

**Migrant Workers in the Canadian Cannabis Industry:
Exploited or Valued Talent?**

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Introduction

A review of the literature that focuses on talent management discusses how internal talent is leveraged to address organizational goals. However, research has been limited on the individual needs and aspirations (e.g. Farndale et al., 2014), and on the impact of these practices on the nature of work for the talented individuals. The war on talent might conjure up images of professionals with suits “duking it out” for elite-type, welling-paying jobs. There is little notion that people who work in the fields or greenhouses are part of that fight, yet they remain an integral part of any countries’ food chain and, as will be discussed in this paper, on the licensed production of marijuana. More politically correct, and to ensure that notions of past digressions associated with illicit drugs are let behind, the product is now referred to as “cannabis”. Legalized in Canada in 2019, the cannabis industry has provided many opportunities for talent to grow in their careers in various capacities (McPhee & Schlosser, 2022, 2020). Cannabis, in Canada, has also been recognized as a legitimate product to alleviate stress and provide relaxation. In fact, during COVID, it, as well as alcohol, were deemed essential wellness products made available, while other retailers remained closed, to ensure purchasers the ability to have something to help them cope during trying times.

The talent associated with the production of cannabis includes a vast array of professions from the top executives in their C-Suites, to production workers located in converted greenhouses, concrete facilities, and in some limited cases open fields in Canada. The employment in the production of cannabis is less desirable, where wages are typically lower, physically taxing, and exposed to many known and unknown health and safety conditions. Additionally, the demand for labour has exceeded domestic supply and developed a need for more migrant workers to handle the production and harvest of cannabis. The supply and demand

issues, as well as lack of domestic interest in working in lower paying jobs, results in employers having to seek out migrant workers to fill the positions no one else wants. Workers are typically brought in from Jamaica, Mexico, Guatemala, and in some case the Philippines to Canada for eight-month stints. Workers often return year after year to the same operation because they are sponsored by the employer. Thus, they live in a constant state of flux, going back and forth between their homes and their employment. Additionally, they cannot participate in all aspects of production, as cannabis is illegal in their countries and their governments agreed to let them migrate temporarily to Canada with the provision that they would not be part of the finished production. This limits them to perform the more menial tasks.

While little has been written about migrant workers in the cannabis industry, there is a plethora of articles in the social sciences on agricultural migrant workers (e.g., Hargreaves et al., 2019; Hasan et al., 2021). These articles, and the popular press, repeatedly identify these workers as precarious, taking on low-skill, low-pay, and generally insecure jobs where they can be fired at will (Hyman & Gumbrell-McCormick, 2017; Manolchev, Saundry & Lewis, 2018), with no career prospects and limited work protection (ILO, 2016). Migrant workers have been exposed to dangerous work conditions, psychosocial issues due to poor living conditions, distance from loved ones, and general treatment. This leads us to our first research question: *“Are these cannabis workers exploited or valued by their employers?”* Addressing this question placates the limited amount of research on individual needs and aspirations, allowing us to focus on the workers themselves.

From a talent perspective, understanding the endogenous and exogenous aspects that affect these workers are important to addressing the ongoing issues facing talent managers, the migrant talent pool, and the individual migrant workers themselves. Those who are exploited may have

issues of trust with employers and agencies (Hennebry et al., 2016), and this can lead to less than desirable experience in their working, potentially negatively affecting production. On the other hand, those who feel valued can offer examples of practices that lead to this assumption. The question we pose differs from the research on migrant health and wellness because it involves an emerging industry that is still establishing its legitimacy and poses increased health and social risks to workers that have yet to be known. Migrant workers come from varied countries with varied outlooks and laws regarding cannabis growing and distribution. There is a limited pool of workers, which should increase the value of migrant workers to their employers and shape the discourse around the workers as talent. However, these systemic structural conditions also set the stage for exploitation. This brings us to our second research question, “*How resilient are migrant workers in the cannabis industry*”?

The remainder of the paper will discuss the background under which migrant talent is recruited to Canada in the agricultural sector, of which cannabis is categorized under, talent definition, followed by a discussion of the exploitation and value that these workers bring to Canada. The methodology will be explained, followed by the analysis and framework, which will then lead to our final discussion of our findings and recommendations related to migrant workers as talent.

Background and Literature Review

Migrant Worker Talent Recruitment Arrangements in Canada

We begin the discussion of migrant talent by explaining the backdrop under which agricultural workers migrate to Canada. It is important to understand these circumstances as they are

interrelated within the question of whether these workers are exploited or valued, and the resiliency needed to endure their stay here and return to their country.

Migrant agricultural workers are recruited to work in Canada in one of two ways. One is through the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) which has been operating since 1966. The other is through the low-wage agricultural stream of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) (ESDC, 2022; McPhee & Schlosser, 2022, 2020)). The SAWP is the largest program employing agricultural workers, based on two bilateral agreements of which one is between Canada and a group of 11 Caribbean countries, and the other between Canada and Mexico. Under the SAWP, workers are allowed to work in Canada for a maximum of 8 months a year (ESDC, 2022); although the program permits circularity, SAWP workers must return to their countries of origin by December 15th of their year of arrival. Previous research suggests that on average SAWP workers return to work in Canada for approximately 10 years, with a good proportion returning to work in Canadian agriculture for several decades, challenging the category of ‘temporary’ in the classic sense of the term (Hennebry, 2012; McLaughlin, Wells, Mendiburo, Lyn, & Vasilevska, 2017). In recent years, a growing number of migrant agricultural workers have been entering Canada under the distinct agricultural and low-wage streams of the TFWP. Under these streams, workers are not recruited or directly represented by authorities in their countries of origin; rather, they are recruited by non-profit and third-party agencies. These individuals may come from any region of the world, but most common among them are workers from Mexico, Guatemala, Jamaica, Thailand, and the Philippines (Stats Can, 2022). Under this program, workers may be authorized to work for up to two years in Canada for the duration of their contract. In addition to these formal programs, individuals without authorization to work are also employed in Canadian agriculture, although their numbers are

difficult to estimate. There are numerous scenarios under which a worker might be deemed undocumented. They may come to Canada under a tourist visa and seek out work on their arrival. In a more concerning situation, migrants who have faced threats, abuse, or dismissals under a formal migrant program may opt to stay in Canada and “work under the table” as a method to maintain a source of income for their family (Basok, 2000; Caxaj, 2022; McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013; Walia, 2010). Some individuals may be recruited to Canada under false promises or misrepresentation of their work conditions in Canada, and only become aware of their lack of formal status shortly after arrival in the country (Gabriel & Macdonald, 2018; Gesualdi-Fecteau, et al., 2017). In such cases, a lack of legal status poses challenges for these workers to access healthcare and other protections (Meyer, 2020).

While a worker coming in under these programs cannot move to another employer while they are in Canada, an exception could occur if there is a claim of abuse. Abuse in this context is defined as “any behaviour that scares, controls or isolates you could be abuse. Abuse can be physical, sexual, financial or mental” (Government of Canada, 2022). Workers who claim abuse may file under a program referred to as open permit for vulnerable workers. If the permit is granted, they may apply to other employers except for a publicized list of ineligible employers who have committed various infractions, and/or engage in other less than desirable and sex related services. There is an expiry date, and it cannot be renewed. If no other eligible employer is found, then the worker must return to their home country (Government of Canada, 2022). Even though this sounds like an ideal situation for an employee to leave their abusive employer, there are many steps and forms to be completed that would require assistance from others and might appear too complicated to even try. There is always the fear of reprisal for some of these

workers which could deter them from making such claims, and so many remain with their employer despite concerns.

Cannabis Industry

Migrant workers do not get to choose their employer. They are assigned to one, and as such workers who might equate the cannabis industry as being illegal, because it is considered illegal in most of the countries assigned to the SAWP, may not be comfortable working in this environment. In 2019, the production and sale of recreational cannabis became legalized in Canada, and spawned a new industry governed by a new set of rules. Inherent in the cannabis industry is a stigma that has received only limited, recent academic attention (e.g., Lashley and Pollock, 2019; Aranda et al., 2020; McPhee & Schlosser, 2020, 2022). The industry is mired in heavy government regulation, limited access to talent with legal cannabis experience, a lack of organizational structure and norms, and huge financial commitments (McPhee and Schlosser, 2020, 2022). Such an industry with questionable legitimacy, extensive government regulation, black market influence, unknown financial implications and resource uncertainties might make it less than palatable to the migrant workers assigned to it, and quite possibly create angst while employed. In 2022 alone, there were three major illegal cannabis busts where many migrant workers were caught in the middle of, not aware they were working illegally. They thought they had joined reputable organizations, only to find themselves in a legal quagmire they could not have imagined, with little recourse. Although these workers were found to be innocent, they had to endure costly legal fees and court appearances until they were deemed innocent. They then were returned to their countries and would never be allowed back to Canada (NEED REFS). This would have an affect on these workers wondering about the legitimacy of their employers. There is a licensing process for these operations, and someone may be granted a license, since

they may not have previous criminal alliances noted, and then run their operation illegally by over producing; or there could just be illegal operations that try to fit into the landscape of other greenhouse operators. In any case, vulnerable workers are at risk in such situations.

Talent Management and Migrant Workers

Talent management has commonly focused on the development of a small proportion of high performing and high potential employees in an organization (Gallardo-Gallardo, Dries & Gonzales-Cruz 2013), excluding all others. One commonly accepted definition notes talent management as the “accelerated development of a deliberately select proportion of employees, distinguished by their above average performance and promotability and who have the potential to make substantial further contributions to the business and the alignment of these employees with key (strategically important) roles” (Collings and Mellahi 2009; Iles, Preece & Chuai, 2010 in Swailes, Downs & Orr, 2014). As noted by Swailes, Downs, & Orr (2014), this definition implies that certain groups might be excluded, and segregate people into in and out groups that can be valued differently. Additionally, the talent management literature indirectly relies upon human capital thinking to make a series of “value claims” (Sparrow & Makram, 2015; Lepak & Snell, 1999). Talented employees are thus distinguished from other employees by the capital they possess, which enables them to add value to their organizations. Huselid et al. (2005) further argues that with limited financial and managerial resources available to attract, identify, develop and retain top performers, that it is only reasonable and essential to invest in scarce developmental assignments and only spend resources on the most promising talent (Iles et al., 2010). While it might make economic sense to invest in only key talent individuals, does it not neglect those who actually produce the goods for profit? Should they not actually be considered key talent?

Migrant workers who work on cannabis farms, classified under the agricultural program in Canada (and globally as well), certainly align with this definition as they seem to be excluded from other groups of employees in organizations and essentially in the value they may add to an organization. There is a clear delineation between types of positions (senior management and non management), and domestic vs. migrant workers and the value they might add. How can an employee feel valued when such positioning occurs? While it is well known that migrant workers hopes are to migrate to a country that will offer them more opportunity in the future, and to achieve permanent residency, the precarious nature of their work makes this virtually unachievable. Are they happy enough just to have work so that they can support their families back home? And does that happiness translate into being an exemplary worker, being productive and making a difference in the workplace, then just to their families? The notion of a migrant worker considered as talent seems far reaching from the definition proposed, so it is important to understand how silos of talent might be perpetuated in a workplace and how that helps a migrant worker to feel exploited or valued as talent in the workplace.

Exploited or Valued Talent?

The notion of exploitation is not new but continues to be associated with forced labour and slavery across the globe, and in different industries (Crane, 2013). Despite these more vivid images of exploitation, there exists more subtle forms of employee exploitation where there are ample opportunities for organizations to exploit their employees. With the decline in trade union representation and collective bargaining in many countries (Cobb, 2016), employee voice has been quieted. There has also been an increase in outsourcing, more precarious employment relationships engaged in contingent and freelance work, due in a large part to the advancement of technology (Bidwell et al., 2013), which only further stifles employee voice. Exploitation has

been defined in various ways throughout the decades, tending to focus on industrial relations and sociology (e.g., see Livne-Ofer et al., 2019 for a review of literature on exploitation) without a consideration for an organizational behaviour perspective. Livne-Ofer et al., 2019 propose an alternative view of exploitation based on an individual's perspective, as opposed to structure. They define it from a perceptual view as *“employees’ perceptions that they have been purposefully taken advantage of in their relationship with the organization, to the benefit of the organization itself”*, p. 1989. They propose that these perceptions might be both outward-focused emotions of anger and hostility toward the organization and inward-focused ones of shame and guilt at remaining in an exploitative job (Livne-Ofer et al., 2019).

The literature is replete with empirical research on the exploitation of migrant workers (Preibisch & Hennebry, 2012; Wilkinson 2012, 2014). In Canada ‘low-skilled’ visa schemes facilitate the entry of transnational migrant workers into specific occupational and labour market niches such as in agriculture (e.g. Strauss & McGrath, 2017), with cannabis being the underlying place of employment in the context of this paper. Migrant farm workers brought to work in Canada are hired into precarious work arrangements, identified as temporary, with insecure conditions (Anderson, 2010, Cranford & Vosko, 2005, Dyer et al., 2011), with various forms of insecurity (Lewis et al., 2014, Lewis et al., 2015, Reid-Musson, 2014), and the inability to join unions that might be able to provide some employment protection for them. Exploitation of international migrant workers in the Global North has been increasingly framed in terms of labour trafficking, in political and legal domains and by the media (Strauss & McGrath, 2017). Labour trafficking is defined as “a form of human trafficking that can happen in a number of different industries. It involves recruiting, moving, or holding victims to coerce them into doing any kind of work (Government of Canada, 2022). Anyone can be a target of labour trafficking,

however migrant workers, and newcomers to Canada looking for work, can be at higher-risk due to language barriers. People with precarious immigration status (e.g., lack of permanent residence, restrictive work permit, limited or no access to social benefits), or working in remote areas, without access to information about their legal rights can find it even more difficult to find support. Most agricultural workers, and those in cannabis, can find themselves working remotely, away from the centres of the towns or cities they are located, and in cannabis, workers are in secure buildings, with no access to others. As previously described, they are unable to move about freely as their work permits do not allow this freedom and relegate them to one employer. Such work arrangements that limit the workers mobility, is actively produced and institutionalized by employers and the state (Fudge & Strauss, 2014), controlling labour. Additionally, under the SAWP program, employers are required to provide housing, which further ties the employee to the employer. Workers are not required to pay for recruitment or immigration fees as this practice is deemed illegal, there remains an undercurrent of such illegal practices occurring with the agricultural workers and others (e.g., Preibisch & Hennebry, 2012), as well as other forms of debt bondage which act as an additional disciplinary force (LeBaron, 2014). The employer tie, and migrant debt, are key dimensions of unfreedom in the TFWP program (Strauss & McGrath, 2017). Before the workers have even faced their employer, they have already been exploited with much of their freedom at bay.

The literature and popular press on workers in the agriculture sector is replete with examples of abusive and exploitative work arrangements. We have only anecdotal information based on interviews of others of the treatment of those who work in cannabis. To date there has not been anything written on their situation, but it appears that many are treated the same as other agricultural workers based on comparable storylines. More recently in Canada, Jamaican farm

workers temporarily working on the SAWP on a farm went public claiming “their experiences of “systemic slavery” at the hands of exploitative employers” (Talent Canada, 2022). This was sparked because of the death of a Jamaican farm worker earlier in the month. The following quote states,

We are treated like mules and punished for not working fast enough. We are exposed to dangerous pesticides without proper protection, and our bosses are verbally abusive, swearing at us. They physically intimidate us, destroy our personal property, and threaten to send us home.

The sentiment expressed above by the Jamaican farmworkers under SAWP is an experience replicated across migrant communities in Canada who are undocumented or do not have permanent residency status. They are demanding better housing that is in line with national housing standards, an anonymous system to report abuse without fear of retribution, job mobility, and allow themselves to represent themselves in contract negotiations. They are also seeking the Canadian government to grant them permanent residency on arrival. From a talent perspective, how can any worker do their very best when this is what they face.

From a value perspective, exploitation is written about much more. It was actually difficult to find articles related to these workers and value. There are promotional pamphlets that are used to show that workers are valued, and like it here (Toronto Star, 2022). For example, one worker indicates,

I know that I have to go out to seek a better life for the children, for my wife, and for our parents who we also help when we can. There are low times, there are good times and more than anything you have to give it all to get ahead,” he believes. “I like the people here and I am grateful to Canada for the opportunity it gives to many people in Mexico and many countries to come to work here.

Farmers also value the workers who come here as they count on international workers to help bring products to the shelves, whether it be food, or cannabis.

Quite simply, without these international workers, we wouldn't be able to grow many of the fruits and vegetables that Canadians love," xx says. These workers are critically important to our ability to feed Canadians and have as much locally grown produce on our shelves as possible.

Methodology

Sample

A snowball method was predominantly employed utilizing social media and calling people in the community, then reaching out to others who were recommended. Reaching participants directly involved in the cannabis industry, both workers and employers, proved to be extremely difficult due to the secretive nature of the industry. Since cannabis is grouped under the agriculture program, it is not easy to identify who works in what industry – wine, fruit, flowers, tomatoes or cannabis, for example. As a new and emerging stigmatized industry, Human Resources Directors aren't widely or publicly known, adding to this study's sample procurement issue (Parker et al., 2019). We were also interviewing different groups of participants. There were government sponsored agencies that provide services to migrant workers; union leaders, social activists, and various government appointed officials (municipal, provincial, or federal). Additionally, we relied heavily on the popular press to help inform us of the migrant worker issues since we were having an extremely difficult time, at the writing of this paper, to secure any interviews with domestic and migrant production workers in cannabis. In fact, there is really not much written about those in cannabis, except in the illegal operations that have been busted, and what we have learned in interviews, so we use the agricultural scenario at the moment as a proxy. For example, many greenhouses turned over to cannabis and kept the same employees in the transition, so it would be assumed most work conditions would remain the same. As more interviews take place, this information will be adjusted accordingly.

Table 1 provides descriptive information about our domestic and migrant worker participants which is more relevant here. The average age of the workers was xx years, and the average tenure was xx years in their current companies. Also, the number of times a worker had come to Canada under the agricultural worker programs, whether it was cannabis or other agricultural work, was noted. There were xx women in the sample, xx visible minorities (domestic vs. migrant). (STILL TO BE FINALIZED)

Data collection and analysis

Employing a qualitative method, semi-structured interviews were completed in the fall and winter period, 2022 to 2023. The participants were asked open ended questions, with probes which allowed for interaction. We developed an interview protocol involving specific questions, geared to the type of participant being interviewed, but which could be used to triangulate the information obtained. We had specific questions to ask of each of the groups which were interrelated to one another. Those questions were refined over the course of the interviews, allowing participants to discuss openly and freely about their experiences. We revised our questions as we went on through the process based on information we were learning that we felt was important to understanding the workers better. The questions asked of all the groups can be found in Appendix A.

After interviewing xx participants, their responses began to become more similar, and we realized that we had reached an early saturation point (Bowen, 2008).

Both researchers attended each one-hour recorded interview. Interview protocols were emailed to the participants, along with consent and confidentiality forms which were emailed back to the lead researcher prior to the interview, printed and locked in a secure cabinet. Both

interviewers reviewed the interview transcripts, which were then sent to respective participants for their review and acceptance. Confidentiality, as prescribed by the institution's Research Ethics Boards, was maintained throughout and beyond the process. Participants were assigned fictitious names matching their assigned gender in the study.

Building on Strauss and Corbin's (1998) grounded approach, participant narratives provided us with valuable context from which we utilized past experiences, skills and knowledge, and how they utilized their resources so that they could make career transition decisions. Through dialogue the researchers came to an understanding of the data in a broader sense, which subsequently developed into significant competencies that made sense of their narratives (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The data were then analysed following Miles and Huberman's (1994) framework for qualitative data analysis data reduction; data display; and drawing and verifying conclusions. Using NVIVO 12, the researchers analyzed the data by reading and coding the transcripts with preliminary themes linked to the interview questions. First-level coding entailed identifying meaning units, which were assigned codes. The second stage of analysis involved the identification of relationships between themes, both vertical and hierarchical. Conclusions were independently sense-checked and verified by the co-authors.

Much of what they were relaying to us in the interviews were heavily discussed in the media. Triangulating this information confirmed the phenomena as valid (Maxwell, 1996). Inter-rater reliability was assessed among the researchers at xx% which is well within acceptable ranges (Holsti, 1969, as cited in Kim, 2013).

As a work in progress, we intend to examine this complex issue through exploratory methods, which are also better suited to reaching a diverse audience, many who struggle with English language. This qualitative study involves interviews with both domestic (n = 25) and

migrant (n = 25) workers in the cannabis industry to determine how they feel about their employment and whether they feel *exploited or valued* and what can be done to change their working and living conditions. We also plan to interview the employers of migrant workers in the industry to uncover if and how they show migrant workers they are valued as well as organizations that help migrant workers outside their workplace in the communities in which they live. In addition, we will interview community organizations invested in helping migrant workers manage the obstacles they face. We will look specifically at organizational health and safety protocols, including employee wellness management. We will examine whether employers perceive these workers as talent, and whether they are treated differently than domestic workers. Specifically, is there an attempt to address their specific cultural and personal needs? From the community sources, we will try to gain a better understanding of the issues these workers face, since they are typically a trusting outlet for these workers. The workers will be reimbursed \$50 for their interviews, and correspondence will be available in English and Spanish, and conducted by bilingual English and Spanish speaking interviewers. Interviews have started, and we are learning more about the intricacies of this industry. At this stage of writing, we have yet to be in contact with the workers, both domestic and migrant. Reaching them is difficult as they work in buildings for the most part out of sight, which is different from talking to agricultural workers in the fields by a fence. Employers are also reluctant to discuss these workers, and their licenses are mostly named by a numbered company, and they don't disclose their phone numbers or emails, making it difficult to reach the employers. Thus far we have spoken with one employer, one union (two representatives), one mayor, one agency that helps workers with legal issues. We continue to reach out to others and are depending on a snowball sample to help. For this paper, since we have not reached the workers, we will base

our analysis on the popular press, and stories from others that have shared information on the migrant worker plight.

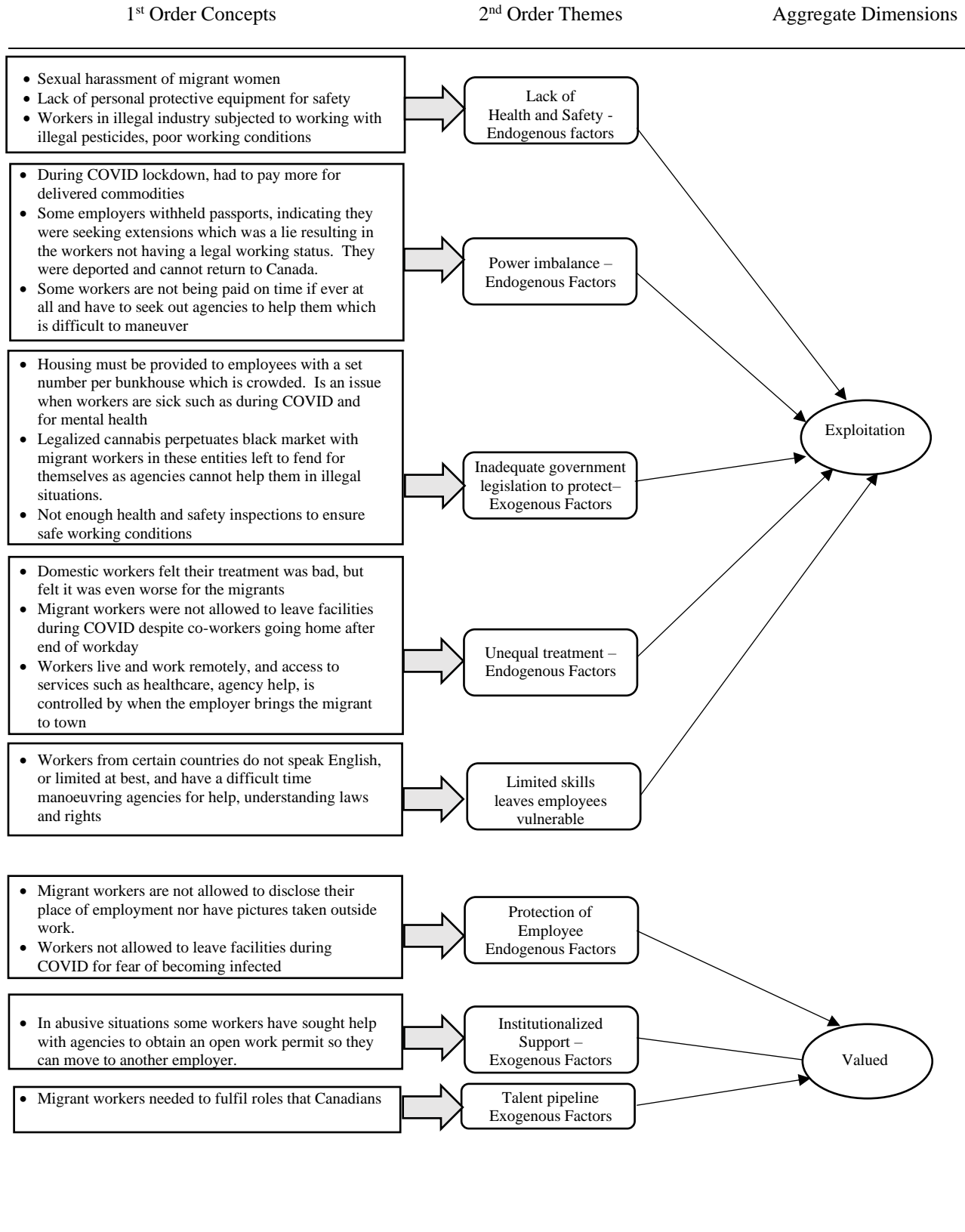
We will continue to conduct interviews over the summer and into the late Fall of 2022 as part of a SSHRC grant noted at the end.

Analysis

We have utilized popular press articles as a proxy for the employee voice at this juncture, and interviews of a few persons who help these workers to gain a better understanding of the issues they face. *For this conference paper, we will present a summarized data structure, Figure 1, that we culled from the few interviews we have obtained and what has been reported by news outlets – explanations, where needed, will be provided in the presentation.*

There were five overarching dimensions at this juncture of our study. Four of those dimensions, *exploitation, value, fear of reprisal and lack of voice* were mired in exogenous factors related to governmental legislation and to endogenous factors related to how employers responded to the employees. As a coping mechanism, workers remain resilient as they hold *hope* that their circumstances will get better through the lobbying of activists and themselves, as they forge the opportunity for permanent residency, and to shed the discriminatory practices these workers face daily. They also remain resilient as they serve a more overarching *purpose* in ensuring that they can provide for their families. The injustices they have to persevere with are tied to the legislative power at all levels of government, that provides an imbalance of power to these workers. Employers are offered loopholes to better their situation at the expense of these workers through exploitative actions. Talent is not valued beyond just being a commodity with which to provide them with finished products they need to sell for profits. Figure 2 shows these relationships.

Figure 1: Data Structure (based Corley and Gioia, 2004).



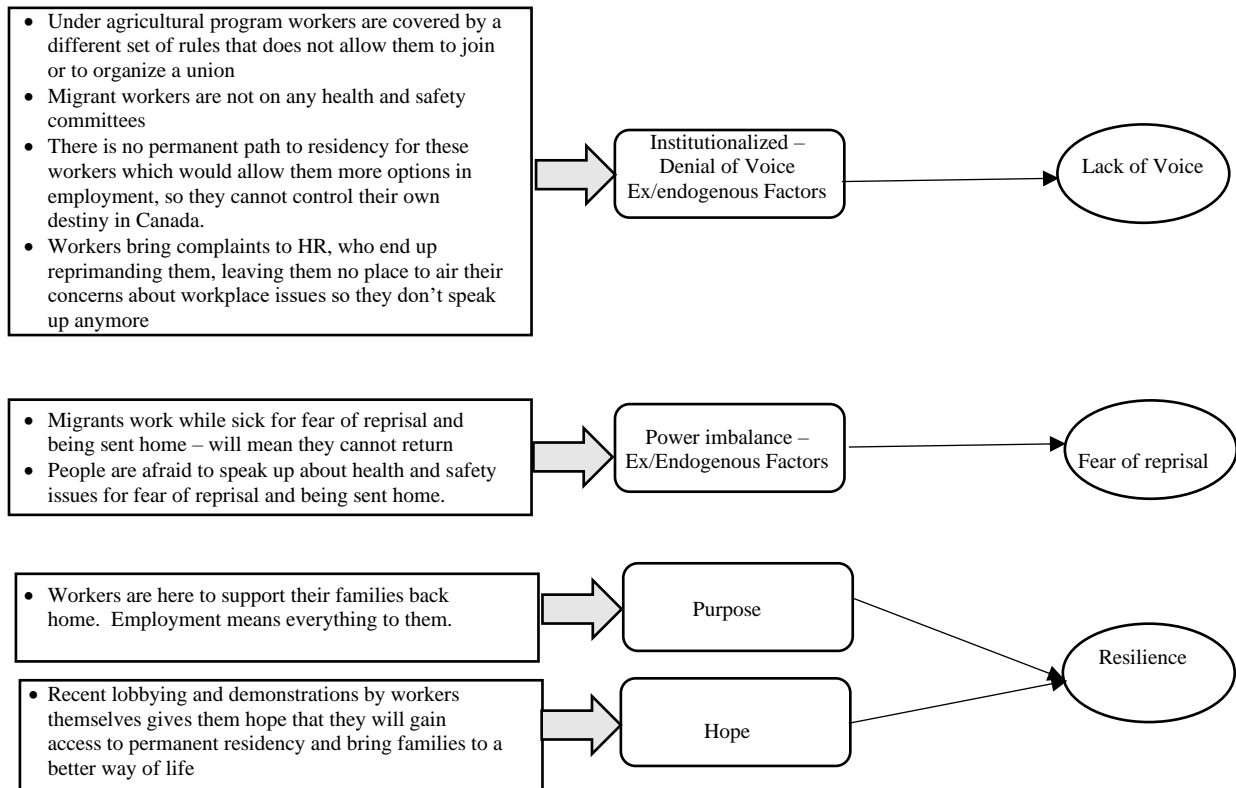
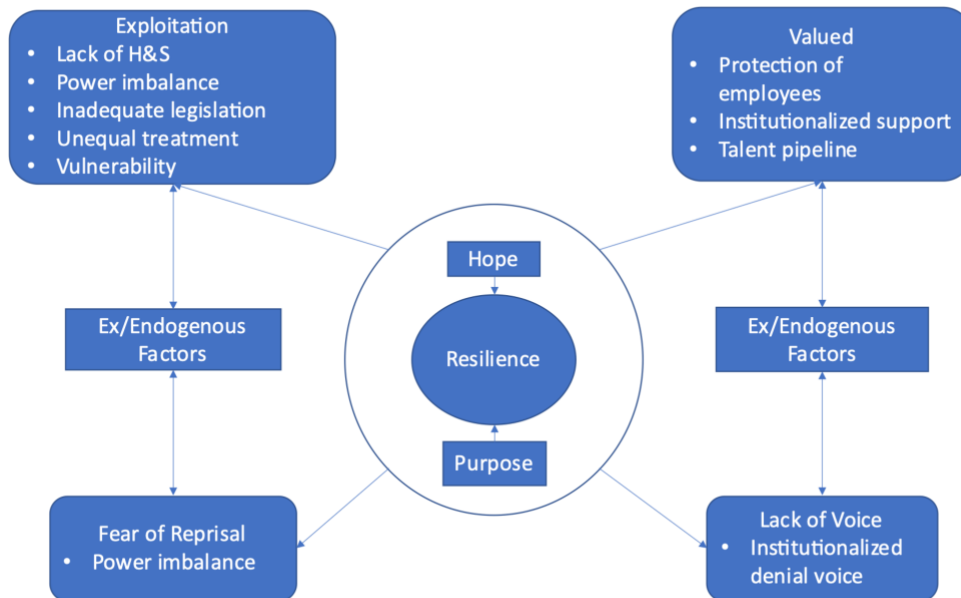


Figure 2: Building Resilience Against a Backdrop of Exogenous and Endogenous Factors

Discussion – not yet completed since more interviews required

Contributions

We will be among the first, if not the only paper on migrant workers in cannabis in the talent literature, or other relevant literature. The findings thus far point to an overwhelming amount of exploitation of these workers. However, few employers and employees were interviewed at this juncture, as they are extremely difficult to contact directly, and even indirectly. As a result our findings and discussion are preliminary, and until we can meet with some of the employees, this research is not yet complete.

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Appendix A: Question Set for each Participant Group

Questions posed to production workers with probes if needed:

1. What was their experience like getting work permits to come to Canada? (migrant only)
2. How did you go about getting hired for this organization? (domestic only)
3. What kind of assistance did you receive from the employer and other community groups to become settled in Canada? (migrant only)
4. Were you trained about health and safety and company rules by your employer or others?
5. Were you provided with appropriate personal protective equipment (PPE) and could you speak up about workplace issues related to health or other problems?
6. Do you feel exploited or valued by your employers and co-workers? Explain.
7. What makes you so resilient?
8. Why do you continue to work in this setting?
9. Do you sign documentation that prohibits you from saying where you work and what you do at your workplace?
10. Who do you trust in the workplace and why or why not?
11. Do you feel your employer treats migrant and domestic workers differently, and if so can you provide me with examples?
12. What are your long term goals for you and your family?

Questions posed to migrant activists including unions who represent all workers with probes if needed:

1. What has been your experience with the migrant workers in cannabis?
2. What do you see as issues for the workers? What suggestions do you have to remedy these issues?
3. What do you feel makes these workers so resilient?
4. Can you tell me about the health and safety issues these workers have been exposed to?
5. Do they trust their employers or co-workers?
6. What would you recommend be done to remedy the issues for workers?

Questions posed to governmental agencies helping migrant workers with probes if needed:

1. What programs are you offering for the workers?
2. Do the workers have easy access to the programs?
3. What would they like to do better for them?
4. What are some of the issues that migrant workers bring to your attention?
5. What do you think makes these workers so resilient?
6. What can be done to help these workers succeed in Canada?