

Globalization and the Mexican-Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program:
Power, Racialization & Transnationalism in Temporary Migration

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by

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CERTIFICATE OF EXAMINATION

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates the formation and maintenance of power relations within the organization and everyday practices of work and transnational living, and the social and economic impacts among Mexican migrants and their families participating in the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP). Through the analysis of the qualitative data collected through ethnographic case studies in Mexico, 350 hours of participant observation, and semi-structured interviews with 25 migrant workers, 5 farmers and 5 representatives from other state and non-state intermediaries, findings have emerged pertaining to three research themes: power, racialization and transnationalism.

This research finds that Mexican migrant workers are consistently located in subordinate power positions in the organization and the everyday practices of the SAWP; and governments, employers, and other intermediaries have significant control over migrants' daily lives and their migration parameters. Racialization processes in both the institutional and everyday practices of the SAWP produce, maintain, and legitimize a system of temporary migration characterized by imbalanced power relations and the unequal allocation of resources and rights through the differentiation of the "Mexican migrant worker" with reference to race and ethnicity. Migrant workers *and* their families actively participate in transnational practices that are integral to seasonal migration, including the family networks that facilitate entry into the program, the "migration work" performed by women, and the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs). This essential "migration work" involves preparing the family for migration and sustaining the transnational family through managing and/or working within family farms and small businesses, receiving and managing international remittance transfers and telephone calling, managing and utilizing remittances

for daily living and development, and performing carework. These findings support the “transnationalization of culture” hypothesis, and indicate that a gendered culture of migration is emerging within the SAWP.

It is argued that the SAWP is an exemplar of “time-space compression” in action which leads to the exploitation and subordination of “Mexican migrant workers.” Temporary migration systems like the SAWP are seen as recursively related to globalization, where foreign labour dependence and remittance economies are created and perpetuated through globalization and a “migration industry” powered by new information and communication technologies.

Keywords: Mexican-Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, globalization, power, transnationalism, racialization, language, gender, migration work, ICTs.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the incredible Mexican men and women who welcomed me into their homes and lives, and bravely shared with me their stories. Without their help, this research would not have been possible.

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GLOSSARY

1.1 Acronyms:

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
BP	Best Practice
CALACS	Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies
CanAg	Canadian Agricultural Travel
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CBDS	Client Based Data System
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada)
EI	Employment Insurance
EU	European Union
FARMS	Foreign Agricultural Resources Management Services
FDM	Foreign Domestic Movement
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HTA	Hometown Association
HRSDC	Human Resources and Skills Development Canada
ICMW	UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	The International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEGI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática
IOM	International Organisation on Migration
IRPA	The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
J4MW	Justicia 4 Migrant Workers
LCP	Live-In-Caregiver Program

MNC	Multi-national Corporation
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIEAP	Non-immigrant Employment Authorization Program
NUPGE	National Union of Public and General Employees
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PTAT	El Programa de trabajadores agrícolas temporales mexico-canada
SAWP	Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (Canada)
STyPS	La Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social
SRE	Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores
TNC	Transnational Corporation
TFWP	Temporary Foreign Worker Programs
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UFCW	United Food and Commercial Workers
WTO	World Trade Organization

1.2. Spanish Words or Phrases:

Bracero	The most popular use of the term <i>bracero</i> (from the Spanish word <i>brazo</i> , which translates as "arm") applies to the temporary agricultural and railroad workers brought into the United States as an emergency measure to meet the labour shortage of World War II. Through the <i>Bracero</i> Program, more than 4 million Mexican farm workers came to work in the United States. Impoverished Mexicans left rural communities to work as <i>braceros</i> . The <i>braceros</i> were principally experienced farm workers who hailed from regions such as Coahuila, "la Comarca Lagunera," and other crucial agricultural regions in Mexico
Compañero /Compañera	Work Colleague
Choque cultura	Culture shock

Coyote	A middleman who charges money to transport undocumented migrants across the Mexico-U.S. border; person who helps illegal immigrants enter the U.S.
Ejido	The <i>ejido</i> system in Mexico is a process whereby the government takes land from private hands and uses it as communal land shared by the people of the community. Under the <i>ejido</i> system, the land is owned by the government and is supported by a national bank. This bank pays for the equipment and goods necessary for the upkeep of the land. In essence, the bank has only just replaced the <i>encomendero</i> ; however, the community member who works on the land gets paid for his or her work. Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution was amended in 1992 to allow for the transfer of communal land to the farmers cultivating it. They then could rent or sell it, opening the way for larger farms and economies of scale.
Lucha cultural	Cultural struggle
Maquila /Maquiladoras	Maquila is the short form of the word maquiladora. Originally associated with the process of milling, it became the word for another kind of processing: the assembly of imported component parts for re-export. The maquilas in Mexico began as a border phenomenon over 30 years ago, and with the support of the Mexican government, international firms set up assembly plants on the Mexican side of the border. Maquilas are characterized by low wages, a lack of environmental or labour regulations, low taxes, and few if any duties. Products produced include apparel, electronic goods, auto parts, etc. (See Kopinak, 2001)
Náhuatl	Nahuatl was the main language of the Aztecs and is still spoken today in Mexico. Spanish words that come from Nahuatl include chocolate, tomato, chile, and coyote.
Patrón/es	Employer/ Employers
Temporadas	Temporary work permits

CHAPTER 1

BEING NEITHER HERE NOR THERE

“We think that when we are separated, in this way, during eight months, from our family, well...in reality we are living our lives in halves. This is how I see it, because we can't live completely when we don't have either place.”
(Migrant Worker 13, 2003)

“The worst bosses, they think they have contracted slaves. That is not the case.”
(Migrant Worker 2, 2003)

“It is like they say in the song of Los Tigres del Norte: ‘From my work, to my house, nothing more.’ Except, my house is very far.” (Migrant Worker 18, 2003)

“When he is not here, there is nothing. When he is not here, we do nothing, we go nowhere and no one comes here, until he comes back.” (Spouse of Migrant Worker 4, 2003)

“My experiences?. Well, like all of us, like all workers. For 20 years, I worked...the employer requests it, and the government sends us. I was a ‘*migrant worker*’.”
(Migrant Worker Father, 2003)

INTRODUCTION

Every year, approximately 15,000 Mexicans come to work on Canadian farms through the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP). These Mexicans leave behind their families and communities for eight months every year, and lead temporary, transnational lives. For them, transnationalism is not necessarily a luxury, a privilege, nor an act of political resistance. It is a means to an end: survival. The UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants defines a migrant worker as a “person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national” (UNESCO, 2003). Those who migrate temporarily for work are typically referred to as “temporary labour migrants” (also known as guest workers or overseas contract workers) and are generally defined as people who migrate for a limited period of time in order to take up employment and send money home. “Migrant workers” have become an important labour resource in the global economy. Multilateral government agreements,

trade liberalization, and advancements in communication and transportation networks, have enabled flows of the world's poor into managed labour migration programs (Martin & Martin, 2001; Massey et al., 1998; Stalker, 2000; Parreñas, 2001). Changing global economic structures have left impoverished Mexicans with few other choices than to migrate for work. In the everyday lives of these Mexicans, being a "migrant worker" means living a temporary life fraught with uncertainty, contingency and powerlessness. Understanding migrant workers as emblematic and unique subjects of the spatio-temporal realities of contemporary economic globalization, this research investigates the power relations of a managed migration program from a global perspective. The primary objective of this research is to understand power relations, and the importance of spatiality and temporality to their organization, within the Mexican-Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP). Thus, this research focuses on the formation and maintenance of power relations within the daily organization of work and transnational living, and the social and economic impacts among families and communities of Mexicans participating in the SAWP.

Three primary research themes with corresponding specific research questions were formulated to guide this investigation and have influenced the sampling, data gathering, and analysis techniques employed in this research. Informed by a critical discussion of the political economy of migration, and a critical engagement with feminist, postcolonial and postmodern theories of globalization, transnationalism and power, the research themes have been discussed with reference to some specific theoretical propositions which will be further explicated in Chapter 2. The first research theme centres on power and the everyday experiences of being a temporary migrant. Smith (1990a, 1990b) and Hall (1991) note that power is embedded into institutional practices

and everyday relations. Foucault (1973), Lefebvre (1976) and Richmond (1994) contend that spatial control and organization are important to the power negotiations within these relations and practices. Drawing on these theorists, this research investigates the everyday power relations within the SAWP. The second research theme centres on the processes of racialization in the SAWP, and the significance of race and nationality to the organization of everyday power relations. Satzewich (1992, 1991, 1998), Miles (1982), contend that race and processes of racialization are integral to the organization of international migration. This research explores the extent to which these factors are significant to the everyday power relations within this temporary seasonal migration program. According to Castells (1996) and Harvey (1990), with globalization, space and place are being reorganized so that power is being negotiated in new territorial and social parameters. Transnationalism, as conceptualized by Basch, et al. (1994), Portes (1998) and Faist (2000, 1999), is important to traversing these new territorial and spatial parameters. The third research theme explores the transnational practices within the SAWP, and investigates the impact of international seasonal migration on SAWP workers and their families.

The three research themes are investigated using multiple qualitative data gathering and analysis techniques. Following an ethnographic approach, data have been gathered utilizing an epistemological framework intended to uncover the ways in which power has been articulated, negotiated, and mediated by race, gender and class, through the everyday practices of the SAWP. Adopting a global approach referred to by Urry (2000a) as “mobile sociology,” data have been gathered at multiple locales from three units of analysis: the migrant worker in Canada, the family of migrant workers in Mexico, and the migration networks and institutional frameworks that facilitate these flows. This

data gathering is undertaken using semi-structured interviews, participant observation with Mexican migrant workers, and ethnographic case studies with Mexican families.

This chapter will begin by providing some relevant background on the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program and the national and international rights frameworks that apply to migrant workers. Following this, temporary foreign worker programs, and the SAWP specifically, are conceptualized in the context of globalization and transnationality. This chapter concludes with a further formulation of the specific research objectives.

CANADIAN IMMIGRATION AND THE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKER PROGRAM

Canadian policies on immigration have become more restrictive over the last two decades (Simmons, 1996, 1999) and consequently increased temporary migration has been used to address labour needs. Historically, Canadian immigration policy has dealt with potential settlers, or permanent migrants, rather than transient workers (Harris, 2002, 1995); however with the increase in managed labour migration, this trend is changing. In 1973, the Canadian government introduced the Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program (NIEAP). The NIEAP served as a framework to bring temporary workers into Canada to fill labour shortages. It was the first legal framework through which a variety of temporary employment authorizations were given (Government of Canada, 2004). According to Sharma (2001), with the implementation of the Non-immigrant Employment Authorization Program (NIEAP), the Canadian government began shifting its immigration policy away from a policy of permanent immigration settlement towards an increasing reliance upon temporary labour. Satzewich (1998, 1990, 1988), Bakan &

Stasiulis (1994), Arat-Koc (1992) and Simmons (1998) have all pointed to the racism and racial stereotyping embedded in the use of temporary visa programs, such as the Live-In-Caregiver Program, which brings mostly non-White women to work as domestic servants under a temporary employment contract. Simmons (1998, p.112) contends that the more restrictive entrance requirements focused on economic factors, and reduced immigration targets are indicative of underlying neo-racist tendencies in Canadian immigration policy. In addition, Simmons (1998, p.112) argues that visa policies for temporary domestic workers and seasonal farm workers are clearly neo-racist in character, since they fill gaps in the labour market with mechanisms that reinforce “low-status stereotyping of non-White men and women.”

In 1999 the Canadian government initiated a process of review and change of the *Canadian Immigration Act (1978)*. In the *Immigration Legislative Review Report, Not Just Numbers: A Canadian Framework for Future Immigration (1998)*, the government provides guidelines and principles for reform of the Canadian immigration system. Subsequently, the governments’ expressed encouragement of the category of “temporary economic migrants” departs from the historical tradition in Canada to treat immigrants as permanent residents (Arat-Koc, 1999). In 2002, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)* was revised to further emphasize economic migration and the separation between permanent and temporary migration channels (CIC, 2002a). There has also been a simultaneous expansion of a managed migration program called the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, which is designed to fill agricultural labour shortages in Canada.

In Canada, the government has become directly involved in the management of temporary labour migration within the agricultural sector. The Mexican-Canadian

Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP or M/SAWP) is a labour mobility program that was launched in 1974 with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the governments of Canada and Mexico. At the provincial level the SAWP is governed by statutes relating to employment standards, labour, and health, that are implemented bilaterally through the formalized MOU and employment contracts between employers, migrant agricultural workers, and the government agents of the supply country, Mexico (Verma, 2004). The Canadian SAWP is considered a government-to-government program of managed migration (Aceytuno and Greenhill, 1999), involving both public and private sectors in Canada and the labour supply countries. Workers enter their employment under Agreement of the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico. The Agreement covers all aspects of the conditions of employment. The Agreement is reviewed with the worker who is required to sign it prior to departing for Canada. The agreement is a four party agreement between the Worker, the Employer, the Mexican Government, and the Government of Canada (FARMS, 2005b). The Mexican government manages a substantial portion of the administrative work, involving recruitment of workers in Mexico through La Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social (STyPS), and worker representation in Canada through the Mexican Consulate (mainly in Toronto) (STyPS, 2004). The Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (SRE): The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (SRE) coordinates the M/SAWP with the Mexican Consulates. SRE issues the travel documents for the workers. The Secretaría de Salud (The Ministry of Health) performs the required medical examinations to the workers and issues a medical approval. The SAWP is called the PTAT (El programa de trabajadores agrícolas temporales México-Canadá) in Mexico. This shared involvement by the Canadian and Mexican governments

distinguishes it from the agricultural guest worker program in the United States (the H2A Program) which is controlled and managed mostly by private agents who control recruitment in response to American labour demands on behalf of American employers (Griffith, 2004). In Canada, the principal government agencies involved in managing the SAWP are Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). HRSDC evaluates employer requests for workers and CIC provides the appropriate documentation to workers and employers for border crossing and employment regulations. Canadian Agricultural Travel Limited (CanAg Travel), the government authorized travel agent, manages the air and ground transportation for workers internationally and within Canada (FARMS, 2005a). In Ontario, Foreign Agricultural Resources Management Services (FARMS) manages the day-to-day administration of the program. FARMS is a non-profit private sector organization that was federally incorporated in 1987 in an attempt to transfer some of the costs associated with operating the program to the industry. FARMS charges a user fee to farmers who can recover most of this cost from workers' pay (FARMS, 2005a). In Quebec, FERME serves a similar function (Preibisch, 2004; FARMS, 1995). In the province of Ontario, FARMS consists of representatives of the following commodity groups: the Ontario Food Processors Association, the Ontario Fruit and Vegetable Growers Association, the Ontario Greenhouse Vegetable Producers Marketing Board, the Ontario Vegetable Growers Marketing Board, the Ontario Nurseries Trades Association (Landscape Ontario), the Ontario Flue Cured Tobacco Growers Marketing Board, the Canadian Nurseries Trade Association, and the Ginseng Growers Association of Canada (Basok, 2002,p.37).

The Mexican-Canadian program was modeled on a bilateral program with the

Commonwealth Caribbean countries that was implemented in 1966 and in recent years the Mexican program has overtaken its Caribbean counterpart in terms of number of workers hired. In 1966, 264 Mexican workers came to work on Canadian farms, and by 2002 the number increased to 10,739 (CIC, 2005). Over the last ten years, the number of SAWP participants have doubled (FARMS, 1995, 2005a,b). According to the 2005 FARMS Employer Information Booklet, in 2003 there were 2,350 vacancies filled by Mexican migrant workers in greenhouse crops with 171 employers, and 887 in nursery crops with 48 employers. This compares to the vegetable crops, with 3,634 vacancies filled on 343 farms, and to fruit crops with 3340 vacancies filled on 287 farms. The numbers were roughly the same, though slightly increased for 2004 (FARMS, 2005a). The total number of vacancies filled in 2003 was 16,987 on 1,571 farms and in 2004 the number of vacancies filled was 16,986 at 1,533 farms (FARMS, 2005a:35).¹ The bilateral program has been functioning for 30 years, placing over 10,000 Mexican workers each year on farms in the Canadian provinces of Ontario (71% of total), Quebec (24.2%), Manitoba (2.6%), Alberta (1.8%), New Brunswick (0.1%) and Prince Edward Island (0.2%) (CIC,2003). Most Canadian provinces participate in the program. Ontario and Quebec employ the majority of these workers in agricultural sectors including tobacco, vegetables, fruit, greenhouses, and tree farming (FARMS, 1999, 2004, 2005a).

In Canada, there is an increasing emphasis given to recruiting temporary migrant workers in Canada's Bill C-11². According to Sharma (2001), a primary outcome of this process was to increase the issuance of temporary employment authorizations. In 1973,

1 These numbers differ slightly than those given by the manager of FARMS which reflect arrivals (15,123) in 2004 and not vacancies filled (FARMS, 2005a: i).

2 Originally introduced as Bill C-31 in April 2000. In February 2001, the IRPA was reintroduced as Bill C-11 after the 2000 general election, and by the end of June 2002 the IRPA came into force (CIC, 2002a, p.3).

57% of all people classified as “workers” entered the Canadian workforce with permanent resident status (Sharma, 1995). By 1993, of the total numbers of “workers” entering the Canadian workforce, only 30% were permanent, while 70% came in as migrant workers on temporary employment authorizations (Sharma, 2001, p.424; Sharma, 1995). Overall, Canada has experienced growth in its temporary resident population since 1980 (Ruddick, 2000:6). According to a CIC official, the numbers of temporary migrants entering the Canadian labour force annually typically *exceed* the number recorded as landed immigrants (CIC,2001b). Temporary employment authorizations are on average larger than the number of landed immigrants entering the labour force annually (CIC, 2001b; Ruddick, 2000). Almost 40% of Canada’s temporary residents are authorized to work (Ruddick, 2000, p.5).

Table 1.1 (Appendix 1) shows the stock of the temporary migrant population in the Canadian population since 1980. The total temporary migrant and refugee claimant population *stock* (including foreign workers, students, humanitarian migrants and others)³ in 1995 was 353,255, as compared to the 212,869 permanent immigrants admitted. In 2004 the stock of the temporary migrant population was 468,218 compared with the 235,824 permanent immigrants (including family class, economic class and refugees) (CIC, 2004a).⁴ Thus, annually, temporary migrants (or “temporary residents”) to Canada (including those who are in the process of applying for refugee status) are greater than

3 Temporary residents are people who are lawfully in Canada on a temporary basis under the authority of a temporary resident permit. Temporary residents include foreign workers, foreign students, the humanitarian population and other temporary residents. The humanitarian population includes refugee claimants and temporary residents allowed to remain in Canada on humanitarian grounds and who are not categorized as either foreign workers or foreign students (CIC, 2004a.p.20).

4 The permanent immigration figures include independants and assisted relatives, dependants of refugees landed in Canada including spouses and partners, deferred removal orders and post-determination refugee claimants, and Live-In-Caregivers who have gained permanent status (CIC, 2004a,p.17).

those admitted as permanent migrants. When the category of “temporary residents” is broken down, the number of temporary foreign workers entering Canada annually remains high.

Table 1.2 (Appendix 1) shows the *flow*⁵ statistics for foreign workers and other temporary residents from 1980-2004. Foreign workers are foreigners who have been issued temporary work permits that allow them to work for a specified period of time with a specific employer.⁶ In 1980, only 58,728 foreign workers entered the country, and by 1990 the flow peaked for that decade at 85,407. Since then, entries of temporary migrants, and specifically foreign workers⁷ have stayed high. In 2004 there were 90,668 foreign workers, 15,845 seasonal re-entries, and a total of 245,731 temporary residents *flowing* into Canada, excluding dependants and those with Minister’s permits.

Foreign workers have originated from a number of countries, with the largest inflows originating in the United States and Mexico. Table 1.3 (Appendix 1) provides a breakdown of the flows of foreign workers (excluding seasonal re-entries) by the top ten countries of origin, for males. Table 1.4 (Appendix 1) shows comparable data for females. From Mexico in 2004, there were 11,340 foreign workers reported by CIC. This

5 This represents the number of temporary residents identified as entering the CIC system (and presumably the country) for the first time. CIC commonly measures the annual flow of foreign workers, foreign students and the humanitarian component of the temporary resident population. Flows are calculated as of the earliest effective date of any valid permit issued to a temporary resident. Seasonal workers are counted each time they re-enter the system (CIC, 2004a, p.11).

6 A “work permit” is a temporary resident permit authorizing foreign nationals to enter and work in Canada on a temporary basis. A work permit is usually valid only for a specified job, employer and time period. Some people—for example, spouses or common-law partners of skilled foreign workers or foreign students—are issued “open” or non-employer-specific work permits (CIC, 2004a, p.21).

7 This category includes individuals who enter Canada to work on a temporary basis. Every foreign worker must have been issued a work permit but may also have been issued other types of permits or authorizations. The foreign worker category excludes foreign students who may have been issued a work permit and individuals who have been issued a work permit for humanitarian reasons, such as refugee claimants (CIC, 2004a, p. 10).

has been a dramatic increase from 1995. In 1995 there were only 5,157 male Mexican foreign workers and only 226 were females. By 2004 there were 10,753 males and 587 females. This is the opposite for workers from the Philippines, such that, in 1995 there were no men reported as temporary foreign workers, and almost two thousand (1,802) women reported as foreign workers from the Philippines. By 2004 this number rose to 4,976 women. This reflects the proportionately greater numbers of women entering Canada from the Philippines through the Canadian Live-In-Caregivers Program.⁸ In 2000, the total number of women as primary applicants in the Live-In-Caregiver Program was 1,760, with the majority coming from Asia and the Pacific (CIC, 2002b).

RIGHTS AND PROTECTIONS FOR MIGRANT WORKERS

Little attention has been given to the issues of rights and protections for these workers, and therefore flows of labour migration remain largely unregulated at an international level and protections vary nationally. Although the treatment of refugees and asylum seekers has been increasingly regulated by international treaty and agreement, “no codified international regime or body of law has emerged to regulate the movement of labour commensurate with those regulating trade and capital movements” (Held et al., 1999, p.314).

As nation-states struggle to remain competitive in the world market, they have increasingly attempted to diminish the costs of labour by the employment of temporary migrants. This has had implications for the rights and protections of workers, as foreign

⁸ This program brings temporary residents to Canada as live-in employees to work without supervision in a private household to care for children, seniors or people with disabilities. Participants in this program may apply for permanent resident status within three years of arrival in Canada, after completing two years of employment as live-in caregivers. The Live-in Caregiver Program replaced the Foreign Domestic Movement Program on April 27, 1992 (CIC, 2004a).

labour (both at home and abroad) has been used to “moderate and even reverse the many gains in wages and conditions which indigenous labour has made through its organization and often with the assistance of the State” (Papademetrio,1988, p.240). This has meant that the organizing and bargaining power of labour has been drastically reduced everywhere, particularly at the international level (Gardezi, 1995, p.3).

Temporary migrants have few protections within international or domestic frameworks (ILO, 1999). Very few countries have ratified international protections for migrant workers, and this has meant that the increasing numbers of workers are powerless, with no national or international labour organization permitted to organize and act on behalf of their interests. Also, with bilateral or international trade agreements, “the state”⁹ itself is losing the capacity to act on behalf of both national and non-national workers (Held, et al.,1999). Policies and international agreements directed at increasing the global mobility of capital have concentrated solely on liberating capital flow from national regulations and setting frameworks for the global movement of capital, providing limited comparable enhancements of or protections for the movement of people. For example, trade agreements like NAFTA have only focused on negotiating such rights and protections for capital, largely neglecting, if not damaging, the rights and protections of workers (Klein, 2002).

Internationally, the major ILO conventions approved by the UN that govern conditions of migrant workers are: *C97 Migration for Employment Convention (Revised)* (1949) and *C143 Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Conventions* (1975).

9 Throughout the present research, the “state” will refer to what Seton-Watson (1977:1) define as “a legal and political organization, with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens.” Drawing on Castles and Miller’s (2003:41) use of the term, the state is understood as having the ability to regulate political, economic, and social relations in a bounded territory.

Only 41 countries have ratified the first, and only 18 have ratified the second. Canada and has failed to ratify either. The ILO drafted the “Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families” which offers much more protection for migrant workers. This was approved by the UN General Assembly in December, 1990, and as of January 2004 only 41 countries have ratified the ILO Convention. The ILO Convention applies to all those working in a state as non-national labour. It includes the self-employed and families of migrant workers, and protects them from collective expulsion and endeavours to ensure that their legal, economic, and social rights (including health and safety) are not less than those of nationals of the country concerned (Bohning, 1996; ILO, 1999, 2000). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the 1990 UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICMW) have, in principle, laid the foundation of the international human rights law pertaining to migrant workers. The ICMW is one of the longest, most detailed and one of the most progressive Conventions by existing standards, but it has been virtually ignored by the international community since its adoption (Cholewinski, 1997; Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.19). Unfortunately, the Convention has been ratified mostly by those states sending migrant labourers, and not by those nations that receive migrant labourers.¹⁰ Moreover, even if the ICMW is signed, the conventions may not be implemented, since universal protections and entitlements, such as those laid down in the conventions and supra-national bodies like the UN, are still basically delivered by the nation-state (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.18). Citizenship still remains the mechanism by which rights and protections are

¹⁰ For recent data on ratifications see either www.ilo.com or <http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php> (this web site is frequently updated).

conferred, although some argue that globalization is challenging the very concept of citizenship itself (Jacobson, 1996; Carens, 1999; Ohmae, 1996).

Clearly, as the import and export of labour increases, it has not been accompanied by appropriate regulatory mechanisms to protect the rights of these workers. Temporary migration systems, including both formal and informal foreign worker programs, are not clearly regulated spaces, and therefore the rights of workers and their families may not be adequately protected within these systems. Temporary labour programs have an enormous potential for abuse, particularly if they are unilaterally administered and/or not carefully monitored by the receiving authorities. For example, the overwhelming majority of H-2A and H-2B visas granted by the US go to Mexicans, who are then tied to specific jobs. The system gives employers and recruiters an enormous amount of power over migrants, with little regulation and enforcement on either side of the border. Migrants may pay a recruiter for a visa only to end up working for sub-standard wages or conditions. In practice, the system may also be encouraging illegal, long-term stays, according to some researchers (O'Neil, 2003, p.2).

How this applies to the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program has yet to be thoroughly investigated, but it is clear, at this point, that few mechanisms exist to protect workers' rights, and it is mainly through the foreign worker contract that rights are conferred to workers. Temporary migrants entering Canada under the SAWP are bound to their economic relationship with their employer, however exploitative, abusive, or positive that relationship may be. In fact, the veracity of their legal status while in Canada is dependent on the continuance of the contractual economic relationship between the employer and the worker. This contract can be terminated at any time by the employer. If the worker refuses to work or the employer is not satisfied with the worker, then the

worker can be deported immediately (FARMS, 2005a, p.17). In Canada, temporary migrants are protected by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. However, they are not protected from deportation, are subject to random health tests and tax audits (as well as a subjective determination of personal taxation rates), are bound to their economic relationship (and thus are not free to change employment). They are unable to actively participate in a labour union (as of 2004 the UFCW union can represent migrant workers, but they have no right to strike or take collective action of any kind), leaving workers with few mechanisms to challenge working conditions, hours of work, or levels of pay (UFCW, 2005). Migrant workers in Canada also do not receive paid sick leave, overtime or holiday pay (FARMS, 2005a).

Another problem area involves the provision and monitoring of living and working conditions. Migrant workers' living and working conditions are often only assessed the first time an employer requests migrant workers, by a government officer whose subjective perceptions of "acceptable" are the last line of protection for these workers. There are also no mechanisms for the enforcement of the fixed wage levels and work conditions specified by FARMS (FARMS, 2005a; 2004). According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "the foreign worker counselor at the HRSDC will work with the employer to examine the specifics of the job offer, and ensure that the wages and working conditions offered are acceptable within the context of the Canadian labour market" (CIC, 2004b). However, there are no stipulations regarding the frequency or form of these examinations, and there are no standards clearly communicated to employers in the Employer Information Booklets regarding the parameters of "acceptable" conditions (FARMS, 2005a). Some more detailed suggestions regarding "acceptable conditions" are now provided on the FARMS website (FARMS, 2005b).

Aside from unregulated living and working conditions, workers do not have equal access to programs and services available to citizens, visitors, landed or permanent status immigrants. Some argue that they are also not given parallel access to health and social services compared with their permanent counterparts (Basok, 2002; 2003a). For example, agricultural workers do not have access to English language training (as compared to permanent immigrants), and they are not eligible for any government assistance programs that are available to citizens (e.g. Employment Insurance). Without the right to vote or act collectively, migrant workers are largely unable to challenge these realities or to advocate for their rights while in Canada (Sharma, 2001; UFCW, 2005). The evaluation and regulation of working and living conditions, and access to programs and services will be further examined and discussed in the following chapters.

GLOBALIZATION, TRANSNATIONALISM AND THE MEXICAN-CANADIAN SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKER PROGRAM

Globalization is a process that generates “contradictory spaces” that are characterized by contestation, internal differentiation, and continuous border crossings (Sassen, 1998). Similar to what Bhabha (1994) refers to as “contact zones” the contradictory spaces created with globalization are spaces in which power and identity are negotiated and articulated around race, gender, and ethnicity. In the contemporary conditions of globalization, not colonial rule, contact zones are not necessarily specific to territory or bounded places. They are the temporary spaces that touch down in particular interconnected local places, but have political, economic and social realities that are inside other sets of boundaries that cut across traditional national borders and territories. These temporary spaces concentrate a disproportionate share of global corporate power

and are one of the prime locations in which migrant labour may be exploited. Exploitative relationships may be the most prevalent in the spaces where the most vulnerable and those with the least voice habituate: *temporary spaces*.

As characteristics of globalization, the proliferation of bilateral and multilateral trade agreements, the development of production regimes for a global market, and the substantial advancements in communication and transportation have influenced the form, direction, and speed of contemporary migration flows and transnational movement. With globalization, a number of new global temporary spaces and relationships have emerged, including those found in Free Trade Zones and labour migration programs. Central components of globalization, such as the expansion of communication and transportation technologies and networks, and the formation of international trade agreements, have been integral to the expansion of these temporary spaces. And, it is in these temporary spaces that individuals are at greater risk of exploitation and human rights violations within the contemporary global economy.

Temporary Foreign Worker Programs (TFWP) like the SAWP have facilitated the increase of temporary labour migration flows worldwide to fulfil global labour demands, such that most nations are either importing or exporting labour through managed migration systems (Held et al., 1999). In a world economy characterized by local specializations, the emergence of a global labour market is encouraging labour specialization, with some countries specializing in particular types of workers (Harris, 1995, p.2). Stalker (2000) estimates 120 million people are working outside their country of birth, excluding those who have emigrated “permanently” to other countries.

A key feature of contemporary migration patterns is economic migration between ex-colonial possessions and states outside of Europe into OECD countries (Held, et al.,

1999, p.310). In particular, Latin America has shifted from being areas of immigration to those of emigration (Balan, 1992; Castles and Miller, 2003; Castles, 2000). Many Latin American and English-speaking Caribbean countries have become countries of emigration, with a large number of emigrants found in Canada and the United States (Papademetriou and Martin, 1991, p.3; Papademetriou, 1988). In fact, since the 1950s there has been a steady increase in the levels of northward emigration, legal and illegal, especially from Mexico and Central America. In particular, since the mid-1990s, Southern European countries, Canada and New Zealand saw sharp increases in labour-related immigration flows (OECD, 2004). During 2001-2002, there were significant increases in labour-related migration of both temporary and permanent workers and across all employment categories, including skilled workers, seasonal employees, trainees, working holiday-makers, transfers of staff within multinational companies, and cross-border workers among OECD countries (OECD, 2004). The inflows of foreign workers into OECD countries are shown in Table 1.5 in Appendix 1. According to the OECD, the flow of foreign workers into Canada in 2000 was 91.3 thousand. Canada has the fourth largest inflow of foreign workers, following after the United States, Germany, and Japan, such that the number of foreign workers in Canada in 2000 surpassed the numbers of foreign workers in the United Kingdom and other selected European countries (See Table 1.5, Appendix 1). In particular, seasonal agricultural migrations have been increasing annually (Held, et al., 1999, p.301). Also, numerous nation states in the Europe and North America have moved towards adopting formalized managed seasonal agricultural migration programs. In the post-Cold War era there has been an expansion of what Castles and Miller (2003, p.102) refer to as “the second generation” of temporary foreign worker programs in Europe and North America, particularly for seasonal labour.

For example, in 1999, Italy admitted 20,000 seasonal migrant workers in the country, which is a tenfold increase since 1992 (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.101; OECD, 2001, p.195).

The changes in the composition of these migration flows in terms of skill, age, ethnicity, and gender have been significant, insofar as governments and labour brokers have facilitated or obstructed certain types of migrations, selecting unskilled workers in particular industries such as agriculture and construction, and skilled workers and professionals such as computer science experts during the “dot.com” boom of the 1980s-1990s (Harris, 2002; Held, et al., 1999). Some temporary foreign worker programs have been proposed or expanded as a way of curbing illegal migration and trafficking, such as those between Eastern Europe and Germany. In the United States temporary foreign worker programs have also been advocated as a way of legalizing the existing populations of illegally employed foreigners (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.101). What is disturbing to note is that when the foreign worker programs of the 1990s are compared with those of the guestworker era in the 1960s and 1970s, the more recent programs are more restrictive and stringent. Moreover, as Castles and Miller (2003, p.101) put it, “somehow, policies that were generally viewed as regressive and discriminatory in the 1960s and 1970s could be viewed as innovative and progressive after 1990.”

These new labour migration flows have been largely driven by globalization, and the operation of increasingly transboundary labour markets (Gardezi, 1995), and they have been facilitated by binational labour agreements and expanding communication and transportation networks. In fact, “second generation” temporary foreign worker programs, are *directly* and *recursively* related to globalization. This is particularly the case with respect to their relationship to international trade liberalization agreements and

global production demands. For example, the deregulation policies promoted by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have played a crucial role in enhancing the mobility of capital by opening up the world currency and financial markets (Gardezi, 1995, p.2). For example, the IMF and World Bank have imposed structural adjustment policies on Third World debtor countries since the 1980s (Haubert, 1997, p.14; McMichael, 1998, p.125; Crabtree, 2002, p.139). Thus, increased mobility of capital is driven by and in turn supports a drive towards increased flexibility in production systems (Drache and Getler, 1991) and a need for contingent and flexible labour within and across territorial boundaries (Moody, 1995). Also, corporations and nation-states have been able to move workers (which are in greater supply due to global competition and trade liberalization) onto their own soil/production sites through bilateral agreements that have also had the added bonus of fostering good trade relations and reinforcing existing trade agreements. In this way foreign worker programs like the SAWP, have been facilitated by, and also contribute to the maintenance and expansion of international trade liberalization. Clearly, globalization and global economic restructuring have had significant impacts on encouraging the expansion of the second generation of foreign worker programs. This has been particularly true among less developed or developing economies, who have been impacted by trade liberalization and global market prices, which have contributed to rising unemployment, wage decline and job insecurity: all of which encourage migration. As a result, heavily indebted countries, like the Philippines, Argentina and Uruguay, or countries feeling the impacts of global economic restructuring or trade liberalization, such as Mexico, have resorted to labour export to bolster the economy (Pellegrino, 2002; Simmons, 1996). Castles and Miller (2003, p.152) contend that these migrations will continue to increase, with most emigrations from Latin America

going to the USA and Canada.

Globalization's "Push" and "Pull" and Mexico's Rural Poor

Globalization has been a significant contributor to the various social, political and economic factors leading to temporary labour migration. Specifically, outcomes of globalization have worsened the economic situation of Mexico's rural poor, and have contributed to the escalating labour demand on Canadian farms. Both of these outcomes encourage participation in a managed migration program.

Globalization and economic restructuring have had significant effects on Mexican agricultural industry (Echánove, 2005). Local, regional, and national systems of production have been significantly reorganized in response to the internationalization of capital and global economic restructuring more generally, and to the North American Free Trade Agreement more specifically (Simmons, 1996). Expansions in technology (information and communication systems, agricultural production and distribution systems, transportation, etc.) have facilitated the greater integration of agriculture and food processing. This, combined with changing global market prices, and the increased role of transnational corporations (TNCs) in Mexico's expanding agroindustry have caused substantial changes for Mexican farmers. Specifically, small-scale farmers in Mexico have been unable to compete with the large-scale agribusiness, particularly with the dramatic decrease in farm subsidies and price supports that were historically implemented to protect Mexican peasants. Since the 1990s, NAFTA, and a general trend towards trade liberalization in Mexico, has led to the abolition of most government subsidies and price supports for individual peasant farmers. This, combined with the influx of TNC run agribusiness farm operations producing export crops (many of whom

have been provided with state subsidies for fertilizer or equipment), has led to a situation where many farmers (particularly corn farmers) can no longer compete in the market (Barry, 1995, p.71; Echánove, 2005, p.16; Teubal, 2001; Rivera, 2003).

Subsistence crops have also been replaced by luxury export crops like strawberries, tomatoes, melons, grapes, pineapples, and broccoli (Warnock, 1995, p.199-200). Land that was once used for subsistence farming of basic food crops like maize, beans, and wheat, is now producing animal feed crops like sorghum (Green, 1995, p.107-108). The Mexican government has not provided incentives for the production of these basic crops, since they can be imported at a lower price, while simultaneously promoting the expansion of “non-traditional”¹¹ products (Echánove, 2005, p.16). Now, basic foods have to be imported, making them more costly at the community market stall (Russell, 1994, p.194, 2003).

On the whole, the result is that in the areas of Mexico where modernized cash-crop and TNC run agroexport are most advanced, rural poverty is most pronounced (Barry, 1995, p.73). Throughout the developing world and within Mexico specifically, it is clear that the expansion of “non-traditional” production has had significant negative effects on peasants, including reducing food self-sufficiency and access to land (Gwynne and Kay, 1997), and deteriorating employment health and environmental conditions (Murray, 1998, 2001; Teubal, 2001). In Mexico, even if small-scale farmers try to grow and export these new non-traditional exports, they cannot survive solely on the income from their family or *ejido* farms (Echánove & Steffen, 2004,2003; Steffen & Echánove, 2000). Although agricultural exports to the United States grew during the first six years

11. “Non-traditional” exports refer to items that a particular country has not been producing or produced previously but is now exporting, or a traditional export for which a new market has been found (Clark, 1997:72; Barham, et al., 1992; Echánove, 2005:27).

following NAFTA, the smaller producers (particularly those who are part of the *ejido* system, and those among the indigenous populations of rural Mexico) have been adversely affected. Small scale Mexican farmers get a maximum 35-45 percent of the retail price of their products (and the majority receive much less), which is about half of that realized by farmers in most Central American countries (Dicken, et al., 2001, p.21; World Bank, 2002, p.8). Thus, many Mexican farmers who could previously rely on their small-scale farms or *ejido* land parcel for procuring a sufficient living, are now engaged in other income diversification strategies, the most common of which is seasonal migration (Dussel Peters, 1998; Echánove, 2005, p.26, Echánove & Steffen, 2005; Steffen & Echánove, 2000).

The landless and land-poor in Mexico look for seasonal work as *jornaleros* (approximately 4.5 million) who are commonly hired for one day's work or a few consecutive days during a harvest, often on large scale agribusiness farms located in far away states (Barrón, 2000; Dussel Peters, 1998, p.66-68; Warnock, 1995, p.205). Warnock (1995, p.205) estimates that the average farm labourer in Mexico works between sixty to ninety days a year. Since the 1990s, many of these *jornaleros* are not just following the seasons and harvests throughout Mexico, now they are moving with the seasons on Canadian farms where they are guaranteed more days of work than they would get back home.

The Mexican government has expanded the geographical range of the migrating *jornaleros*, by expanding a program that explicitly channels poor Mexican farm labourers into temporary seasonal work in Canada. The recent expansion of the SAWP in the last decade was directly encouraged to help mitigate some of the adverse affects of NAFTA in rural Mexico, as well as to bolster agricultural production on Canadian farms in an

increasingly competitive global marketplace encouraged by NAFTA and other trade agreements. The SAWP is specifically designed to target poor Mexican farmers, to the exclusion of all other Mexicans, by utilizing selection criteria that guarantee that they are farm labourers with little education, with a particular emphasis on those who own their own farm land or work on farms (STPS, 2004). In this way, the Canadian SAWP targets farm labourers who have been most effected by NAFTA, where small scale rural Mexicans have been unable to compete with large agribusiness which has benefited from trade liberalization and less taxation within NAFTA (Echánove, 2005; Green, 1995).

In Canada, farmers have faced tough competition in the last decade, partly due to the setting of low tariffs on imported low-priced fruits and vegetables from areas such as South Africa, California, Mexico, South Korea, and Australia, by the Canadian government (Satzewich, 1991, p.67; Warnock, 1995, p.113-117; Shields, 1992, p.258-61; Shields,1988). Also, among growers in Canada, there has been growing concentration of ownership among large transnational companies in food production, food processing, and retail food industries (such as Heinz, Green Giant Campbell's Soup, Del Monte, Libby's), which has made it increasingly difficult for small-scale Canadian farmers to compete (Winson, 1992, p.144-5). This has been exacerbated by the intensification of foreign penetration in the food processing industry since the signing of NAFTA (Winson, 1992, p.129; Shields, 1992, p.255). These factors have supported the need for a cheap and dependable labour supply. In Ontario, Wall (1994) notes that the need for migratory farm labour has been significantly increasing on Ontario farms in order to mitigate labour shortages and deal with industry changes (e.g. mechanization), that are in part due to the rise of agribusiness, continuing industrialization, and the North American Free Trade Agreement and the GATT. Also, as Beaujot (1991) notes, free trade reduces the need for

population growth as a source of demand and as a basis for economies of scale, and low population growth can lead to a reduced labour supply. The labour supply in the Canadian agricultural sector has been diminishing progressively, with low birth rates and technological changes likely contributing to the “quest for reliable workers, regardless of source” (FARMS, 1995). Some demographic trends in Canada, such as an aging population, delayed reproduction and low fertility rates, are also linked to the declining agricultural labour supply. For example, delayed reproduction (delayed fertility and late parenthood) is associated with a higher risk of low birth weight and a greater likelihood of not having children (Beaujot, 2005, Beaujot & Kerr, 2004). It also means that parents are likely to have more resources available (Beaujot, 2005), which can support higher levels of educational attainment for the younger generation, who are more likely to seek employment in the *New Knowledge Economy*¹² rather than in farm labour (Baldwin & Beckstead, 2003; Beckstead & Vinodray, 2003; Wojan, 2000). For the Canadian labour market, the main disadvantages of these factors involve more marked population aging and a less flexible labour force (Beaujot, 1991). Also, the size of rural families has declined throughout the 20th century as a result of increasing industrialization and urbanization (Wheeler, 2005). All of these factors have significant impacts on the Canadian labour market, and on the rural labour market in particular. Filling labour shortages in the rural sector with new *permanent immigrants* has not been a viable strategy for Canada, as typically the vast majority of permanent immigrants settle in urban rather than in rural regions (Bauder & Di Biase, 2005; Mata & Pendakur, 1999).

12 Rapid and profound technological and policy changes over the past two decades have produced a new economic environment often referred to with the catchwords “new economy” or “knowledge economy”. This is reflected by the decline in traditional industry and large increases in professional and managerial occupations (Bollman, 2005).

These factors have led the Canadian government to develop policy solutions aimed at mitigating the labour shortages on Canadian farms.

The Canadian government has provided Canadian farmers with one viable policy solution to the labour supply problem through the expansion of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (FARMS, 1995). In a FARMS (1995) report entitled, *The Quest for a Reliable Workforce: Reliable Workers, Regardless of Source*, the primary role of the SAWP is to fill these labour shortages. In this document, the SAWP is touted as a successful labour supply program, which allows farmers to augment their Canadian labour supply with foreign temporary labourers, for minimal management costs. Originating out of the Foreign Affairs department (Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade), the SAWP is also seen as important to strengthening political and economic relations with Mexico, and is also considered an alternative form of development aid (Bucio, 2004). According to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, “The SAWP is an important program for Canada and Mexico. Canadian farmers depend on this labour force and it is estimated that Mexico received as much as \$80 million in remittances in 2002 from seasonal agricultural workers in Canada” (DFAIT, 2005). The SAWP serves to strengthen political relations between NAFTA countries (Canada, USA, and Mexico) since the SAWP helps channel cheap flexible labour legally to Canada (and thus away from illegal channels of migration to the U.S.), and still provides an avenue for the transference of remittances that are an important factor in Mexico’s GDP. In Mexico, since the signing of NAFTA, more attention has been focused on Canada, and the SAWP is seen by Mexican policy makers and officials as integral to Mexico’s role (politically and economically) in North America (Bucio, 2004, p.7). Also, for state actors and employers involved in the SAWP, trade

deals within NAFTA parameters are facilitated at meetings with Consulate representatives, Canadian growers, and Mexican corporate representatives. Canadian growers have also had new opportunities to establish business partnerships with investors and agribusiness in Mexico through establishing relationships with Mexican officials and other constituents of the agricultural sector. This has been well documented by other researchers (Sook Lee, 2001; Basok, 2003a, 2002; Preibish, 2004).

Clearly, governments, growers and other non-state actors benefit from engaging in foreign worker programs, but it is not clear to what extent workers themselves glean long-term benefits from participation. Although temporary foreign worker programs differ from one nation state to another, most are based on the same theoretical rationale: receiving countries may benefit from the increased supply of labour and human capital, sending countries may benefit from remittances and the return of more highly skilled workers, and employment abroad offers migrants the opportunity to increase productivity and wages (Ruhs, 2003; Ruhs and Chang, 2004). However, in practice, it is not clear whether or not these programs have been successful in procuring long-term benefits for all involved in the programs. Often temporary migration programs are seen as development initiatives, such as the SAWP, helping those in a specified developing country in an alternative manner to aid programmes. As will be discussed further in Chapter 2, the role of these remittances in promoting sustainable development is not conclusive. With large numbers of the Mexican population migrating for work, remittances to Mexico have become a massive contributor to the national GDP. In total, (from all sources) remittances account for 10% the total value of exports, almost as much as income from tourism, surpassing Gas and Oil as a leading export (International Monetary Fund, 2003). Table 1.6 in Appendix 1 presents the top fifteen remittance

recipients among developing countries in 2001. Mexico ranks at the top, as the number one remittance recipient among developing countries worldwide in 2001. Remittances have become an extremely important component of the Mexican economy. However, remittance sending costs money, and migrants bear the burden of this costs. In fact, the Inter-American Development Bank estimates that the total cost of sending remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean reached \$4 billion in 2002, or about 12.5 percent of the remittance total for the region (Alarcón, 2000, p. 12). The Pew Hispanic Center (2002, p.22.) has estimated that the total cost of the average remittance transfer worldwide ranges between 15 and 20 percent of the total.

It is also important to note that migrating, and participating in a temporary worker program does not assure that remittances lead to stay-at-home development. Without real job creation, “a lot of these social infrastructure initiatives end up subsidizing future migration -- making better migrants -- and the resources stay on the US side” (Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2003, p.23). Thus, although particular nation states have become source countries for TFWP, it is not clear whether the remittances from migrant labour are contributing to long term development. It is unknown, at this point, to what extent participation in the Canadian SAWP impacts social and economic development among families and communities in Mexico.

Transnationalism among Migrant Workers and Their Families

Families engage in temporary migration together, and the migration process is engaged in by all family members. Hence, the impacts of migrating are felt among all family members, and not just with migrants. The impacts of seasonal migration among SAWP participants and their families are understudied and largely unknown. In order to pursue a

study of the temporary lives of migrant workers and their families, it is important to conceptualize foreign workers programs in relation to transnationalism and the changing spatio-temporal realities of globalization. As Levitt & Glick-Schiller (2003) contend, a transnational approach to the migration experience fundamentally challenges our understanding of basic social institutions such as the family, citizenship, and nation-states. According to Levitt & Glick-Schiller (2003:3), since the lives of increasing numbers of individuals can no longer be understood by looking only at what goes on within national boundaries, “our analytical lens must necessarily broaden and deepen because these individuals are embedded in multi-layered, multisided transnational social fields, encompassing those who move and those who stay behind.”

Temporary migration systems, like the Canadian-Mexican SAWP, are unique transnational social networks in an era of expanding globalization, where movement and temporariness are the norm. Transnationalism involves more than just moving and communicating across borders, it also involves significant cost and work and has significant impacts on communities of origin. At this point, the character and extent of the practices of transnationalism and their impacts are largely unknown with respect to the Mexican SAWP Workers and their families. Although women are not the majority of participants in the SAWP, they are active participants in the transnational practices and work of migration. Gender identity, gender roles, and gender stereotypes are negotiated and embedded into these transnational practices and institutional frameworks of temporary foreign labour programs like the SAWP. Also, gender is an often neglected aspect of studies of international migration outside of studies that discuss women as domestic workers (Boyd, 1975; Parreñas, 2001, 2000). It is important to recognize the migration process as mediated by gender (as it is by race and class), and that migrants and

their family members are gendered actors. As Boyd and Greico (1998) argue, migration processes are not gender neutral. Gender relations, roles and hierarchies influence the migration process for both women and men. Moreover, in this era of increased migration and transnational movement, “gender, race, and class create different spatial experiences for people” (Domosh and Seager, 2001, p.62).

Transnationality is often viewed by researchers as providing alternative or radical sites of resistance to the structures of worldwide capitalism that are constituent of globalization. As Karim (1998, p.4) notes, commentators from cultural studies and postcolonial perspectives tend to view diasporas as countering global and national structures of dominance. Idealizing the transnational has become a common theme in popular and academic discourse. However, “just having a transnational identity is not something to be romanticized” and there are some transnational identities that are far from ideal (Chabram-Dernersesian, 1994, p.5). The transnationality experienced by migrant workers in foreign worker programs is characterized by temporariness, which may heighten vulnerability to exploitation. Temporary Foreign Worker Programs (TFWP) are not necessarily sites of challenge and resistance, but instead may be a form of transnational relationship that facilitates uneven economic participation in globalization, usually for the production of global commodities (everything from shoes to tomatoes). Portes (1997, p.3) argues that migrants engaged in transnational businesses or *communications networks* are empowered through their transnationalism, and are able to “push back at globalization,” or engage in resistance strategies that counter domination. It is not clear, however, whether transnationalism among temporary migrant workers and their families leads to resistance or domination from the forces of globalization.

The Network Society and International Labour Migration

According to Castells (1996), under contemporary conditions of globalization, the *Network Society* reorganizes space and place so that power relations are negotiated in new territorial and social parameters. Race, gender, and class have significance for these new spatial relationships, and one's ability to control spatiality and movement of oneself and others is particularly important in the Network Society.

If Castells (1996) is correct, the ability to traverse these new territorial and social parameters with ease (i.e., to be mobile and to control one's movement) is particularly important in the formation and entrenchment of global stratification as it is being redefined with globalization. In the *Network Society*, a phenomenon referred to by Harvey (1990) as "time-space compression" has become acute with globalization. The ability for people to move and communicate around the world faster than ever (increased "time-space compression") has a significant role in the growth of global capitalism and the expansion of global trade networks and exchanges. These new global networks have been further expanded and facilitated by the incredible advancements of communication technologies.

Improvements in technologies of transportation and communication have made it increasingly easy for migrants to maintain close links with areas of origin. These developments also facilitate the growth of circulatory or repeated mobility, in which people migrate regularly between a number of places where they have economic, social or cultural linkages (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.29). Now even the initial process of becoming a migrant can be facilitated through communications technologies such as the

cellular telephone and the Internet. For example, “Workpermit.com”¹³ is a registered company with the Office of the Immigration Services Commissioner and offers immigration and work permit services for entry to the UK, Australia, USA, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, Japan and most Western European Countries, or as they say “for most of the English speaking World and the EU.” Operating online since 1995, Workpermit.com claims to be “one of the top immigration related web-sites in the World as rated by Yahoo.”

As manifestations or aspects of globalization themselves, information and communication technologies (ICTs) have facilitated the expansion of labour migration networks (Castles and Miller, 2003; Castles, 2002, 2001). The globalization of technology, especially communications technology, has had a considerable impact on international migration. For example, fax and telephone have replaced letter communication, facilitating near real-time relations between immigrant communities abroad and home communities. Technologies like fibre-optic cables (1980s) and more recently, low-orbiting satellites, and new technologies for piggy-backing or re-routing calls have facilitated the ease, efficiency and cost-effectiveness of providing telephone connections for millions simultaneously (Vertovec, 2004). Consequently, there was a worldwide doubling of international telephone calls placed between 1985 and 1995 (Guillen, 2001). The 1990s witnessed plummeting prices and surging international telephone traffic.

Cheap telephone calls have impacted many transnational communities. In fact,

13 Operating out of London, Workpermit.com employs consultants and lawyers with experience in immigration law. They advertise the employment of a “fully-qualified Canadian lawyer who deals with all of our Canadian immigration cases” and their US Visa Department includes a member of the American Immigration Lawyers Association. Workpermit.com also claims to be an Associate Member of Intellect, the UK industry association for the IT and electronics industry. www.workpermit.com

one of the most significant modes of transnational practice affecting migrants' lives is the enhanced ability to telephone family members which contributes to the maintenance of family ties and responsibilities, the strengthening of community networks, and the organization of social and economic development (Vertovec, 2004, 2001). Communication networks now reach even peasants in remote villages (Hefti, 1997). Migration has become more attractive when people are able to stay connected with home, and more importantly, it has become a feasible household income diversification strategy.

In Bangladesh, the Grameen Bank has created a telecommunications branch and "village phone" programme, providing telephone infrastructure and 950 cellular phones in village and urban areas that give phone access for 65,000 people (Richardson, 2000). By far, most of the uses of these "village phones" are to talk to migrant relatives overseas, and particularly to discuss remittances. This has also been the case in Mexico, with a notable growth in the use of cellular telephones in rural Mexico. Mexico also has the seventh largest amount of incoming international telephone traffic in the world (See Appendix 1, Table 1.7). Mexico's incoming international telephone traffic has more than doubled between 1998 and 2003, growing from just under 3 billion minutes to over 6 billion in 2003. This growth is surpassed only by the Philippines and is comparable to the growth seen in China. Worldwide, there has been growth in terms of international traffic, but growth in these areas stands out, reflecting a significantly steeper increase in incoming calls. This pattern coincides with the significant increase in remittance sending and employment of migrant labour in programs such as the SAWP.

This growth has largely been in the use of cellular technologies for international telephone calling. Large areas of Mexico are without the infrastructure for land lines and although there is adequate telephone service for business and government, the population

is poorly served. Mobile subscribers far outnumber fixed-line subscribers and there is a large domestic satellite system with 120 earth stations. According to the general assessment Mexico has a low telephone density with about 15.2 main lines per 100 persons (INEGI, 2005). It is interesting to note that a country with so few land lines has such a high rate of international telephone calling.

The majority of these calls are serviced through one major telephone company: Telmex. The telephone service provider in Mexico was privatized in December 1990, and was opened to competition in January 1997. This improved prospects for development, but Telmex remains the dominant company at this point (CIA World Fact Book, 2005). It is also Telmex that is the major cell phone service provider, international calling card company, and e-commerce network (through their partner company FinMex). Table 1.8 in Appendix 1 shows the land line and cellular telephone access comparatively. Between 2002-2005, Mexico is estimated to have approximately 28 million mobile telephones compared to only 116 million land lines (INEGI, 2005).

Many presume that these developments are positive and may lead to increased development and information sharing world-wide (McBride, 1994). However, the role of ICTs in facilitating and maintaining labour migration networks is understudied, and it remains to be seen whether ICTs truly will lead to development and empowerment for the migrant worker and home communities, or whether they will heighten the global power divide. The expansion of international communication networks may allow migrant workers and their families greater control over their transnational lives, or it may further facilitate exploitation in these temporary transnational spaces.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Temporary migrant workers offer a prime example of a population living the realities of temporary spaces that are integral to the organization of global capitalism. Workers and their families engage in a set of temporary relationships and associations in numerous contingent places, and with globalization, they are an increasingly vital component of local and international economies. In this way, migrant workers and their families occupy a unique position in this global economy, as inhabitants of a kind of a “frontier zone” as conceptualized by Sassen (2000a, 2000b) where operations of power and domination are enacted and new spatialities and temporalities are produced, and the global and local overlap. The spatio-temporal realities in these “frontier zone” relationships are not easily characterized by mainstream references to hypermobility and time-space compression made possible by new technologies (Ohmae, 1996; Harvey, 1990). Migrant workers are neither fully fixed nor fully mobile, and their spatio-temporal realities are being negotiated by powerful actors, often outside of their control. These relationships are also embedded into institutional structures. Institutionalization of economic globalization can take many forms, from free trade agreements to bilateral labour migration programs. Although migrant workers experience some rewards from participating in this form of transnational labour, exploitation and racialization may be the most prevalent characteristics of these temporary spaces or “frontier zones.” Arguably, it is in these “frontier zones” inhabited by migrant workers and other transnational actors, that significant power negotiations in contemporary society are being articulated and contested.

Out of this understanding of migrant workers as emblematic and unique subjects of the spatio-temporal realities of contemporary economic globalization, three research

themes have been identified to guide this research on the Mexican-Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. There are a number of specific research questions that correspond to the three identified research themes. The first theme focuses on the power relations within the SAWP. More specific research questions aimed at elucidating this theme are: What are the everyday experiences of being a temporary migrant within a set of dynamic social and economic power relations? What are the practices and policies that structure the power relations of the Canadian temporary migration system as they are experienced by workers? How is power articulated and negotiated in the everyday life of migrants? Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which spatiality and temporality are important to these power relations. The overall objective of these questions is to explicate the power relations in the institutional framework and everyday practices of the SAWP.

The second research theme focuses on racialization. The specific research questions that pertain to this theme are: What are the ways in which race or reference to racial groupings are used in the organization of work hierarchies? How does the spatial organization of work and living arrangements reflect racialized perceptions of migrant workers and others? How does language (as a signifier or aspect of racial difference) and the ability to communicate in English impact power in the everyday working and living relations experienced by workers? Is race used to justify or explain differences in power or status in the workplace or in the SAWP in general? How has race been organized into/by the SAWP?

The third theme pertains to the transnational relationships and the global networked processes of temporary migration. How do families and communities participate in this temporary migration process? How does participation in this program

affect families and communities? To what extent do women participate in/facilitate the temporary migration process and what implications are apparent for their daily family, work and community life? The third theme also involves addressing the role of communication in the practice of these transnational relations. How are information and communication technologies (ICTs) used in these migrant networks and how integral are they to the program? How has the use of ICTs for participation in this program impacted communities of origin?

The above research questions will be further explicated and addressed in the following chapters. Chapter 2 will provide a review of the relevant literature pertaining to globalization and temporary spaces, temporary labour migration in a global market, and the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. Chapter 3 will outline the methodological framework as well as explicate the data gathering and analysis techniques that will be used to address the research questions. Chapters 4 to 6 are organized according to the primary research themes stated above, and will provide a detailed analysis of the qualitative data collected for this research. Chapter 7 will provide a discussion of the results with a focus on the significance of being “neither here nor there” in a globalized world.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH ON TEMPORARY MIGRATION IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

Researchers have begun to investigate the relationship between globalization and migration (Castles and Miller, 2003; Castles and Davidson, 2000; Harris, 1995, 2002; Faist, 1999; Portes, 1995; Richmond, 1994; Samers, 1999). Out of this literature a number of dialogues have emerged about globalization and migration concerned with cultural identity and formation, human rights and economic development (Russell, 2003). Researchers concerned with culture have examined issues such as cultural and commodity flows through migration, global cultural forms, the commodification and homogenization of cultures, and the transnationalization of cultures and identities (Barber, 1995; Mitchell, 2000; King, 1991; Lull, 2000; Robertson, 1992). Those concerned with human rights have examined the reasons for growing south-north and east-west migration, illegal migration, trafficking and “people smuggling,” the worldwide “refugee problem” (and the distinction between “labour migrants” and “refugees”), and the role of international law or governing bodies to protect the human rights of people on the move (e.g. Cornelius et al., 1994; Hammar et al., 1997; Martin and Martin, 2001; Ohmae, 1996). Recognizing that these factors are also linked to social and economic development in migrant communities, many researchers have been focused on challenging existing and imagining new development strategies and foreign investment initiatives as they relate to migration (Mines, 1984; O’Neil, 2003; Orozco, 2003, 2004b; Russell, 2003; Skeldon, 1997). Within this rapidly growing body of literature, there is a

paucity of research focused specifically on temporary foreign worker programs, and an even greater scarcity of literature concerning the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. This chapter will begin by providing a background on the literature pertaining to international migration and globalization, providing a context for this study of a temporary migration system. Following this, the chapter will provide a review of the literature specifically addressing the Mexican-Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. First, the literature that specifically addresses the power relations in the SAWP will be discussed. This section will also discuss relevant research related to the international power relations in which the SAWP is embedded. Following this, the literature that relates to the second research theme of the importance of racialization and racism in the power relations of the SAWP will be reviewed. The third section of this chapter will examine the research literature that pertains to transnationalism and the families of migrant workers in Mexico. This section will expand the review of the literature to include a discussion of some of the relevant material on transnationalism, ICTs and development. Following the discussion of the research that specifically examines the SAWP, the theoretical literature pertaining to transnationalism and globalization will be discussed in order to provide a theoretical framework for the present research. This chapter will conclude with a summary of the chapter and a restatement of the primary research themes to be addressed in the proceeding chapters.

THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The literature on international migration is colossal. For the purposes of the current research, this section will provide a brief overview of the literature directly related to theories of international labour migration in the context of globalization with emphasis on

the structural “place” occupied by these migrants in a global market economy. Understanding migration has become increasingly significant for understanding globalization and the world economy in general (e.g. Bauman, 1998; Castells, 1996; Held et al., 1999; Sassen, 1998). While the relationship between migration and international political economy was explored earlier (e.g. Portes, 1973, 1995), the majority of literature regarding the relationship between migration and globalization is very recent and has revolved around explaining the impact of globalization on permanent migration flows, and it has tended to neglect the particularities of temporary labour migration. Typically, with micro level theories of international migration, processes of adaptation, economic and social integration and settlement are examined within these large-scale movements, often thought to be responses to globalization. Micro level theories include researching the socio-psychological factors in these processes and also an examination of motivation, decision-making, satisfaction, culture and identity among individual migrants (e.g., Kunz, 1981; Cohen, 1996b; Lam, 1996; Haines, 1988; Woon, 1986). Micro level studies of migration have largely explored, measured, and critiqued migration as a product of individual and/or micro-level perceptions of both the costs and benefits of movement for individual migrants (Massey et al., 1993, 1994; Massey and Espinosa, 1997; Hanson and Spilimbergo, 1999). Most of these theories have addressed permanent migration where settlement and economic integration have been of primary concern to researchers, and therefore have tended to neglect temporary migration. Also, as Richmond (1994, p.48) notes almost all micro level migration theories address voluntary migration where economic factors are assumed to be the predominant factor determining immigration.

Macro level theories, on the other hand, have tended to focus on migration streams, identifying the causal conditions, characteristics and impacts of large-scale

population movements in aggregate terms (e.g. Ravenstein, 1985; Stouffer, 1960; Wallerstein, 1989; Richmond and Verma, 1978; Portes, 1973; Massey, et. al., 1998, Castles and Miller, 2003; Zolberg and Benda, 2001). Some have been concerned with the rights frameworks of migration systems, such as Soysal (1994) whose book provides a comparative study of incorporation patterns and changes in the societal membership of immigrants in Western European countries. In terms of macro-level literature concerned with Mexican migration, the focus has been on economic causes, and has typically utilized a neoclassical economic framework as an analytical basis (Jenkins, 1977; Massey et al., 1993). With the application of neoclassical economic theory to processes of migration, rational choice expectations and international economic disequilibrium have been the principal focus of most migration research (Massey et al., 1993). Consequently, there has been a tendency to concentrate on and emphasize the advantages and opportunities, which draw migrants or essentially *pull* them from their previous location (Stark and Taylor, 1989; Massey et al., 1993; Lindstrom, 1996; Hanson and Spilimbergo, 1999). While this approach has clearly generated a large body of relevant data, it has nonetheless generally been limited to the analysis of wages and capital (Massey et al., 1993,1994). For example, the role of bilateral agreements or free trade policy on the extent and form of labour migration remains under-theorized. In fact, the role of managed migration programs, and the bilateral agreements that often initiate these programs (such as the SAWP), are all but forgotten in neo-classical migration theory, since it is assumed that either poverty, war or disaster are the factors that lead to migration movements.

Some migration theory has moved away from this neo-classical approach, and there is now a growing emphasis on structuralist perspectives such as World Systems

Theory (Wallerstein, 1974, 1989) and Dual Labour Market Theory (Piore, 1979) which are explicitly focused on political economy and emphasize understanding the origins of labour migration (Boyd, 1989; Heisler, 1992). Rather than explaining migration through the individual decisions of migrants (like a micro perspective) this approach understands migration within the context of the dynamic global political economic system in which it is embedded (Gos and Lindquist, 1995; Boyd and Grieco, 1998).

Applying World Systems theory to the study of migration offers a better understanding of the global processes inherent in labour migration. In doing so, greater attention is dedicated to migratory push factors, unlike other theories which have predominantly focused upon factors that draw people to move. The World Systems approach addresses local, regional, and national circumstances that result in displacement and dislocation. More specifically, this perspective incorporates the consequences of neoliberal economics that initiate movement within sending communities and nations. According to a World Systems Theory approach, migration is observed as flowing from nations of the economic periphery to those of the economic core (Massey et. al. 1994, Wallerstein, 1999). Utilizing this perspective, economists and sociologists have shown that there is a global labour market in the modern world economy (Petras, 1981; Portes, 1983, Gardezi, 1995). Drawing on Marxist theory, World Systems theorists distinguish between the core, semi-peripheral and peripheral areas and relate the flow of labour to capital investment and resource development. Wallerstein (1974) traced the origins of the present world system to the mercantilist period in the seventeenth century. World Systems theorists of migration identify a reserve army of labour in developing countries that may be exploited by wealthier imperialist powers.

Other structuralists, such as Richmond and Verma (1978), suggest a global system

of international migration which may be internally differentiated according to level of development. The most developed post-industrial countries have high rates of exchange migration, particularly of highly qualified people, and tremendous pressures to emigrate have built up in less developed areas. They predict, “this process will only be contained by increasingly restrictive immigration policies in the more advanced countries who will be compelled to adopt punitive measures to combat illegal immigration” (Richmond and Verma, 1978, p.32). Furthering this prediction, I would suggest that this process is well underway; however at the same time, in order to draw on the reserve army of labour and better compete in the global marketplace, managed migration systems are being formed to bring workers from developing to more developed nations in order to work in the industrial and agricultural industries that are no longer desirable or lucrative areas of work for citizens. Thus, managed migration programs are a form of forced immigration, that “push” people to migrate, created by the political and economic agendas of the various actors involved, be they nation state, lobby group, private company or corporation.

The movement of workers through managed temporary foreign worker programs (TFWP) is also not just a consequence of the movement of products globally, as Stalker (2000) contends, but it is related to global production. International migration flows are not always reactive, where migrants are “pulled” or “pushed” in some direction for work. Certainly, *motivations* for migration can come from conditions of poverty or lack of employment opportunities, but what is also important is the proactive recruitment of the state through TFWPs designed to “push” and “pull” workers to migrate for work. Stalker (2000), in *Workers Without Frontiers*, argues that globalization’s “losers” become its movers. He claims that, far from reducing international migration flows by moving

products instead of people, globalization will give rise to increased migration pressures annually. He argues that flows of goods and capital between rich and poor countries will not be large enough to offset the needs for employment in poorer countries. Instead, social disruption caused by economic restructuring is likely to force more migration as people look for work abroad. This argument rests on the assumption that globalization has meant moving products and production, and not people. This is true if it is referring to protected and free movement, but it neglects the recognition that, to serve the needs of global capitalist production, workers have become “movers” all around the world through largely unprotected and unfree channels. To present the dichotomy between moving people or moving capital is to simplify the realities of globalization. In the case of Mexico, individuals are motivated to migrate not due to conditions of *absolute* poverty or a lack of development; instead, they are migrating as an income diversification tactic in response to outcomes of NAFTA, and to economic liberalization in general, with encouragement from the Mexican State (See STPS, 2004).

Massey et al. (1993, 1994) and Castles and Miller (2003) argue that economic liberalization in general has increased the pressure for migration from both rural and urban areas. Viewed as critical to the initiation of migratory flows, patterns of Mexican migration may be addressed according to levels of U.S. capital penetration and direct investment (Massey et al., 1994; Massey and Espinosa, 1997). According to the integrative approach posited in migration systems theory (Fawcett, 1989; Zlotnik, 1992, 1998), flows are generated as land, raw materials, and labour within “peripheral regions” come under the influence and control of markets (e.g. agricultural mechanization leads to job loss). It is not the bifurcation of the labour market that causes migration; it is the structure of the world market (Massey, et al., 1994, p.447-448). Migration is seen as a

“natural outgrowth of disruptions and dislocations,” all part of capitalist development in sending/receiving countries. If this is the case, then it is important to consider that migrants are also “pushed” by political forces, such as being encouraged to enter into national programs sponsored and managed by the state to “push” workers to migrate. For example, according to La Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social (STPS) in Mexico, the mandate of El Programa de trabajadores agrícolas temporales mexico-canada (PTAT) or the Canadian- Mexican Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) is “to offer and [*sic*] occupation[al] alternative... for ...Mexican peasants who are in a period of unemployment, and the economic benefit obtained of this job goes to their families” (STPS, 2005, p.1). Mexican farmers are encouraged to enter into this program in order to deal with their “period” of economic struggle. This strong “push factor” is a political strategy and government initiative to deal with poverty and the effects of NAFTA. Workers are being pushed by much more than just economic desperation or even agricultural mechanization. NAFTA has made it difficult for the Mexican small-scale farmer to compete, and the NAFTA governments have pushed them to migrate instead of implementing agricultural reform. It is important not to forget that migrants are active agents who chose to engage in temporary migration as income diversification strategies, but they do so under overt political pressure, and with few other options.

The expansion of the SAWP is one of the ways that the Mexican nation-state has attempted to mediate some of the adverse affects of NAFTA on small scale rural farmers, and the Canadian nation-state has met labour needs. In this way, Canada and Mexico, and the seasonal labour migration program they manage, act as very powerful “push” and “pull” factors encouraging people into temporary migration. TFWPs, like the SAWP, are often proactive policies on the part of receiving countries as well. They are specifically

designed to bring in workers from *selected* countries to fill labour *desires*, not *needs*, in sectors where citizens refuse to work due to conditions or low wage levels, such as in *Kuwait's Kafala-Visa 18 Programme* (Ruhs, 2003, p.6). Workers are not only imported in times of absolute labour shortages or crisis (such as the Bracero program in the US), but also when labour demands exceed supply due to *work preference* among citizens, not an absolute labour shortage (Borowski and Yanay, 1997). In fact, temporary workers take on the “socially least regarded jobs, which are often the worst paid or least secure, that could not be filled with nationals” (Bohning, 1984, p.6). Also, as noted by Castles and Davidson (2000, p.119), foreign worker or guestworker policies “can be seen as a way of gaining workers while keeping down social costs.” Since, in situations of fiscal restraint, opponents of immigration emphasize the social costs of admitting newcomers to the country, “governments tend to seek ways of reducing these costs by keeping people in situations of disadvantage through a denial of naturalization” (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.119). “Guestworkers” from Poland working in Germany in the late nineteenth century, or those from Southern Europe working in the core industrial areas of Europe after 1945, were expected to return home, and citizenship rules in the nation-state would not be affected (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.158; Martin, 2000). These nation-state practices of the past are still prevalent in the use of foreign worker programs to meet the present day labour need of a globalized economy (Baubock, 1994; Baubock & Rundell, 1998; Martin, 2000).

Thus, through immigration policies and bilateral agreements the state plays a very important role in the organization and regulation of migrant labour. Satzewich (1991) argues that this role needs a greater focus in studies of migration and globalization. Samers (1999) also contends that it is important to recognize that all forms of migration

serve to stabilize and destabilize national political regimes. However, it is imperative to not get distracted in the focus on individual nation state political regimes, since migrant labour programs are also both responses to and manifestations of globalization. They are responses to globalization as attempts to boost labour supply for enhancing global competition. They are also manifestations of globalization, as bilateral or multilateral agreements or memoranda of understanding between multiple nation-states. A focus on singular nation-states and their intrastate policies and practices that *incorporate* foreign labour neglects the very global nature of foreign worker programs. Specifically, it neglects both the powerful other half (or parts) of the equation (i.e. the other nation states involved in the multilateral agreement) and the realities of the global arena in which these workers are being *incorporated* or more accurately, *unincorporated*. With globalization, new forms of social inclusion and exclusion have emerged (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.6). Although the state has been particularly important in the way in which migrant labour is used and the conditions and rights of those workers while in host countries, it is the use of *temporary* labour migration programs to relegate labour outside of the nation state that should be the focus. This breaks s up the territorial connection between power and place. . Being temporary is about being outside the system in which citizenship (with its powers and rights) is assumed possible. Temporary foreign workers programs operate outside intrastate forms of economic and social relations. Being outside of this system has significant, yet largely unexplored, impacts on power in the everyday lives of migrant workers and their families.

Structuralist perspectives, such as world systems theory (Wallerstein, 1974, 1989), although useful for understanding the global arena in which migration takes place, do not fully incorporate the social contexts in which migration processes occur. For example, a

major shortcoming of research generated using World Systems Theory is a tendency to neglect women, and the significance of gender in these global processes (Boyd and Grieco, 1998; Ward, 1993). Integrative approaches, such as migration systems theory (Fawcett, 1989; Zlotnik, 1992; Boyd, 1989; Massey, 1993), give greater theoretical importance to the social contexts of migration (including gender), and to how migration is established and maintained. Migration systems theory means examining both ends of a migration flow, and studying all of the linkages between the places concerned, such as state-to-state relations, cultural linkages, and family and social networks (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987, p.456-7). According to Castles and Miller (2003, p.27), migration systems theory is part of a trend towards a more inclusive and interdisciplinary understanding of migration, outside of the domain of neo-classical approaches. This integrative approach recognizes connections between macro and micro levels, such as the family and the migration network. Macro-structures, such as institutions and state practices, interact with micro-structures, such as the networks, practices, and beliefs of migrants themselves, and result in migratory movements (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.27). Thus, families, and their role in maintaining transnational linkages and managing the migration household, must be a major focus of research. This is particularly the case when looking at temporary seasonal migration. Applying a migration systems theory (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987; Boyd & Greico, 1998; Portes & Bach, 1985) to the study of the SAWP as a temporary migration system, can enable researchers to focus on these issues from multiple levels and units of analysis, including the transnational practices integral to temporary migration within the SAWP. In theorizations of temporary migration, it is imperative that there be a more pronounced shift away from conceptualizing migration as a set of causes and effects, with an emphasis on the settlement process. Instead, theoretical and

methodological approaches need to recognize the importance of systems and networks (at all levels and units of analysis) as integral to understanding the complex processes of temporary migration.

It is also important that migration theory, more generally, recognize that with globalization, *permanent* “moves” are not necessary or even typical of the migration experience. Theories that explain permanent migration may not necessarily assist researchers in understanding and conceptualizing temporary migration. However, research on migration in Canada has mostly excluded temporary migration (e.g. Badets & Howatson-Leo, 1999; Halli, Travato and Driedger, 1990; Li, 2000, 2001; Mata and Pendakur, 1999; Reitz, 2000). Also, research on return migrants has been concerned with the factors that impede or deter permanent settlement (Hou and Beaujot, 1994). Migration research has tended to focus on the settlement issues of the individual permanent migrant, and does not often recognize both permanent and temporary migration as family and community processes. In general, the Canadian migration literature tends to concentrate on permanent migration, settlement and integration issues, and few studies have focused on the SAWP. The emphasis on settlement issues has effectively privileged studies of permanent migrants, and most often this has meant giving voice to the issues of those migrants who speak English, are highly skilled, and are male. For example, in a recent Special Issue on Migration and Globalization in *Canadian Studies in Population* (Volume 29, 2002), not one of the seven research articles is directly related to the Canadian SAWP. Only Knight (2002, p.13) refers to “tobacco workers and fruit pickers in Ontario, Canada” in his seven categories of international migration as an example of the second category “Migrants Admitted for Employment” which covers all temporary migrant workers that he identifies (contract, skilled, temporary, etc.). In Canada, the largest immigration

research initiative is the Metropolis Project, which is built upon partnerships between all levels of government, academic researchers and community organizations in five Centres of Excellence. A primary focus of these centres across Canada and their international partnerships is on *integration*. The Metropolis website describes the project as an “international forum for comparative research and public policy development about population migration, cultural diversity and the challenges of immigrant integration in cities in Canada and around the world” (The Metropolis Project, 2005). These centres have partnerships with all major migration research units around the world. Almost all of them state a focus on integration. With funding and publication bodies such as these encouraging studies on “integration,” it is not surprising that very few Canadian researchers have shown concern with temporary migration. This has led to a body of research on migration in Canada produced by academics, research centres and government departments that concentrates almost exclusively on permanent migrants and their settlement. Arguably, this may be indicative of a selection bias in understanding a social phenomenon, which may encourage gender insensitive and ethnocentric approaches to the study of migration, with a preoccupation with how the active migrant (male) adapts (assimilates) into the new (better) society. This assumes, of course, that passive women are waiting to immigrate as dependants or are at home (in Mexico) waiting for remittances.

In the context of contemporary global migration patterns the use of terms such as “adjustment”, “adaptation” and “settlement” in sociological theories of migration seems rather anachronistic. Richmond (1994, p.55) argues that an adequate sociological theory of migration must include an “understanding of social action and human agency, the question of conflict, contradiction and opposition in social systems, the meaning of

structure and change, and the importance of power.” Three factors identified by Richmond (1994) are of particular importance to a comprehensive theoretical approach to the research of managed temporary migration: agency, structure and power. The international structure of global capitalism and the place of temporary migration within it, the agency of migrants to move within or outside of that structure, and the macro and micro level power relations that impact migrants and their families are all highly significant factors that are central to the present research.

Literature pertaining to these macro and micro level power relations within the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program will be the focus of the following section. This section will provide a review of the existing research literature on the SAWP and on relevant studies of temporary migration, as well as elaborate on the theoretical literature related to the concepts of power, racialization and transnationalism. Each of the following substantive sections will address this breadth of literature together.

POWER AND THE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKER PROGRAM

In the last 15 years, there has been a small, but growing body of research emerging that has begun to address power within the SAWP at both the everyday and the macro or global level. In particular, a number of researchers have been examining the living and working conditions of labour migrants in Canada. For example, Bakan and Stasiulus (1997), Bolaria (1994,1992) and Wall (1992, 1994), have all examined specific employment relations and rights among specific groups of migrant workers. This has also been a focus of recent media coverage in Ontario (Lindsay, 2004; Marr, 2002; Martensson, 2002; UFCW, 2003b).

The earliest research to raise the issue of human rights among workers in the

Mexican-Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program was Cecil and Ebanks (1991, p.401), who, in reference to the SAWP state that “The human condition is not bad, but the workers’ total humanity is not expressed in Ontario.” In the early 1990s a number of studies emerged in the literature examining the political and policy issues pertaining to the SAWP. Bolaria, Dickinson and Wotherspoon (1991, p.399-404) were concerned that farm workers suffer mental illnesses because of insecure and depressing working conditions, racial subordination, material, social, and environmental deprivations, and uprootedness and consequent disruption of family and community ties. Bolaria (1992, p.242) examined the rights of migrant workers as they are covered in provincial acts (specifically British Columbia), and noted that agricultural workers have no legal recourse in matters of health and safety. Bolaria (1992) also noted, in reference to Mitchell (1975) and Shultz (1987), that in every province except British Columbia, it is illegal to form agricultural workers’ unions. Researchers began raising concerns over this lack of the right to unionize. Shields (1992) and Shultz (1987) and Tatroff (1994) documented the failed attempts at unionization to counter these poor conditions on Canadian farms. In 1992, Wall (1992, p.264) documented that the SAWP was part of a series of steps by the Canadian government to respond to the supposedly “special” nature of farming in Canada that justified the exclusion of agriculture from labour protection legislation. Based on an analysis of the Canadian legal framework pertaining to the agricultural industry, Wall (1992, p.268) contends that the exclusion of agriculture from labour protection legislation, the lack of the right to unionize, and the nature of farm labour relations create “dependencies (which) help to cement farm workers into personal relations of unequal exchange” and “undermine the development of solidarity among disadvantaged workers.” Research by Wall (1992) and Satzewich (1991), and more

recent research by Basok (2002, 2003a) and Becerril (2005) have provided good background on the transformation of labour relations and the social reorganization of the processes of agricultural work in Canada. Other recent research has focused on the limited rights of workers and documented their living and working conditions (Basok, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003a; Colby, 1997; Preibisch, 2000; Smart, 1997; Weston, 2000).

Basok (2002) published the first book specifically on the topic of Mexican seasonal agricultural workers in Canada. This book comprehensively addressed the living and working conditions of migrant workers and the structural necessity of migrant labour in terms of the Canadian agricultural sector. Labour shortages in the agricultural sector have been increasing since the 1950s (2002, p.iv); accordingly, Basok proposes that without migrant labour, Ontario horticulture would have experienced significant decline. Basok (2002) spoke to workers and growers in the Leamington area and to workers in San Cristóbal, Guanajuato, Mexico. Basok documents poor living and working conditions, and contends that workers are aware of the horrible working conditions, however it is not clear regarding the extent to which workers are aware of their class position or place in Canadian or global structures of inequality. Primarily, Basok's work looks at the SAWP as a problem in Canada, with the dominant issues of concern being equal access to services, rights, and representation within the Canadian system.

In November 2004, at the CALACS (Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies) conference addressing "Latin America and the Caribbean: Independence and Interdependence," a session entitled: "Thirty Years On: Reflections on the Mexican Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), 1974-2004" included a number of researchers in Canada and Mexico investigating the SAWP (Barrón, Basok,

Becerril, Hennebry, Preibisch, Venegas).¹⁴ These researchers met to take stock of the research on SAWP to date.

Preibisch (2004) has provided the first thorough investigation of the social inclusion of migrant workers in Canada, while Basok (2003a) has focused on workers' rights and position in the Canadian labour market. Preibisch (2004) provided a solid discussion of the social and economic changes underway in Canada's rural communities that have accompanied the agricultural sector's growing reliance on foreign workers. Research by Cecil and Ebanks (1991) in the late 1980s began to address questions of social exclusion and the overall relations between migrant workers and rural communities, but these issues have been largely left to the periphery. Preibisch's work begins to fill this gap and notes that the emergence of non-state actors (such as the UFCW and others) have become increasingly relevant in defending the rights of workers before their employers, and the Mexican and Canadian governments, and have had significant impacts on relationships between migrant workers and communities. Preibisch (2004) explicates the ways in which migrant workers in Canada are subject to social exclusion from Canadian society, documenting experiences of racism, but also examining the ways that Ontario communities have incorporated migrant workers. In Preibisch's work there is no examination of power relations in daily life of migrant workers and how, for example, lack of control over the work process, or of spatiality, is institutionalized in the SAWP, and justified through racialization.

Becerril (2005) centres her investigations of the implications for workers' experiences while in Canada with specific attention to the rise of new social organizations

¹⁴ The session was moderated by Satzewich, who is the author of *Racism and the Incorporation of Foreign Labour: Farm Labour Migration to Canada since 1945*. New York and London: Routledge. 1991

defending the rights of migrant workers in Canada. Based on 15 qualitative interviews with migrant workers in the Leamington area, Becerril (2005) proposes that the SAWP is an example of the restructuring processes of production and a new form of work within global capitalism. Becerril (2005) makes an argument that a particular problem of the SAWP is that there is an emerging “lucha cultural” or “cultural struggle” underway among migrant workers on Canadian farms and in Canadian communities. By “lucha cultural” Becerril is referring to the political issues among workers while in Canada. Becerril has provided a solid discussion of the labour movement underway among Mexican workers on some Canadian farms. It is important to note, however, that her research involved data gathering from only a few farms in Leamington, the most concentrated area of Mexican employment in Canada. Workers in this area are more highly concentrated, have less social isolation, and have become rather politicized, particularly following the documentary “el contrato.” Large portions of workers outside this area have very limited social interaction with Canadians, workers on other farms, support centres, or political organizations.

In 1991 Satzewich produced the most comprehensive research from a political economy perspective, which is focused on Canadian political economy of farm labour migration to Canada since 1945, rather than an international political economy or international migration framework. Satzewich (1991) provides a valuable conceptualization of foreign labour incorporation, demonstrating that there are four possible modes of incorporation for foreign-born workers: free immigrant labour, unfree immigrant labour, free migrant labour and unfree migrant labour. He places participants in the Canadian SAWP into the later category of “unfree migrant labour” as they are bound to their employment conditions for the conferment of rights and access to services.

Consistent with Satzewich (1991), Smart (1997) examined the SAWP with reference to economic and material relations in a global context. Smart (1997) contends that the economic relations of contemporary globalization, and specifically, the need for flexible labour force deployment is particularly important to the SAWP. Drawing on Drache and Getler (1991), Smart (1997) contends that, as central feature of globalization, the increased mobility of capital (aided by formal and informal free trade agreements like NAFTA, APEC and the EU) is driven by and in turn supporting an increase of flexible production systems and what Moody (1995) identifies as flexible workforce deployment within and across territorial boundaries. Smart (1997) notes that, in Canada, the flexibilization of labour is expressed in the form of temporary and seasonal employment involving foreign workers. In a detailed analysis of Alberta's agricultural industry, Smart (1997) claims that the Canadian farmers rely on the flexibility made possible by the SAWP to support and enhance their agri-business. Smart (1997, p.156) concludes that Mexican seasonal workers have made a valuable contribution to the Canadian economy by tailoring their labour participation according to the needs of Canadian employers and the dictates of global and national competition. The impact that the SAWP has had on the expansion and concentration of the Canadian agricultural industry has been clearly established by other researchers as well (Verduzco, 2000; Basok, 2002; Weston and Scarpa de Marsellis, 2004). Smart (1997, p.157) also expresses concern that the flexibilization of labour may be a form of hyper-exploitation and corporate conspiracy aimed at the complete subordination of the working-class. Smart's (1997) analysis, however, neglected the significant role of race and the processes of racialization in the organization and legitimatization of the SAWP.

There has been some interesting research on the Canadian Live-In-Caregiver

Program (LCP) (Bakan and Stasiulis, 1997; Macklin, 1999) which provides an interesting comparison with the SAWP. Macklin (1999) and Bakan and Stasiulis (1997), have leveled strong criticisms at this temporary work program that is designed to bring women from poor countries to provide cheap child care and domestic labour to middle-class Canadian families since the 1950s. These criticisms have centred on the fact that, like the Filipina domestic workers discussed by Parreñas (2000), domestic workers in the LCP are at great risk of exploitation and human rights violations because of their powerless position as temporary workers. Specific attention has been given to the realities of overwork, underpay, physical and sexual abuse that have been features of domestic work in Canada. In the 1950s through to the 1970s women were only admitted on temporary work visas and were bound to their employers, confined to domestic labour, and expelled when their services were no longer needed or they were deemed no longer useful (Macklin, 1999, p.26). At that time domestic workers began to organize politically and successfully fought for the right for domestic workers to apply for permanent resident status through the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) in 1982. Under the FDM workers could apply for permanent resident status after they have completed two years of live-in service, but were subject to deportation if they failed to meet this or any other immigration requirement. The successor, the Live in Caregiver Program, preserves this two-year live-in requirement, but through changes to selection and landing criteria has made it more difficult to gain entrance, and easier to get landed status.

The Live-In-Caregiver Program provides an interesting benchmark of comparison with temporary workers in Canada under the SAWP. Workers entering under the LCP have guaranteed access to permanent status and thus, the citizenship process, if they fulfill immigration requirements. This is something that seasonal agricultural workers are

not given. In fact, their path to permanence is prematurely halted by immigration selection criteria, which does not recognize the Canadian work experience of seasonal labourers since it is less than the specified 12 months. Domestic workers have mobility out of their employment in the LCP after they have completed the live-in requirement, and with this work experience recognized, they are given a very good chance of being granted permanent resident status. However, domestic workers are more or less on “probation” while they fulfill the requirement, confined to domestic work with their legal status being entirely contingent on their employment in the LCP (Macklin, 1999, p.27). In contrast, seasonal agricultural workers are always confined to agricultural work; they are confined to specific employers while in Canada. Unable to switch employers or leave the agricultural sector, seasonal agricultural workers never even get to “probation,” and instead stay in “holding” until they are expelled. If the Live-In-Caregiver Program is a form of government sponsored indentured labour, as Macklin (1999, p.27) so aptly puts it, then what is the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, where workers are never released from their “*patrones*”?

Although the research on the Canadian SAWP demonstrates that migrant workers are particularly valuable to capitalist accumulation due to their restricted freedom and relative powerlessness in the agricultural industry, the examination is not complete. Not only has the role of race been neglected, but also the dynamics of and *awareness* of power (in terms of both powerlessness and empowerment) among migrant workers themselves and their families (particularly among spouses of migrant workers in Mexico) has not been fully explored. Basok (2002) argues that workers accept conditions of employment due to economic necessity and limited opportunities for social mobility in Mexico, and Knowles (1997) delineates a similar argument with respect to Jamaican

workers. Smart's (1997) research, based on 10 qualitative interviews among workers on farms in southern Alberta, found that workers clearly articulated the economic benefits from their seasonal employment in Canada despite harsh working conditions. The neglect of this aspect is reflective of the lack of recognition by many researchers of the *agency* of migrant workers and their families in the program. As Smart (1997, p.157) notes, the omission of the workers' perspective on the matter of exploitation needs to be addressed in future research. It is unknown, at this point, how the "relations of ruling" (Smith, 1990b) play out within the SAWP. How are Mexican migrant workers engaged in power relations that are embedded in the organization of daily work practices? How does their participation in the SAWP work to construct/reinforce power relations across transnational spaces? How do race and gender mediate these power relations?

RACE AND THE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKER PROGRAM

The earliest studies of the SAWP centred on the use of Mexican and Caribbean farm labour in Canada from a critical historical perspective, examining the role of race and ethnicity in Canadian immigration policy and labour relations (Satzewich, 1998; Wall, 1992; Cecil and Ebanks, 1991). Satzewich (1991) demonstrated that the Canadian SAWP reflects processes of racialization and the unequal treatment of non-European groups, even though the program was designed to improve prosperity for both Canadians and migrant workers. Satzewich demonstrates that public discourse in the early 1960s suggested that Caribbean workers were not biologically suited for the climatic conditions of Canada, and that they would "create racial problems" in Canadian communities if allowed to immigrate in order to fill a labour need in the Ontario farming industry (1991, p.148). Satzewich (1991, p.145-180) observes that non-European workers could only be

admitted as temporary workers and under strict mobility and employment constraints. Satzewich also contends that the state acts as the gatekeeper to the social formation: it determines who can be included within the spatial and symbolic boundaries of the nation (Satzewich, 1991, p.35). Certainly the state has this gatekeeper function with respect to the SAWP, but Satzewich's analysis does not address the way in which the racialization process and the processes of social exclusion are articulated and contested in the everyday practices of the SAWP. It is important to recognize that, although the state has the power to determine and control the conditions of entry into the social formation, it is not the sole actor (or groups of actors) in the processes of racialization or social exclusion. Individual farmers and workers, and other members of the social formation play a significant role in the process of racialization in the SAWP.

Drawing on the conceptualization of racialization posited by Miles (1989,1982), Satzewich (1991) argues that the agents or carriers of racialization can be social groups, such as political parties and social classes, the mass media and the agents and institutions of the state. The problem with the application of this conceptualization to the SAWP is that it does not address the ways the private actors (farmers, workers, townspeople, ICT service providers, banks, etc.) play a very direct role in the SAWP. This is particularly the case since workers are typically isolated, not closely monitored by the state while in Canada; and they are managed and controlled by farmers, FARMS (a private group), and other workers. Many other individuals, including seasonal workers and their families likely engage in the racialization process, and it is likely that many employ a wide range of resistance strategies to counter these processes. It is unknown at this point, to what extent these processes and strategies are engaged in by migrant workers, governments and other intermediaries connected to the SAWP.

In 2001, I presented a paper entitled “Ethical Implications of the Global Movement of People and Their Labour” at the International Union for the Scientific Research of Population in Brazil. As was discussed in this international forum, researchers had just begun to recognize the importance of temporary migration to globalization. I argued that the SAWP and temporary migration systems were ways of formally institutionalizing racialized unequal power relations where states could benefit from cheap labour without confronting the ethical dilemmas of citizenship in relation to place and rights. States use temporary migration programs to facilitate the import of labour for specific industries under tightly controlled parameters to do the work that citizens refuse. I contended that the state plays a crucial role in the exploitation of foreign workers, and that managed temporary migration programs are one of the mechanisms used to legitimize this exploitation. However, other non-state actors, such as ICT service providers, play an important role in this exploitative and racialized system that has been largely neglected by researchers (Hennebry, 2004, 2005).

Mechanisms by which foreign labour is incorporated and legitimized by the Canadian state is the focus of research by Sharma (2001) in “On not being Canadian.” Sharma (2001) examines the construction and legitimization of the migrant worker category by the Canadian state. She argues that the use and acceptance of oppositional categories of citizen/migrant worker helps secure the organization of “difference” within Canada, with the notion of citizen as the dominant oppressive half of the binary code of negative dualities (Sharma, 2001, p.417). Sharma (2001, 1995) argues that rather than viewing national governments as losing control over “domestic” or “national” space, a reorganization of the international migration of labour along with nation building agendas has been part of how the processes of globalization have been organized in Canada.

Sharma (2001) claims that through building an ideology of “nation-ness” and the consequent construction of the borders of the nation-state and categories of immigration, the state affects people’s legal-political “rights” as well as the formation of people’s consciousness of who “belongs” and who does not.

Through a discourse analysis of parliamentary debates, she examines how the Canadian state works to shape people’s consciousness around the boundaries of “Canadianness” in ways that contribute to the “common sense” realization of the category of migrant workers. Specifically, through an analysis of the continued reference to protecting the “nation” and by extension those “belonging” to it, Sharma (2001) claims that those working within the apparatuses of the Canadian state have been able to reorganize the labour market by recruiting workers categorized as “non-immigrants” (migrant workers). Sharma’s (2001) research is particularly important in terms of demonstrating the significance of language in the institutional “othering” process. However, as her focus is on the role of parliament, the ways in which the everyday practices of the SAWP, as an institutional form, embed and construct notions of the other through the invocation of racialized and gendered notions of “the worker” are left unexamined. As her analysis is focused on text, Sharma’s work provides no accounts of the everyday real experiences of social actors engaged in the institution and therefore gives no voice to workers themselves to articulate how the relations of ruling actually play out in their lives. Although claiming to adopt an institutional ethnographic approach, Sharma’s study does not recognize the everyday practices of relations of ruling that embed power relations into government practice, economic practice, social organization and consciousness. Further, Sharma’s work does not recognize that relations of ruling extend beyond Ontario farms and national political economies.

A clear pattern, identified by both Richmond (1994) and Samers (1999) is the ways in which race and racism are imbued in the global political economy of migration. Richmond (1994) contends that there is a global trend to import workers temporarily while restricting access to permanent immigration. Richmond (1994) contends that this trend is resulting in the formation of a new contemporary world system that can be characterized as “global apartheid.” Richmond (1994), notes that although we live in a global society, we lack effective global governmental institutions. The wealthiest, most affluent countries are banding together to protect their privilege from those outside the loop: *the developing nations*. The result is “Global Apartheid (Aparthood): the forcible isolation of those who are different, and the separation of people into different areas” (Richmond, 1994, p.206). Drawing from Foucault (1973), Richmond (1994) argues that segregation, surveillance, subordination and silencing are instruments of power used as a means for social control. Exile, expulsion and separation have long been used by governments to control population movement. As a process of structuration (Giddens, 1998,1984), global apartheid and “asylum” (meaning non-seizure) have much in common. Asking what “asylum”, “ethnic cleansing”, “reservation”, “ghetto”, “prison”, “hospital” and “deport” have in common, Richmond (1994) claims that these are all actions, structures and institutions associated with the forcible isolation of people who are different. What is relevant to this research is that Richmond (1994) points to the process of separation and categorization, that Foucault (1973) demonstrated to be so important to the institutionalization of power, which is inherent in migration policies. The separation of migrants into categories for the purposes of selection and entrance is part of this, but even more so is the distinction between permanent and temporary migrants. This distinction is entirely about inclusion or exclusion. Source countries from which migrant

workers are drawn (in the case of the Canadian SAWP, Mexico and the Caribbean) are previously colonized, non-European, and predominantly non-White. Immigration policy – and the channeling of individuals into temporary versus permanent categories of entrance – is the forcible isolation of difference. Racism is embedded in these practices and the outcome leads to a racialized system of movement, whereby those different from the white European point of reference are subject to social control through a migration policy and labour system that simultaneously devalues credentials from highly skilled migrants from these countries, and funnels the unskilled into tightly controlled labour relations and migration regulations that guarantee their isolation and consequent exclusion. This “forcible isolation” and “segregation” is guaranteed both by the terms and conditions of the SAWP employment contract and the fact that there is no mobility across immigration statuses for these workers, as transition from temporary to permanent migration within the SAWP is not permitted.

Samers (1999) presents the “spatial vent” as a new concept describing the forced and/or encouraged repatriation of migrant workers to partially diffuse threats to accumulation and legitimation generated by reconciling economic imperatives with the political, social and cultural priorities of the state. Samers (1999) uses the “spatial vent” as one means of grasping the territoriality of capitalism. What is particularly useful for this research is that the notion of the spatial vent can be applied to the SAWP. Samers (1999) argues that the spatial vent is a mechanism by which “bourgeois democratic” states resolve crises of accumulation and legitimacy through the forced or encouraged repatriation of legal migrant labour, through reference to race. As noted by Portes (1995) the repatriation of low-skilled migrant labour has been a feature of capitalism since the nineteenth century and the development of international labour migration. With globalization, as capital has

become free to move around the world, cheap labour has been drawn from all over the world into this system of production, creating a new international division of labour (Gardezi, 1995, p.2) which is mediated by both gender and race. Sassen (1998) has demonstrated that repatriating low skilled migrant labour serves to reduce unemployment and social conflict within the nation-state, but also reduces the necessity of certain forms of social infrastructure and social services. What is unique about the spatial vent as posited by Samers (1999) is that only certain “bourgeois democratic” states and not others have chosen this sort of spatial strategy to address economic changes/crisis.

Wallerstein (2001, p.89-91) also offers a useful explication of how racism is used in modern global capitalism to keep people out and to keep people in their places (both political and geographical). Wallerstein demonstrates that in global capitalism, underdeveloped countries play a crucial role in the productive processes of the world-system but they have little political power, such that, “...whole peoples can be pushed back into a forced autarky and left to survive as best they can, just as a *gastarbeiter* can be sent home” (2001, p.91). As noted previously, Satzewich (1991, p.46) contends that the process of racialization plays a key role in the state’s determination of the permeability of the boundaries of the nation state, and in the allocation and incorporation of the foreign-born persons to positions in the division of labour. Race is used as the justification for this system, which absolves the moral quandaries faced by many when the realities of inequality inherent in the capitalist system become difficult to ignore. This justification, as understood by Wallerstein (2001), is invoked when the ideology of capitalism (where inequality is seen as inherent, but acceptable in terms of differential rewards based on merit) collapses. It collapses when it becomes apparent to people that there is actually very little class mobility and there is often a lack of correspondence

between merit and rewards. The primary justification of inequality within capitalism is that differential rewards are allotted *equally* to *anyone* who works hard enough and has the appropriate skills; i.e. that inequality is based on merit. Since this does not actually manifest itself in practice, another justification for inequality is utilized: race. Racism serves to “minimize the political capacity of the understratum while keeping them in occupationally” (Wallerstein, 2001, p.89). Racism serves to keep people in, occupationally. When active labour is required then they are employed, and when it is not, workers can be put “on hold.” However, they can be brought back at any moment when there is a renewed demand for labour. This can be seen as a “reserve army” where the reserve army has also internalized racialized values such that it is willing or even eager to be brought back to work under restricted or constrained conditions of employment. Workers participating in temporary migration programs such as the SAWP are exactly that, a reserve army of labour. It remains to be seen whether race and racism function to justify this system and the everyday hierarchies of power in the workplaces of the SAWP.

TRANSNATIONALISM, FAMILIES, AND THE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKER PROGRAM

The literature on the Canadian SAWP is obviously growing, but the SAWP has yet to be thoroughly examined within the context of globalization and transnationalism. Some researchers have begun to address the debates regarding migration and globalization, but many have concentrated on the Canadian agricultural industry and national immigration debates and issues.

In 2003, a conference organized by the Centre for Research on Latin America and

the Caribbean was devoted to identifying and discussing, "International Migration in the Americas: Emerging Issues." This event brought together faculty and graduate students and members of NGOs to discuss policy and research agendas related to international migration, with a particular focus on the Americas. Out of this conference, three priority research agendas emerged: 1) how identities such as gender and race shape and are shaped by international migration; 2) the impact of international migration on political, social, and economic development, especially in sending countries; and 3) the role of the state in the regulation and criminalization of international migration. It was in this later theme that the Canadian - Mexican Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program was briefly discussed as a research priority. It was also noted that no settlement services were provided to migrant workers. Also, that much of the research on permanent migration does not necessarily provide sufficient frameworks for understanding temporary migration; and since their treatment and experiences contrast sharply with permanent immigrants, and there is a need for further investigation (Bohórquez & Spronk, 2004, p.26). It was also noted that there are a wide range of transnational relationships, and that migrant families (of all forms) have extensive transnational relationships, which have dramatic consequences on family structures. Kinship networks were recognized as both reinforced and disrupted by the process of migration and in need of much further research. How these transnational relationships are manifest among SAWP workers and their families has yet to be addressed by researchers. The research literature has not yet investigated the implications of participation in the SAWP for long-term development, or the changing social and cultural relations among families in Mexico (e.g. changes in the gendered division of labour).

Migration research has just begun to understand families of migrants as essential to the migration process and few researchers have examined the impacts of temporary migration on household division of labour and gender roles (e.g. Balan, 1990). In general, little attention has also been given towards the involvement of families, specifically women in Mexico, in the temporary migration process. Only a handful of researchers have talked extensively with workers *and* their families, *and* with employers involved in the program, and few, if any, have worked alongside workers, experiencing their daily living and working relations. For example, although Basok (1999, 2002) and her research team spoke with migrants in San Cristóbal, they did not examine the ways in which spouses of migrant workers were involved in the seasonal migration process, nor did they address any changes in the division of labour, or other socio-cultural changes underway among women in migrant communities. Like others, Basok (2002, 2003a, 2003b) also neglects the role of gender in these migration and transnational practices, and the impacts of temporary migration on changing gender roles and the family division of labour (particularly in the reception and usage of remittances for development projects). Similarly, few have examined the *transnational* practices of the SAWP involving family and community members in Mexico.

It is also not clear from the research literature (Basok, 1999, 2002, 2003b; Colby, 1997; Preibisch, 2004) at this point, to what extent and with what agency workers act *transnationally*, and how they themselves would conceptualize their participation. Do SAWP workers and their families engage in *transnationalism*? Since the majority of the research focus has been on the labour conditions and rights of workers in Canada, little attention has been given to transnational practices of seasonal migration within the context of international migration, nor the character of transnational networks among

SAWP participants and their families in Canada and Mexico. Most certainly, no attention has been given to the important role of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the SAWP, or the role of ICTs in temporary migration systems more broadly. For example, Basok's (2003b) research does not examine the role of communications technologies in these processes, or the flow and methods of remittance transfers and the costs associated with the SAWP. Also, research has yet to examine the role of intermediaries and non-governmental groups (such as remittance sending service providers, hometown associations, ethnic community groups, or advocacy groups), in the temporary migration of SAWP workers. As Harris (1995), and Castles and Miller (2003) contend, a whole industry emerges around migration networks that both helps and hinders migrant workers and their families in the temporary migration process. Nothing is known about this "migration industry" for SAWP workers in Canada. For example, are there *coyotes* that "help" migrants get into the program? What businesses or organizations serve communications and transportation needs of migrant workers in Canada and Mexico?

Becerril (2005) and Binford (2002) note the significance of the SAWP in changing transnational dynamics of work and life, but both also note the lack of information regarding these changes. Specifically, Becerril (2005) points to the need for further research on the organization of transnational work and for a better understanding of the significance that workers themselves assign to their transnational experiences while in Canada and Mexico. Further attention must be given to the role of transnationalism within the SAWP program in development and the restructuring of family in Mexico and in the relations within destination communities. Research needs to conceptualize the practices of SAWP workers and their families within the literature of transnationalism.

Do SAWP workers and their families engage in what researchers understand to be “transnationalism”? The “transnational practices” of SAWP workers and their families will be further discussed in the following section. Following Portes (1999:464), *Transnational practices* are those that take place on a recurrent basis across national borders that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants, such as remittance sending, international telephone calling, family financial planning, and any other forms of interaction across national boundaries that are engaged in by migrants and their families.

Transnational Practices of Migrant Workers and Their Families: Sending and Receiving

There has not been extensive research on the sending and receiving of remittances and international telephone calling among SAWP workers and their families. The majority of research concerned with remittances has focused on the use of remittances for development, and no research has examined the practices and work involved in sending and receiving remittances, and the impacts of these practices on the family division of labour, gender roles, family cohesion, etc. Also, no research has examined the importance of international communication to the processes of this form of seasonal migration.

A question frequently addressed by researchers of international migration is whether remittances promote or inhibit development in the communities of origin (Alarcón, 2000; Barham & Boucher, 1998; Basok, 2003b; Castles, 2000; Grindle, 1988; Papademetriou and Martin, 1991; Rahman, 2000; Skeldon, 1997). Researchers generally agree that development is more likely to occur if migrants invest their remittances in agricultural land, machinery, livestock, or business that have productive capacities. However numerous researchers have documented that many use remittances to purchase

food, clothing, medicine, pay for children's education, build or repair their houses, upgrade household facilities, acquire foreign-built amenities, and pay off debts (Wiest, 1973,1979; Wood and McCoy, 1985; Papademetriou and Martin, 1991; Diaz-Briquets and Weintraub, 1991; Arnold, 1992; Connell and Brown, 1995; Conway and Cohen, 1998). Hellman (1994) notes that remittances have permitted the purchase and concentration of land by Mexican returned immigrants, which has created a different social structure. Other researchers have demonstrated that the development associated with migration is uneven and depends on the character of remittance communities (Pessar, 1982; Taylor et al., 1996; Taylor, 1999). For example, migrants from rural communities with high quality land, better infrastructure, and greater access to markets are more likely to invest their earnings in productive areas. Those from poorer rural areas with weak infrastructure and poor quality land are more likely to spend their remittances on daily household needs (Taylor, 1999, p.73).

Colby (1997), in her 1994-95 research of migrant workers from Oaxaca, examined the Mexican remittance economy, with a comparative eye to U.S. farm worker remittances and migration experiences. Colby (1997, p.27) estimates that the remittances from migrants in Canada are significantly higher than remittances from migrants in the United States. Colby concentrated her research on the distinctions between the U.S. and Canada as options for migrant farm workers. She found that the average monthly remittance from Canadian migrants was one thousand dollars, compared to two hundred dollars per month remitted by migrants from the United States. Her research found that workers and their wives tended to prefer Canada due to greater wage security and contractual arrangement, increased safety due to the legal nature of the contract, and the

lower costs of living and ability to save money (Colby, 1997, p.19, 26).

Basok's (2003b) research on remittances among migrant workers involved in the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program demonstrates a different pattern emerging for participants in the SAWP. Specifically, migrants from the worst endowed communities, not the best endowed, are more likely to invest in land. According to Basok (2003b) since most participants in the Canadian Mexican Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program are very poor, they tend to use money to cover household needs and medical bills, but they also use money to buy inexpensive land. Basok's (2003b) research is the first to address remittance economies among participants in the SAWP, and it is a useful starting point for understanding remittance expenditures and the motivations for migration. However, Basok (2003b) does not identify the most common usages of remittance monies among migrant families from a variety of rural areas, or the sustainability of the development spurred by participation in the SAWP. Also, Basok's (2003b) research does not address the social and cultural changes due to participation in the SAWP and due to the influx of remittances, nor does it explicate the political economic processes that facilitate and organize this international temporary migration system.

Although there is a growing body of research that specifically addresses the relationship between global information and communication technologies and migration (e.g., Vertovec, 2004, 2001; Urry, 2003; Castells, 1996; Sassen, 1998; Castles and Davidson, 2000), none have examined these transnational practices with respect to the SAWP. The most thorough investigation of the relationship between labour migration and communication emerged out of research by Hugo (1995) on the impact of remittances on Indonesian rural communities. Hugo's (1995) results demonstrate that there is a notable

change among Indonesian rural communities related to transport and mass communication. Indonesia has experienced enormous improvements in its transportation infrastructure. This has made remote villages accessible to the wider world. Progress has been made by the Indonesian government in disseminating information to the most remote villages via television, while the ownership of television has increased from less than one in ten households in 1970 to one in three in 1990 (Hugo 1995). It is not clear to what extent these changes have been a result of labour migration or to what extent they have facilitated labour migration.

To date, no extensive research has examined these important practices of transnationalism with respect to migrant families in the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), and in particular, no research has focused on the use and impact of ICTs use within these kinds of temporary migration systems. Basok (2002) is the first and most thorough book published on the topic of migrant workers in Canada and there is no mention of ICTs. Of the few research publications that relate to Mexican migrant workers in the SAWP (Preibish, 2004; Barrón, 2000; Venegas, 2000; Basok, 1999; Binford, 2002; Colby, 1997; Sharma, 1995; Bolaria, 1992; Satzewich, 1991), none has addressed the role of global communication technologies and practices in the facilitation of these migration systems, such as international telephone calling and remittance sending. Further still, none has addressed these issues in relation to the role of women and families of temporary migrants in Mexico and the impact of the SAWP on development.

Gender and the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program

Of the extensive research that has emerged looking at the impact of Mexican remittances

from the United States (e.g. Cornelius, 1991, 1992; Goldring, 1990, 1996; Massey and Basem, 1992; Martin, 1998; Mines, 1984; Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992; Kritz et al., 1981; Reichert, 1981; Rubenstein, 1992; Skeldon, 1997; and others) very little attention has been given to the role of gender in these processes. Barrón (2000) and Venegas (2000) have begun to investigate the impact of the program in the social and economic development of communities in Mexico and among female migrant workers, however no thorough research on gender has emerged at this point.

Hugo (1995) demonstrates that some changes have happened in the structure and functioning of families due to international migration. Such changes include: (1) a tendency to move from extended toward nuclear family; (2) a decrease in the strength of patriarchal control structures; (3) a transition from marriage partners selected by parents, to selection by their partner; (4) a decrease in polygamy; and (5) age at marriage has increased while fertility has declined by about 50 per cent in the last 20 years. Such social change can influence the international migration decision-making inside the family in Indonesia (Hugo, 1995, p.22). Little is known about such changes related to the international migration engaged in by SAWP families.

Although some have investigated the impacts of migration on gender roles and norms among Mexican families (Balan, 1990; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992, 1994; Wainerman et al., 1983), this has not been applied, as of yet, to the SAWP. Hellman's (1994) research on return migration in Mexico suggests that the impact of remittances on families in small villages is a mixed one. Hellman (1999), notes that the impact of return migration is complex. It sometimes reinforces traditional gender relations and at other times it rearranges them. Hellman's work points to the changes and stresses on families with remittance economies, but neglects tendencies towards increased dependency and

increased workloads faced by women who stay behind while the men migrate.

Colby (1997, p.26), in her study of the distinction between the US and Canadian remittance economies for Mexican migrants, provided some research regarding gender and the temporary migration process. She talked to a number of families of migrant workers from Oaxaca, and found that most women prefer their husbands to go to Canada for similar reasons, and they also presumed that social isolation while in Canada would keep them out of trouble. As some respondents in her research put it: “there they don’t drink and get into trouble with the police” and “in Canada he doesn’t have girlfriends or babies” (Colby, 1997, p.26). Although Colby’s research talked to women in Oaxaca whose husbands participated in the SAWP, her focus was on the U.S.-Canada comparison in terms of migration motivations and compliance with Canadian contractual arrangements. Thus, the research did not attempt to address the socio-cultural changes in family life due to participation or the ways in which women, as wives of migrants, also actively participated in the migration process. The significance of gender to migration processes within temporary seasonal migration programs has also not been addressed. Moreover, the role of communication practices and technologies in the transnational practices of migrant workers and their families have been left unexamined by each of these authors.

A thorough analysis of the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program must be extended to encompass the women (wives, sisters, mothers, and daughters) who stay behind when migrant workers come to Canada. Gendered assumptions about migration tend to ignore the fact that women are place-bound to a greater extent than men given their responsibilities for carework, which restricts emigration. Moreover, gender roles, identities, and hierarchies have been neglected for their part in the migration process, and

for their significance to the construction of the “migrant worker.” Also, theories of transnationalism ignore the reality that transnationalism requires that there is someone in the sending country for migrants to stay in contact with – and in many cases, it may be women who stay behind. Most macro-level theories on international migration have not just neglected women, but they have also failed to understand migration within the social contexts of the family and community, in which migration decision-making and transnational practices occur (Ellis, et al., 1996; Boyd and Grieco, 1998).

As noted by Nakano Glenn (2002,1992) and Parreñas (2001), concomitant with globalization, the race-gender division of reproductive labour has become a transnational race-gender division of labour. From the mid-nineteenth century until World War II, to the contemporary era of globalization, the bulk of the less desirable and onerous tasks of reproductive labour have fallen on disadvantaged women of colour (Nakano Glenn, 2002, p.73). In the organization of international labour for global capitalism, racialized and gendered assumptions about work and workers have been integral to the formation of the contemporary structure of global stratification (Barndt, 2002;Ward, 1990). It is likely the case that these racialized and gendered assumptions about work and workers have been embedded in the SAWP. At this point, very little is known about the character or extent to which these assumptions have been invoked or constructed through the SAWP. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 address the ways in which work has been organized/reorganized within SAWP and the extent to which race and gender assumptions support and mitigate this organization.

It is imperative to look at the migration process as a family process if one is to avoid maintaining and reinforcing gendered and racialized power relations. Portes (1995, p.46) sees the temporary migration system as one in which the community of origin has

become organized around the temporary export of labour because of mutually reinforcing pressures. The local resources are insufficient to provide adequate subsistence, which thus encourages migration to procure additional income, and at the same time, there are adequate resources (usually land) to sustain most of the family in the migrant's absence, which also provides "investment incentives" for the migrant's return (ibid.). Following Portes (1995), it is important to see the temporary migrant not in isolation, as an individual worker in a foreign country, but as members of families, socio-cultural communities, and local and international economies. Consequently, not only is a gender analysis necessary for examining the role and experiences of female temporary migrants (the women that move), but also the role and experiences of wives, mothers, grandmothers, and sisters who are connected to temporary migrants who leave communities for international employment (the women who stay).

Massey et al. (1994) contend that the strongest theories of migration understand migration as a family and community process. Massey et al. (1994) note that much of this work has argued that the circulation of people, goods, ideas, and so forth between home and host societies creates a new culture (attitudes, values and behavior) that is different than both home and host societies (e.g. Georges, 1990; Rouse, 1991, 1992; Goldring, 1992, 1990; Levitt, 1998). These authors have developed a "transnationalization of culture hypothesis" in which new transnational cultural groups create new spaces that transcend traditional national boundaries. This results in a changing context within which migration decisions take place, such that the importance of migration is emphasized in family and community decision-making. It is argued by these authors that migration patterns create a culture of consumerism that can only take place through the movement of individuals and families between home and host locations. Such movement is argued to

create a set of cultural norms so that migration is an expected part of the new transnational cultural group, and it becomes an expected part of growing up (Kandel, 2002). Migration thus becomes a rite of passage for young men in order to prove their manhood, worthiness, and ambition. These authors contend that migration changes gender and power relations within the household in such a way as to encourage women to perpetuate a culture of migration. However, at this point, there is strong theoretical development of this hypothesis, but limited empirical support. Also, as most of these studies have drawn data from permanent migration networks, it is unclear whether these processes can be applied to the SAWP or to temporary migration more generally. Do gender roles and gender identities include migration? Do managed migration programs such as the SAWP construct or contribute to these relations and roles?

It is with these questions in consideration that it may be useful to turn towards a Feminist approach to migration that can reconsider migration as a gendered social practice. Smith (1990a) argues for the abandonment of the Feminist line of inquiry that looks at inherent, or immutable gender differences. Instead researchers should view gender as a social practice, a distinct historical phenomenon that is always in formation. According to Smith (1999,1990a) the more promising line of inquiry is to look at gender from within, in other words, how institutions and various relations of ruling are gendered through particular social relations. Smith's goal is to: "explore gender as a distinctive effect of a complex of social relations specifically defining femininity and organizing, in and across local sites of people's lives, the homogeneity of gender difference" (Smith, 1990b, p.210). The goal is to demystify those relations of ruling that traditional sociology is complicit in rendering natural. Smith is asking us to pay attention to a more situated

and embodied form of knowledge. As Marx and Engels (1947) argue in *The German Ideology*, sociologists must start with real individuals and the material conditions of their activities and accept that there is an ontology that consists of material practices situated in concrete socio-historical settings. The relations of ruling, and the organization of ideologies around gender, are played out in every social institution. Thus, migration policy and managed migration programs are likely locations in which gender and race are both articulated and contested, but it is not clear how and with what consequences these processes are at work in the SAWP. Women's involvement in the SAWP and the ways in which gender is articulated, modified and controlled within it, is a primary concern for the present research. Gender roles and identities are not fixed in place, nor affixed to a place (Mexico), and migrants and their families are likely all directly engaged with the migration process that will inexorably have significant impacts on gender identities and roles. The present research will aim to uncover some of these impacts. To that end, the present research does not approach temporary migrants in isolation, as individual workers in a foreign country, but rather as members of families, socio-cultural communities, and local and international economies.

“Migration Work” Among Female Spouses of Migrant Workers

Along with ignoring the gendered processes of transnationalism and of migration, thus far the work on the SAWP has largely neglected the role of women in the migration process. This is not unusual, since the household work and carework of women is often neglected in most migration research and theory (Chant, 1992; Ellis et al., 1996).

There has been some attention by researchers towards the ways in which women members of migrant communities manage remittance monies through informal social

movement organizations (Orozco, 2003; Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992). Women's work in the migration process is far from being thoroughly recognized and investigated. However, researchers such as Hugo (1995) in his research on the effects of labour migration on Indonesian families, has pointed out the family dimension of migration and demonstrated the family survival strategies of migration involves all family members in the migration process.

The 1999 UN Human Development Report notes the less visible and often neglected role of carework or "social reproduction" in studies of globalization. According to the UNHDP (1999, p.77) "Globalization is putting a squeeze on care and caring labour." In a changing global economy, a primary concern is how societies distribute the costs and burdens of carework between men and women, and between the state, or private sector, and the family or community. From a development perspective, carework is becoming increasingly exhausting for the "women in most countries who continue to carry the double burden of care services," and this is putting a strain on social and economic development (UNDP, 1999, p.79; Nakano Glenn, 1992). A country can speed the growth of GDP by encouraging a shift in production from unpaid work such as carework. This is not unique to globalization. In fact, Marxist Feminist scholars in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Bose et al., 1990) placed the gendered construction of reproductive labour at the centre of women's oppression. They pointed out that this labour is performed predominantly by women and is essential to the industrial economy. Crompton (1998) argued that the capitalist wage relationship was dependent on the female domestic labour or reproductive labour that maintained the home and prepared male workers for participation in the work force. Thus, migration theory has tended to emphasize the relations of production which neglects the household work and carework

done by women that is necessary to the migration process. Some Feminist researchers have made gender a central concept to the analysis of work. As noted by Beaujot (2000), domestic work specifically, along with discussions of the time spent in paid work and the total time spent in productive activities, has become central to the Feminist approach to work. Earning and caring, as Beaujot (2000) refers to it, has a major impact on the welfare of adults and children, gender dynamics, employment issues, population issues and policy questions. However, the central roles of women, and of gender, have not been incorporated into most migration research and theory (Boyd and Grieco, 1998). Typically, women are discussed in the context of domestic worker programs or as women workers in a global economy (Nakano Glenn, 2001; Parreñas, 2001, 2000; Ward, 1990, Tiano, 1990). In the case of temporary foreign migration programs, these issues are particularly intertwined, since without the work of “caring” temporary migration might not happen at all.

It is important to distinguish between the productive and reproductive roles of women when examining women’s work as it relates to globalization and temporary migration. Women devote an exorbitant amount of time to reproductive activities and productive work, and women’s work in both areas is often not remunerated and therefore does not appear in official (or national) economic statistics (International Labour Organization, 1995). For women in poorer rural and urban areas in developing countries, the workload is particularly heavy. Women are often engaged in activities such as subsistence crop production, family cash crop production (planting and weeding and harvesting), market gardening, or informal commerce, small-scale manufacturing etc., in addition to their household and family care responsibilities (International Labour Organization, 1995). This “double day” results in a heavier workload on women than on

men (although this also depends on social class, age or ethnic group). This may be even more pronounced among families engaged in migration as a subsistence strategy. For example, research undertaken by the Asian Institute of Technology in 1999, in the context of a technical assistance grant from IFAD, in three villages in Kayre Palanchok District found that male migration doubled women's physical work burden and also increased women's community activities, especially where there were no sons (IFAD, 2001). Women heads of farm households had a particularly hard time when male labour was not available for such tasks as ploughing, which is apparently taboo for women in the Kayre Palanchok District. Also, remittances from absent husbands were found to be intermittent, and the study noted that there is a reported high rate of desertion of rural women by their migrant husbands, leaving the women and their dependants particularly vulnerable (IFAD, 2001, 2000). Also, this study in Kayre Palanchok found that women in the hill districts of Nepal had heavy workloads and a high level of physical vulnerability, but that it varied by class/caste differences. Specifically, women of lower classes were found to work around 16 hours a day, compared with the 9 to 10 hours men worked. Many women were hungry as well as overworked – often at the same time (IFAD, 2001, p.2). Apart from culturally based division of labour, women's workloads were notably increased by out-migration of males (IFAD, 2001). No research has yet to apply this concept of the “double day” to families participating in temporary migration, or the Canadian SAWP, specifically. Chapter 6 explores some of the impacts of participation in SAWP on family division of labour and workloads.

Luxton's (1980) research of domestic labour in Flin Flon has demonstrated the power struggles within families involved in the redistribution of domestic labour in response to changing economic climates and labour relationships. In this case, Luxton

(1990,1980) was investigating the ways that families responded to women's integration in the paid labour force outside of the home, in terms of managing domestic labour and carework within the home. Power struggles related to gender roles and work due to entering into a temporary labour contract may be as equally disruptive and have implications in terms of family cohesion and gender relations. Are wives of migrant workers a "reserve pool of labour"? Is it the case that they are only brought into work when the other workers have left the labour force (in this case left the country)? It is not apparent from the research literature to what extent women have diversified and increased their workloads while migrant spouses are out of the country. Do they take over tasks that have traditionally been done by men? Do these tasks remain their responsibility when men return home? It would also be valuable to know whether women are engaged in new forms of work related to temporary migration and to what extent participation in a temporary migration program is facilitated by the work of women.

In order to begin to answer these questions and to better understand the ways in which migration processes are embedded into the social and cultural contexts of families, communities, and political economies, a synthetic approach (Massey & Basem 1992, 1993; Boyd & Greico, 1998) is needed. Recognizing the political economic structures and institutions in which migration is embedded, as well as recognizing that families participate in migration processes, is important to the present research. It is for that reason that transnationalism, and the transnational practices that involve both migrant workers and their families, are central issues addressed in the current research.

THEORIES OF GLOBALIZATION AND TRANSNATIONALISM: APPLICATIONS TO TEMPORARY MIGRATION

Thus far theories of international migration have been discussed, followed by a detailed review of the research literature related to temporary migration and the three substantive research themes of power, racialization, and transnationalism within the SAWP. The relevant theoretical literature pertaining to these three areas was discussed, in order to build the theoretical framework for the investigation of each of the themes. This section will further elaborate on the theoretical literature concerning globalization and transnationalism, and provide a theoretical lens from which to understand this temporary migration system in the context of globalization.

As evidenced by the previous section, families of migrant workers have been neglected in most studies of temporary labour migration. Migrant workers and their families are also not often understood as *transnational* actors in a global economic system. Most of the theoretical debates on migrant workers have focused on the incorporation of foreign labour (as unfree labour) in modern capitalist production regimes, in terms of the political economy of the Canadian labour market (Bolaria, 1992; Satzewich, 1991; Wall, 1992). Few have conceptualized temporary labour migration in terms of globalization, transnationalism, space, place and power.

Globalization, ICTs and Temporary Migration

The literature on globalization does not sufficiently address temporary migration. Globalization literature is extensive, and there remains no consensus as to what the concept actually means (e.g. Bartleson, 2000; Cox, 1996; Bauman, 1998; Dickens et al., 2001; Giddens, 1999; Harvey, 1990; Hirst and Thompson, 1996). Given the many

contested conceptualizations of globalization, which range from the decline of the nation-state, to a network society or a borderless world, it would be near impossible to cogently address each of the debates around this concept. Thus, for the purposes of this research, the particular literature that pertains to movement and migration will be addressed.

Therborn (2000) argues that there are at least five major discourses on globalization that usually ignore each other: competitive economics, social criticism, state (im)potence, culture, and planetary ecology. Within this sundry discourse on globalization, temporary labour migration remains an issue often neglected. Even a primary source on global politics and economics, the United Nations Human Development Report (1999), provides clear reference to the free flow of money, trade and ideas, but clearly omits mention of the movement of people and their labour. Migration is frequently understood in the context of the nation state, focusing on such issues as settlement, integration, social cohesion, labour shortages, and national GDP. Some researchers have noted the connection between migration and globalization, but often fail to move beyond looking at capital as separate from people, the social world, politics and culture. Certainly, much of the popular literature on the topic of globalization has focused on the movement of capital and the economic and social issues born of that movement (e.g. Friedman, 1999; Watson, 1998; Huntington, 1996; McQuaig, 1998). This is typical of much research on globalization, and contributes to misunderstandings of many of the political, economic, and cultural dimensions to globalization (Sassen, 1998). Samers (1999) claims there is a need to understand migration as an issue in the formation, development and rescaling of political economic relations between and within states, and a way in which migrants and other denizens shape the intra and inter-state political economy of migration itself. However, the issue of migration has been removed from the

issue of trade because it has been seen as the responsibility of the nation state, or within the national sovereignty framework. Migration has also been a non-issue for most international policy makers and legislators because it is considered a national sovereignty issue; however, the European Union is unique in that migration is a hotly debated issue within this multi-national policy framework. In North America, this has not been the trend, with multilateral agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (the GATS) nearly ignoring the movement of people (e.g. Shrybman, 1999). Thus, particularly in North America, the movement of people has been kept distinct from the movement of capital. At the research level, however, there is a growing body of scholarship addressing this connection, and the issue of *movement* more broadly.

Literature on globalization has often made implicit reference to migration through reference to “flow.” Many have argued that a defining characteristic of globalization is the increased *flow* of goods, capital and people around the world (See Urry, 2003; Castells, 1996; Lash and Urry, 1994; Appadurai, 1996; Iyer, 2000). Aside from the popularity of this concept in the literature, *flow* may only be one of the defining characteristics of a globalized world. Instead, it may also be that *temporariness*, and the increased likelihood that work, family, and community life are temporary and transnational, is a primary feature of globalization.

This notion of increased “movement” or “flow” has been particularly prevalent in conceptualizations of globalization. Giddens (1990) has theorized about the contemporary world as being a “runaway world,” like a speeding driverless truck, which is both out of our control and irreversible. Bauman (2000) characterizes contemporary society as sped up “liquid modernity” where there is a shift from solid modernity characterized by

permanent institutional immobility, to a society where speed of movement of people, money, images, and information is paramount. Liquid modernity involves mobile institutions and individuals. Almost all conceptualizations of globalization indicate this notion of “flow” or increased movement across time and space (see Appadurai, 1996; Barry & Goodin, 1992; Castells, 1996; Gunnar, 1997; Lash and Urry, 1994; Urry, 2003). These flows are thought to mean increased contact or connections across time and space, and thus many scholars have examined the social and economic linkages thought to be characteristic of globalization.

Globalization is also often conceptualized with reference to time and space changes, in particular “time-space compression.” Harvey (1990) has described a process by which time and space are not given and absolute, but are increasingly “compressed” by novel transportation and communication technologies. These have the effects of unifying space and eliminating many of the characteristics of place. Through these advancements, temporary migration networks have been made more extensive and robust, facilitating the expansion of bilateral temporary managed migration programs. Stalker (2000) notes that the falling prices for transportation and the increased speed of communication have changed the character of international migration, making it much less permanent. In fact, as noted in the introductory chapter, one of the most significant modes of transnational practice affecting migrants’ lives is the enhanced ability to telephone family members, which contributes to the maintenance of family ties and responsibilities, the strengthening of community networks, and the organization of social and economic development (Vertovec, 2004). As a characteristic of globalization, the expansion of ICTs has a direct relationship to how people move across and imagine time and space. For example, new mechanisms for sending money home electronically allow

migrants to participate in their household economies from afar through remittance sending services (Alarcón and Hinojosa-Ojeda, 1998). Some see a direct relationship between advancements in ICTs and expansions in migration flows. Castles and Davidson (2000, p.8) contend that, with globalization, improvements in transportation and communication mean the rapidly increasing mobility of people across national borders.

Until recently, much of the attention paid to the role of information and communication technologies in the literature on globalization centred on the role of the media in the homogenization of culture (e.g. Chomsky, 2002) or on the role of ICTs in the creation and expansion of networks (Urry, 2000a; Vertovec, 2004; Castells, 1996). Others have contested arguments made by Chomsky that global mass media are leading to homogenization. Appadurai (1996) and Lull (2000) both disagree with this claim and argue instead that globalization may provide new and more diverse opportunities for cultural formation and expression. Appadurai (1996) argues that as people are increasingly dominated by a globalizing hegemony they are also able to develop new strategies of self-presentation. Appadurai claims that, "it is wrong to assume that the electronic media are the opium of the masses . . . the consumption of the mass media throughout the world often provokes resistance, irony, selectivity, and, in general, agency" (Appadurai, 1996, p.7). For Appadurai, with globalization, the United States no longer dominates the world system of images, as they are only one mode of a complex transitional construction of "imaginary landscapes." In his widely cited paper "Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy," he argues that in this new conjuncture, the invention of tradition and other identity-markers becomes slippery, as the "search for certainties is regularly frustrated by the fluidities of transitional communication" (Appadurai, 1990, p.23). Lull (2000) claims that globalization can be

leading to the expansion of “imagined communities” that can act socially and politically without geographical proximity or cultural homogeneity. In a recent publication by Portes (2001), he claims that transnational community formation (which is likely in part due to the development of global information and communication technologies) has led to acts of resistance and political and social power in response to globalization effects that actually challenge the forces of globalization itself. A new spatial dynamics is resisted/opposed by new social movements that appropriate technologies and penetrate segments of the space of flows with forces of resistance and expressions of personal experience. Recent literature has examined new social movements or transnational social movements such as Mexican Hometown Associations (Alarcón , 2000; Orozco, 2003, Portes, 1999), which utilize ICTs to contest the new economic and social relations of globalization.

Lull (2000), Appadurai (2000) and Portes (1999,1998) seem to contend that new communications technologies will inherently be used for political empowerment, resisting and contesting domination, and the creation of new forms of cultural expression. To the contrary, Castells (1996) argues that in the contemporary Network Society¹⁵, ICTs are particularly important in terms of the organization of social and political power. He claims that the “space of flows” is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows in contemporary society. In the Network Society a fundamental form of social domination is the prevalence of the logic of the “space of flows” over the “space of places” and induces a metropolitan dualism and a form of

15 The term ‘Network Society’ is a network of communications, defined by hubs where these networks crisscross. (Castells1996: 21,446). Castells argues that it is not purely the technology that defines modern societies, but also cultural, economical and political factors that make the network society. The Space of Flows plays a central role in the Network society. Élités in cities are not attached to a particular locality but to the space of flows. Castell puts great importance on the networks and argues that the real power is to be found within the networks rather than confined in global cities. This contrasts with other theorists who rank cities hierarchally, such as Sassen (1998).

social/territorial exclusion which bypasses and marginalizes people and places (Fawcett, 1989). For research on temporary migration, the Network Society conceptualized by Castells (1996) is especially relevant, as it is seen to reorganize space and place so that power relations are negotiated in new territorial and social parameters. Thus, the ability to traverse these new territorial and social parameters with ease (i.e., to be mobile) is particularly important in the entrenchment of global stratification as it is being redefined with globalization. It has yet to be determined whether the use of ICTs among migrant communities facilitates empowerment or exploitation and dependency. It is clear, however, that access to and use of information and communication technologies is significant to one's position in global power relations. Since, as Castells (1996, p.6) argues, "our societies are increasingly structured around a bipolar opposition between 'the Net' and the Self" and new information and communication technologies are important to the creation of global networks of wealth, power and images.

Globalization literature is riddled with assertions that with globalization there are increased social linkages (networks) across large distances (i.e. increased flow across time and space). These claims have become commonplace in both academic and public conversations. We are all "connected," is the prevalent theme. However, as Urry (2003) demonstrates, these connections have not been well mapped or examined systematically, but we seem to just accept it to be true. Urry claims that "networks have to be performed" and "that they come together, from time to time, especially to talk" and these networks involve combinations of mobilities and highly structured material immobilities (1999, p.109). Urry (1999) argues the dynamic, non-linear and complex properties of physical, biological and social systems stem from the significance of movement (1999, p.111). Temporary migration systems offer a unique example of contemporary transnational

social networks where movement is paramount. As such, they are a transnational social space, and a global network of social and economic relations.

Transnationalism, Temporary Labour Migration, and the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program

“Transnationalism” has become an increasingly popular term among anthropologists and sociologists concerned with migration and globalization (Hannerz, 1998). In fact, discussions of transnationality have become so prevalent that researchers have come to a point of creating glossaries and taxonomies with the aim of delimiting the study of globalization and transnationalism (See Urry, 2003; Hannerz, 1996; Bauman, 1998). Entire journal issues have been devoted to studies of transnationality and globalization (e.g. *International Sociology*, June 2000), and new journals such as *Global Networks* have been formed to deal exclusively with transnational and global issues. Other common themes are hybrids, flows, and translocality; all of which imply a kind of openness or increased freedom of movement (e.g. Iyer, 2000). In many of these forums, transnationality implies a bilocal permanence, which may lead one to believe that people are forming economic and social relationships between two locales in which they have permanent ties, networks and statuses. However, this may not adequately reflect the variety of transnational practices and forms of transnationalism prevalent in a contemporary global system where more than 120 million foreign workers are living and working outside of their country of residency (Stalker, 2000).

Sustained ties of persons, networks and organizations across borders of multiple nation-states, in both weakly to strongly institutionalized forms, are often referred to as “transnational social spaces.” In reference to international migration systems, terms such

as transnational social spaces and transnational communities are often used synonymously, as if the “transnational community” was the only form or type of transnational social space (Portes, 1998, 1996). This conceptualization neglects the differences between contemporary reciprocally organized remittance households, transnational circuits of exchange amongst business and information sectors, and the century old diasporas such as the Jewish diaspora (Faist, 1999). Further, it assumes a transnational “community” actually exists. More importantly, for this research, conflating the two concepts ignores those transnational social spaces that do not have permanent community ties in multiple locales, and instead have highly temporary relationships in multiple communities, such as those found in temporary labour migration systems. A group of social anthropologists who have pioneered the identification of transnationalism have defined it as:

...the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders...An essential element is the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies. We are still grappling for a language to describe these social locations (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton, 1994, p.6).

Important to this definition is the conception of transnationalism as involving the sustained involvement of migrants in the *forging of* and *participation in* social relations that “link together societies of origin and settlement.” The agency of migrants in the construction and maintenance of transnationalism is a key component of this conceptualization. So too is the sustained active *participation* in both societies of *origin* and *settlement*. Managed migration systems involving temporary labour such as the

SAWP may not enable migrant *participation in formation or maintenance* of transnational or economic social relations, nor facilitate *sustained participation* in the “country of settlement.” It is likely that managed temporary migration programs could show themselves to be forms of forced or constrained transnationalism that may discourage active political and social participation or even prohibit agency among migrants in the *formation or maintenance* of relations within or across countries of origin and countries of destination. Also problematic in the conceptualization by Basch, et al. (1994) and Glick Schiller (1997), is the assumption of settlement as a necessary condition for the formation of transnationalism, and this is not likely the case for most foreign worker programs where permanent settlement is not typically expected and in some cases, prohibited.

According to Faist (1999) there are at least three forms of transnational social spaces, ranging from reciprocal ties with kinship systems, to exchange relationships among businesspersons and transnational communities. The three forms he identifies are: transnational reciprocity in small groups (usually kinship collectives), transnational exchange in circuits, and solidarity within transnational communities. The first form, which Faist (1999) refers to as “transnational kinship groups,” is characterized by reciprocity and is typified by remittances of household or family members from country of immigration to country of emigration. The second form of transnational social spaces Faist (1999) categorizes as “transnational circuits,” which are exchange relationships characterized by a constant movement of goods, people and information between sending and receiving states (Rouse, 1991), where advantages are exploited by insiders who have appropriate language skills and strong ties in social networks. “Transnational communities” are the third type of transnational social space conceptualized by Faist,

which are characterized by solidarity, in terms of shared symbols and beliefs, and involve the mobilization of collective representation among diasporas or in border regions. These communities are characterized by situations in which international movers and stayers are connected by dense and strong social and symbolic ties over time and across space to patterns of networks and circuits in two countries, based on solidarity (Faist, 1999, p.9).

Although this conceptualization provides a more precise operationalization of transnational social spaces, it still neglects those transnational relationships that are temporary relationships. Although recognizing the connections between migrants and households in the homeland, “transnational kinship groups” does not fully encompass migrants participating in TFWP that have not immigrated to another locale where they form networks and community ties. In fact, foreign workers are not really *immigrants* at all, since they are merely contractually residing within another country for work on a temporary basis, and they are not typically included in the dominant community in the host country. Unlike those who migrate permanently, foreign workers have greater difficulty in maintaining transnational relations, even in terms of remittance sending, since they are often isolated or excluded from both the larger community and the community of permanent immigrants from their own country of origin. Faist’s conceptualization of transnational circuits and kinship groups assumes that migrants have immigrated independently into a new community where transnational connections are facilitated and the relationship between the migrant and the homeland is relatively instrumental. This typology simplifies the processes of transnational migration which Levitt (2001,2003) notes are complex and multi-faceted for all kinds of migrants and stayers. Although the typology recognizes that seasonal, recurrent and eventual return migration are part of the strategies among “transnational kinship groups” it does not

address the temporariness or the imbalanced power relationships that typify temporary migration systems. It also neglects the very real manifestations of transnationalism among temporary migrant workers and their families.

Faist (1999) provides a cogent discussion of the factors that contribute to the formation of transnational social spaces, in all of their forms. He identifies technological advancements in terms of long distance communication and travel as contributing to the acceleration of the emergence of transnational social spaces, but notes that these are necessary but not sufficient factors for the development of transnationalism. Necessary prerequisites for international migration to occur in the first place are prior exchanges in the economic (e.g., foreign investments), political (e.g. military cooperation or domination), or cultural (e.g., colonial education systems) dimensions. Important to this claim, as Faist (1999, p.13) contends, is that “transnational social spaces do not create such transnational linkages *ex nihilo*, but usually evolve within preexisting linkages, build new ones, and challenge existing arrangements, such as citizenship and notions of acculturation.”

Portes (1996,1995) argues that the emergence of transnational communities is tied to the logic of capitalism itself. They are brought into play by the interests of investors and employers in more developed countries. He further claims that these communities represent a distinct phenomenon at variance with traditional patterns of immigrant adaptation. Portes (1996) posits that transnational communities are fuelled by the dynamics of globalization itself and thus, they have greater growth potential and they offer a broad field of potential for autonomous popular initiatives (such as new social movements). This is true of the transnational circuits, transnational communities and transnational kinship groups. Moreover, this is particularly the case in terms of temporary

transnational relationships like those of migrants in TFWPs, since these programs have been expanded during this past decade of accelerated globalization, and in direct response to labour demands for a global economy. Many have also been formalized largely through bilateral agreements emerging out of trade initiatives, or embedded directly in them, such as NAFTA. It is interesting that the expansion of TFWPs with globalization has corresponded geographically with those regions previously under colonial rule and/or regions that have been part of historically significant slave trade routes. Foreign workers are “foreign workers” when in the developed countries of the North, and are just “the poor” in the developing countries to the south.

Transnationalism, Globalization, and the Power of Mobility

Portes (1998) has used the phrase “globalization from below” in theorizing about the intersection of transnationalism with globalization. Portes (1998) sees transnationalism as a constituent component of globalization, but one that can actually function as a countering force against the negative forces of globalization (which he sees as domination and exploitation). Portes (1998, p.3) argues that migrants engaged in transnational businesses or communications networks are empowered through their transnationalism, and are able to “push back at globalization,” or engage in resistance strategies that counter domination. For example, informal migration networks that often undermine official migration policies (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.30). Thus, for Portes (1999), globalization, transnationalism and migration are strongly linked and tied to the politics and economics of both source and destination (or sending and receiving) countries. However, no research has demonstrated that all forms of transnationalism are inherently sites of empowerment and resistance. In fact, it is likely the case that not all forms of

transnationalism provide empowering multinational participation of migrants as active agents. To date little research has examined the political involvement of migrant workers in both source and destination countries.

Political participation and freedom in the global consumer society can, according to Bauman (1998), be determined largely by one's mobility. Bauman (1998, p.86) claims, "the dimension along which those 'high up' and 'low down' are plotted in a society of consumers, is their degree of mobility, their freedom to choose where to be." Access to global mobility has become a very significant indicator of stratification, and Bauman (1998, p.87) contends that immigration controls can be seen as a symbolic metaphor for this stratification. Although Bauman (1998, p.86-87) is correct in challenging the accuracy of the symbolic and universally applied term "nomads" to describe all peoples of the contemporary era, he has grossly understated the role of immigration policy and border controls in this "apartheid à rebours." He fails to recognize that militarized borders are not solely metaphorical divides nor are immigration selection criteria merely symbolic – they are very real and significant sites of the structural institutionalization of power. In particular, immigration policies and programs serve to legitimate global stratification and to create unequal freedom of movement.

In the demographic and sociological literature on migration there is often a distinction made between "migrants" and "movers." For many, temporary movements are not regarded as migration, as demographers tend to measure *migration* as movement across state boundaries for one year or more (Richmond, 1994, p.76). Seasonal and other short-term movers are not considered migrants, unless they are likely to stay or become part of permanent migration communities. The categories of "migrant" or "mover" ignore the disparities between transnational elite movers and temporary labour movers.

Portes (1995) conceptualizes temporary migrants or “movers” as part of a larger socio-economic system that connects country of origin to host country in terms of their local economic communities, social/cultural ties and family redistribution systems. Portes (1995) and Roberts (1995) distinguish between a temporary labour migration system and a permanent labour migration system, and point to group-based expectations of stay duration (or time period of stay) to differentiate the two systems. The problem with this categorization is that it is not the duration of stay that affects the experiences and defines the structural position of labour migrants, it is instead the experiences of temporariness and powerlessness that define what kind of mover or migrant one might be. Expectations of time duration are not sufficient conditions for a distinction between temporary and permanent migration. Rather, the key distinction between temporary and permanent migration may be in terms of freedom of movement rather than the form or duration of the movement itself. Permanent migrants are free to move and temporary migrants, while moving, are by definition, unfree. Useful to this argument is Richmond’s (1994) conceptualization of temporary migrants as “transilient migrants” who are part of an internationally mobile labour force which may not necessarily integrate into the host society. Richmond (1994) used the term “transilient migration” initially in reference to highly qualified and managerial migrants, but now sees it was applicable to a “wide range of movers whose permanence in any one locality is neither necessary nor expected, given the ease with which return and remigration can occur” (Richmond, 1994, p.76). Richmond’s attention to movement and locality is central to the distinction, but the “ease with which return and remigration can occur” is misleading. The constrained and controlled movement, which is experienced among migrants in temporary foreign worker programs, is not easy movement at all. Ease of movement implies that there be choice

and power over the parameters of movement, neither of which is the case in TFWPs. Richmond is correct to argue, however, that “transilient migrants” are more easily exploited and occupy a position in the world economy that is powerless, unprotected, and mediated by race.

Building on Bauman’s (1998) conceptualization of movers in contemporary society, it is useful to think of movement in terms of both time and space. Bauman sees movers as falling in two related categories, “Tourists” and “Vagabonds,” each having particular relationships to time and space. “Vagabonds” are forced into temporal relationships that are temporary and non-permanent, whereas the “tourist” thinks of the global as part of their world within their reach. What of those whose relationship to place and time is forced to be temporary and non-permanent? Temporary migrant workers have tentative relationships to the places they habituate and they have fluctuating and contingent time parameters. However, it is not simply being in these temporary relationships with time and space that is important, but also having the power to choose and control the spatial and temporal parameters of movement. Bauman (1998) neglects the significance of the power to control one’s temporality. Confined in space and detached from time, “vagabonds” cannot be permanent locally so they must move globally, whereas “tourists” chose to move globally because they have a permanent relationship to time and can therefore leave and return when suitable to passing fancies, etc. In disagreement with his claim that “being local in this globalized world is a sign of deprivation and degradation,” I would argue instead that being local and fixed in locality signifies the exact opposite. Being permanent may actually make it easier to secure the right to move. Having a permanent place in this world (and thus having spatial control) means having temporal control and the power to move freely through time and space.

Place and territory are very important to power. Power, of course, is also related to resources and the ability to mobilize them. However if being permanent means having adequate resources to live and work in one's country of citizenship, then this theorization is accurate; and having permanence may facilitate freedom of movement on one's own terms. Those forced to work outside of their country of citizenship in order to survive are living in "temporary spaces" which may have significant consequences in terms of power. Being "*neither here nor there*," people who are forced to migrate for work inhabit temporary spaces; they do not have permanence in either their country of citizenship, or their country of work. By "temporary spaces" I am referring to temporary economic and social relationships and associations, from which specific rights to movement are attained within strict parameters (usually through employment contracts). Building on McDowell (1996, p.32), who defines *space* as "a set of places, from home to national territories, with associations and meanings for individuals and groups," *temporary spaces* exist in a variety of locales with disparate economic, environmental and social realities. However, these temporary spaces can be lacking in any permanent connection to specific places. These locales or "places differ one from another in that each is a specific set of interrelationships between environmental, economic, social, political and cultural processes" (Rose 1993, 94). As such, temporary spaces may be inhabited by individuals who are effectively *placeless*. Cresswell(1996, p.3) argues that "space/place is structured by complex power relations, often used to legitimate their authority and marginalize or exclude specific 'Others.'" In an era of expanding globalization, these temporary spaces and places may be important to the maintenance of existing power hierarchies and the formation of new power relations.

The research literature on labour migration, and on the SAWP specifically, has

largely neglected consideration of the space-time changes apparent in this era of global capitalism, such as those discussed by Giddens (1999) and Harvey (1990). As temporary migration programs, temporality is a central feature of workers structural and everyday relations in global capitalism. For example, workers' relationships to time and place have been radically altered by their involvement in the SAWP. They live with temporary, rather than permanent, expectations and relationships to people and to places. Temporality and space are particularly important to the political economy of migration in a global economy, and they have largely been neglected factors in the literature on the SAWP. Spatial control and temporal control are important to the relations of power within any organization. In Lefebvre's (1976) work on *The Survival of Capitalism*, spatial relationships are imbued with power, and, as Lefebvre (1976, p.86) contends, "power is everywhere;...it is everywhere in space." For Lefebvre (1976) and Foucault (1973) the relationship between knowledge, space, and power is particularly important to the formation of hierarchy and social control within society.

According to Harvey (1990), a phenomenon he refers to as "Time-Space compression" is particularly acute under the current conditions of globalization. What has emerged is the formation of "sets of relationships between the rise of postmodernist cultural forms, the emergence of more flexible modes of capitalist accumulation, and a new round of 'time-space compression' in the organization of capitalism" (Harvey, 1990, p.16). Arguably, the rapid formation and dissolution of relationships across numerous locales and borders (which I would see as reflective of time-space compression) has been imperative to the growth of global capitalism and the expansion of trade networks and exchanges worldwide. Certainly, there is a high level of exploitation that has been given fodder by the global economic relations that are exemplars of Harvey's (1990) time-space

compression, such as those witnessed in Free Trade Zones worldwide (Klein, 2002). It is unclear what impact time-space compression has in terms of power. Does time-space compression lead to exploitation or to empowerment? If foreign worker programs are understood as exemplars of time-space compression, how do workers engaged in these cross-border networks and exchanges benefit or suffer from their involvement?

RESEARCHING THE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKER PROGRAM

As is evident from the review of the emerging body of research investigating the SAWP specifically, the majority of research has been focused primarily on documenting the realities of the SAWP in Canada, and theorizing about its significance to the Canadian socio-economic landscape. However, the review of literature has shown that it is important to begin thinking about the SAWP in a global framework with reference to the depth of literature pertaining to transnationalism, globalization, and power. A more thorough examination of the Canadian SAWP in the context of current research on and theories of international migration, globalization and transnationalism is needed. This research will begin to address this gap in the emerging research by examining the SAWP as a transnational networked process of migration involving families and communities that extend far beyond Canadian farms.

As noted in the review of the literature, some researchers have looked at the role of remittances in Mexico, with the majority concentrated on migrants in the United States (Orozco, 2004b, 2004c; Reichert, 1981; Taylor, 1999; Wiest, 1973) and the expansion of temporary migrant worker programs in the United States (Udansky and Espenshade, 2000; Papademetriou, 1996). However, none have looked at these issues with respect to the Canadian Mexican Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. None of the research

published to date has concentrated attention on the transnational practices among migrant families participating in the SAWP. Also, although some researchers have begun to examine the impacts of migration on gender and social change (Goldring, 1992a; Hellman, 1994; Tienda & Booth, 1991) none have examined the role of women in migrant families in Mexico who participate in the SAWP, the changing family dynamics and familial division of labour, and the changing gender roles and identities among Mexican families and communities. Some have provided valuable insights into the international flows of labour migrants and some of the ethical and human rights issues involved related to racial discrimination (Bolaria and Bolaria, 1997; Baubock, 1994; Zegers de Beijil, 2004; Cholewinski, 1997). Others have focused on the flows of skilled migration worldwide (Khadria, 2000; Ruhs, 2003) and trends in international migration (Massey, et. al, 1998), but in terms of the literature on international migration, very few researchers have looked at the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program in the context of globalization and transnationalism. The related literature on transnationalism has also neglected temporary migration systems, and so too has the extensive theoretical literature on globalization. This literature has also not theorized the significance of temporary movements and spaces in contemporary society both for the structuring of global inequalities and the social organization of societies.

The preceding review of the literature has some theoretical and methodological implications for the following research. In the present research, the need for researching the new global spaces and the interconnected transnational lives of temporary migrants and their families is recognized, along with the importance of giving voice to not only those who move, but also those who stay behind. Thus, the theoretical approach taken to the study of the SAWP reflects an understanding of temporary migration as a global

phenomenon, grounded in particular localities, and migrant workers and their families are viewed as global social actors engaged in a set of global social and economic relations. Drawing on migration systems theory (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987), a synthetic approach (Massey, et al., 1993; Ellis, et al., 1996; Boyd & Greico, 1998) is adopted for understanding international migration and allows for the examination of the social, political, and economic contexts of migration and transnationalism at different levels and units of analysis. Informed by a critical analysis of the political economy of migration, this research will also pay close attention to the role of temporary migration and the practices of transnationalism in a global economic system. Further, this research aims to offer reflections on both the parameters and implications of temporariness and temporary spaces in a globalized world.

Throughout the analysis there is a consistent emphasis on power and the ways in which gender, race, and place are implicated/articulated in the temporary migration process. Power is a primary focus of this research, and it is examined in a number of relations, both institutional and interpersonal. A Foucauldian (1973; 1976) approach to power is adopted, and drawing on the sociology of Smith (1990,1999), particular attention is paid to the ways in which power is articulated/ negotiated in a given set of institutional relations (in this case, those of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program and the migrant networks that engage with it). Foucault's perspective on geography and the relation of power to territory and spatiality is also relevant for the present research. Spatial organization and the administration of knowledge or policy across and in particular territories and spatial locations functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power. Foucault claims that *panopticism* operates spatially, through the control and dominance of spatial locations. Specifically, "tactics and strategies of power"

that are crucial to the organization of knowledge and identity "...are deployed through implantations, distributions, demarcations, control of territories and organizations of domains" (Foucault, 1980, p.77). Migration systems are part of economic structures, but as political structures they are also part of the organization of national identity and an organization of knowledge about that identity and the world. The act of demarcating migrant workers, from migrants, refugees and travelers is precisely about the organization of social control and power. Under the current realities of the spatial reorganization of power inherent in conditions of globalization, Foucault's (1976, p.77) claim that scholarly work should investigate the "history of the fortress, the 'campaign', the 'movement', the colony, the territory...." has never been more relevant. At a structural level, immigration policy and the global agricultural market demarcate, facilitate and mediate the everyday power relations of a temporary migration system. However the spatial organization of power continues within the everyday practices of migrant worker programs. This conceptualization of the connection between power and spatiality posited by Foucault (1973) and Lefebvre (1976) informs the current research, and is well complemented by an approach to structural relations and the practices of power informed by Giddens (1984), Hall (1991) and Smith (1990a).

These theoretical perspectives and propositions provide a framework to begin the investigation of the three research themes identified at the beginning of the chapter. Starting with the first research theme on power, the subsequent research will investigate the "relations of ruling" (Smith, 1999) within the SAWP, with particular attention to spatiality and temporality. As Foucault (1973), Lefebvre (1974), Giddens (1984) and Richmond (1994) contend, spatiality and spatial control are important factors in relations of power. Following these scholars, power relations in the SAWP will be explored with

specific attention given to the importance of spatiality and temporality in the organization of power.

The second theme centres on the racialization (Miles, 1982) process within the SAWP and the role of race in the formation and maintenance of the power relations explicated in Chapter 4. In particular, this research aims to explicate the processes of the racialization that are articulated and contested in the everyday practices of the SAWP. Building on Satzewich (1991), who claims that the state and social groups are the primary agents of racialization, the ways in which individual farmers, workers, townspeople, ICT service providers, banks, etc., are active agents in the process of racialization in the SAWP is explored. Attention is also given to the ways in which race is embedded into the organization of migration and work.

The third theme broadens the examination of the SAWP to include the other transnational actors (such as international telephone service providers) and practices (such as remittance sending) involved in the temporary migration process. With respect to transnationalism specifically, the significance of Harvey's (1990) "time-space compression" to the everyday lives of migrant workers participating in the SAWP is discussed. Considering the SAWP in the context of Sassen's (1998) "frontier zones" this research will discuss the overall proposition that Harvey's (1990) "time-space compression," as it is manifest in the SAWP, facilitates domination and exploitation. Specific attention is also given to the impact of temporary migration on families of migrant workers with respect to gender roles, gendered division of labour, and family relations. Drawing on Goldring (1992; 1996; 2000) the gendered "culture of migration" and the "culture of transnationalism" are explored in the context of the SAWP. The proposition of the migrant spouse's "double day," suggesting that women in migrant

families experience an increased workload as they take on new forms of “migration work” to facilitate participation in the SAWP, is considered.

In order to uncover these research themes and attempt to answer these research questions, the present research has adopted an epistemological framework that is both transnational and multilocal. Employing an ethnographic methodological approach, this research aims to uncover the interacting macro and micro level structures at work in the everyday and institutional practices of the SAWP in both Canada and Mexico. In the next chapter, this methodological approach, and the data gathering techniques and issues pertaining to the reliability and validity of the present research will be outlined. Following this, Chapters 4 to 6 analyze the qualitative data collected with reference to the three research themes and to the theoretical propositions which have emerged out of the preceding review of the literature.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Temporary migration programs inherently involve global or transnational sites of study and a multitude of social, economic and political contexts. As such, they involve transnational social spaces made up of networks of social and economic relations, and they are a global locale of research. Recognizing the global complexity of contemporary society, Urry (2000a) claims that only by adopting a “mobile sociology” can we understand and examine the uneven and unpredictable process of globalization. The present research is carried out under a framework of what Urry (2000a) refers to as “mobile sociology,” and therefore the research design undertaken for this investigation targets the temporary migration process at multiple localities in both Canada and Mexico.

This chapter will explicate this mobile sociology while providing a discussion of the methodological issues of reliability, validity and representativeness, as well as the epistemological framework informing and guiding this research. Below a description of the qualitative design used in this study is outlined. Following this, a discussion of sampling procedures, and the particularities and rationale of each data gathering technique will be presented. A detailed discussion of the issues of validity and reliability specific to each of the data gathering techniques will also be provided.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to carry out this “mobile sociology,” a qualitative research design was

determined to be commensurable with the research objectives. Qualitative research designs have particular strengths for understanding the complex and multi-contextual relationships and experiences of individuals outside conventional categories and frameworks and across multiple localities (Denzin, 1994; Silverman, 2000; Huberman and Miles, 2002). Qualitative designs are also recognized for their capacities to assist researchers in investigations of hard to reach populations and relatively unknown or unexplored social realities. Certain characteristics of the migrant worker population make them a particularly difficult group to reach, sample, and access. Migrant workers have high rates of illiteracy due to the program criteria that specifies workers must have only primary school education. This, in combination with poor English language skills and the contractual parameters of their immigration status, makes them fearful and untrusting of government and also of researchers. Also, there is no easily accessible list of farms with migrant workers, or a list of workers participating in SAWP. These characteristics pose considerable challenges to all researchers, but particularly those utilizing quantitative designs such as surveys. It is also important to note that these characteristics make this population of migrant workers more vulnerable and therefore, this research has required particular care and attention to ethical considerations encountered in the research process. With this in mind, an ethical review was provided for this research through the University of Western Ontario, and all participants were clearly informed on the purpose of the research and the intended uses of the findings (See Appendix 2). Qualitative designs that allow for the development of strong trusting relationships between the researcher and the participants over time and, in a variety of contexts, is the only way to gain valid understanding of the experiences and perspectives of migrant workers. Aside from the problems in obtaining a random sample or carrying out a survey, a quantitative approach

would not facilitate a thorough investigation of the networked migration processes and their local articulations, the power relations within the SAWP, or the everyday experiences of migrant workers and their families.

In order to gain understanding of the realities of temporary labour migration, three qualitative data gathering techniques are employed in this study of the daily work and “migration work” of Mexican migrant workers and their families. These data gathering techniques all fall under the larger umbrella or research approach known as ethnography (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Ethnography, according to Van Maanen (2002, p.102), allows a fieldworker to use the culture of the setting (the socially acquired and shared knowledge available to the participants or members of the setting) to account for the observed patterns of human activity. The task of ethnography, according to Appadurai (1996, p.52) is to understand the nature of locality as a lived experience in a globalized and deterritorialized world. Buroway (2000) and Appadurai (1996) argue that contemporary ethnography must avoid the trap of localizing. This is particularly the case for the present study of temporary migration, since the migration systems theory approach involves explicating the macro and micro structures of migration in both sending and receiving locations.

Conklin (1968, p.172) describes the ethnographic method as procedurally involving the use of a number of observational techniques during a long period of intimate study and residence in a well-defined community, “including face-to-face contact, direct participation in some of the group’s activities, and a greater emphasis on intensive work with informants than on the use of documentary survey data.” As will be explicated in detail in the sections below, this study involved extensive intimate study with a population of migrant workers, with the researcher engaging in the daily work and

social lives of workers while in Canada and with families of workers in Mexico.

Conventional ontological approaches to ethnography, such as Fetterman's (1998) assume a special status of seer or knower for the researcher. This neglects the insider's knowledge, which also neglects the power relations between researchers and participants that, if not dealt with sensitively, can hinder the validity and reliability of a study, as well as perpetuate the unequal power relations existent in the institutions under study. For this reason, the current research has adopted an ontological and epistemological approach (Naples, 2003; Smith, 1990a; Harding, 1987,1986) that involves the research participants in the research process and in the interpretation of the everyday experiences of being engaged in the SAWP. Also, as noted by Feminist researchers, by adopting reflexive practices, ethnographers can work to reveal the inequalities and processes of domination that shape the "field" (Naples, 2003, p.38).

Also unlike the symbolic interactionist approach to ethnography, the research design undertaken in the current research does not only look for what people "do" in their intersubjective everyday lives, or for external causes and their effects, but also focuses on the explication of the relations of ruling that organize and co-ordinate the local experiences of informants (Campbell and Gregor, 2002, p.89). Practically speaking, this is an institutional ethnography approach, which is primarily interested in collecting data that displays the insider's knowledge; however the ultimate purpose is not to produce an account *of* or *from* the insider's perspectives (Campbell and Gregor, 2002; Smith, 1999, 1990a; Van Maanen, 2002,1988). Instead, the institutional ethnography approach adopted in this study relies on discovery and demonstration of how ruling relations exist in and across many local settings, organizing the experiences of migrant workers and their families that are imbued with power. In such studies, the patterns of interest are the forms

in which people manage to do things together in observable and repeated ways. For this research specifically, the ways in which the organized frameworks and everyday practices of the SAWP organize and articulate power are of particular concern. Drawing heavily on the work of Smith (1999,1990b), Campbell and Gregor (2002), particular attention is paid to the ways in which power is articulated/negotiated (often mediated by gender and race) in a given set of relations; in this case, those of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program and the migrant networks that are embedded within it.

Drawing on Maxwell's (2002) realist typology of validity for qualitative research, validity for the current research is centred on *understanding*. Validity pertains to the relationship between an account and something outside the account, whether this something is construed as objective reality, the constructions of actors, or a variety of other possible interpretations" (Maxwell,2002, p.41). The variety of data gathering techniques used in this research have all been directed at gaining understanding of each of the thematic areas previously identified. In total, interviews were conducted with twenty-five workers and four farmers on Southern Ontario farms. Four case study ethnographies were carried out with four families of varying sizes (involving twenty-five informants) in four regions surrounding Mexico city by a radius of 500 km. Two hundred and fifty hours of participant observation research was also carried out among a farm crew (between ten to fifteen male Mexican migrant workers), which varied when more workers were recruited for the busy season. This multi-technique, triangulated approach increases the reliability and validity of this qualitative study.

SAMPLING PROCEDURES

Purposive sampling techniques (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002, p.165) were used for all

qualitative methods since there exists no sampling frame from which to draw a random sample of migrant workers and their families. Although a list of migrant workers or farms employing migrant workers has been requested by myself, and other researchers (Basok, 2002, p.xv), such a list has not been provided from official sources. All government offices have claimed that this information is confidential, and thus, I have had to rely on growers and other workers to provide names of growers in the area employing migrant workers. Consequently, farms were contacted through a link-listing procedure (Maxim, 1999, p.154). Once an individual of interest has been found, he or she is asked to identify others with the same trait of interest. As Spreen (1992, p.35) defines, link-listing is “a sample design in which the respondent is asked to mention other persons, according to some inclusion criterion identified by the researchers.” Starting from a farm where the researcher had previous contact, the researcher gained access after extensive consultation and rapport-building. The researcher asked the grower to identify other farms that hired Mexican migrant workers. Four other farms were contacted using the same consultative process with references from the first farm. Also, after consent was granted from one farm, others were more likely to consent to the researcher’s communication with migrant workers.

Schofield (2002, p.198) notes that a consensus has emerged among qualitative researchers that generalizability is best thought of as a matter of the “fit” between the situation studied and others to which one might be interested in applying the concepts and conclusions of that study. In this case, care was taken to ensure the fit between the research participants and Mexican migrant workers in general. Schofield (2002, p.171-199) explicates a number of ways that qualitative studies can increase generalizability, involving a focus on the typical or “what is.” Specifically, researchers have suggested

employing techniques including choosing sites on the basis of typicality and conducting multi-site studies (Schofield, 2002; Noblit and Harem 1988; Yin and Heald, 1975). For this research, both techniques were employed. Particular care was taken during case and site selections to ensure representativeness of the sample. Specifically, the characteristics of the sample population chosen represent the typical characteristics of the population of migrant workers in the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program.

A number of factors strengthened the representativeness of the sample, particularly the selection bias already present in the recruitment of workers into the program. An important factor contributing to the representativeness of the sample population of migrant workers is that workers are already selected into the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program based on particular characteristics. Migrant workers in the SAWP are selected based on a number of defined or predetermined criteria (marital status, education, occupation, income, age, health, gender), and therefore, the population has a relative homogeneity. The SAWP selection process targets married farmers with low levels of education and income, who are healthy and able to work in physical labour. Preference is given to those between the ages of 20-50, and the majority of workers selected are male. Thus, the workers interviewed are seen to be representative of other migrant workers in the same program. In terms of sampling, this homogeneity better facilitates accurate purposive sampling and thus increases generalizability by ensuring that the workers selected are most likely to represent typical workers in the program.

Care was also taken so that a variety of contexts were represented using a multi-site approach. Research sites in Canada involved both large and small farms, and research sites in Mexico reflected a broad range of population sizes and cultural

characteristics in regions surrounding Mexico City. This non-probability selection process does not allow for statistical generalizability, but it does increase the external validity of the study in terms of applying the concepts and conclusions to other migrant workers involved in the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program.

During the sampling process a number of ethical and practical difficulties emerged when attempting to gain access to site locations, gain informed consent, and establish rapport with research participants. These workers are what can be considered a hard-to-reach or hidden population (Maxim, 1999), as there is a degree of social sensitivity to the topic of study, and the population is difficult to locate. Generally, members of these populations are reluctant to cooperate and require an approach that will induce the respondent to cooperate. With respect to sampling hard-to-reach populations, Spreen (1992, p.37) notes that, "It will take a lot of time to gain the confidence of the respondents, ...clearly this will be a very time consuming and very expensive way of sampling." This proved to be the case when sampling for this study began. To start, as noted above, there is no accessible list of workers and their contact information while in Canada, and there is no mechanism to contact them directly. Thus, in order to contact workers, one must do so via the farmers. In order to gain access to the workers, the researcher had multiple meetings to establish trust and rapport with the farmers. Given the sensitive nature of this research, and since farmers have a political and economic interest in preventing access, many farmers did not want to participate. This may have lead to a selection bias in the direction of farms with better relations between workers and farmers. Those farmers who granted access expressed concern that the research may misrepresent the farm or cause problems among workers. It was also difficult to establish rapport with workers themselves, as workers were not encouraged to speak, and many

expressed concern that their jobs would be threatened as a result of taking part in the research project. Initially workers appeared fearful and guarded. Specifically, workers were very hesitant to speak about their work relationships or conditions. After two weeks of research working alongside workers in the fields, visiting living quarters after work, participating in weekly shopping trips, and acting as a translator when asked, workers began to ask questions related to the SAWP, their work status and rights. At this point, workers were asked to consent to be interviewed and to schedule evening interview sessions (8-11pm). Throughout the months of June-November, the researcher established strong trusting relationships with workers, carried out the participant observation study and qualitative interviews, and gained informed consent to visit workers and their families in Mexico. Specific details of this process will be further explicated in the following section.

ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELD STUDY

Van Maanen (2002, p.103) suggests that ethnography has become a method “that involves fieldwork of various types including participant observation, formal and informal interviewing, document collecting, filming, recording, and so on.” This research has employed interviewing, participant observation, document collecting, recording and photographing.

Participant Observation

To gain a better understanding of daily life as a temporary migrant worker, a portion of this study involved ethnographic data collection using the technique of semi-participant observation with a group of ten to fifteen migrant workers in a field setting, engaging in a

kind of “subjective soaking” (Ellen, 1984, p.77). Upon arrival to the participant observation research site, I am introduced by the farmer to the group of Mexican workers. The farmer tells them that my name is Jenna and that I want to talk to them. He tells the crew head that I can work, that I know how to use the machete and that I will be working for them and talking with the Mexicans for the summer. I introduce myself and distribute and explain my informed consent letter. I proceed to explain that I am a researcher who would like to work alongside them and get to know them. I hand each worker a letter of information detailing the objectives of the study (see Appendix 2). As many workers are illiterate, I explain the letter and emphasize to them that they can refuse to talk to me or ask me to leave at any point. All members of the group are aware of my role as researcher, and express that they are pleased to have a Spanish and English speaking member of their work crew. As researcher, I participate in transportation to and from work locations, daily work alongside workers in tree fields, evening dinner preparation and leisure time, as well as weekly excursions for shopping, communications and banking. I am also present at meetings between migrant workers and employers and events at the Bradford migrant workers resource centre. Over the summer and fall months of June to November of 2002, I participated in 250 hours of work in the field combined with 100 hours out of field (350 hours). This has been followed by continued participation with informants in the seasonal months of 2003, 2004 and 2005. During this time I have maintained contact and rapport with workers and their families through biweekly visits to farms in 2003, and monthly visits to farms during 2004 and 2005, as well as through numerous telephone conversations (approximately 350 hours).

Semi-Structured Interviews

In order to investigate aspects of the three research themes identified, with specific attention to the power and the daily experiences of being temporary and on the network process of migration, semi-structured qualitative interviews were developed for a sample of temporary migrants in Canada. Qualitative interviews were conducted with 25 temporary migrant workers in Spanish and English. In 2002-2003, five southern Ontario farms employing temporary migrants were contacted through the sampling procedure explicated above, and their participation was requested. In 2004 the sample was extended to include an additional farm. Interviews with farm managers at each location have provided descriptive information regarding the workers, rates of pay, living arrangements, working hours, the bureaucratic and legal procedures pertaining to employing temporary migrant workers, and some attitudinal data (see farmer interview guide in Appendix 2). For interviews with workers, a semi-structured interview protocol (that outlines a series of questions pertaining to the research themes identified) was prepared prior to soliciting interviews (See Appendix 2 for interview protocols).

Interviews with other interested or connected parties were also carried out. An interview with a government representative and three interviews with UFCW representatives and migrant worker resource centre staff were also carried out. Informal discussions with Consulate and other officials, Frontier College representatives and ICT and transportation service providers were also included as data.

Case Study Ethnographies in Mexico

The case study approach to gathering ethnographic data was also used to gather information about migration as a networked process and to obtain insight into the gender

aspects of the temporary migration process. Ethnographic data were collected in Mexico over a two month period with four families of workers who were interview respondents and members of the participant observation group. For these ethnographic case studies, four cases were selected based on their willingness to grant access, their geographical location representing key migrant source areas (and high remittance zones) and their years of work experience in the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (specifically, a wide range of work experience was selected). See Table 3.1 for details on migration flow data specific to regions (Appendix 3). Table 3.1 shows that the four case study areas in the states of Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, Morelos, and Tlaxcala, are all large source areas for emigration. Figure 3.1 shows these case study areas in Mexico.

The case study method involves “systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how it operates or functions” (Berg, 2001, p.225). For this study the units of analysis were the families of the selected temporary migrant workers within their community networks. Stake (1995, 1994) suggests that case studies can be classified as intrinsic, instrumental, and collective. Intrinsic case studies are undertaken to better understand the intrinsic aspects of a particular individual or group. Instrumental case studies are geared towards gaining a better understanding of a theoretical question or problem. Collective case studies involve extensive study of several instrumental cases with the goal of enhancing ability to theorize about a broader context. This research engages in what Stake (1994, p.237) refers to as a “zone of combined purpose,” wherein both an intrinsic and instrumental case study is undertaken. Four particular cases are selected and they are seen to reflect the ordinary experiences of temporary migrant workers. Consistent with the argument made below regarding sampling and

representation, these workers and their families are not seen as unique cases, but due to the migration selection process, socio-demographic background and geographic locations, are seen as ordinary cases that are broadly representative of most migrant workers and their families in the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. More importantly, the role of the researcher in these case studies is to better understand the intrinsic aspects of families who participate in temporary migration systems, and to gain a better understanding of the theoretical and socio-economic issues around temporary migration systems.

The present research utilizes what could roughly be defined as an exploratory case study design (Berg, 2001, p.230). Although the design is based around primary thematic research questions, there were no formal study questions or agenda for the case study data gathering (Yin, 1994, p.20). The primary goal was to understand for these four families: 1) how the entry to the temporary migration system began, and how it was maintained/facilitated and by whom; 2) what changes in daily life were experienced, particularly by women in terms of work, personal, and social life; 3) what role do remittances have in family and community income diversification and development; 4) to what extent are transnational community networks and international communication technologies employed to facilitate the participation of the migrant and their families and communities in the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. Women connected to migrant workers, either as wives, sisters, mothers or grandmothers were asked informal questions about changes in daily lifestyle, work and finances, and emotional well-being. I also participated in daily life and worked, ate, socialized and rested alongside workers and their families in Mexico. As with all case study approaches, the data collected were specific to the families and communities in which it was gathered, and from these cases

claims can be made about the temporary migration experience.

RESEARCH SITES, REFLECTIONS AND DATA COLLECTION ISSUES

Numerous research challenges were faced throughout this study, some of which are related directly to the geographical locations of research sites and the nature of tree farm labour. These specific issues related to research sites and other data collection issues are discussed in detail below, following the explication of the specific data gathering techniques. This research covers five research sites in Canada, and four research locations in Mexico. Table 3.2 provides a summary of the farm characteristics at each of the research sites.

Table 3.2: Summary of Farm Characteristics

Farm	Total SAWP Workers¹	Farm Details²	Size of Farm³
Farm 1	1-12	Trees, nursery, 20kms to town, Workers on loan from Farm 2, SAWP participation for 10 years	Medium Scale (100-150 employees)
Farm 2	1-12	Potatoes, vegetables, 10 kms to town, loan workers to other farms,	Small Scale (18-20 employees)
Farm 3	1-5	Vegetables, 12 kms to town, long term with 1 SAWP	Small Scale (5-10 employees)
Farm 4	35-100	Trees, nursery, 20kms to town	Large Scale (200-250 employees)
Farm 5	25-50	Trees, nursery, 40 kms to town, 25-30 undocumented Sikh and Chinese workers	Medium Scale (100-200 employees)*

¹ This column refers to the number of SAWP workers employed at the farm throughout one season.

² Refers to type of crop, and other relevant details. Distance shown is to the same nearby town described in the methodology chapter.

³ Refers to total number of employees as an indicator of size of farm.

* This count is a weak estimation since a large proportion of workers were undocumented and this Farmer refused an official interview. On the first day that this farm was approached a manager indicated that approximately 200 people worked on the farm when asked (fieldnotes, June 8, 2002).

In Canada, the five farms were located approximately two hours north west of Toronto. Interviewees were drawn predominantly from Farm 1, Farm 2, Farm 4, and Farm 5. Participant observation was performed at Farm 1 (work) and Farm 2 (leisure time), and case study families were selected from Farm 1.

The majority of migrants who participated in interviews were from the “tree farm,” nursery or forestry industry, with most farms growing and harvesting trees, landscaping, and selling trees. Most farms in this industry deal predominantly with coniferous trees, although all farms had a small portion of their business devoted to deciduous varieties. The Ontario tree growing industry is highly competitive, and it is dominated by only a few companies. The season begins in early March with planting and spraying, and continues with pruning and transplanting throughout the summer months of May to October. Harvesting took place throughout the summer in response to demand for landscaping and sales, but the busiest harvest time is from October to December, preparing for winter sales of Christmas trees and wood. It is important to note that the smaller scale of many tree growing farms leads to the employment of fewer migrant workers. This, combined with the isolated nature of tree farms (since they require a large land base), may lead to a more controlled workforce. Other related factors specific to the nursery and tree growing industry may be poor transportation and communications access and dangerous and difficult working conditions due to the rough terrain and remote work sites.

Outside of sampling considerations, this industry and these specific farms were chosen based on a particular set of personal, methodological, and theoretical curiosities, needs and constraints. As Maxwell (2002, 1992) notes, in his discussion of validity and generalizability, it is important to identify all of the limitations and considerations that

played into the sampling process. This is also particularly important in terms of increasing the reflexivity of the researcher in the analysis process (Naples, 2003; Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000; Smith, 1999). Employing a reflexive practice in ethnographic data collection and analysis is a valuable counter to the reproduction of inequalities in ethnographic investigation. Although not a complete solution, Feminist ethnographers have used reflexive strategies to effectively become aware of, and to diminish the ways in which, domination and repression are reproduced in the course of research and the products of their work (Naples, 2003, p.37).

Reflexive practices begin when one first considers the ethnographic fieldwork, for example, “how one presents research, who should be the initial contact, what form of dress and address (more or less formal, more or less personal), and where one should live and work while one is conducting fieldwork are all aspects of reflective practice” (Naples, 2003, p.38). Also some personal considerations played a role in the initial sampling procedures. Specifically, as a young teenager in Southern Ontario, the researcher worked on tree farms in the surrounding area. During this time, initial contact for the link-listing procedure was made. Therefore, it was through this contact that access was gained to the first farm and that rapport with the farmer facilitated the selection of the participant observation site. Also, familiarity with the labour involved on this farm facilitated a relatively smooth integration onto the work crews and into the “*field*”¹⁶ and thus better enabled the rapport building process with workers.

¹⁶ Interestingly, fieldwork has two meanings for the present research, since the *field* research was actually carried out in a *field*.

Participant Observation and Qualitative Interview Sites in Canada

The participant observation portion of the research took place based out of one farm two hours Northwest of Toronto. However, the nature of the work meant that farm locations all over Southwestern Ontario were visited during the pruning season. For further details of the study area, see Figure 3.2 (Appendix 3) for a map of the study area in Southern Ontario. The conditions of these work sites varied, but all were large with rows of trees that extended from one to ten kilometres in length, with trees that varied in height from three feet to twenty feet. Conditions on these work sites were rough, hilly, with uneven ground, overgrown with weeds and thistles, and often with trees grown very close together. See Figure 3.3 (Appendix 3) for a photograph of a typical work site. Wasp nests, barbed wire, large holes, snakes, and mosquitoes were encountered daily.

These conditions, and the difficulty of the physical work itself, as well as a problematic lack of privacy, posed particular problems for field note recording and for data collection in general. As there were very few breaks during the day, and during those breaks, water and food and rest were a priority, and maintaining accurate and thorough fieldnotes was a challenge. Therefore, research observations were recorded throughout the day while working. Due to the weather conditions, some of the recordings were difficult to hear (often due to wind). However, each day in the field yielded detailed observations about interactions between Mexican workers, other workers and employers. The fieldnotes therefore, were focused on detailing conversations between researcher and workers, and any interactions or incidents observed between workers and employers throughout the day. Participant observation took place not only on work sites, but also inside the living quarters of the primary subject group, in transportation vehicles, traveling with migrant workers to and from work sites in the back of vans and open

trucks, as well as accompanying workers on weekly trips to town in taxis to the local grocery store, and to banks.

As described above, there were numerous research settings in which data gathering occurred. The qualitative interview portion of the study was carried out on farm property, usually outside at picnic tables near the worker's housing or inside housing if privacy was achievable (although this was rare). These areas were almost always exposed, near to crops or farm equipment, and interviews were often interrupted by weather, farm work or other workers. Wind, insects and light posed problems during numerous interviews. See Figure 3.4 (Appendix 3) for a photo of typical interview location.

Case Study Ethnographic Research Sites in Mexico

In Mexico there were four primary research locations. See Figure 3.1 (Appendix 3) for a map that highlights the approximate locations of each case study family. All homes were in rural villages nearby to those slightly larger towns that appear on most maps, and all were quite small. These families live in four areas in Mexico, each family living just outside of the small towns listed below that are near to the four points of the compass and all known source areas for migrant workers, as previously demonstrated in Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1 (Appendix 3). The ethnographic research sites for the case studies were in four regions surrounding Mexico City (Tamazunchale, Tepoztlán, Tlaxcala, and Salvatierra).

Tamazunchale is in the east-central state of San Luis Potosí, and has a population of approximately 21,000. It is located off of Highway 85, which runs between Laredo, Texas and Mexico City, and is approximately 95 km south of Ciudad Valles, and

Northeast of Mexico City by approximately 300 kilometres. The town lies in the hot, wet lowlands at the foot of the high plateau constituting most of interior Mexico. Worker 11 and his family (wife, son, parents, grandmother, sister and spouse with 3 children) live in a small village called Santiago, which is approximately 30km outside of Tamazunchale. It takes approximately 7 hours to get to their village of Santiago from Mexico City by bus, car and walking (no roads into the village), and 2 hours from Tamazunchale. There is one satellite phone in the village which all community members share.

Tlaxcala (de Xicotencatl) is approximately 120kms East of Mexico City and is approximately 30km north of Puebla. The population in the city of Tlaxcala is 73,213. Worker 4 and his with wife and his three children and their families live in a rural area outside of the city of Tlaxcala called San Matias Tepetomatitlan. There are no telephone land lines and they have a cellular phone on site. Five other workers encountered in Canada are from the same region.

Tepoztlán (Place of Copper), has a population of approximately 14,000 and it is eighty kilometres South of Mexico City. Worker 5 and his wife and son, live outside of the Barrio Santo Domingo, approximately 20kms outside of Tepoztlán. His stepmother and stepfather, 3 sisters and 2 brothers live in the city of Tepoztlán, where Worker 5 can gain access to a land line telephone in their home.

Salvatierra is a small town with a population of less than 2000 people. It is approximately 15km outside of Guanajuato. Worker 13 lives in La Magdalena, a very small community approximately 15kms outside of Salvatierra, with his wife, two children, his parents and his two brothers. They have a cellular telephone on site and no access to a land line.

Transportation and communication are problematic in many areas in rural Mexico, however it was a particular challenge in the area surrounding Tamazunchale where the mountains are very steep and the roads are very rough, if at all existent. All of the data collection sites were extremely challenging for a variety of reasons that will become evident in the analysis. Also, weather and environmental conditions, insects, and physically demanding terrain, posed difficulty in securing privacy, reliable transportation and communication access throughout Mexico and also in a number of instances in Canada.

SECONDARY QUANTITATIVE DATA

In order to provide background data on temporary migration to Canada, international temporary migration, and background data on information and communication technologies a number of data sources were consulted. Communications data were obtained from the International Telecommunications Union website. Background migration data and policy parameters on the SAWP were obtained from a variety of Canadian government sources, particularly from the Department of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), and Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Services (FARMS). Migration data on temporary populations are difficult to locate and neither CIC nor FARMS provides a public use file containing data on the migrant worker population in Canada.

Generally, there is a paucity of detailed quantitative data on temporary migration. Historical data available on the global flow of labour migration are rather unreliable, since national measurements differ widely, as does the ability to document transnational movement of people (Castles and Miller, 1993; Salt, 1995; Zlotnick, 1998). Data that are

available through OECD or ILO, for example, are in aggregate form and can only provide details on flow of migration and source and destination populations or national socio-economic indicators (Bilsborrow et al., 1997).

Data sets with adequate detail at national levels, such as the Canadian Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) do not have substantial information on temporary migrants, and tend to focus on permanent migrants. Prior to 1991, only permanent residents of Canada were included in the census¹⁷. Non-permanent residents were considered foreign residents and were not enumerated. In 1991, 1996 and 2001, the Census of Population enumerated both permanent and non-permanent residents of Canada.¹⁸ However, factors such as language difficulties, the reluctance to complete a government form or to understand the need to participate may have affected the enumeration of this population. Also, there is no way to differentiate between categories of non-permanent residents at a level that allows the identification of seasonal agricultural workers in the SAWP.

In 2000, a national database was compiled for temporary migration called the Client Based Data System (CBDS), previously known as the Immigration Database. However these data have posed difficult to use for this project. At the outset, difficulty was encountered when gaining access to these data, as it is not available for public use. Access was granted through a representative at Citizenship and Immigration Canada, but only provided aggregate counts of temporary migration flow and stock statistics. Researchers wishing to do any case-by-case analysis of the database must do so at CIC,

¹⁷ The only exception to this occurred in 1941 (Statistics Canada, 2003).

¹⁸ Non-permanent residents are persons who held a student or employment authorization, Minister's permit, or who were refugee claimants, at the time of the census. Family members living with these persons are also classified as non-permanent residents (Statistics Canada, 2003).

with security clearance. However, these data also present various limitations. In particular, each data point is based on “transactions,” not on individuals and based on complex data collection at many points of service and systems established prior to recent technological advances (Ruddick, 2000). Also, being an “administrative database” CBDS data are captured in the course of delivering a program and is therefore not survey data. As such, it is subject to privacy and confidentiality concerns, and the information collected and definitions used reflect legislative and regulatory frameworks (Ruddick, 2000). Data from the Client Based Data System (CBDS) on temporary worker permit holders were provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada upon special request, and were used for the construction of tabulations and graphs (which are referred to in Chapter 1, and appear in Appendix 1) that provide an overview of the temporary migration numbers in Canada.

The Client Based data system is a unique dataset that is comprised of administrative data structured to facilitate the analysis of Temporary Resident and Refugee Claimant population. The CBDS is comprised of all employment authorizations, student authorizations, visitors records, minister’s permits, and extensions to minister’s permits issued to foreign nationals since 1978. It also includes all records of refugee claimants and information from landing records. Temporary migrants are defined by the Census of Canada as persons and their spouses and dependants in possession of employment authorizations, student authorizations or Minister’s permits, and refugee claimants.¹⁹ The population captured by the Client Based Data System includes any person who has ever been issued, either a visitor record, employment authorization,

¹⁹This excludes persons with Visitors Records.

Minister's permit or any person who has made a refugee claim. Spouses and dependants are excluded unless they are also in possession of an authorization in their own right. The foreign worker category includes individuals who came to Canada to work on a temporary basis. It excludes foreign students and individuals who have been issued employment authorizations for humanitarian reasons. Every foreign worker must have an employment authorization but may also have other types of permits or authorizations. The CBDS provides aggregate data on flow statistics, based on the initial entry method, which measures the number of individuals entering the CIC system, and presumably the country, for the first time. This calculation is based on the earliest effective date of any permit, authorization or record or, in the case of refugee claimants, a claim made for refugee status. One of the drawbacks of the initial entry method of calculating flows is that it counts a person only on the person's initial entry into the CIC system. This makes it hard to create meaningful information on the seasonal worker component of the foreign worker population. For example, seasonal and other workers who re-enter the country annually or periodically are not included in subsequent counts based on the initial entry method. The seasonal re-entry method is applied to help deal with this problem, but only if the worker has been otherwise identified as a seasonal worker. This only partly mitigates the problem, as it is still not possible to identify those who have come to Canada under the SAWP. Since this is the first time such data has been compiled and made accessible electronically, it has yet to be analyzed extensively by researchers outside of government departments. Multivariate tabulations have been constructed using this dataset for places of origin by student authorization, employment authorization, for time points between 1978 and 1999 for males and females. Further analysis of these data is beyond the scope of this current project, and more importantly, would not facilitate an exploration of the

ruling relations of the SAWP, nor the experiences of migrant workers and their families in the SAWP.

DATA ORGANIZATION AND ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

Miles and Huberman (1994) identify three standard approaches to the analysis of qualitative data: interpretive approaches, social anthropological approaches, and collaborative social research approaches. The current research employs the social anthropological approach to analysis, given the various data gathering techniques used and the considerable time spent in a given community amongst the study population. Being interested in the behavioural regularities of daily life and the power relations in work and living environments, the analytical task suggested by Berg (2001, p.239) was to identify and explain the ways people operate in a particular setting; how they come to understand things; account for, take action, and generally manage daily life. As indicated previously, the specific focus of this analysis centres on the way in which power relations are structured and articulated through the SAWP. Engaging in a form of institutional ethnography, this analysis aims to explicate the 'relations of ruling' as they are carried out in the everyday lives of temporary migrants and their families and in the structures of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program.

Data were collected using a hand held tape recorder and a camera, which were later transcribed into fieldnotes and interview transcripts. The analysis was performed with both English and Spanish versions of the transcripts in order to minimize the loss of meaning due to translation. However, translated English quotes are cited in the text in order to illustrate key themes as they have emerged. Unlike quantitative studies, rigid formulae do not exist for writing-up qualitative projects for doctoral theses. However,

most authors agree that transparency is essential when communicating the findings of qualitative research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Sparkes (2001) recommends that evaluative criteria for qualitative research should be commensurable with the aims, objectives, and epistemological assumptions of the research project. Likewise, the use of computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) should vary according to the research methodology followed. NVivo is designed to remove rigid divisions between “data” and “interpretation.” It offers many ways of connecting the parts of a project, integrating reflection and recorded data. Given the nature of the qualitative data gathered for this investigation (involving multiple research sites, multiple languages, and unstructured observational techniques, and the other data gathering issues addressed above) the appropriate uses of this software for the analysis are limited. Specifically, NVivo has been utilized to assist in the systematic analysis of the qualitative interview data in order to reliably uncover consistent patterns, through the use of thematic nodes and linking functions of the software, and for the preparation of data tables that demonstrate these patterns. A general operational framework was created to correspond with each research theme, and data from interviews and fieldnotes were explored for these themes. Clear operationalization of the research themes and a thorough analysis of qualitative data collected will be presented in the following analysis chapters. Chapter 4 will begin the analysis with the exploration and explication of the ruling relations and power dynamics of the SAWP as experienced by workers in Canada. Chapter 5 will explore the processes of racialization underway in the everyday relations of the SAWP. Chapter 6 will expand the analysis of migration processes to include the family of migrant workers, with a specific focus on women in migrant source communities.

CHAPTER 4

POWER AND BEING TEMPORARY IN THE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKER PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, an analysis of power in the everyday practices of the SAWP is provided using data gathered during participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Research questions to be addressed in this chapter are: How is power articulated and negotiated in the everyday life of migrants? What are the everyday experiences of being a temporary migrant within a set of dynamic social and economic power relations? What are the practices and policies that structure the power relations of the Canadian temporary migration system as they are experienced by workers? The overall objective of this chapter is to explicate the power relations in the institutional framework and everyday practices of the SAWP.

Five farms were visited frequently during May-November during the 2002-2004 period. Workers were interviewed from all five locations. Farmers (Patrones) from four locations (Farm 1, Farm 2, Farm 3, Farm 4) were interviewed, as well as an interview with a Farmer (Farmer 6) at a berry farm near Fenwick, Ontario. The farmer at Farm 5 refused to do an interview. At farms 1 and 2, 350 hours of participant observation were carried out during work and by spending time in the bunkhouse, grocery store, bank, etc. From these farms, 25 migrant workers were interviewed. The majority of interviews, and all of the participant observation, were concentrated on farms engaged in the tree growing/nursery industry. Fewer interviews were done with workers from other agricultural sectors. All of the farms are within 40km of the same town in Southern

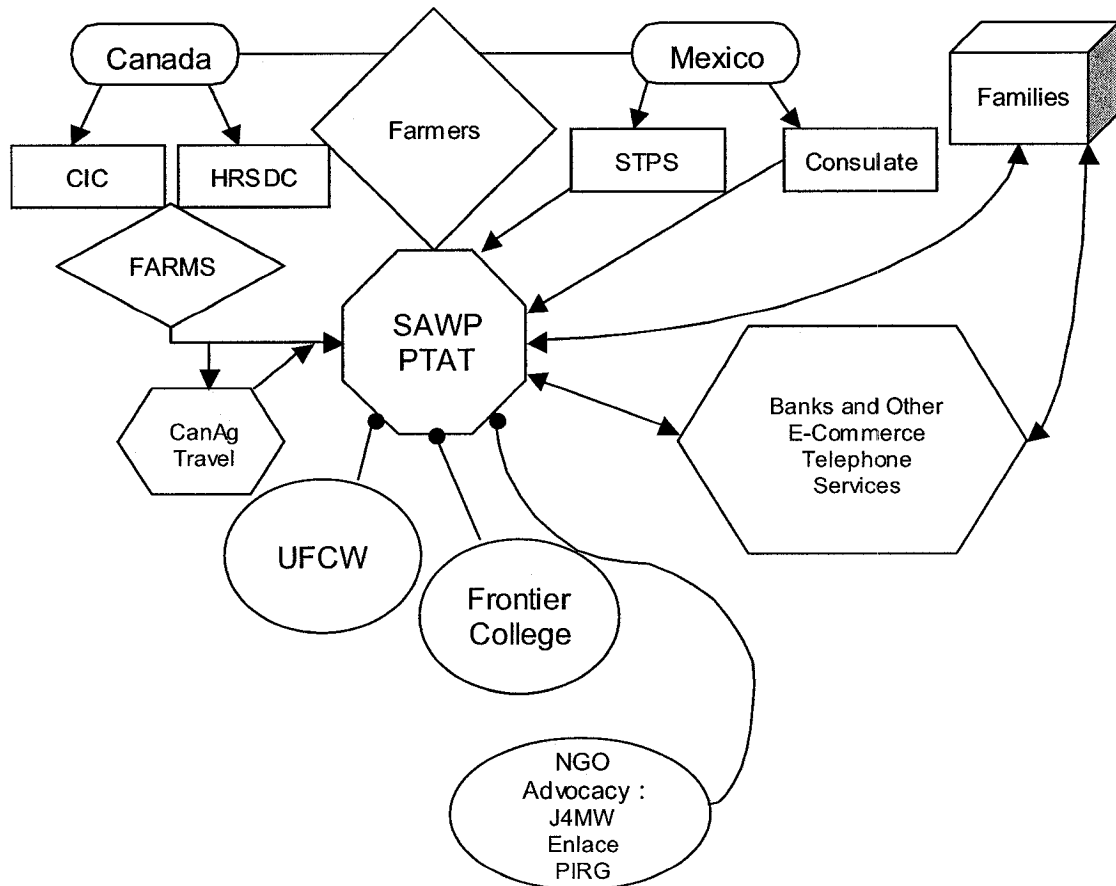
Ontario. Each of the farms had been employing SAWP workers for more than 5 years. Other interviews with individuals with a role in the SAWP were also carried out, including a government official, a representative from Frontier College and the manager of the Bradford Migrant Workers Resource Centre. This chapter will begin by explicating the organization of the SAWP and its implications in terms of power for the migrant worker. Following this, “power” will be operationalized for the subsequent analysis of the everyday power relations of the SAWP.

POWER AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SAWP

The SAWP is organized bilaterally between Mexico and Canada, and there are a number of non-governmental actors involved in the SAWP as well. The organization of the SAWP institutionalizes power relations in such a way that migrant workers are controlled and restricted temporally and spatially from the moment they enter the evaluative process of the program.

Figure 4.1 presents a graphic representation of the organization of the SAWP. It includes all interested parties or groups of people connected with the SAWP in any significant way (such as the UFCW or NGOs such as J4MW). Figure 4.1 shows these and other interested parties connected to the SAWP, including the state, advocacy groups and private enterprises. This chapter will focus on the state, the farm, and the role of government and nongovernmental organizations in the organization and everyday practices of the SAWP in Canada. The purpose of this figure is to demonstrate that there are a number of parties, including intermediaries (such as ICT service providers) who have a direct impact on the lives of migrant workers in the SAWP.

Figure 4.1: SAWP Organizational Structure*



*Pointed arrows indicates direct control or a direct impact, effect, or benefit. Rounded connectors indicate a site of connection but does not indicate a significant or direct impact on the daily lives of migrants or the functioning of the SAWP.

The arrows indicate those parties who have a direct impact are government bodies, SAWP management, and employers. These groups represent the interests of the governments and employers. These groups have a direct impact because they are the most powerful actors in the program, and they have direct control over the spatial and temporal parameters of workers' lives. The two way arrows represent groups or individuals that have a direct relationship with workers. These *intermediaries* do not necessarily act in the

interests of workers, such as remittance-sending service providers, but provide a service to workers that may directly impact their participation in the program. Other intermediaries may intersect with migrant workers and their families in Mexico as well, such as *coyotes* or SAWP middleman. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 6 when the analysis pertaining to transnationalism is presented. There are very few parties who represent the interests of workers. Those who do, exist largely on the outside of the program, having only an indirect impact on workers' lives while in the SAWP. These groups are represented by lines without arrows.

Based on a memorandum of understanding between Mexico and Canada, the SAWP is administered jointly by both governments, however in practice, the Canadian government has a much more significant role in the organization and monitoring of the program in Canada, and the Mexican government plays a more significant role in the selection of workers from Mexico. In Mexico, the STPS selects workers and assigns them to farmers (the list provided by FARMS) and then they schedule flights to Canada. Workers are selected based on marital status, occupation, education, and health. Specifically, workers are required to be married and to be farmers. They must have low levels of education (no more than primary school) and they are subject to a health exam to prove they are in adequate health. Also, the program requires workers to send the majority of wages back home (FARMS, 2005). This is more explicit with workers from the Eastern Caribbean, Jamaica and Trinidad, as farmers are instructed to hold a 25% "savings deduction" from each pay period of workers' earnings which is given to the consulate at the end of the contract. Workers will receive these funds upon their return home. Farmers must pay to HRCC a visa processing fee of \$150 for each worker (regardless of the source country) at the time "the order is approved" (FARMS, 2005,

p.15). Farmers can recover this cost over the first six weeks, with deductions from each workers' pay cheques (FARMS, 2005, p.10). Farmers with workers from Mexico *also* deduct 5% of the gross earnings per pay period and retain that amount as a recoverable cost towards transportation (up to a maximum of \$350 per worker of which the \$150 is not included).

Farmers must also pay FARMS administration fees. As noted in Chapter 1, FARMS is a private sector run organization, governed by a Board of Directors, appointed from those commodity groups participating in the program. FARMS receives no direct government funding, so it is funded exclusively from these fees which are collected from employers at the time their seasonal worker requests are approved for processing (FARMS, 2005,p.1). Table 4.1 shows the 2005 FARMS fees:

Table 4.1: 2005 FARMS Fees

# of Workers	FARMS Fee	+ GST	= TOTAL
1	35.00	2.45	37.45
2	70.00	4.90	74.90
3	105.00	7.35	112.35
4	140.00	9.80	149.80
5	175.00	12.25	187.25
6	210.00	14.70	224.70
7	245.00	17.15	262.15
8	280.00	19.60	299.60
9	315.00	22.05	337.05
10	350.00	24.50	374.50
11	385.00	26.95	411.95
12	420.00	29.40	449.40

*Applies to both direct arrivals and transfers.

**Fees are refunded upon notification to FARMS from HRCC that the employer has "cancelled an order."

Source: Table adapted from *Employer Information Booklet*, FARMS, 2005,p.1.

Once worker requests are processed, visa fees are paid, and workers selected, the

FARMS program assigns workers to farmers (spatial control) and determines when they will travel to Canada (temporal control). Once here, employers determine what the duration of stay will be (temporal control), what work will be done and whether workers will be selected to come back to the program. They are also able to request up to six named workers to come back for the next season. Farmer and worker comments best illustrate the process:

- “First we go to the division of HRDSC [FARMS], which is a privately run farm labour pool and put in a “Canadians First” application. We describe the hours and the type of work. An ad is run for a month, and we don’t glaze it over either. We say how tough the work is. Then we put the order in and apply for Mexicans. Then you go through the FARMS and Mexican consulate.” (Farmer 6, 2005, p.2)

- “In this program they ask for people that work in the fields, I mean that are what we call peasants, people that have dedicated all their lives to the fields...when I entered the program, it was in 89, at that time they only asked that you had the first years of primary school, that is what we call it, for 6 year and a half, and that your military card stated that you were a peasant. Now you have to have a medical exam too. *Probe: Did you need to be married?* Yes, married. The Ministry demands for us to be married.” (Worker 19, Farm 4: 3)

- “We can choose six named men every year. We have no sense of their skills or anything else. You can’t request anything in particular. It is not based on a percentage of your workforce, you can only request six. No, the workers cannot chose to come here if we don’t ask for them by name.” (Farmer 6, 2005:2)

- “The Ministry, they give us some papers that we have to bring here, when we go back to Mexico...we have to fill those papers, no, not us...but the boss, he is in charge of completing them, in a letter, in that letter the boss writes if you are a good worker, or if you are not, what are you reasons for going back to Mexico, because there was no more work or your contract finished, or because you had problems, any little thing that you do here.... he writes that he will be requesting me for the next season in such date, that is what we hope for when we arrive in Mexico.” (Worker 13, Farm 1: 4)

- “They send us to have a medical exam...in that exam they check our blood, they also see if we are missing a body part ...if we are complete, or if we are missing a finger or something...a foot (laughs), because there have been a few people that

were missing a foot...So that's when the problems start, they start giving us excuses for not letting us come here...like we have to be married. *Probe: But you are not?* Eh... (laughs)...we don't live together, but we have papers that say that...we are married...You can't come here otherwise. By marrying for convenience I was able to fix my papers." (Worker 14, Farm 5:3)

As can be seen from the above quotations, FARMS and the PTAT, and farmers have the power to select workers based on specific criteria. What is also clear is that workers have no decision-making power or voice in the selection of work environments and workers have expressed powerlessness in whether they will be asked to return with the program the following year. Also, migrants cannot switch employers, or have any changes to their working or living arrangements without approval from employers themselves (FARMS, 2005). If workers wish to switch farms the employer must apply for a transfer of the worker, and the employer is not obligated to find another employer nor transfer the worker (FARMS, 2005). Moreover, transfers cost money for the employer (\$35 transfer fee), which farmers may not wish to pay. If transferred, there is no guarantee for workers that they will be able to work until the end of the contract period, since there is a "seven (7) day trail period for a transferred worker" (FARMS, 2005, p.5). Also, workers cannot communicate easily across workplaces (which will be discussed in Chapter 6), as there are not contact names or phone numbers provided to workers, and telephone access not required and is often very limited. These factors significantly impact and curtail workers' autonomy. Also, as will be further discussed in Chapter 5, unlike for Canadian workers, there is no variance in wages by skill, no seniority status and no benefits for migrant workers (FARMS, 2005; HRSDC, 2004).

In Canada, the HRSDC facilitates the hiring process for employers hiring temporary foreign workers. According to the HRSDC, "an HRSDC officer's role is to

assess requests for foreign workers and provide an opinion on how the hiring of the foreign worker will affect the Canadian labour market” (HRDSC, 2004). The HRDSC approves farmers’ requests for seasonal workers and provides the farmer information to FARMS. Although, HRDSC claims to examine living arrangements and provisions for migrant workers it is not a primary role of this department (FARMS, 2004). In fact, an overview of the SAWP provided by HRSDC (2004) that details the roles and responsibilities of those affiliated with the Mexican SAWP, neglects to mention housing or health and safety in any manner. Neither evaluations nor protections of any kind are mentioned in this detailed description. According to the 2005 “New Employer Guidelines” in the *Employer Information Booklet*, new employers are required to provide “suitable housing” and the employer must agree to have the housing inspected by the Ministry of Health prior to the worker(s) arriving (FARMS, 2005, p.10). There are no stipulations as to the criteria needed to assess “suitable housing” and employers are not required to present specific proof that they have adhered to these terms. It is clear that these evaluations are neither frequent nor thorough on the farms visited for the present research:

- “Last year, the first year, they had someone from the health department come and make sure it was suitable living conditions. They only came then and have not come back. They said they would come, but they didn’t. They never saw it completed, since we were still building it when they saw it.” (Farmer 6, 2003, p.3)
- “They came to check on the place once, apparently, but that was like....um over ten years ago when we first got the Mexicans.” (Farmer 1, 2003, p.1)

Although the FARMS documentation recently provided to farmers (2004 and 2005) indicates that health and safety evaluations will be performed annually, this has not been the case at any farm visited throughout this research. From the above quotations it is clear

that farmers are in control over the spaces where migrant workers live and work and that “adequate living arrangements” are open to the subjective interpretation of the farmer.

After approval through HRDSC, and FARMS, CIC issues the permits for seasonal workers and facilitates border crossings. CanAg Travel is responsible for flight organization and with FARMS, determines where farmers are located and organizes ground and flight transportation to and from farm locations. It is important to note that FARMS requires all travel arrangements be booked through this company, as it is deemed to be the only authorized travel agent for the SAWP. This will be further discussed in the following section on autonomy. This has posed some problems for farmers and for workers in terms of cost and scheduling. For example, prices are fixed at rates negotiated between FARMS and the two authorized carriers (either Air Canada or Mexicana Airlines), that are often higher than comparable flight costs with these or other carriers. In 2005, the cost for a Northbound flight to Canada from Mexico was \$566.00, and a Southbound flight to Mexico was \$555.00 through CanAg Travel. This means that the profits of flight sales go to one government agency and flight provider:

- “We have to deal with CanAg Travel. It is good because we don’t have to worry about it. We just tell them when we want them and when we want to send them home. I think it is more expensive though and they only have flights on Wednesday and Friday I think.” (Farmer 2, 2004:7)
- “CanAg Travel? There is no other option. I think it may be more costly. One year, one of the worker’s mother passed away and we wanted to send him home and have him come back after the funeral. It was kinda frustrating since the price with CanAg travel was twice as much as Air Canada online. There was no other option.” (Farmer 6, 2005:4)
- “I called you this year from Mexico, remember, to find out when I was coming. We never know when we are leaving, but we also do not get the flight information right away because they book it in Canada. And they also do not know Mexico- I would like to fly to the other airport but we are not allowed. I wish we could book our own flights, or at least we could get a Mexican company to do it and then it would be cheaper and we could set the dates ourselves.” (Worker 4, Farm 1: 6)

- “We just wait to get a call in Mexico and then the next day we have to get to the city and go to the airport. We don’t get to find our own flight. We can’t tell our wives when we are coming back, because the boss decides.” (Worker 13, Farm 1:7)

It is clear from the above quotations that Farmers and the SAWP are in complete control of the international spatial movement of workers and the temporal parameters of that movement. In fact, workers must wait often until the last minute to be given departure dates and farm destinations. This significantly constrains workers’ autonomy and their control over their own movement and their labour. Recognizing the importance of time and space to temporary migration processes, it is important to explicate the ways in which power over temporal and spatial factors are embedded into the SAWP.

Worker Advocacy, Representation and Protection

The Mexican Consulate claims to act on behalf of workers interests and represents workers to their employers and the governments. Workers consistently claimed that they did not see this to be the case. In fact, the consulate was seen by 20 of those interviewed as not adequately representing the rights of workers. Many stated that the Consulate did not act on their behalf:

- “The consulate is supposed to help us in that matter, to lend us a hand if we have a problem, but that’s not the case.” (Worker 17, FARM 5:14)
- “If we have problems and need to break the contract, the consulate will say to us “do you know that you come here to work for a signed contract? Do you know that you signed a contract?” Yes, I know that we signed a contract, but... we are all human, although you can’t tell that by how they treat us here. I should be able to return to my own country, without any problems.” (Worker 22, FARM 5:8)
- “The consulate is supposed to be there to help us, if we have a problem here and we cannot solve it ourselves, but definitively, no, it is not like that. “ (Worker 25, FARM 5: 10)

- “The consulate says to us that we come here to work. True, we come here for that, but the patrones don’t have to yell at me or maltreat me. When I called the consulate, they said to me “ how many years have you been coming to Canada? It is my second. They said, good, if this is only your second year and you have problems then just work and complete your contract. They told me I would not be returning to Canada if I left. I had to handle this problem with no help from the Consulate.” (Worker 12, FARM 5: 5)
- “Most of the time the Consulate sides with the farmers, regularly. But if the problem with your boss is serious, and I complained to the Consulate and they didn’t do anything about it, I can call Mexico and complain that the Consulate only sides with the farmers, that’s why most of the time Consulate doesn’t listen to us. They just tell us that they will resolve our problems but nothing happens, so then the boss gets mad at us, and then they send you back to Mexico and you lose your job.” (Worker 19, FARM 1: 9)
- “It is not like they say, that they are here to help us... but in truth the patrones, they are in favour of the patrones.” (Worker 25, FARM 5:4)
- “We have never had any contact with the Consulate. We have also never received any information from them or how to contact them. FARMS does not even give us any information about the program really.” (Farmer 6, 2004:9)
- So the fella that was in charge of that group, the Canadian guy, he told the Consulate right away. They sent, they sent a guy up within an hour...and basically told them that if they didn’t get to work they were gone.” (Farmer 1, 2003:9)
- “Why are you calling us? They [the workers] know how this works, they can call the office in Mexico and they will tell them when their flight is. I have here written that he [Worker 4] has a flight in three days. Why would they call you? They are just impatient.” (Consulate Representative, April 8, 2005)

Obviously, there is a significant discrepancy in terms of the intentions of the Mexican Consulate and the outcomes among workers. Clearly, workers do not feel that they can contact the Consulate comfortably and with confidence that their interests will be represented. Further still, as was evidenced by my conversations with representatives from the Consulate, communication between Consulate Liaison Officers and the workers did not appear to be clear or open, and the Consulate also appears to be somewhat

misinformed or ignorant about the information provided to their workers or their ability to represent and protect their own rights. In 2004, there were only four (4) liaison officers at the Mexican Consulate in Toronto assigned to manage labour issues for the nearly 10,000 Mexican workers. In 2005-2006 another Mexican Consulate will be opened in Leamington, Ontario, which should increase workers' access to the Consulate, and may improve their representation and protection. However, it is not known if any additional liaison officers or regulation measures will be employed at this office to serve the needs of migrant workers in that area.

Recognizing that workers did not feel adequately informed or represented by the Consulate, the United Food and Commercial Workers' Union (UFCW) began setting up resource centres for migrant workers in 2002 (UFCW, 2003a). Three resource centres have been set up in areas where migrant workers are concentrated to help address this need. These three centres are run by the UFCW and have one full time staff member to provide information, translation, counseling, and some social activities to workers. The Bradford Migrant Worker Resource Centre is the nearest location to the group of workers interviewed in this study. None of the workers interviewed had any contact with this centre, and very few had any knowledge of the centre. Also, farmers were clearly not aware of these centres, nor the services provided through Frontier College. Frontier College assigns students to work on farms with migrant workers. They live and work with workers and teach them English while at work and in the evenings. Few workers and farmers were aware of Frontier College of the Migrant Worker Resource Centres. For example:

- "No, I have never heard of that? Who runs these centres?" (Farmer 6, 2004:9)

- “Migrant centres? Nope. Never heard of ‘em. Not sure what good it would do anyhow. When do workers have time for that?” (Farmer 1, 2004:2)
- “No, where is it? We could not get to it anyway. It is far from here, I think.” (Worker 7, DRY, Fieldnotes, July 2, 2004)
- “Well, no, I have not heard of Frontier College, or the, what do you call it, the Labourer-Teacher Program. Sounds like a nice idea in principle, to have someone teach them English, but it would distract them from their work ...” (Farmer 2, 2003:8)

As is evidenced from the above quotations, farmers and workers interviewed were not aware of these services. Farmers also do not appear to be interested in the use of these services for their workers and feel that their involvement could be a distraction for migrant workers from their work.

In June of 2003, the UFCW launched a Charter challenge against the Ontario government arguing that the exclusion of agricultural workers from the *Occupational Health and Safety Act* violates the right to equality and the right to security under the Charter (NUPGE, 2003, p.3). Very recently (October 2005), the UFCW won Ontario agricultural workers protection for the first time under the provincial Occupational Health and Safety Act (OHSA). The Ontario Ministry of Labour announced that full protection for approximately 100,000 workers will be phased in over the next year. Under OHSA, workers can refuse to do work that is unsafe without reprisal; must receive health and safety training and be included in joint health and safety committees; and be informed of workplace hazards such as pesticides, open machinery, and confined spaces (UFCW, 2005,2002, 2000b). Thus, for the first time, farm workers will not be excluded from provincial health and safety legislation. It is not clear, however, whether this will be applied to all migrant labour equally, and whether this will have an impact on the health

and safety of migrant workers. What is clear, is that this legislation was not in place during the fieldwork or interviews for this research, and farm workers have not been protected by it for over 25 years. It is important to note as well, that migrant farm workers are covered by OHIP and are required to have a health card, and that they also have some medical insurance while in Canada. Specifically, Mexican workers are covered for emergency medical, life, disability and dismemberment under a policy with RBC Insurance. The rate charged for this insurance is .48 cents a day, seven days a week per worker and is deducted from the workers' wages each pay period (FARMS, 2005, p.13). Migrant farm workers are given no information and *no choice* regarding the insurance provider, coverage details, or fees charged.

If workers wish to challenge any of these issues related to the organization and management of the SAWP, their primary option is to express their concerns with the Consulate or the STPS office in Mexico. Having the ability to have voice about one's living and working conditions, and to have the ability to change those conditions is an important aspect of power. A significant way that farm workers could demand and protect their rights is through the formation of unions. This has not been an option for migrant farm labourers in Ontario, since farm workers have been prohibited from forming unions or taking strike action. Farm workers do not have the right to strike in Canada, a restriction the Agriculture Minister says is necessary to protect family farmers (Martensson, 2002). Until recently, Ontario had a law giving non-migrant farm workers the right to bargain, but it was repealed by the Conservative government under Premier Mike Harris. This repeal was later declared a violation of the right to freedom of association under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and in December 2001, the Supreme Court of Canada found this law unconstitutional. In response, the Ontario

government, in November 2002, approved Bill 187 (the *Agricultural Employees Protection Act*), which allows farm workers to form associations and make representations to their employers, but does not require employers to recognize these associations as sole bargaining agents. In November of 2003 the UFCW launched another constitutional challenge in the Ontario Superior Court of Justice against the federal government's *Employment Insurance Act*, charging that the requirement that forces migrant agricultural workers to pay EI premiums for benefits they cannot claim violates Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms (NUPGE, 2003, p.3; UFCW,2005).

The National Union of Public and General Employees have signed a formal protocol with the United Food and Commercial Workers Union Canada to organize migrant farm workers in Canada. This protocol joins together two of the biggest unions in Canada in a unique public sector/private sector agreement in the fight for full rights on behalf of these workers. The UFCW-NUPGE Protocol states that migrant agricultural workers in Canada are the most disadvantaged group of workers in Canada and that the workers that migrate seasonally to Canada are the most vulnerable (NUPGE, 2003, p.4). As a representative of UFCW Canada states, migrant workers are excluded from the right to bargain collectively:

- "There is no moral, economic, or legal justification for excluding any group of workers from basic health, safety and employment insurance coverage, and the right to bargain collectively. Migrant workers are excluded from these rights. We intend to change that." (UFCW, 2005,p.1)

The UFCW has a great deal of opposition. In particular, farmers are clearly against the unionization of migrant farm labour, and workers are frightened of losing their jobs:

- "If they formed a union, I'd have concerns. I would have concerns with the union on the farm because what typically happens in our type of smaller operation, is that the tail begins to wag the dog and I can't do that because that's not my union

or whatever. If somebody doesn't like working here, if somebody said to me, "hey we're gonna start a union" then they would find themselves out of a job. And there's talk in the nursery industry of that type of thing happening too. And everybody that I've talked to has just said, "you know what, not interested." (Farmer 1, 2003:11)

- "Unions? I'd have to see what the conditions are. What might be more beneficial than imposing a union would be to have some sort of external group (or even FARMS) to check the place. Also because it is seasonal farm work- hours of work, etc depend on the time of year, etc and it doesn't work well with unions." (Farmer 6, 2005:2)
- "Unions! No way! We would stop getting Mexicans then." (Farmer 2, 2003:5)
- "I am not in support of unions in agriculture. Particularly not for these guys (Mexican workers). They don't need it." (Farmer 4, 2003:2)
- "We don't want problems. The boss does not like Unions. It would be like what happened to the Jamaicans. They started demanding things, so they stopped hiring them and now they hire more Mexicans. We need to come just to work and not complain. There is always another Mexican or Jamaican or someone who can take your place." (Worker 7, FARM 1:8)
- "No, no....I don't want problems. In Leamington the union came to see us, but I left when they came. What if the boss found out? You... Mexico! That is what he would say." (Worker 2, FARM 4: 8)

At this point, unionization does not appear to be a viable option for migrant workers, and their primary advocates are the Mexican Consulate, and their status and rights are contingent on the bilateral memorandum of understanding between Mexico and Canada. This leaves workers with little legal power to represent or protect their rights and it also serves to legally exclude them from the "social formation" of Canada, as referred to by Satzewich (1991). It was also clear, at the time of this research, that workers were not given any official documentation or information pertaining to their rights or protections while in Canada. During the interviews, workers were asked if they had received an official information package regarding their rights or status in Canada, or information on

taxes or Canadian services. Of the 25 interviewed, 15 workers indicated they had received a Lana Express package, believing this marketing package to be an official government communication (See Figure 4.2, Appendix 4). This ICT service provider (remittance sending services and long-distance telephone cards) marketing kit was provided to workers upon entry to Canada. It was the only information they received upon entry to Canada.

Thus far, the organizational structure and legal framework of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program has been outlined. The parameters of the employment contract and the organizational structure of the SAWP have significant influence on the daily lives of migrant workers. Specifically, these structures have significant consequences for migrant workers' control over their everyday lives. The everyday practices of work and transnational living are the focus of the next section.

POWER AND EVERYDAY PRACTICES OF THE SAWP

The *structures* and organization of the SAWP serve to position migrant workers in powerless positions. Within the confines of the organizational structure of the SAWP, seasonal migrant workers engage in power relations with employers and other workers in their everyday lives. In order to begin evaluating these power relations, this section will begin by outlining the approach taken to the concept of "power" and provide an operationalization of the concept through reference to three primary indicators of power: autonomy, responsibilities and control over others. Following this, the section will examine the power relations engaged in by migrant workers with respect to these three indicators.

The nominal definition of power used throughout this research draws on the work

of Foucault (1978, p.92-96). Power, for Foucault, can come from any individual. Individuals negotiate for power in the everyday practices of living and working. Relations of power have a productive role. This means that through power negotiations, a general pattern is produced which can bring about homogenizations, dominations, subordinations or redistributions of power. Tactics of power, employed by all members of society, form systems (institutions and apparatuses) which all people make function. According to Foucault,

...power must be understood as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization: as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; ...thus forming a system; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies. (power)...is produced from one moment to the next, at every point, in every relation from one point to another (Foucault, 1978, p.92-93).

Simply put, all individuals engage in power acts, and the patterns of these power relationships can lead to domination by some actors over others (who are then in positions of subordination). The state then, relies on the institutional integration of these power relationships. For this research, how power is negotiated within the relationships of the SAWP, and how power patterns have become embedded into the practices of the SAWP are of particular concern. The institutional ethnographic approach utilized in this study aims to uncover the ways in which power is negotiated within, and how unequal power relations have become embedded into, the institutions of the SAWP.

Everyday acts of power or power tactics can be understood as the ability of actors to act in their own interests. For the purposes of this analysis of everyday power tactics,

power has been broken down into a number of operational indicators: autonomy, control over others, responsibilities and privileges. Also, violence and harassment are discussed separately since they indicate extreme abuses of power. Particular attention is also given to the role of spatial and temporal control in power relations and workplace hierarchy.

A number of indicators were used to operationalize the concept of *power* in the daily organization and practices of work. The indicators of power are grouped into three areas: autonomy, control over others, responsibilities and privileges. Outside of these aspects of power are the concepts of abuse, harassment and violence. These concepts, although aspects of power, are significantly different from the other power indicators identified. As such, they will be discussed separately, as extreme forms of powerlessness. Following this, a discussion of the temporariness experienced by migrant workers is provided.

Autonomy refers to the extent to which workers have decision-making capacity, self-determination and control over their work and relationships in the SAWP and their relationship to time and space (i.e. work location, transportation, hours of work, task assignment, use of skills). Work location refers to which farm area, and transportation refers to method and form of transportation to and from work locations. "Hours of work" refers to how many paid hours and unpaid hours. Task assignment involves type of work and its level of difficulty, physical strain, and perceived status. Use of skills involves the workers skill set being recognized and utilized. *Responsibilities* involve participating in the determination of technical or specialized procedures (such as making, or being consulted in, decisions regarding pruning techniques for particular tree species), and the usage of skills or knowledge, such as driving or operating technical equipment or machinery (such as driving trucks or operating tree diggers or machete sharpeners).

Control over others refers to workers' capacity to make decisions about, influence or control in any way the autonomy of others (specifically other workers). This may involve determining a work or pay schedule, influencing or deciding task assignment or access to a service or employer. Since the two concepts of responsibilities and control over others are strongly related, they will be discussed jointly.

Autonomy

Autonomy was shown to be a particular problem for migrant workers, insofar as they had little control over the allocation of tasks, the work process, or spatial or temporal factors. A few clear patterns have emerged in the daily work routine, as well as within a number of specific incidents which took place throughout the participant observation on the farm, that indicated that Mexican workers did not have control over their work, and even more importantly, had very little temporal and spatial control. All are important aspects of autonomy.

Many workers expressed their lack of control over spatial and temporal factors, and often with direct reference to a sense of powerlessness. Overall, the lack of temporal and spatial control was a theme that occurred 65 times throughout the interviews, and among 18 of 25 interviews. Workers have no control over which farm (spatial control), the duration of stay (temporal control), when they will arrive and depart (temporal control), or other parameters of their international movement. Workers also express a lack of temporal and spatial control with respect to the daily locations and duration of work (spatial and temporal control) and other daily living conditions.

Starting with the parameters of the international movement of workers, many workers specifically expressed their lack of autonomy in this aspect of the program.

Workers consistently referred to the constraints of the program with specific reference to the lack of temporal and spatial control:

- “The worst bosses think that they are hiring slaves, but that’s not the case.” When one breaks a contract, it is because one does not agree with the boss’s treatment towards us. But we never break a contract for no reason, and the consulate reminds us that we came here with a signed contract. They ask us if we know that we have a written contract and yes I am aware of it, but I also know that we are human beings. If I don’t agree with the way I’m being treated, then I should be able to leave, I am not a piece of property. I think that I should be able to return to my country if I want to. “(Worker 17, FARM 5:14)
- “We had a few problems here...once the boss sent two men to Mexico, without investigating the problem...He sent them back just like that, the same day, from one moment to the next... when he informed him that he was going back to Mexico he told him that he had an hour to pick up his things...one hour and a half... ..there was no time to contact the Consulate.” (Worker 25, FARM 5: 11)
- “If you break the contract, no more Canada.” (Worker 5, FARM 1:12).
- “The ones that break the contracts are sent to the airport ...when somebody breaks the contract, sometimes...they get kicked out of the program...and they could never return to Canada again.”(Worker 14, FARM 5: 4)
- “I can’t leave Canada without telling them first, because if I leave I am breaking my contract, but if I’m being mistreated by the boss, I can complain with the Consulate, and they can either send me back to Mexico or find me another farm to work in.” (Worker 19, FARM 1:9)
- “I have to talk to the boss to see if I can leave or not... the ones from the other house leave on the 28th of September, I want to talk to this boss to see if I can leave with them. I might not be able to, because there is not enough people, a lot of people have left already, so he can say “I need you to stay because there is not enough people here, as you’ve seen a lot of them have left, so I’m sorry” that could be a reason why I will not be able to go back to Mexico, but I hope I can.” (Worker 15, FARM 5:9)

As is clear from the above quotes, and the previous discussion of CanAg Travel, workers are constrained by the parameters of their contract, and employers have control over the international movement of workers.

Although provided some legal protection through the Canadian Charter of Rights

and Freedoms, not all protections that apply to citizens also apply to temporary migrants. Specifically, the Charter recognizes the distinction between citizens and non-citizens. While permanent residents are given the right to move internally, to take up residence in, and pursue the gaining of a livelihood in any province in section 6(2), only citizens are accorded the only right “to enter, remain in and leave Canada” in section 6(1). For those who are in Canada on temporary work visas or those in a managed migration program such as the SAWP, their right to remain in Canada is contingent on their employment contract. At any time, temporary residents can be subject to deportation. For seasonal agricultural workers, any perceived violation of their employment contract, they are immediately deported or “pre-maturely repatriated.” There are a number of reasons for “premature repatriation” outlined by FARMS. If workers do not wish to continue and fulfil the requirements then they will have to pay for their return flight and will not be re-admitted to the program. “Breaking the contract” thus refers to a situation where workers are considered to have not fulfilled the expectations of their contract. In the farmer guide provided by FARMS (2005), workers are considered to have broken their contract when the farmer feels that is a situation of “non-compliance, refusal to work, or any other sufficient reason to terminate...” (FARMS, 2005:17). If the worker was “un-named” and less than 50% of the work was completed, workers are expected to absorb the round-trip travel costs, and if 50% or more of the work was completed then workers are expected to absorb the costs of the return flight to Mexico. Farmers are permitted to “name” certain workers by their full names for selection to their farm. “Un-named” workers are those assigned to the farm by FARMS. Farmers are expected to take “un-named” workers if their named worker does not arrive at the airport. CanAg Travel contends that “no airline seat will go empty. Substitute workers will travel” (FARMS, 2005:9). Workers are also

considered to have broken their contract if they wish to return home for personal reasons (e.g. death in the family). If this is the case, then workers must bear the cost of the flight to Mexico. If workers need to return home for medical reasons (and the condition was not present prior to the worker leaving Mexico) then the employer will cover the travel costs. How a pre-existing condition is determined is not specified and is up to the discretion of “government agents” (FARMS, 2005:17).

It is typically the case that, if a contract is broken for reasons of non-compliance, or if an employer terminates employment of the worker, the worker will not be permitted to enter the program the following year. After the work season, farmers are asked to submit a report where the workers are identified by name and farmers assess whether the worker performed his/her work adequately. If a farmer provides negative comments about the worker, then the worker is either moved to another farm, or removed from the program. If workers have gotten negative reports from more than one employer, they will be removed from the program. No comparative mechanism exists for workers to file reports against employers. Workers can make complaints about employers to the STPS, but these complaints do not have any impact on the employer’s status in the program, or their ability to hire workers.

It is not solely the international movement of migrant workers that is controlled by employers and government bodies. The temporal and spatial parameters of workers’ movement while in Canada, is also highly controlled:

- “Here they’ve told us that we can’t leave the farm under any condition, if you want to go out for a walk or a stroll, you have to tell the boss, so that someone knows. Because as long as you live in the farm, he is responsible for you...and if you don’t tell him when you go out, then it causes a problem because you didn’t let your boss know” (Worker 24, FARM 5:8)

- “No, we can’t go out far, to drink, or for a bike ride... it would create problems if we get run over or in a fight, those are the things that they warned us not to do” (Worker 10, FARM 5:10)

During the fieldwork, Mexican workers were picked up every day by an Ontarian worker from the main farm. Workers were rarely told what time they would be picked up for work in the morning. Throughout the summer, pick up times ranged from 5:00am to 8:00am. Mexican workers were then transported in the back of the truck or van to the main farm (approximately 10 minute drive). Mexican workers would wait at the barn until the other workers (Canadians) arrived, and then they were told to go with other Canadian workers to a work site. Each day they were picked up, dropped off, and then driven to an unknown work site to do an unknown type of work. Workers were never informed or consulted about work locations and were not aware of where they were going or what they would be expected to do when they got there. Also, no Mexican worker was told what time the workday would end. As outlined in this excerpt from fieldnotes (July 22, 2002), a typical day in the field with the workers went as follows:

7:30 am: Mexican workers waiting outside the barn leaning on a white van. They are there when I arrive at 7:30 am. All workers from Newfoundland (approximately 20) are present and waiting in a separate group inside the barn. Ontarian workers are standing together in small circle (approximately 6 people) inside the barn near the time clock and greeting other Ontarians that arrive for work (10 Ontarians in total, most of them high school students). All Ontarians and all Newfoundland workers punch in at time clock. Mexican workers do not. The farmer arrives and speaks with Ontarian men, starting with the most senior man. He tells this crew leader to take two of the workers from Newfoundland and go to a work site. The farmer speaks to another work crew leader and tells him to take the white van and to go to a specific work site. This crew leader is instructed: “take Jenna and Darren and four Mexicans and go finish the rows there and then move onto the other field.” I go with them. Once in the truck, I ask where we are going. The crew head says “to work” (Fieldnotes, July 22, 2002).

This was the daily routine, and each day migrant workers were not addressed by name and were not told the location in which they were going to work, or the distance away it was (transportation to work locations varied from 15 minutes to 2.5 hours), or what type of work they would be engaged in, or the expected duration of work. Once at the work site, migrant workers were directed to perform certain tasks for unspecified durations. For example, Worker 5 and Worker 13 are instructed by the crew leader: “You two, take these rows and until we call you for lunch. Make sure and only take the tips off these, they are white pine” (Fieldnotes, August 20, 2002; Also, see Figure 4.3, Appendix 4 for a photograph of typical pruning work). After every evening visit to their bunkhouse, I asked “what are you working on tomorrow and where?” Workers always claimed they did not know. As one worker put it: “...we never know. They just tell us to work and we work for as long as they tell us to. But we aren’t machines” (Worker 9, FARM 1: 3).

As temporary migration programs, temporariness and contingency are central features of workers structural and everyday relations in global capitalism. Workers relationships to time and place have been radically altered by their involvement in the SAWP, and they are clearly aware of this. Workers identify and express their temporariness and lack of spatio-temporal control. It is interesting to note that the word used by migrant workers to describe their participation in the SAWP involves an invocation of the concept of being temporary. For example, a common question among workers would be “*Quantos temporadas tienes?*” which signifies “how many times have you been here through the seasonal program?” The direct translation would sound meaningless in English as “How many *temporaries* do you have?” What is interesting is that the word “temporada” means 1) season; and 2) temporary spell or period. The word

“temporal” means temporary (Concise Oxford Spanish Dictionary, 1998, p.604). The use of this word frequently by migrants in the SAWP is not insignificant, as it may be the best expression of how they think of themselves and their experience in the SAWP and the very reality of their position in global capitalism. Workers are exactly that: they are temporary. Their social and economic relationships are entirely temporary while these migrants are in Canada and their families are also living temporary lives at home in Mexico, waiting for their return and enjoying their family and community participation only for temporary spells annually.

When asked about staying in Canada or feeling a sense of connection to Canada, most migrant workers (20 out of 25) responded negatively indicating that they saw their relationships as temporary while in Canada. Workers generally indicated a lack of attachment and integration to Canada, which can be interpreted as exclusion from the social formation:

- “I do not know any Canadians, well, except you...” (Worker 11, FARM 1:10)
- “No, I don’t want to stay here permanently because I do not know anything about Canada. We do not participate in the Canadian culture, all we do is work. I think that they live differently, but I am not sure how.” (Worker 12, FARM 5: 12)
- “It is like half of my life is here and the other half is there.” (Worker 19, FARM 1:16)
- Yes, that is why I said that Mexico is close to my heart, because that is where my family is... and I think that while I live here in Canada, Mexico is going to be closer to my heart because that is where my family is.” (Worker 14, FARM 5:13)
- “A special relationship with Canada? Well no, because I only, I only come here to work.” (Worker 16, FARM 4:8)
- *Probe: Do you feel close to Canadians?* “Ah... no not close, but yes, I’ve worked with some coworkers... and we got along not very well but acceptable.” *Probe:*

Do you think that Canada has a special place in your heart? “with Canada... I don’t think so. In the States I worked for many years, and I did have something similar to what you are talking about...but I lived there all the time.... here, no not yet.” (Worker 15, FARM 5:8)

From the above quotes it is evident that Mexican migrant workers interviewed felt socially excluded from Canadian society. Their social isolation and lack of integration in the workplace (e.g. Mexicans only work with Mexicans) contributes to this exclusion as well. The only interaction the Mexican migrant workers have with Canadians is as their subordinates. As will be discussed below, Canadians consistently supervised Mexican workers regardless of years of work experience or skill level. This was only challenged when a workers’ knowledge of English was relatively good.

Workers also experience social isolation and exclusion when they are unable to communicate with or visit relatives or friends who are also working in Canada through the SAWP. Many migrant workers have friends, brothers or other relatives in Canada and they have no idea where they are or how to reach them. Many workers have expressed an interest in finding their family members and friends while here, but don’t know how. In one instance, a worker’s uncle was just down the road for the whole “temporada” and they did not realize until they returned to Mexico (Fieldnotes, November, 2003). In another, a worker knows his brother is here, but can’t find him (Fieldnotes, September, 2003). Some workers look for each other at the grocery stores or when driving to work sites. Throughout all of the interviews 10 workers claimed to have relatives or friends working in Canada that they could not contact.

- “I have a brother here, but I don’t know where he is...I have the phone number. He is here in Ontario, but I really don’t know where. I called but no one answers.” (Worker 2, FARM 4:9)

- “Every year...the same...not knowing...come back, leave, and go who knows where.” (Worker 17, FARM 1: 7)
- “It is up to us when they come and go. We pick the exact date (2 on the tenth and 2 on the fifteenth). No one else gets a say. We might transfer two of our guys because we have no work for them. We get to decide that as well. We just tell FARMS we have some extra guys.” (Farmer 6, 2005:7)
- “I do not go out to socialize often...I would like to see my cousin, but it is too hard ...I don’t have a “ride”, I mean I don’t have transportation. Also, I have not much free time. If I did then I would go to church too.” (Worker 16, FARM 4: 8)

Some of the quotes from workers above illustrate the experiences of isolation and lack of spatial control and general social isolation. In particular workers do not know where they will be in Canada and they do not know how to contact others or visit others while here. Adding to this sense of isolation and lack of spatial control, workers must stay with the same employer and cannot request to be transferred to a different employer until they have stayed with the same farmer for two years (FARMS, 2005). Only after this period, can they request to be transferred elsewhere. On the other hand, the farmers are permitted to request particular SAWP workers by name, or to request workers through a transfer from another farm, but the workers cannot do the same (FARMS, 2005: 11, 26). Sometimes, farmers also engage in the “lending” or “borrowing” of workers without permission from FARMS.

Swapping SAWP Workers

When workers enter the SAWP they are assigned to a particular farm and are not permitted to leave that farm to work elsewhere. However, a common occurrence is the

loaning out of workers from one farm to another by the employers themselves. This poses a number of problems in terms of insurance, health and safety, health care, pay, transportation, etc. Also, workers are not in control of these loans, and often have no choice as to whether they will be loaned out, when, and to whom. Workers are not consulted in this practice, although many are aware they are “on loan” to another farm.

At each farm visited throughout 2002-2005 workers claimed to have been loaned out at some point while they have been in the SAWP. Overall, 17 of the 25 workers claimed to have been on loan at some time during their participation in the program. Some were being loaned out at the time I spoke to them, and others were on loan in a previous year while employed at a different farm. Farm 1 used workers on loan from Farm 2. Workers spent more than half of their contracts “on loan”, and not working on the official farm on record with the SAWP. In fact, workers were selected, and are paid and housed, through another employer registered with the SAWP. These workers are on loan for more than half of their contract period. During this time they work on another farm and are transported to and from their residence to the farm that has no official file with the SAWP. Workers are paid by the official farm, although the hours are not officially clocked at that farm. In fact, Mexican workers did not use the punch clock at either farm (Fieldnotes, July 9, 2002). The two employers have an arrangement whereby the official farm keeps track of the hours worked on the second farm and then invoices the borrower and is paid in cash for those workers. This has been taking place between Farm 1 and Farm 2 for more than 10 years. This arrangement was developed as follows:

- “We first started using migrant workers in 1988 and the reason was (that) back then there was a sort of a building boom, a good economy. Everybody you know had work kinda thing, and there we were having a problem with labourers, finding farm labourers ...to work with us. And at the time Farm 2 were having the same

problem. They got asparagus back then and they needed 10 people to pick asparagus. They had two machines, 5 people per machine, they used 10 people. Farmer 2 survived one year barely with local help and uh we were renting our machine to them for potatoes at the time, and he had mentioned that and I said I'm down with the same thing. And he said well why don't we work something out. I need 10 people how many do you need? I said well I don't need 10, but he says if you've got 10, I would use 10. So I didn't and because we had such a problem I had been to Unemployment earlier in that year and put our name on a job board and all the kinda stuff and had like 50 responses in 2 days (good), of which one person showed up to work out of 50 which said they would be there the next day. One guy showed up, he was a grade 12 drop out and he physically wasn't able. He tried for 3 days, but I just couldn't keep him because he just physically wasn't able to do the job. He wasn't umm, you know able to maintain the physical attributes that we needed to do the work that we were doing.... Unemployment Canada told me that you know if we're having trouble getting workers there is a program of migrant workers coming to Canada, and... they thought that might be something that we could use. They were the ones who actually brought it up and I mentioned it to Farmer 2 and he went and researched it a little bit more and that's kinda how it got started. We kinda mulled things together and we ended up getting guys from Mexico and we've had them sort of ever since. We've varied in numbers from up to 10 down to, you know 3 or 4 and back up to 8 and it just depends on the season and that kinda thing. Umm and it's worked out well, the stuff that we're doing with Farmer 2." (Farmer 1, 2004:1)

This partnership works out well most of the time for the employers, although there are conflicts over the workers schedules and pay. Workers are not necessarily happy about being loaned out to another farm. In fact, workers have indicated that they do not like being loaned out and worry about the legality and their safety. When asked about their experience of being "loaned out" workers indicated they were not able to control whether they would be loaned out or officially transferred to another farm:

- "No, I can't...because I made a contract to work with my boss harvesting potatoes; I came here to be solely with him...and I don't think that we could change, maybe, but I think that the Ministry (of Labour) back in Mexico doesn't even know our situation here ..." (Worker 23, FARM 1: 8)
- "I am not happy about it, working with the trees. It is not that I don't like the work, but I know it is not legal and it may mean I could be expelled from the program." (Worker 7, FARM 1:10)

- “No, we don’t say anything, the last thing we want is to create problems between us, if they find out, they might punish us or the boss, because he lends us to...but that’s what they told us happened before, some of the workers didn’t plant trees, instead they came to harvest potatoes and to pick up stones, they only came for two months at a time and then they returned to Mexico and when it was time to collect the potatoes they requested them back again, so they came for three months, three months and a half, some coworkers would ask if there was another friend that would find us a job. His dad was very nice, when his dad had the farm he would tell us about other jobs that would pay year round, and he would tell us about his friend’s ranch and about the jobs available there.”(Worker 9, FARM 1: 11)

What is clear from the above quotes is that workers did not have the autonomy to decide whether they would be loaned out. Thus, the daily work performed and the spatial and temporal parameters of that work are not under the control of the worker. Workers are clearly lacking autonomy in this situation.

It is also clear, that the official farmer rarely has any knowledge of what work loaned migrant workers are performing, or in what locations. Thus, the conditions and relations of work, transportation, etc., are not monitored by the official farmer and are unknown to FARMS or HRSDC. For example:

- “It works ok, but my Dad set it up. I get frustrated ‘cause Farmer 1 never returns my calls and he has no idea what has to happen to get the guys here and to look after all of their pay and flights to Mexico and all that. That is why I charge him to rent them. I make sure he covers their housing costs and such.” (Farmer 2, 2004:2)
- “He always wants Worker 4 and we have to pay for all their housing and he benefits. Last year he wanted to keep him later and we said he can’t stay here – I am not going to pay to heat the portable and have water and lights out there for one guy. So I told him that if he wanted him, he had to look after him.” (Farmer 2, 2004: 5).
- “Well I specifically am not, (involved with the SAWP) , because technically I’m not the farmer, but Farmer 2 informs me of a rate increase of whatever (yeah) and

umm, and I know she charges me a little bit more in the rate because of rent. I actually subsidize her rent.” (Farmer 1, 2004:6).

- “Yeah, well they (Farm 2) get something for housing too. I don’t know how it works but they’re getting what, \$8 something? It’s funny because she’ll say, “ I don’t know what it is”. Say it’s a buck an hour, okay? If I’ve got like 10 guys at 10 bucks an hour and they’re working 10 hours a day, that’s a hundred buck a day. So that’s five hundred a week. Well what are your costs for the summer? You got no heat, you’re on a septic and well, you’ve paid, you’ve been doing this for 10 years, the portable’s paid for! Forty times over, and so now I’ve got Worker 4 who wants to stay, well she doesn’t wanna keep him because it’s gonna cost too much to have one guy in the bunk bed to keep the heat on. But then over the year, you’ve made like 5 grand on me in the year. So can you afford to spend \$300 bucks on something like for the last month. Help me out, but no. We don’t have the facilities right now because we have the Newfy migrant workers housed up to 30 of them on the farm. Wives and sons and daughters and I mean I’ve got families that have worked for me. There are kids and their parents. I mean they’re the second generation of workers from the family. We’re gonna build some little apartments for married couples and what not. Yeah they’ll be some openings in which case, at that time I’m gonna say you know [Worker 5] and 2 or 3 guys, maybe [Farmer 2], we can bring ‘em up here. ‘Cause I know it’s gonna be cheaper for me.” (Farmer 1, 2004: 7).

The swapping or lending of migrant workers is strictly prohibited according to FARMS regulations. It is obvious that this regulation is not observed or enforced. This results in a situation whereby many migrants working on unofficial farms where their RBC insurance plans would not cover them in case of an accident. Also, this leads to further problems in terms of regulating or monitoring working conditions, pay levels, etc.

Responsibilities and Control Over Others

Control over others was not cited as a particular problem. However, workers claimed that one could only have control over others or greater responsibilities and privileges if they had seniority (greater number of “temporadas”) or more importantly, English language

skills. The role of language in power relations will be explored in further detail in the next chapter, but it is important to recognize here that language knowledge was the primary reference used in task assignment and worker responsibility level. Many workers have indicated that they have specialized skills that they would like to use at work but are not being recognized, particularly due to language difficulty.

Of those workers formally interviewed, 15 indicated that English was important to which job assignment and whether one could take up leadership positions (and have control over others). At each of the farms visited, the migrant worker who could speak the most English was the only Mexican given authority over other Mexicans and was the worker with the most responsibility and autonomy. At Farm 1, the worker with the most English (Worker 4) was the sole worker assigned to the greenhouse where he worked without supervision and had direct communication with Farmer 1 and 2. He was also the worker with the most seniority at that specific farm. He was consulted about pruning, growing and harvesting schedules and practices for specific plant and tree species. He was also asked to be the spokesperson for the workers when they had a problem or concern with the Patron, often in regard to pay levels and schedules. This worker also receives a substantial bonus (between \$1000-2000) every year. At Farm 2, this was also the case, with the worker with the greatest English skills acting as a "lead man" supervising other Mexican workers. At Farm 3, the worker with the greatest English skill was given a truck to drive and was to act as a supervisor of the other Mexican workers. At Farm 4, the largest farm, the worker with the greatest English skills lived in the best bunkhouse and was responsible for transporting the workers to and from farm locations. He was also responsible for handling pay schedules and worker relations. At Farm 5, the worker with the most English was able to drive a small all terrain vehicle around the

farm. These were the only workers that had any spatial control or responsibility for specialized tasks. During interviews, English was often cited as crucial to task assignment, responsibilities and privileges:

- “They gave me opportunities since the first year I came here...because like I said, when I came here I didn’t speak any English at all and I didn’t drive any of the machines...but it was one of the supervisors that gave me the opportunity when I started to speak more English. ...”(Worker 14, FARM 5: 16)
- “I know how to drive the truck and also I can use the machine that digs up the trees. I have driven it on other farms before.” *Probe: Does the boss know?* “No. How? They don’t ask and they won’t understand me because of my lack of English.” (Worker 9, FARM 1: 7)
- “I can do that work too. I don’t know why they give it to [Worker 4].” (Worker 5, FARM 1: 8)
- “He thinks he can tell us what to do. I don’t think it is fair. He benefits more than we do. All he knows is English. I have been working on farms for longer and I have more temporary work permits.” (Worker 5, FARM 1: 7)
- “Yes, the one that has the most responsibilities is the one that speaks more English, he is the one, like they say in Mexico, with the heaviest load (laughs), that’s why a lot of the times...” (Worker 14, FARM 5: 6)
- “But I put a lot of effort because he spoke English well...and so I practiced...and he gave me the opportunity to work in irrigation and...I’ve been doing that since then.” (Worker 20, FARM 4: 9)

Farmers and other workers recognize the importance of English, and assigned or assume that workers with greater English skills will have more responsibilities. It is also clearly important to the recognition of workers’ skills or knowledge.

- “I would utilize those talents like anybody would (if I knew about them). Umm, I think sometimes the guys aren’t comfortable maybe because there’s a language barrier...” (Farmer 1, 2003:6)
- “One guy (the guy we had last year) he is sort of the lead hand in that way because his English is the most fluid. Better than most, it is not fluent. He really understands what needs to be done. He has become the in-between person, we

give him the instructions and then he tells the guys what to do. He takes on more responsibility also, in that, when my husband will not be there in the morning, he takes out [Worker 26] the night before and shows him what has to be done and then the next day he looks after it.” (Farmer 6, 2005:4)

- “We need [Worker 4] because he can tell the others what has to be done. Also, if there are any problems he comes to explain things for us. He works independently and we can trust him to keep the others calm.” (Farmer 2, 2003:4)
- “They tend to form their own little hierarchy system of you know who’s been there longer and who’s in charge in that kinda stuff. And language is basically the key, if you speak English, obviously because I don’t speak Spanish.” (Farmer 1, 2003:2)
- “Most of the time they work on their own. The English speaking guy is their lead man.” (Farmer 3, 2004:3)
- “So sometimes the guy with the English isn’t the best guy, but that’s the guy who seems to be getting ahead because of a language thing. So you know, the longer guys are coming, the better their English gets, the better they understand stuff, and uh but it would be helpful to know, ‘cause rather than standing there three days later when somebody else that you know could’ve fixed that for you three days ago. Well why didn’t you say something three days ago?” (Farmer 1, 2003:2)

Workers and farmers appear strongly aware of the importance of English in determining power positions among workers. This is not seen as problematic, or indicative of racialization or racism, but as an expected and legitimate form of differentiation. Workers themselves attempted to use their language knowledge in securing or protecting power positions. It was apparent from the participant observation that workers have a tendency to release few details about themselves to their employers and in some cases prefer to use Spanish pseudonyms or nicknames when dealing with other workers, effectively excluding the employers from understanding or identifying workers in some contexts. For example, Worker 5 goes by “Chaco” amongst fellow Mexicans, and Worker 9 asked me not to use his first name near the farmer or other Canadians (Fieldnotes, August 10, 2002). Mexican workers also tended to speak in Spanish exclusively when in the presence

of employers and superiors. There is also a certain etiquette involved with translation, such that workers only translated for each other when asked by another worker. On at least eight occasions I was explicitly asked by a worker NOT to translate what was being said amongst workers to the employers and supervisors who were present (Fieldnotes, July 2, 17, August 2, 4, 19, and Sept, 8, 2002). Relatedly, in some situations workers claimed to not speak or understand English, when in fact they did. For example,

- “I just say, “No espeak ingles” and they leave me alone. If you don’t say anything back to them, they leave you.” (Worker 5, FARM 1, Fieldnotes, August 26, 2003)
- “I was in town and these kids started yelling at us near the grocery store. I understood them, but I did not want any problems. So I just kept walking and did not answer. I think they thought I could not understand English.” (Worker 19, FARM 4:12)
- “If you tell them that you don’t understand English, they [Western Union] will do the forms for you.” (Worker 22, FARM 1, Fieldnotes, October 8, 2004)
- “I don’t want what some of the other guys have. You end up doing more work if you talk to them. They make you do more if you speak English. And they don’t pay you more.” (Worker 20, FARM 1:9)

All of the above are examples of acts of agency by migrant workers. This demonstrates that workers were aware of the importance of English for power relations, and sometimes used this as a power act. Many workers also indicated that when they are mistreated they tend to ignore it, and pretend not to understand English as a way of deterring abuse or aggression. However, as will be discussed in the next section, abuse is not easily deterred by ignoring it. In fact, not understanding English may serve as a provocation for further abuse.

Experiences of Abuse and Aggression

An extreme form of subordination experienced by migrant workers is abuse or aggression from farmers or other superiors. Fifteen migrant workers interviewed indicated having an experience of abuse while working in the SAWP. Almost all of the workers (20) cited abuse as a problem that they were aware of either in reference to personal experience or to someone they knew.

- “And sometimes I even witnessed him abusing us...we were planting with a machine and if we didn’t center the planter with the plant, he would pick up the planter and throw it at us... yes I had to see that a few times, I mean he is an aggressive person and you can’t work in that kind of environment” (Worker 25, FARM 5:9)
- “I witnessed on another farm two years ago, a boss was very angry at the workers. It was a large farm with over 200 Mexicans....and he got very angry and stabbed the worker right in the back....here (points to back above right hip) with one of the small machetes. I saw it. He went to the doctor, and never came back....he was sent back to Mexico. (Worker 10, FARM 5:6)
- “There are patrones who get very angry and yell. The worst are the ones who push or hit you.” (Worker 12, FARM 5:10)
- “At a flower farm... twelve hours of work daily, but the real problem there is with the boss, he is somewhat special, he’s a bit unpleasant, you could even say aggressive, he is verbally aggressive with his workers and he also... screams at us” (Worker 2, FARM 4:12)
- “He got really angry and started yelling and hitting the truck door next to me. I could not understand that well, but he thought I was being lazy and did not want to work on the potato selection machine. He told me “if you don’t work, back to Mexico!” I just didn’t understand what we were supposed to do.” (Worker 10, FARM 2:15)

During participant observation, I witnessed a number of situations in which Mexican workers were being harassed by other Canadian workers, and some incidents of employer aggression and verbal abuse. Some excerpts from my fieldnotes below provide

some examples:

- The two workers from Newfoundland took a frog they found in the rows and put it into Worker 5's cooler. Laughing, they said they hoped it peed on his sandwich. Worker 5 found it and was startled and upset. I asked him what he was going to do. He said "nothing" and shrugged saying, "what can I do." The Canadian workers (including the crew head) continued to laugh and said "watch out the little tattoo might kick your ass." (Fieldnotes, July 6, 2002)
- Some the Canadian workers left to go swimming in a quarry nearby. They told the Mexicans to have all the rows done or they would tell the boss that they were being lazy and swimming instead of working. (Fieldnotes, June 23, 2002).
- It is raining heavily and there is fork lightning in the field. The trees are very high and the rows are very close together. I can't walk between without getting scratched and I have to use my machete to cut away the tall growth at my feet. I keep sliding in the mud and falling. The Canadian workers retreated to the van and are waiting out the rain. The crew head told Worker 4 to keep the Mexicans working until they finish the rows. Worker 5 and Worker 13 have large metal extended tree pruning shears (about 2meters long: See Figure 4.4 in Appendix 4) to reach the high tree leaders. It was very dangerous with the fork lightning. We keep working for 20 minutes in lightning storm. I was growing very anxious and concerned. I pleaded numerous times with Worker 13 and Worker 7 that we should return because of the lightning. Worker 13 indicated that the crew head told them to stay here so they had to. I intervened in the interest of safety and went the truck and told the crew head that I thought it was very dangerous. He indicated that the guys were used to it, and "plus, they are short Mexicans remember...(laughing)." I restated it more firmly and told him that they should come in. The crew head said that the "boss would be pissed" and yelled out to the Mexican workers to come in (Fieldnotes, July 24, 2002).
- Obviously enraged that Worker 11 could not understand him when he told him to clean the machete blades, a supervisor threw about 15 machetes at him and yelled "clean these damn knives" (Fieldnotes, August 10, 2003).

In discussions with two managers of the migrant worker resource centre they indicated that accounts of abuse and harassment were frequent.

- "Yes. There are a number of accounts of abuse. It is for that reason we have a lawyer that comes to hold sessions and advises the workers of their rights and that they can fight abuse. Also, we tell them that they can make worker's

compensation claims and that we will help them.” (Representative 1, Bradford MWRC, 2004:3).

- “Many workers are fearful of saying anything negative about their employers (including when abuse happens) because they believe that the consulate will just send them back to Mexico and they will be removed from the program.” (Representative 2, Bradford MWRC, 2005, p.2).

Often, the incidents of abuse were either overtly racist (using racist pejorative names for workers), such as referring to Worker 5 as “Tattoo,” or were justified with reference to language or culture. For example, Farmer 2 noted that a conflict between Worker 10 and another Canadian worker had been reported to him. Farmer 2 perceived the incident as a language misunderstanding, claiming that, “...he [Worker 10] probably just didn’t understand the kid. The kid probably upset him by accident, you know, like a joke and the Mexican guy just didn’t get it. That is what the guys [Canadian workers] said, anyhow” (Farmer 2, 2004:1). Farmer 2 indicated that because the migrant worker did not speak English, he could not deal with the problem. His solution involved prohibiting Worker 10 to return to work on his farm. Instead, he told Farmer 1 to keep him at their farm for the rest of the season. Interestingly, this worker speaks a substantial amount of English and has worked in Canada on 10 contracts with the SAWP. The worker was never asked to explain the conflict or to express any concerns or represent his perspective. Clearly, language was used in this incident to both explain the conflict (as a source of the misunderstanding) and to dismiss it as irresolvable due to a perceived language barrier. The role of language will be further discussed for its significance in terms of power relations and racialization in the following chapter.

SUMMARY

Overall the power indicators were prevalent throughout the interview transcripts and this was also supported in the field observations, and in the interviews with farmers and with the migrant resource centre workers. This indicates that workers felt a lack of power in their everyday relations, and in particular claimed to have a lack of autonomy that was particular to their position as Mexican migrant workers. Temporal and spatial control was clearly lacking among migrant workers both in terms of international movement and local movement.

Table 4.2 SAWP Workers and Expressions of Powerlessness*

Power Theme	Theme Occurance
Lack of Autonomy	54
No Control Over Others	12
Lack of Responsibilities and Privileges	10
Abuse	48

*These numbers reflect the occurrence of a statement not the number of cases. Nvivo was used to generate these numbers and reflects the number of times the themes occurred throughout all of the interview transcripts.

Table 4.2 provides a summary of the theme occurrences throughout the interviews. For migrant worker in the SAWP, autonomy is clearly the most significant concern. Although experiences of abuse are less frequent, concerns over abuse are also quite high. All of these power relations are embedded into the SAWP and to a system of migration that temporally and spatially restricts the flow of Mexican migrant workers to Canada. Immigration policy (specifically, the point system) is used to exclude Mexican agricultural workers from migrating to Canada through permanent migration channels.

The point system only counts Canadian work experience that is 12 months in duration. Therefore, SAWP workers are not able to claim *ANY* Canadian work experience. Instead, agricultural workers are channelled into a program in which migrant workers are not really migrants at all; they are temporary workers.

Being temporary has significant consequences in terms of power for migrant workers. This system, and the institutionalization of the power relations explicated in this chapter are related to the construction of racialized divisions of labour, unequal power distributions, socioeconomic inequalities, and human rights violations. In addition, the processes of racialization in the structural and everyday power relations of the SAWP may exacerbate experiences of powerlessness for migrant workers. The racialization of migrant farm labourers and the role of race and language in the complex power relations of the SAWP will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

RACIALIZATION AND THE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKER PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

Foucault (1973) contends that categorization and segregation are integral to the institutionalization of power. Racial categorization, and the definition and categorization of the “other,” are very powerful acts. Cultural difference and social marginalization are closely linked, and labour migrations have been important to the separation and subordination of many ethnic groups. The process of racial categorization, or racialization, involves the attribution of social significance and the delineation of group boundaries by primary reference to (presumed inherent) biological (often phenotypical) characteristics, or with reference to the term “race” (Miles, 1984, p.120; 1989). Satzewich (1991, p.50) notes that central to this definition is the manner in which group boundaries are formed and defined and this process can take place in the absence of the term “race.” The processes of racialization are connected to larger material and socioeconomic conditions and processes that occur within historical and political contexts. According to Satzewich (1991, p.51), racialization (which may or may not involve racism), can be understood as the mechanism which the state uses to exclude people from entry to the social formation, include and allocate people to sites in production relations. Building on Satzewich (1998;1991), I contend that racialization processes extend beyond state actors to include the practices of individuals within both the dominant and subordinate groups within institutions and *everyday* power relations.

Drawing from Castles and Davidson (2000), racialization is a process that

involves defining the minority status of a group through reference to racial difference. This involves clearly defining the “other.” The “other-definition” results from the dominant group’s use of its power to impose social definitions on subordinate groups (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.62). This includes the ideological processes of stereotyping, as well as discriminatory structures and practices in the legal, economic and social and political arenas. The markers used by dominant groups to differentiate the “others” include phenotypical characteristics, such as skin colour and other physical features thought to denote “race”. Other markers involve culture, including dress, language, religion and customs, and national origin. Racialization occurs when the “other-definition” of a minority ethnic group by the dominant group is a negative one, and differences in the social and economic or political position of a group are attributed to its (constructed) racial or ethnic characteristics (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.64). As such, this process leads to a marginalization of the subordinate (minority) group that is excluded from equal participation in the economic, social and political formation of a society. Therefore, race (as it is constructed) is used to form and maintain unequal power relations, and it is migrant workers who are the subordinate group in the processes of racialization in the SAWP.

The objective for this chapter is to uncover and explicate these processes of racialization underway in the SAWP. Specific analysis objectives for this chapter are: 1) Understand the role of race and nationality in the power relations in the SAWP. How is reference to race, or racial categorization, used in the everyday power relations and the structuring of institutional power frameworks? 2) Identify and characterize the importance of language in the power relations of the SAWP. How does language,

particularly the ability to communicate in English, impact power in the everyday working and living relations experienced by workers? This chapter will begin by examining the processes of racialization in the practices and organization of work, including an analysis of the role of race in the conceptualization of a “good worker.” Following this, the processes of racialization and the institutionalization of difference in terms of the resource allocation and working conditions will be discussed. Lastly, the role of language in the racialization process will be addressed, with attention given to the role of English in power relations within the SAWP.

RACIALIZATION AND WORK IN THE SAWP

Race was consistently shown as important to the organization of farm work and of the rationalization for job hierarchies and the hiring of migrant labour more generally. It also became clear through the participant observation and interviews with farmers, that the rationale for the organization of work and task assignment, as discussed above, and the living conditions and work expectations of Mexican workers were racially based.

The Good Migrant Worker: A Racialized Conceptualization

Migrant farm labour, both documented and undocumented, is conceptualized and categorized in terms of race. Farmers not only rely on migrant labour, but also understand it as a form of labour tied to racial categories. Migrant workers *are* non-white, or they are not considered migrant labour. In an interview with the farmer at the small tree farm, which also employs workers from Newfoundland, race, nationality and provincial identity were important factors in the perception of a “good migrant worker”:

- “Yeah, right now we’ve got, most of our crew is from Newfoundland and it’s sorta like migrant workers. It’s the same idea, only that it’s within Canada. And you know listening to their, where they’re from, the villages and towns that they’re from in Newfoundland is very similar as what you would expect in a “why are you coming to our place to work?” “‘cause there’s no work where I am.” The Mexicans are seen the same way. There’s no work or the type of work isn’t there or the money isn’t there while in the case of the guys from Newfoundland, it isn’t there. Now, where it’s a little bit different is because they qualify within Canada’s being a Canadian citizen for unemployment (yeah), they have a tendency to, when they get their weeks and hours in or whatever they need for their quote to qualify for unemployment, not all, but probably 25% of them are quite content to go and sit at home and collect unemployment. And as I’ve said that doesn’t help me as a business guy. Look, I’m running a business here I’m not running a welfare centre for you guys to get your stamps quotes so that you can go on unemployment.” (Farmer 1, 2004:3).

Each of the farmers indicated that they could not get Canadians to do this type of work. Employers consistently claimed that “Mexicans are a simple and hard working people who expect to work” (Farmer 1, 2004: 5).

As in the case of other occupations, jobs and the workers in them are not distinct entities. Professions are constructed through gender and class identities and relations as well. The notion of a “good farm worker” may be being constructed through reference to the “migrant worker” such that, the characteristics of migrant workers (in terms of ethnicity, class, and nationality) are being used to define the notion of the “good farm worker”.

- Yeah, I think to stay competitive in agriculture you need them because you can’t compete. A farmer doesn’t make enough money. We’re a minimum wage type place. I can’t get Canadian guys for the whole year to work here. They don’t really wanna work here, and we run into December and I’m laying them off. There’s a stigma with being on Unemployment.” (Farmer 1, 2004:12).

- “I can’t get a Canadian to work at this job. So I’m not taking anything away from somebody that doesn’t want it because if they want it, knock on my door and we’re ready to go.” (Farmer1, 2004:17)
- “ I don’t want people to know about it because people may be angry ‘cause they think we are taking Canadian jobs. But, the truth is, I can’t get Canadian kids to do this kind of work. They won’t live on the premises and I can’t just go and get them whenever we need them. Also, they really don’t work as hard. “ (Farmer 3, 2003:2)
- “And that’s the biggest thing is a lot of the fellas that we get, not all but I’d say 75% of them that come from Mexico, they’ve worked other places. They have some uh experience, life experiences that are valuable, because... you show them how to do a job and they know how to do it. And they have pride in their work. So they don’t just do it because they wanna get it finished. They wanna do it properly, get it done right...”(Farmer 1, 2004:3)
- “Mexican workers are just really good workers. Better than Canadians. Without them, I couldn’t run my farm.” (Farmer 4, 2004:4)
- “They had a lot of local people work for them and they had a lot of people complaining about the work and they were sick of people not doing what they were told to do. So they said, you know what, we are just going to get off-shore workers. Now all these kids are unemployed, and that was a bit of a shock, but it is the way it is. The work needed to be done and there were conflict of interests.” (Farmer 6, 2005:2).
- “The boss exploits them...I mean he pressured us to work, but at the end of the day he tells us that they’ve done a good job and invites us for a beer, and that’s it (laughs)...that’s how he controls them. That German man is very crafty...he also realizes that Mexicans are very hard workers...and he even said that he was going to get rid of all the Canadian workers, and that he was going to hire only Mexicans...because he knows how to handle them, Mexicans get a lot of hours there, he says he cares...”(Worker 23, FARM 1:8)
- “Immigrants to Canada, but the program is exclusively for peasants...yes, this program is meant only for peasants and not for anyone else, so sometimes we have to lie and say that we don’t have the education we do, otherwise, we would not be given this opportunity, since the program is only for peasants. It is assumed that Canada is dealing with peasants, who are very rough, sturdy people who can endure hard work, the type of labor others here refuse to do, and they are surely aware that the Mexican peasant is very rough and robust, he can carry out any type of work Therefore, they warned me not to mention my schooling if I

have completed anything beyond grade school...so I had to be careful with that.” (Worker 20, FARM 4:2)

- “In all farms, people generally say that Mexicans, Mexican labour is very sturdy...and of course of a good quality.” (Farmer 1, 2004:3)
- “They have been excellent. They have all got families at home. They are all decent family guys who know how to work hard. You don’t get the sleazy attitudes you might get with some other workers. Those are obviously stereotypes, but hey.” (Farmer 6, 2004:2)
- “You can trust Mexicans to work hard. I think maybe the others were lazy to work. Who? The Jamaicans...and they complained...that is why there are more Mexicans now. You don’t know with blacks, it is how they *are*.” (Worker 4, FARM 2, Fieldnotes, July 3, 2002)

Clearly, migrant labour is understood with reference to race, culture, and national origin. Following from Castles and Davidson (2000) the “other-definition” of Mexicans is constructed through reference to ethnic markers. Mexicans are referred to as being racially suited to farm work, because of their physical size and build and culturally suited to farm work, since they are *thought* to have a simple culture of hard work and family values. Moreover, it is *assumed* that because of their national origin in an underdeveloped country where they are accustomed to relative deprivation, they will work harder and expect less. It is this construction of the “Mexican Migrant Worker” that leads to the social exclusion and subordination of Mexican migrant labourers. It is with this perception of the “Mexican Migrant Worker” that employers, governments and other intermediaries organize and engage in the practices of the SAWP.

From the quotes above it is also interesting to note that Mexican workers also employ these racial, cultural and gender stereotypes in order to differentiate themselves from other workers and to protect their jobs. For example, note in the last quote that a

Mexican worker claims that Jamaican workers are lazy, and that this is “how they *are*.” In Spanish, there are two verbs that mean “to be”: *estar*, which indicates to be in a location or a temporary state or condition; and *ser*, which refers to being or essence. The Mexican worker used *son* to describe the Jamaican workers, which is a conjugation of the second verb form which indicates essence. These are acts of *agency* by workers to invoke the very markers used by the dominant group to describe themselves and others, but they are used as an act of resistance or a power act to protect the workers’ own interests. This indicates that workers may be engaging in acts of resistance that involve invoking racial categorization.

The Racialized Organization of Migrant Farm Labour

Aside from defining the good migrant worker with racialized understandings of Mexican migrant labourers, farmers also refer to race in the hiring practices and organization of work. Farmers appear to clearly articulate their hiring preferences and perception of workers’ capacities in terms of race and nationality. This contributes to the racialization of these workers and of the SAWP in general. For example, differences between the work of Mexicans and Jamaicans are clearly expressed as a function of their racial difference in interviews with farmers:

- “We had the option of going either Mexicans, Jamaicans or St. Lucians. There’s a lot of Jamaicans down on the marsh. Uh, there seems to be a lot of Mexicans that seem to work in the landscaping or in the nursery industry. Like (Ontario farm name) has I think twenty some of those guys, who knows how many (maybe a hundred). They are suited for it, really.”(Farmer 1, 2004:2)
- “Probe: could pick the kind of worker you wanted?” “Yeah, but it’s, but for some reason...picking apples and vegetables and stuff like that seems to be what

the Jamaican guys want to do. Uh there are other growers that have used Jamaicans, there's one that they're not in business anymore, but they up until last year they had 10 Jamaicans. Uh and they had no problems with them, that's just the way it worked out, kinda thing. I think we sorta picked them ...umm, I mean not that we were thinking of you know sort of a race thing, I think I was looking more for ...umm, the fact that if you're, if you're from Jamaica and you've got family or friends in Canada, which there are a lot of, then the tendency is they're gonna want to say "hey I wanna go and visit these people". ... I know guys that have had Jamaicans yeah sometimes the guy somebody just disappears. And nobody knows where he is, and nobody's really looking for him that hard because you know if he shows up dead somewhere nobody's gonna say anything. So yeah the guys I know that have had Jamaicans, they've had problems." (Farmer 1, 2004:3)

- "The work is highly labour intensive and we've not had very good success to get people to work for us that are reliable and willing to work, do a good job and want to come back on a regular basis. That is the reason we have Mexicans. Some orchard growers have Jamaicans because some people may feel that their body stature is more appropriate for reaching high tops of trees. Go with whatever you are comfortable with, you know." (Farmer 6, 2004:2).
- "...of the Jamaicans from this one farm, yeah I saw one situation where we had hired through the other grower, their labourers to do some pruning on a farm. So they got there and the trees were big and the guys didn't wanna do it. So they came up with this thing, "well it's dangerous to work on this farm because there's long grass". Well there's long grass on every farm you're on. It's no longer, "well this is longer grass than the other ones, so this is dangerous for us to work", so they decided, these 10 Jamaican guys decided they weren't gonna work. So the fella that was in charge of that group, the Canadian guy, he told the Consulate right away. They sent... a guy up within an hour...and basically told them that if they didn't get to work they were gone." (Farmer 1, 2003:9)
- "The one guy this year he drinks a lot. That is what I have heard from other people as well- that is kinda like a pattern. With the Mexicans you don't get the problems with the women and stuff, um that you get with others, like with the Jamaicans....but with the Mexican program you get some drunks. It doesn't get in the way of his work really, but he works slower and also we think he goes into town to get drunk. One weekend he fell off his bike and hit his head and somebody called for the ambulance and he refused treatment, so the police came to get him. We think he was drunk. Basically, he spent the night in jail. We could've picked him up that night, but we thought we could just leave him until the next day. I guess he is an alcoholic. Apparently that is common in Mexico, lots of Mexicans are alcoholics. The police did not charge him with anything, but the police thought it was kinda funny." (Farmer 6, 2004:7)

Work tasks were also organized in terms of racialized hierarchies, particularly if Mexican migrant workers work alongside Canadian workers or Jamaicans. On the farm where participant observation took place, Ontarians were seen to have more status and power over Newfoundlanders, and Newfoundlanders had more status and power over Mexicans. On all of the farms researched, Mexicans rarely had power over anyone, although in some situations they had power over each other if they have a form of seniority (those who have been coming to Canada for numerous years). Thus, race and nationality and provincial origin are used in the formation of power relations and the “relations of ruling” in the workplace (i.e., relationship to production and control over the production process). For example, when determining the assignment of work tasks, Ontarians were given the leadership roles more frequently and also given spatial control (usually asked to drive and permitted to move about freely), whereas Mexican workers were rarely permitted to drive or operate machinery, and were even less likely to have leadership roles.

Racialization also occurs through the discriminatory practices and stereotypes invoked when farmers employ other forms of migrant labour. On one farm where interviews were carried out, Sikh workers and Chinese workers, who claimed to be undocumented migrants, are employed via a middleman who takes a large cut (out of a wage of \$7/hour paid to the contractor, each worker receives approx \$3/hour after a fee is taken for transportation as well). Also, Sikh workers stayed inside the barn and separated small seedlings – a task thought to best suited to “their small hands” and Mexican workers did the “tough tasks” (fieldnotes, informal discussion with farm manager, June 9, 2002). This was not the only farm encountered where undocumented labour was

employed. On two of the 5 farms visited, undocumented workers were employed every year. On one farm, undocumented Cambodian workers were employed through a middleman. Their work, and the contacts with “migrant brokers“ or what one farmer calls “job-pimps” are seen as essential to the success of the farm:

- *“Probe: Have you ever employed undocumented workers?” “Yes, I am certain. The Cambodians come and help us with pruning. You don’t ask a lot of questions. The people we have working for us- it is all cash. If you give them a cheque, you will never see them again. We don’t ask. We know their first name and sometimes their phone number, and that’s it. It is casual labour” (Farmer 6, 2005).*

- *“We have had this guy – actually a couple of them. We call him the “job-pimp” – it is one guy who knows the language and he gets all the people from his community and half of them don’t speak English. We have no idea what their citizenship is. We don’t know (and we don’t want to know). He wants people to pay him directly and he takes some off the top too...but it happens. Even people that have been in Canada for a long time and they just go with the contact person. He is almost a bit of a sort of... he is often a bigger man who is a bit intimidating, and he gets these people to work for him, and the way they talk to him it is like they have a lot of fear/respect for him. We would have no way to get these people if it wasn’t for them – these people don’t really give us their names and numbers. Usually the guy co-ordinates a van and brings them. We have had some from workers. I mean...it sounds a little crooked, but hey. We need the workers” (Farmer 6, 2005).*

Also, throughout interviews with Mexican workers, 8 interviewees cited other farms they have worked at in Canada where undocumented Asian workers were present. Also, in an interview with a member of Frontier College (a Labourer-Teacher Program Worker) it was stated to be a common problem found on work sites.

Undocumented workers have the least power in their work relations. Mexican workers employ their legal status as a power claim when dealing with these workers and therefore claim greater power. Observations of this work site indicated that Mexican

workers often gave orders to Sikh workers. Their work tasks and status were interpreted in racial terms, as Mexican workers are seen to have a better work ethic and can handle physical work, and the Indian and Chinese workers cannot. The presumed illegal status of the Asian workers serves to further justify differential resource allocation, task assignment or treatment. Ontarians are expected to understand the work better but not perform the physical labour as well, due to their national origin and English language knowledge. Newfoundlanders are not given responsibility for most things (such as transportation or task assignment) because they are seen as having less knowledge and communicative capacities than the Ontarians. National origin, provincial origin, legal status, race and culture are all employed to differentiate workers and justify their unequal socioeconomic status, and subordinate power position relative to Ontarian workers.

Racialization and the Spatial Organization of Work

Not only is the “othering” process occurring through the conceptualization of the good migrant worker, hiring, work practices and resource allocation, but the “other” is also produced through spatial organization. Specifically, the spatial organization of work and housing was clearly demarcated along racial and ethnic lines. Aspects of spatial organization, such as *where*, *with whom*, and *under what conditions* a migrant works and lives, are related to their position as “Mexican Migrant Workers.” Mexican migrants were assigned tasks with their own group, and lived with their own group. For example, the Sikh workers on Farm 5 worked together, separate from Mexican and Canadian workers (fieldnotes, June 9, 2002). As noted previously, Sikhs worked with seedlings in the barn, and Mexicans worked outside at the more physical tasks. This was also the case on Farm

1, Farm 2, and Farm 4 according to both workers and farmers:

- “Yes, we always work with other Mexicans. There is always a Canadian who drives us to the field, but they work with their own.” (Worker 13,FARM1:6)
- “We separate out workers – it keeps things in control. Mexicans work together and we usually put the Newfies together too.” (Farmer 1, 2004:4)
- “They bus us out to prune the big trees together. I am not sure where the Canadians go. He sometimes puts me in charge of the other Mexicans” (Worker 3, FARM 4:10)

In terms of housing, Ontario workers lived off the work site, with the expectation that they would have structured work hours (e.g. 8-5pm) and control over their own transportation to and from work. Workers from Newfoundland lived on site in bunkhouses or trailers suitable for small families or groups of 5 workers (see Figure 5.1, Appendix 5). Mexican workers lived on site in bunkhouses, barns, and portable houses usually in groups of 10-12. Figures 5.2-5.7 (Appendix 5) show photographs of housing for migrant workers, including the spatial orientation of migrant housing, the sleeping quarters, and some of the facilities. Housing for Mexican workers was often directly at the work site, furthest from the farmers’ house at the back of the farm (See Figure 5.8, Appendix 5). On Farms 1 and 2 living conditions for these workers were more crowded and less secure than the living conditions among Canadian workers from Newfoundland. Out of the 25 workers interviewed, 23 indicated that they were not satisfied with their living conditions. Lack of privacy and security were consistently cited problems:

- “ We sleep here- 12 grown men in one small room and we cannot move. Our beds are together like sardines. We have nothing between our beds and we have nowhere to keep our things. Look, 1,2,3,4,5,6, it is too small. We are like animals. This is why I need to break my contract. No one can live like this. ” (Worker 25,FARM 5: 3)

- “10 men on bunk beds. It is awful. You can hear it when the other one thinks. The bathroom is worse. Two toilets face each other. Why?” (Worker 4, FARM 1: 5)
- “Well, here, almost all of the services we need, we don’t have good ones. When we came we did not have anything to cook with. There were no stoves, no pans. We asked the patron and now he brought these things for cooking, but they are not stoves (points to hot plates), we also did not have enough beds, so they just put another mattress in this small room on the floor.” (Worker 1, FARM 5:8)
- “There is no where to go. I feel trapped and I sometimes walk in the field over there to get some space from the others. It is hard...being so close with men you don’t really know...or trust.” (Worker 5, FARM 1: 6)

During the 2004 season, a migrant worker from Farm 2 called my home and asked for help. He claimed that \$1000 was missing from him and he was scared to tell the farmer. I told him I would be there the next night. When I arrived he told me what had happened. We went to speak the farmer and the farmer told us they would reimburse the worker 50% of what he had stolen and they would not call the police.

- “So, like I said when I called you. Some one stole \$1000 from under my mattress. They must have known it was there. I can’t believe it was one of the other workers. I have asked them. I don’t want to tell the Patron because I don’t think they will believe me. I think they should pay me back. *Probe: why?* Well, they don’t give us a key and there is no lock on our door, anyone can just walk in. Thank you for translating for me. That is good that they will not call the police because I don’t want trouble.” (Worker 23, Fieldnotes, July 16, 2004).

The following week, Farmer 2 called me and told me that they knew who had stolen the money. According to the farmer, a young Canadian teenager who worked at the farm knew that the Mexicans were not at their bunkhouse during the day and he knew when they were paid. They got the money returned and gave it to worker 5. I asked if they intended to press charges and whether they would put locks on the doors or provide lockers for the workers and Farmer 2 responded:

- “No. We will not involve the police. We don’t want them wandering around here. We told the kid’s parents and we told him to go home. I don’t think we will do anything to the bunkhouse, no. If they would put their money in the bank like I told them, then it wouldn’t be a problem. It is not really my problem, to be honest. I am sure that Mexico is not as safe as here- so don’t tell me they need any extras.” (Farmer 2, 2004:1).

Farmers claimed that these living conditions were adequate and that their security was sufficient, even when faced with complaints from workers, or security problems like the one documented above. There was a tendency for farmer to justify these claims with reference to race or nationality:

- “It is certainly better than where they live in Mexico. I mean, they have beds, and a roof. I suspect they like coming here.” (Farmer 2, 2003:6)
- “No, we haven’t thought of air conditioning or a fan. We don’t worry about the heat much for the guys. They can handle it. I can barely stand to walk into the bunkhouse- but they are used to it, being Mexican, of course.” (Farmer 2, 2003:9)
- “Mexican workers are "better off here than what they would be living in Mexico.”(Farmer 6,2004:3)
- “Yeah they have to go through Unemployment and the local health guy comes out, checks stuff. Yup, you got hot water, you got showers, you got clothes, as long as you got this, and you’ve got a bunkhouse. To get to the funny part of this, our place didn’t qualify...because we didn’t have bathrooms in the same bunkhouse. So I said, you gotta be kidding! And I’m sitting here thinking, well that’s kinda weird, what are they used to in Mexico!” (Farmer 1, 2004:11)

Coming from an underdeveloped country is a major factor in Mexican migrant workers’ social exclusion and subordination. National origin is seen by Castles and Davidson (2000) as a marker constructed by dominant groups to differentiate minorities. “Mexicanness” is consistently invoked as justification by farmers for poor living conditions or difficult working conditions. The institutions of the SAWP, and the organization of living conditions and work relations on Canadian farms construct national

origin as a significant marker of difference among workers that justifies social exclusion, spatial isolation, and differential treatment and resource allocation.

Racialization and the Institutionalization of Differential Resource Allocation and Working Conditions by Race and Nationality

The racialized divisions and justifications in terms of the organization of work (in terms of task, spatial relations that have already been addressed in the previous section) are also manifested in other work expectations and temporal control. Specifically, hours of work and number of days off were also organized and justified in terms of race and nationality.

In each interview workers were asked how many hours they worked per day and the lowest number reported was 9 hours and the greatest hours reported were 18. The majority of migrant workers reported working between 11-12 hours a day. Farmers also reported the long hours worked by migrant workers:

- “Normally, we are working 11 or 12 hours, everyday. “(Worker 7, FARM 1:3)
- “ They are working 7 days a week and sometimes the numbers of hours that we’re working, you know you’re putting in like 160-170 hours in two weeks. So you’re working basically for a month’s worth of work in one week.” (Farmer 1, 2003:6)
- “Because it is seasonal farm work- hours of work, etc depend on the time of year, etc and it doesn’t work well with unions. At some points in the season they were working really long hours....um. Before I like tell you exactly what the hours were....like we ask them “do you want to keep working or start at this time.” Basically, the guys that we have come here to work. They say, why don’t we work longer days so we can go home sooner. They would start at 5-6am and work until at least 6-7 depending on daylight hours. When it is dark, they go in. At certain times of the year, the work has got to get done.” (Farmer 3, 2004:3)
- “We don’t get days off. It would be good, but we need the money. It would be better if they paid us a little more and then we could afford to take a day off, some day.” (Worker 11, FARM 1:5)
- “We work twelve hours every day including Sundays (Worker 23, FARM 1: 9)

During planting and harvest periods (usually in May and from mid-September to mid-November) hours of work would increase for all workers. In the tree growing and nursery industry the long hours are predominantly in the spring and the middle of the summer. The two small farms (Farm 2 and Farm 3) also have potatoes and other fruits and vegetables and required workers to work very long hours during the early fall months of September and October. During these months workers would often work from 7:00am to 10:00pm or 12:00am (with breaks for eating) in order to pick the crops and avoid rotting and other problems from rain and exposure affecting the crop yield. Also, migrant workers never received days off that were equal to their Canadian counterparts.

Mexican workers were not only expected to work longer hours, but to work faster and more efficiently than Canadian workers:

- “It’s always like...”Faster you Mexican, faster, why else do you come here? To work? So work!” (Worker 15, FARM 5: 10)
- “They give us the tougher jobs. The Canadian get the easier work, that is just the way it is.” (Worker 6, FARM 5: 12)
- “Yes, yes there is a difference between how they treat Mexicans and Canadians. For instance, with the boss, he gives a bonus to only the Canadians...and they don’t work Sundays, they say they don’t work on that day...but for Mexicans they have to work everyday, whether or not is Sunday or, whether is raining or not. Being that the case not one Mexican has received a bonus or a raise, only what the contract says, that’s it, that’s why there is a difference and you can notice it right away...if the boss was different he would give us a bonus, when he sees that we work when it rains, when its cold, when its hot...that is the difference that I’ve noticed with the bosses, so yes there is a difference.” (Worker 23, FARM 1: 10)
- “They bring us here to work the long hours, so that is what we do. We need the money and they need the workers. The other workers don’t work as fast.” (Worker 10, FARM 5:8)
- “If they get hot, they say, I’m not working...and then they leave...but they are good workers but they don’t put up with things...they say if I’m hot, I’ll stop

working, but not us...that's the only difference between the Mexicans and the Canadians." (Worker 13, FARM 5: 10)

- "The Mexican guys, you know, they can work faster than the others...Um, it is just sometimes they don't want to. But that is why we bring'em here. They know if they don't get the job done,...uh, then they are gone. I mean, I am not going to get them back next year, if you know what I mean (Farmer 1, 2004:10).

- "it's hot, to bear all the hours under the sun...then it rains, and to bear the rain...but we have to put up with it...because of the needs that we have as Mexicans...because, they pay us very little, that's why Mexicans never want to stop working...Why? Because they pay us very little here in Canada, the pay is very little for the Mexicans...and that's why we bear with the heat, the rain, we put up with everything to just keep working, because what they pay us is too little and we need to work more, more hours in order to have a little bit more money. To make as much as Canadians...we have to work double the time." (Worker 19, FARM 1: 9)

Clearly, Mexican workers work longer hours and take on the more dangerous, strenuous, or unpleasant work. According to both farmers and workers, and corroborated by field observations, at each of the five farms, Mexican migrants worked longer hours daily and have fewer days off, and can handle the "tough work" (Farmer 1, 2004). During a typical work week the hours of work at each farm would range from 9-12 hours for Mexican workers, and between 8-10 hours for Canadian workers. For these longer work hours and greater work expectations, migrant workers are not given increased pay levels or any other benefits. For example, Canadian workers receive overtime pay rates for every hour after 8 hours worked and migrant workers receive no overtime pay. Migrant agricultural workers in Canada do not typically qualify for overtime pay, holiday pay, or required days off. FARMS notes to employers that the Employment Standards Act only applies to those who have been working as "harvesters" for more than 13 weeks, wherein he or she is entitled to vacation pay of 4% of regular wages effective from the date of hire

(FARMS, 2005b). If migrant workers are working in other capacities, such as planting, then these work hours do not contribute to the 13 weeks that are required. According to FARMS, migrant workers in the tree growing industry in particular are not protected by the Employment Standards Act in relation to: hours of work, daily and weekly or biweekly rest, between-shift rest periods, eating periods, overtime pay and paid public holidays.

Table 5.1: Typical Hours of Work and Days Off for Migrant Workers and Canadian Workers*

Farm	Mexican Migrant Workers		Canadian Workers	
	<i>Daily Hours of Work</i>	<i>Days Off (weekly)</i>	<i>Daily Hours of Work</i>	<i>Days Off (weekly)</i>
Farm 1	9-14	None	8-10	2
Farm 2	10-18	None	8-12	2
Farm 3	9-15	1	8-12	2
Farm 4	9-12	1	8-10	2
Farm 5	9-12	None	8-10	2

*This table is based on estimations by migrant workers and by farmers during interviews, and on fieldnotes from participant observation working with migrant workers. These approximations exclude some instances when workers received days off due to excessive rain or snow, or when farmers went on vacation.

Table 5.1 and Table 5.2 show summaries of work hours and pay rates for each of the farms. When asked if they were paid overtime or vacation pay *each* worker indicated they did not receive extra pay. Farmers also stated that this was the case.

- “No. Absolutely nothing. Our normal hours and our extra work time – they pay us the same at \$7.25 an hour.” (Worker 18, FARM 3:8)

- “It is seasonal work, so they don’t get any extra pay. True, Canadian workers get overtime pay – but we try to limit that and Canadians do not work on weekends.” (Farmer 3, 2003:9)

The pay rates received by migrant workers are consistently different (and typically lower) than those received by their Canadian counterparts, regardless of years of work experience, skill level, etc. Table 5.2 outlines hourly pay rates and overtime pay rate for migrant workers and Canadian workers.

Table 5.2: Pay Rates and Overtime Pay for Migrant Workers and Canadian Workers*

Farm	Mexican Migrant Workers		Canadian Workers	
	<i>Hourly Rate of Pay</i>	<i>Overtime Pay Rate</i>	<i>Hourly Rate of Pay</i>	<i>Overtime Pay Rate</i>
Farm 1	\$7.25	None	\$8-10.00	\$12-15.00
Farm 2	\$7.25	None	\$10.00	\$12.00
Farm 3	\$7.50	None	\$8.50	\$12.75
Farm 4	\$7.25	None	\$8-10.00	\$12-15.00
Farm 5	\$7.25	None	\$8-10.00	\$12-15.00

*This table is based on estimations by migrant workers and by farmers during interviews, and on fieldnotes from participant observation working with migrant workers. Among Canadian workers, rates of pay vary according to skill level and position. The rate of pay for migrant workers is fixed by the SAWP, although increases annually. The rates above reflect 2002-2003 rates. In 2005 migrant workers make approximately \$7.50. These estimations do not reflect bonuses paid to particular workers at the end of the season by some farmers.

Pay rates may be less, but deductions from workers pay are comparable, or greater. Not only do migrant workers receive less pay, and work greater hours, but they also have more deductions from their pay. As was noted in Chapter 4, Employers withhold contributions to the Canada Pension Plan, Employment Insurance, and Personal Income

Tax. Migrant workers are not eligible for EI and rarely file for Income Tax returns or participation in the CPP. Deductions for FARMS fees, visa processing fees and transportation costs (not including flight) up to \$500, as well as a deduction for Royal Bank Insurance also come off of workers' pay cheques. Other costs assumed by workers are related to remittance sending, international telephone calling and transportation and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

These differences were consistently justified with reference to race and nationality. Also, employers often referred to the global context of their production and global competition as necessitating the employment of migrant labour. Among the farmers interviewed, employing migrant labour is clearly seen as important for a competitive business model engaged in global production. In this way, the system is further legitimated by the perceived need for participation in global production relations and the assumption that migrant workers are necessary to this goal.

- “And you’re totally dependent on these [migrant] workers. The global economy changes and gets tighter and more global, which it will do. So you’re competing, if you’re in the potato industry, you’re competing with potatoes from...Brazil. I mean it sounds weird, but in Christmas trees, I compete with Christmas trees from... Oregon.” (Farmer 1, 2004:13)
- “I have to compete with growers around the world. I need good workers to do that. Migrant workers are essential to this. Without them I can’t compete.” (Farmer 3, 2003:2)

These workers are then embedded/ allotted not into national production relations, but global production relations, and their position in these global production relations is justified with reference to race and to global capitalism. Migrant workers' position as originating from an underdeveloped county is also a major factor in their exclusion and

differential treatment. The processes of racialization underway assure that migrant workers are legitimately excluded from the social formation, while carrying out essential work for global relations of production. The relative low costs of migrant labour, and their high productivity are very attractive to farmers competing for a corner of the global agricultural market. These factors, combined with the racialization occurring through the institutional and discursive practices of the SAWP serve to justify and legitimize the relative subordination and differential resource allocation.

THE POWER OF ENGLISH: LANGUAGE AND THE SAWP

Thus far, this chapter has examined the processes of racialization underway in the organization and practices of work. Recall that racialization involves the demarcation of the “other” through reference to difference, including phenotypical characteristics, but also including cultural markers, such as language. Language is identified by Castles and Davidson (2000) as an important cultural “marker” used in the construction of the “other-definition” of a subordinate group. This section will explicate the use of language in daily work and participation in the SAWP. Specific attention is given here to the role of English in structuring power relations in the organization of work and the workplace, and in the SAWP overall. In order to assess the role of English speaking in the organization of work and everyday power relations, data from the participant observation and the interviews will be discussed in conjunction. This section will begin by examining the importance of English from the perspective of the worker. Firstly, this section will examine how migrant workers view the importance of English language knowledge, and then secondly, explicate the role of English in the power relations within the SAWP.

The Importance of English

Language plays a significant role in the acceptance of hierarchy, unequal power, or mistreatment. It also provides a justification for the unequal distribution of power or rewards. For example, as noted previously, migrant workers work longer hours at lower levels of pay than Canadian workers. Like Canadian workers, migrant workers also pay income tax, Canadian Pension Plan, and Employment Insurance. All of the workers claimed to have unknown deductions on their cheques, although some were aware that taxes were being deducted specifically. Many presumed they were for electricity or board, or that they were taxes. Very few were aware of the specific deductions:

- “for us the Mexicans, they are making a deduction, but I don’t know for what, I think that it is... to pay for electricity... and for rent, and they make the deductions... there is always a deduction in the cheque that they give us, but I don’t know how much... but yes we are paying, but I don’t know how much we pay. We pay taxes, like insurance... I don’t know how... I don’t know what they’re for, they are in English.” (Worker 16, FARM 4: 2)
- “we pay employment insurance, I think that is for the unemployed here, yes that’s it, that and...one other tax, that I don’t know what it’s for.”(Worker 17, FARM 5: 2)
- “in Mexico, in the consulate they have an agreement ...so we don’t pay for electricity, we don’t pay for the house to live in...all that is under that...the boss is responsible for that, for that reason I feel that, after we pay for, for transportation, they give us a deduction, but I don’t know what deduction it is maybe is the one that they give us later... It’s okay, because like you *gringos* say, you pay for the house, but you don’t say well you have it made, ah well you live very well...and we have to pay, they say that we have pay.” (Worker 5, FARM 1:5)
- “To come to Canada we pay some money, yes, they only pay for the plane ticket, yes to come here, but I think the boss is in charge of deducting it little by little from our pay, but we have to pay all of it, but not all at once, little by little from each cheque. That is probably what the deductions on our cheques are.” (Worker 19, FARM 1:4)

Mexican migrant workers do not typically file tax returns as the documentation is in English and French and is also not made available to them by employers or officials in Mexico or upon entry to Canada. A representative of the Social Security Agreements Sector of the International Relations Coordination Office of Canada Customs and Revenue Agency, outlined the tax, pension, and EI rules for migrant workers. The official stated that migrant workers pay Canadian taxes like everyone else, since “there are no exemptions for levels or types of work, only based on income levels.” (CCRA Representative, September 26, 2002). When asked if migrant workers can receive that money back, the official responded:

- “Sure, if they file a return. Sure if they file a return. They may be entitled to a refund of a portion or possibly all that they have paid, the problem is identifying other sources of income. If this is considered minimal (as many own or work on other farms when they return to Mexico) then they need to provide certain documentation then they will likely get the most back. There is a problem with documentation because they return home and disappear into the social fabric and only resurface the next year when they re-enter the program. Even in Mexico City, for example, we can’t even get a clear count of the population there and they disappear and the consulate in TO can’t locate them. If they have cheques, the consulate holds onto them again until they resurface.” (CCRA Representative, September 26, 2002)

This was corroborated by the representative for the UFCW union who operates the Migrant Workers Resource Centre in Bradford. Throughout several conversations during the 2003-2005 period, the representative indicated that a large portion of work done by the centre involved teaching workers about the taxation and pension system, and encouraging them to file returns and collect pensions. The representative noted that workers are not given adequate information about the system:

- “They are told nothing. Many have no idea that the money taken off their cheques is for the government. I try to show them how to get the money back, but it does not always work. The forms and the criteria are for Canadian citizens and do not

suit these workers. Many of them are illiterate and definitely cannot read in English or French. Even when we manage to file a return or a pension claim, workers often do not get the money and they never hear anything back.” (Bradford Migrant Workers Resource Centre Representative, 2003).

This was also the case with CPP, as migrant workers are eligible, but rarely collect. The CCRA representative stated that migrant workers contribute to CPP, but noted that it was unclear whether any migrant workers have ever received a Canadian pension. Farmers are also aware of this problem:

- “They are entitled to receive benefits, but I don’t know whether they do. I am sure we have paid pension to people in this program.” (CCRA Representative, September 26, 2002)
- “We feel kinda sorry for them, really. The fact that they pay into CCP and EI when they can’t use it- and the taxes taken off, and they never get anything for that. Is our government trying to line their own pockets through the Mexican program, you know?” (Farmer 6, 2005)

Clearly, English language skills are particularly important to understanding the system and the SAWP practices more generally. Workers are very clear on the importance of English for participation in the SAWP and for communicating with employers and other employees in order to protect their rights.

Many workers clearly identify the importance of English to having awareness of the functioning of the SAWP and for full participation in the SAWP. As can be seen in the semi-structured interview protocol, each of the 25 research participants interviewed was asked a range of questions regarding the organization and practice of work on the farm (see Appendix 2: Interview Protocol). The data were examined for the occurrence of the word “English,” or “Ingles” in Spanish. Also, fieldnotes were analyzed for reference to English, and scenarios in which English language knowledge was significant.

During each of the 25 interviews, English language knowledge was cited as being important generally. An NVivo text search found that the word “Ingles” was cited a total of 52 times throughout all of the interviews. For example, English was cited as important to learn or know in order to participate fully in the SAWP and in order to be in Canada in general:

- “The only thing that we missing are English, I think, that is what divides us ...for instance, if you go to Mexico and you understand a bit of Spanish you meet people from there and you start up a conversation and before you know it, you are talking...that’s good, isn’t? (Worker 5, FARM 1: 14)
- “I want to learn English. In case I want to ask for something (if I want to get something like a coffee) I don’t know how you would say that. This season I’m bringing back some English (as a souvenir)...Now I realize that I need English too yes to speak, if I don’t talk, I’m going to become a mute.” (Worker 11, FARM 2: 4)
- “Yes, I would like to learn a bit of English ... but you need a lot more than that.” (Worker 15, FARM 5: 7)
- “...they say things to me in English and I have to respond to them, in English, that’s why I have to learn English. There are a lot of essential things here in Canada, and English is the main one.” (Worker 18, FARM 3: 3, 19)
- “Yes I can learn a lot... a lot...starting with English...but they don’t offer us any services...so that we can learn it.” (Worker 19, FARM 1: 15)
- “Well yes we are interested in learning how to speak English...yes.” (Worker, 12, FARM 1: 4)
- “We are learning the language, English...and three years ago, with this, it’s the third year that they brought us a Hispanic teacher to teach us English. She taught us for four or five months, but only for two hours a week, that’s it...still I think it’s great, I think that this type of service doesn’t exist in other places.” (Worker 23, FARM 4: 14)

It is clearly indicated from the above quotes that workers feel it is important to learn English. This is further evidenced by my experiences during participant observation. On the first day working alongside migrant workers, they began asking me to translate words

and explain English phrases they had learned while we pruned trees. On more than one occasion we were writing English words in the sand or dirt for clarification (Fieldnotes: June 4, 6, 13; July 12, 16, 17, 18; August 7,12, 2002). Workers at Farm 1,2 and 3 asked me to teach them English in the evenings when I spent time in the bunkhouses (See Figure 5.9, Appendix 5).

English and Power Relations in the SAWP

As explicated in Chapter 4, the power indicators are organized into three areas: autonomy, control over others, responsibilities and privileges. Using NVivo, references to English during interviews were categorized according to how they pertained to the power indicators that were explicated in Chapter 4. In 20 interviews English was cited as being directly related to indicators of power. In reference to the concept of autonomy, 15 participants indicated that English was an important factor in determining one's ability to direct and control one's own working and living practices and conditions. For example, many workers indicated that speaking English has a direct impact on their ability to ask questions about the SAWP, their rights and safety or the functioning of the program, work tasks, express concerns, ideas or opinions that relate to work.

- “The problem that I have is that I can't communicate with them [Canadian workers], because they don't understand me...and I don't understand them either”. (Worker 16, FARM 4: 2)
- “Sometimes, yes...you can express an opinion about work...I don't know, like how it could be faster or better or easier, but it is difficult without English.” (Worker 13, FARM 1: 10).
- “We pay taxes, like insurance... I don't know how... I mean because it is in English, we are paying unemployment, I think that is for the ones that are, are not employed here, yeah it's for that, and the other taxes I don't know what they're for.” (Worker 17, FARM 4: 2)

English was also seen as particularly important for protecting one's rights and dealing with abuse or mistreatment, and accessing necessary services.

- "...An accident I had, it was precisely that supervisor that injured me with a fork lift, when trying to lift a tree, he scraped my leg until it started to bleed through my pants. He asked me then if I was alright, but I never said anything to him because I could not speak English." (Worker 14, FARM 5: 16)
- *Probe:* If you disagree with the boss or he says something or does something that you don't like. What can you do? "Personally I think that you can't do anything. Because I can't speak English, and probably if I do understand something that I don't like, I don't know how to respond to him and if I tell him in Spanish he'll say "I don't understand". So we are left feeling uneasy...and they think I am not conforming." (Worker 13, FARM 1: 10)
- "I don't like working with them, and they are rude and I know they are insulting me. But without English, what can I do?" (Worker 15, FARM 5: 6)
- "We had a few problems here...once the boss sent a man to Mexico, without investigating the problem...He sent him back just like that, the same day, from one moment to the next... when he informed him that he was going back to Mexico he told him that he had an hour to pick up his things...one hour and a half... ...there was no time to contact the Consulate...The fairest thing would have been to send both men back to Mexico, but he only sent one of them back. The other one is still here. Maybe because he spoke a bit of English and was able to defend himself, I still think it's not fair" (Worker 23, FARM 1: 6)
- "The only problem that bothers me ...is the one with the transfers. I know that we are not allowed to work at the other farm and that's the only problem. *Probe:* Have you said anything about it? "No, not really. *Probe:* No? How? "I don't know English". (Worker 19, FARM1: 7)
- "Last year, there was these guys who called me "Tattoo" – like that TV show Paradise Island. It made me angry that I couldn't correct them. Now they think it is my name. If I spoke English then it would be better" (Worker 5, FARM 1: 5).

The above quotes demonstrate that workers generally feel that English knowledge would help them deal with abuse, mistreatment and racism. Many workers also indicated that with English they could better understand some of the institutional practices in the SAWP and the parameters of their employment contract. Having no official documentation regarding this (nor any pertaining to their rights or entitlements while in Canada), workers

went on word of mouth. In fact, at Farm 2, four (4) of the workers indicated that they had learned about the taxation system through Worker 5, who has the most advanced English language skills. Another eight (8) workers indicated that they had learned something about the program regulations or procedures through a Mexican co-worker with more advanced English skills. Also, when doing interviews and when working in the field, many workers asked me how they get their taxes back. Each time I met a new worker they asked me detailed questions about their rights and taxes, and some asked if I could provide information on their contracts. For example, on a weekly trip to the supermarket, an older worker I encountered said: "I heard we can get some of our money back. Do you know how? Can you help me? Also, I was talking to my friend here last Friday and he said that he will get a Pension. Is that true? How much is it and how do you get it?" (Worker 26, UF, June, 2002). This was also the experience of the Migrant Workers Support Centre employee in Bradford, which supports workers with the help of the UFCW:

- "None of the Mexicans know that they qualify for a pension. Not very many apply for it. It doesn't help that all of the forms and information is in English and French. We are starting to translate some of it – and we use farm health and safety booklets from the United States that are all in Spanish to help with that stuff. They also don't know what their rights are or how they are supposed to be treated if something happens and they hurt themselves at work." (Representative, Bradford UFCW, MWSCB, July, 2003).
- "We have worked on translating all of the forms for workers so that they can fill out their taxes and also, just know their rights. They receive no official information when they come to Canada. Very few know English, and some are illiterate and we have difficulty teaching them, since they work such long hours." (Representative, Bradford UFCW, MWSCB, April, 2005)

Clearly, English language knowledge would not mean that workers would not need assistance with the Canadian taxation system, with CPP applications, or with health and

safety training. However, it is clear from the above quotes that without English language knowledge workers cannot easily gain knowledge of the system or their rights within it, nor ask for help in interpreting it. Simply providing information (even translated information) can provide some workers with much needed help regarding their taxation forms and contract parameters, but it cannot help the many workers who are also illiterate in Spanish. The assistance of the representatives of the migrant worker resource centres can significantly help workers with understanding the taxation and pension systems or with health insurance or workers compensation claims; however, as noted in Chapter 4, there are only three migrant resource centres that do not receive funding from the Canadian or Mexican government, nor any funding from growers or workers. These centres are therefore inadequately funded and poorly staffed to address the needs of the large numbers of workers in Ontario. FARMS has provided no official documentation to workers, only the growers are provided with information on employment guidelines and procedures. Without English language knowledge, workers cannot ask their employers or Canadian co-workers for this information. Those workers whose English skills are more advanced are able to ask questions and gain information about these matters.

The lack of English language knowledge does more than present a barrier for migrant workers to clearly understanding the taxation system or the rights and parameters of their employment contracts; it also excludes workers from full participation in the everyday practices of the SAWP. Language plays a central role in their social exclusion, as it is conceptualized by Ebanks (1991). Further, language plays a central role in the practices and relations of power on a daily basis and at an institutional level. Mexican workers cannot clarify, object, complain, protest or otherwise make power claims easily without English knowledge. This may be a very realistic consideration made by farmers

when hiring migrant workers. For example, in interviews with farmers, English language knowledge is seen as having a direct relationship to power:

- “If I’ve got guys from Mexico that don’t speak the language and my Spanish is non-existent, umm and I can keep track of them, then the likelihood of them you know doing something that we don’t want to do is less.” (Farm 1, 2004:6)
- “I try to get at least one or two that speak English. Then they can control the others, and they...umm help me out, you know. They keep the peace.” (Farmer 3, 2003:2)
- “I don’t care what they speak as long as they get the work done. Anyhow, it is probably better that way. I mean if they don’t speak English, for everyone.” (Farmer 4, 2003: 4)
- *Probe: Do you think workers should learn English while here?* “Well, umm no. I think we have been able to get by reasonably well with their basic English skills. But in our experience it has been fine without English – no need to complicate things. When would they do it? What would I do, drive them there twice a week or something, that is a big pain for me too? Practically, it is really not worth the effort it would take to do that.” (Farmer, 2004:4)

English language skills are used in all situations to demarcate class boundaries, and reinforce the racial divisions. For example, Ontarians are given management and decision-making powers because they can speak English well, followed by the Newfoundlanders (but they are berated and given less communicative tasks, and migrant workers cannot understand their accents and expressions). The extent of English understood by migrant workers gives them further power over other migrant workers. As was documented in Chapter 4, employers and supervisors will give the more complicated tasks to those who speak English better than others, regardless of the specific skill level required for a given task (e.g. welding experience).

SUMMARY

As Miles (1982) and Satzewich (1991) indicated, racialization is a complex process, which may or may not involve racism. This chapter, although providing some examples

of racism, is not attempting to expose farmers and the Canadian government as racists. Instead, it demonstrates the processes of racialization underway within the institutional framework and everyday practices of the SAWP. The institutionalization of these racialized power relations in this managed migration program (SAWP) strengthens this process and reinforces the racialized perceptions of farm work. As a result, migrant labour may be increasingly synonymous with racial difference. The everyday practices of the SAWP and the institutional organization of the SAWP are locations of racialization. As power relations are embedded into the SAWP, so too are the processes of racialization that work to exclude migrant workers from the social formation of permanent Canadians, while still allotting them into the production relations. This happens not just within the formal organization of immigration policy or a bilateral policy framework, but also in the everyday living and working relations of the SAWP. On farms, in bunkhouses, banks, grocery stores and Western Unions, migrant workers are excluded from the social fabric, and social significance is attributed to their group identity as "Mexican migrant workers." With primary reference to their "temporariness" and their "Mexicanness" the group characteristics are consistently homogenized and devalued. In this process, *race*, *language*, and *nationality* are used to delineate the group parameters, the allotment of production positions, and the rights and privileges of the group.

A key factor in the racialization process not discussed by Miles (1982) and Satzewich (1991) is the role of language. This analysis has demonstrated that language plays a crucial role in everyday power relations and the racialization of migrant labour. This section has demonstrated that, for the SAWP specifically, language is important to the organization of work, the institutionalization of power and the justification for

unequal power relations through reference to language. Language (in this case, English language knowledge) acts as a significant marker for difference and enables dominant groups to segregate others, while also providing a justification for differential treatment or rewards.

All of the actors involved, including the Mexican government, have been active in the racialization process. Also, private businesses and multinational corporations that facilitate this temporary migration system have been active participants in the construction and maintenance of racialized power hierarchies. This racialization process at work in the Canadian-Mexican SAWP is embedded in a larger global political economy. In fact, migration processes inherently involve global relations, and various transnational practices in which migrants, their families, and other intermediaries are involved. Migration processes and the “transnational practices” within it are important to the racialization process explicated in this chapter, but also the power relations discussed in Chapter 4. The use of global information and communication technologies as “transnational practices” in the everyday practices of being a temporary migrant in the SAWP are examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES, TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES AND THE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKER PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

As discussed in the literature review, an important aspect of globalization involves the increased movement of people, information and money across national boundaries. Researchers have examined and categorized these movements and conceptualized the sustained movement between nations as “transnationalism” (Levitt, 2001; Knight, 2002). Most of these conceptualizations have neglected or excluded foreign workers and their families. Although the typology posited by Faist (1999) recognizes that seasonal, recurrent, and eventual return migration, are part of the strategies among “transnational kinship groups” it does not address the very real manifestations of transnationalism among seasonal migrant workers and their families. It is unclear from the research literature, however, whether SAWP workers actively participate in the formation or maintenance of transnational or economic social relations or in sustained participation in the “country of settlement” and “country of origin”, as transnationalism is conceptualized by Basch, et al. (1994).

Following Massey et al. (1993), Boyd and Greico (1998), and Portes (1996), by understanding transnationalism and migration as processes that include families, this chapter approaches the “migrant worker” as an individual with a family and community that precede participation in the SAWP. Families likely make decisions to engage in temporary migrant labour and they do so within particular constraints and parameters. The extent of this is unknown with respect to SAWP participants. Following a synthetic

approach (Massey, 1990, 1993) this chapter expands the examination of the SAWP to include the “transnational practices” involved in this temporary migration process. “Transnational practices” refer to remittance sending, international telephone calling, and any other form of interaction across national boundaries that migrants and their families engage in. A synthetic approach to migration theory recognizes the socio-political economic structures and institutions in which migration is embedded within multiple locales. Thus, the family and community are seen as participants in migration processes. Migrant families make decisions together about household income diversification strategies that involve migrating (Portes, 1998). It is unknown whether this is the case among SAWP migrant families. Also, it is unclear how “transnational practices” may be important to the formation of the power relations within the SAWP and within the global political economy. Thus, transnationalism and the transnational practices that involve both migrant workers, and their families, are the focus of this chapter.

Migrant workers and their families engage in practices and utilize technologies that enable temporary migration. These practices and technologies serve as both constraints and facilitators with respect to the formation of social and economic relationships particular to temporary migration. Thus, this chapter will give attention to a significant aspect of globalization, and an essential practice of transnationalism among migrant families: international communication. International telephone calling and remittance sending between family members are essential to participation in a temporary labour migration program. Lull (2000), Appadurai (2000) and Portes (1999) seem to contend that new communication technologies will inherently be used for political empowerment and be used to counter domination, particularly among transnational groups. However, as Castells (1996) notes, information and communication technologies

(ICTs) are particularly important in terms of the organization of social and political power, as it is negotiated in new territorial and social parameters. With specific reference to the SAWP, this chapter will examine the manner in which ICTs are important to this temporary migration system. Migrant workers' ability to traverse these new territorial and social parameters, and move information, money, and themselves transnationally, is particularly important to their position in the global political economy as it is being redefined with globalization. Whether the use of ICTs facilitates empowerment or exploitation and dependency among migrant workers and their families will be explored in the following analysis. Migrant workers in Canada send money and communicate with "receivers" back home in Mexico. However, migrants and their families are more than just senders and receivers, and this conceptualization neglects the power relations and transnational processes of seasonal migration. Families of temporary migrants are not waiting passively to receive remittances, nor are they passive in the process of temporary migration itself. However, sending and receiving are important practices of transnationalism that may be necessary to participation in seasonal migration. Practicing transnationalism involves significant time and work, and this chapter will explore the extent of this work for migrant families, with particular attention to the role of women in the migration and transnationalism.

In order to understand the transnationalism of migrant families within the SAWP, this chapter will carry out a qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews, participant observation data, and ethnographic case studies with families of migrant workers in Mexico. This chapter will begin by providing an overview of the transnational family, explicating the ways in which migration within the SAWP is a family process responding to and impacting sending families and communities in a variety of ways. This section will

also involve a discussion of the “transnationalization of culture hypothesis” and the role of gender in the migration process. Following this, some of the transnational practices engaged in by migrant workers and their families, such as international telephone calling and remittance sending and receiving, will be examined, starting with an assessment of use and access issues in Canada and Mexico. Subsequently, the transnational practices of remittance sending and international telephone calling will be addressed, with specific attention to the uses and costs of these practices. Although these practices will be discussed separately, their importance is assessed concurrently at the end of the section. The work associated with these and other transnational practices is then examined, with specific attention to the role of women in the transnationalism of the SAWP. The significance of gender in transnational practices and in the migration process is also discussed throughout these sections.

TRANSNATIONAL LIVES: MIGRANT WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

This section examines the realities of living transnationalism as experienced by migrant workers and their families. Specifically, it examines four case studies of families of migrant workers for patterns related to participation in the SAWP, and the daily transnational practices of participating in a temporary migration system. These four cases provide a glimpse into the experiences of migrants’ families, and how they entered into the SAWP.

Evidence suggests that involvement in the SAWP is clearly a family affair. Families decide together to begin participating in the SAWP. In 15 interviews, workers claimed that they talked with their spouses before entering the program, and that the families decided it was the best way to get ahead. Almost every worker interviewed (21)

indicated that the main reason they enter into the program is to help support their families. Many workers indicated that they participated for their children specifically, so that they would be able send their children to school and enable better life opportunities for them:

- “I come here for my kids. I want for them to go to school. School is expensive” (Worker 3, FARM 4:2)
- “We do this so that our families can get ahead. I come to Canada to give my children a better life.” (Worker 6, FARM 5:4)
- “For my family. For my daughter and my wife. They can maybe go to school.” (Worker 21, FARM 3: 8)

Participation in the SAWP is also clearly understood as a fairly long-term income diversification plan. Based on those interviewed, once migrants begin to participate in the SAWP they will continue to do so for at least two years. In fact, each of the 25 migrants interviewed indicated that they intended to return to Canada the following year. Out of the 25 participants interviewed, 20 workers had participated in the SAWP for over five years, and 11 had participated in the SAWP for over ten years. This may have significant impacts on families and communities with high numbers of SAWP participants, such that fathers, spouses, brothers and grandfathers may be largely absent from their family members’ lives.

In some communities there are large numbers of men participating in the SAWP program simultaneously. For example, the grandmother of Worker 13 indicated that a couple of years ago her husband, her two sons, her son-in-law and two nephews were in Canada at the same time. She claimed that this was the most difficult year and that she and her daughter and daughter-in-laws had to run the farm and look after everything together. She indicated that this was often the case for the entire community:

- “The women here (she gestures widely to the town)...the women are all left behind. Waiting for our husbands, looking for them and praying. We wait and we pray.” (Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p.20)

If spouses of migrants become ill, it is likely that workers are out of reach, usually due to poor communications facilities in Canada. Workers are also unable to break their contract without costs and negative consequences for future participation in the SAWP, as discussed in Chapter 4. If workers want to leave Canada before the end of their contract, they forfeit participation in the SAWP and also have to pay for a flight through CanAg Travel that they cannot arrange themselves (recall that flights are paid for by the employer unless a contract is deemed to be breached by the worker). Because of these factors, workers and families lack spatial and temporal control: they have no control over when and how they return home, even in the most extenuating circumstances of family illness or crisis. For example:

- “One year there was a problem like this year. My wife was sick, same as now. She has an illness that is a type of ‘embolia’, do you know ‘embolia’? When...she cannot feel half of her body. She has no feeling there. It is the same as before, and I am thinking about if I should stay longer or I should go. I do not want to lose the contract. We need the money, but someone has to look after the children and the crops, and....she is ill. Someone has to look after her also, now.” (Worker 1, FARM 5:3)
- “One year, one of the guys...his wife had a baby while he was here. It was hard for him. He wanted to go back. He was worried, and I understand that. Something went wrong with the birth...and, you know, they thought she would die. He only knew because, well at the other farm, they have a phone. And, the guys go over there a lot to use the phone. I only knew...he didn’t tell me, when I went over there and one of the other guys that works with the other farm (the one I told you about that we share the guys with you know), and one of the Mexicans said to me: “why didn’t you give him the day off?” and I was like, “why? It is a work day.” Then he told me, and I felt kinda bad, you know. So I asked him if he wanted to go home. He didn’t speak much English and he said he didn’t want to break his contract. I told him that he could come back. He was a really good worker and I needed him. The problem is though, FARMS doesn’t like it. They say we are not

supposed to, but I called FARMS anyway, but it was the weekend. No one was there. We wanted to get him on a plane, asap. I called CanAg Travel directly and they said the next flight was a week away, on Friday and that it would almost a thousand bucks because of the short notice! I called Air Canada directly and we got a bereavement flight for \$200 bucks and sent him home. Boy...did I get an earful from FARMS, and the Consulate too. They said I was in breach of contract, etc. But what was I supposed to do, keep the guy here while his wife dies.” (Farmer 6, 2005:3).

As illustrated in the above situation, poor access to communication and little control over one’s transnational movement can have serious impacts on families, particularly if someone falls ill or there is an emergency. These factors can also have significant impacts on family life and cohesion, marital satisfaction and wellbeing.

Among the case study families, those who had been participating in the program for a long time demonstrated dissatisfaction with their marriage. Specifically, spouses of Worker 4 and Worker 13 both exhibited that they were not happy in their marriage. Spouse 4 was very explicit and stated that she was unhappy with her husband and although the financial gain from participation in the SAWP was valuable, “it had destroyed their marriage” (Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p.9). Each of the spouses indicated that maintaining their relationship was difficult, and that they missed their spouses very much, but grew accustomed to their absence while they are in Canada (Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p.2, p.4, p.9, p.10,p.17, p.26).

Interestingly, even with these problems, and the significant strain that is placed on migrant families, participation is encouraged throughout the migrant family. In each of the case study families have other family members that participate or have participated in the SAWP. This pattern was apparent in the other interviews with SAWP participants, where 18 out of 25 indicated that they had a family member who had

been involved in the program at some point. From the case studies and the interviews, it is clear that entrance into the SAWP is typically facilitated or assisted by other family members. Workers in the case studies reflected a range of participation, with Worker 4 reporting 15 years of SAWP participation and Worker 11 having just completed his first year in the SAWP. Table 6.1 presents some background characteristics of the case study families with specific information on the number of work seasons spent participating in the SAWP, the number of family members involved in the SAWP and the family income sources.

Table 6.1 Migrating Families, SAWP Participation and Income Sources

Worker	Number of Temporadas ¹	Number of Family in SAWP ²	Introduction to SAWP ³	Income Sources
Worker 4	15	2	Uncle	Farming(corn), textile piece-work
Worker 5	6	7(1*)	Grandfather	Farming (corn)
Worker 13	5	5	Father	Farming (corn)
Worker 11	1	1 (1**)	Cousin (male)	Farming(coffee, oranges)

¹ Refers to the number of work seasons in the SAWP.

² Refers to the number of family members (including extended family) that have participated in the SAWP at some point.

³ Refers to the way in which the worker was first introduced to SAWP.

* Sister has begun the application process and hopes to go to Canada in 2005 or 2006.

**Brother has applied and has been accepted for next year (2004).

In each of the four case studies the worker became aware of the program through a family member. Also in many of the interviews, workers claimed that family members provided information on and transportation to the STPS office where the SAWP is administered in Mexico City. For example:

- “My brother told me about it. One day we went to the office together in Mexico and he showed me how I could apply.” (Worker 13, FARM 1:5)
- “My father always told me I could go when I was old enough.” (Worker 7, FARM 1:6)
- “My cousin and some of the other men in our town have always gone to Canada. I did not plan to go, but things changed and now I have to. We need the money. That was 5 years ago now.” (Worker 19, FARM 1:6)

Other workers also indicated that, aside from family members assisting their entrance into the program, there were other individuals and groups that facilitated entry. Four workers claimed that an individual had visited their community offering to “help” people get into the program. For example:

- “He asked me if I was interested in joining the program to go to Canada. He told me that, for 1000 Pesos, he could help me get in.” (Worker 21, FARM 3: 4)
- “Yeah, there is this guy who you can get to help you. You can pay him to get in. I think he works for the PTAT.” (Worker 12, FARM 5:5)

According to these workers, for a fee (approximately 1000 Pesos) a man passed through their communities and offered to show people how to navigate the SAWP. He apparently “guaranteed” entry for another 1000 Pesos. Given that this was not anticipated at the outset of this research, the interview protocol did not include questions designed to gather information about this process. However, in addition to these workers, in two of the four case study areas migrant families indicated that they were aware of an individual that could help “get them into the program” for a fee. During fieldwork in Mexico, many family members and friends of the workers mentioned that it was hard to get into the program and that “it helps if you can pay someone to get you in, like paying the *coyotes* to get you into the US” (Fieldnotes,

December, 2003, p.10-12).

Many participants also indicated that they had family members, particularly sons, wishing to apply to the program for the next year. For example, Worker 4 is encouraging his son, his son-in-law, and his two friends to enter into the program. He has offered to help these men by drawing on his contacts at Farm 2. He has also asked me to speak to the growers on his behalf to encourage their entry. In 2005, Worker 4 asked Farmer 2 to consider bringing himself, his son and son-in-law to Canada on a Work Permit outside of the program. He asked me to attend a meeting between himself and the farmer in October, 2005 (Fieldnotes, October 13, 2005, p.1). Worker 5 is the third son to enter the program following his father, and he is helping his brother-in-law to get into the program. Worker 13 is also the third son to enter the program following his father, and during fieldwork in Mexico, I observed his son "play Canada." His son and his friends pretended they were leaving for Canada to go to work. I asked them if they would like to go to Canada like their fathers some day, and was answered with a resounding "yes!" (Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p.23).

Surprisingly, Worker 5 has a sister who has begun the application process. His sister is 28, single and has no children. She lives at home and has worked in the Maquila factories on three separate occasions, twice in Sinaloa and once in Juarez (Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p.11). She asked for help with her SAWP application and asked if it was really true that they would now accept women into the program. However, few women actually enter the program, and she is the first woman encountered in the present research interested in entering the program. This is significant, since it is largely expected that women will stay behind while men migrate. Married men in the SAWP have to go

home to someone – and transnationalism involves maintaining contact with someone (typically women) in the sending country. It is clear that, within the SAWP, men migrate and women stay behind, and therefore their gender significantly impacts their mobility. This is the case in the SAWP for a number of reasons. Specifically, there are not adequate facilities for women migrants (e.g. separate bunkhouses and bathrooms) and also, it is not encouraged by the STPS, FARMS, or farmers themselves. Also, gender role assumptions in Mexican families contribute to the reality that women are more likely to stay home, and men are encouraged to migrate. Since the SAWP is a family affair and many participants have more than one generation in the program, a gendered culture of migration or a “transnationalization of culture” may be occurring within the SAWP, where expectations may be high for young men to enter the program. For young women, this expectation was not clearly apparent. Thus, the SAWP participation in a particular community (such as in Tlaxcala) appears to be creating a set of cultural norms so that migration is an expected part of the “new transnational cultural group,” and it becomes an expected part of growing up (Kandel, 2002). Thus, the gendered assumptions and hierarchies that lead men to migrate and women to stay behind, may then be embedded in the racialized notion of the “good migrant worker” discussed in Chapter 5, creating a system of temporary migration that is also gendered. However, although women stay behind, they are very active in the migration process. This will be addressed in upcoming section on transnational practices.

PRACTICING TRANSNATIONALISM

Thus far, it has become clear that families of migrant workers engage in temporary migration together. Migration decision-making and entrance into migration has evidently

been a family affair for SAWP participants. Additionally, family members actively participate in the migration process itself through engaging in a number of indispensable “transnational practices” that may facilitate transnationalism. Transnational practices engaged in by migrant workers and their families, involving remittance sending, international telephone calling, and any other form of interaction across national boundaries that migrants and their families engage in, are integral to participation in a seasonal migration system. This section will examine the extent and importance of these transnational practices engaged in by SAWP participants and their families. Starting with an overview of the access to and uses of ICTs in Canada and Mexico, the following section will begin to outline the extent of ICTs in the SAWP. Next, a primary transnational practice, the sending and receiving of remittances, will be examined with attention to the extent and importance of remittance sending among migrant families. This section will explore the practices and costs of sending and receiving remittances, as well as the primary uses of remittance money among migrant families. Subsequently, the extent and importance of international telephone calling will be similarly examined. Finally, the work of transnationalism engaged in by migrants and their families will be examined.

Access and Uses of ICTs within the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program

As noted previously, international telephone calling and remittance sending are particularly important to the transnationalism of temporary labour migration systems. ICTs are important tools for practicing the transnationalism necessary for participation in the SAWP. This section discusses the access to and uses of ICTs by migrant workers and their families, and aims to demonstrate the importance of these practices to temporary

migration. As well, this section documents the necessary “migration work” performed by families of migrant workers that make transnationalism, and temporary labour migration itself, possible.

Access to adequate telephone facilities and different remittance sending services can have a significant impact on the migration experience of the worker and their families. As the primary means by which migrant workers and their families act transnationally, these factors can have major consequences on the form and extent of transnational practices that they can engage in. Access also has significant impact on the autonomy and spatial and temporal control of migrant workers in this transnational system. Table 6.2 summarizes the ICT access among the 6 Ontario farms where data was gathered for this research.

Table 6.2 Summary of ICT Access Characteristics, Canada*

Farm	Telephone Access	Remittance Access (Sending)
1	Barn phone (on-site), outgoing calls only, long-distance phone cards only	Banks, Western Union
2	Barn phone (on-site), outgoing calls only, long-distance phone cards only	Banks, Western Union
3	Barn phone (on-site), outgoing calls only, long-distance phone cards only	Banks, Western Union
4	Pay phone (on-site), long-distance phone cards only	Banks, Western Union, FinMex
5	Pay phone (on-site), long-distance phone cards only	Western Union
6	Pay phone (off-site), long-distance phone cards only	Banks, Western Union, FinMex

*Based on interviews with migrant workers and observation on farms and in nearby communities. Other e-commerce service providers may have entered the local markets in surrounding areas, however, workers predominantly used the above providers during the period under observation.

Poor telephone access means that workers cannot keep in touch with their families while away. It means they cannot organize remittance sending and receiving, nor their transnational movement, nor can they maintain social and emotional ties to family and

community members. A limited selection of remittance sending services means that workers have no choice but to pay high fees to send money home. At each of the farms in Canada, phone access was not available inside bunkhouses. The nature of the phone access in each case only facilitated outgoing calls using pre-paid phone cards. At each of the farms workers indicated that telephone access was inadequate. Among the majority of workers, the primary remittance sending service used for sending remittances was Western Union. In some cases workers used banks and on one farm workers reported using another private e-commerce service provider.

Table 6.3 provides characteristics of ICT access, including international telephone calling and remittance sending services available in case study areas in Mexico. Each of the case study families did not have telephone access through land lines, and instead used

Table 6.3: Summary of ICT Access in 4 Case Study Areas in Mexico

Families of Workers	Region (Nearest Town)	Telephone Access	Remittance Access (Receiving)*
Worker 4	Single family farm, 15km outside of Tlaxcala	Cellular phone	Bank, Western Union (Tlaxcala)
Worker 5	Single family farm, near to brother's farm, 2km outside of Tepoztlan	Mother's phone, 15kms from home (cellular)	Bank, Western Union (Cuernavaca)
Worker 13	Farm on edge of Salvatierra, 20 kms from Guanajuato	Cellular phone (father's phone)	Bank (Guanajuato) Western Union (Salvatierra)
Worker 11	Small mountainside village, 100km from Tamazunchale	Vecino Phone (1 satellite/digital phone in town, operated by woman)	Western Union, Bank (Tamazunchale)

* Reflects remittance receiving services used by case study families in Mexico. The primary service used is listed first and locations are in brackets.

cellular or other technologies. Among 2 of the 4 case study families, access to telephone communication was not available directly in the workers' home and phone access was

provided for either by a neighbour or an extended family member. This was also the case among many interviewed and will be discussed in the section on telephone calling. In each of the four case study families, access to banks was limited and required transportation to a larger town or city. In all cases, Western Union was available and used by all families occasionally, but was used only by 2 families routinely.

Temporary seasonal migrants communicate and send money home regularly, and they likely do so to a greater extent than permanent migrants by their very nature as “temporary.” People engage in temporary labour migration because they are aiming to engage in a form of income diversification that supplements the family income and ultimately allows the individual to return home. Families involved in temporary migration have organized their finances around remittances and these remittances have had measurable impacts on the lives of migrant workers, their families, and communities. There are some positive impacts, which arguably enrich or directly benefit families of migrant workers. However, there are also new and extensive forms of work involved in receiving, managing and allocating remittances.

Transnational Sending and Receiving: Remittances

Remittance sending is frequent and integral to SAWP participants’ family economies. 23 out of 25 of the workers interviewed indicated that they sent money home monthly and that their family used this money monthly. Remittance sending is clearly understood by workers as the main reason they are in Canada. For example:

- “Yes, I send money home often. Through the bank every month.” (Worker 15, BTN: 7)

- “Yes, every 28 days, every two pay checks, because I deposit some, and then I send it to Mexico, because here I don’t need it. Here I only work...I need the money in Mexico.” (Worker 19, FARM 1:15)
- “I’m working here because what I make back in Mexico is not enough to support my family. Yes, I send them some every month or... every two weeks. (Worker 17, FARM 5: 4)
- “Of course I send money home. I am here to work and then send money home. That is why I am here...just to work and send money. It is a sacrifice.” (Worker 9, FARM 1:15)
- “ There is not much work in Mexico. Maybe I will only work a few days a week and therefore I do not earn enough. It is because of this that I come to Canada....to make my life better in Mexico. “ (Worker 14, FARM 4:15)
- “Mmm... different people send money differently but we all send money. Some get paid weekly, others every 15 days, but today they paid me and they pay me every 8 days here. So, every 8 days I send money home. All the time we send money, the Mexicans, money, money, money,... if not today, it will be Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday. “ (Worker 18, FARM 3: 18)
- “Yes, I come here to work so I can send money home. It is for my life, for my family, and to pay my debts, and therefore yes, it is difficult, but I have to.” (Worker 24, FARM 5: 4)

Workers and their families use this remittance money in a variety of ways. In the interviews, the most commonly cited use of remittance money was for children to be able to go to school (9 out of 25 specified that remittances were for children’s education). Many indicated that they used remittance money to build homes and repair, or enhance living environments in Mexico (8 out of 25). Most workers indicated generally that remittances were used to look after their families (20 out of 25). All of the case study families have used remittance money, at one time, to build, improve, or enhance their homes. Worker 4 has built a house with three bedrooms, an attached kitchen and an indoor bathroom, with money from participation in the SAWP (Figure 6.1 and 6.5,

Appendix 6). Worker 4 indicated that some of the money was also used to build his son's house on his property. The kitchen and bathroom, reached by an outdoor corridor, were the latest addition and were built with money from his 8th, 9th, and 10th years of participation in the SAWP (Fieldnotes, December 2003, p.7-10). This family also used remittances for their small sewing business, which is further discussed below (See Figure 6.6, Appendix 6).

Worker 5 is using a portion of remittance money annually for house construction. Their family farm house is slowly being built with Canadian money every year, building a small portion of the house with each year of participation. In 2003 there were two finished rooms, a water reservoir and a brick toilet built with remittance monies from the last two years in the SAWP (See Figures 6.7-6.10).

- “ever since I started to work here in Canada, with the little I earn, I made a little house, I just started making it, it has two rooms, like you call it here, and that's where I live and I don't pay for rent and its better like that.” (Worker 5, FARM 1: 14)
- “Yeah, every year when I come home we build some new section with the money. This year I hope we can finish this front room and maybe the roof. Next year, we can build the entrance. I hope to build a second floor as well.” (Worker 5, Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p. 13)

Worker 11 also used his money from his first year in the SAWP to purchase a new propane stove and tank (See Figure 6.11). Below, excerpts from my fieldnotes recorded while in their village demonstrate the significance of the purchase of a stove with remittance money:

- When I arrived I was met by the participant. We walked to a furniture store where the respondent had arranged to pick up a stove and get a ride up to the top of their village. Worker 11 was very excited to tell me that the stove was purchased with the money from Canada which he had earned this past year. He told me that he

waited for me to get there so he could pick it up when I came. We rode in the back of the truck for approximately 1 hour, standing between the stove, a bed and some other items to be delivered. At the top of the road we got out of the truck and the stove was unloaded. Using a small strap woven from corn, worker 11 carried the stove on his back with the strap across his forehead for support. We walked down a dirt pathway which crossed a stream numerous times that ran down the mountain. The path was wet from the stream and was very muddy and slippery. Walking down the steep incline I fell numerous times on our way to their house. We arrived at the house after 35 minutes of walking down the very steep trail. The community seemed to follow us to his house. When we arrived at the house a crowd of people gathered to look at two novelties: the stove, and me. They claimed I was their first outside visitor who was not Mexican since the missionary came to set up a church over 10 years ago. They are the first people among the nearby houses in the village to purchase a stove. Worker 11 asked me to take a picture of his new stove. (Fieldnotes, 2003, p.22)

Worker 11 and his family intend to use the remittances from the next year in the SAWP to build a brick/concrete house for Worker 11's brother and his family and a bathroom for the extended family to share. The house and bathroom are constructed with sticks (See Figures 6.12 – 6.13 for photographs of the house and bathroom). Worker 11 indicated that their concrete house was built using the money that he earned working illegally in the United States (See Figure 6.15).

In a similar fashion to Worker 4 and 5, Worker 13 has also used the remittance money to build his home (See Figure 6.14). He was also able to point out sections of the house and identify which work permit was used to build it. In this family, remittance money was also used in local development projects. Spouse13 and two other women from the community whose husbands work in Canada organized a small local development project using money from remittances. The women organized and financed the repair of their community church and the main road that leads to the church in their village.

- “We, me and my friend... used some money from Canada to fix up the church. That was after the third year. Then we began saving for the road. You can see that it is not quite done yet. Maybe if next year is good and they send back enough.” (Spouse 13, 2003:2)

It was also evident that some remittance money was going towards sustaining participation in other income generating activities. A number of workers indicated that remittance money was going towards starting or maintaining a family business (6 out of 25). This is part of long term household economic strategy for these workers, who plan businesses around incoming remittance money. For example:

- “I hope to use the money to set up a business and then I can work less and have more money. The money I send home looks after the family, and the rest we are saving to start my business.” (Worker 14, FARM 5: 5)

Also, as indicated in the section on women’s migration work, Spouse 4 and her family use remittance money to support their small scale textile production operation by purchasing new equipment and raw materials (See Figure 6.6 for a photograph of sewing machines).

- “Yes, we sew sweaters here. We used money from Canada to buy the machines.” (Spouse 4, 2003:2)

It is clear that money from remittances not only goes into family health, housing and food, but also into other, more sustainable, income generating projects. If encouraged, this practice could, optimistically, lead to greater investment in further sustainable income diversification activities for migrant workers and their families. Remittances were used for extended family care in each of the cases. Also, in each family, a large portion of annual remittances went to a development project, such as house building or community development.

Table 6.4 summarizes the remittance usages among case study families.

Table 6.4: Summary of Remittance Uses, Case Study Families

Worker	Primary Remittance Receiver*	Primary use of Remittances**	Secondary Use of Remittances
Worker 4	Spouse	House construction	textile production, supplies and equipment, Extended family care
Worker 5	Spouse	House construction	Extended family care
Worker 11	Spouse	Stove purchase	Extended family care
Worker 13	Spouse	House construction	Extended family care, Community Development

* primary person responsible for receiving, managing, allocating remittance funds in Mexico.

** largest portion of remittances used.

Although remittances money can strengthen household economies, there are also costs associated with the sending and receiving of remittances. For example, for SAWP workers, wiring money through a bank can range in cost from \$30-\$40 dollars per transfer, plus exchange fees. Sending money through banks and through Western Union were the most common means that money was sent home among SAWP workers interviewed for this research (all 25 of the interviewees used banks and/or Western Union during the season to send money home). SAWP workers pay a high percentage of their remittances in the form of fixed, pre-transfer fees because they tend to remit frequently and send small amounts in each transfer. According to Suro (2003) Latin Americans spend an average of \$200, on remittances sent seven times per year. Certainly SAWP migrants send money frequently while in Canada, as workers are typically paid every two weeks and they tend send money after each pay cheque.

Table 6.5 provides a comparative look at the cost of sending remittances to Mexico from Canada. Estimations of these costs are based on interviews with SAWP workers, and quotes from banks and money transfer services in Canada.

Table 6.5: Estimated Costs of Sending Remittances from Canada to Mexico, 2005*

Institution	Estimated Cost**
Bank (as wire service)	\$30-45
Western Union	\$35
Other money sending service providers (e.g. FINMEX)	\$20-25
Money Order	\$40-50

*Estimations based on interviews with migrant workers, and quotes from service providers.
 **Estimations based on remittances of under \$1,000.00.

Clearly, as Table 6.5 indicates, smaller service providers, such as FinMex or Vigo can provide cheaper options to migrants. Unfortunately they are not yet accessible to most workers in the SAWP. Since many SAWP workers send money weekly through banks or private companies like Western Union, the costs for sending money home can be quite high. For these workers, the costs of sending money home biweekly or monthly ranged from \$30 to \$45 dollars each transfer (see Table 6.5).

Competition is important to the reduction of remittance costs, and in many countries, like Canada, it has been inhibited by the lack of banks and private providers serving poor and rural populations, lack of confidence in formal channels because of fear

or corruption, or costly financial services markets. In the United States competition for the Latin American remittance market has been greater and a number of smaller companies such as FinMex, Vigo, and DolEx have emerged providing lower fees per remittance for migrants in the US compared to the larger MoneyGram and Western Union companies. These companies can reduce these costs and provide more migrant-friendly services than banks or formal money-sending services, however few of the smaller service providers are available in rural Ontario or rural Mexico. New services being introduced by banks and credit unions have the potential to cut costs and introduce migrants and their families to the formal banking system. For example, in an attempt to capture the remittance market, the US financial services group, Citigroup, acquired Banamex, Mexico's largest bank; and subsequently revealed new products and services aimed specifically at Latinos in the USA. Remittances can now be sent from any Citibank to a Banamex branch for \$10, and there is an Internet transfer service as well. A spokesman for Citigroup said that they wanted to treat Mexicans in Mexico and Mexicans in the USA as a "single entity for marketing purposes." He described this market as worth \$1 trillion, divided roughly 60:40 between Mexico and the United States (Rogers, 2002, p.5). In the United States, Citibank, Bank of America, and First Bank of the Americas, among others, offer remittance services that use ATM cards and charge less than major money-sending services. In Canada, this is not yet the case, and the remittance market is not given the same attention by service providers. In the United States, the large remittance companies have been forced to cut their fees in response to the increased competition; in some areas of the United States (typically urban centres) Western Union now charges approximately \$20 for any transaction to Mexico from the United States up to \$1000, less than 50 percent of what it charged in 1999 (Western Union, 2005). In

Canada it is still very costly at approximately \$35 per transfer under \$1000. Recently, Western Union has cut their fees for smaller transfers in a new promotion whereby money transfers from Canada to Mexico under \$500 are \$20 per remittance. This does not really cut the costs for SAWP workers since this rate is only available for a limited time and only in Toronto (Western Union, 2005), and most transfers home for SAWP workers are larger than \$500.

In the Mexican-Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, the channels for e-commerce have been limited and competition for the market has been minimal. Access to private service providers is often very limited in small towns throughout Ontario. Although wire transfer services have emerged in many small Ontario towns, the market is typically dominated by one service provider: Western Union. This is not surprising since it is estimated that with over 100,000 locations, a new Western Union office opens every half an hour somewhere in the world (Rogers, 2002, p.5). For example, in the nearest town with 1000 residents, there are three Western Union agents located within a 2km radius, two of which are on the same street (King Street). There are no other service providers other than the 4 national banks.

In some small towns, FinMex has begun providing wire transfer services in small town convenience stores throughout Southern Ontario. For example, near Fenwick, Ontario, FinMex has a satellite money transfer service located at a convenience store, and also near Waterford, a convenience store provides both Western Union and FinMex services. FinMex provides cheaper service, and a representative from FinMex often comes directly to visit farms, since workers have no access to transportation and there are so few FinMex locations. Also, it appears that FinMex has an agreement with Banamex (Citigroup) that only permits transfers to their banks which are not always accessible for

workers' families living in remote areas of Mexico. According to their webpage, Citigroup/Banamex requires customers to have a bank account with them and then charges \$7.00 USD to withdraw the money through a new program they are calling "WorldLink." The excerpt from an interview with a farmer below demonstrates some of the problems in getting access to alternative remittance sending services:

- "We give them a cheque, then they most of the time take it to the bank. We take them to our bank so the banker gives them cash immediately so they don't have to have an account so they don't have to have service fees for services that they never use. Some people wire the money directly from the bank but it is really expensive. Western Union is another option that our guys use most of the time. Also, FinMex goes around to farms and wires money for guys. They have a satellite location at convenience stores that have money wiring, you can wire the money directly there and it is cheaper than Western Union. The reason it is cheaper is cause they only deal with one bank in Mexico and it is the most common bank. It is not that convenient for us so we don't take them there, but lots of guys use it. Every other Thursday they come to our farm and they go directly to the farms, give them a receipt, take the cheque, and give them some portion of the cheque in cash right then." (Farmer 6, 2005:9).

Other service providers, such as Vigo Remittance Corporation or Lana Express (Global Funds Payment Solutions Inc.), have set up services in Toronto, but none have reached migrant workers on remote Ontarian farms. These companies have been rather aggressive in marketing to migrant workers. In fact, as noted in Chapter 4, all of the workers interviewed in 2002 had received a marketing package from Lana Express/LanaFon, a company that provides remittance services and long distance telephone services. The package was designed to look like an official government of Canada information kit, with a Canadian flag in the left corner and the phrase "Canada Welcome Kit. Bienvenidos a Canada" next to it, as discussed in Chapter 4 (See figure 4.2, Appendix 6). During the interviews I asked workers if they had received an official information package regarding their rights or status in Canada, or information on taxes or

Canadian services. Of the 25 interviewed, 15 workers indicated they had received the Lana Express package and nothing else upon arrival. These workers believed the marketing package to be an official government communication. It was the only information they received upon entry into Canada.

Although FARMS requests that growers encourage workers to deposit their cheques in bank accounts while in Canada and not to cash them, many workers prefer to cash their cheques and then send money home through wire services at banks or through private providers. During interviews 18 out of 25 workers complained about the costs associated with this process. For example:

- “Yes, money, yes, yes I send money home. I send money through the bank, and we can send money home from here but it costs 30 dollars.” (Worker 23, FARM 1: 10)
- “Good, here every 15 days we send money and we tell them the amount that we are going to send to Mexico, and they charge 30 dollars and later they send it to Mexico. There is a company in Toronto, Vigo, that only charges 15 dollars to send money.” (Worker 21, FARM 3:13)
- “It is customary here to charge money at the bank to cash our cheques (2 dollars per cheque). Who knows why and later to take out the money it costs 2 dollars again. The worst is that they charge us 6 dollars to cash cheques, deposit money and take money out. Even more if we want to exchange it for American dollars or to send it home.” (Worker 12, FARM 5:13)

Many growers have also indicated that sending money can be costly for workers, but generally employers prefer that workers have bank accounts for organizational purposes:

- “We don’t want what we had last year, with money being stolen from their bunkhouse. So we tell them they have to either have me deposit it or I can have it sent home for them through the bank. They never like to pay for that. Also, FARMS wants all workers to have Canadian bank accounts. I think they want to make sure no money goes missing...and also, that workers don’t spend it on drinks or partying or whatever.” (Farmer 2, 2005:1)

- “My boss wants me to put the money in the bank but I do not trust them to keep it. I don’t need it here anyhow. I prefer to send my money home through Western Union. Also, my family needs it every month.” (Worker 21, FARM 3:3)
- “The fact is it costs a lot to transfer and send the money. When we first approached our bank about this they hadn’t had other farmers and they hassled us a little bit. They wanted them to have normal accounts and to pay all these fees, etc. We made an agreement and now this bank does not charge them to cash their cheques very much. They do have to pay the same amount to send money home though.” (Farmer 6, 2005)

As noted above, in order to encourage workers to open Canadian bank accounts, many farmers have set up arrangements with their own banks (such as the TD Bank in the small town nearest to the research areas) that allow them to fax in payrolls for direct deposit into workers accounts. This is also the case in Delhi and Simcoe, Ontario and with Farmer 6 near Fenwick.

Typically, there are many problems encountered by workers when using Canadian banks. For example, for workers to deposit cheques into accounts here, they must open a new account. As non-residents, workers encounter difficulty doing so, as most banks require permanent residence. Non-residents can secure an account with the work permit documentation, but since the client is unknown there are a variety of fees and restrictions that apply to them. For example, with the Royal Bank of Canada, this would be an entry-level account “A68” which would limit withdrawals following deposits to a maximum of \$100.00 and they will hold cheques deposited into a new account for a minimum of one week. This is typical with most banks. There is also a maximum daily withdrawal of \$1000.00, which limits the amount workers can wire home to Mexico or the amount that workers can withdraw to take with them on their flight home.

On numerous occasions I accompanied workers to banks where they asked to take

out all of the money in their accounts in order to bring it back to Mexico. They were not allowed to do so, and they were told that they must leave at least \$5.00 in the account to keep it open until they return to Canada next season. A common occurrence is outlined in my fieldnotes below:

- We (myself and Worker 5 and Worker 7) are dropped off on the main street. We head to a TD Bank and when we arrive the whole waiting area is filled with approximately 25 Mexicans and me. We wait for 20 minutes to speak to someone. Worker 9 proceeds to ask to withdraw his money from his bank account and have it all exchanged for American dollars. He says he will go back to Mexico tomorrow. A member of the bank staff asks us to come to her office. She explains that this is a small town and that they don't have that much money in the vault and they are overwhelmed with Mexicans today. The workers ask me to come and translate for them because they are upset that the bank will not empty their accounts and exchange their money. The bank says that they do not have enough American funds in the vault and that we would have to order it in. She gives him Canadian money and some American. Also, the teller explains that workers have to pay to open a new account when they return or they have to leave at least \$5.00 in the account at all times. Also, they will have to pay for bank fees throughout the year and keep the account active or it will be closed automatically. She says "When you come back next year you pay again" (Fieldnotes, October 25, 2003).
- Another set of workers from another farm that we met at the grocery store last Friday recognize us. They come and say hello. They ask me to help translate for them. They say they cannot get their money either but they don't have bank accounts. We go to speak to a teller. She says in English to the workers that they should open bank accounts and "that way there won't be a problem when you want your money." She said that they cannot cash all of these cheques at once. There is a maximum amount that the bank could cash. I explain the problem and they ask if they can have half of the money. The bank says they cannot do it that way. We leave and the workers do not have their money. Five men decide to walk to the MoneyMart to have them cash the cheque and then walk to the Western Union to send the money home. I accompany them and this takes an hour. At the end they have spent \$65 each to cash the cheque and then send it home. (Fieldnotes, October, 2003,p.5).

More problems arise with using Canadian bank accounts and ATM withdrawals back in Mexico. Access to appropriate ATM machines is limited and in some areas non-existent. Many workers expressed concern that they may have trouble accessing the money from Mexico even when sent through banks, as workers have stated:

- “I don’t like to deposit the money here, I prefer to send money back home. As many of my compañeros, I live on a farm and the town is far away. In the town (Tepoztlan) my wife has to take the bus for over an hour to get to the bigger city (Cuernavaca) to get the money from the bank there. And it costs more money, I think.” (Worker 5, FARM 1:9)
- “There is no reason to go to the bank to do any transfers. They charge more. All of us are better off sending money without the banks.” (Worker 23, FARM 2:17)
- “The bank charges 35 dollars when I want to send money to Mexico. That is why I send money with FinMex, it is only twenty dollars for each time I send money. Luckily there is a Bancomer near my home in Tlaxcala.” (Worker 24, FARM 3:10)

There are also many regulations about out-of-country withdrawals and many ancillary fees. For example, when withdrawing money from a Canadian bank account in Mexico clients are charged \$5.00 CND for each withdrawal and there is a maximum withdrawal of \$1000.00 CND per day. On top of that, any withdrawal is subject to the going exchange rate in Canada.

Overall, the costs of accessing money from employers (cashing cheques at banks) and sending and receiving remittances, are a hidden cost within the temporary migration process. For migrants, the cost of sending money home varies greatly from country to country and by the method used. These costs are incurred solely by the migrant, to the great profit of banks and private companies like MoneyMart and Western Union. The cost of sending money home can represent a significant loss to many migrants and their families and a notable profit for service providers. Along with remittance sending, international telephone calling is another important transnational practice engaged in by migrant workers and their families. The extent, cost and impacts of this transnational practice are the focus of the following section.

Transnational Sending and Receiving: International Telephone Calling

Often, when money is sent home to families in Mexico, workers will call to inform family members of the amount being sent and the order number, as a way of ensuring security and peace of mind. All of the workers interviewed (25) indicated that they used a telephone to call home at least once a month in order to organize remittance sending and receiving, and to “keep in touch.” This section will evaluate the extent and use of telephone calling for these purposes among SAWP workers and families. In addition, this section will outline some of the latent impacts emerging among the case study families. Starting with a discussion of the telephone access and costs for workers while in Canada, this section will explicate the importance of telephone use to participation in the SAWP. Following this, access, uses and costs of telephone calling in Mexico.

All of the migrant workers interviewed indicated that the telephone was essential to stay in contact with family, and to organize remittances. Some also indicated that the telephone was important for their entrance into the program, and to receiving important information (such as flight dates) that is essential for their continued participation. For example:

- “I speak to my family each week on the telephone, 8 days and sometimes during the week.” (Worker 5, FARM 1:8)
- Probe: Do you send letters home? “No, never. It is better with the telephone.” (Worker 7, FARM 4:9)
- “So, when they gave me permission to enter the program they called me on the telephone and they told me I had papers waiting in Mexico.” (Worker 19, FARM 1:10)

Keeping in touch when workers are in Canada can be costly for migrant families. Migrants must purchase telephone cards to make international calls either from pay phone

or from “barn phones” accessed on farm residences. These cards vary in price by company, but on average a \$10 phone card will provide approximately 200 minutes of call time to Mexico. No data are available on sales of phone cards by country of call destination, but sales among telephone card service providers in North America have grown massively in the last 5 years (ITU, 2004, p.2).

Even when workers purchase phone cards, there is no guarantee that they will find it easy to keep in touch with home. In fact, problems with adequate access to telephones while workers are in Canada are common. Workers are rarely able to receive calls, and often have to use “barn phones” or payphones that are far from their places of residence (See Figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3, Appendix 6). Almost every worker interviewed (22 out of 25) indicated that there was not adequate telephone access for SAWP workers. Many indicated that their inability to communicate with family and friends in Canada and Mexico was particularly frustrating. Workers attributed their frustrations to problems with access, and in particular that they could not receive calls:

- “I have a brother here, but I don’t know where he is. I have his telephone number. He is here in Ontario, but I don’t know. I cannot contact him. I have called on the telephone, but he has not answered the telephone. He probably cannot receive calls, like we can’t here.” (Worker 2, FARM 4:7)
- “Also, the telephone. First there was no telephone and now he put a pay phone! And we have to pay for any call. We also cannot receive calls from Mexico.” (Worker 1, FARM 5:8)
- “Why should I deny it, I look for my family, I call them every 15 days, sometimes every eight days, when I need to... yeah sometimes every 8 days, every 15 days, so when I send them money I call to tell them to pick it up... I tell them I sent this much...” (Worker 24, FARM 5:5)
- “No, they cannot call here. Unfortunately I don’t have the boss’ number, where we are... I don’t have the number, I don’t have it and I haven’t given it to my family.” (Worker 5, FARM 1: 8)

- “Well letters I haven’t sent, I’ll tell you I always prefer to listen live... my wife’s voice, because writing a letter, no, no, I always prefer to give her a phone call, what I’m going to tell her in the letter I can tell her by phone so there is no point.” (Worker 2, FARM 4: 11)

As the above quotes illustrate, workers have poor access to telephones, and it is clearly unsatisfactory to workers and their families. Not all farmers view this as a problem, and all of the farmers indicated that the cost of providing workers with their own telephone line should not be their responsibility. Poor access was consistently justified by farmers with reference to costs, the lack of development or perceived lack of access to telephones in Mexico.

- “They have a phone they can use in the barn. It is good enough, I think. Many don’t have phones in Mexico anyway.” (Farmer 2, 2003:4)
- “We can’t be hooking up a phone every year for these guys...who will foot the bill? Really, they probably don’t have phones in Mexico, so why should they have them here. They can use the payphone in the entrance or go into town.” (Farmer 4, 2003:2)
- “They have a payphone in town that they could use if they wanted to. We let them use our cordless phone and they use calling cards. The phone is one of the things we would like to do. It is a real problem for them. There was an incident last year using the payphone in town, they said that people were harassing them when they were on the phone.” (Farmer 6, 2004:1)

As was demonstrated in Chapter 1, landline coverage in Mexico is quite poor, and many rural communities do not have access to fixed line telephone systems. None of the case study families had access to a landline phone within 2kms. Each of the families used either cellular or satellite technology, or traveled some distance to reach a land line in order to communicate with workers while in Canada. As will be discussed in the following section, traveling to phones proved to be costly, exhausting and time

consuming for family members. Three of the four families indicated that they purchased cellular phones in order to speak to family members when they were in Canada. One family (Worker 11) planned to purchase a cellular phone with money from the following work season in Canada, and another planned to pay for a landline within 5 more years (Worker 5). Workers bear the cost for telephone access and use in Mexico. Fixed phone lines are rarely available in communities where migrant workers live in Mexico. According to workers and their families, in order to install a new phone line, community members must pay for the cable required to reach their community and for the posts along the way (Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p.11, p.13). Also, communities must demonstrate that there will be at least 10 individuals who will be using the phone line in order to get approval from the regional government. This was the case for the families of Worker 4, Worker 5 and Worker 13. In remote or mountainous areas, land lines are often not viable due to distance and/or rough terrain. This is the case near Tamazunchale, in the surrounding mountain villages where Worker 11 and his family live. Alternatives such as cellular and satellite technologies are costly and not always efficient, since in many parts of rural Mexico signals are out of range. In the valley where Worker 5 lives, for example, neither cellular telephones nor satellite phones will work in the shadow of the nearby mountains.

In order to address the need for international communication for less costs, communities often shared access to a telephone through a "vecino" (neighbour). In some cases, women in migrant communities share access to a telephone. For example, the grandmother of Worker 13 looks after the phone and provides telephone access for at least four other families in the community. Also, the foster grandmother of Worker 5 provides the access to a landline from their home in the city centre for the spouse of

worker 5 and the other family members participating in the program. Spouse 4 controls the cellular phone for their family while Worker 4 is in Canada as well. Interestingly, Spouse 4 purchased the cellular phone while her husband was in Canada (without his knowledge or approval) with money from the SAWP after an experience of frustration.

- “I had to walk or take the *colectivo* to get to town to use the payphone in front of the church in Tlaxcala. Often I had to go at night and wait a long time for him to call, because he could only call me late when he got in from working, and he did not know when he would finish. They work until very late. One time, I was waiting by the phone on the day that we decided, with my granddaughter who was only three years old. It was late, like 11 at night, and we had been waiting by the phone for him to call for over 2 hours. He had the number on the phone, but I wasn’t sure that it would work. An old man, of a strange type, came up to us and would not leave us alone. I was very nervous, and so we left. The next week I went alone to try and I was very scared. I decided after that year, that I needed to buy a cell phone. I bought one this year, it is in my name and I pay for it.” (Spouse 4, December, 2003,p.8)

In the family of Worker 11, no one owns or has private access to a land line or cellular phone. Spouse 11 has access to a telephone through one elderly woman, who lives on her own, and provides access to a cellular phone as her main form of income. It was not clear why her spouse is not present. Worker 11 lives in a very remote area of Mexico and indicated that she encounters great difficulty when accessing the phone:

- “I go up there. To the top (points up mountainside)... to the woman with the phone. *Probe: How long does it take to walk there? It is very high.* For Canadians it is different. I can walk to the phone in 20 minutes. *Probe: Do you carry your daughter with you?* Yes. I wait there for his calls. It sometimes takes a long time. Sometimes he calls and I am not there. *Probe: yes, that happened to me when I called, and she sent one of the children to come and find Worker 11. Do you pay her?* Yes, yes...I pay the woman for the phone...if we talk for a long time I pay her more.” (Spouse 11, Fieldnotes, December, 2003,p.28)

In each of the case study communities, women have control over the telephone

access and usage. In one case, it has become a main source of income. In two other cases, a small fee is charged to people who wish to use the telephone and are not family. It was also clear from the interviews that female spouses of migrant workers were contacted regularly, and were therefore involved in the use of telephone technologies. In each of the case studies, women were seen as the telephone “experts” in their communities. This may have significant latent effects in terms of changing gender roles, posing challenges to patriarchal structures and possibly leading to greater independence and control for spouses of migrant workers.

Keeping in touch is clearly not an easy task for migrants and their families in the SAWP. However, for migrant workers and their families, *keeping in touch* through international telephone calling may be the primary means through which family cohesion, financial planning, and cultural identity are maintained or managed. International telephone calling has been an essential, yet costly practice engaged in by migrant workers and their families. Keeping in touch requires work, money, time and knowledge – and quite often, new wireless technologies. The work involved in keeping in touch, and in participating in a seasonal migration program generally, is the subject of the next section examining the work of transnationalism.

THE WORK OF TRANSNATIONALISM: THE “DOUBLE DAY” FOR WOMEN WHO STAY BEHIND

When men migrate they not only leave behind their spouses, their children, and often their parents, but they also leave behind their work. As discussed above, participating in temporary labour migration involves communicating and traversing across national boundaries. Clearly, both international telephone calling and electronic money transfers

are essential and costly practices of transnationalism for migrant workers and their families. Aside from money, these transnational practices involve learning new skills and engaging in new forms of work. Much of this work is carried out by migrant families, and involves some of what was discussed in the previous section. Some of this work involves the use global information and communication technologies that facilitate transnational participation, and more specifically, participation in the SAWP. The next section will specifically examine the role of women in the seasonal migration process through the analysis of the qualitative interviews with workers and case study data focused on four families.

As noted in Chapter 2, women's work in the migration process is far from being thoroughly recognized and investigated. Although some of the impacts of remittances on families in small villages are becoming known, the role in the gendered division of labour and family workload in these communities is less known. For example, it is known that remittances have permitted the purchase and concentration of land by Mexican return-migrants. This, in turn, has created a different social structure, but as Hellman (2001) notes, the impact of return migration is complex and sometimes reinforces traditional gender relations and other times, rearranges traditional relations. Researchers have pointed to the changes and stresses on families with remittance economies, but have not examined whether there are tendencies towards increased dependency and increased workloads faced by the female spouses of temporary migrants.

In Mexico, women in most rural areas are responsible for all domestic activities such as housework, food preparation, and child rearing in addition to their involvement in formal and/or informal economic activities. Migration may increase this workload.

When migrant workers leave rural Mexican farms for work in Canada, someone must carry out the work on family farms. In interviews with spouses of migrant workers in Mexico, new work was identified in each of the 4 case studies. This new “migration work” cited in each of the cases includes working on and managing family farms and farm employees, engaging in family business and retail, caring for children and relatives, traveling to the bank and managing family finances, traveling to and using telephones to organize remittances.

The family of Worker 4 sews textiles and then sells them to a middleman in the nearby city of Tlaxcala. The piecework is very time consuming. During my stay with their family, the sewing machines were running throughout most daylight hours. The spouse of Worker 4 and her daughter-in-law worked on the sewing machines constantly (See Figure 6.6, Appendix 6). When I asked Worker 4 if he worked on the machines he said that he used to work on them every night when he came back from the field to give his wife a rest and so she could cook for them (Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p. 2). Since he started going to Canada, he has not worked on the machines very often. He claims that, when he comes back from Canada, he is tired and needs to rest so he can work on his own crop (Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p.3). Thus, the tasks of sewing textiles, negotiating and exchanging garments with a middleman, have become the sole responsibility of the female spouse of the migrant. For example:

- “When my husband goes to Canada, I run the sewing machines and I have to go to town and meet with the man who orders the sweaters. I sometimes go with my son and his wife, he drives us.” (Spouse 4, 2003:2)

During the fieldwork she also indicated to me that she often uses the remittance money to buy groceries and also when supplies or equipment are needed for the garment

production. I asked whether she spoke with Worker 4 before deciding what to buy, she claimed:

- “No. I just use the money when I need it. I know how much cloth we need and what the contract is for. I know when the equipment needs repair or we need new things. I give money to my son and send him to get what we need. I also give him money when we need to buy something for the farm.” (Spouse 4, Fieldnotes, December, 2003,p.3)

Worker 5 and his family live 5 kilometres east of the town of Tepoztlan. They have a small corn farm and a two-year-old son. Every two months, water is brought in and pumped into a brick reservoir near the house, paid for with remittances. See Figure 6.8-6.9 (Appendix 6) for photographs of the house and surrounding area. While Worker 5 is in Canada, his spouse stays with her mother in the village. There, she cares for her child and her mother. She also goes to the farm frequently throughout the week to work on the farm, meet the water truck when it arrives, and to sell the crops to the vendor who comes by every week.

- “I live with my mother in town when Worker 5 goes away. It is too hard to stay here alone. I care for my son and I come to work on the farm, but I stay in the town with my mother, for security as well. Is it harder work when he is gone? Yes, I suppose so, since there is more to do and just one person to do it.” (Spouse 5, 2003:1)
- “I come here often to look after things. I come when the water truck arrives and I pay him. I also come and sell crops if we have anything to sell. I have to leave my son with my mother.” (Spouse 5, 2003:1)

Worker 11 lives in a remote area in the mountains without transportation access, no running water or any other service, such as telephone lines (Figure 6.15, Appendix 6). Worker 11 lives with his family (wife and 2 year old daughter) and with his father (age 68) and mother (age 70). His brother and sister-in-law live in a small house made of

sticks approximately 25 feet down the edge of the mountainside. To get to their house from Tamazunchale, they either walk for 6-7 hours up the mountain to the village or they hitch rides with trucks or cars headed to the top. However, Worker 11 indicated that only one person in the village owns a vehicle. The road ends at the top of the village and for 100 feet down small houses made of sticks and some concrete dot the mountainside. Each house is above another and there are small stone and dirt pathways leading up and down the mountainside linking the houses (Fieldnotes, December, 2003, p.26) (See Figure 6.16, Appendix 6). While Worker 11 is in Canada, his spouse works picking coffee in the mountains and also selling oranges in the Tamazunchale market (See Figure 6.17, Appendix 6, for a photograph of coffee picking). The brother of Worker 11 lives in a nearby house and works with Worker 11 to grow and sell their oranges and coffee. When Worker 11 is in Canada the oranges must be harvested and sold in the market, and the coffee must be picked as well. Beans then need to be dried, shucked and separated and then packaged, and sold in town (See Figures 6.18- 6.21 for photographs of coffee harvesting and preparation for sale). Their two year old daughter is cared for by the sister-in-law of Worker 11 when Spouse 11 works on the crops. Spouse 11 must care for her child, work on and manage the coffee and orange harvest and sales, care for her spouse's father and mother who live nearby, as well as go to the Western Union in Tamazunchale to receive remittances.

- “When my husband went to Canada I was very worried. I had so much to do. I had to care for our daughter on my own...well his sister-in-law helps, but not enough. She got sick and I had to walk to the clinic and it was very far with a sick child in your *reboza*. [Worker 11] did not even know she was sick. I couldn't call him (Spouse 11, 2003:1).
- “Yes, I pick coffee too. When [Worker 11] is away I pick more often. I do not pick the oranges as much, because [Worker 11's] brother picks them. I sell them

in the market. “ (Spouse 11, 2003:1)

Worker 13 and his family live in a small farming village outside of the town of Salvatierra. Spouse 13 lives in a small house attached to another house where the parents of Worker 13 live (Figure 6. 22, Appendix 6). She cares for her husband’s family and her two children when Worker 13 is away. On their farm they hire some workers to help with the harvest while Worker 13 is in Canada (Figure 6.23, Appendix 6). Interestingly, few of the family members still work on the farm. These workers are managed and paid by Spouse 13. She does not work on the farm, since she is caring for her two young children and the parents of Worker 13. She is also learning English and has performed most of the work of setting up her husband’s participation in SAWP. She also makes frequent visits to the nearby town of Salvatierra (35 minute walk) where she cares for her own parents and goes to the bank to get remittance money.

- “When he leaves, it is my responsibility to care for the children and I care for his parents. I also watch the farm and pay the men. *Probe: You pay men to work on the farm when [worker 13] is away?* Yes. I also cook for them. (Spouse 13, 2003:1)
- “I have been learning English, to help teach my husband. He has no time to learn while he works. (Spouse 13, 2003:2)
- “Yes. I called to find out when his flight was going to be this year. I always make the call to the Secretariat. They never call us in time and we are rushed to get him ready.” (Spouse 13, 2003: 2)

As will be discussed below, spouses of migrant workers in this community have pooled remittance money to fund local development projects that they control and manage. Spouse 13 also works on these community projects throughout the year. These projects,

such as repairing the church or fixing a community road, are new responsibilities and new tasks engaged in by spouses of migrant workers.

Evidence suggests that workload has increased for each of the spouses of migrant workers. A large portion of this work involves facilitating migration by managing family farms and businesses, as well as carework involving the care of children and in each case, the worker's parents. This pattern was supported in the interview data as well, where 20 of the 25 migrant workers interviewed indicated that their wives are looking after their families back home. When they were asked if their wives worked outside the home, the workers indicated that their wives could not because they had to work caring for their families and looking after the farms while workers were in Canada. For example:

- “She is working all the time, in the house. She starts very early with her housework. She has to work more when I am not there.” (Worker 19, FARM 1: 7)
- “Before she helped me, sometimes she worked as a maquiladora and...well she makes very little money there, but it helps as well. She helps now by working sometimes on the farm. She looks after it so I can come here.” (Worker 23, FARM 1:2)
- “She looks after them. Well, at least when she is well, like now, she looks after them when I am here. But when she is not well, like last year, there are times when her sister helps her look after them. When I am away it is more work for her, but we need the money. (Worker 1, FARM 5: 4).

This work is necessary to facilitate participation in the SAWP. When workers and their families are confronted with a situation whereby the spouse cannot perform this essential work, families fall into crisis and the worker needs to return home.

Other significant contributors to the increase in workload for spouses of migrant workers come from new responsibilities and tasks that facilitate international

communication and remittance sending. As indicated in Table 6.4 in the previous section, the primary remittance receivers are typically women. In each case, women who are spouses of migrant workers have sole responsibility for receiving, managing and allocating remittance funds. New forms of “migration work,” involving receiving and allocating remittances and managing transnational communications, is performed by the female spouses of migrant workers in each of the case study families. For example, Spouse 4 is responsible for the cellular phone, and for the monthly bank withdrawals in the city centre:

- “Yes, I go to the bank. We got the bank account when he was in Canada ...it has been 8 years ago. Now I go to the bank and get the money for the whole family when he is in Canada. He calls me on this phone (holds up a cellular phone). Probe: do you have more work when he is away? Yes, yes, I am very busy when he is away. I have to look after everything myself. We also have a farm, but my son and his wife work on it too. She also works sewing with me. Next year, our son wants to go to Canada also. I do not want him to go.” (Spouse 4, 2003:2)

Spouse 5 must travel to the neighbouring town of Cuernavaca to go to the bank where she accesses remittances. She also goes to her mother-in-law’s house in the city centre to use the phone when Worker 5 has planned to call.

- Since he went to Canada, I go to the bank in the next town. I take the bus there and it is far and I have to lose the whole day there. It was hard to use the bank at first....I had to learn” (Spouse 5, 2003:2)

Spouse 11 is also responsible for receiving remittance money and also for distributing it and using it within their family. Once the remittance money is collected she gives money to her brother-in-law and to her father-in-law.

- “He calls to tell me he has sent money home and I have to go to the town and get

it. He sends money every month. *Probe: What town? How do you get there?* Tamazunchale. That is where the money comes....I walk there....for 5 or 6 hours. We leave early in the morning when we go to the market to sell the coffee and oranges. “ (Spouse 11, 2003:1-2)

Spouse 13 also is responsible for travelling to the city centre and receiving remittance funds. She then allocates money from these remittances to family members, farm employees, and for her contribution to the community development projects noted previously.

- “Yes, when he sends money, I go to the town and get it. Then I give some to my mother and pay the men, and then I use the rest when we need it.” (Spouse 13, 2003:2)

The patterns above were also supported in the interview data, with 18 out of 25 migrant workers indicating that their wives are the primary receivers of remittance transfers.

Another important factor that impacts the lives of women as remittance receivers is that receiving remittances often proves to be quite a difficult or strenuous task. Many workers (10 out of 25) interviewed indicated that money was difficult to receive in Mexico through banks and other sources because of a lack of services in their locations.

For example:

- “My wife has to take a bus to Cuernavaca to get to the bank that we send money with. It takes time and it costs money and it is frustrating for her.” (Worker 5, FARM 1:10).
- “I can’t use the bank the patron wants us to use because there is no bank in my town. I have to use Western Union.” (Worker 17, FARM 5:11)
- “I used this method every time I sent money for a long time, but this year they gave us the chance to open a bank account and they gave us bank cards- one for me and one for my wife in Mexico. We should be able to get money out whenever we need it, and I don’t have to send it, only deposit it. Our only problem is that the bank takes money to have an account, and it is further away for my wife to get there. We will do it this way this year and if it works...” (Worker 22, FARM 5: 2)

It is clear from the analysis of women's work in the migration process, that without their necessary labour, temporary migration may not be a feasible option as a family income source. Women are involved in the preparatory work enabling migration, the work that takes place at home while spouses are in Canada, and the necessary work of facilitating migration processes in action. Women bear the burden of this work and may be encountering a "double day" involving an increase in workload as a result of their families' participation in the SAWP.

This has had a number of consequences for family division of labour, family power dynamics and possibly challenges gender role stereotypes. In the case studies, each of the female spouses have taken on new work, and this work has meant taking on a more powerful role in the management of family finances (remittances) and also learning how to use information and communication technologies and systems. This has the potential to challenge gender stereotypes and traditional roles, with women having more direct control over family finances and engaging in banking services, which were typically the domain of men.

SUMMARY

Migrant workers *and their families* **are** transnational actors engaged in global production relations. Practicing transnationalism involves families and communities who are involved in the temporary migration process in a number of ways. Families actively participate in these "transnational practices" that are integral to seasonal migration. Families of migrant workers are also often the primary networks through which migrant workers enter the program. Migrant workers also enter the program in order to strengthen

household family income and in response to family needs. Money earned through the SAWP goes towards family and community needs and development. Also, families, and in particular, women, do the “migration work” of preparing workers for migration, and while workers are away, they manage family farms and businesses, household finances and remittances, and also engage in carework for nuclear and extended family members.

These new forms of “migration work” were essential to participation in the SAWP in each of the four case study families and this pattern was supported in many other interviews as well. It is clear from the data presented in this chapter that it is the responsibility of female spouses of migrant workers to use and manage electronic remittance transfers and international telephone calling. These processes directly facilitate the temporary migration process. Similar to preparing a worker for participation in capitalism, as Crompton (1998) theorizes, the female spouse of the migrant worker does even more than the essential reproductive and carework that prepare a worker to enter production relations, she also facilitates the temporary labour migration process. Also, women are the primary actors engaged in the consumption and use of remittances for family and community development. For migrant workers, the carework and the “migration work” performed by their female spouses are both essential to participation in global production relations.

The family division of labour may also be changing in response to these new tasks, and the “migration work” undertaken by families in the program. It is evident from the case studies that when men return from migration, women retain the main responsibility and control of these tasks. Women continue to frequent banks and manage finances when men return, and they also continue to use and manage telephone calling. However, it is also clear that women are expected to stay behind to facilitate the

migration of men. Thus, gender has significant consequences in terms of mobility for these families. The “transnationalization of culture” that may be emerging in the SAWP is a gendered one, with male children being expected or encouraged to migrate.

Transnationalism, for migrant families, also means living life in limbo. Workers and their families often do not know or control the parameters of their transnational movements. This was clearly demonstrated with reference to the lack of temporal and spatial control over the movement of workers across borders, and also the lack of access and choice of service providers, and the high costs of essential ICT services used by migrant workers and their families. Sending money home means more work for many women, and for migrant families, and it also means more costs. Migrant workers and their families practice transnationalism in more ways than just traveling between geographical locales. Temporary migrants live a form of transnationalism that involves the movement of people, money and communication across borders. Migrants and their families work hard to prepare for and facilitate these transnational movements and women bear a significant burden of this work. The results of this research indicate that the transnationalism engaged in by seasonal agricultural workers is highly constrained by the organization of the SAWP and by the limited services available that are essential to the practice of transnationalism.

The constrained form of the transnational practices that are engaged in by SAWP participants is evident by their lack of spatial and temporal control (demonstrated in Chapter 4), and also by the limited communication services available. From the preceding analysis, it is clear that both international remittance sending and telephone calling are integral, yet constrained practices of transnationalism within a seasonal migration system. Better access to communications technologies and lower costs for services could provide

seasonal migrants with greater spatial and temporal control, and greater control over their transnational lives. As Castells (1996) and Bauman (1998) contend, having the ability to control one's own movement is important to one's positioning within global power relations. Migrant workers and their families have very little control over the transnational practices in which they engage, and other intermediaries such as Western Union and Telmex, profit from providing necessary services to SAWP participants. However, regardless of the costs and work involved, migrant workers and their families are active agents participating in a form of transnationalism. The work and costs shouldered by migrants and their families in this system remain largely unnoticed by researchers and policy makers, but the evidence from this analysis suggests that migrant workers and their families are much more than just senders and receivers: they are *transnational actors*.

This research demonstrates that seasonal migration is part of a strategy for survival among SAWP "transnational kinship groups," in support of Faist (1999). In addition, it is also clear that there are very real manifestations of transnationalism among seasonal migrant workers and their families. Transnationalism is not solely for the elite. Participating "in and across both countries of origin and countries of destination" can involve working on a Canadian farm, sending remittances for household finances and planning social events in Mexico. It is also clear that SAWP migrant workers and their families actively participate in the maintenance of transnational relations and in sustained participation in the "country of settlement" and "country of origin" as transnationalism is conceptualized by Basch, et al. (1994). This is evidenced particularly by the family networks that have facilitated entry into the program, the transnational practices engaged in by migrant workers and their families, and the tendency for SAWP workers to

participate in the program on a long-term basis, for 8 months every year. It is evident that workers participate in families and communities from afar through the use of ICTs. Further, this research demonstrates that the conceptualization of transnationalism that includes participation in the “country of settlement” requires revisiting to more accurately reflect the transnationalism engaged in by seasonal migrants and their families. Though constrained, the transnationalism engaged in by workers and their families, still involves transnational practices that “take place on a recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants” (Portes, 1999, p.464). However, the constrained transnationalism within the SAWP may actually *prohibit agency* among migrants in the formation or maintenance of relations within or across both country of origin and country of destination, and discourage active transnational participation and political action. That is, transnationalism for migrant workers does not help them to challenge unequal power relations and structures, but instead further embeds them into a system that may further their social exclusion and powerlessness.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“The migrants are hated for the following reasons, that they are ignorant and dirty people, that they are carriers of disease, that they increase the necessity for police...that, if they are allowed to organize they can, simply by refusing to work, wipe out the season’s crops. They are never received into a community nor into the life of a community. Wanderers in fact, they are never allowed to feel at home in the communities that demand their services.” (John Steinbeck, 1938, p.2)

RECALLING THE RESEARCH THEMES

This research began with a conceptualization of the migrant worker as *neither here nor there*. Throughout the analysis of the qualitative data collected during three years of research with migrant workers and their families, a sharper image of the migrant worker has emerged. A migrant worker in the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) is a transnational actor within a set of institutional, social, and economic power relations. A SAWP migrant worker is an individual with a spouse, with children, with parents, and a community full of friends and extended family, which are left behind for more than half of the year. Living lives that are *neither here nor there*, migrant workers are excluded from entry into the social formation of Canadian society, and are largely absent from their communities and from the social formation of Mexican society. Migrant workers in the Mexican-Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program resemble the migrants in Steinbeck’s (1938) *Their Blood is Strong*, as they too, are “wanderers.”

This research began with three principal research questions: 1) What are the prevalent power relations within the SAWP? 2) How are these power relations related to race and the processes of racialization? 3) What are the transnational practices of migrant workers and their families? To answer these questions, the present research employed a

qualitative research design. Data gathering techniques involved ethnographic case studies in Mexico, 350 hours of participant observation within the SAWP, and semi-structured interviews with 25 migrant workers, 5 farmers and 5 representatives from other state and non-state intermediaries. Other data was gathered from conversations with electronic remittance transfer services staff and bank representatives at local and national levels. Also, throughout the participant observation, conversations with other migrant workers, community members and others connected to or providing services to SAWP workers, were included as data.

This chapter presents a summary the research findings along each of these themes, and a discussion of their theoretical relevance to the study of temporary migration. Following this, these observations will be placed into the context of the literature of temporary migration, transnationalism and globalization. The final sections of the chapter will discuss suggestions for further research, and outline some recommendations for policy and management of the SAWP.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

From the analysis of these data, there are a number of findings that have emerged that have theoretical significance for understanding and researching the migrant worker in the SAWP. The first finding involves the power relations prevalent in the institutional and everyday practices of the SAWP, and the consequent subordination of migrant workers within the SAWP. The second finding pertains to the significant processes of racialization under way in the SAWP that serve to construct, maintain, and justify power relations and inequalities. The third set of findings pertains to the prevalent and essential transnational

practices engaged in by migrant workers and their families, and the impact of these practices on their lives.

Institutional and Everyday Practices of Power in the SAWP

There are a number of significant findings from the analysis of power in the institutional and everyday relations of the SAWP. Generally, it is evident that the terms and conditions of the migrant worker contract result in the direct control of migrant workers and their labour through the institutions of the SAWP, and more specifically by their employers. For migrant workers, their rights and legal status are directly conferred in relation to the performance of this labour. Migrant workers have very limited legal or economic power within this framework. Within this framework Mexican migrant workers are consistently located in subordinate power positions in the organization and the everyday practices of the SAWP. Through the analysis of the organization of the SAWP, it was evident that governments, employers, and other intermediaries had significant control over migrant workers' daily lives and their migration parameters. Spatial and temporal control was a significant factor in the pattern of subordination of migrant workers. Social isolation and poor communication access on Canadian farms have kept many migrants completely segregated from Canadian society, and from other Mexican migrant workers as well. This may be more pronounced for farm workers in the tree growing industry since farms are usually larger and further north of large urban centres, and workers are further from the Mexican Consulate and from UFCW resource centres, unlike workers in Leamington, Ontario.

As Foucault (1976) contends, individuals engage in power relations, which form

patterns that lead to dominations and subordinations. These patterns are produced/reinforced through everyday relations and are also embedded into institutions. Dominations occur due to the hegemonic effects that are sustained by patterns of power relations emerging from numerous contestations and confrontations (Foucault, 1976, p.93). The legal and political parameters of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program serve to constrain the agency of migrant workers and institutionalize their subordinate power position. Smith (1990a, 1999) contends that power relations within institutions organize and produce relations of ruling, which serve to subordinate particular groups. The institutional bodies and actors of the SAWP produce ruling relations that dominate, control and subordinate migrant workers.

These power relations result in the unequal allocation of resources and rights to migrant agricultural workers compared with their Canadian counterparts. Migrant workers earn less money and work greater hours than their Canadian counterparts. Bound to their economic relationship (the contract), for their legal status with their employer, however exploitative, abusive, or positive that relationship may be, migrant workers are relatively powerless to challenge inequality. Migrant workers, aware of this subordinate position, engage in power tactics when possible (such as refusing to speak English), but often with little consequence. This is particularly the case because migrant workers are legally excluded from collective bargaining and are denied the right to form unions. If they wish to contest or challenge the parameters of their contract or their living and working conditions, they do not have adequate legal means to do so. The Mexican Consulate claims to assist workers and represent their interests, in the role of advocate. However, as was indicated by the interview data analyzed in Chapter 4, workers do not

believe that the Consulate does anything to assume that role.

For many, this domination presents a particularly favourable situation, and intermediaries, from government agents to corporations, yield significant profits directly or indirectly from this system. FARMS collects fees from workers' daily pay, for managing the program for Canadian farmers. FARMS is fully funded through fees collected from farmers. Farmers are able to recover the cost of these fees through deductions from workers' pay. The Canadian government deducts Employment Insurance which workers are not eligible to collect, and Federal Income Taxes and the Canadian Pension Plan deductions taken from workers are rarely returned or collected. The Canadian government contributes no financial support outside of the HRDSC hours spent on the evaluation of farmer applications. Farmers glean the profits from lower production costs achieved through the employment of cheap labour. The benefits to the worker, on the other hand come at the cost of their freedom.

Other intermediaries, such as CanAg Travel, Western Union, and phone card companies such as Mundo, have emerged around the SAWP that provide necessary services to migrant workers (and sometimes to growers), and who profit from providing these services. These are examples of "meso-structures" which, according to Castles and Miller (2003), form around migration networks. Within these meso-structures certain individuals, groups or institutions may take on the role of mediating between migrants and political or economic institutions. Arguably, these actors may also mediate between migrants and their families and communities in Mexico, as well. A "Migration Industry" (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.28) has emerged, consisting of recruitment organizations, lawyers, agents, smugglers and other intermediaries (Harris, 1996, p.132-6). In Canada,

around the SAWP, intermediaries directly and indirectly tied into the program also profit from involvement with the program, such as CanAg Travel, and the others mentioned above. CanAg Travel has a monopoly on all travel arrangements for migrant workers (and therefore Air Canada and Mexicana Air are the primary carriers). Also banks and other financial and communication services have captured the migrant worker market. Moreover, migrant workers are *required* to use certain service providers. For example, SAWP workers are required to use CanAg Travel, and to pay the Royal Bank of Canada for life insurance. Others, including long-distance telephone service providers, remittance sending services, banks and other money exchange services, also profit from this program. Also, as illustrated in the analysis, so few competitors, and SAWP agreements mean that many have a monopoly on the migrant worker market. Other intermediaries, such as the “coyotes” referred to in Chapter 6 “assist” workers into the program. This is the first sign that “illegal” migration networks are forming around the SAWP. Further research on this issue is essential. Banks and other remittance transfer services, and telephone companies and long-distance service providers also hone in on the migrant market.

Also, as the present research demonstrated, migrant workers in the SAWP lack spatial and temporal control, and their transnational practices are highly constrained. According to Foucault (1976), the spatial organization, and the administration of knowledge, or policy, across and in particular territories and spatial locations are power acts and the means by which the effects of power are disseminated. Foucault (1976, p.77) claims that “Panopticism operates spatially,” through the control and dominance of spatial locations. As was evident in the data analyzed for the present research, migrant labour

involves controlling and managing the spatial and temporal parameters of international movement, across multiple spatial locations. It was also evident that spatial control and dominance of spatial locations (on Canadian farms) are important to the relations of ruling, or patterns of domination, that are prevalent in the SAWP.

Racialization and the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program

A central feature of power involves the categorization and separation of people into socially constructed and institutionalized groups. As Foucault (1973) contends categorization itself is a power act, which can have consequences including the domination of one group over another. At its very core, migration policy involves processes of differentiation that have historically involved race, nationality, ethnicity, and gender (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Castles and Miller, 1998). Social isolation and subordination of Mexican migrants results from the terms and conditions of the SAWP employment contract and the everyday power relations and discursive strategies employed on Canadian farms. Through the construction and differentiation of the “Mexican Migrant Worker” with reference to race and ethnic difference, the institutional and everyday practices of the SAWP have produced and legitimized a system of temporary migration characterized by unequal allocation of resources and rights based on racial origin.

The theme of racialization involved the investigation of a few primary research questions. The first involved ascertaining the ways in which reference to race or processes of racial categorization were used in the everyday and institutional relations of the SAWP. Through the analysis, it was evident that the organization of work, task

assignment, and work expectations of Mexican SAWP workers were racially based. It was also clear that the spatial organization of work and housing was also clearly demarcated along racial and ethnic lines. Mexican migrant workers lived on farm locations, but separate from Canadian workers and usually at the back of farms in barns and bunkhouses. Mexican workers also worked separately from Canadian workers, both in terms of spatial work location and task assignment, but were typically supervised by a Canadian worker, regardless of age, skill level, seniority or work experience. This aspect of social exclusion has been neglected by previous research (such as Basok, 2002; Ebanks, 1991; Preibish, 2004; Satzewich, 1991), which has focused on the legal or political exclusion of migrant workers from Canadian society.

Connecting racialization and immigration policies, Castles and Davidson (2000) argue that racist structures and practices lead to the marginalization of subordinate groups in the contemporary world. Specifically, they contend that indentured labour and apartheid have been a central element of modernity, and that seasonal agricultural workers have very limited rights and remain largely disadvantaged. Findings from the present research indicate that the institutional and everyday practices of the SAWP racialize and marginalize Mexican migrant workers. For workers in the SAWP, this segregation is further fortified by the fact that there is no mobility across immigration statuses for these workers, as transition from temporary to permanent migration within the SAWP is not permitted.

Castles and Davidson (2000) contend that seasonal labour migration is a manner in which certain ethnic groups are forced into inferior societal positions. The present research demonstrates that the "Mexican migrant worker" has been differentiated,

isolated and subordinated with reference to race, ethnicity and nationality, and also gender. Not only is the state active in these processes of differentiation, as Satzewich (1991) contends, but, so too, are other non-state actors, such as other workers, farmers, bank tellers, grocery store employees, Western Union staff, and Mexican migrant workers themselves. It was also not solely the state or management who differentiated, and constructed the notion of the “Mexican Migrant Worker,” but workers themselves also employed the same discursive strategies used to their advantage. For example, workers often referred to themselves as “Mexicans” and indicated that Mexican workers were a “sturdy, hard working people” who could would harder and faster than Canadian workers.

Sharma’s (2001) research demonstrates the significance of language in the institutional “othering” process of migrant workers. However, the present research has demonstrated that it is not solely the discursive strategies employed by the state in policy and legal frameworks that categorize and subordinate the workers according to the oppositional categories of citizen/migrant. The “other-defining” processes, involving categorization and differentiation, are clearly apparent in the everyday relations of numerous non-state actors involved in the SAWP. Aside from discursive strategies involving representation and categorization, language was also important as an “ethnic marker” or marker of difference used in this categorization process. The results of this research indicate that language was particularly important in the construction of job hierarchy, with English language knowledge being used to assign greater responsibility and power in the workplace. Thus, language is also strongly connected to power and agency in the everyday relations of the SAWP. Workers themselves attempted to use language knowledge to get ahead in the workplace, but also chose to ignore English spoken to them when it was inappropriate or in order to challenge the authority of the

speaker. By refusing to understand, speak or translate English in a given situation, workers were also engaging in power tactics to serve their interests or protect their position.

Satzewich (1991) concludes that migration has contributed to the formation of the nation state, and that the use of “unfree migrant labour” has contributed to the racialization of the Canadian state. Building on this conclusion, the present research demonstrates that racialization is not just a process involving state actors or practices at the state-level, but is also a process involving the everyday practices and organization of migrant labour. This research also demonstrates that other markers of racial difference, such as language and other indicators of ethnicity, are important to the racialization processes. Satzewich (1991), Castles and Davidson (2000), and Wallerstein (1983), suggest that the control, incorporation, and subordination of migrant labour results from the exercise of power from the top (the state), down to migrant workers. This neglects the role of non-state actors and the agency of migrant workers themselves to engage in power negotiations and contestations within the everyday practices of the SAWP. The differentiation, segregation, and subordination of migrant workers is not merely a consequence of Canadian immigration policy and the allocation of agents in production relations, it also results from patterns of domination emerging from the everyday practices and relations of the SAWP.

Transnationalism and the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program

As noted in the literature review, debates on transnationalism were stimulated by the work of Basch et al. (1994). Following the definition of transnational practices adopted by Portes (1999, p.464) which states that *transnational activities or practices* are “those

that take place on a recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants. Such activities may be conducted by relatively powerful actors...,or may be initiated by more modest individuals, such as immigrants and their home country kin and relations.” The agency of migrant workers and their families as transnational actors is neglected in much of the political economy literature on labour migration. From the analysis of the qualitative data collected for this study, it is clear that SAWP workers and their families are active participants in the transnational practices in this seasonal migration program. They are also *transnational* actors in a global production system, and this impacts their position in a global political economy. Migrant workers and their families engage in a form of transnationalism (although constrained by poor access to communication and information technologies or mobility constraints of the foreign worker contract), which is both recurrent and demands significant work and money from migrant workers and their families. These *transnational practices/activities* are a central part of the lives of migrant workers and their families; their lives have been reorganized around and modified in response to these transnational practices. This is a key defining feature of transnationalism, as noted by Castles and Miller (2003:30).

There are four primary findings pertaining to the central transnational practices engaged in by migrant workers and their families. First, that participation in the SAWP is a family affair. For many migrant workers, entrance into the program is facilitated by other family members, and community networks, and often more than one family member has participated in the SAWP. These findings support Portes (1995, p.46) who claims that with temporary migration systems, the community of origin is organized around the temporary export of labour because of mutually reinforcing pressures. This also indicates

that *transnational communities* are emerging with respect to the SAWP. The second significant finding is that family members, particularly women, engage in “migration work” that prepares for and facilitates migration, as well as sustains family economies while migrants are away. Preparation for migration involves household economic planning and saving, learning about and navigating the application process and the terms and conditions of international movement, as well as emotional and mental preparedness (among migrants and their families) for long-term separation. Sustaining family economies involves managing and working within family farms and small businesses, engaging in care work of children and extended family, and managing family finances. This necessary “migration work” also involves recurrent and committed *transnational participation* in migration, as receivers and managers of international flows of electronic remittance transfers and telephone calling. Following Crompton (1998), results of this research indicate that the female spouse of the migrant worker does even more than the essential reproductive work that prepares a worker to enter production relations; she also performs necessary “migration work” that facilitates the temporary labour migration process and maintains the transnational family. For example, findings from Chapter 6 indicate that women are primarily responsible for receiving and managing remittances, as well as maintaining family cohesion, wellness and stability, while a migrant worker is in Canada. For migrant workers, the *reproductive work* and the *migration work* performed by their female spouses are both essential to participation in global production relations. This work increases the overall workload of women in migration families such that many female spouses of migrant workers are experiencing a form of the “double day.” This finding concurs with other research that has documented increased workloads among women in migrant communities in Nepal (IFAD, 2001).

A third set of findings involve the significant impacts of these transnational practices on migrant families and communities. Specifically, participation in the seasonal migration program has a notable impact on social and economic development, and changes to family role and labour differentiation. In terms of development, families in the SAWP typically use remittances for family education, house construction, and small-scale community development projects such as repairing a church. The present research provides preliminary findings on the role of SAWP earnings for development, demonstrating that the majority of migrant workers interviewed used remittance money for social and economic development at a very small scale such as house construction or education of their children. In fact, the findings from the present research are consistent with researchers who have documented the use of remittances to purchase food, clothing, medicine, pay for children's education, build or repair houses, upgrade household facilities, acquire foreign-built amenities, and pay off debts (Weist, 1979; Wood and McCoy, 1985; Papademetriou and Martin, 1991; Diaz-Briquets and Weintraub, 1991; Arnold, 1992; Connell and Brown, 1995; Connell and Cohen, 1998). Since researchers such as Papademetriou and Martin (1991), Rahman (2000) and Skeldon (1997) generally agree that development is more likely to occur if migrants invest their remittances in agricultural land, machinery, livestock, or business that have productive capacities, this is not promising for SAWP participants' long-term development prospects.

The present research also supports the connection between land quality and infrastructure to remittance use. In the SAWP, workers are often drawn from some of the poorest regions, and, as Taylor (1999, p.73) contends, those from the poorer rural areas with weak infrastructure and poor quality land (such as outside of Tamazunchale or near Salvatierra) are more likely to spend their remittances on daily household needs. Contrary

to Basok (2003b), the findings from the present research indicate that SAWP participants do not use remittance money to purchase land. In fact, families have a greater tendency to use remittances for investment into other small business enterprises or to better facilitate migration (either internally or with the SAWP) rather than to purchase farm land. Typically, SAWP workers already have access to farm land, either through family farms or due to the *ejido* system. Workers enter the SAWP because farming this land is no longer sufficient for family subsistence because of competition with large scale agribusiness and multinational growers and distributors. These findings support Portes (1995, p.46), who notes that in situations where the local resources are insufficient to provide adequate subsistence, immigration is encouraged to procure additional income, and at the same time, there are adequate resources (usually land) to sustain most of the family in the migrants' absence, which also provides 'investment incentives' for the migrant's return.

The present research also supports Hellman's (1994) contention that the impact of remittances on families in small villages is a mixed one, since migrant workers and their families clearly benefit from the remittances earned in the program, but also undergo immense upheaval and strain. The family division of labour may also be changing in response to these new tasks, and the "migration work" undertaken by families in the program. In the case study families, women have taken on new tasks and have greater responsibility in the family, particularly since women are largely responsible for receiving remittances and international telephone calling, and they are left to manage family farms and business. This has the potential to challenge gender stereotypes and traditional roles, with women using new information and communication technologies, and having more direct control over family finances and engaging in banking services, which were

typically the domain of men.

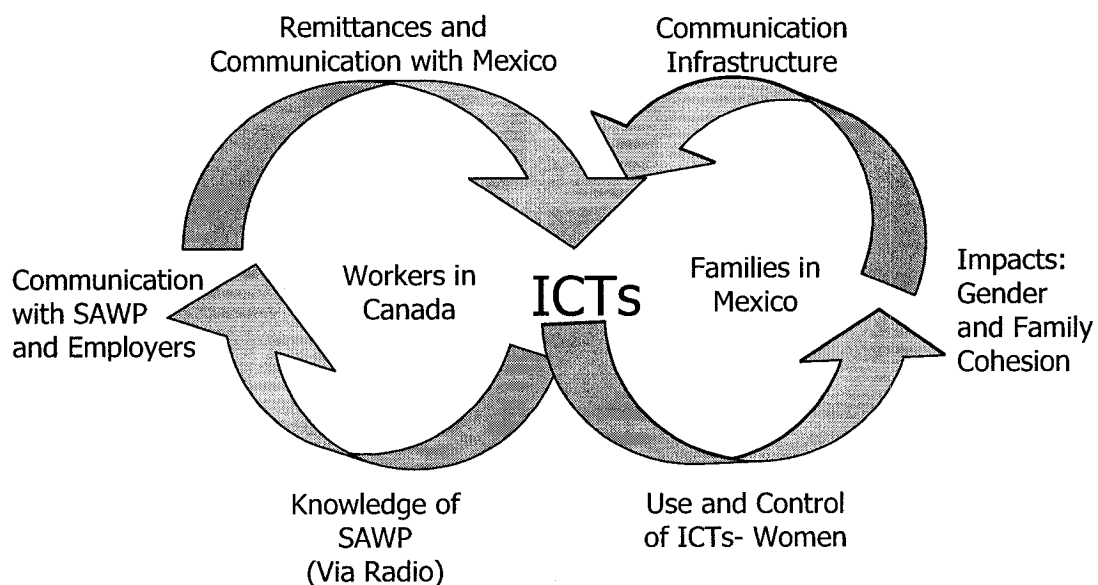
This research provides some evidence of the “transnationalization of culture hypothesis” posited by some researchers (Georges, 1990; Rouse, 1991, 1992; Goldring, 1992, 2000), who suggest that gender expectations and power relations are built into migration processes and that the SAWP workers and their families navigate new spaces that transcend traditional national boundaries. SAWP participants and their families emphasize migration in family decision-making related to household economics and the division of labour. It is clear from the present research that migrant workers often have other male family members involved in the SAWP, and that workers tend to participate for at least 5 years in the program. Among the case study families, such patterns of movement are clearly creating a set of cultural norms so that migration is an expected part of growing up. In support of these “transnationalization of culture” theorists, SAWP migration may be becoming a rite of passage for young men in order to prove their manhood, worthiness, and ambition. These authors contend that migration changes gender and power relations within the household in such a way as to encourage women to perpetuate a culture of migration. This was also a pattern evident amongst SAWP workers, particularly since it is clearly expected that women facilitate the migration process through engaging in household management and transnational practices necessary for men to migrate. SAWP selection processes and management also ensure that mainly men migrate through the program. Therefore, participation in the SAWP may be encouraging a culture of migration that is highly gendered. The institutions connected to the SAWP, including families, farms, and government bodies, are imbued with and construct gendered power relations. Thus, following from Smith (1990), seasonal migration in the SAWP is a gendered social practice.

A fourth finding that emerged from the examination of the transnational practices of SAWP participants is that information and communication technology (ICT) use is necessary to both transnationalism and to participation in the SAWP specifically. ICT use and infrastructure development also have significant impacts on families of migrants, and also facilitate many of the social and economic changes underway in migrant communities. This research provides support for the argument by Vertovec (2004) and Stalker (2000) that ICTs have impacted the transnational practices of migrant workers. In fact, both international telephone calling and electronic money transfers are essential and costly practices of transnationalism for SAWP migrant workers and their families. It is important to recognize, however, that communication and electronic financial service providers and other intermediaries, profit at the expense of migrants. The present research indicates that there are substantial costs associated with “keeping in touch” and participating in a temporary migration system. In the SAWP, migrant workers and their families clearly bear the burden of these necessary costs.

Communication facilities on Canadian farms are integral to the maintenance of family economies (remittance sending), marital relations and family cohesion, cultural retention and community participation, rights awareness and empowerment. Poor communications access has led to tension in these areas, leading to increased strain on family and community cohesion, and to difficulties related to managing family finances. Also, the lack of adequate communications facilities increases workers’ sense of isolation and distance from their families. It has also meant that workers do not have adequate access to information or representation related to their rights and conditions of their contracts. These last factors are particularly problematic on the more remote or isolated Canadian farms.

Figure 7.1 illustrates the significant role of ICTs in the transnational practices of migrant workers and their families. This theoretical model shows how ICTs are integral to participation in the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. Further research is needed to provide sufficient evidence that this theoretical model applies to all seasonal migrant workers in the SAWP. Certainly, this model accurately describes the worker population interviewed and the four case study families studied in this research.

Figure 7.1: ICTs and the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program



It is clear that access to and use of ICTs (in both Canada and Mexico) have a direct relationship to how people move across and imagine time and space. These findings support Castells' (1989) theorization of the relationship between power and connectivity. For example, the expansion of less costly and more accessible ICTs and services will have a significant impact on the power of migrant workers to control and manage their transnational movements.

The present research also supports Hugo (1995), who demonstrated that rural migration communities in Indonesia have experienced enormous improvements in transportation and communication infrastructure, making remote villages accessible to the wider world. The present research demonstrates that many migrant workers purchased or gained access to ICTs in order to facilitate their participation in the SAWP. The SAWP has led to a growth in use and in the infrastructural expansion of ICTs among migrant families in rural communities in Mexico. Migrant families have used money from the program to pay to bring telephone lines out to remote areas where cell phone signals are not available, or to buy cellular phones. Each of the workers indicated that they either have invested in these technologies or intend to with money from the program, in order to better facilitate their participation in the program. Women are clearly the “experts” among migrant families using these technologies in Mexico (particularly with new wireless technologies). Men, although using these technologies, predominantly use landlines in Canada to communicate with spouses on wireless telephones for eight months of the year. In more than a few cases, it was also clear that women gained access to these technologies independently (while husbands were in Canada), and some women provide access to wireless technologies for other family and community members as well. Also, service providers (such as Western Union or Telmex) have expanded their reach to migrant communities by establishing e-commerce branches or cellular services in remote areas throughout Mexico. These changes therefore, increase the connectivity and accessibility of their communities to the wider world. However, being connected may not be equally empowering for all, as will be further discussed in the following section.

THE SAWP AND GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is a process that generates “contradictory spaces” that are characterized by contestation, internal differentiation, and continuous border crossings (Sassen, 2000a, 200b, 1998). Similar to what Bhabha (1997, 1994) refers to as “contact zones,” the contradictory spaces created with globalization are spaces in which power and identity are negotiated and articulated around race, gender, and ethnicity. Temporary Foreign Worker Programs (TFWP) like the SAWP are forms of contemporary “contact zones.”

In the contemporary global political economic system, in particular the global production relations that necessitate migrant labour, the ability to control one’s spatial and temporal lives is a particularly powerful act. The constraints of migrants’ spatial and temporal movement within the SAWP may limit the agency of migrants with respect to the formation or maintenance of relations within or across both country of origin and country of destination, and discourage active transnational participation.

The transnationalism of TFWPs involves a formalized, managed flow of controlled migrants, whose experience of transnationalism is markedly different than the kinds described by many scholars of transnationalism. These experiences of transnationalism do not reflect the “greater growth potential and...broader field for autonomous popular initiatives” invoked by Portes (1996), but they are nonetheless still experiences of transnationalism. Transnationality for migrant workers involves multiple networked social relationships that are imbued with power that can actually be more susceptible to globalizations’ exploitative tendencies. Transnationalism, as it is experienced in the SAWP, is not free from exploitation nor is it inherently emancipatory. Transnationalism does not necessarily facilitate resistance to globalization’s exploitative tendencies. This is particularly true for migrant workers since their basic human rights

protections and their legal status, are linked directly to their employment. Moreover, the manner in which seasonal migrant workers move/communicate/participate across national boundaries is highly limited and controlled in these programs, curtailing freedom of movement and communication, rather than encouraging it.

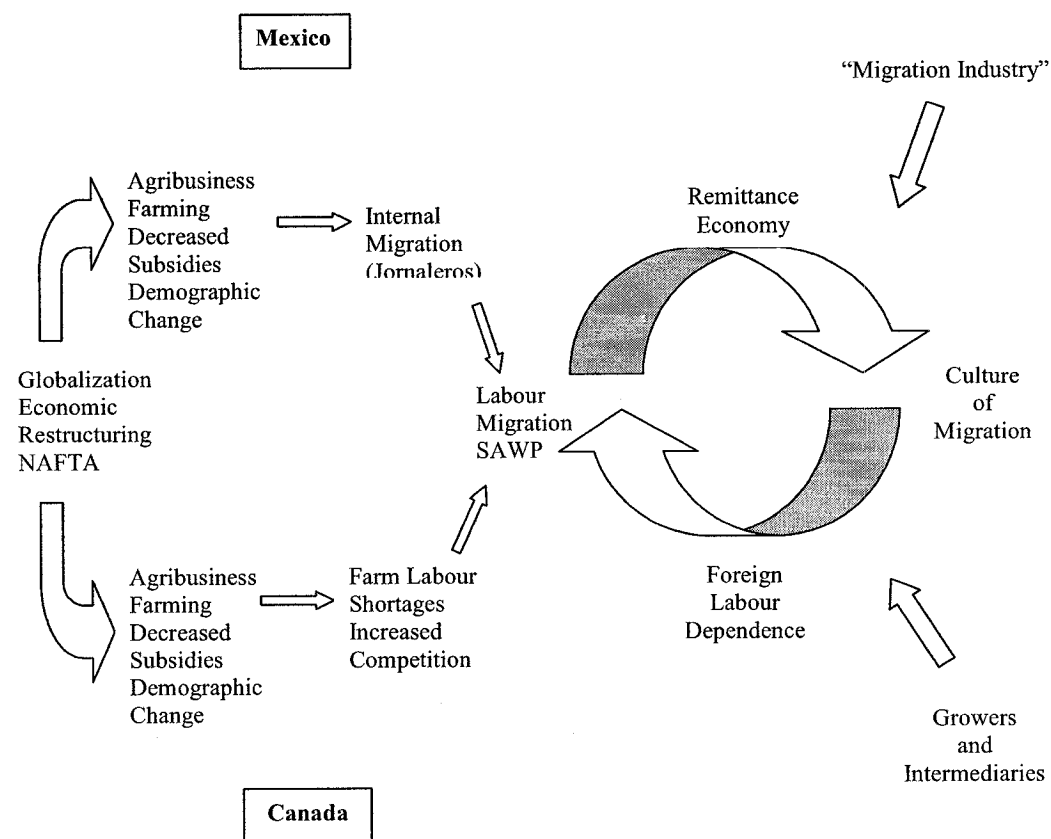
High levels of exploitation have flourished with Harvey's (1990) "time-space compression" strengthened with globalization. This is particularly prevalent in managed temporary migration programs, and other spaces where temporary labour is used, such as Free Trade Zones, tourist areas or oil rigs. Wallerstein's (1999) analysis of the global political economic system neglects to consider these space-time changes such as those discussed by Giddens (1999) and Harvey (1990). At the outset of this research, the question of whether time-space compression leads to exploitation or to empowerment, was posited. The SAWP, as an exemplar of time-space compression in action, leads to the exploitation and subordination of Mexican migrant workers. The way in which migrant workers engage in cross-border networks and exchanges certainly benefits transnational service providers (who charge fees for remittance transfers and international telephone calling), however the benefits to migrant workers and their families are not as clear.

The costs of engaging in the various cross-border movements necessary to temporary labour migration are absorbed by migrants alone. Service providers make a profit from this movement, along with other local businesses serving migrants' needs, the SAWP recovers the cost of managing the migrant labour from employers, and employers reclaim these costs from workers' paycheques while also profiting from the cheap and "sturdy" migrant labour.

Temporary migration systems like the SAWP are recursively related to

globalization. Figure 7.2 shows a conceptualization of the intersections between globalization and the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program.

Figure 7.2: Globalization and the SAWP



The expansion of the SAWP has emerged partly in response to agricultural labour shortages in Canada, and unemployment in Mexico, both of which have been exacerbated by globalization. Also, as noted in Chapter 1, NAFTA has played a crucial role in the vulnerability of SAWP workers, with prices at grocery produce counters staying low

because of the cheap labour supply, which further bolsters the growth of agribusiness in Canada and Mexico. Other aspects of globalization, such as the growth in international communication technologies and services, has further encouraged and facilitated the expansion of the SAWP. Migrant labour is now integral to the organization of global capitalism. Workers and their families engage in a set of temporary production relations that, with globalization, are an increasingly vital component of local and international economies. Globally, migrant workers now number more than 120 million (Stalker, 2000). Migrant workers are more than merely the “unseen side effect of free trade,” they are commodities in a global economic system, where they sell “the only thing they have left: their labour” (Klein, 2002, p.165).

The use of a temporary migrant worker category has enhanced the ability of the Canadian state to attract and/or retain capital investment in its territory by giving employers (whether foreign or domestic) access to this “cheap labour strategy” for global competition (Gardezi, 1995). While low-skilled temporary workers are actively recruited, they are rarely expected or allowed to stay or to bring their families, which is true of the Canadian SAWP. Citizenship is rarely given to low-skilled labour migrants (Baubock, 1994; Baubock & Rundell, 1998; Colectivo IOÉ, 1999). This is similar to the Bracero Programme in the US, and the Singaporean Employment Pass R Programme which also explicitly prohibits change in status (i.e. permanent residency) or family reunification (Ruhs, 2003). The SAWP shares these restrictions, and migrant workers’ exclusion is fortified by immigration regulations which prohibit status transfers for seasonal migrants, and fail to recognize seasonal work experience within the Canadian Immigration Point System used to select permanent immigrants – making citizenship a very distant possibility for SAWP workers.

By keeping less skilled migrants outside of permanent migration channels, this stratifies the Canadian migration system so as to ensure that low skilled migrants from developing nations (who are predominantly Black and/or Hispanic) do not stay. At the same time, industry profits are still boosted by employing migrant rather than domestic labour, at a reduced cost to the employer and to the social system. Migrant workers, as a reserve army of labour, stay segregated and excluded from the larger society, making integration both discouraged and unlikely, even among returning labour migrants. Interestingly, it has only been select groups of low-skilled migrants that have been able to gain entry to Canada through the SAWP program (those from the Caribbean or Mexico). Other potential low-skilled workers from Asia or Africa, for example, have very few options for migration to Canada. Racism and racialized understandings of these groups' "natural and cultural tendencies" may be a significant factor explaining their exclusion. As was evident in the present research, references to Mexicans as "hard working, sturdy people" are certainly used to justify the use of Mexican migrant labour.

Within the SAWP, power is negotiated along the lines of gender, race and class. It has been speculated that having the right to place, as well as to movement, may be the most significant factor in determining rights and power in a global political economy (Simmons, 1996). It is clear from the present research that power cannot come entirely from place or space but also comes from class, race, and gender. However, space can be gendered, racialized and classed. Movement rights are conferred to groups who have been given entry into the social formation of a nation-state (typically a developed country). Permanent entry into a social formation, such as Canada, may confer movement rights. However, many groups are systematically excluded from gaining permanent entry to the social formation. Mexican seasonal migrants have limited control of their spatial and

temporal movement, and are excluded from the Canadian social formation, because they are predominantly poor Mexican men. More than ever, in this era of increased migration and transnational movement, “gender, race, and class create different spatial experiences for people” (Domosh and Seager, 2001, p.62). The spatial experiences of SAWP workers are organized within a set of global power relations that are defined by race and gender.

Richmond (1994), Samers (1999) and Wallerstein (2001) contend that racism is used in modern global capitalism to keep people out and to keep people in their places (both political and geographical). The SAWP is designed to do just that, and the processes of racialization underway in the SAWP serve to differentiate, segregate and subordinate migrant workers through reference to race, ethnicity and national origin. As noted in the review of political economy literature provided in Chapter 2, Wallerstein (1989) demonstrates that in global capitalism, underdeveloped countries play a crucial role in the productive processes of the world-system but they have little political power. This is true for Mexico with respect to the SAWP. The justification for this system comes from reference to race, ethnicity and underdevelopment. Racialization processes provide the mechanisms for this subordination and its legitimization (Satzewich, 1991). The employment of what Samer’s (1999) refers to as a “spatial vent” (which I would see as manifested in the SAWP) provides the institutional mechanisms by which “bourgeois democratic” states resolve crises of accumulation and legitimacy through the forced or encouraged repatriation of legal migrant labour.

Worldwide, the majority of temporary migrant workers take on the “socially least regarded jobs, which are often the worst paid or least secure, that could not be filled with nationals” (Bohning, 1984, p.6). These are often not reflections of absolute labour shortages, but relative labour shortages where citizens either are unable or unwilling to do

certain jobs. This is the case in numerous countries, including Kuwait where citizens currently are not attracted to employment in the private sector (Ruhs, 2003, p.6) and also in Israel where Israeli citizens have been unwilling to undertake the type of work foreign workers are engaged in at the low levels of remuneration these workers receive (Borowski and Yanay, 1997). It is also the case in Canada, where migrants participating in the SAWP perform the labour that farmers claim, “Canadians just won’t do” at a lower cost to employers. The SAWP offers a legal alternative to permanent migration that is organized and legitimized with reference to skill level, ethnicity and underdevelopment. Consistent with Satzewich’s (1991) research on the SAWP, what results is a system of “unfree” migration that dominates and subjugates the “Mexican Migrant Worker” within the contemporary global political economy.

Even with these problems identified by researchers and policy makers, Canada’s system of migrant labour has become a model for the development of other labour migration programs, and Canada is seen worldwide as a leader in the management of migration (Papademetriou, 2004). In fact, the United States is looking to Canada for a ‘best practice’²⁰ model for the legalization of agricultural workers into temporary migration programs (Owen, 2000). In terms of temporary labour migration, the Canadian model is being discussed in a number of international forums related to international migration such as the *Workshop of International Experts on Best Practices Related to Migrant Workers* held in Santiago Chile, June 2000, a trilateral conference on *Agricultural Migrant Labor in North America* which took place in February 2000, and at

20 The term ‘best practice’ relates to successful initiatives or model projects that make an outstanding, sustainable, and innovative contribution to an issue at hand. The concept is now used throughout the business, industry, health, education, and government sectors, as well as by international organizations with reference to managing migration (Bendixsen and de Guchteneire, 2003; IOM, 2003).

numerous Regional Conference on Migration meetings (referred to as the *Puebla Process*). Also, UNESCO's International Migration Best Practices project has brought together a selection of networks and organizations that are gathering a collection of *Best Practices in International Migration* with the goals of promoting the human rights of migrants by providing examples of good initiatives that can improve migrants' situations.

Canada's model has been consistently cited as a reference point in these forums.²¹ For example, in the April 7, 2000 Organization of American States, Office of Summit Follow-Up on Summit of the Americas (SOA) Migrant Workers Initiative, Canada's method of recruiting and monitoring workers was commended. Also, the North South Institute has a current research project examining "Best Practices in Migrant Worker Participation in the Benefits of Economic Globalization: Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program as a Best Practices Model."²² Spain and Turkey have also looked to Canada for a best practice model for temporary migration to better facilitate (and to limit) the movement of the large numbers of Ecuadorian and Moroccan workers to fill labour shortages (Ortega Pérez, 2003). This does not mean, however, that there are no improvements to be made in the management of the SAWP. As was evidenced in Chapters 4 to 6, there are a number of issues and problems related to the rights and freedoms of SAWP migrant workers and their families that need to be addressed. Out of this analysis a number of recommendations have emerged regarding research agendas and the management practices of the SAWP which will be discussed in the following section.

21 For further examples, see: International Migration. 2002. Vol. 40, Issue 3, Special issue 1 on Best Practices. International Organization for Migration. Also, in October, 2005, The International Metropolis Conference held in Toronto discussed best practices for migration management (www.utoronto.ca/metropolis).

22 To see the North-South Institute's publications regarding Best Practices and the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program refer to: www.nsi-ins.ca/ensi/research/completed/c05.html

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As is the case with most qualitative studies, this research involved a small sample size of SAWP migrant workers and their families; accordingly it is limited in its generalizability to the temporary migration process. Also, it is likely that experiences among farm workers in the tree growing industry may represent a “worst case scenario” due to social isolation and lack of services. However, the present research provided detailed observations and insights that have enabled a sound understanding of the power relations embedded in the SAWP, and the ways in which these relations are racialized through institutional *and everyday* practices of work and migration. Moreover, this original exploratory research on the transnational practices engaged in by SAWP workers and their families has demonstrated the important role that families play in the temporary migration process. This research is unique, in that it is the first to examine the SAWP as a form of transnationalism. The present research has contributed toward the identification of new research questions and priorities for further research with respect to these issues.

Through the analysis it became clear that the power relations within the SAWP led to the subordination of migrant workers within this temporary labour migration system. However, it was also evident that Mexican migrant workers were clearly aware of this power discrepancy and do not passively accept this subordinated position. This research also demonstrated that workers’ agency was constrained, but not entirely blocked. Recall, for example, that workers sometimes refused to disclose knowledge of English as a means to avoiding undesirable work tasks or responsibilities, or to protect themselves from punishment or mistreatment. It was also apparent that workers invoked racial and cultural stereotypes about themselves and others in some situations in order to assert power. For example, Mexican workers referred to Jamaican workers as *essentially*

“lazy” and Canadian workers as not able to perform the tough work, while maintaining that Mexican workers are hardworking by nature. These are not only contributing to the racialization process, but in some contexts are also clearly strategies of resistance employed by Mexican migrant workers to gain power within a given set of relations. This may be a form of *assimilation* to the dominant groups’ culture and values, but it is possible that these acts of resistance are ways ethnic minority groups employ the very racial categories used to deny them power, to instead, negotiate for greater power within particular social or production relations. Thus, resistance may not be confined to strategies of *accommodation* or *strategic retreat*, *assimilation*, or *violence*, that are identified by Allahar (1998, p.338) as common strategies employed by individuals or groups to “seek to undo the negative consequences of being categorized for racial reasons” through any action, whether physical, verbal or psychological. Thus, confronting the socially constructed and institutionalized racism that surrounds them, Mexican workers attempt to engage in its construction to their own advantage. Evidence from the present research indicates that these forms of power acts are likely common acts of resistance. However, due to the exploratory nature of this research, in order to gain a better understanding of the power relations within the SAWP, further research needs to examine the acts of resistance and the agency of migrant workers within the SAWP more conclusively.

It is also clear from the present research that migrant workers and their families are transnational actors. What remains unclear is the extent to which this transnationalism benefits workers, families and their communities. It has been demonstrated that the practices of transnationalism involving the use of global ICTs are necessary to participation in the SAWP, and that these practices are costly to migrant workers and

their families. It is unclear whether the benefits and earnings from involvement in the program outweigh these costs. It is also unknown whether technologies and services are typically purchased specifically for the necessary transnational practices of temporary labour migration among. Although this was the case for some of the migrant families in the present research, a larger sample size and more extensive study on this issue is necessary in order to confirm this pattern among seasonal migrant workers. For some migrant workers, the initial costs of entrance to the program may even surpass the wages earned from one season. It is not clear whether migrants will recover these costs. Thus, future research that provides a more detailed cost breakdown for these services, and a cost-benefit ratio for migrant household economies, is needed to ascertain whether “time-space compression,” and transnationalism generally, leads to sustainable development and empowerment, or financial instability and dependency for migrant workers. It is evident that families use remittances for local and family development projects, but it is not clear to what extent these lead to sustainable development. Therefore, further research is needed to ascertain whether long-term participation in the SAWP leads to sustainable development or a life of dependency and temporariness for workers and their families. Also, further research is required to ascertain whether “unofficial” or “illegal” migration networks (in the form of “coyotes”) are forming around the transnationalism of the SAWP. In general, future research should further explore the extensive legal migration industry emerging around the SAWP, and continue to investigate the extent to which an “illegal” or “underground” migration industry is forming in relation to the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program.

The present research has demonstrated that women perform a great deal of “migration work” which involves engaging in transnational practices. However, it

remains unclear to what extent this will have significant and permanent impacts on the gendered division of labour or gender role expectations. It is evident, at this point, that significant changes in these areas are underway among migrant families, but much remains unknown. For example, it is not clear whether the gender norms that preclude Mexican women from migrating as “migrant workers” have been challenged and are being challenged by these changes. Further research is also needed to better understand what other areas of migrant families’ lives have been impacted by participation in the SAWP, such as changes to the organization of carework, nor what the emotional, physical, and psychological stress effects are of participation in the SAWP for workers and their families. It is also not clear to what extent power struggles related to gender roles and work have emerged due to SAWP participation, and what implications this may have in terms of family cohesion, marital satisfaction and stability, and gender relations. In other studies investigating the impacts of migration on gender, some researchers contend that power relationships between spouses are typically measured in two ways: with the division of household tasks, and patterns of decision-making (Haddad & Lam, 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994,1992; Richmond, 1976; Ybarra, 1982). Changes in these areas (household division of tasks and decision-making) are clearly evident among the case study families in the present research. Women are engaging in a variety of new “migration work” due to migration, and this has modified the household division of labour. Also women are also taking on stronger decision-making roles while men are in Canada which appear to remain strong when migrants return.

Also important for future research is a more in-depth examination of the gendered and racialized construction of migrant labour within the SAWP (in Canada and Mexico). It is clear that migrant workers are predominantly men, and that the good migrant worker

is defined with reference to gender, race and class. The “migrant worker” is defined as and expected to be male, foreign, and poor. Further analyses of the processes by which the SAWP and other Temporary Foreign Worker Programs are gendered and racialized is required to better understand the power relations of the SAWP.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

From this research, a number of recommendations can be made for policy makers, employers, and other intermediaries and individuals connected with the SAWP with the aim of improving the lives and position of migrant workers in the SAWP. The following are policy recommendations regarding Canadian immigration recruitment and Ontario SAWP management:

- Comparable to the Live-In-Caregiver Program, facilitate the opportunity for SAWP workers to move from temporary to permanent immigration statuses. While considering the problems identified with the Live-In-Caregiver Program, one parameter of the program could be adopted by the SAWP. In particular, more direct measures could be implemented to ensure that seasonal agricultural workers are able to gain permanent entry to Canada. For example, after three years of participation in the SAWP, workers should be given an opportunity to apply for permanent status and would have approximately 24 months or 2 years of Canadian work experience. Important to this is the recognition of seasonal work experience (which is under 12 months) within the Immigration Point System used to select permanent immigrants.
- Create an immigration category for agricultural workers that would facilitate the permanent entry of low-skilled migrants without requiring high levels of education or substantial knowledge of English or French. Targeting specific industries or sectors may reduce the discrimination faced by low-skilled applicants and channel much needed labour into agricultural jobs. Recognizing the possibility that immigrants may leave the agricultural industry if they are given greater status, recruitment incentives (possibly providing affordable housing) could be offered to immigrants for employment or industry commitments.
- Ratify the UN International Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Families and align the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program with the human rights principles and practices recommended therein.

- Recognize the protection of migrant workers under the recent (2005) provincial Occupational Health and Safety Act (OHSA). Require and enforce adherence to this Act through the creation of efficient regulatory mechanisms aimed at monitoring labour practices and working conditions on Ontario farms. SAWP guidelines and FARMS management practices must be re-evaluated to ensure commensurability with these new protections. Ensure that comparable protections are adopted by all Canadian provinces.
- Discontinue deductions from workers' pay for FARMS services that represent the interests of farmers. Also, discontinue deductions for Employment Insurance, for which migrant workers are not eligible. Deductions for CPP contributions should be optional and/or the collection age of 65 should be lowered to reflect the average life expectancy among rural Mexicans. At a minimum, SAWP workers need to be provided with adequate information regarding these and other deductions and instructions for how they can recover this money, and the money deducted for Income Tax. If it is not possible for workers to have this money returned or to gain equal access to the services that are funded through these deductions, then the deductions should not be made.

Obviously, the above goals are long term recommendations representing ideal policy outcomes that would require changes to federal and provincial legislation. More feasible and immediate changes can be made that are directed at the everyday practices and relations of work, which have the potential to empower migrant workers presently in the SAWP. The following are recommendations aimed at improving the everyday lives of migrant workers and their families, improving worker and employer relations, and challenging the racialization processes and pattern of power relations prevalent in the SAWP:

- Provide access to English language training for workers, comparable to what is available to permanent immigrants. Possibly, this could be done for reduced costs through building a partnership with Frontier College's Labourer-Teacher-Program. This will allow workers to gain better access to information pertaining to their rights, program guidelines and practices, communicate with employers, and Canadian workers. This will enable migrants to better represent themselves and advocate for their interests. This will also increase communication between employers and workers. A cost-sharing approach that includes contributions from employers, governments and even workers' themselves may be appropriate, if the training is extensive and optional.

- Provide employers with information on Mexico, resources for Spanish language education and translation, and cultural competency training. This would greatly help workers *and* employers confronted with difficult communication problems. These initiatives may also serve to challenge processes of racialization.
- Supply workers with better access to health and safety information and documentation. Also, these documents and other information pertaining to their rights, and program guidelines and practices, should be provided in Spanish.
- Provide workers with adequate safety equipment and safety training. This is particularly important when migrants work with pesticides, or other harmful chemicals.
- Improve transportation access for migrant workers. This will increase their freedom of movement and diminish social isolation.
- Provide workers with opportunities to express preferences for contracts with specific employers, agricultural sector, type of work, or employment locations.
- Consult workers on flight dates for departures and returns. Many workers live outside of Mexico City (many reported traveling for between 2-10 hours to the D.F) and must make other travel arrangements to get to and from the Airport. Notify workers as soon as possible when flights have been arranged, giving workers and their families' sufficient time to better organize their lives around seasonal migration.
- Create better feedback systems for workers and farmers. Encourage workers' input on living and working conditions through facilitating feedback from workers directly to farmers. This direct feedback, outside of FARMS, is important to challenging farmers' perceptions of "adequate" living conditions for workers from underdeveloped countries.
- Increase contact between employers, workers, FARMS, HRDSC and the Mexican Consulate. Monitor and regulate the program more actively with more frequent housing inspections and labour condition evaluations. These inspections would be best performed by a third party organization that is not concerned with employers' labour demands or SAWP management interests. Also, as part of this improved contact, the creation of better grievance mechanisms and appeals processes for workers is essential to ensuring fair treatment and human rights protections for migrant workers.
- Increase communication within and across SAWP institutions, and other intermediaries, including NGOs and labour groups that represent workers, such as Justicia 4 Migrant Workers and the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. Supply farmers with information about Migrant Worker Resource Centres, and other services for migrants when employment requests are made.

- Provide better and cheaper access to the essential services needed for transnational participation. Workers should have access to a phone (for both incoming *and* outgoing calls). Approach banks, remittance transfer service providers and encourage them to lower fees for seasonal workers.
- Discontinue practices that allow employers to select workers on the basis of national origin, race and gender (e.g. male St. Lucians or female Mexicans, etc.). Instead, create selection criteria for hiring and task assignment based on skill and work experience. Similarly, fair criteria for “naming” workers, and assessing seniority should be developed. Migrants are not interchangeable and should be recognized for their achievements and skills in a similar fashion to Canadian workers. In addition, create a “skill record” for each worker, summarizing their work skills and experience, which could then be compiled into a “skill database.” This would allow farmers to gain knowledge of workers’ skill sets (such as having welding experience or experience operating particular farm equipment such as a band sprayer or a seed drill).

The responsibility for the creation and implementation of these recommendations would lie with governments, FARMS, and with growers and other intermediaries. Recognizing that some of these recommendations may seem idealistic, and may be difficult and/or costly to administer, further research would be required to formulate budgeting requirements and cost-sharing approaches that would feasibly and fairly provide the resources to make these policy and practice changes possible over the long-term. However, many of the practical recommendations would require minimal effort and costs to employers and governments, and have a significant impact on workers’ everyday lives. For example, recognizing that the transnational practices engaged in by migrant workers are essential to the functioning of the SAWP, better communication and transportation access and reduced costs would facilitate greater spatial and temporal control among migrant workers and their families. Implementing better communication and transportation access for workers could be as simple as installing a telephone line for workers or providing use of an automotive vehicle for weekly shopping or social excursions.

These recommendations are aimed at empowering migrant workers within the program, protecting their human rights, and facilitating the equal participation and fair treatment of workers within the SAWP. Empowering migrant workers and providing mechanisms for the social inclusion of migrant workers through implementation of the above recommendations, could challenge existing power relations and processes of racialization within the SAWP that have lead to the subordination and subjugation of Mexican migrant workers.

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**APPENDIX 1:
BACKGROUND ON MIGRATION & COMMUNICATION**

Table 1.1: Canada - Stock* of Temporary Residents by Primary Status, 1980 to 2004

Primary status	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2004
With employment authorization	30,530	39,846	98,743	68,590	87,416	129,013
Without employment authorization	8,701	9,432	12,667	8,591	13,864	5,238
Foreign workers	39,231	49,278	111,410	77,181	101,280	134,251
With student authorization	36,800	39,196	56,788	63,240	102,300	153,638
Without student authorization	1,891	2,291	6,043	3,967	5,440	7,769
Foreign students	38,691	41,487	62,831	67,207	107,740	161,407
Adult refugee claimants			47,198	68,343	81,226	99,284
Other refugee claimants			7,989	15,572	16,968	15,454
Refugee claimants			55,187	83,915	98,194	114,738
Other humanitarian cases			104,299	3,238	4,008	1,665
Humanitarian population	5,236	24,955	159,486	87,153	102,202	116,403
Other	28,938	25,571	36,251	30,442	42,033	56,157
Total	112,096	141,291	369,978	261,983	353,255	468,218

*Stock statistics are calculated on June 1 of each calendar year and tell us whether the individual is still authorized to be in the country on that date regardless of when he or she entered the country. Source: CIC, 2004.

Table 1.2: Canada - Annual Flow* of Temporary Residents by Primary Status, 1980 to 2004

Primary status	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2004
Initial entries	55,923	60,290	75,949	60,598	91,775	74,823
Seasonal re-entries	2,805	3,365	9,458	9,127	5,249	15,845
Foreign workers	58,728	63,655	85,407	69,725	97,024	90,668
Foreign students	20,652	18,879	30,654	32,559	61,036	56,536
Adult refugee claimants			30,172	19,195	29,156	18,226
Other refugee claimants			6,153	5,906	7,675	5,164
Refugee claimants			36,325	25,101	36,831	23,390
Other humanitarian cases			6,559	523	812	311
Humanitarian population	5,466	11,930	42,884	25,624	37,643	23,701
Other	87,925	75,882	65,792	51,766	67,242	74,826
Total	172,771	170,346	224,737	179,674	262,945	245,731

*Flow statistics are based on calendar year calculations that refer to when an individual first comes into contact with Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Source: CIC, 2004.

Table 1.3: Foreign Worker Population*, Males, by Country of Origin, Flow Statistics, 1995, 2004**

Country of Origin	1995		2004	
	#	%	#	%
United States	18,510	36.6	12,012	19.9
Mexico	5,157	10.2	10,753	17.8
Jamaica	4,801	9.5	5,809	9.6
United Kingdom	2,980	5.9	4,701	7.8
Australia	1,826	3.6	3,908	6.5
France	2,459	4.9	3,738	6.2
Japan	2,200	4.4	1,954	3.2
India	843	1.7	1,840	3.0
Trinidad and Tobago	1,434	2.8	1,584	2.6
Germany	1,387	2.7	1,407	2.3
Top 10 source countries	41,597	82.2	47,706	78.8
Other countries	9,001	17.8	12,807	21.2
Total	50,598	100	60,513	100

*This table excludes seasonal re-entries as the data were not available.

**Flow statistics are based on calendar year calculations that refer to when an individual first comes into contact with Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004a, p.21.

Table 1.4: Foreign Worker Population, Females, by Country of Origin, Flow Statistics, 1995, 2004*

Country of Origin	1995		2004	
	Females #	%	Females #	%
Philippines	1,802	9.4	4,976	16.5
Japan	2,061	10.8	3,573	11.9
United States	4,654	24.4	3,549	11.8
Australia	1,504	7.9	3,267	10.8
France	1,399	7.3	2,711	9
United Kingdom	1,533	8	2,628	8.7
Germany	466	2.4	928	3.1
India	241	1.3	740	2.5
Ireland, Republic of	208	1.1	663	2.2
Mexico	226	1.2	587	2
China, People's Republic of	405	2.1	509	1.7
Korea, Republic of	183	1	441	1.5
Jamaica	333	1.8	110	0.4
Hong Kong	273	1.4	59	0.2
Top 10 source countries	14,430	75.6	23,622	78.3
Other countries	4,653	24.4	6,533	21.7
Total	19,083	100	30,155	100

*Flow statistics are based on calendar year calculations that refer to when an individual first comes into contact with Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The exception to this is foreign workers who are in Canada on seasonal re-entry permits.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004.

Table 1.5 Inflows of foreign workers into selected OECD countries¹
(Thousands)

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Australia										
Permanent settlers	48.4	40.3	22.1	12.8	20.2	20.0	19.7	26.0	27.9	32.4
Temporary workers	..	14.6	14.9	14.2	14.3	15.4	31.7	37.3	37.0	39.2
Austria	62.6	57.9	37.7	27.1	15.4	16.3	15.2	15.4	18.3	25.4
Belgium	5.1	4.4	4.3	4.1	2.8	2.2	2.5	7.3	8.7	7.5
Canada	77.7	70.4	65.4	67.5	69.5	71.2	74.9	78.9	84.3	91.3
Denmark	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.8	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.6
Finland	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10.4
France										
Long-term workers	25.6	42.3	24.4	18.3	13.1	11.5	11.0	10.3	10.9	11.3
Temporary workers	4.1	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.5	4.8	4.7	4.3	5.8	7.5
Germany	241.9	408.9	325.6	221.2	270.8	262.5	285.4	275.5	304.9	338.3
Hungary	41.7	24.6	19.5	18.6	18.4	14.5	19.7	22.6	29.6	40.2
Ireland	3.8	3.6	4.3	4.3	4.3	3.8	4.5	5.7	6.3	10.7
Italy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21.6	21.4	58.0
Japan	113.6	108.1	97.1	111.7	81.5	78.5	93.9	101.9	108.0	129.6
Luxembourg	16.9	15.9	15.5	16.2	16.5	18.3	18.6	22.0	25.0	27.3
New Zealand	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23.4
Portugal	..	..	..	..	2.2	1.5	1.3	2.6	4.2	7.8
Spain	81.6	48.2	7.5	15.6	29.6	31.0	30.1	53.7	56.1	..
Switzerland	46.3	39.7	31.5	28.6	27.1	24.5	25.4	26.4	31.5	34.0
United Kingdom										
Total	29.0	30.1	29.3	30.1	32.7	36.1	42.4	48.6	52.4	85.6
United States										
Permanent settlers	59.5	116.2	147.0	123.3	85.3	117.5	90.6	77.5	56.8	107.0
Temporary workers	169.6	175.8	182.3	210.8	220.7	254.4	..	430.7	525.7	635.2
EU1	472.9	617.6	454.7	343.1	391.9	389.1	417.4	446.2	491.4	517.3
EEA1	519.2	657.2	486.2	371.6	419.0	413.6	442.8	472.6	522.9	551.3
North America (permanent)	137.2	186.6	212.4	190.8	154.9	188.7	165.5	156.4	141.1	198.3

Source: OECD Migration Statistics, 2004

1. Above countries only (excluding Finland, Italy and Portugal).

**Table 1.6: Remittance Data by Country,
Top Fifteen Countries with Remittance Data, 2001**

Country	Total remittances (in millions) ¹	GDP (in millions) ²	Total population ³	Total remittances as percentage of GDP	Total remittances per capita
Mexico	9,920.00	617,819.70	101,879,171	1.6	97.37
France	9,220.00	1,309,807.00	59,658,144	0.7	154.55
India	9,160.00	457,048.80	1,002,708,291	2	9.14
Philippines	6,366.00	71,437.70	81,369,751	8.9	78.24
Spain	4,692.00	581,823.00	40,087,104	0.8	117.05
Germany	3,800.00	1,846,069.00	82,280,551	0.2	46.18
Portugal	3,573.00	109,802.50	10,066,253	3.3	354.95
Belgium	3,493.00	229,609.60	10,258,762	1.5	340.49
Egypt	2,911.00	98,475.80	71,901,545	3	40.49
Turkey	2,786.00	147,682.70	66,493,970	1.9	41.9
United States	2,380.00	10,065,270.00	285,023,886	--	8.35
Italy	2,266.00	1,088,754.00	57,844,924	0.2	39.17
Bangladesh	2,104.50	46,705.90	132,974,813	4.5	15.83
Greece	2,014.00	117,168.70	10,623,835	1.7	189.57
Jordan	2,011.00	8,829.10	5,153,378	22.8	390.23

¹The remittance data presented in the above table are from IMF (International Monetary Fund), 2003, Balance of Payments Statistics Yearbook 2002 (Washington, DC, IMF Publications Services). "Total remittances" refers to the sum of the 1) workers' remittances, 2) compensation to employees, and 3) migrant transfers reported by each country. The remittance data presented for all countries are for 2001 except the data for India which are for 2000. For additional information on how remittances are defined and measured, see Chapter Seven in Bilborrow et. al., 1997, International Migration Statistics: Guidelines for Improving Data Collection Systems (Geneva: International Labour Office).

²The source for the gross domestic product for each country is the World Bank website at devdata.worldbank.org/data-query. The GDP data presented for all countries are for 2001 except the data for India which are for 2000.

³The source of the total population data for each country are estimates generated by the US Census Bureau (see www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbrank.html). The total population figures presented for all countries are for 2001 except India which is for 2000.

Source: Remittance data compiled from the Balance of Payments Yearbook 2000 published annually by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Table 1.7: Top Ten Incoming International Telephone Traffic, 2003 (Minutes)

Rank	Country	Year	
		1998	2003
1	United States	10,796,309,504	14,777,042,600
2	United Kingdom	6,064,000,000	8,746,996,556
3	Canada	4,362,999,808	8,522,640,640
4	France	4,514,999,808	7,820,017,000
5	Germany	6,035,999,744	7,619,532,640
6	China	2,520,000,000	6,509,751,000
7	Mexico	2,969,662,720	6,052,865,300
8	Italy	3,104,999,936	5,980,145,605
9	Netherlands	2,010,000,000	2,830,786,008
10	Philippines	791,900,992	2,740,791,000

Bold indicates high growth area.

Source: International Telecommunications Union Database, 2004.

Table 1.8 Telephone Access, Principle Land Lines and Mobile Phone in Use, Top 20 Countries*

Rank	Country	Telephones main lines	Rank	Country	Telephones mobile cellular
1	China	263,000,000	1	European Union	314,644,700
2	European Union	238,763,162	2	China	269,000,000
3	United States	181,599,900	3	United States	158,722,000
4	Japan	71,149,000	4	Japan	86,658,600
5	Germany	54,350,000	5	Germany	64,800,000
6	India	48,917,000	6	Italy	55,918,000
7	Brazil	38,810,000	7	United Kingdom	49,677,000
8	Russia	35,500,000	8	Brazil	46,373,300
9	United Kingdom	34,898,000	9	France	41,683,100
10	France	33,905,400	10	Spain	37,506,700
11	Italy	26,596,000	11	Korea, South	33,591,800
12	Korea, South	22,877,000	12	Mexico	28,125,000
13	Canada	19,950,900	13	Turkey	27,887,500
14	Turkey	18,916,700	14	Thailand	26,500,000
15	Spain	17,567,500	15	India	26,154,400
16	Mexico	15,958,700	16	Taiwan	25,089,600
17	Iran	14,571,100	17	Russia	17,608,800
18	Taiwan	13,355,000	18	Poland	17,401,000
19	Poland	12,300,000	19	South Africa	16,860,000
20	Ukraine	10,833,300	20	Philippines	15,201,000

*Date of Information varies from 2002-2005.

Source: compiled with data obtained from the government website of the Instituto Nacional de estadística Geografía e Informática INEGI and the CIA World Fact book.

**APPENDIX 2:
ETHICAL PROTOCOL AND MEASUREMENT TOOLS**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
Review Board for Non-Medical
Research Involving Human Subjects**

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Roderic Beaujot and Jenna Hennebry

STATUS: Professor (RB) and PhD student (JH)

DEPARTMENT/FACULTY: Sociology

ADDRESS: Department of Sociology, Social Sciences Centre

TELEPHONE:

RESEARCH PROJECT TITLE: The Global Movement of People and Their Labour: Temporary Migrant Workers in Canada

Names and Titles of All Co-investigators; Name of Faculty Advisor if a Student

Faculty Advisor: Roderic Beaujot

Signature of the Principal Investigator or Faculty member responsible for the research attesting that all co-investigators have reviewed the protocol contents and are in agreement with the contents as submitted; and that the Department Chairperson is aware of this research.

SIGNATURE: DATE:

*****THIS IS A COVER PAGE ONLY, COMPLETE ALL SECTIONS INSIDE****

PLEASE SUBMIT THE ORIGINAL + 9 COPIES TO DENTAL SCIENCE BUILDING, ROOM 00045.

1. HISTORY OF THIS PROTOCOL:

(a) New: This is a new protocol.

Modification Annual Review _____ Previous No. 8807S

Does this protocol differ in any way from previously approved protocol?

YES NO _____

Explain any differences: Now includes letter of information to Farmers, interview guide for farmers and revised letter of information to workers.

(b) Any restrictions on publication of this research?

YES _____ NO _____

(Describe any restrictions)

(c) Is this research funded or applied for? N/A

FUNDED APPLIED FOR

Agency:

Number:

Date Proposal Due in Agency:

(d) Projected completion date: September 2003

Date of Anticipated Completion of Use of Subjects: September 2002

(e) Does this Study Involve any Procedures or Therapies of a Medical Nature?

YES _____ NO _____

(Describe any medical procedures or therapies)



2. SUMMARY OF PROPOSED RESEARCH (Insert pages as required):

The summary shall include: a short descriptive title; the study design; specific manipulations; the nature of questionnaires, tests, interviews etc. Attach a copy of questionnaires or tests to be used. Address the scholar/scientific validity of the study and the appropriateness of utilizing human subjects. Include selected references where appropriate.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL:

In the post-war era there has been a massive expansion in migratory flows and there is now almost no state or part of the world that is not importing or exporting labour, effectively creating new systems of global stratification (Gardezi, 1995; Held et. al, 1999) . People are largely unaware of the scale of temporary migration and its use to meet specific economic needs. Preliminary analysis of data provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000) indicates that the numbers of temporary migrant workers entering the country and the labour force annually exceed the number recorded as landed immigrants, not counting those who live and work in Canada for less than one year. In terms of person years of employment, temporary employment authorizations are generally larger than the number of landed immigrants entering the labour force annually. Migrants on temporary worker permits are essentially transient citizens: they integrate into the host society and take on many of the responsibilities of citizenship, while maintaining connections to their source country. As such, these workers do not share the same rights and privileges or protections as other Canadians. This places them in a unique position in the Canadian structure of inequality, and in a particularly vulnerable position in a global system of stratification; fostering the emergence of transnational identities, families, religions and culture, and challenging dominant notions of citizenship and nationality that are framed by physical and political borders. This understudied set of processes has major implications for the migrant, for nation-states and their citizens, and for the international community.

There has been very little research on the relationship between migration and globalization, such as the impact of globalization on the push and pull factors contributing to migration, and even less on the specific position of international migrant workers. Much of what has been produced has been largely paradigmatic efforts, fractionalized by various disciplinary ideologies and methodologies that provide very narrow prescriptions for population and human rights initiatives. Some researchers have noted the connection between migration and globalization (Watson, 1998; Giddens, 1999), but often fail to move beyond looking at capital as separate from people, the social world, politics and culture. This is

typical of much research on globalization, and contributes to misunderstandings of many political, economic, and cultural dimensions to globalization (Sassen, 1998). The impact of globalization trends and trade agreements on immigrant workers (mostly pertaining to permanent residents) in developed countries has gotten some attention, but it is often from the nation state perspective and focussed on permanent immigrants, and is thus concerned with factors such as integration and mobility. The distinction between temporary and permanent migration systems is an important one in understanding the push and pull factors of the migration process, and expected duration of stay remains an integral, yet understudied element of the determinants and experiences of migration (Roberts, 1995; Richmond, 1994). Individuals do not migrate, groups do (Tilly, 1990) and transnational networks for temporary migrants remain largely understudied (Baubock, 1994). There has also been little research examining women's role in transnational economic and social networks and there has been very little on women as temporary migrants or as dependants of temporary migrants, outside the examination of the situation of domestic workers in North America. A gender analyses of the processes by which temporary migrants are admitted and regulated, their working and living conditions, their rights, their role in global economy and position in a global system of stratification is imperative.

This purpose of this research is to gain an understanding of these processes and their consequences and theorize the implications of migration policies and international agreements that affect temporary migrants and their families. This research examines the working and living conditions of temporary migrants, work relations and experiences, access to health and social services, and the extent of transnational linkages.

Study Design

This research involves two data collection methods. The first is an extensive examination into the unique position of temporary migrant workers in Canada, using relatively unanalyzed administrative data from the Client Based Data System (CBDS) on temporary worker permit holders provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Time series analysis of this data facilitates the examination of migration flow patterns, rates and source countries, and socio-demographic characteristics of this migrant population over time. The CBDS also allows for the identification of non-permanent residents who subsequently applied for permanent residence from outside of Canada, making it possible to determine whether there is a trend for those who apply for temporary migrant status to eventually become permanent Canadian residents.

In order to investigate the transnational identity and culture formation, the impact of migration on families, and to document the experiences of temporary migrants, semi-structured qualitative interviews have been developed for temporary migrants in Canada. Two farms who employ specifically workers from Mexico were non-randomly selected and have been contacted and their participation requested. A total of 50 temporary workers taken from the farms will be asked a series of open-ended questions in order to gain an understanding of their experiences, with specific attention to power in the work relationship, determining the choices and determinants of migration, and the extent of transnational networks.

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Watson, Williamson. 1998. *Globalization and the Meaning of Canadian Life*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

(a) No. of subjects: 50 participants

Sources: 2 Southern Ontario farms

Compensation: A copy of findings will be made available, and a small symbolic compensation (such as a Canadian pin) is being considered (under \$5.00).

Place where research is carried out: On farm locations, or another location preferred by respondent

(b) Describe the method of recruiting subjects, who will be contacting them. Provide a copy of any advertisement.

Subjects will be selected through contact with Farm owners and employers. Farmers will be asked to meet and to answer some general questions regarding background on their farm operation and employment of migrant workers. All farm workers will be asked to participate at both farm locations. After access is given via farm owners, subjects will be spoken to individually to ascertain their eligibility (temporary worker status) and to secure informed consent prior to interview and an interview will be scheduled at that time for a later date.

(c) Describe the subjects to be included in the study and any exclusion criteria.

Persons aged 18 or over who are working in agriculture on Canadian Temporary Worker Permits, who are capable of giving informed consent. Farm owners who employ temporary migrants, who are also capable of consent.

Will the Study Involve:

Minors? YES _____ NO _____

Incompetent Subjects? YES _____ NO _____

3. RISKS AND BENEFITS (Insert pages as required):

(a) Discuss the risks and benefits of the proposed research to all parties, specifying the particular risks associated with each procedure, test, interview, or other aspect of the protocol?

In an intensive interview, there is always the risk of going into an area that turns out to be sensitive to a given respondent. This will be treated with all the necessary caution: no one is forced to be interviewed nor to answer a specific question, respondents are first informed about the nature of the interview/questionnaire, their consent is determined, they are also informed that they have the right to refuse to answer any questions and they are free to end the interview at any time.

Confidentiality of interview content will be maintained and respondents will be assured that their responses will not be reported to government authorities or to their employers.

(b) Please indicate if deception will be involved in this study. If yes, please justify its use and explain the debriefing procedures. *No deception.*

(c) Describe the procedures for preserving confidentiality of subjects. Explain how written records, videotapes, recordings, questionnaires, and tests will be kept and disposed of, after the study is completed. Describe any condition in which confidentiality or anonymity cannot be guaranteed or must be breached.

Before starting, the interviewer will say:

This interview is completely confidential. You are free to refuse to answer any questions and you are free to end the interview at any time. Do you have any questions before I begin?

I will also ask to record the interview to permit accurate transcription, and indicate that they have the right to refuse to be recorded.

To preserve confidentiality, the recordings and transcribed interviews will be given an identification number and names and personal contact information will be kept separately. Recordings and transcribed documents will be kept in a secure location at the University of Western, Sociology Department.

4. SUBJECT INFORMATION AND INFORMED CONSENT (Insert pages as required):

NOTE: A COPY OF THE LETTER OF INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM MUST BE ATTACHED

(See "Checklist of Essential Components in Submissions for Ethical Review" and "Instructions for Preparing Letters of Information and Consent forms"--1991 Review Board Guidelines)

(a) Describe the procedure for informing subjects about the research, including the information imparted to them.

Subjects will be informed that this is an interview of between 1 to 2 hours regarding their experiences as migrant workers, their knowledge of their rights and their perceptions on how being a migrant worker has affected their families. They will be told that there are a few specific questions about themselves (age, marital status, family size, work history) but they can refuse to answer any specific question.

There will not be a consent form, because there is no need to have people's names or to have them sign their names, it would likely only serve to intimidate respondents. The letter of information will make it clear that they can refuse to participate, and it will be read and distributed at the time of interview scheduling and again at the beginning of the interview.

The attached interview is designed to be semi-structured, so that respondents can talk about their experiences comfortably. The questions will be read in either English or Spanish, whichever language is most preferred by the respondent. They are also free to respond in either language.

(b) Are the subjects competent to consent?

YES NO

If not, describe the alternative source of consent.

Semi- Structured Interview Plan

The following semi-structured interview framework outlines some specific questions and topics of interest. Each section has an ultimate goal, and the interviews are designed to be fluid and comfortable conversations, allowing respondents to expand or limit discussion of a given topic when they deem it appropriate.

A. Sociodemographics: This section is designed to gather background information from the respondent. It will also establish occupation status and immigration status.

1. What is your work status? (What are the parameters of the temporary work permit?)
2. What is your occupation title?
3. What is your citizenship (country of citizenship)?
4. Are you married? (married, single, divorced, etc)
5. Do you have any children? If yes, how many?
6. What is your age?
7. What is your education level?

B. Work Relations: This section is intended to map out the parameters of the temporary worker relationship in a practical sense, and to clarify the nature of that relationship.

1. What do you do at work? Please describe what you do.
2. How did you get your job?
3. Have you worked here before?
4. How long is your work permit for?
5. Was the work permit difficult to get?
6. Was there a fee associated with the permit?
If so, a) how much was it? b) how did you pay for it?
7. Have you had a work permit before?
If so, a) when, b)where?
8. In Mexico, many workers migrate to the northern regions, such as to the State of Sinaloa, in order to find work. Have you been a migrant worker in Mexico?
(Probe for details/connections if they have worked on these farms.)
9. Are you aware of any limitations on your work permit? For example, can you leave this job and work somewhere else?
10. What is your hourly rate of pay? (Does that include room and board, or other costs?)
11. How many hours do you work a day? A week?
12. Do receive any benefits? (Such as vacation pay, dental insurance, etc.)
13. Do you have breaks at work?
If so, a) how often? b) for what length of time?

C. Work and Migration Experiences: This section seeks to obtain a general understanding of the workers overall experience as a temporary migrant with particular attention to whether these workers feel they have control over the work process and any sense of powerlessness or dependency.

1. Why did you decide to work here in Canada (at this farm)?
2. How important is this job to you? (Please explain in what way this job is important.)
3. What other jobs might you do either inside Mexico or as a migrant outside Mexico?

4. How are you enjoying your work and do you have any complaints (Probe: What do you like/dislike about it?)
5. Do you have any say in what you do at work?
(Such as, can you decide when you do specific tasks, or when you take breaks?)
6. If your boss does something you don't like, what do you do? (What can you do?)
(Probe for examples/ explanation.)
7. Farming involves working outside for a large number of hours. Do you find that difficult?
8. Are you provided with any protection from the weather/work/chemicals from your employer?
(e.g. hat, sunscreen, gloves, masks, shelter, etc.)
9. How are you transported to/from work locations?
10. Do you work with other employees or do you work only with other migrants?
11. Do you feel that there are any differences in how you and the other non migrant workers are treated? (e.g. Do you do the same work, get the same breaks, etc?)
12. Have you or any of your fellow migrant workers ever tried to change any work rules or pay levels? (Would you? Please expand.)

D. Access and Services: These next questions examine whether workers have access to necessary and desired services.

1. As in other jobs, there can be dangers doing farm jobs. What do you do if you hurt yourself at work? Specifically, who treats you and do you know whether you could go to a hospital?
2. Do you have a temporary health card?
3. Has your employer talked to you about health care?
4. Does your employer pay you even if you are hurt?
5. Do you leave the farm?
If yes, a) How (access to transportation)? b) How often?
6. Do you have access to a telephone? (Probe for degree of access/extent.)
7. Do you have/ want access to the Internet? (where, how often, etc)
8. Do you send letters home?
If yes, a) How? b) How often?
9. Does your workplace provide any services that I have not mentioned?
(e.g. language training programs, education, etc.)
10. Are there any services that you would like to have access to (or be provided)?
(e.g. Daycare, counselling, language training, etc.)

E. Transnationality and Identity: This section asks questions pertaining to the sense of attachment that the migrant has towards the host and home country and establishes transnational linkages.

1. Where does your wife/husband (and children) live?
(If worker's partner lives here, modify each question below.)
2. If spouse/family live outside Canada, would you bring your spouse here if you could?
3. Is it hard being away from your family? How so? Please expand.
4. Do you send money home to your family (or others in your community)?
If yes, a) How often? b) How much (approx. amount of pay)?
5. Does your spouse work? (What job?)
6. Does any member of your family or community depend on money you send them? (Probe for whether adequate subsistence, local resources to support family).
7. Do you miss your home? Please expand.
8. Do you feel at home here in Canada (insert town)?
9. Are you a part of any community/ church organizations here in Canada?
If so, a) which ones?

10. Are you a part of community/ church organizations in Mexico?
If so, a) which ones?
11. Do you feel attachment to Canada? (Probe: Do you think of yourself as Canadian at all?)
12. Do you feel close to the other migrants you work with? (Probe for group reinforcement expectations, share sense of deprivation, discrimination, etc.)
13. Do you want to immigrate permanently to Canada?
If yes, a) have you taken any steps toward this

Interview Guideline for Farm Employer

This interview will be unstructured and follow a conversation format. Since the researcher is largely unaware of the processes and procedures involved in hiring and employing temporary farm workers, the unstructured format is required in order to let the farmer explain what is involved and provide what information they chose to provide. The main purpose is to obtain descriptive information about the farm operations and employment relations. Specifically, the farmer will be asked to provide details regarding the number of workers employed and their wages, payment arrangements, and living arrangements. They will be asked the number of years they have employed farm workers, how they became aware of the farm worker program, what the process is to apply for and retain workers, who they report to, etc. They will be asked to specify the nature and frequency of contact with Human Resources Canada and any other governmental or non-governmental organization related to the employment of the workers. Farmers will be asked what arrangements they have made for workers in case of injury or illness and what has been the history with these issues. They will also be asked to comment on their workers generally, about whether they feel the employment of these workers has been beneficial and if they have any complaints or comments. It is likely that the interview will take approximately 2 hours and will take place in a time and location of the farmer's preference. The interview will be audiotaped and then later transcribed. The attached letter of information to the farmer specifies this and also emphasizes voluntary participation and confidentiality.

Guideline for Case Study Interviews - Worker Spouses

Discussions with spouses will be informal and follow an unstructured conversation format whenever opportunities emerge. Primarily, these conversations will focus on the extent to which and in what ways the lives of spouses have changed with or been impacted by the participation of the workers in the Canadian FARMS program. This is valuable in terms of gathering the descriptive information of a few spouses in order to add greater depth to the information gathered from the interview of workers while in Canada. This will allow for the spouses to express for themselves, their immediate experiences, rather than relying on the second hand accounts from their husbands. In order to avoid assumptions about their everyday lives, it is best to leave this interview unstructured and open, and allow the spouses to tell me only those things they see as important, or only those things they feel comfortable talking about. With permission, when possible, conversations will be audiotaped and then later transcribed.

(Information Letter)

The Global Movement of People and Their Labour: A Study of Temporary Migrant Workers in Canada

Dear Participant,

I am a PhD student in Sociology at the University of Western Ontario and I would like to invite you to participate in a study about your experiences as a temporary migrant in Canada. I want to know about your experiences at work and as a temporary migrant in Canada. I also want to understand how you feel about Canada and being away from your home and family in Mexico. This research is also about understanding how your community in Mexico is connected to your community here in Canada.

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you agree to participate you are asked to take part in an interview to speak about your experiences and your views. The interviews are relaxed and will allow us to start from some specific questions and then talk about issues that are important to you. The interview will take approximately 1-2 hours and we can talk at a location of your choice. For your comfort, you are welcome to answer all questions in English or in Spanish and where possible translations of questions can be provided. The interviews will be audiotaped and then transcribed into written form to improve accuracy. Your answers will be kept confidential. Your responses will not be made available to your employers or to any government agency. There is no danger to your immigration or employment status if you choose to participate in this study. You can refuse to participate, you can refuse to answer any question and you may end the interview at any time with no effect on your employment status. If the results from this study are published, your name will not be used and no information that discloses your identity will be released or published without your consent. Remember, you do not have to be in the study if you don't want to. Nobody will be mad at you if you don't want to do this. If you don't want to be in the study, just say so. Even if you say yes now, you can change your mind and say no later.

If you are interested in participating in the study, please set up an appointment with myself at the end of the day or contact Jenna Hennebry at anytime for an interview at your convenience. Please contact Jenna Hennebry or Dr. Roderic Beaujot if you have any questions or concerns. This letter is for your to keep. Gracias por su consideración.

Sincerely,

Jenna Hennebry, PhD Student, Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario

Dr. Roderic Beaujot, Faculty, Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario

(Information Letter)

The Global Movement of People and Their Labour: A Study of Temporary Migrant Workers in Canada

Dear (insert farmer's name),

I am a PhD student in Sociology at the University of Western Ontario and I would like to ask you for your assistance in a study of migrant farm workers. This research aims to understand the economic and social impact of the temporary migration of farm workers for individual farmers, for the individual migrant, and for Canadian society. I am specifically interested in the economic and social connections between Mexico and Canada. To gain such understanding, I would like to talk to those most immediately involved in the migration program: farmers and workers.

I would appreciate some of your time to discuss your experiences employing farm labourers and I ask you for permission to invite your workers to speak with me as well. Specifically, I am interested in the process by which you came to employ workers, the importance of their work for your farm, and any problems you have encountered along the way. I also wish to interview the migrant workers themselves about their experiences as migrants workers, about their feelings about Canada and about their families in Mexico. All interviews will not interfere with work time and can be done in a location of your preference.

Participation in this study is voluntary for yourself and for your employees. If you agree to participate you are asked to take part in a relaxed unstructured interview that will allow us to talk about the experiences and issues that are important to you. At any time you can refuse to participate, you can refuse to answer any question and you may end the interview. Your answers will be kept confidential. If the results from this study are published, your name will not be used and no information that discloses your identity (or that of the farm) will be released or published without your consent. The interview will take approximately 1-2 hours. The interview will be audiotaped and then transcribed into written form to improve accuracy. You will be provided with a copy of the question plan to be used during employee interviews. Upon completion of the study you will also be provided with a full copy of the final document.

I will respect your business and address all your questions or concerns in any way possible. This study will be supervised by Dr. Roderic Beaujot in the Department of Sociology at the University of Western Ontario. If you are willing to participate in the study please contact Jenna Hennebry to set up a meeting time at your convenience. If you have any questions or concerns you can reach me at the number above, or you can speak with Dr. Roderic Beaujot. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Jenna Hennebry, PhD Student, Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario

Dr. Roderic Beaujot, Faculty, Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario



Office of Research Ethics

The University of Western Ontario
 Room 00045 Dental Sciences Building, London ON, Canada, N6A 5C1
 Telephone: (519) 861-3035 Fax: (519) 850-2466 Email:ethics@uwo.ca
 Website: www.uwo.ca/research/ethics

Research Ethics Board For the Review of Non-Medical Research Involving
 Human Subjects
 REB Chair: B. Forster bforster@uwo.ca

PROJECT TITLE	The global movement of people and their labour: Temporary migrant workers in Canada.
REVIEW NUMBER	8807S (THIS NUMBER MUST BE QUOTED ON ALL MODIFICATIONS, REVISIONS, AND CORRESPONDENCE)
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR	R. Beaujot
REVIEW DATE	March 15, 2002
OUTCOME OF REVIEW	THE PROTOCOL WAS CONSIDERED BY THE BOARD AND WILL BE APPROVED UPON RECEIPT AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE FOLLOWING MODIFICATIONS OR RESPONSES.

Protocol

1. The Principal Investigator must be a Faculty Member. Please provide a copy of the front page of the Protocol with the original signature of Dr. Beaujot.
2. Section 2b: Please provide a letter of information for the Farmers as they are also research subjects.
3. Section 2b: Please provide a copy of the interview guide or interview questions to be asked of the farmers regarding background on their farm operation and employment of migrant workers.

Letter of Information

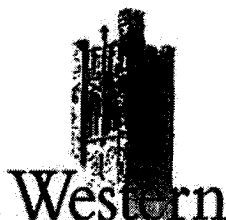
4. Add the title of the study as on Page 1 of the protocol to the top of the Letter.
5. In general, the Letter of Information is too complex for your subject sample. Please simplify the letter.
6. Emphasize that the potential participants do not have to participate in the study. Add this sentence: "You do not have to be in the study. Nobody will be mad at you if you don't want to do this. If you don't want to be in the study, just say so. Even if your say yes now, you can change your mind later. It's up to you."
7. Provide a Spanish version of the final letter for our file.
8. Para 1, Sent 1: Change "like to ask you a series of questions about" to "invite you to participate in a study about".
9. Para 2, Sent 1: Change the sentence to read "if you agree to participate you are asked to take part in an interview to speak about your experiences and your views."
10. Para 2: Indicate where the interviews will be conducted and their approximate length.
11. Para 2, Sent 3: Change the sentence to read "Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your employment status."
12. Para 2, Sent 4: change the sentence to read "Your answers will be kept confidential."
13. Para 2, Sent 6: Change "in no way" to "not".
14. Para 2, Sent 7: Add this sentence before Sent 7: "If the results of the study are published, your name will not be used and no information that discloses your identity will be released or published without your specific consent to the disclosure."
15. Para 3: The language in this paragraph needs to be simplified. Do not overstate the possible results of this research. The Board suggests deletion of Sentences 1 and 2. If

you do not delete the sentences, please incorporate the suggestions below using simpler language.

16. Para 3, Sent 1: Change the sentence to read "The results of the study may help shape migration and labour policies in both Canada and Mexico"
17. Para 3, Sent 2: Change the sentence to read "This research may help in the protection of the rights of migrants..." Delete "everywhere".
18. Indicate in the letter that you will be audiotaping the interviews and transcribing them into written form.
19. Add a section indicating that subjects may call Dr. Beaujot or J. Hennebry if they have questions about the study. Provide a phone number.
20. Add Dr. Beaujot's name, title and affiliation at the bottom of the letter.
21. Add this sentence to the letter "This letter is for you to keep."

Please forward one copy of your response, the modified Letters of Information, and Interview to Karen Kueneman, Office of Research Ethics, Room 00045 Dental Sciences Building, UWO for approval. Please note that the study may not commence until you receive the final notification of approval from this office.


 Karen Kueneman, Ethics Officer
 Email: kueneman@uwo.ca



Office of Research Ethics

The University of Western Ontario
 Room 00045 Dental Sciences Building, London, ON, Canada N6A 5C1
 Telephone: (519) 661-3036 Fax: (519) 850-2466 Email: ethics@uwo.ca
 Website: www.uwo.ca/research/ethics

Use of Human Subjects - Ethics Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. R. Beaujot

Review Number: 08807S

Revision Number:

Protocol Title: The global movement of people and their labour: Temporary migrant workers in Canada.

Department and Institution: Sociology, University of Western Ontario

Sponsor:

Approval Date: 19-Jul-02

End Date: 30-Sep-03

Documents Reviewed and Approved: UWO Protocol, Letters of Information

Documents Received for Information:

This is to notify you that the University of Western Ontario Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (REB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted full board approval to the above named research study on the date noted above.

This approval shall remain valid until end date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the REB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information. If you require an updated approval notice prior to that time you must request it using the UWO Updated Approval Request Form.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form may be initiated without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to the subject or when the change(s) involve only logistical or administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of monitor, telephone number). Expedited review of minor change(s) in ongoing studies will be considered. Subjects must receive a copy of the signed information/consent documentation.

Investigators must promptly also report to the REB:

- changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;
- all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
- new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment advertisement, the newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or advertisement, must be submitted to this office for approval.

Members of the REB who are named as investigators in research studies do not participate in discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the REB.

[Redacted Signature]

Karen Kueneman, BA (Hons), Ethics Officer REB
 E-mail: kueneman@uwo.ca

Chair of REB: Dr. Ben Forster

Faxed: Y N
 Date: _____

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

APPENDIX 3: RESEARCH SITES

Table 3.1 Mexican Population of Immigrants, Emigrants and Net Migration by Federal Entity (States), 2000

Federal Entity (State)	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Migration
Distrito Federal	1,827,644	4,457,713	-2,630,069
Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave	629,180	1,350,282	-721,102
Michoacán de Ocampo	332,805	909,120	-576,315
Puebla	436,024	884,670	-448,646
Oaxaca	201,099	843,317	-642,218
Jalisco	835,121	726,021	109,100
Guanajuato	389,975	669,729	-279,754
Guerrero	167,115	655,538	-488,423
México	5,059,089	654,711	4,404,378
San Luis Potosí	217,042	594,267	-377,225
Hidalgo	276,143	579,937	-303,794
Zacatecas	125,319	522,885	-397,566
Sinaloa	303,514	468,353	-164,839
Durango	163,607	447,731	-284,124
Coahuila de Zaragoza	317,792	425,338	-107,546
Tamaulipas	678,752	370,722	308,030
Chiapas	122,451	336,140	-213,689
Yucatán	113,140	271,734	-158,594
Tabasco	178,683	235,392	-56,709
Nuevo León	827,453	228,453	599,000
Sonora	356,489	208,016	148,473
Nayarit	152,540	204,431	-51,891
Chihuahua	524,897	202,864	322,033
Tlaxcala	136,504	179,408	-42,904
Querétaro de Arteaga	284,890	174,955	109,935
Morelos	431,003	143,964	287,039
Baja California	1,025,754	127,074	898,680
Aguascalientes	187,768	116,039	71,729
Campeche	156,158	89,223	66,935
Colima	139,290	78,375	60,915
Quintana Roo	485,255	34,139	451,116
Baja California Sur	137,928	29,883	108,045
Total: Estados Unidos Mexicanos	17,220,424	17,220,424	0

Source: INEGI. XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000. Tabulados Básicos. Aguascalientes, Ags., 2001.

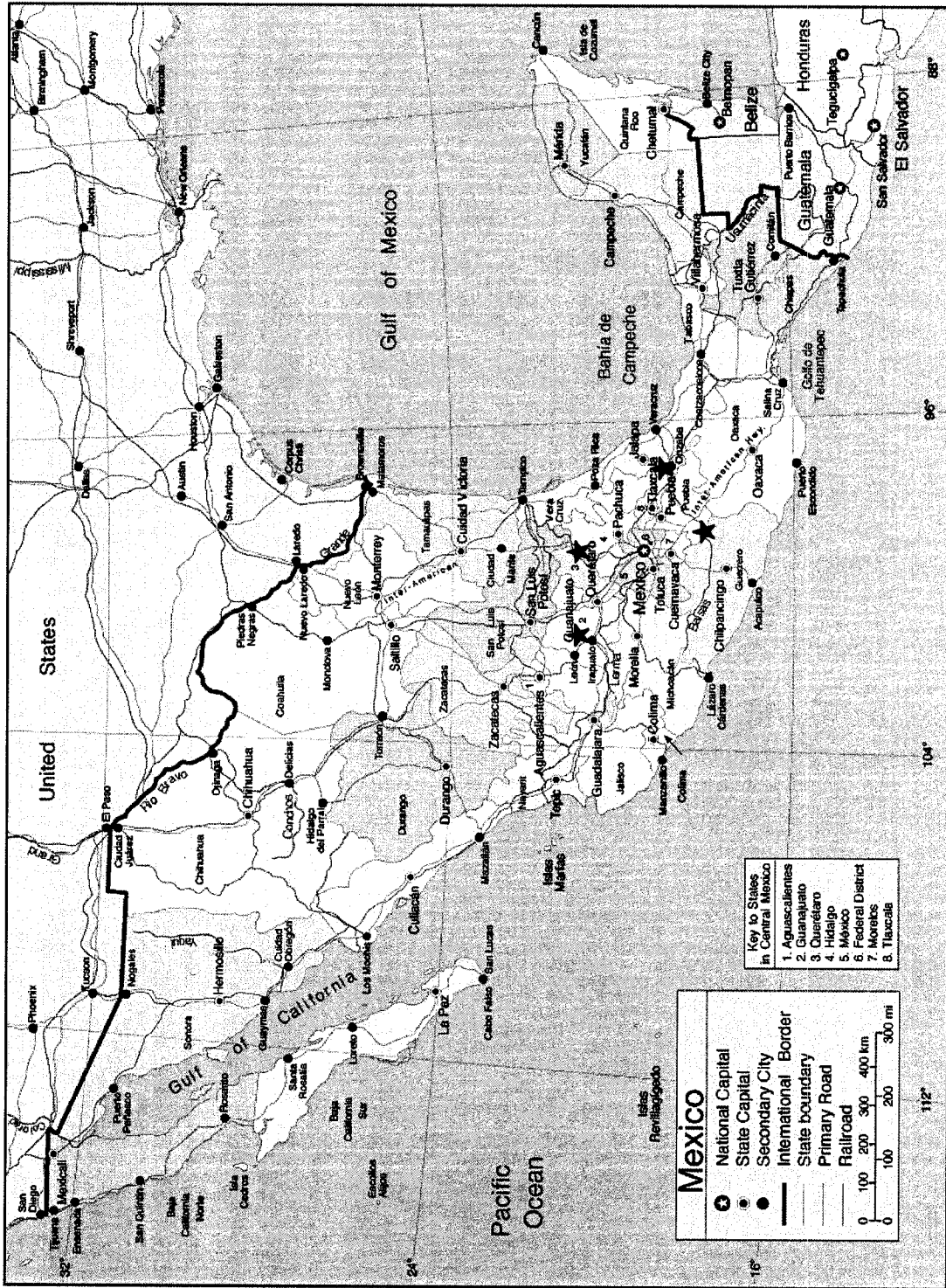


Figure 3.1: Map of Mexico - ★ indicate research areas

© 1992 Mapellan GeographicSM Santa Barbara, CA (800) 929-4627



Figure 3.2: Map of Ontario (Research area indicated by red circle)



Figure 3.3: Typical Work Site (Tree Farms)



Figure 3.4: Typical Interview Site

**APPENDIX 4:
ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIALS FOR CHAPTER 4**

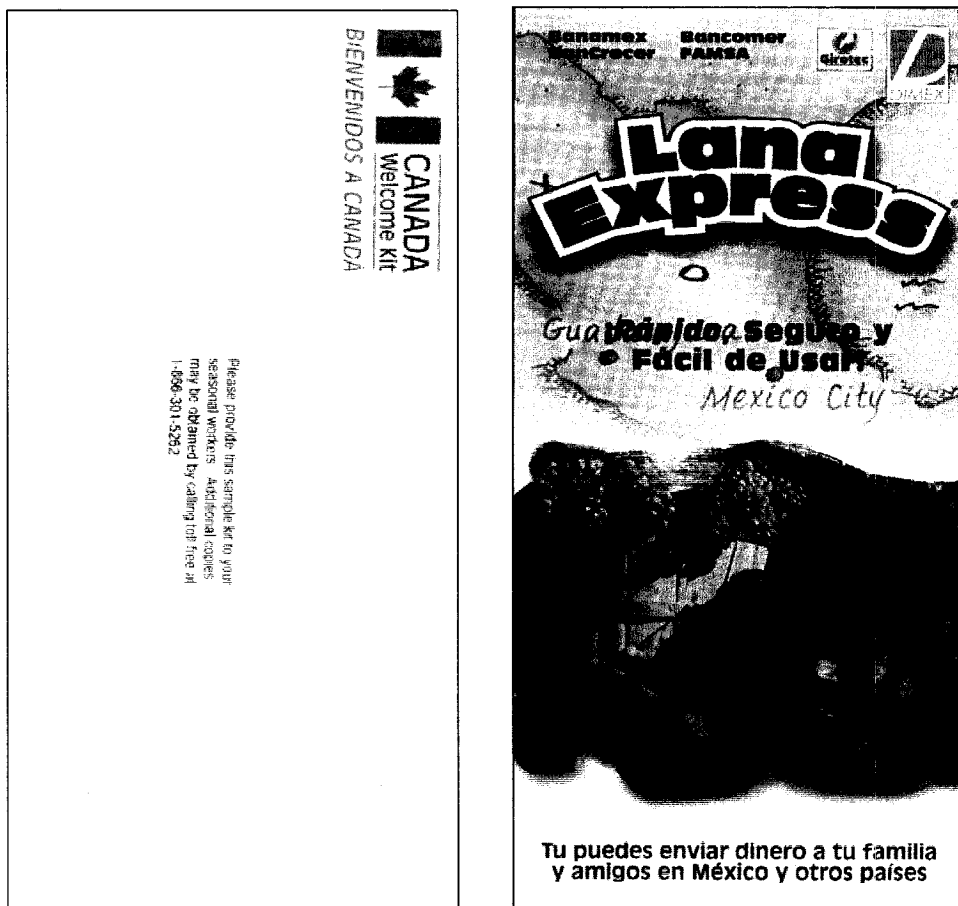


Figure 4.2: “Welcome Kit” for Migrant Workers.

This ICT service provider marketing kit was provided to workers upon entry to Canada. Many workers thought that this was official government documentation. It is the only information they received upon entry to Canada. The LanaExpress pamphlet was included inside it, along with a phone card for LanaFon, and forms for sending remittances to Mexico through LanaExpress and Bank of Montreal.



**Figure 4.3: Migrant Worker at Work
(Pruning With Machete and Stick)**



Figure 4.4: Migrant Worker at Work (Extended Pruning Shears)

**APPENDIX 5:
ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIALS FOR CHAPTER 5**

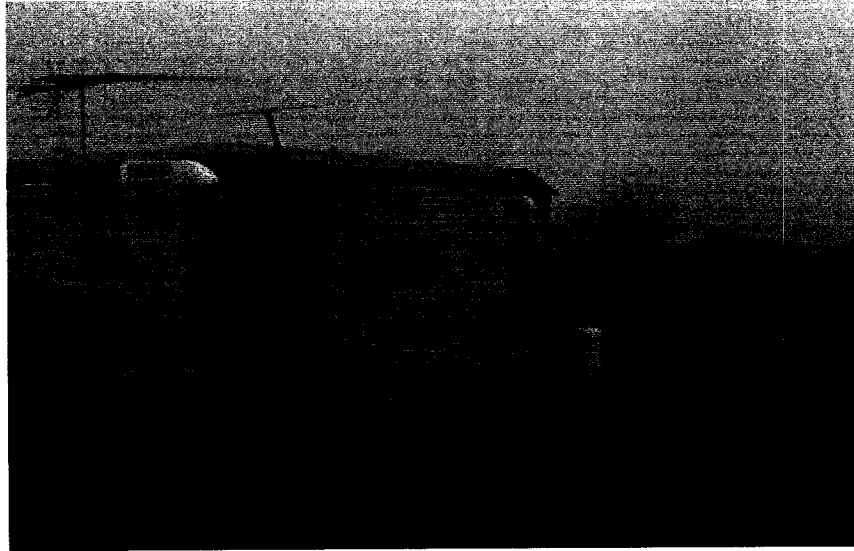


Figure 5.1: Housing for Out-of-Province Workers from Newfoundland
The white trailer houses two married out-of-province workers from Newfoundland (Farm 2). The Mexican workers' bunkhouse (for 10 workers) is located behind it. They are approximately the same size.



Figure 5.2: Migrant Worker Housing at Farm 2

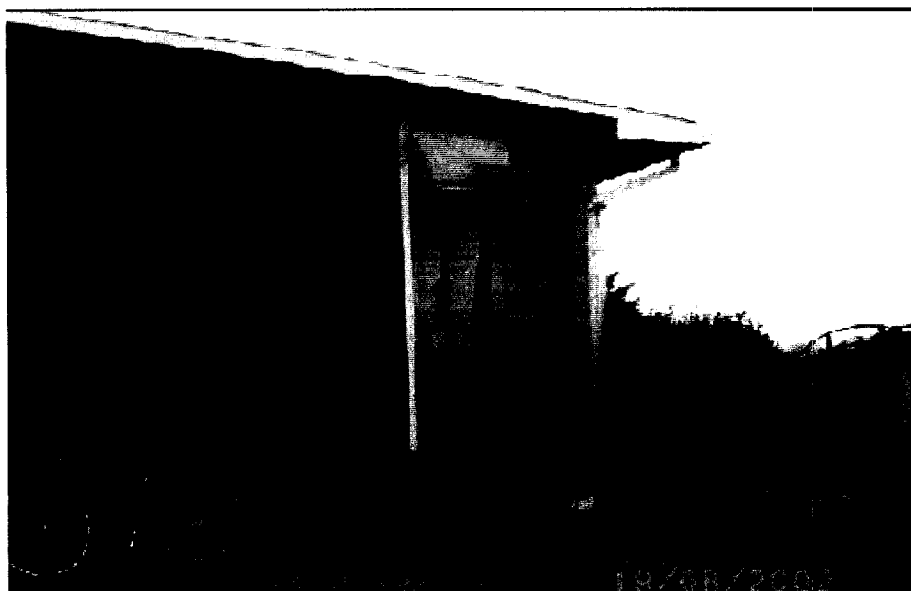


Figure 5.3: Migrant Worker Housing at Farm 5

Housing is located attached to large barns where transportation vehicles and pesticide supplies and equipment are stored.

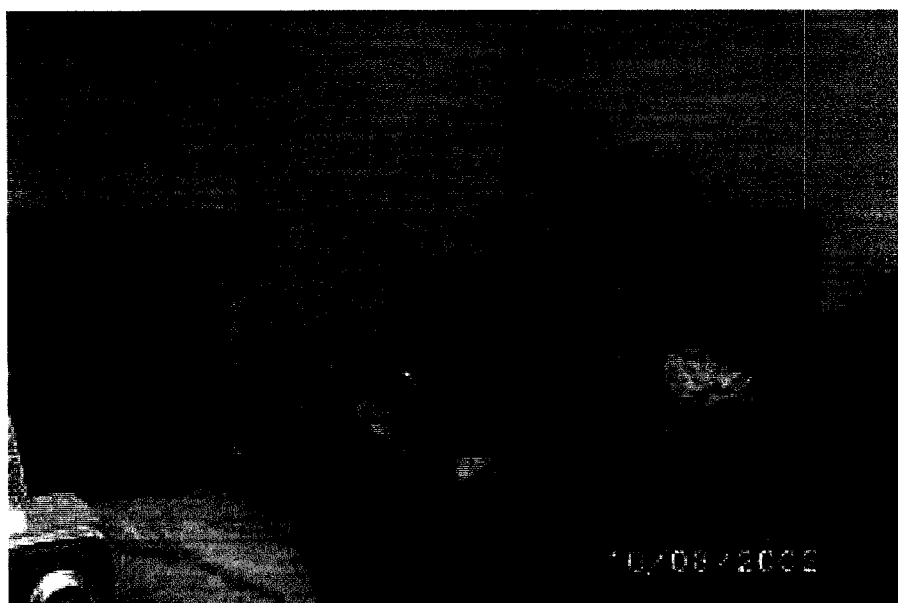


Figure 5.4: Migrant Worker Bunks at Farm 5



Figure 5.5: Migrant Worker Bunks at Farm 2



Figure 5.6: "Stoves"
One of two "stoves" shared by 15 migrant workers at Farm 5.

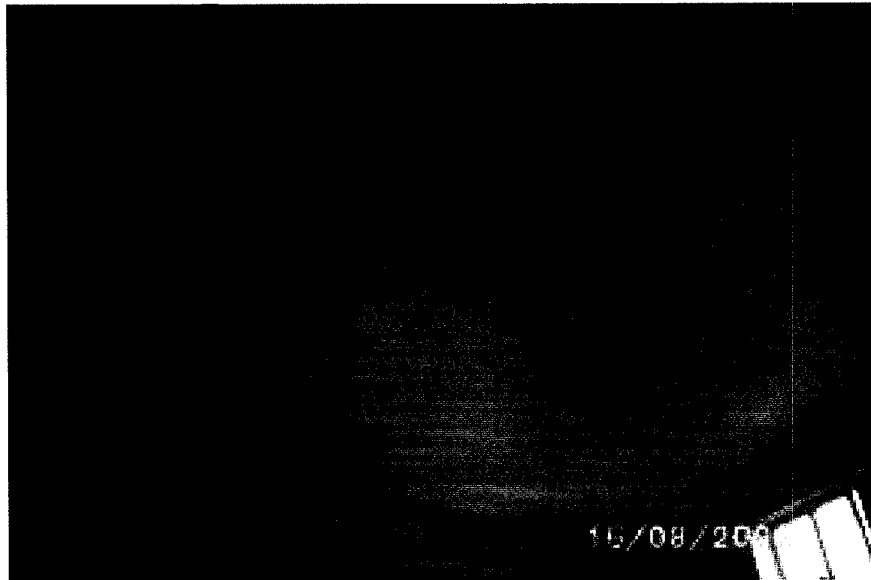


Figure 5.7: Leaky ceiling above kitchen table.

When it rains workers place buckets on the table to catch water while they eat. In 2001 workers requested that the leak be repaired, but in June 2005 the leak was still present.



Figure 5.8: Migrant Worker Housing Located at the Back of Farm 2 Property.

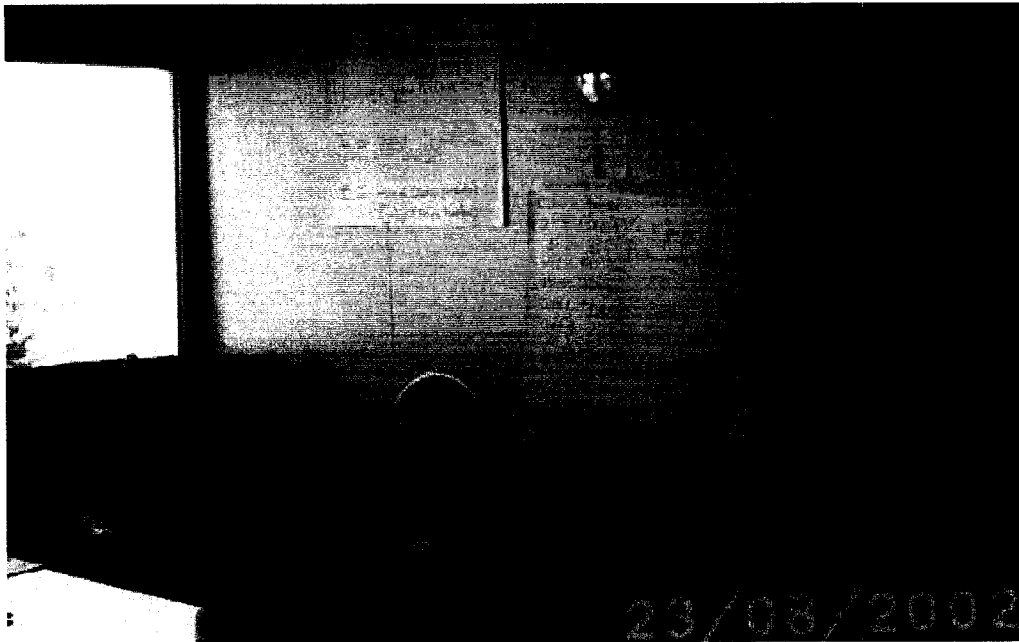


Figure 5.9: Teaching English in the Bunkhouse at Farm 2

**APPENDIX 6:
ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIALS FOR CHAPTER 6**

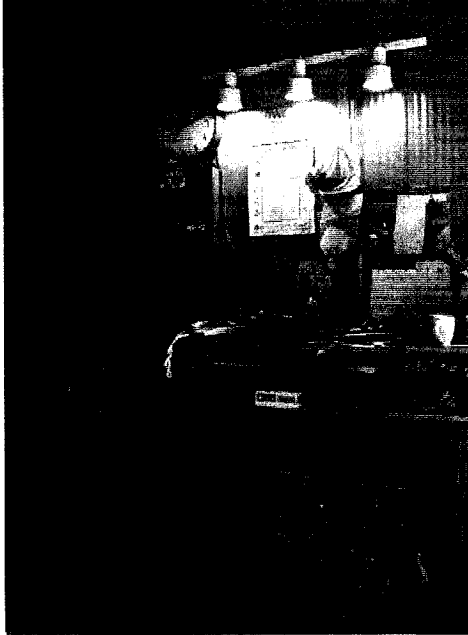


Figure 6.1: "Barn Phone" (Farm 2)



Figure 6.2: Payphone (Farm 5)



Figure 6.3: Payphone (off-site).

This phone is used by migrant workers to make weekly calls home to Mexico. The phone is located 3kms from their bunkhouse.

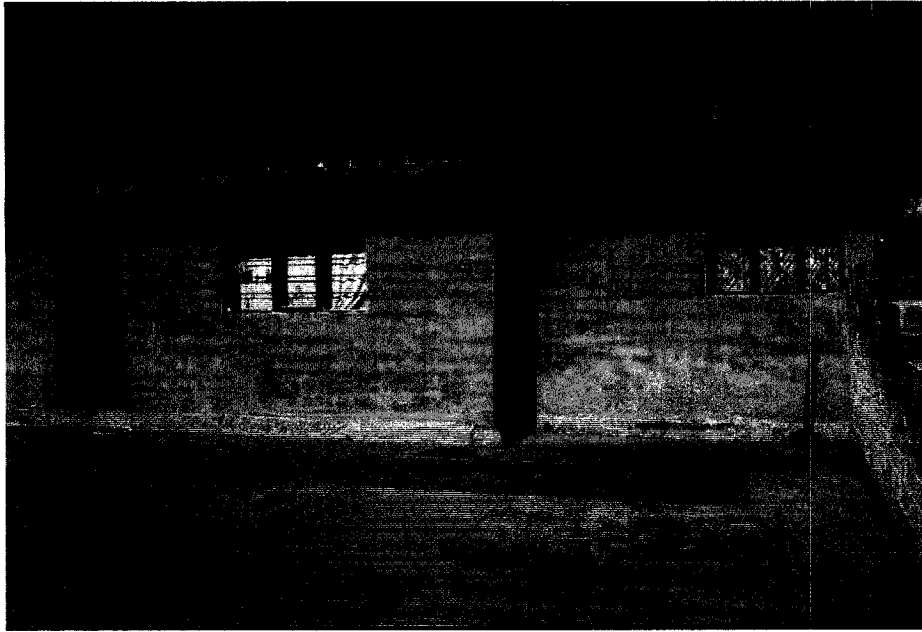


Figure 6.4: Remittance Use -House of Worker 4



Figure 6.5: Remittance Use - Kitchen of Worker 4.

This kitchen was built with remittances after year three in the SAWP.

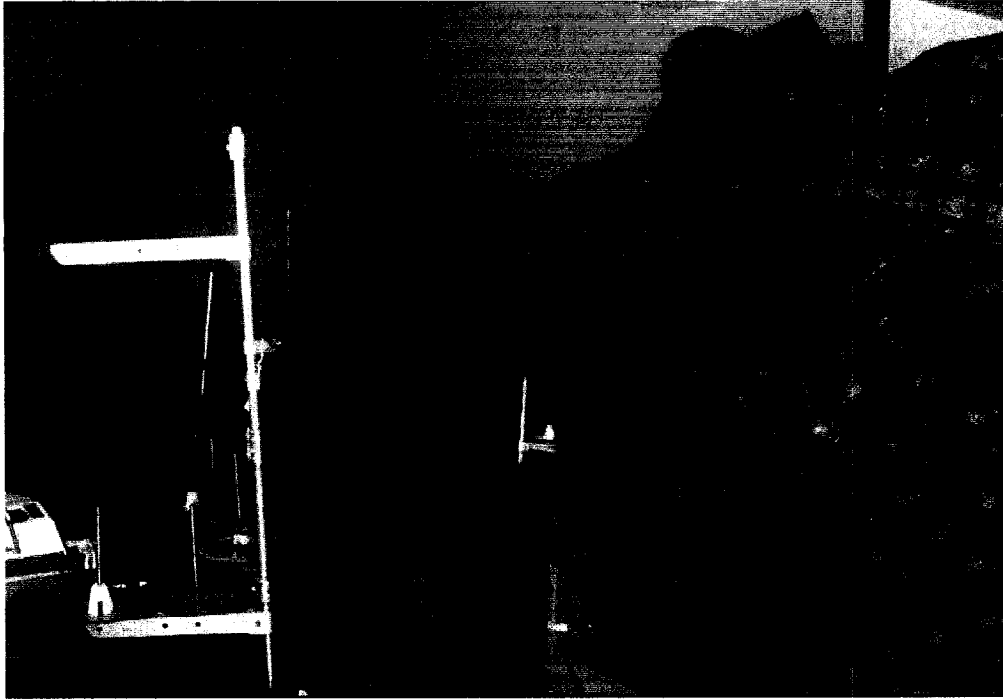


Figure 6.6: Sewing Room of Worker 4

Supplies and equipment have been purchased with remittance money. The Spouse of the worker purchased these independently. The spouse and daughter of migrant worker produce these textiles, which are sold to middleman at a rate per piece. These shirts are then sold to a US distributor.

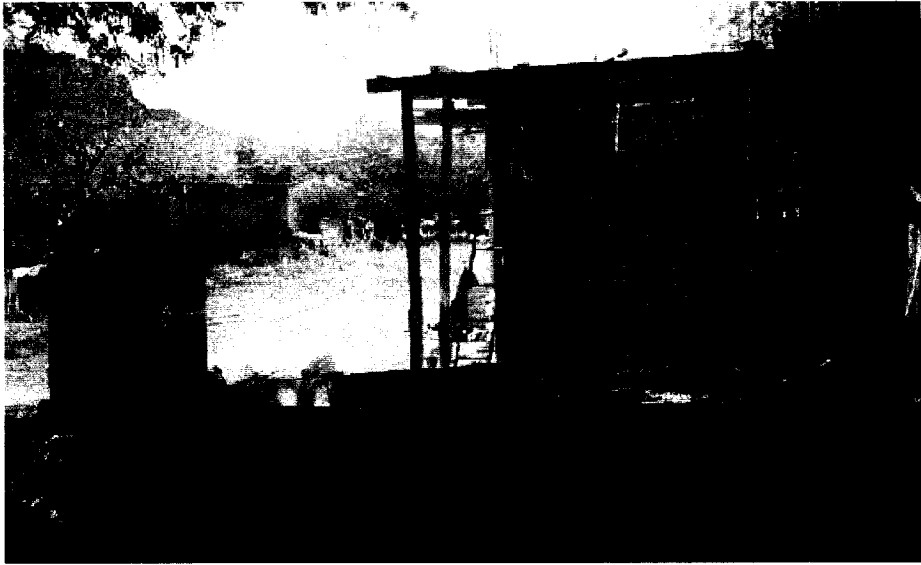


Figure 6.7: Remittance Usage - House Construction #1, Worker 5



Figure 6.8: Remittance Use – House Construction # 2, Worker 5

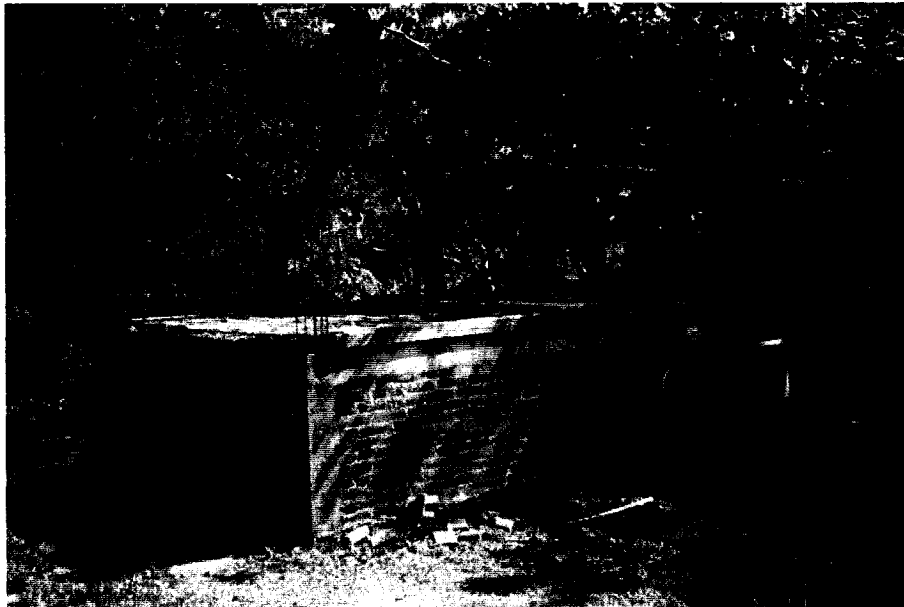


Figure 6.9: Remittance Use - Water Reservoir, Worker 5



Figure 6.10: Remittance Use – Brick Bathroom, Worker 5

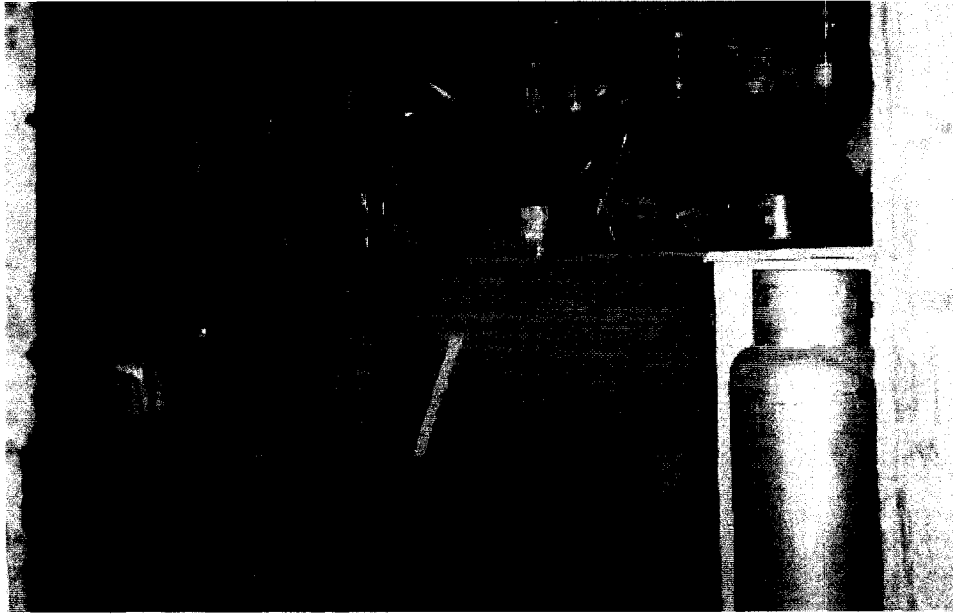


Figure 6.11: Remittance Use – New Stove!
Stove and propane tank purchased with one year of remittance money from the SAWP.
(Worker 11)



Figure 6.12: Stick House (Brother of Worker 11).



Figure 6.13: Bathroom, Worker 11



Figure 6.14: Home of Worker 11

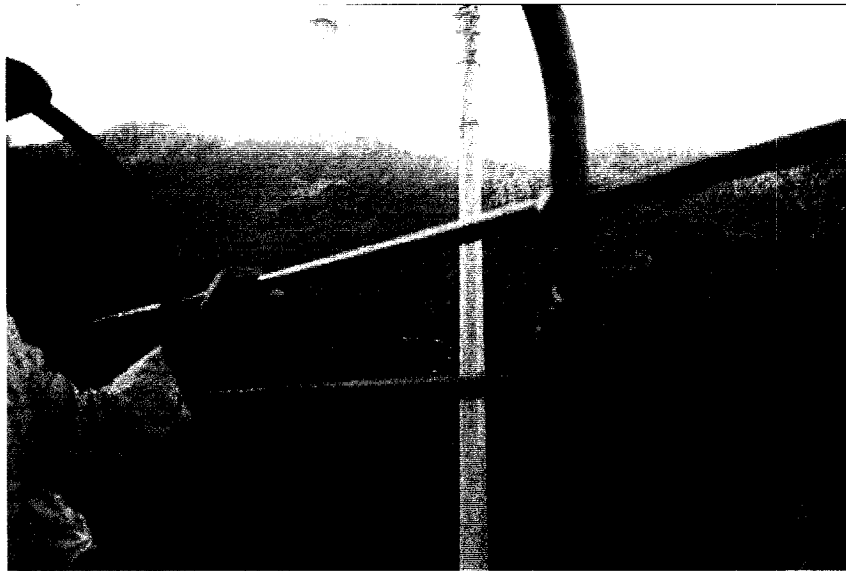


Figure 6.15: Ride to the Village.

The ride to the village outside of Tamazunchale was two hours in the back of this furniture truck. To the right, the view of the coffee and orange crops grown on the side of the mountain.



Figure 6.16: Surrounding Area, Hillside Village, Worker 11

To the right of the house at the top of the photograph is the house where telephone access is provided by the woman in the village.

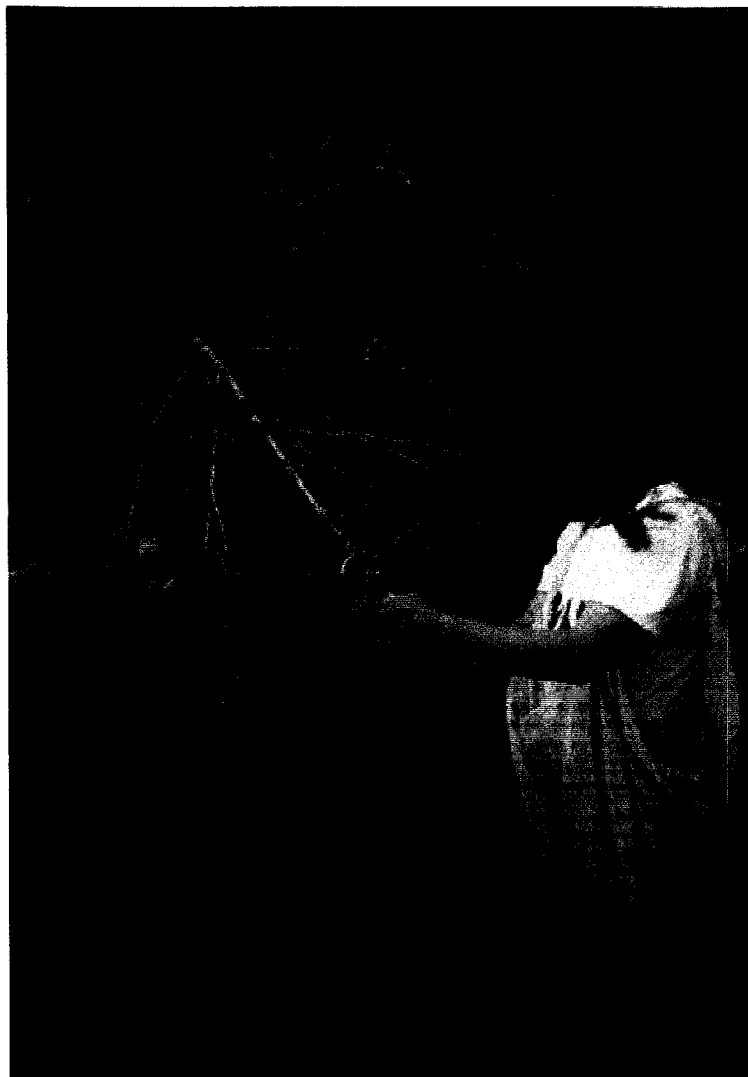


Figure 6.17: Picking Coffee

Picking coffee involves walking up and down the mountainside, often with a very steep incline. Often, coffee pickers harness themselves to secure trees with ropes in order to avoid falling down the mountain.

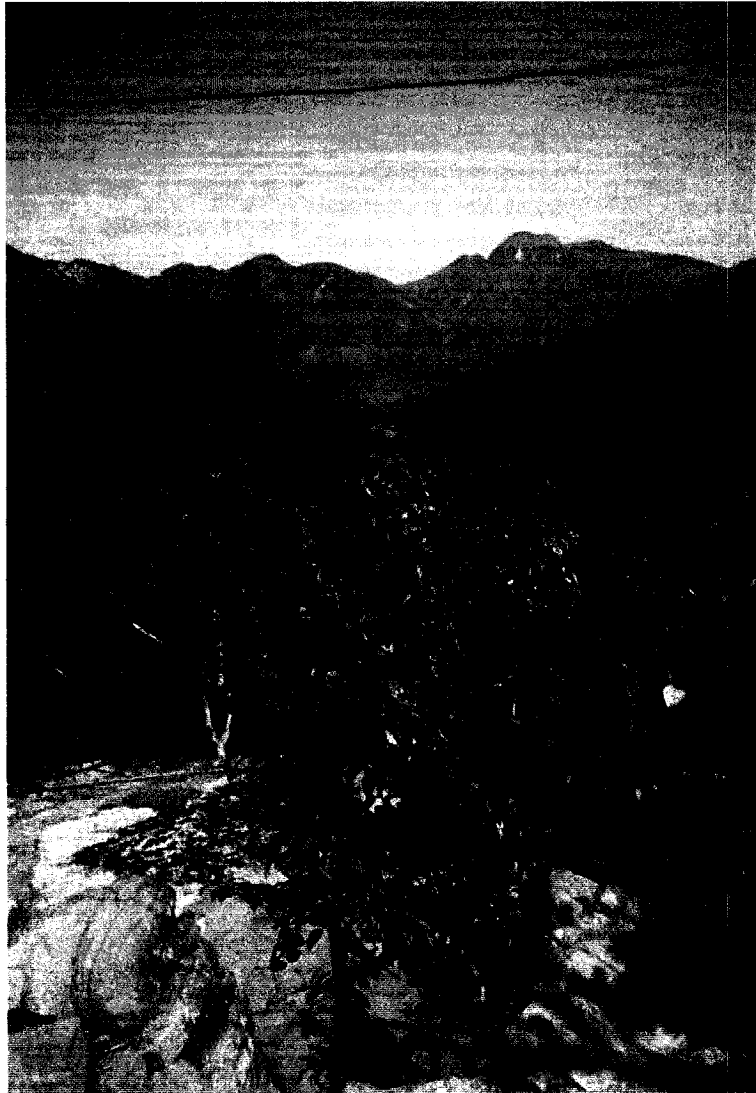


Figure 6.18: Coffee Drying

This is the view down the mountainside standing in front of Worker 11's house. The coffee is dried on the level below for a week before it can be husked, separated and then ground. The female spouse of Worker 11 takes on these jobs while Worker 11 is in the Canadian SAWP.



Figure 6.19: Pounding Dried Coffee Beans, Worker 11
This is done to enable the separation of beans from husks.

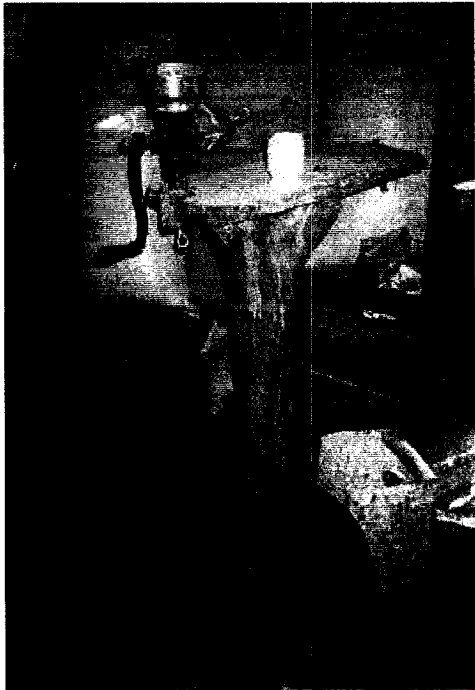


Figure 6.20-6.21: Separating Coffee Beans from Husks (left), Grinding and Bagging Coffee(right)

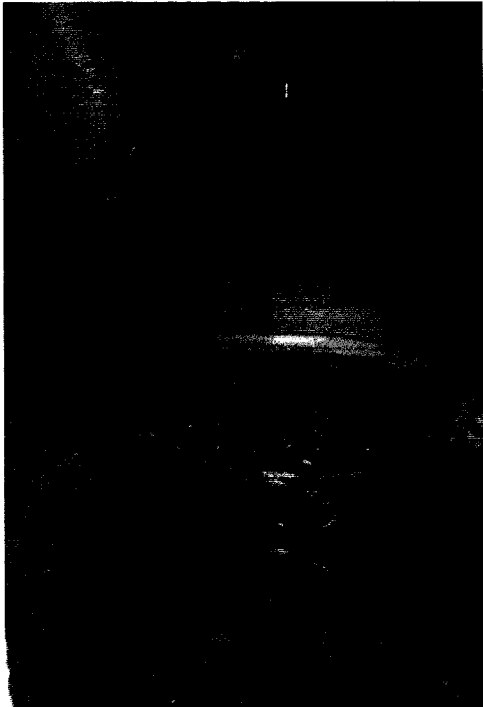


Figure 6.22-23: Roasting Beans (left), Selling Coffee and Oranges in the Market



Figure 6.24: Remittance Use- House of Worker 13



Figure 6.25: Spouse 13 Manages this Farm When Worker 13 is in the SAWP.

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