part of the Canadian polity with the right to settle permanently, obtain her citizenship, sponsor other family members to immigrate, and access an array of rights and social services afforded to Canadian permanent residents and citizens. However, this context no longer characterizes the entry and
settlement model regulating the incorporation of a growing number of people into Canada. Instead, with the expansion of the TFWP a growing number of migrants are recruited on temporary work visas rather than as migrants earmarked for permanent settlement. They are channeled into segmented labour markets and confined to low-skilled and low-status occupations from the onset, and denied a direct and institutionalized pathway toward legal and cultural incorporation, unlike the LCP. This reflects a diminishing of opportunities for people like Camille and Maria to pursue immigration to countries like Canada in pursuit of a higher quality of life for themselves and their families.

TFWs recruited to Canada under the S-LSO are largely unaware of the limited opportunities they have to gain access to permanent residency through migration. The primary method available to workers like Maria to transition from temporary to permanent status is to pursue an employer nomination through a PNP immigration program\(^{16}\), a framework that inserts employers directly into the immigration process. Unlike the point system or LCP in which migrants control the ability to initiate the immigration process, those hoping to attain permanent residency through the S-LSO and PNP are reliant on their employer for nomination. There is also no obligation on the part of the employer to nominate a worker for permanent residency, although some employers use the promise of future sponsorship to attract migrant workers to their workplaces. Moreover, the crucial difference with the current immigration model and the previous system is that meeting the educational and professional qualifications no longer necessarily enables people like Camille and Maria to migrate with rights to permanent settlement. Many TFWs however are unaware of this new insecure and ambiguous system; they

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\(^{16}\) Some TFWs look to obtain permanent residency outside the confines of immigration and the employment relationship through strategies like getting married. This method however is highly insecure and open only to individuals who are technically unmarried (as some subjects in my study lamented). The non-employment related strategies for obtaining permanent residency amongst those recruited under the S-LSO would be an interesting line of future inquiry but beyond the scope of this project.
believe that like the LCP there is an equally viable option toward permanent residency. The S-LSO is also less straightforward with regards to the possibilities for being transitioned from temporary to permanent status. Instead a growing number of TFWs pursue migration to Canada unaware of the improbability that they will be incorporated into the Canadian polity. This marks a new system of insecurity in Canada. The renaming of the Low-Skilled Pilot Project to the Stream for Low-Skilled Occupations also illustrates the generalization and institutionalization of this immigration framework in Canada.

Employers in the bottom rungs of the Canadian labour market benefit from a global economy that capitalizes on people’s dreams. The employer-driven framework of the PNP and the benefits it affords employers is unsurprising given the S-LSO is the product of employer lobbying efforts. Employers benefit from access to workers who resolve challenges specific to the quick service restaurant industry, namely young, eager and able-bodied workers coveted for positions that are fast paced, labour-intensive and interactive. In the sending context the Filipino labour brokerage state along with recruiters and others in the migration industry are eager to deploy Filipino subjects to high-income countries like Canada because of the remittances and profits they can generate through supplying workers to Canadian employers. Cultural sensibilities regarding the desirability of Canada as a destination country also functions to mediate decisions amongst qualified workers like Maria and Camille to migrate, although in the case of Canada and the S-LSO through primarily unsubstantiated promises. In the process, marginal segments of the domestic labour force are displaced from low-waged service jobs including aging immigrant women, while migrant workers from the Philippines become the victims of implied promises and broken dreams.
The S-LSO is significant beyond Tim Hortons and the fast food sector in that it generates new systems of worker and migrant vulnerability. It elevates the fast food worksite from a bottom tier employment site to a transnational space of desires and dreams. Moreover, it repositions bottom-tier employment sites as spaces in which qualified workers are (unknowingly) recruited to gamble on the Canadian dream, an increasingly scarce resource in Canada’s emerging precarious labour migration regime. Beyond facilitating labour violations (like verbal abuses and unpaid overtime), it also creates a global economy built on false middle class expectations and the capitalization of people’s dreams. A new migrant subject is produced in the process. This subject accepts jobs that they may have never considered suitable in exchange for the promise of more rapidly entering Canada (than under the points system) and eventually settling permanently, a promise which includes access to a universal education and medical system, cultural spaces like museums and parks, safe roads and public transportation, and social insurance programs like employment and parental leave. In short, the promise of the Canadian version of the “good life” and benefits of belonging to a welfare state paradise. Consequently, this subject (unlike those streamed through the LCP, SAWP or point system) also faces the probability that such compromises to their professional careers will not be rewarded with cultural and legal incorporation. They must contend with disappointments and failures resulting from the insecurities and implied promises of the Canadian dream. Maria and other TFWs I met in the Philippines who had not managed to secure permanent residency through nomination by their employers used words like “loser” and “failure” to describe themselves post-contract. Moreover, beyond reorganizing migration patterns and worksite dynamics, the precarious labour migration regime has negative emotional impacts on workers’ sense of self.
6.1 The Changing Institutional Context of Belonging in Canada:

In chapter two of this study I argue that recent policy changes made to Canada’s immigration policies have contributed to an increase in the number of precarious status migrants entering Canada. Policies such as the LSPP (now the S-LSO) have allowed employers to recruit globally for low-status occupations beyond agriculture and domestic caregiving. In doing so, this has facilitated a sharp increase in the number of precarious status migrants (Goldring and Landolt, 2012; 2013) and changed the institutional context of regulating belonging for migrants to Canada. Unlike in previous historical periods when newcomers could generally expect to enter Canada with the possibility of directly settling\textsuperscript{17}, accompanied by family, and enjoy some prospects of economic security, under a new set of immigration policies, the possibility for migrants to obtain permanent residency and become full members in Canadian society has noticeably contracted. The PNP program has made the granting of citizenship more arbitrary; it has empowered employers by directly inserting them into the process of initiating pathways towards citizenship. Changes to immigration policies have also influenced the institutional conditions under which belonging is regulated in Canada. Earning one’s right at improbable odds through low-status employment is increasingly a prerequisite for legal incorporation.

In an abstract sense, belonging refers to the set of conditions whereby individuals are granted access to the range of opportunities existing in a given context. This includes the possibility to access legal protections, to have the opportunity to be upwardly mobile, and to expect that future generations will also share in these conditions. Belonging also refers to sentiments of inclusion and acceptance in the dominant cultural fabric of the nation. In Canada, the conditions and regulation of belonging are more specifically influenced by the value systems

\textsuperscript{17} There are important exceptions (like the SAWP) which I describe in chapter two.
of multiculturalism and the welfare state. Subjects can expect to access social services like education and healthcare and to enjoy relative stability and permanence through a settlement-oriented immigration program. Cultural diversity is also promoted through the multicultural model of belonging. Moreover, Canada is imagined to be a country of permanent settlement where individuals from across the world can belong and prosper in the cultural and economic fabric of the nation.

While research has challenged the actual existence of this model of belonging, the TFWP takes one step further by institutionalizing a system of cultural and legal exclusion. Stated differently, while cultural and legal discrimination have long been characteristics of Canada’s immigration policies (defining the experiences of many relative newcomers), the current immigration program under the PNP has institutionalized additional obstacles in the path towards permanent residency and incorporation. The PNP represents a model of precarious belonging. It makes workers’ access to membership in the Canadian polity highly insecure by downloading worksite and employment insecurities onto the worker. Indeed, the PNP as a strategy for attaining permanent residency is arbitrary, highly insecure, and lends itself to significant levels of employment violations such as acceptance of customer harassment, unsafe working conditions, and a general acceptance of going above and beyond to the benefit of employers. Workers’ desire the middle class immigrant dream and are encouraged to use the worksite as the space to compete at improbable odds. This landscape facilitates the ability of employers to now be highly selective when selecting workers (even for low-status occupations) by drawing specialized workers from global labour pools. These workers are selected and culturally prepared by sending countries for destinations like Canada.
6.2 Specialized Bodies for Specialized Destinations:

In chapter three of this dissertation, I examine how the Philippines as a labour brokerage state stimulates new transnational labour migration flows by producing and reproducing desires among its national citizens to migrate to desirable overseas locations such as Canada. I begin the chapter by offering a profile of different global destinations that Filipinos and other overseas foreign workers migrate to as temporary workers, and the hierarchal ordering of potential global destinations. Moreover, I show the social organization of global labour flows in what are increasingly interconnected and specialized labour markets. As I illustrate, in contrast to other potential host countries Canada is collectively imagined higher up the global hierarchy, motivating the “best” and the “brightest” to pursue entry into Canada. In contrast destinations like Asia and the Middle East are imagined less favourably and positioned lower down the hierarchy, and are therefore delivered workers that are less coveted and esteemed. Specialized workers are marketed and delivered by Filipino bureaucrats and recruiters to employers in these destinations. Beyond delivering cheap and disciplined workers, the Filipino labour brokerage state also has a comparative advantage of being able to supply workers who can “fit” anywhere in the world. This is more specialized than the docile, hard-working, English-speaking, loyal workers described in previous studies. These workers embody the characteristics and cultural knowledge considered appropriate for the occupation and region in question, including the ability to navigate the cultural landscape of the receiving context. Pre-Departure Orientation Seminars (PDOS) are important mechanisms through which the Filipino labour brokerage state delivers these highly specialized workers.

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18 Skill and occupational demands also mediate these flows.
PDOS are mandatory workshops for all emigrants and OFWs. In theory, they are meant to prepare Filipino migrants for employment and settlement while abroad, though in practice they produce docile, culturally appropriate and “superior” workers for export. Drawing from ethnographic data gathered during a summer research trip to the Philippines, I show how cultural ideas about countries are inserted into the content of PDOS sessions, and are an important component in preparing workers for export. Further, in describing to migrants the host culture and how to behave appropriately within host destinations, ideas about these places are actively produced by bureaucrats and recruiters. So are a new set of desires and dreams. Moreover, not only do recruiters and the Filipino labour brokerage state actively produce culturally appropriate, superior workers for export, they also contribute to shaping the social imaginary of receiving destinations (like Canada). In turn, employers can use the power of the social imaginary to their advantage by exploiting migrant worker dreams in their pursuit to resolve worksite and industry challenges.

In chapter four of this dissertation, I show that fast food employers are turning to TFWs to fulfill human resource desires in worksites characterized as interactive, physically demanding, and geared towards meeting objectives of speed and efficiency. This chapter challenges conventional wisdom suggesting that “low-skilled” employers turn to TFWs to secure a “cheap” and “disposable” workforce. Rather, with the expansion of the TFWP employers like Tim Hortons gain access to workers that are cheerful, reliable, physically capable and committed, a workforce previously unavailable to employers in the sector. Stated differently, TFWs resolve work and industry specific challenges for employers in the quick service restaurant industry. First, fast food workers recruited from the Philippines are generally young and able-bodied, a workforce able to work fast in physically demanding worksites. Second, they are eager and
motivated by their desires to attain permanent residency, offering employers lower rates of employee turnover. They will also consent to faster and demanding working conditions - and sometimes outright employment violations - in spite of the low status and low waged nature of the occupation. In contrast, workers hired from the local labour market do not have these same desires or motivations. While these workforces often differ on important dimensions (including aspirations and immigrant status), immigrants hired domestically and TFWs hired from abroad share an important experience. Like many immigrant domestic workers, most Filipino migrant workers must also contend with the emotional injuries resulting from broken promises and dreams.

6.3 The Social Imaginary and the Canadian Dream:

The social imaginary refers to culturally produced systems of meanings shaped by values, institutions, and other cultural forces in a society. In an increasingly interconnected world ideas and information is increasingly being exchanged globally at unprecedented rates, through mediums like the media, ideologies, people and technology. These ideas and imaginations, which produce the social imaginary, has taken on heightened importance and become an important force in shaping social realities. Beyond creating what Appadurai (1996) refers to as “imagined worlds” these cultural flows influence desires and dreams, and are involved in the process of subject formation. In the case of my study, the social imaginary has led relatively privileged sets of Filipino workers to desire service sector work in Canada and to engage in transnational labour mobility, largely because of the ideas they have come to associate with Canada. These globally imagined social realities are generative forces for encouraging Filipinos of higher social status to aspire and actively work towards obtaining the promises of the Canadian dream.
The Canadian dream refers to the cultural ideas that circulate about Canada, and the promises that are associated with entry and settlement in the country. In the Philippines, government bureaucrats and recruiters portray Canadian fast food work as a desirable and coveted job for those of higher social status, offering pathways to the Canadian dream and a superior life in Canada. Rather than being considered low-status and low-paid work much like it is in Canada, fast food work is being redefined in the Philippines as the vehicle for accessing “Canada”, or more precisely the promises of the Canadian dream. This dream, as I have described throughout this dissertation, rests largely on the opportunity to access generous social services and to make material gains, but also the promise that future generations will likewise benefit through pathways to Canadian citizenship. In the process, Tim Hortons restaurants - along with other bottom tier employment sites - are transformed into “zones of encounters” (Faier, 2009) where desiring subjects pursue the promises of the Canadian dream.

Like all dreams, there is the possibility that a select number of individuals might actually meet their objectives. In the case of my participants this would mean permanent residency, mass consumption, and an expectation that future generations will also benefit from these conditions. As I described in chapter four of this dissertation, there are PNP immigration programs that provide some temporary foreign workers with a pathway toward permanent residency. However, unlike the LCP in which workers initiate the process after meeting a set of criteria, migrant workers recruited under the S-LSO do not have the power to initiate the immigration process; rather it is the employer who makes the decision whether to nominate (or not nominate) a worker for permanent residency. In Alberta and British Columbia there are PNP programs through which fast food migrant workers employed through the S-LSO can be transitioned from temporary to more permanent status. They can therefore attain permanent residency through fast
food employment. However, while it is possible for workers like Camille to gain status through their employment in Tim Hortons, it is nevertheless statistically improbable. Instead, it is more likely that the power of the social imaginary and the specific ideas that circulate about Canada in the Philippines will be the reason that she and other migrants alike consent to employment violations, faster working conditions, and the emotional injuries that result from broken dreams. These transnational labour flows and the dynamics that underlie these processes have been rendered possible by the new institutional context for regulating belonging in Canada.

In the final empirical chapter of this dissertation I return to the nuclei of this project: the role of dreams in shaping desires and subjectivities and influencing mobility practices. Moving beyond the previous chapters’ focus on migrant worker subjectivities, worksite organizations and regulations of belonging, in this chapter I explore the effects of broken dreams on both immigrants and TFWs. As I show, Filipino migrant workers recruited from the Philippines are drawn to Canada partly through the power of the social imaginary, much the same way as racialized immigrants. The ideas that migrant workers have were also shared by immigrants, and motivated them to pursue entry and belonging in Canada. However, like migrant workers many racialized immigrants will never realize the promises of the Canadian dream. Instead, like “low-skilled” migrant workers, immigrant workers hired from the domestic labour pool also contend with the consequences of broken promises and dreams including labour market discrimination, social exclusion and lived experiences of non-belonging. Both sets of workers share in the emotional injuries perpetuated by the unfulfilled promises of the Canadian dream. In both instances this benefits employers who gain access to “superior” workers.
6.4 Toward a Rare Commodity of Permanent Residency:

This dissertation describes a new landscape of global migration under conditions of neoliberalism, and raises important questions for future research beyond the scope of this project. Through shifts in labour and immigration policies Canada is promoting a program that encourages people to (unknowingly) gamble at improbable odds for permanent residency, the latter a feature often associated with migration to Canada. This reflects new conditions of competitiveness and risk, features increasingly common in a more precarious world. As the case of Camille and Maria show, it is also narrowing the traditional pathway for middle class people to enter and settle in Canada, raising the question of whether the S-LSO and PNP reflects a foreclosing to the immigrant (Canadian) dream and perhaps a broader diminishing of the middle class itself.

Beyond the risky, competitive and employer-driven nature of this labour program, the cultural logics shaping informing immigration policy also raises questions about issues of power, the outsourcing of migrant selection to the private sector, and the increasingly unjust nature of Canadian immigration policy. This is troublesome and warrants attention. Take the need for workers in Canada as an example. Many Canadian employers and government officials bemoan labour shortages (especially in western Canada) and the policy response has been to implement an expedited labour program that facilitates recruitment of low waged, temporary status migrants. Through this shift, labour market regulation in the bottom rungs of Canadian labour markets now relies on a host of transnational actors to evaluate and select those deemed suitable for entry. Who will regulate these assessments and practices? Once in Canada, these migrants compete for permanent residency within the worksites which encourages heightened violations
and a general lowering of work and employment standards. For those who do manage to settle in Canada they will have to contend with the long-term, negative economic consequences of initial entry with a precarious migrant status (Goldring and Landolt, 2012; 2013), raising questions about whether new hierarchies (along dimensions like gender, ‘race’, and immigrant status) will result from these new labour programs. These shifts have also institutionalized Canada’s position as a country of implied promises and broken dreams.

Canada’s multicultural policy and global reputation implies that Canada is a country that is equitable, that values human rights, and that aims to level the playing field for marginalized populations. What is at stake when Canada increasingly makes permanent residency an rare commodity? Permanent residency is about long-term security and having the ability to exercise rights in a substantial sense. It is about being able to refuse labour and employment violations (at least in theory), to reject low wages and poor working conditions by exiting the employment relationship, and having the right to access social services both for oneself and future generations. Permanent residency (according to multicultural policy) also marks a commitment toward integration in spite of diversity. What new commitments is Canada making through these shifts in labour and immigration policies? Given that Canada and the Philippines are regarded as model immigration programs and migration apparatuses respectively, it will be left to see how these policy shifts will be interpreted by global policy institutions like the IMO, and whether an emulation of these programs will be encouraged in other countries or (in Canada) in other segments of the Canadian labour market. As Jamie Peck (1996) notes, the labour market is a site of power and a primary institution involved in the social organization of societies. It is left to be seen what the broader social implications of Canada’s implied promises and broken dreams will be both within and beyond its borders.
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Appendices

Appendix A: Elaboration of Methodology

From a Maquiladora to a Global Fast Food Chain:

In late 2009 and early 2010, I began hearing accounts that Tim Hortons and other fast
food employers were recruiting migrant workers for employment in western Canadian
restaurants. While my initial initial intention had been to conduct a shop-floor ethnographic
study in a textile manufacturing plant in a free trade zone in El Salvador (my country of birth), I
became intrigued by the rationale and logistics of this new employment practice. I wondered the
extent to which Tim Hortons was actually recruiting workers transnationally, and the possibility
of conducting an ethnographic study in a Tim Hortons restaurant. Unlike construction (another
sector I also heard was turning to migrant workers), I had the necessary skills to work in the
quick service restaurant industry. At the age of fifteen my first job had been in a McDonald’s
restaurant, and for ten years I held a number of low-waged, service sector positions in a range of
(food) service establishments. I also possessed the appropriate social characteristics to work in a
feminized and racialized sector. In March 2010, I began trying to attain research entry into a Tim
Hortons restaurant (as I had previously attempted to do in a manufacturing plant in El Salvador),
with the intent of examining how the turn to migrant workers was (re)shaping worksite dynamics
and hierarchies behind the counter.

Pursuing Unpaid Employment in a Tim Hortons Restaurant:

Like with my pursuit to obtain unpaid employment in a Salvadoran maquiladora, I
turned to my social networks to pursue unpaid employment in a Tim Hortons restaurant. I
focused my efforts on government bureaucrats and personal networks. On 29 March 2010 I sent
an email to Suzy [pseudonym], a Canadian government bureaucrat whom I knew was well acquainted with a human resource specialist at the Tim Hortons Corporation. I explained to Suzy that I was a PhD candidate at the University of British Columbia (UBC) exploring the possibility of conducting a project on Tim Hortons and the TFWP. I asked her whether she could put me in contact with any relevant individuals to get a better understanding of how the TFWP operates, and the extent to which the fast food industry and Tim Hortons recruits migrant workers for employment in their western Canadian restaurants. Within a few hours I received a response from Suzy informing me she had emailed her “colleague” at Tim Hortons and that she would soon be in touch. A month later, on 27 April 2010, I received an email from Suzy asking me: “what angle are you coming at the TFW program from?” I explained that I was interested in learning more about how Tim Hortons recruits migrant workers for employment in their western Canadian restaurants, and that I wanted Tim Hortons to serve as a case study for my doctoral project. I briefly explained that I hoped to conduct a study of worksite dynamics in Tim Hortons restaurants, and attached a “letter of introduction” to explain my project (see Appendix B for a copy of the letter). I offered to provide a “Best Practices Report” (or another mutually agreeable deliverable) to the Tim Hortons Corporation; I suspected Suzy was asking these questions on behalf of her colleague at Tim Hortons.

Along with approaching government bureaucrats I also turned to my personal contacts. I sent an email to relevant friends and acquaintances telling them about my intended research and asked them if they could help me connect with anyone at Tim Hortons. I became hopeful after receiving a phone call from my sister after a few days advising me that her friend

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19 In the winter of 2010 at the National Metropolis Conference in Montreal (18-21 March, 2010), I overheard a government bureaucrat jokingly refer to the TFWP as the “Tim Hortons program”. I later introduced myself to this individual and told her I was thinking of conducting my doctoral research on the TFWP and the Tim Hortons corporation. She was very friendly and seemed interested in my potential project. She provided me with her contact information and encouraged me to connect with her, telling me that she could probably put me in contact with someone directly at Tim Hortons.
Samira [pseudonym] works at the head office of a large fast food company and that Samira would see what she could do on my behalf. On 28 May 2010, I received an email from the human resource specialist at the Tim Hortons Corporation. In the email (in which he carbon copied both Suzy and Samira) he provided the names and contact information of individuals at business associations, and wished me good luck with my research project. Because he seemed to be avoiding my request to access Tim Hortons specifically I responded with another email, explaining that I was hoping to attain unpaid employment in a Tim Hortons restaurant and requesting an opportunity to discuss the matter further. A few hours later he responded with: “Thank you for the offer, but we will have to decline. I know your research into the TFW program can be obtained via the government contacts and the industry associations”. To say the least, I was deeply disappointed. Given this final rejection and my previous failed attempt to attain unpaid employment in a Salvadoran low-waged worksite, I decided to abandon my intention of conducting a worksite ethnography altogether. Rather than limiting my study to an analysis of micro worksite dynamics, I would pursue an ethnographic study of a global fast food chain.

**Three-Pronged Methodological Approach for Examining a Global Fast Food Chain:**

By the time I received ethics approval from UBC in August 2010, I was somewhat unsure of how to proceed with my doctoral project. I was excited at the prospect of studying Tim Hortons, migrant workers and the fast food sector, but conducting a worksite ethnographic study of a Tim Hortons restaurant was out of the question. It also seemed (based on preliminary conversations) that the majority of migrant workers recruited to Canada for interactive, service sector employment were Filipino migrant workers not Latin Americans, though I lacked data to
support this assumption. I also did not know the extent to which Tim Hortons was recruiting workers transnationally. My first task was to determine how widespread Tim Hortons’ practice of recruiting migrant workers was and from which countries they were drawing their temporary labour. This was the first step toward examining how the TFWP operates to segment racialized, third-world subjects into low-status, service sector occupations.

In early July 2010, I filed my first Freedom of Information (FOI) request with the “Government of Alberta, Employment and Immigration”. I learned over the course of preliminary research that relevant data could be attained through an FOI request, though at the time I did not fully understand the TFWP is a federal program and that I therefore needed to file my request with HRSDC. On 6 July 2010 I received a phone call from an officer at the Information and Privacy Office in Edmonton, Alberta advising me to re-file my request with HRSDC. Shortly after this conversation I ran into Tom [pseudonym], an acquaintance who works for a TV media broadcasting company in Vancouver. Tom told me that in 2008 he himself had gathered useful data on the transnational recruitment of migrant workers through an FOI request. That evening Tom emailed me a copy of the letter he submitted to HRSDC and the data he received through the request. I was amazed to discover that employers like IGA, Sears Maid Service, and McDonald’s had received positive LMOs to recruit migrant workers for employment in their establishments.

On 27 July 2010, I re-filed my request with HRSDC (see Appendix C for a copy of the request). Beyond seeking to gather information like the gender and source country of the workforce Tim Hortons’ recruits for employment in their Alberta and British Columbia franchise restaurants I was also interested in obtaining data on all correspondence between Tim Hortons and HRSDC during the same time period. The objective was to better understand how Tim
Hortons had influenced the expansion of the TFWP, and the kinds of language and discourses they used to lobby for their interests through an analysis of their correspondence. In early August of 2010 I received a response from HRSDC informing me that it would cost six thousand two hundred and thirty dollars to process my request. As the letter elaborated, “The reason for the high fee estimate is that the files typically involve low-skill workers, multiple extensions and contracts; the approximate files to review are approximately 1,884. Please note that you may reduce the fees by narrowing the scope of your request”. I was not in a financial position to process the request so I amended it to read “A list of all Tim Hortons restaurants in Alberta and British Columbia who have received positive Labour Market Opinions under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program from January 1 2000 to August 15, 2010. For each restaurant, I would also like the company address, company phone number, third party if applicable, date of approval, how many Labour Market Opinions were issued, gender of workers, and sending country”.

In late September 2010 I received the data from the FOI request. The data generated listed the Employer Name, Employer Address, Employer City, Employer Phone Number, Number of confirmed LMOs, Date of LMO confirmation, Third Party Company, Number of foreign worker positions (male, female, and total), and the country of residence of the foreign worker. I received a paper copy and digital version on a compact disc, and paid two hundred dollars for the processing of the request. In November 2010 I filed another request for the job location rather than the employer address. In the initial request filed in July 2010 I requested “all

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20 In particular I would like to thank Dr. Mark Thompson from the Sauder School of Business at the University of British Columbia for his support in obtaining this FOI data. I found him to be very knowledgeable on the sorts of data that can be obtained through FOI requests given his own experiences gathering FOI data on migrant workers recruited to Canada under the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program. It was through his advice that I knew to request for information like gender, source country, and third-party recruiter. He was also very informative for drawing to my attention to industry and cultural norms in the fast food sector.
locations (i.e. addresses) of Tim Hortons franchises for which Temporary Foreign Workers Program employees have been approved (i.e. received positive Labour Market Opinions)” but I later changed my wording in the amended request to read “the company address”. I wanted to make sure I had been provided with the address of the franchise restaurant; I was after all interested in learning where workers were being recruited to work, not the address of the employer. By late November 2010 I received the data for this final request which confirmed I had been provided with the franchise addresses in the initial request. Cumulatively, these four FOI requests are what I used to ascertain the number of workers Tim Hortons recruited to Alberta and British Columbia from 1 January 2005 to 15 August 2010, the country of residence of the migrant worker prior to employment in Canada, third-party labour recruiter (if any), and the gendered composition of this migrant workforce.

There were a number of challenges involved with making use of this data. For one, the digital format in which I received the data was not easily convertible into an Excel or SPSS file. As such, I had to create an excel template for all the relevant information and manually input the information. This entailed many hours of work. It also meant I needed to be highly methodical and establish a method for cross-verifying the inputted data. After each day of inputting data I would re-check my entries the following day. Once all the data had been implemented I also re-checked every fifth entry to verify correct input of data. I also had to contend with the numerous disclaimers that accompanied the FOI data I received from HRSDC. For instance, as the letter I received with the data read, “Tim Hortons franchises are listed under numerous name variants in the FWS [foreign worker system]; therefore, this list may not capture every Tim Hortons restaurant in Alberta and British Columbia”. Also, “The data appearing in this table may differ from those reported in previous HRSDC releases. These differences are
adjustments to administrative data files as normally occur over time and reflect refinement in methods of calculation for the purpose of increasing accuracy in the way statistical information is presented”. Moreover, the FOI data should be interpreted as providing an overall picture of Tim Hortons recruitment practices of TFWs as documented by HRSDC and analyzed by myself rather than definitive figures of the number of Tim Hortons migrant workers who have been recruited to Alberta and British Columbia from 1 January 2000 to 15 August 2010.

Filing and analyzing the data from the FOI requests was the first-step toward learning about Tim Hortons franchise recruitment of migrant workers. From there, I needed to establish a clearer picture of how the policy framework of the TFWP acts to shape the transnational movement and employment of low-waged, service sector TFWs from the Philippines to western Canada. Because I wanted to develop a more complete picture of the various dimensions that shape a Filipino-Canadian transnational fast food chain, I required a sample framework that included a range of actors to answer a number of questions. I began conducting semi-structured interviews for the project in August 2010 after receiving ethics approval from UBC. I sought to answer questions like: When and under what conditions did the expansion of the TFWP occur? What are the specific rules and regulations underlying the LSPP (now the S-LSO)? What rights and responsibilities do employers and workers have under this labour program? As a sending state, how does the Filipino migration apparatus operate? How do employers recruit migrant workers from the Philippines? What role do labour market intermediaries (like labour consultants and recruiters) play in the process? What are the characteristics of the migrant workforce Tim Hortons recruits to western Canada? How is the presence of a diversifying workforce (through the introduction of migrant workers) altering worksite dynamics and management techniques in low-waged, service sector occupations like fast food?
To answer these questions, I conducted sixty-two semi-structured interviews using a snowball sampling method (see chapter one for a list of participants interviewed). I began by interviewing settlement workers and government bureaucrats to learn how the TFWP operates to develop a better understanding of the challenges faced by migrant workers recruited under the LSPP. From there, I relied on my social networks, the networks of my participants, and my activists work with unions and (peripherally) with migrant worker organizations to secure additional interviews. I was pleasantly surprised by the extent to which interviews could be secured through social networks. For instance, an acquaintance connected me with a labour consultant who was instrumental for helping me connect with a number of other consultants, recruiters and government bureaucrats in Canada. An ex-coworker at a restaurant helped me connect with a franchise owner, and fellow union activists helped me recruit domestic Tim Hortons workers. Many individuals (some whom I barely knew) were very generous with their time in helping me recruit participants and to this day I still do not know why they went to the trouble to support me. Most noteworthy is the support I received from the grassroots activist organization Migrante British Columbia and Migrante International. It was primarily through their support that I was able to secure interviews with Tim Hortons migrant workers.

Accessing Tim Hortons Migrant Workers – Migrante to the Rescue:

Tim Hortons migrant workers were a challenging group of participants to recruit into my study. I began by trying to use a snowball sampling approach relying on contacts like settlement workers and Tim Hortons domestic workers, but I only managed to recruit a few

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21 For a number of years I served on the Executive Committee and as President of the Teaching Assistant Union at the University of British Columbia, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 2278. Through my work at CUPE Local 2278 I met a number of activists and members at other Locals and Unions, including CUPE Local 116. Namely it was through the networks of members at CUPE Local 116 that I was able to connect with domestic Tim Hortons workers in British Columbia.
participants using this method. One afternoon after conducting a research interview with a grassroots organizer with Migrante British Columbia she asked me how I planned to recruit Tim Hortons migrant workers. I responded that I was offering Tim Hortons workers (domestic and foreign) twenty dollars honorarium in lieu of their time but confessed that beyond that I had not established a strategy for securing these interviews. The following day I received an email from another organizer with Migrante British Columbia. We had met previously at a migrant worker organizing event and she asked me if I wanted help with my project from Migrante. I was both grateful yet deeply embarrassed to receive the email. I felt that I should have been the one to request Migrante’s support with my project, but I was also deeply uncomfortable at the prospect of benefitting from their efforts and not being able to reciprocate the gesture in a meaningful way. Nevertheless I was having difficulty recruiting migrant worker participants and I definitely needed the help so I eagerly accepted her offer and the following week we met in a coffee shop in East Vancouver. Following that initial meeting numerous acts of support followed, including assistance recruiting migrant worker participants, connecting me with organizers in the Philippines including Migrante International (the latter who helped me plan my stay and research trip in the Philippines), and other systems of support. I doubt this project could have been carried without the support of the Migrante activist community.

**Ethnographic Field Research:**

Aside from analyzing FOI data and conducting semi-structured interviews, this mix-method study also included ethnographic field research. In Canada I conducted ethnographic field research through attending grassroots organizing events held by migrant worker organizations (like Justicia for Migrant Workers, Migrante British Columbia, and the Coalition
for Migrant Workers Justice in Canada), observing interactions between employers and
government bureaucrats at events like Metropolis National conferences including the Metropolis
2011 pre-conference session on Immigration Levels and Labour Supply Forecasting, and
participant observation at an industry conference on migrant workers geared toward human
resource specialists in Calgary, Alberta on 18-19 October 2011. The bulk of the ethnographic
field research was conducted in the Philippines.

From 17 May 2011 to 1 July 2011 I was in the Philippines conducting semi-
structured interviews and ethnographic field research for this project. Ethnographically, I
engaged in activities like: attending Pre-Departure Orientation Seminars (PDOS) for emigrants
and migrant workers being deployed to distinct global destinations; attending a large job fair in
Rizal Park in Manila organized by the Philippine’s Department of Labor and Employment on 12
June 2011; visiting migrant worker communities like in Pangasian from 20-22 May 2011 and the
Muslim compound of Culiat on 2 June 2011; observing and taking field notes in spaces like
recruitment agencies where I was invited to conduct interviews; and documenting (through
fieldnotes, digital recordings, and / or pictures) other relevant observations and conversations.
On one occasion I had the opportunity to accompany Migrante organizers to their meeting with a
high-ranking government bureaucrat at the POEA, and visit economically marginalized
communities living in squatter communities including in Kalibo on 30 May 2011 and metro
Manila on 28 June 2011 (through the organizing work of Migrante and their ally organizations).

I attribute my initial success in gaining access to these research spaces to the
generosity of specific individuals and through my social networks. For instance, Dr. Leonora
(Nora) Angeles from UBC’s School of Community and Regional Planning (SCARP) was
instrumental in helping me secure research interviews with Filipino government bureaucrats.
Prior to my research trip to the Philippines Dr. Angeles generously agreed to meet with me and provided me with contact information of relevant individuals (like government bureaucrats) and encouraged me to tell them she advised me to connect with them. Through these initial contacts I was able to snowball interviews and additional introductions with other government bureaucrats and gain access to PDOS seminars and other relevant agencies and spaces. The transnational networks of Migrante and other members of the Filipino community were also instrumental for helping me secure initial interviews with returned Tim Hortons workers, and later additional interviews through a snowballing strategy. Moreover, once initial introductions and trust had been established with a couple of key informants accessing other spaces and attaining additional research participants occurred without too much difficulty. While I cannot name individuals specifically because of confidentiality issues, I am deeply indebted for their introductions and logistical support and the opportunities they facilitated through their references and introductions.

Reflections on Power, Representation and Reciprocity:

I began this methodological appendix by briefly alluding to my initial plans to conduct a shop floor ethnography in a Salvadoran maquiladora. While seemingly unnecessary I chose to mention it because it draws attention to various aspects of my positionality, and the personal and political commitments that have shaped my research. Like Smith (2001), I subscribe to the position that “research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions” (5). I seek to conduct research and produce knowledge that is (by my accounts) socially meaningful, acknowledging that my subjectivity and social location shape these evaluations and trajectory. Moreover, I am aware that as Haraway (1991) notes, my representation of accounts is situated
and limited by my location, what she describes as “embodied objectivity” or “feminist objectivity” (90). While I aim to produce knowledge on subjectivity and processes of globalization, I cannot extract myself from the research process and findings.

To address some of these issues, I begin by positioning myself and briefly elaborate on my initial rationale for conducting a shop floor ethnography in a maquiladora. I do so as a method of practicing reflexivity and addressing various aspects of power that have shaped the various components of this project. As Naples (2003) notes, one central component of practicing reflexivity and positionality is interrogating our assumptions which in turn dictate the voices we privilege in our accounts (22). Further, strong reflexivity “requires the researcher to subject herself to the same level of scrutiny as she directs to her respondents….It requires analysis of how her own use of master narratives give form and substance to not just her experiences in the field, but her sense of her own identity as well as the identities and ‘differences’ of others” (McCorkel and Myers, 2003: 205). While I have followed established scientific research methods to carry out and draw conclusion from this study, I have grappled with what Haraway metaphorically describes as the challenge of the greasy pole - trying to create ‘objective’ accounts and knowledge while on the other hand appreciating that at most, all one can ever hope for is embodied objectivity. Stated differently, I am aware of and theorize through the fact that I am at the center of my research process and findings. I conclude by turning to the issue of reciprocity and how I can “give back” to the many individuals and communities who have supported me in carrying out and completing this project.

As a young child I never fully understood the socioeconomic or political conditions that led to my family’s migration to Canada. During the late 1980s my sister, parents, and I left war-torn El Salvador as refugees, and settled in Canada. Over the years, my parents often spoke of
their migration to Canada and the home they had left behind. I discerned from their accounts that we were fortunate to be living in Canada, yet it was clear that their social location in Canada was much lower than their education and professional work experience should have afforded them. It was also evident they had unfulfilled expectations about what life in Canada would afford them and emotional injuries resulting from these frustrations. These contradictions confused my own sense of place and belonging, and (at times) level left me yearning for another identity and home.

In 2006 I travelled to El Salvador to conduct empirical research for my master’s project, though in retrospect I believe I also sought to better grasp my own subjectivity in relation to processes of globalization. I would answer questions of belonging by returning to my country of birth.

My master’s research trip proved to be productive and facilitated my gathering useful data for the purpose of my study. On a more personal level it also led me to conclude that answers to my questions surrounding ‘home’, subjectivity, and (non)belonging were perhaps in Canada all along. While I immensely enjoyed spending time in my country of birth I did not fully “belong” in El Salvador, either by my own account or that of others. I nevertheless felt an immense affinity and longing for the country that under different historical and structural conditions would have been my home. I decided I would return to El Salvador for my doctoral study and conduct research on pressing and relevant social issues (like the plight of maquiladora workers). I would also approach my research appreciating my primarily outsider status while honouring the personal and political struggles of relatives before me.

I was deeply committed to carrying out research in El Salvador but after realizing that my proposed doctoral project would not materialize, I turned toward the experiences of racialized newcomers to Canada as a way of gaining insights into processes of migration and racialization.

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22 Prior to this research trip I had returned to El Salvador numerous times, though this was the first time I would be staying in El Salvador for a number of months and unaccompanied by my nuclear family.
under conditions of globalization. I have always struggled to articulate the contradiction between my family’s “good fortune” to be living in Canada while acknowledging the emotional injuries associated with downward social mobility and sentiments of non-belonging. In part, this stems from the deeply personal and unresolved nature of these challenges. Nevertheless, in order to carry out research into what ultimately became my doctoral study I had to directly confront and interrogate my assumptions about broken promises, subjectivity and the failures of globalization and the Canadian dream; indeed my own experiences and positionality shaped the questions I posed, my research design, and conclusions. For instance, rather than asking low-waged, racialized (im)migrants about their current employment conditions and social location, I could have asked my participants about their life-long aspirations and dreams. I might have received a different (and more positive) narrative through this line of inquiry; colloquially, there tends to be a belief that immigrants redirect their dreams onto their children. Similarly, I also could have conducted a study with those who have managed to integrate professionally into Canada rather than fast food workers, highlighting instead another subjectivity and dimension of the Canadian dream altogether, those who more directly fulfil their hopes and dreams. Nevertheless, my positionality makes me more attuned to emotional injuries, labour market discrimination, and sentiments of non-belonging, shaping the questions I ask, the themes I address, and the narratives I systematically analyze. This does not mean that my research findings are merely subjective accounts or “untrue”. Instead as Wolf (1996) proposes, objective, value-free and neutral knowledge is impossible, and perhaps even undesirable (4-5). Researching from a relative margin makes me better attuned to a host of dynamics specific to my experiences and social location.
Ethics and Reciprocity:

Conducting research especially with marginalized communities presents a number of ethical challenges. For instance, in the case of participants recruited through Migrante’s social networks I often wondered the extent to which individuals felt at liberty to say no to an interview. Similarly, when I conducted ethnographic research in spaces like recruitment fairs and PDOS sessions, the people I observed had not necessarily agreed to participate in my study. Moreover, I had a lot of power relative to these individuals under those circumstances and to partly remedy this, I was committed to being upfront within these encounters. In the case of ethnographic research I often informed participants that I was a researcher (especially when given the opportunity), or reminded participants that they were free to not participate or end their participation at any time (in the case of interviews). However, I can never fully know whether they felt misled under these circumstances, or empowered to say no to participation in the study.

Another ethical challenge I faced was the question of how transparent to be with regards to my own personal and political commitments. For instance, I often discovered Filipino government employees and labour recruiters to be extremely forthcoming with regards to their beliefs, making me wonder whether I had unintentionally misrepresented myself or if they had misinterpreted some aspect of our interaction. I also wondered the extent to which migrants considered me a reflection or reinforcement of the Canadian dream; I was after all seemingly prospering within an important marker of the Canadian dream, the educational system. I suppose I will never know the perception or cues different subjects read from my body or our interactions though I tried to be equally forthcoming and accurate within and about our conversations and interactions.
With regards to reciprocity, I wonder the extent to which participants fully understood the limits of my position as a researcher. For instance, one problem that often arose was the expectation that I could provide some kind of expert advice or support. Tim Hortons migrant workers (whether in Canada or returned to the Philippines) often asked me questions about the SLSO and their chances of transitioning from temporary to permanent status through a PNP, or the best method of entering Canada as a migrant worker and eventually attaining permanent residency. While I often wanted to help people with their questions and knew a little bit about the policy framework of these programs I was also not in an ethical position to comment or provide advice on these kinds of matters; at times, participants seemed disappointed. On a couple of occasions I suspect workers met with me because they wanted answers to these questions and on one occasion I had to explain shortly into the interview that I was not an expert and that I could not provide this kind of support which drew the interview to a close. Similarly, Filipino labour recruiters often wanted to ask me questions about the current situation of the Canadian labour market, presumably for business purposes. Settlement workers and grassroots organizers also sometimes asked for information and support with their own (activist) work, though I often found myself learning more from them than any knowledge I could reciprocate in return. These moments and interactions led me to question what use my research could pragmatically provide participants and those beyond the academic realm.

One method of addressing the unequal benefits associated with conducting research is to produce something in return for the people and communities who supported me. While I can never entirely repay the many gestures of support that were provided over the course of this project, settlement workers and grassroots organizers were especially generous with their time and efforts for making this project possible. My intentions are to offer a mutually agreed upon
deliverable to both communities. First, I will propose writing a grey-literature report for dissemination within settlement agencies on the research findings from this study. For the activist community, I will approach Migrante and begin a conversation of what might be an agreeable deliverable, such as a facts and figures sheet for migrants or providing community presentations. In the case of both communities, however, I will only be using these deliverables as conversation starters; I cannot presume to know what their needs are or what is in their best interest. What I do recognize is the need to acknowledge and give back to the people and communities who support research projects such as this study.
Appendix B: Letter of Introduction

My name is Geraldina Polanco and I am a researcher at the University of British Columbia. I am working on a doctoral project titled *Globalizing Tim Hortons: The Employment of Temporary Foreign Workers in a Service Workplace*.

Tim Hortons Corporation is an industry leader in addressing labour shortages through recruiting and employing temporary foreign workers. Little, however, is known into how Tim Hortons does this or the corporate and social meanings of this strategy. In my research I seek to examine how Tim Hortons recruits temporary foreign workers. Second, I hope to explore how workers, customers, managers and franchise owners experience the diversification of Tim Hortons’ workforce. Third, I consider the benefits and challenges to business operations resulting from the recruitment and employment of temporary foreign workers.

Globally the use of migrant workers to address labour shortages is becoming a widespread practice. However, beyond a handful of sectors in Canada, this practice is a new, little-understood strategy. Research needs to be conducted (in conjunction with government officials and corporate leaders) to understand the functioning of this strategy. My research attempts to examine the corporate, social and policy significance of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program in Canada and identify potential areas of improvement.

As a corporation that is innovating its employment practices, Tim Hortons is an ideal case study for my research project. Tim Hortons is at the forefront of hiring temporary foreign workers through the “Pilot Project for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training”. They therefore offer a flagship model for other corporations. They also provide an informative case study to learn about the benefits of hiring temporary foreign workers and the challenges of employing a diversifying workforce. First, the business community could learn important best practices from Tim Hortons’ experiences with the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. Second, government policies meant to serve the business community could be improved by identifying challenges to recruiting and employing temporary foreign workers. Third, Tim Hortons’ diversifying workforce is likely impacting workplace relations. Insights into these changes would benefit company employment practices; employee relations and the provision of customer service are, after all, pivotal features of business operations. One potential outcome of this research is a “Best Practices Report” on the employment of temporary foreign workers.

I would like to request a meeting to discuss the possibility of gaining access to various facets of the Tim Hortons Corporation for the purpose of conducting this research. I can be contacted by telephone at 778-847-5669, or via email at gerald28@interchange.ubc.ca

Sincerely,

Geraldina Polanco
B.A. Honours, M.A., PhD Candidate
Appendix C: Freedom of Information Request

Geraldina Polanco
#106 - 1190 West 10th Avenue
Vancouver, B.C.
V6H 1J1

Human Resources and Social Development Canada
Access to Information and Privacy Directorate
Phase IV, 1st Floor
140 Promenade du Portage
Gatineau, Quebec
K1A 0J9

27 July 2010

To Whom It May Concern:

Please find enclosed the $5 application fee. I would like to make an access to information request for the following:

• All applications filed by the Tim Hortons Corporation (or the TDL Group Corporation) under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program for locations in Alberta and British Columbia up to the present date.

• All correspondence or documentation related to approvals or denials of LMOs by the Tim Hortons Corporation (or the TDL Group Corporation) under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program.

• All Labour Market Opinion (LMO) documentation on file in support of (i.e. received a positive labour market opinion) - or rejection of (i.e. did not receive a positive labour market opinion) Tim Hortons applications (or the TDL Group Corporation) under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. (Note: Under the LMOs for workers under the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program information such as supply country, gender of worker(s), hours of work per day / per week and duties are listed. I am also requesting this information).

• All locations (i.e. addresses) of Tim Hortons franchises for which Temporary Foreign Worker Program employees have been approved (i.e. received positive labour market opinions) in Alberta and British Columbia, and the numbers of employees for each location.

I have been told that this list can be generated and I would like to receive it in a digital format. If you have any questions please feel free to give me a call at 778-847-5669.
Sincerely,

Geraldina Polanco