
Harvesting the Future: the impacts of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Mexico – Canada on the participants and in the development of the sending communities

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Abstract¹

This thesis explores the impact that the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) between Mexico and Canada has on the Mexican workers participating in it and in their communities in Mexico. The experience of the SAWP allows its participants to develop themselves and therefore contribute to the development of their communities and hometowns. While some people will see this program as merely for poverty alleviation, this research shows that with the right incentives it has potential to become a development tool for many rural communities in different states of Mexico.

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Glossary

AAFC: Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada

AAFS: Agriculture and Agri-Food system

CFO: Commission on Filipinos Overseas

CONAPO: Consejo Nacional de Población

Consulmex: Consulado de México

ESDC: Employment and Social Development Canada

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

IMP: International Mobility Program

INEGI: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía

IRCC: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

POEA: Philippines Overseas Employment Administration

SAWP: Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program

SRE: Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores

STPS: Secretaria de Trabajo y Previsión Social

TFW: Temporary Foreign Workers

TFPW: Temporary Foreign Workers Programs

Introduction

In 2015 20.8% of the Mexican population was living in rural areas. The estimated unemployment rate was 4.5%, and 52.3% of the population was living under the poverty line (The World Factbook, 2001). This explains why there is a large number of Mexicans seeking better opportunities abroad. According to the Consejo Nacional de Poblacion, Mexico is the second country with most migrants in the world, with over 12.3 million in 2015. Mexico is the fourth country in the world for the value of received remittances. For decades, the United States has been the main destination for Mexican migrants; however, due to different factors such as the United States harsh immigration policy, in the past five years at least 4% of Mexican migrants have chosen to go either to Spain or Canada (Consejo Nacional de Poblacion & Fundacion BBVA Bancomer, A.C., 2017).

Canada has a long history of employing migrant workers on a temporary basis, to cover labour shortages in different sectors. There is evidence that as early as 1868, Canadian farmers managed to obtain the government's help to bring British orphans to work in their farms (Preibisch, 2010). These practices continued throughout time. In 1973 employers started using the Temporary Foreign Workers Program (TFWP) model, not only for seasonal agricultural workers but for skilled workers and live-in caregivers. In 2002, a pilot project was launched to include also low-skilled workers.

Currently the various TFWP are managed by the Canadian government through Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC) and Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). According to IRCC data, during 2017, Canada hosted 78,820

Temporary Foreign Workers. Under these programs, nowadays employers in the agricultural sector have four different streams available to bring foreign labour: Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program, Agricultural Stream, Stream for Low-wage Positions, and Stream for High-Wage Positions (IRCC, 2018).

My research will be focusing on the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program that exists between Mexico and Canada (SAWP). Mexico's experience with these types of agreements goes back to 1909, during Porfirio Diaz's presidency when he signed an agreement with the government of the United States that provided them with 1000 Mexican agricultural workers, also known as "braceros". The SAWP program has been in place for more than 40 years, helping the Canadian economy to fulfill a labour gap in the agricultural sector. It started in 1974, sending 203 workers, and after forty-two years more than 325,000 farmworkers from rural areas, have been employed in farms all over Canada ('Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social', 2017). Despite the fact that it is not the only TFWP in existence, the SAWP is unique due to the high-level of cooperation between the Canadian and Mexican governments throughout its various stages. In 2017, 34.55% of the TFW that came to Canada were Mexicans (IRCC, 2018).

Despite the cooperation of both governments and the perception of the SAWP being a good example of "best practices model" (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010) it cannot be denied that program has some flaws and issues that require attention. Unfortunately, public and academic attention has focused mainly on the exploitation, unfair working conditions, inadequate housing, lack of medical coverage, and the overall negative aspects suffered by the migrant workers while working in Canada, leaving aside the ways

in which the benefits to the sending communities could be maximized. Binford (2006a) concludes in his study that despite the remittances and the important transfer of knowledge, the SAWP is "best conceived as a poverty alleviation as opposed to a development program" (pp.1) due to the fact that only a reduced number of workers choose to invest part of their SAWP earnings in alternative income sources for the future. For the SAWP to transition into a development program, it is important to know if the communities of these workers are impacted in a positive way or if changes are necessary, such as the implementation of social programs for example. One of the objectives of this research would be to contribute to filling this gap.

For my thesis research, assessed the SAWP between Mexico and Canada in the context of international migrations and "guest" worker programs around the world, and analyzed the impacts of the SAWP on the sending communities in rural Mexico. My objectives with this research were to:

- Asses what the SAWP migration experience means for the participants and how it can compare to other migration practices such as crossing through the United States and the difference that these two experiences have in the sending communities and the families;
- Identify the economic and social impacts of the SAWP regarding the sending communities' development and examine whether or not these communities are benefiting from the program;

- Understand how the SAWP experiences are being perceived by members of the community who stay behind;
- Learn about the impacts that the SAWP experience has on the workers' daily life and the impact this temporary migration has on the family dynamic;
- See if the SAWP is being used as a tool for development that provides an opportunity for participants to start breaking cycles of poverty and empowering future generations to do the same; and
- Explore if permanent residency in Canada is something that is appealing to SAWP participants.

My thesis is divided into five chapters. The first two review the pertinent literature. Chapter 1 provides background information regarding international migrations and introduces the concept of guest worker programs and their evolution throughout history. Chapter 2 provides information related to Canadian agriculture and the labour shortages in order to provide some context on the importance of the SAWP. This chapter also talks about the origins of the program, explains the way it works, and raises some of the critiques that academics have made about it. Chapter 3 focuses on the framework and methodology that I used for my research, giving details about the participants and the interviews themselves. Chapter 4 presents the data that has been gathered and its analysis in relation to the objectives I've previously mentioned. Finally, Chapter 5 offers a conclusion to the amazing journey that has been this research project.

Chapter 1 Migration & the Guest Worker Programs

International Migration

Migration is not a new phenomenon, as Castles et al. (2014) stated in *The Age of Migrations*: “human beings have always moved in search of new opportunities, or to escape poverty, conflict or environmental degradation” (p.5). There has been moments in history where migration has gained political momentum and higher numbers of immigrants have moved around the world. Some authors even consider that we are currently living in the age of migration. According to the UN, in 2015 there were almost 244 million international migrants, meaning that 3.3% of the world’s citizens lived outside their country of birth (United Nations, 2016). There is also a gender imbalance amongst international migrants with 51.8% being men and 48.2% women; most of these migrants are young and of a working age, between 20 and 49 years old (Fundación BBVA Bancomer, A.C. & Consejo Nacional de Población, 2017; United Nations, 2016).

Migration is a complex concept, it is a personal decision that has implications on the community. Migration involves economic, knowledge, and technology transfers that, if fully utilized, can eventually lead to the economic, social and cultural development of the communities involved. Migration is a cultural and safety challenge, and in some cases it is the last resource to provide a better quality of life and better opportunities for one’s family (Crepeau, Nakache, & Atak, 2009). Migration constantly flows and its volume varies from one region to another. For example high income countries host over two thirds of all the international migrants, with the United States as the main destination followed by

Germany, Russia, Saudi Arabia, United Kingdom, United Arab Emirates, Canada, France, Australia and Spain (United Nations , 2016).

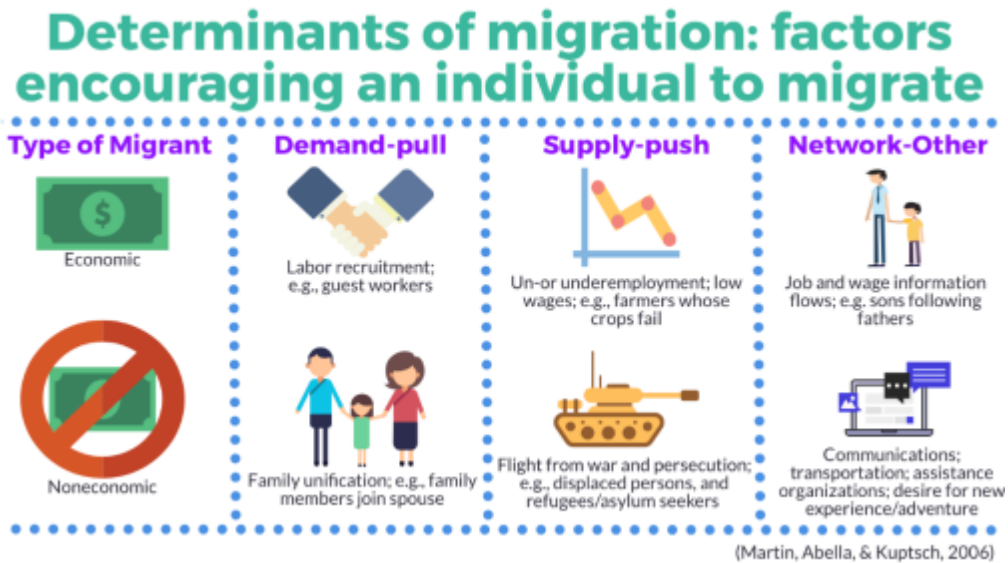


Figure 1

It is important to understand that there is an array of reasons that lead people to migrate, as shown in figure 1. These various factors create different categories of migrants such as permanent settlers, foreign workers or refugees, international students, etc. (Arcarazo & Wiesbrock, 2015 & Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014). Migration patterns vary across regions and countries, as well as conditions and programs in place to deal with migration issues.

America

Since the discovery of America, the continent and North America in particular has remained an attractive destination for migrants all over the world. Migration has shaped the constitution of the continent's population which can be divided in 5 main regions, each with distinct characteristics, according to Castles et al. (2014):

- a) The USA and Canada

- b) Mexico and Central America
- c) Caribbean countries
- d) The Andean area
- e) The Southern Cone

The economic stability of North American countries along with the ideal of achieving the so called "American dream" have driven generations of people to consider migrating to the United States as the only option for a better future, making it the main destination for international migrants. According to the UN, in 2015 19% of the total population of migrants in the world lived in the United States (United Nations, 2016).

The United States has three major classifications according to how people arrived in the country and the status they hold (Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch, 2006):

1. Legal immigrants, including foreign workers, refugees and asylum seekers;
2. Non-immigrants such as tourists or students, in the country for a specific amount of time and given reason; and
3. Undocumented foreigners.

Throughout history, Canada has always been identified as a country of immigrants to the point that migration is considered one of the main drivers of its population growth. According to the data taken from the most recent census of Statistics Canada, in 2016 there were over 7 million immigrants living in the country, most of them coming from Asia and Europe. In recent years, people from conflict-affected countries within the Middle

East and Africa have found Canada to be a safe place to start over, with 11.38% of immigrants being refugees (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada establishes that there are three main categories to classify legal permanent migrants:

1. Economic, divided in 8 subcategories which include skilled workers, provincial nominees and investors;
2. Family (reunification) including spouses, partners, children, parents and grandparents; and
3. Humanitarian, divided into 7 subcategories which include asylum seekers and refugees.

The latter category has increased considerably in the past few years. IRCC also divides temporary migration in three main categories:

1. Temporary foreign workers, including both the Temporary Foreign Workers Program (TFWP) and the International Mobility Program (IMP);
2. International students; and
3. Tourists and business visitors.

One important characteristic that differentiates Canada from the rest of the world (and it is particularly contrasting with its southern neighbor's policies) is that Canada's multiculturalism and ethnic diversity are recognized as important pillars for a strong society (Semotiuk, 2017).

Moving down to the South of the continent, even when Mexico is geographically considered part of North America, its migration patterns are similar to those of Central and South American countries, meaning it is mostly a sending country. Guest worker programs such as the "bracero" program were established during the first and second World Wars encouraging migration to fulfill positions particularly in the agriculture and manufacturer sectors. With the end of the Second World War some of the "bracero" programs came to an end, leaving behind a mutual dependency that has perpetuated illegal immigration (Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch, 2006). Further information about the guest-worker programs and Mexican migration will be provided below and in chapter 2.

Mexico-US migration is known as one of the most important migration corridors in the world. In 2015, 97.81% of the Mexican migrants were in the US and only approximately 6% of them were undocumented. In addition to being a prominent sending country, Mexico is also a destination for migrants coming from different parts of the globe mainly countries from Central and South America such as Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Argentina. It is also an appealing destination for other countries from Europe such as Spain, among others. Some of the foreigners in Mexico are only in transit towards the more developed nations of the north. (Fundación BBVA Bancomer, A.C. & Consejo Nacional de Población, 2017).

South America was once a region that attracted immigrants from different parts of the world, particularly southern Europe and Japan. However, due to armed conflicts and civil wars that erupted in the region around the 1980's, bringing with them social and economic problems, emigration from Central and South America started raising. This

caused some of the earlier immigrants to go back to the land of their ancestors while others went looking for better opportunities in the United States, Spain, Italy, Portugal, the UK, France, etc (Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch, 2006).

Europe

Europe has a long history of population movement, both within the continent and outside of its borders. Different types of migration have taken place since the colonial settlements after the discovery of new territories, seasonal labour migrants, internal migrants, etc. (Bade, 2003). However, it was after the Second World War when this region went through three important phases according to Castles et al. (2014) concerning migration:

1. Between 1945 and the 70's, a great quantity of foreign labour was required to rebuilt war-torn cities and reactivate the local economies;
2. Mid-70's to mid-90's, on one hand deregulated labour markets and privatization of state companies provided diverse employment opportunities, while on the other hand, industrial production was re-located to low-wage developing countries, causing employees of these industries to lose their jobs; and
3. Mid-90's onwards, with the fall of the Berlin wall and the end of the Cold War new countries in Central and Eastern Europe emerged offering employment for foreigners. During this phase, there was greater European integration, making labour mobilization within the Schengen zone much easier, and increasing labour force movements.

One of Europe's most pressing issues is its aging population. This reflects on gaps in the labour force; international migration has been one of the main resources to tackle this issue. According to the UN, in 2015 there were close to 6 million international migrants living in the European region. Germany and Russia are the second and third global hosts with around 12 million migrants living in each one of them, only surpassed by the 47 million migrants living in the United States. (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014; United Nations, 2016)

Asia & Oceania

The Philippines is the major labour exporter in Asia. The Filipino government has estimated that almost 10% of the country's population resides abroad, with most those migrants being women that find jobs abroad as nannies, caregivers and domestic helpers. This characteristic of Filipino migration has a great impact on the gender dynamics of the families left behind. Remittances sent by Filipinos abroad also have an important economic impact, constituting almost 10% of the Filipino GDP. Due to the economic benefits that migration provides for the country, labour export has been an official policy since 1970. There are government departments that have been created exclusively to take care of labour export issues, such as the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) and the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) (Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch, 2006; Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014)

Oceania is one of the least populated regions in the world, making it easy to accept immigrants in countries such as Australia and New Zealand. These two countries have points systems, similar to the one implemented in Canada, which allows them to rank

potential immigrants by their economic success and select the best candidates to be accepted into their new host countries. Despite the establishment of such point systems, illegal immigration is still a concern, due to the close proximity with South East Asian countries such as Indonesia and the Philippines. This causes waves of undocumented immigrants arriving to the north of Australia looking for better opportunities (Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch, 2006).

Middle East & Africa

In the Middle East, causes for migration differ from other regions in the world. Besides having foreign workers to fulfill positions offered in some of the oil-exporting countries, this region has high numbers of forced displacements, due to the ongoing conflicts happening in different countries. Some of the biggest displaced populations include the Afghans, Palestinians and the Syrians. The sudden influx of refugees into a country can have several impacts on the country's economy, labour market, society and politics. In the Middle East, most of the host countries lack coping mechanisms to deal with the newly arrived, therefore missing on benefits that they could bring to the country, such as cultural diversity, innovation, economic growth, etc. This then creates sudden crises and portrays a bad image of refugees and asylum seekers amongst the locals. (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014; Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch, 2006; Yenilmez, 2016).

The African region is frequently associated with refugees fleeing conflict-affected states. However, only 14 percent of all the international migrants in the continent of Africa are in refugee-like situations, the majority are simply trying to get better opportunities and improve their livelihoods (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014; Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch,

2006). While Africa is most often associated with transnational migration, far more migration is seen within and between African states themselves.

Labour migration in Africa has been shaped by the colonial patterns, when people used to move from remote villages to major economic centers. In the past twenty years, regional labour migration has also been shaped by the economic development of certain countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Mozambique and South Africa. The latter became particularly attractive after 1994 when the apartheid era ended; it evolved into a regional economic power selling the "African dream" to other countries in the region. Migration became so important for South Africa that the government decided to include strong guarantees of migrant rights on its constitution. However, these are often overlooked due to corruption within the government (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014). Another important issue is the huge xenophobia epidemic in the country. Since levels of unemployment among South African blacks are very high, there is a distorted perception of migrants coming from other countries in Africa particularly Zimbabweans, who are believed to be the reason of black South African's unemployment. (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014; Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch, 2006)

Guest-Worker Programs

"Guest worker programs are designed to add workers temporarily to the labour force, not settlers to the population" (Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch, 2005 p.83) and in recent years there has been a shift among developed nations to admit the low-skilled workers under temporary basis rather than on permanent basis. Apparently, they have become less attractive as permanent immigrants (Djajic, 2014).

Martin (2015) mentions that there are four main rationales to consider having guest-worker programs: 1) Labour shortages; development assistance: Employers in developed nations get the opportunity to fill vacant jobs by choosing the “best workers” available in developing countries; 2) Foreign policy: in some cases migration cannot be stopped: By establishing policies to legalize some of the migrants that would inevitably arrive, countries demonstrate a high degree of international cooperation; 3) Cross-border commuting: In some cases political boundaries are in the way of natural labour markets, and people need to commute on a daily from one country to another in order to get to work (such is the Case of Mexico-US); and 4) Cultural exchanges: some countries have programs in place so that tourists can have working holidays or exchange visitors.

Developed nations suffer from labour force shortages in industries such as agriculture, hospitality and some industrial sectors with seasonal production patterns. Guest worker programs offer a solution to these issues (Rickard, 2015). While apparently guest worker programs provide a good balance between the surplus of workers in sending nations and the lack of labour force in some industries in the receiving countries, there are many challenges to regulate temporary workers’ movement (Martin, 2015).

According to Martin et al. there are three main types of temporary worker programs: Seasonal Programs (Seasonal Jobs), Temporary Workers (Permanent Jobs), and Probation Immigrant Programs. Examples of these programs extend all around the world for example the Bracero program between Mexico and the U.S. that admitted more than 4.5 million temporary Mexican workers; Germany has had a recurrent history of

hiring foreign workers particularly around the 70's when they had around 2.6 million foreign workers (Martin, Abella, & Kuptsch, 2005).

Even though in theory, these types of temporary worker programs between low-income countries and high-income countries should benefit all the participants, including the sending and the receiving nations, academics agree that this is not the case (Ruhs & Martin, 2008). As Bruno (2013) explains, most of the times guest worker programs try to achieve two main goals: to fulfil the labour requirements from domestic employers while protecting the rights of both the domestic and the temporary foreign workers, but finding a balance between these two goals is not an easy task. In most of the cases temporary foreign workers are made vulnerable inadvertently by the government itself, since they are given work and residence permits tied to a particular employer. If they do not get along with the specified employer, they are forced to leave the country since their stay is often tied to their employment (Martin, 2015).

Nowadays, thanks to globalization we can see how the diversity of migrants contributes to the social and economic fabric of the receiving countries. On the other hand, due to the most recent wave of Middle East refugees arriving in Europe, we are also currently living in an era where governance of international migrations and multiculturalism clash. Because immigration is taking place at the same time as some economic and social reforms, sentiments of fear and sometimes even xenophobia are arising among the host populations (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014).

The impacts of migration in the receiving countries have been a topic of interest for academics and governments. There are some studies regarding this subject in the

case of countries such as the Philippines, however, as various authors mention, there has been a lack of studies in the Mexican case devoted to the relations between migration and development particularly at an empirical level on the sending communities (Özden & Schiff, 2006, Verduzco & Canadian Foundation for the Americas, 2007).

Chapter 2 Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Mexico-Canada (SAWP)

Agriculture in Canada

Agriculture has always been an important component of Canadian economy and society. According to Agriculture and Agri-food Canada (AAFC) the Agriculture and Agri-food System (AAFS) generated \$111.9 billion in 2016, this corresponds to 6.7% of Canada's gross domestic product (GDP). The AAFS provided one in eight jobs in Canada, employing over 2.3 million people in 2016. The AAFS takes into consideration input and services suppliers; primary agricultural producers; food and beverage processors; food retailers and wholesalers; and foodservice providers. Primary agriculture alone, represents 1.5% of the national gross domestic product. Internationally, Canada is one of the largest agricultural exporters in the world, around \$56 billion were the result of Canada's agriculture and agri-food exports in 2016. Canada produces 75% of the world's maple syrup and is the third largest exporter of pork products. (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 2017).

Agricultural production and productivity has been impacted by various factors throughout the years, including the use of technology, international trade, competitiveness, etc. The great majority of arable land in Canada are located in what is known as the Prairies region, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba. It is in this same region where the largest farms can be found, and production here is basically concentrated on oilseeds, wheat, barley and beef production. While these type of crops and production are more conducive to industrialization and the use of technology, there is a great number of smaller farms that can be found in provinces such as Ontario,

Quebec, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, as shown in Figure 2. In these smaller farms, production includes dairy, poultry and crops such as fruits, vegetables, corn and soybeans (Veeman, 2009). According to the 2016 Census of Agriculture, the number of farms decreased from 205,730 in 2011 to 193,492 farms in 2016. However, the average area per farm increase from 779 acres in 2011 to 820 acres in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017).

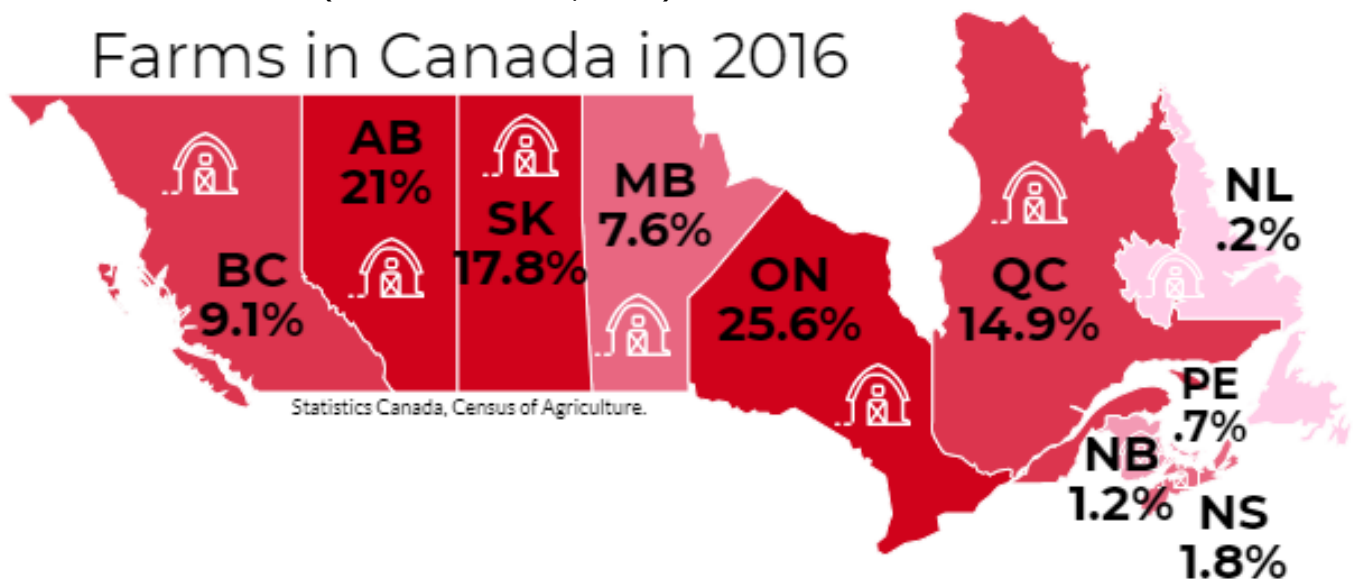


Figure 2

Labour shortages in Canadian agriculture

The struggle for farm labour in Canada began around the 1940's, when the previously small family farms began to grow, and farmers had to look for additional resources aside from their wives and children. Since Canadian farmers could not find the farm labour they needed on the Canadian labour market, in the 1950's they requested the government to import foreign workers to deal with the shortages (Basok, 2002). Therefore, the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) was designed to provide low-cost, reliable foreign labour supply to the Canadian agriculture production, especially

during the peak of the season. It started in 1966 with workers from Jamaica (Binford, 2006b; Barron, 2000; Encalada Grez, 2005).

The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Mexico-Canada

Mexico signed in Ottawa the Memorandum of understanding to adhere to the Seasonal Agricultural Program in 1974 (Binford, 2006b; Barron, 2000; Encalada Grez, 2005). The SAWP is a government-to-government agreement where the Mexican authorities, through the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (Secretaria del Trabajo and Prevision Social - STPS) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores – SRE) work jointly with ESDC and IRCC to coordinate the recruitment and arrival of the foreign labour force into Canadian farms, and the compliance with the conditions of the program by Canadian employers. (Hennebry, 2008a; Basok, 2000).

The Mexican STPS is in charge of recruiting guest workers to fulfill the Canadian demands. Along with the SRE, the STPS renegotiates every year (with the Canadian authorities and the representatives of the employers) the terms of the contract based on the Memorandum of Understanding signed in 1974. Both Mexican ministries share the responsibility of the operations of the SAWP. The careful monitoring from the five Mexican Consulates in Canada makes the workers less vulnerable, and the legality of this program provides a safer option than crossing the northern border of Mexico to work in the United States, particularly if this is done undocumented.

SAWP workers placed with a Canadian employer are guaranteed at least 240 hours of work on a six weeks' period at minimum wage, this represents earnings of \$2,676 CAD minimum (calculated based on the minimum wage in the province of Quebec \$11.15 CAD

for the period between October 2017 and October 2018. The minimum wage varies depending on the provinces where the workers are employed). In comparison to around \$159 CAD that they would be earning in Mexico for the same amount of hours worked. Thus, participating in this program allows the workers to obtain considerable higher earnings that will help to improve their families' living standard, invest in their children's education, and even have some resources available to invest in a productive project (Carvajal Gutiérrez & Johnson, 2014).

Employers in most anglophone provinces (except BC) are represented mainly by the Foreign Agricultural Resources Management Services (FARMS) and in Quebec by the Fondation des Entreprises en Recrutement de Main-d'œuvre agricole Étrangère (F.E.R.M.E.). Foreign workers are represented by the Embassy and five Mexican Consulates scattered around Canada (Basok, 2000) as shown in Figure 3.

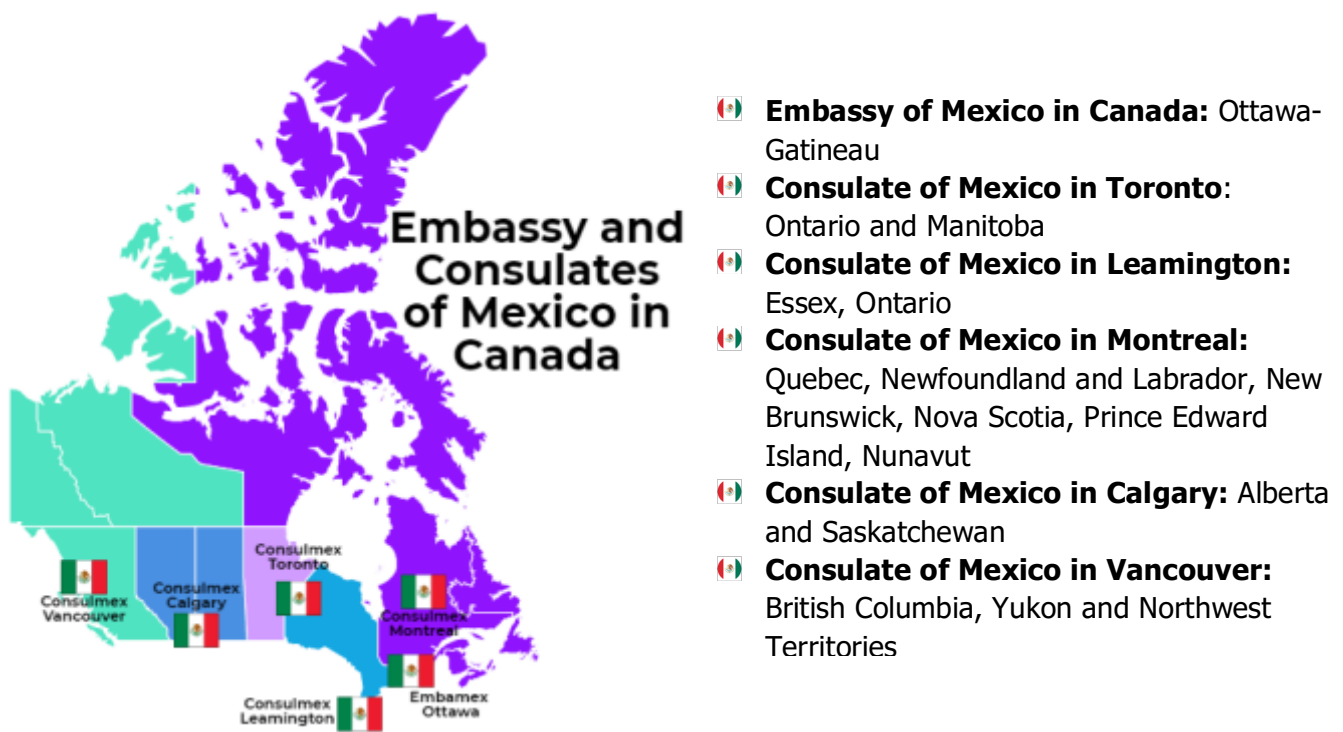


Figure 3

This controlled migration model has been getting international attention because of the deep involvement of the sending and the receiving governments, the legal structure around it, and the participation of the employers and their associations. As opposed to the undocumented migration that has become regular in countries of South and Central America. The United States is amongst the countries potentially interested in developing a “best practice” model based on the Canadian one since their own experiences from the Bracero program onward have not been very successful (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010; Carter 2006).

Benefits of the SAWP for the receiving country

Besides the obvious benefits, for the receiving country, of having this available pool of cheap foreign labour, temporary working programs such as the SAWP foster domestic labour competition changing the conditions of the working class in general (Binford, 2009; Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010). As Dungan et al. (2013) mention, the incursion of TFW in the Canadian labour market can lower domestic wages and can impact the employment opportunities for domestic-born workers. There could be other ramifications, for example if the influx of workers is for “low-skilled” workers, wages and options for employment in this sector will be reduced. However, wages and work opportunities for domestic-born workers considered “high-skilled” could increase. Another benefit for the economy of the receiving country could be to stop the need of importing foreign goods. For instance, if you import the work-force to produce those goods domestically you are becoming less dependent on other countries for those goods and at the same time this helps to keep down the price of goods produced domestically. Another

important effect that TFW can have on the economy of the receiving countries, and particularly in places such as Canada with an increasingly aging population, is the influx of money that the TFW bring to the government through its fiscal system, alleviating the “burden” for the economy of social programs such as pensions and healthcare. (Dungan, Fang, & Gunderson, 2013).

Criticism of the SAWP

Migrant workers around the world have become an important component of the labour force in developed countries. But even when protected by the Mexican government, and to some extent even by the Canadian government, Mexican workers participating in the SAWP are still a vulnerable population. They are susceptible to unsafe working conditions, discrimination, deportation in case of sickness, exploitation, etc. (Asomah, 2014; Barron, 2000; Preibisch 2010; Hennebry 2008b and 2010; Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010). While there are some exemplary employers that do recognize the importance of migrant labour for Canadian agriculture, the majority of employers treat their employees with the minimum amount of respect, and some others do not bother to do even that.

One of the main criticisms of the SAWP program is the lack of flexibility for various components such as the assignment of employers, the start and finish dates of work and the type of work available to mention some. In order to participate in the SAWP, the workers have to relinquish in a way, some the freedoms that they would normally have on a free and competitive labour market. While in the SAWP, Mexican workers have no say in which employer they are going to be paired with or the terms of the employment

contract. The Mexican STPS is the Ministry in charge of assigning first time workers (also known as "selection") to employers according to their demands; or "named" workers who have been working for the same employer for several seasons and are being recalled. Their working visa does not allow them to change employers under any circumstances. If there is a problem either with other co-workers or with the manager or owner of the farm, SAWP workers have to contact the closest Mexican Consulate to explain their situation. Then it is up to the Consular personnel to find a solution (Binford, 2006b and 2013). It has been argued by various academics that in the majority of the cases, unless the violations of the workers' rights are very severe, the authorities (Mexican or Canadian) would not intervene, leaving the Mexican workers exposed to all sorts of abuses. The conditions of the employment (such as closed work permits) make it almost impossible have the workers voices heard.

Housing standards throughout Canada differ greatly, from outstanding to barely adequate and completely inadequate and unsanitary (Carter, 2006; Hennebry, 2010). These inconsistencies respond to the lack of proper verification from the federal authorities regarding the compliance with minimum housing standards such as ventilation, access to clean drinking water, the maximum capacity of the house amongst others, etc. Besides minimum federal standards, there are provincial regulations in this regard. However, the enforcement varies greatly from province to province (Hennebry, 2010). In the case of Quebec, the employers' association F.E.R.M.E has established its housing standards and even hired private inspectors to visit the farms before the workers'

arrival. The Consulate of Mexico in Montreal has its own visit plan, that amongst other things are carried out to verify housing conditions.

Poor working conditions in some cases can lead to health risks. Agriculture production is very labour intensive, it can involve heavy lifting, long hours under the sun, bending to pick product, use of dangerous equipment such as knives and saws, utilization of pesticides and in most cases all this without the proper training (Carter, 2006; Encalada Grez, 2005; Hennebry, 2010). Other adverse conditions workers encounter at Canadian farms are language barriers, social exclusion, and poor access to transportation. Driven by the economic need and the fear of being sent back home, workers are hesitant to fight for their rights, as some workers even compare their situations in Canada to slavery (Carter, 2006; Encalada Grez, 2005; Hennebry, 2010).

One of the greatest issues with the SAWP is that it is a program designed to fulfill the employers' requirements. The contract seeks to maximize the employers' benefits and profits, disregarding the impact this could have on the well-being of the workers involved. There is a lot at stake for the Mexican workers: they had taken the chance to participate in the SAWP because they are trying to provide a better opportunity for their families, but this comes with a high price for many workers. They can be exposed to great levels of stress throughout the process. For instance, they have to adapt to a new culture and a new language; in most of the cases they are leaving their homes for the first time, therefore they have to learn to be independent and take care of themselves; they are exposed to long hours of work and fierce competition, not only with their own Mexican colleagues but also against workers from various nationalities; they have to deal with the

pressure of making enough money to support themselves, repay what the employer has paid them in advance and support their families in Mexico; they also have the pressure of doing an outstanding job during the season so they can be secure a spot in the same farm, if the conditions were acceptable, for the following season. A program that has the employers' needs at the core can very easily lead to all sorts of violations of workers' rights (Asomah, 2014; Basok 2002 and 2009; Binford 2006b; Hannebry 2008a and 2010; Preisbich 2010; Reed 2008).

Chapter 3 Framework & Methodology

Framework Development as Freedom

According to Amartya Sen, "with adequate social opportunities, individuals can effectively shape their destiny and help each other" (Sen, 1999 pp. II). The lack of access to these opportunities makes people unable to develop because they are not free to achieve their maximum potential. Wealth is a useful tool that enables us to achieve freedom. Sen offers a definition of development that includes more than just greater economic capacity but the expansion of human capabilities. He identifies five types of freedoms that could be at the same time, outcomes and means to the process of development: 1) political freedoms, 2) economic facilities, 3) social opportunities, 4) transparency guarantees and, 5) protective security (See figure 4) (Sen, 1999).

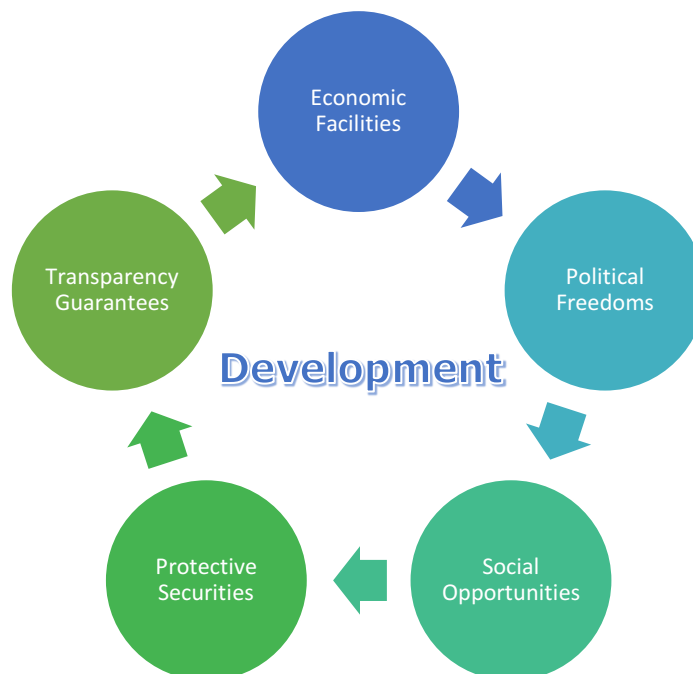


Figure 4. Development as freedom

Political freedoms mainly refer to the opportunity given to the people to decide who should be included in the government that represents them and under which conditions. These freedoms are the ones that allow democracy to exist, by enabling citizens to choose from various political parties and also giving them the right and power to express their opinions and criticize the performance of the authorities. Economic facilities are the opportunities that people have to acquire and use economic resources. While the economic development of a certain country helps to increase the wealth and income, distribution of such resources are crucial for the enjoyment of economic freedom by individuals. Sen describes social opportunities as "the arrangements that society makes for education, health care and so on..." (Sen, 1999, p. 39) those arrangements provide individuals with the possibility to achieve a better quality of life and also contribute to their participation in the political and economic life of their communities. Transparency guarantees are necessary for life in society, they ensure the fairness and justice by holding individuals accountable to each other; Sen considers them an "instrumental freedoms". Finally, protective security which Sen describes as providing a social safety net in order to protect the most vulnerable amongst the population. There is a great difference between protective security and the other four types of freedoms, it is the instrumental role of the state in establishing such protections (Sen, 1999).

For Sen "development consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency" (1999, pp.xii). As Amartya Sen mentions repeatedly in *Development as Freedom* (1999), these five types of freedoms are completely interrelated. The acquisition of one of these

freedoms can lead to the strengthening of the others and vice versa. For him expanding the real freedoms of people can lead to development.

I used Sen's framework to analyze to which extent the SAWP experience enables the sending communities to acquire these freedoms leading to a tangible development of the communities with high concentration of workers participating in the SAWP and what policies could help maximize the benefits (See Figure 5). In Sen's words "...economic unfreedom, in the form of extreme poverty, can make a person a helpless prey in the violation of other kinds of freedom" (1999, pp.8). This is why I consider economic development to be one of the main steps to achieve other freedoms. For my research I mainly focused on how participation in the SAWP can help workers and their families acquire economic facilities and in the long run, acquire other freedoms.

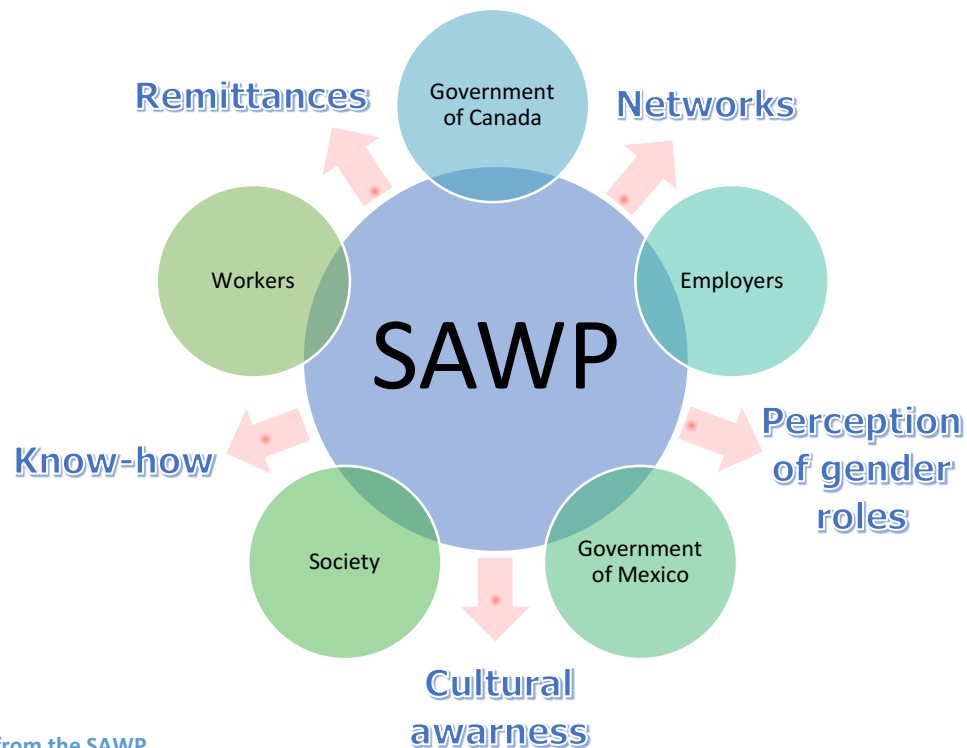


Figure 5. Benefits from the SAWP

Methodology

There are quite a few articles and research that has been conducted around the SAWP, however, the main focus of the existing literature is around the violation of human rights and the negative impacts that the program has for its participants. With my research, I am not trying to deny those violations exist, nor am I trying to justify or minimize them. My aim is to provide a different perspective of looking at this program that showcases an example of the best practices in binational collaboration.

In order to learn more about the perception of Mexican seasonal agricultural workers and about the benefits they have seen from their participation on the SAWP, I conducted a series of 19 semi-structured interviews during August 2017, in the province of Quebec. The objective of these interviews was to analyze if workers managed to use part of their earnings from the SAWP to invest in productive projects in their home communities, such as a new business or the improvement of their own farms, or if they have solely been able to use their earnings to improve their living conditions (buying/building a better house, educating their children) with no productive investment. I wanted to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons that led them to take part in the SAWP, the expectations they had when they first joined the program, the results they have had after some years being part of it, and their intentions relating to future participation in the program.

I later analyzed the data collected and compared the results to identify the impacts of the SAWP experience in the development of the sending communities of these migrant workers based on, the knowledge acquired during their sojourn in Canada, the networks

built with other workers and with the employers, the new family dynamic back home and the use of the remittances sent to see if this program has been used as a tool for development or mainly as a poverty reduction mechanism

Since I didn't want to disturb the participants in their work places I decided to conduct the interviews in a small town near Montreal named St-Remi. St-Remi has a great concentration of farms and temporary agricultural workers that, year after year, provide a great deal of labour and amongst them a high number of Mexican workers. For the past eleven years, the municipal government of St-Remi has organized weekend of celebration and cultural exchanges to showcase the diversity that temporary workers bring to that community.

I attended the 10th edition of "La Fiesta" of Saint-Remi and recruited, over two days, 19 workers who wanted to share their SAWP experience with me (respondent details can be found in Annex 5. My sample consisted only of male participants. Even though there are female participants in the program, their percentage is very low in comparison to that of male participants.

In the province of Quebec, for example, there are only a couple of farms that hire female workers. Additionally, women are traditionally the ones who take care of the children, making it less likely for them to participate in this line of work as well as these festivals. During the two days that I spent at "La Fiesta" there were no female workers at all. Eighty nine percent of the participants I interviewed were married and the rest were living with common-law partners (see Figure 6); almost all the participants had an

average of 3 children. The average age of the participants in the interviews was 41 years old, the youngest worker I interviewed was 27 and the oldest one was 60 years old.

Marital Status

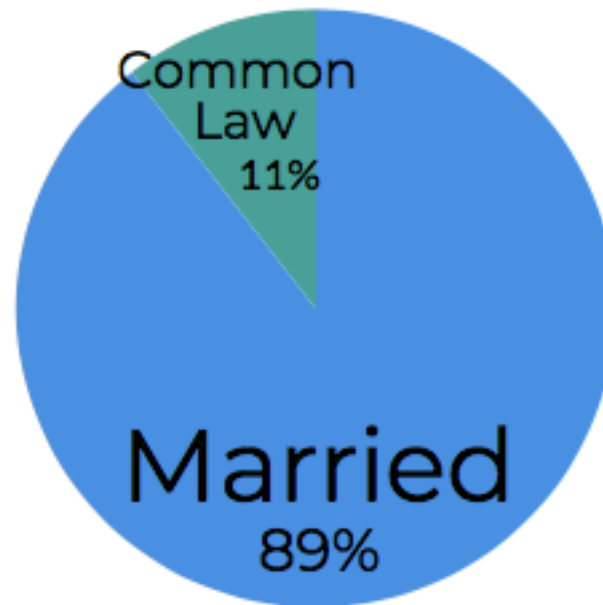


Figure 6

As shown in Figure 7 below, most of the workers that were interviewed came primarily from states located in the center of the country, like the State of Mexico (21%), Tlaxcala (15.8%) and Morelos (17%). These numbers are very representative of the reality of the program in Canada, since the State of Mexico and Tlaxcala are two of the main states sending agricultural workers every season (STPS, unpublished data). Michoacán, Veracruz and Campeche are also important sender states and were represented in the sample. In general, it is less likely to find workers from the northern states of the country, basically because one of the conditions to participate in the program is to be from a rural community and have experience in agriculture, these conditions are less likely to be found in the northern states of Mexico.



Figure 7

One of the main characteristic of SAWP participants is that they are considered, to some extent, “low-skilled” workers since most of them had very low levels of academic preparation. Participants in my sample had various levels of education. The majority of them had only completed middle school; around 30% of the respondents had only done some grades from elementary school; and only less than 6% had some level of high school education as explained in Figure 8.

Another important characteristic to consider when doing this research was the number of years that the interviewees had been participating in the SAWP, since this can be a critical determinant when analyzing the impacts that the program has had in their lives, in their family dynamics, and overall in the development of their communities back home. Figure 9 shows that the great majority of the participants I interviewed had been

Education Level



Figure 8

part of the SAWP program for an average of 13 years. The respondent with the least experience in the program was in his second season and the worker with the longest career in the SAWP had been coming to Canada for 28 years.

Years in the SAWP

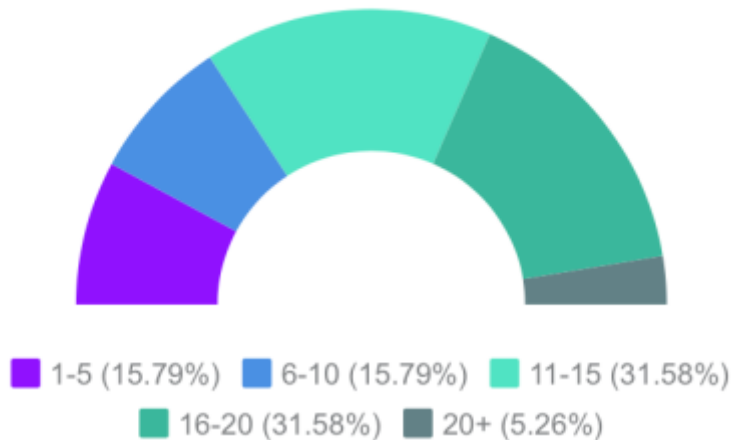


Figure 9

Positionality

Before joining the MA in Globalization and International Development, I had the opportunity from August 2010 to September 2015 to work as a liaison officer for the SAWP at the Consulate General of Mexico in Montreal. This experience clearly informed my interest in this research and complements the data that I was able to gather for this thesis. Working for five years as a liaison officer gave me the opportunity to meet a lot of Mexican workers and Canadian farmers in the provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and understand the management of the program. Hearing the experiences of many participants of the program year after year got me very interested on the impacts such a program could have, not only in the lives of those directly participating, but also in the spillover effect those impacts could have in the communities back in Mexico.

Having this background was very helpful while conducting my research. It allowed me to have a significant understanding of how the program operated, it gave me the chance to personally visit the farms and hear the stories of so many workers over those five years, and it helped me understand the challenges from both governments' perspective. Another important advantage I have is being a Mexican and speaking Spanish. These two elements were crucial while recruiting the participants for my interviews since it allowed me to gain their trust. However, in some cases the fact that I had worked with the Consulate was also a disadvantage since some workers did not want to speak with me to "stay out of trouble".

When I first became interested in researching the impact that the SAWP has on the sending communities, I really wanted to visit one of the communities and conduct my interviews not only with the workers, but also with members of their families and other people from the community who do not have the opportunity to participate in such a program. One of the greatest challenges I had with this idea was deciding which state of Mexico I should conduct my research, and in which community within that state. By focusing in on one community I would have been able to have a more concise and informative project. However, this also made my research difficult to convey since no other state was compared, making it hard for readers to understand. Another important challenge with doing the research in Mexico was my own security. In the past decade, violence in certain regions of the country has intensified and particularly violence against women. After discussing the challenges of doing the research in Mexico with my supervisor, we decided I could do the interviews with the workers once they had arrived in Canada for the 2017 harvest season.

The challenge with conducting the interviews in Canada was to reach the workers without disrupting their work schedule. Additionally, farms are private property and in order to have access to them I would have had to contact the employers and ask for permission to visit the farms. Some farmers do not like the idea of having random people asking their workers questions. While there is nothing wrong with doing so, there is a lot of resistance due to the great amount of criticism that the program has encountered amongst academics, human rights defenders, and activists. To avoid any kind of negative repercussion for the participants on this research, I decided that the best idea was to

choose a neutral place and conduct the interviews outside of working hours for the participants. Attending “La Fiesta” at Saint-Remi (see pictures below in Figure 10) then became the perfect opportunity to conduct my interviews. It allowed me to recruit the workers outside the farms during their free time and gave me access to workers with very different experiences in the SAWP, which is important to have a varied sample for the purposes of the data analysis.

The recruitment of participants was somewhat difficult, since some workers were hesitant at the beginning, but after I explained the purpose of the research most of them agreed to share their life experiences with me and in some cases, we ended up having longer conversations than expected. I had to ask around 30 participants to answer the questions to get my sample of 19 seasonal Mexican agricultural workers.



Figure 10 La Fiesta de Saint Remi

Chapter 4 Harvesting the future

The SAWP and the migration experience: United States vs Canada

Since the economic situation in a lot of rural communities in Mexico is very precarious, illegal immigration to the United States is a very common practice. People often leave looking for better opportunities and sometimes they do not come back. I wanted to know what kind of experience the workers have had with migration, and if they had ever been to the United States to participate in another program similar to the SAWP. Most of the participants knew at least another person who was participating either on the SAWP or that had gone illegally to the United States; and in some cases, they had done so themselves.

I was curious to know the perception that workers had of the difference between crossing illegally to the United States and participating in a legal temporary worker program like the SAWP. In this case a couple of participants mentioned that the experiences were basically the same because they shared the same financial motivation:

“It is the same thing; **we go out of Mexico looking for a job that will allow us to earn a salary**”.

However, for most of them there were great differences, such as the treatment they received from the employers and the type of work that is available in both countries:

“I think the experience is different because **here (in Canada) things are more relaxed**”;

“...there are different offers of employment in the US, and **here in Canada is only work in the fields**”;

“In Canada the work we have to do is way harder but there are also more employment opportunities”;

“Over there in the States you have to look for a job when you arrive, **here you already have an assigned employer**”.

The main difference was about the immigration status and the benefits or disadvantages related to it, for example temporality of the sojourn; the benefits; and the vulnerability of being “illegals” (undocumented workers):

“Coming to Canada is different, here is temporary. When you go to the US, because most of the time you are illegal, **you do not know when you are going to be able to go back to Mexico**”;

“It is completely different, here (in Canada) is better. **The work season is shorter, and we come here legally**, that makes it even better”;

“In Canada you have **advantages such as the health insurance, the accommodation and half of the plane ticket**”;

“It is different, **in the US there are no benefits** like medical insurance”;
and

“There is a lot of racism in the US, and we have to be very careful over there mainly because most of the time we are illegals”.

I was very interested to hear how the participants had first found out about the SAWP. Respondents mentioned three main sources: through family members who have participated or are currently participating in the program; through members of their community who have had been part of the SAWP; and through government recruitment and campaigns:

“My grandfather used to participate in the program; my father did not participate in the program because we would hide his suitcase from him”;

“I heard an announcement on the radio, and **my dad was part of the program**. In the past the **Canadians use to go to our town (in Mexico) to recruit** people to come and work in Canada”;

“I learned about the program back in 1987 in Mexico City; people who were already part of it told me about it.”;

“There was a street market in front of the town hall and they were giving way brochures with information about the program”

“I saw an advertisement in the newspaper and then I went to ask for information to the office at the Ministry of Labour [STPS]”.

I wanted to know what the expectations of the workers were when they first joined the SAWP, and if they had been able to achieve them. The great majority of the participants said that their expectations were met, in a couple of cases the participants mentioned that they did not have any particular expectations, their only desire was to make some money:

“I did not have any idea of what I was going to be doing, whatever they gave me would have been good”; and

“I did not really have clear expectations, the only thing I wanted was financial stability”.

While in the majority of the cases the decision to participate in the program was mainly to improve their economic situation, the motivations behind that idea vary from worker to worker:

“I expected to support my family and pay for my sons’ medical treatment because they suffer from a disability”;

“I wanted to make more money to be able to pay for my children education”;

“I wanted to provide better opportunities for my family”; and

“I wanted to provide a chance for my children to study, because I did not have that opportunity. I also wanted to build a better house because the one we had was not very well built”.

Some of the workers I interviewed also wanted to learn new things and have different experiences that they could not aspire to have if it would not have been for an opportunity like the one offered by the SAWP:

“I expected to come to work in the Canadian fields, **explore the country, and learn about a different culture** and a new language”; and

“I wanted to **learn the language** and come here to see what this was about”.

In some cases, the workers had expected to come only for certain amount of time, their idea was to participate in the program long enough to save some money to do something else. Some of the respondents explained that after their first experience in Canada, they saw the great difference that their participation on the program had on their economic situation, causing them to reconsider their initial plans:

“I wanted to **participate in the program only for a year**, so I could support my family” [this participant has been coming to Canada for **16 years**];

“I wanted to support my family and give them better opportunities. **I wanted to participate in this program for a couple of years to improve my economic situation**” [this was his **15th season** participating in the program].

I was particularly interested in one participant’s response to these two questions:

“**I wanted to participate in the program for 10 years**, I figured that with 10 years coming to Canada I would be able to save enough money to buy the equipment that I needed to automatize my apiculture business in Mexico. **After 10 years, I re-evaluated the situation**; I came here (to Canada) for the first time when I was single, I ended up almost staying here. Later I got married in Mexico and decided that the best choice was to stay there and to continue my participation in the program” [this was his **11th season** participating in the SAWP].

The SAWP and the economic & social impacts in the sending communities

According to Taylor (1992), there are direct and indirect impacts at a household level from remittances sent by workers. On the long-run influx of remittances can lead to diversified consumption of normal goods and generate income from other sources. He also suggests that studies should not be limited to measuring the direct effects of remittances in rural communities but should try to incorporate their more intangible indirect long-term effects.

When asking about the benefits that participants have seen from their participation in the SAWP there were multiple examples. Most of them included the improvement of the economic situation and the quality of life for the participants and their families; provide a better future for their children; and in some cases, the benefits they perceived from the program went beyond financial advantages like traveling and learning a different language:

“I have a **better economic situation**, I have some **assets** and I have been able to **improve my house**”;

“We have a **better quality of life**, I was able to **buy some land** and **build a house**”;

“I **own a house, a car, a van, some land**; but most importantly I was able to **send my children to school**”;

“I **gave my children everything I was able to**; my family’s economic situation is better, I was able to build a house and bought some land. **The only thing you can bequeath your children is education and teaching them honesty**”;

“I got the chance to **visit a new country**, have more material things and pay for my children’s education”;

“I have been able to **explore Canada** and have a better life standard in Mexico”;

“My **family has all they need**, and they are ok; I own a house and some land. But I also had the chance to **visit a new country and I made some new friends**”;

“I was able to provide for my family, **I learned English and I built a house**”; and

“I have been able **to learn some French**, pay for my **children’s education** and achieve some **economic stability**”.

Being able to own or improve a personal business was also mentioned as being an important benefit from the program:

“I have a **better economic situation**, I was able to **buy the technology I needed to improve my enterprise**. I have also had the opportunity to **learn about a different culture, learn a new language and meet new people**. Another great benefit is the fact that I was able to **learn about the technology they use here and apply it to my own enterprise back home**”.

In the case of this participant, he mentioned that he had an apiculture business back at home. His experience in the SAWP has given him the opportunity to expand his business, learn new techniques to apply back home and buy new technology.

In most of the rural Mexican communities there are several workers who participate in the program. My hypothesis was that the higher the number of participants in the program from one rural community in Mexico, the better and more developed that community will be. To this regard, I asked three questions to the participants: if they knew other people from their home community that were participating in the program; if they thought their participation in the SAWP was beneficial only for them and their families or if there was a benefit also for their home community; and what changes

related to the SAWP had they seen in their home communities. Most of the interviewees responded that they knew several other workers in their communities and even within their own families that were participating in the SAWP. To my questions regarding the spillover effect for the community, they all responded that the benefits from their participation in this program were clearly being reflected in the community as well. Some of the responses I received were:

“The communities are also benefited, **we contribute to the local economy** with the remittances that we send; **we also generate employment** when we build our own houses”;

“Our community also benefits because the money we earn, **we invest it in the local economy. We pay our taxes**, we contribute in whichever way we can”;

“The communities also benefit from us being part of this program; in the past our **community was very poor and now you can see that it has been developed**”

“I have seen how the **families of workers who participate in the SAWP are better-off**. There has been some relief for people, the economy is better now”

“The communities have great benefits. **It is easy to see who within the community participates in this program**, you just have to look at the way their house is built and the way of life they have”

“The **economic spillover** from our participation in the SAWP benefits our community; if we have more possibilities we can also **create new sources of employment**. You can easily identify the people who participate in the program, they have a better economic situation and even their houses are way better”;

“Thanks to the money I earn participating in the SAWP, I am able to **contribute to improving our town**. It is very easy to know who participates in the SAWP within my community, their houses are better, most of the time they own small businesses and have different advantages”; and

“When we come here (to Canada) the community benefits because **we are not taking employment opportunities** from others who stay behind”.

It was also mentioned that the benefits that the SAWP offers, expand beyond their communities:

“Our communities benefit from our participation in the SAWP; the **Mexican economy benefits as well** with the money that we send”

Despite of the economic benefits that are being gained by the sending communities and in the country overall, the mere existence of programs like the SAWP could be categorized as a failure from the part of the Mexican government to provide financial stability and employment for its citizens. Here is the opinion of one of the participants to that regard:

“There are benefits from our participation in the SAWP, not only in our communities but also at a national level. **The program is really good**, it is adequate because it helps people that otherwise would not have many opportunities. But **for Mexico is an easy way out, the government gets to say they are helping us** and that they are providing employment, but in order to get those opportunities we have to leave our country and our families behind”.

Other countries such as Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador have started to send seasonal agricultural workers to Canada through the TFW program. This is being reflected on employment opportunities for the Mexican workers. One participant mentioned that, while there were a lot of people from his community participating in the SAWP; he had seen some changes in recent years:

“Over 400 people in my community come to Canada every season. However, the amount of Mexicans coming has decreased because **they are hiring more people from Guatemala; the employers say that they are not as expensive** as we are”.

The SAWP experience and the ones who stay behind

While I was conducting one of the interviews, my participant kept checking his phone and I could tell he was waiting for an important call. After some time his telephone rings and he excuses himself since he has to take the call. He comes back and tells me that it was his daughter who called. She is in Mexico and was traveling to another state, he asked her to let him know when she had arrived. He tells me he tries to be available for his children whenever they need him but it is very difficult being so far away. He mentions:

“We all have to **make an effort to make our family dynamic work**; we have to be in **constant communication**. My children sometimes call me to help them with their homework”, he is so grateful for his smartphone, it allows him feel closer to his family at all times.

Having to live in another country for several months every year can be difficult for the workers, but there are also challenges for those who stay behind. One of my main interests was to understand how the SAWP experiences are being perceived by members of the family and the community who stay behind. I asked the participants how they thought the program had impacted their family and their personal life and if they considered those impacts to be positive or negative. I wanted to know if the families of these workers understood the fact that they had to be away for long period of time and the reasons why. In general, the impacts of the SAWP in the families were considered positive and most of the families were understanding of the situation:

“My family is ok, they are very understanding. **They know I do it for them**”;

“My family understands why I am here (in Canada); **whenever there is a misunderstanding we always talk and solve the issue**”;

“My family is **grateful for the sacrifices I make for them**”;

“My wife understands that this is a **sacrifice that we both have to do to have a better life**”.

However, even when families are understanding it is a difficult situation, particularly for the children. Some of the participants talked about the challenges they face:

“My wife and children are happy because they have what they need, but **they always miss me**”;

“On one hand they accept it, but on the other hand they miss me and they feel my absence; **they have asked me to find a different job closer to home**”;

“**My children were very young when I first started coming (to Canada) and they would not understand why I had to leave**; now they are older, and they understand why I have to come and work here, but **there are still some complaints because I am not with them most of the time**”;

“My family is used to this situation, however, sometimes **my children do not recognize my authority when I am back home**”;

“Sometimes when **I try to discipline my children** they do not like it and they say that **I do not have the authority to do so because I am never there**”; and

“My family understands why I come here (to Canada) to work, but it **is really hard to be apart and it hurts not being able to be there** (in Mexico) with them”.

Just one of the workers I interviewed mentioned that his family was not happy at all with him coming to Canada, he said:

“My family does not like the fact that I have to be so far away, they have told me **they would rather be here (in Canada) with me, they miss me a lot**”.

The SAWP and the challenges of being away

Even though the conditions in the Canadian farms are seen as comparatively better than what they could be in the Mexican fields, workers still face various challenges. It is important to remember that they are only in Canada for up to eight months, then they have to return back home. To this regard a participant commented:

“I have a better salary than what I could get in Mexico. Our employers are always saying that when we leave Canada we are rich; **but the money does not last forever,** and they forget that once we go back to Mexico we do not have a job”.

Being a temporary foreign worker means being away from home for long periods of time. Even when you know you will only be away for a maximum of eight months, which is the case for most workers in the SAWP, this is still a very challenging situation. All of the participants agreed in saying that the greatest sacrifice they experienced participating in the SAWP was to leave their families behind for so long and in some cases they have to leave unfinished projects back at home, as one of the participants mentioned:

“The greatest sacrifice is leaving the family for so long. In my case **I also had to stop some projects that I had,** I was providing training about agriculture and apiculture to other people in my community and I cannot do that while I am here (in Canada)”.

There is a very interesting phenomenon that arises from this temporary separation from their families: workers learn to value the hard work of their spouses which otherwise would be taken for granted. Some participants commented on this:

“It is very hard to leave the family behind and **have to learn how to be independent and take care of oneself**”; and

“The greatest challenge would be being far away from the family, it is not easy to away for 4 to 5 months every year; also, **you need to take care of yourself and prepare your own meals even when you are very tired** after a whole day of working in the fields”.

Families make the decision for one of its members to participate in a program such as the SAWP for the greater benefit of all. However, workers do recognize the great amount of responsibility that falls into their partners’ back when they leave for these long periods of time. Some of the workers commented:

“The greatest sacrifice is leaving the family, but specially **leaving all the responsibility of educating our children to my wife**”; and

“The most difficult thing is being away of the family and **leaving all the responsibility of the education of the children to the mother**”.

Workers are very grateful for the support they receive from their families, especially their spouses. They recognize that they play a very important role taking care of the house, the children and administering the finances while they are away. To this regard one participant commented:

“By participating in the SAWP I have been able to learn French, I have also bought a farm and a convenience store. **I have done all that thanks to the support of my wife.** When you are so far away, **is very important to have good communication and confidence with your spouse**”.

After learning about the benefits and sacrifices that come with participating in the SAWP, I wanted to know if the workers would choose this option again. Of the 19 participants, 17 out of them told me they would definitely do it again. The other two participants said they would not want to do it again:

“No, I would not do it again, there is **nothing but loneliness here**; I would like to spend more time more quality time with my family instead”; and

“I would not do it again, I was **happier when I did not have any money**. There is a lot of crime (in Mexico) and the more you have the more at risk you are, money only brings problems”.

The SAWP as an agent of development

There are few documented cases of workers who have made productive investments that could allow them to stop coming to Canada or to have different sources of income and not to depend only on their SAWP wages. Additionally, even when there is a great investment in children’s education, when they grow up some of these children end up registering in Canada for the SAWP, perpetuating the dependency on earnings from migration (Binford 2006a; Carvajal Gutiérrez & Johnson, 2014; Martinez Tenorio, 2010; Verduzco, 2007).

An important question for me to be able to measure if the experiences of these workers participating in the SAWP are helping to break cycles of poverty and empowering future generations to do the same, was to know if the workers wanted their children to join the SAWP at some point. My hypothesis was that workers would not want their children to join the program, choosing to “sacrifice” themselves for their children to have a better future so that they would not have to do them same for their own children. This is not to say that participating in the SAWP is a bad thing, but it is a program conceived for low-skilled workers, it requires a lot of hard, physical work paid only at minimum wage. I posed the question to my interviewees and 3 out of the 19 said that they would actually be happy if their children participated in the program. For one of them, participating in the SAWP was considered a great opportunity and he said:

“Yes, I would like for them to **have the opportunity of a better life like I did**”.

However, as I anticipated, the vast majority of respondents wanted something different for their children, these are some of the answers I received:

“No, I would like for them to study and have **better opportunities**”;

“I would like for them to do something different, have a **university degree**”;

“I would like something different for my children, I want them to be better prepared; the **work in the fields is very hard**”;

“I do not want my children to join the SAWP; **I have done my part** to give them access to better opportunities so they will not need to participate in a program like this one”;

“I want something different for them, **I do not want them to go through what I went through**. I want them to find a profession in Mexico and get jobs that are well paid”;

“No, I would not want my children to join a program like this; I want something different for them; **I want them to come (to Canada) and be served** not for them to come and serve others”.

“No, I do not want them to join the SAWP. I have been able to pay for their education and if they come to Canada I would like them to **come under different circumstances**”

Some of the interviewees mentioned that even when they would not like for their children to join the program, their children had a different opinion:

“I would not like for them to participate in the program, **unfortunately my son already joined the SAWP**”;

“In my town there is a lot of people who come to Canada with the SAWP, **when children are young it is what they aspire to be when they grow-up**; I would not like for them to come, but **they see it as an easy way to get money**; and I think they would like to be part of the SAWP”;

“I would like a different thing for them; **I would like for this program to stop being an aspiration for younger generations;** there are better things to aspire to”.

The way in which workers and their families use the remittances they get from their participation in the SAWP is key to maximizing the benefits they can obtain from them. According to Tanya Basok (2000), remittances from the SAWP in the late 1990's were mainly used for daily consumption followed by house improvement and children's education, leaving just less than 10% available for productive investment either on business or owned farms' improvement. Observing the quality of life of workers who have been in the program for longer time, it is evident that there is an important socioeconomic impact as a result of the SAWP experiences, they have a better way of life in comparison to others. Additionally, their children are better prepared and, in most cases, choose to pursue a university degree which will give them access to better opportunities in the future, as opposed to the limitations their parents had to face. Therefore, an important question for me to be able to measure the potential of the SAWP as an agent of development as opposed to being a mere poverty reduction program, was to know if the workers had been able to invest some of their earnings in productive projects or businesses. To this regard I received various responses. Some workers said that they had not been able to invest their money, and were not even considering it:

“**I do not make enough money to be able to invest** in something”;
and

“No, I use my earning to support my children, I give them whatever they need; I have bought some land but **having my own business in not in my plans**”.

There were other workers who said that they had not have the chance to invest yet, but that they would be interested in doing so in the future:

“Up until now I have not been able to, but **I already have a plan to create my own business, so I do not have to keep coming to Canada**”; and

“Not yet, I would like to do so but **I do not have enough time because a lot of my time is spent here** (in Canada). **I would like to be able to create sources of employment in my community**”.

Many of the workers I interviewed (8 of the 19) said that they had already invested part of their earnings in various thing such as land for farming, small business and even new technology to expand and existing family business:

“**I have my own business in Mexico**, we rent chairs and tables for events”;

“I have been able to buy some land; a house and **I also have a convenience store**”;

“I have only bought land for farming, but thanks to that **I have been able to employ some people in my community**”; and

“I work with bees; all my family is in the apiculture business. **I have been investing in new technologies and in training for my family**. I have also been preparing some business plans for members of my family; in this way **they can take care of my business while I am in Canada**. I want all members of my family to have a better life”.

The objective of guest worker programs is to have a work force available during a specific amount of time, particularly during peak seasons such in agriculture, without offering the possibility of permanent residency or citizenship to the foreign workers. It has been argued that denying workers the possibility of applying for permanent residency is an unjust practice (Tungohan, 2018). However, I wanted to know if the idea of staying

in Canada permanently had ever occurred to the participants I was interviewing, and how appealing it was for them. I wanted to know if they saw the SAWP as an option to escape from the situation they live in Mexico or if they saw it as a tool to improve their conditions back home. Most of the responses I received to this regard, were very surprising. Only 14 out of the 19 participants responded this question. Out of those 14, only three expressed they would like to move to Canada permanently but only if they could bring their families with them. The other 11 participants said that moving to Canada permanently was not appealing for them. These were some of the following comments:

“I would prefer to **have better working conditions** and keep participating in the SAWP as a temporary worker than moving here (to Canada) permanently”;

“I would not like to move to Canada permanently, I would prefer to continue working in the SAWP and that **the government could offer me some support for my disabled children**”;

“**I do not want to live in Canada permanently.** I will prefer to have a work permit that you do not have to renovate on a yearly basis, and for the dates to come to Canada to be more flexible; right now, if for some reason you are unable to travel on the date the Ministry of Labour gives you, they will give your place to another worker. I would like that to change”;

“I really **like coming to Canada temporarily to work**, but I would not like to move here”;

“I would not like to live here (in Canada), the money is never enough because everything is more expensive. Also, the way of life is very different; **in Mexico we are used to living in a community, we know our neighbors and we take care of each other.** Life in Canada is very different”;

“I would not like to live in Canada, **life here is very cruel**”;

There are some authors such as Binford (2006), Basok (2003), Carvajal Gutierrez (2014) and others, who have attempted to pay attention to the positive outcomes of the

SAWP experience. Unfortunately, the vast majority of studies regarding the SAWP have concentrated on the impacts of the work experience in Canada along with all the negative consequences of the breaching of contracts, lack of protection and in some cases even violation of human rights due to the precarious and vulnerable status of the temporary workers in Canada. As Verduzco explains "the Mexican migrant farm worker experience in Canada has been the subject of very few empirical studies" (Verduzco, 2007 p.15), there is a need for a different approach and further field research on the communities of the workers. With this thesis, my interest and aim is to contribute to the existing gap in this specific literature by offering a different perspective on this topic, focusing more on the SAWP as an example of "best practices" in the realm of guest worker programs, as opposed to highlighting its failures.

I believe that it is important to show the potential programs such as the SAWP have as development tools. I would have liked to visit some of the sending communities in Mexico, but at least by the conversations I had with the workers I interviewed and some others I had been able to have while visiting farms as a program officer with the Consulate, I have been able to see that this program is having a very positive impact in the sending communities back in Mexico. Rural towns are growing into small cities, and beyond the economic benefits this program has been a source of empowerment for its participants, and their families over the more than forty years it has been in place.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

While it is true that the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program between Mexico and Canada is far from perfect, and as many authors have pointed out, there are many things that could be improved above all in terms of human and labour rights. It is also true that participants benefit from it in more ways than one.

One of the most tangible benefits is the economic compensation these workers receive for their work in the Canadian farms. While the minimum wage in Mexico is only \$ 5.89 per day, in Canada it averages \$ 11.78 per hour (it varies from province/territory to province/territory). Additionally, the program offers participants a legal way to find a job outside their country, unlike those who decide to take bigger risks and illegally cross into the United States. Another important benefit is the knowledge transfer, from different work techniques to new cultivation methods that allow them to improve or start their own businesses when they return to Mexico; and even in some cases establish partnerships with their Canadian employers. Finally, the opportunity to leave Mexico, get to know a new place, learn about another culture and in a different language allows participants to change their way of seeing things when they return home. Changes range from shifting their perception of the role of women at home and at work to valuing the quality of life they have in Mexico and the concept of community that is completely different from that of Canadian society.

There are great sacrifices that SAWP participants and their families must make to be part of this program. Workers come to Canada for long periods of time in which they

are somehow isolated. Nowadays, thanks to technological advances, smartphones, the internet and the reduction of the cost of data and telephone plans, they can be in contact with their families more frequently. However, they cannot participate fully in family life nor can they be present at important celebrations such as birthdays, graduations or when a tragedy occurs in the family. Even regular contact has repercussions on the upbringing of their children: younger children often do not understand why one of their parents should be absent for such long periods of time, and may have trouble respecting the authority of this absent parent when they return "home". In some cases, workers are exposed to human and labour rights' violations; long days of work and coexistence with the same people inside and outside working hours which can sometimes cause fights between them.

Another angle of the SAWP that deserves further research and consideration is the lack of female participation. Overall the SAWP employs only 3% of female workers. Governments in both countries are making an effort to change this. Employers have also started to request more female workers, particularly for the harvest of delicate products such as berries ('Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social', 2018). Women in Mexico are regarded as having a very specific role as mothers and wives, but they are not expected to be the support of the family. It is often single mothers who have to find a way to support their families by themselves who decide to participate in these types of programs. However, is harder for them to participate in a program like the SAWP and leave their children in the care of another family member for long periods of time. In the five years that I worked as support officer for the Consulate of Mexico in Montreal, I was able to

learn about the complexities of female workers participation in the program, by speaking to employers and workers themselves. In my sample, I did not have any female representation, and I was unable to reach the workers' wives via Skype or phone. The male respondents said they could not provide me their wives' contact information, or (perhaps to save face) they said they would do so later on but never did.

Looking at the SAWP through Amartya Sen's framework of development as freedom, this program helps workers and their families to have better social opportunities, enabling them to improve their current living conditions and provide more options for a better future for their children. Participation in the SAWP enables development, (as defined by Sen) in the sending communities by expanding human capabilities. Starting with economic facilities in direct response to the remittances and the creation of productive projects and businesses; in the in the long term other freedoms, such as social opportunities and political freedoms can also be achieved. Ultimately, the whole experience of traveling abroad and experience first-hand how a different society works, can foster the need SAWP participants to demand better opportunities from their government once they are back home leading to the acquisition of transparency guarantees and protective security.

The SAWP is regarded as one of the best guest-worker programs in the world, and while workers seem to be content with the benefits they are getting out of their participation in such a program, it would be important for both the government of Mexico and the government of Canada, to pay more attention to the work conditions. It is important to take into consideration what are the needs of the workers and not only the

needs of the employers. While conducting my interviews I asked the participants what changes could be made to the program in order for them to get more benefits out of it. They proposed a series of small changes that could be implemented to the SAWP in order to make it more beneficial for the participants, for example:

- Increase the supervision from the government to the employers. Allocate more resources to verify that the housing conditions are adequate and the employers are respecting the terms of the contract. Both governments should have officials in charge of conducting such evaluations;
- Ensure that workers are treated equally and with respect; efficient resources for temporary foreign workers need to be available in case any situation of mistreatment arises;
- Allow temporary workers to have access to social benefits; workers in the SAWP contribute to the system in the same way permanent residents and Canadians do. However, due to their temporary status they do not have access to the same social programs such as disability benefits, employment insurance, compassionate care benefits, etc.
- Provide some flexibility and reduce the barriers to transition from the SAWP to other low-skill job opportunities. In some cases workers that come to Canada with the SAWP have experiences in other industries such as construction, gardening, etc. However, there is no flexibility for them to move from the SAWP to the low-skilled workers program without

jeopardizing their future employment in the SAWP if they wish to go back to it. This lack of flexibility renders workers vulnerable to abuse.

- Increase the wages for the agricultural sector in general. Work in the fields is very intense but it is paid at minimum wage and there is no overtime, this is one of the reasons why domestic workers are not interested in doing it.
- Review the pension plan for SAWP workers. Temporary workers are on a very vulnerable position, due to the temporary nature of the program, the pension they would collect once they can retire is very low. However, the contributions they make are the same as any other Canadian.

It has been proven that collective remittances can do more than individual remittances (Basok, 2000; Carvajal Gutiérrez & Johnson, 2014) in this scenario the creation of social capital and networks is one of the greatest benefits of the SAWP experience. Participants of this program spend up to eight months separated from their families, in a foreign country, sharing their living and working space with other workers from different parts of Mexico. This daily coexistence builds trust amongst them and creates bonds that could potentially lead to business partnerships back home (Arras-Vota, 2015). To this regards, the Mexican government could:

- Continue supporting investment projects in the sending communities with initiatives such as the "Programa 3x1";

- Provide entrepreneurship workshops for the SAWP participants and their families;
- Enable the creation of support networks for workers participating in the SAWP.

Despite all the challenges, the perception of many SAWP participants that were interviewed is that the program has given them the financial stability that they have been looking for, it has allowed them to provide a better future for their families by building a better house, buying a new truck, acquiring agricultural lands, establishing small businesses, but most importantly by providing a better education for their children. One of the greatest satisfactions of the interviewed participants was being able to see their children graduating from university since they understand that a better future will accompany their children. As shown in figure 11, benefits of participating in the program can be for the individual who comes to Canada on a regular basis, for their families, or they can go beyond and reach the community as well. According to the responses I received from my interviews, all workers felt that their participation in the program brought benefits for both their families and their communities. A smaller number of participants mentioned that they benefited as individuals by their participation in the program (by learning a new language, having the opportunity to travel to a new country, making new friends, etc.).

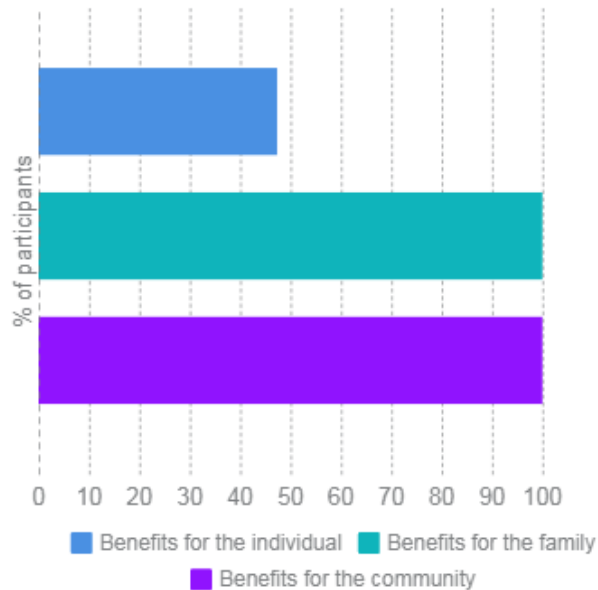


Figure 11 Benefits from participating in the SAWP as reported by the 19 respondents

The SAWP is a good example of what could be achieved when two countries decide to work together in order to reach a common goal. It is a very complex program that requires a lot of coordination from different departments in both governments and over all a lot of goodwill from the officers and government representatives involved. It is not easy to deal with the complexity of human relations and vulnerabilities. I have had the opportunity to learn about this program from various perspectives in the past eight years and I am just at the beginning of understanding what it entails. It is important to highlight that, despite all the things that should be improved in this program, the cooperation between both countries for over forty years is quite remarkable, particularly in this day and age when countries are looking inwards, and migration has become such a delicate issue. This is way it is highly important for academics to further explore the positive impacts that a program such as the SAWP could have in both the sending and the receiving countries in order to encourage other governments to follow in Mexico's and Canada's footsteps.

The SAWP through my eyes



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Appendix 1 Research Ethics Board Approval

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University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Certificate of Ethics Approval

Social Science and Humanities REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

<u>First Name</u>	<u>Last Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Role</u>
Joshua	Ramisch	Social Sciences / SIDGS	Supervisor
Maria Fernanda	Maxil Platas	Social Sciences / SIDGS	Student Researcher

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Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)

07/20/2018

Special Conditions / Comments:

N/A

Appendix 2 Recruitment Text

English:

"Good Afternoon, my name is Maria Fernanda Maxil, and I am currently doing my Masters studies at the University of Ottawa in Canada. I am doing my thesis in International Development and my thesis research is about the impact that the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Mexico-Canada (SAWP) has on its participants, their families and the development of their communities'.

For this project, I will be recruiting about 20 Mexican workers who have been participating in the SAWP for some years now. By collaborating with me in this project you, will be answering some questions and sharing with me the experience that you have had with the SAWP over the years you have been participating on this program. There would only be one interview with you that could last up to one hour. Please note that, participation in this project is strictly voluntary and if at any given moment you decide you no longer want to participate, all the information you have shared with me will be dismissed and will not be used in the research. If you feel uncomfortable with a question or for personal reasons you prefer not to answer, you are under no obligation to do so. All the information that you and your family share with me will be anonymous, so that answers cannot be traced to your name or other identifying features.

Thank you very much for your attention and collaboration, without your valuable participation this project would not be possible."

Spanish:

"Buenas tardes, mi nombre es María Fernanda Maxil y me encuentro realizando mis estudios de Maestría en la Universidad de Ottawa en Canadá. Estoy realizando mi maestría en Desarrollo Internacional y mi proyecto de tesis es acerca del impacto que tiene el Programa de Trabajadores Agrícolas Temporales México-Canadá (PTAT) en sus participantes, sus familias y el desarrollo de sus comunidades.

Para llevar a cabo mi proyecto, voy a reclutar alrededor de 20 trabajadores que hayan estado participando en el PTAT durante algunos años. Al colaborar conmigo en este proyecto usted responderá algunas preguntas y compartirá conmigo las experiencias que ha tenido durante su participación en el PTAT. Solo habrá una entrevista que podrá durar hasta una hora. La participación en este proyecto es totalmente voluntaria y si en algún momento decide que ya no quiere formar parte del mismo, toda la información que haya compartido conmigo será descartada y no se utilizara en el proyecto. Si en algún momento no se siente cómodo(a) con alguna pregunta o prefiere simplemente no contestar por algún motivo, no tiene ninguna obligación de hacerlo. Toda la información

que usted comparta conmigo será anónima, para evitar que alguien pueda identificarlo por medio de sus respuestas.

Agradezco enormemente su atención y colaboración ya que sin su valiosa participación este proyecto no sería posible.

Principal Investigator and Supervisor Contact Information

Principal Investigator:

Name: Maria Fernanda Maxil Platas

Telephone number:

E-mail:

Research Supervisor:

Name: Joshua Ramisch

Telephone:

Address:

Appendix 3 Consent Form



Université d'Ottawa | University of Ottawa

École du développement international et mondialisation | School of International Development and Global Studies

Faculté des sciences sociales | Faculty of Social Sciences

Consent Form

Title of the study: Harvesting the Future: The Impacts of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) on Rural Communities in Mexico.

Principal Investigator: María Fernanda Maxil Platas

Research Supervisor: Joshua Ramisch

School of International Development & Global Studies

Faculty of Social Science

University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the above-mentioned Master's thesis research study, conducted by Maria Fernanda Maxil PlatasC who is being supervised by Professor Joshua Ramisch. This project is being conducted with funding provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the study is to learn about the impacts the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program has in the development of the sending communities in Mexico.

Participation: My participation will consist of a semi-structured interview to provide information regarding my participation (direct or indirect) in the SAWP, this interview could last around 60 minutes.

Benefits: My participation in this study will help contribute to the scholarly understanding of the impacts of the SAWP in the sending communities. It could help to inform policy makers of the changes needed for the program to be more effective.

Confidentiality and anonymity: While there are no perceived risks to participating in this study, I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential and that no information I provide will be traceable to my name or other

identifying features unless I specifically request it. I understand that the contents of this interview will be used only for the purposes of writing a Master's thesis and will not be shared with other researchers or organisations.

Data: Any data collected on paper will be kept on a safeguard by the principal investigator, electronic data will be kept on the investigator's laptop which is password protected. Data will be destroyed five years after expected completion of the project (August 2022).

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions. If I decide to withdraw from the study, any data I have provided will be destroyed.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the investigator and her research supervisor through contact information attached to this form.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON Canada K1N 6N5
Tel.: +1(613) 562-5387
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

Participant's name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

A copy of this statement is available for me to keep for my records.

Appendix 4 Interview script

English:

What is your name?

What is your marital status?

Do you have kids? How many?

What is your highest education level?

From what state of the country do you come from?

How many years have you been working in the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) between Mexico and Canada?

In which provinces have you worked before?

1. Do you know any Mexicans that have gone abroad to work temporarily (to the US for example)?
2. Which do you think are the main differences between working in the US and working in Canada?
3. How did you learn about the existence of the SAWP?
4. What is your net salary per season?
5. How much time would it take you to earn the same amount of money doing the same job in Mexico?
6. What were your expectations when you first started working in the SAWP?
7. Which of those expectations have been met?
8. Which would you say are the main benefits the SAWP has given you?
9. Which are the biggest sacrifices you have made to be able to work in Canada?
10. How has the SAWP impacted your family, and your personal life? Do you think it has been a positive or a negative impact? Why?
11. If you had the chance, would you choose to participate in the SAWP again?
12. Would you like your kids to participate in the SAWP?
13. Have you been able to invest some of the money you have earned from the SAWP on a long term productive project?
14. In your opinion, what changes could be made to the SAWP for it to be a better program that could offer its participants more benefits?
15. Do you think the SAWP has benefited/affected only you and your family or also your community?
16. Do you know of other persons in your community that are participating in the SAWP? Do you know them?
17. Throughout the years have you been able to see important positive changes in your community? Do you think there is a relation between those changes and your participation in the SAWP?
18. Do you think you can make a change in your community?

Spanish:

¿Como se llama?

¿Cuál es su estado civil?

¿Tiene hijos? ¿Cuántos hijos tiene?

¿Cuál es el grado máximo de estudios que tiene?

¿De qué estado de la República viene?

¿Cuántos años lleva en el programa?

¿En que provincias has trabajado?

1. ¿Conoce a otros mexicanos que hayan salido del país para trabajar temporalmente en el extranjero (Estados Unidos)?
2. ¿Cuáles piensa que son las principales diferencias entre trabajar en Estados Unidos y trabajar en Canadá?
3. ¿Cómo se enteró de la existencia del Programa de Trabajadores Agrícolas Temporales entre México y Canadá?
4. ¿Cuánto gana (neto) por temporada?
5. ¿Cuánto tiempo tardaría en ganar la misma cantidad de dinero haciendo el mismo trabajo en México?
6. ¿Cuáles eran sus expectativas cuando comenzó a trabajar en el PTAT?
7. ¿Cuáles de esas expectativas se han cumplido?
8. ¿Cuáles diría usted que han sido los principales beneficios que le ha dado el PTAT?
9. ¿Cuales considera usted que han sido los sacrificios más grandes que ha tenido que hacer para poder ir a trabajar a Canadá?
10. ¿Cómo ha impactado el PTAT a su familia y su vida personal? ¿Considera que el impacto ha sido positivo o negativo? ¿Por qué?
11. Si tuviera la oportunidad ¿volvería a elegir participar en el PTAT?
12. ¿Le gustaría que sus hijos participaran en el PTAT?
13. ¿Ha podido "invertir" parte de las sus ganancias generadas en el PTAT en algún proyecto a largo plazo?
14. ¿Qué debería cambiar en el PTAT para que fuera un mejor programa que le diera más beneficios a los participantes?
15. ¿Piensa que el PTAT lo ha beneficiado solamente a usted y a su familia o piensa que también su comunidad se ha visto beneficiada?
16. ¿Sabe de otras personas en su comunidad que participen en el PTAT también? ¿Los conoce?
17. A través de los años ¿ha usted observado cambios positivos importantes en su comunidad? ¿Considera que esos cambios pueden estar relacionados con la participación de usted y otras personas de la comunidad en el PTAT?
18. ¿Considera que usted puede hacer un cambio en su comunidad?

Appendix 5 Data tables

Characteristics of the respondents						
ID	Marital Status	# of kids	Education Level	State	Years in the SAWP	Provinces
1	Married	2	Middle School	Tlaxcala	10	Quebec, British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta, Manitoba
2	Married	2	High School	Puebla	5	Alberta, Ontario, Quebec
3	Married	3	3rd grade	Estado de Mexico	11	Quebec, Ontario
4	Common-Law	4	Middle School	San Luis Potosi	14	Ontario, Quebec
5	Married	3	Middle School	Tlaxcala	16	Quebec
6	Married	4	Middle School	Campeche	10	Quebec
7	Married	5	Elementary School	Queretaro	28	Quebec, Ontario
8	Married	4	Middle School	Estado de Mexico	17	Alberta, Ontario, Quebec
9	Married	3	Middle School	Puebla	3	Quebec, Ontario
10	Married	3	Middle School	Veracruz	15	Quebec
11	Married	1	Middle School	Morelos	17	Quebec
12	Common-Law	4	Middle School	Veracruz	8	Ontario, Quebec
13	Married	4	Elementary School	Estado de Mexico	15	Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia
14	Married	3	Elementary School	Tlaxcala	16	Ontario, Quebec
15	Married	6	Middle School	San Luis Potosi	15	Quebec
16	Married	0	Middle School	Morelos	16	Quebec
17	Married	2	Middle School	Estado de Mexico	11	Quebec
18	Married	4	Elementary School	Michoacán	17	Ontario, Quebec
19	Married	4	Middle School	Estado de Mexico	2	Quebec

Questions 1-5

ID	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
1	Yes	The type of work and the treatment you receive	My grandfather used to participate in the program, my father didn't participate in the program because we would hide his suitcase from him.	\$ 10,000.00	3 years
2	No	The money they pay you is different, and the work you can do varies, there are more options	An advertisement from the municipal government	5000 - 6000	10 years
3	No	Over there you have to look for a job and over here when you arrive you already have an assigned employer	My dad participated in the program	\$ 10,000.00	3-4 years
4	Yes	In Canada the work we have to do is way harder and there are also more employment opportunities	The government made an information session	\$ 10,000.00	5 years
5	No	Both experiences are different , everything is different	A family member told me about it	\$ 10,000.00	Many years. The daily wage here is the weekly wage in Mexico
6	No	I think the experience is different because here things are more relaxed	My dad participates in the program	\$ 10,000.00	over 10 years
7	No	I think is the same thing	I learned about the program back in 1987 in Mexico City, people who were already part of it told me about it	6000 - 7000	n/a
8	Yes	It is different because here we have work permits, it is legal	A neighbour told me	\$ 25,000.00	n/a
9	Yes	It is a different experience, the work we do here is completely different	Members of the community that were already participating in the program	\$ 8,000.00	2 years
10	Yes	It is different because there are different options of employment in the US, and here in Canada is only work in the fields	People from my town told me about this	\$ 16,000.00	Several years

11	No	Is the same thing	I heard an advertisement in the radio, and also my dad was part of the program. In the past the Canadians use to go to our towns in Mexico to recruit people to come and work in Canada.	8000-10000	2 years
12	Yes	There is a lot of racism in the US, and we have to be more careful over there mainly because most of the time we are illegals	A friend told me	8000-10000	n/a
13	Yes	Coming to Canada is different, here is temporary. When you go to the US, because most of the time you are illegal, you don't know when are you going to be able to go back to Mexico	There was a street market in front of the town hall and they were giving away brochures with information of the program	\$ 23,000.00	5 years
14	Yes	It is different, salaries are different	In brochure distributed by the municipal government	\$ 10,000.00	n/a
15	Yes	It is the same thing, we go out of Mexico looking for a job that will allow us to earn a salary.	By the municipal government of another municipality, they gave me information about the program and then I went to the offices of the ministry of labour in Mexico city and I registered to participate	\$ 16,000.00	10 years
16	No	It is different, in the US there are no benefits like medical insurance	My sister in law told me about the program	\$ 11,000.00	1 hour in of work in Canada is one day of work in Mexico
17	No	I guess if you go legally to the US the experiences are the same. If you go undocumented to the US then they are completely different experiences. In Canada you have advantages such as the health insurance, the accommodation, half of the cost of the plane ticket	In my town there is a lot of people to comes to Canada in this program, when kids are young it is what they aspire to do when they grow up.	\$ 20,000.00	2 years
18	n/a		I saw an advertisement in the newspaper and then I went to ask for information to the office of the Ministry of Labour	\$ 8,000.00	5 years
19	Yes	It is completely different, here is better, the work seasons are shorter, and we come here legally, that makes it even better.	By other people in my community that participate in the program	\$ 8,000.00	2 years

Questions 6-10

ID	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10
1	Come to work in the Canadian fields, explore the country, learn about a different culture, and a new language.	Yes	Explore Canada, have a better life standard in Mexico	Leave the family behind, being forced to learn a new language	They are happy because they have what they need but they always miss me.
2	I didn't have any ideas of what I was going to be doing. Whatever they gave me would be good	n/a	Have a better quality of life, buy some land, build a house	Leave the family behind	On one hand they accept it, but on the other hand they miss me and they feel my absence. They want me to find another job back home
3	Support my family, and pay for my sons' medical treatment because they suffer from a disability	Yes	Build my house and being able to pay for my sons' treatment	Abandoning my family	They understand that I do it for them
4	Have a better economic situation	Yes	I have a better economic situation, I have some legacy and I have been able to better my house	Being far away from the family	My kids were small when I first started coming and they would not understand why I was leaving, now they are older and they understand why I had to come but there are some complaints from them
5	Participate in the program for a year in order to support my family.	Yes	I own a house, a car, a van, land and I was able to send my kids to school (if one does not have any vices while here)	Leaving the family behind, have to learn to be independent and take care of oneself	They are used to this situation, however sometimes my kids don't recognize my authority once I am back home.
6	Support my family	Yes	My family has all they need and they are ok, I own a house, land. I got to visit a new country and I made new friends	Leaving my family for so long	My family is happy that I can provide for them but they complain because I am not with them.

7	To make more money to be able to pay for my children education	80% Yes	I gave my kids everything I was able to, my family's economic situation is better, I was able to build a house, buy some land. The only thing you can inherit your kids is educations and teaching them honesty	Leaving my kids when they were younger and having to leave my wife for so long.	They don't complain they understand I am here for them.
8	I didn't really have clear expectations the only thing I wanted was financial stability	Yes	I have a better economic situation and I had to learn a new language	Leaving my family	They don't like it, they would rather be here with me
9	Provide better opportunities for my family	Yes, in some way. The situation of my family has improved	Visit a new country, be able to have more material things, and pay for the education of my children	Being far away from the family, it is not easy to be away for around 4 or 5 years every year. Also you need to take care of yourself and prepare your own meals even after working the whole day and you are very tired	My family understands why I am here
10	Support the family and give them better opportunities, participate in this program for a couple of years to improve my economic situation	Yes	I have been able to build a house and provide education to my kids	Leaving my family	My family understands why I am here, and whenever there are misunderstandings we always talk about them
11	That the work was going to be very hard	n/a	A better salary than what we could get in Mexico. Our employers are always saying that when we leave Canada we are rich, but the money doesn't last forever and they forget that once we come back to	Leaving my family	It is very hard for my kids that I am this far for so long

			Mexico we don't have a job		
12	That the work was going to be hard	n/a	Being employed, and building a house	Leaving my family , and being alone over here	They don't like that I have to be far so long, but they understand why.
13	My expectations was to come in the program one year so I could my house	Yes	I have been able to learn a little bit of French, pay for my kids school and achieve some economic stability	Leaving the family alone for so long	Sometimes when I try to discipline my kids they don't like it and they say that I can't discipline them if I am not there.
14	Have a better life	50%	Have a decent home and give my kids an education	Leaving my family and having to be apart from them	My family is grateful for the sacrifices I make for them
15	Provide a chance to my kids to study, because I didn't have the same opportunities. I wanted to build a better house because the one we had was not very well built.	Yes	I have been able to learn some French, I bought land to farm, and I have a convenience store. I have been able to do all that thanks to the support of my wife. When you are far away is very important to have good communication and confidence with the spouse	Leaving the family, and leaving all the responsibility of educating our kids to my wife	We all have to make an effort to make our family work, we have to be in constant communication. My kids sometimes call me to help them with their homework.
16	I wanted to learn the language and come here to see what was this about	Yes	I own a car, a house and some land	Leaving my wife	My wife understands that this is a sacrifice that we have to do to have a better life

17	I wanted to participate in the program for 10 years, I figured that with 10 years coming to Canada I would be able to save enough money to buy the equipment I needed to automatize my apiculture business in Mexico	Yes, after 10 years I re-evaluated the situation and because I came here when I was single I ended up almost staying here, but afterwards I got married and decided to stay in Mexico and keep participating in the program	I have a better economic situation, I was able to buy the technology I needed for my enterprise, I have been able to learn about a different culture, a new language, meet new people. I was also able to learn about the technology they have here and apply it to my own enterprise back home.	Leaving the family for so long. I also had to stop some projects I had for giving training to other people back home about agriculture and apiculture.	My family understands but it's really hard to be apart and it hurts not to be able to be there for them. I have been doing business plans for members of my family and they take care of them while I am in Canada. I have paid for them to take courses so they can have a better life.
18	I had no other expectation than getting a job	n/a	I was able to provide for my family, I learned English and I built a house.	Leaving the family and leaving all the responsibility of the education of the kids to the mother.	n/a
19	I thought it was be hard work but better paid than in Mexico	Yes	One of the main benefits of this program for me is the fact that we are only here temporarily so I can spend the rest of the year with my family	Leaving my family	n/a

Questions 11-15

ID	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15
1	Yes	No, I would like for them to study and have better opportunities	Not yet, I would like to but I don't have time because I spend a lot of time in Canada. I would like to create employments in my community.	The whole work contract should be modified to benefit the workers more. The employer should be supervised constantly to make sure they are complying with what is stipulated in the contract.	The communities are also benefited, we contribute to the local economy with the remittances we send. We generate employment when we build our houses.

2	Yes	I would like the to do another thing, have a university degree	Up until now nothing, I already have a plan to create a business so I don't have to keep coming to Canada	The wages, the treatment, the schedules. Sometimes the treatment we receive from the employer and from other coworkers in higher positions is really bad	Our community also benefits because the money we have we invest it in the local economy. We pay taxes, we contribute in whichever way we can
3	Yes	I would like for them to have something different, for them to study and learn a lot	I haven't but I would like to	Have supports for disabled children	The communities also benefit from me being part of this program
4	Yes	I would like them to have different and better jobs, open up new opportunities	Only real state because what I earn is not a lot and one must think about the future	Have different jobs, not only in agriculture but also in construction for example. Permits or visas to work in other provinces and for longer periods of time.	The communities benefit too
5	Yes	I would like something different for them, I would like them to be better prepared because the work in the fields is very hard.	No, only real state but I would really like to have my own business	Nothing, I am ok with the existing conditions	The communities also benefits from my participation in the program, they support us on this too.
6	Yes	Yes I would like for them to have the opportunity to have better future like I did	Yes I have land and cattle	It would be nice to have more employment opportunities in different areas	The communities benefit too
7	Yes	I would like them to have something better because the work we do here is really hard.	No, I only support my kids on whatever they need, I've bought some land and having a business is not in my plans	I would like to have a better health insurance that provide better support.	Our communities benefit from our participation in the program, the Mexican economy benefits with the money we send.
8	Yes	No, I have done my part to give them access to better opportunities so they won't need to participate in a program like this one.	Yes, I have an apiculture business	I would like rights to be equal for temporary workers and for Canadians	The community also benefits from this program with the economic spill over, if we have more possibilities we can also create employment

9	Yes	Yes, actually I have a son who is studying agronomy and he would like to participate in this program.	No, I would like to do so one day	I would like to have a better salary, for example in ON the minimum wage is higher. It would be nice to have a higher wage and the same in all the provinces	The community benefits because I am able to cooperate with the things the town needs.
10	Yes	I want something different for them. I don't want them to go through what I went through. I want them to find a profession in Mexico and get jobs that are well paid.	No, I have only been able to buy land for farming and in this way I am able to provide an income for people in Mexico	More salary and medical insurance for the family back home.	The community benefits because people back in the town have work because of the money that temporary workers send from here.
11	Yes	I would like to have a better salary	n/a	n/a	There are benefits for the whole community, because with the money we are able to send the local economy activates.
12	Yes, I wouldn't think it twice	I would like them to study and have a degree	I haven't had a chance but I would like to do it	Have a better salary because the work we do is very hard and also sometimes we work extra hours but we don't get paid more for them	The community benefits because there is more money coming to the Mexican economy
13	No, I was happier when I didn't have money. In Mexico there is a lot of crime	I wouldn't like it, but one of them is already in the program	I have land, a house, and a small convenience store	I would like there to be more cohabitation rules, because sometimes with alcohol there are some problems	The community benefits because the money we send to our families is spent there.
14	Yes	No, I would like something different for them. I would like them to come and be served not come and serve others.	Yes, but not completely	I would like equality between us and the Canadian workers, There could be modifications on taxes and the benefits we receive. We pay a lot and we don't get anything in return, like unemployment insurance.	The community benefits because the local economy reactivates.

15	No, there is nothing but loneliness here I would like to spend more quality time with my family	I would not like for them to come but they see it as an easy way to get money and I think they would like to participate in the program	Yes	There are a lot of things that need to change, we pay too much taxes and the benefits we receive are not good. The pension we get is really low. I would like for us to have more benefits like the refugees have. The Mexican government could do a better job negotiating in our behalf	When we come here the community benefits because we are not taking employment opportunities from other people back there
16	Yes	Yes I would like my nieces and nephews to be able to participate in this program	Yes I have a business that rents chairs and tables for events	I would like this program to help us bring our family with us I would like to have my wife here with me	If I do well the community benefits, for example with the business I have I can give employment to people.
17	Yes	I would like another thing for them, I would like this program to stop being an aspiration for younger generations, and there are better things to aspire to.	Yes, I work with bees. All my family is in the apiculture business and I have been investing in new technologies and training for my family.	We pay taxes but we don't have any benefits, since we are we contributing to the system in the same way Canadians and residents it would be nice to have the same benefits they do. I would also like to be able to take some courses because our current work permits forbid us from doing so. Another nice thing would be to be able to apply for permanent residency and have other employment opportunities. The treatment that some employers give to their workers should be different (more dignified)	There are benefits of our participation in the program not only in our communities but also at a national level. The program is really good, is adequate to help the people who don't have many opportunities. But for Mexico is an easy way out, the government gets to say they are helping people and they are able to provide employment
18	Yes	No, I have been able to pay for their education and if they come to Canada I would like them to come in different circumstances	n/a	The pension we are entitled to is not enough.	The community benefits because we don't take jobs there leaving them available to other people in the town.

19	Yes	No, all my kids study and I would like them to find a better job in Mexico	I don't make enough money to be able to invest in something	The work we do is very hard and the money we receive is not enough, salaries could be better.	The community benefits, the money we earn and are able to send to our families is spend there and that is good for the economy
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Questions 16-18			
ID	Question 16	Question 17	Question 18
1	Yes	Yes	I would rather move permanently to Canada with my family
2	n/a	n/a	I would rather have better working conditions and keep participating as a temporary worker than moving permanently to Canada
3	Yes	Yes, before our community was very poor and now you can see that it has developed	I would rather have supports for my disabled kids and keep participating as a temporary worker than moving permanently to Canada
4	Yes	I have seen how the families of workers in the SAWP are better off, there is more tranquility within the people, economy is better now	I would like to have a permit that you don't need to renovate each year, and that the dates to come to Canada will be more flexible because right now if you can't come on the specific date they tell you (for whatever reason) then they would give your place to someone else. But I wouldn't like to live in Canada permanently
5	Yes	Over 400 people in my community come to Canada every season. However, the amount of Mexicans coming has decreased because they are hiring more people from Guatemala, the employers say	I would not like to live in Canada permanently, I like coming temporarily to work.

		they are not as expensive as we are.	
6	Yes	You can tell who in the community is part of the program because of the way the houses are built and their way of life.	n/a
7	n/a	n/a	I would not like to live in Canada permanently
8	Yes	You can see that the people that participate in the program have a better economic situation, even the houses are better	I would like to come and live in Canada with my family.
9	Yes, a lot	You can see that the houses of the people who participate in the program are better, they also have business and other advantages	It could be interesting to live in Canada but only if I could have my family with me.
10	n/a	n/a	I would not like to live in Canada permanently, I prefer the temporary work
11	n/a	n/a	n/a
12	Yes	You can see that people coming to work in the program have more benefits and their lives are better	I would rather there be adjustments in the salary but keep coming on a temporary basis than moving here permanently.
13	Yes, over 50	You can easily identify the houses of people who are part of the program because they look better and also must of the time they open business.	I wouldn't like to live here, here the money is not enough, additionally community living is very different, we know our neighbors and we take care of each other, life in Canada is so different.
14	n/a	n/a	I would not like to live in Canada, life here is cruel.
15	Yes, like 14	n/a	n/a
16	n/a	n/a	n/a
17	n/a	n/a	n/a
18	Yes	They have a better living standard	I would not like to live in Canada permanently, I like coming temporarily to work.
19	n/a	n/a	I would rather keep coming as a temporary worker with a better salary than moving here permanently

Appendix 6 SAWP 2017 contract

AGREEMENT FOR THE EMPLOYMENT IN CANADA OF SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS FROM MEXICO - 2017

WHEREAS the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States are desirous that employment of a seasonal nature be arranged for Mexican Agricultural Workers in Canada where Canada determines that such workers are needed to satisfy the requirements of the Canadian agricultural labour market; and,

WHEREAS the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States have signed a Memorandum of Understanding to give effect to this joint desire; and,

WHEREAS the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States agree that an Agreement for the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico be signed by each participating employer and worker; and,

WHEREAS the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States agree that an agent for the Government of the United Mexican States known as the "GOVERNMENT AGENT" shall be stationed in Canada to assist in the administration of the program;

THEREFORE, the following Agreement for the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico is made in duplicate this _____ day of _____ 2017.

I SCOPE AND PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT

The EMPLOYER agrees to:

1. Employ the WORKER(S) assigned to them by the Government of the United Mexican States under the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program and to accept the terms and conditions hereunder as forming part of the employment Agreement between them and such referred WORKER(S). The number of WORKERS to be employed shall be as set out in the attached clearance order.
2. The PARTIES agree as follows:
 - a. Subject to compliance with the terms and the conditions found in this Agreement, the EMPLOYER agrees to hire the WORKER(S) as a _____ for a term of employment of not less than 240 hours in a term of six (6) weeks or less, nor longer than eight (8) months with the expected completion of the period of employment to be the _____ day of _____, 2017.
 - b. the EMPLOYER needs to respect the duration of the Employment Agreement signed with the WORKER(S) and their return to the country of origin by no later than December 15th with the exception of extraordinary circumstances (e.g. medical emergencies).
3. The standard working day is expected to be eight (8) hours, however, to accommodate the cyclical demands of the agricultural industry, the EMPLOYER may request of the WORKER

Agreement for the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico - 2017

and the WORKER may agree to extend their hours when the situation requires it, and where the conditions of employment involve a unit of pay. EMPLOYEES must not be required to work excessive hours that would be detrimental to their health or safety. Requests for additional hours of work shall be in accordance with the customs of the district and the spirit of the program, giving the same rights to Mexican workers as given to Canadian workers. The urgent working day should not be more than twelve (12) hours daily.

4. To give the WORKER a trial period of fourteen (14) actual working days from the date of their arrival at the place of employment. The EMPLOYER shall not discharge the WORKER except for sufficient cause or refusal to work during that trial period.
5. The EMPLOYER shall provide the WORKER and the GOVERNMENT AGENT with a copy of rules of conduct, safety discipline and care and maintenance of property so that the WORKER may be aware of and observe such rules.
6. On arrival at the place of employment, the WORKER agrees to provide to the EMPLOYER a copy of the Agreement for the employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico signed by the WORKER and the GOVERNMENT AGENT. The EMPLOYER agrees to sign the Agreement and return it to the WORKER. The WORKER further agrees that the EMPLOYER may make and keep copies of the signed Agreement.

II LODGING, MEALS AND REST PERIODS

PART A: LODGING

The WORKER agrees:

1. That they:
 - a. shall maintain living quarters furnished to them by the EMPLOYER or their agent in the same safe, hygienic and functional state in which the WORKER received them; and
 - b. realizes that the EMPLOYER may, with the approval in writing of the GOVERNMENT AGENT, recover from their wages the cost to the EMPLOYER to maintain the quarters in a safe, hygienic and functional state.

For provinces and territories EXCEPT British Columbia:

The EMPLOYER agrees:

2. To provide suitable accommodation to the WORKER, without cost. Such accommodation must meet with the annual approval of the appropriate government authority responsible for health and living conditions in the province/territory where the WORKER is employed. In the absence of such authority, accommodation must meet with the approval of the GOVERNMENT AGENT.

The WORKER agrees

3. That the EMPLOYER may deduct from the WORKER'S wages an amount to reflect utility costs in relation to the employment of the WORKER in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan*, Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island only. The amount of the deduction is to be \$2.25 Canadian dollars per working day. This amount is adjusted annually beginning January 1, by the consumer price index increase for the months of January to June from 2015 to 2016 in the provinces allowing the deductions. A working day for the purpose of this deduction is to be such that a WORKER completes a minimum of four (4) hours of work in a given day. Said costs deduction withheld under this provision are to be made for the current pay period only.

*In Saskatchewan, WORKERS employed by greenhouses and nurseries are exempted from this deduction.

For British Columbia ONLY:

The EMPLOYER agrees:

4. To provide suitable accommodation to the WORKER. Such accommodation must meet the annual approval of the appropriate government authority responsible for health and living conditions in British Columbia or with the approval of a private housing inspector licensed by the province of British Columbia. In the absence of such authority, accommodation must meet with the approval of the GOVERNMENT AGENT.
5. To ensure that reasonable and suitable accommodation is affordably available for the WORKER in the community. If the WORKERS's accommodation is not on the farm, the EMPLOYER will pay any costs for transporting the WORKER to the worksite.
6. That costs related to accommodation will be paid by the WORKER at a rate of 5.36 per working day* of the WORKER'S pay from the first day of full employment. The amount paid for accommodation during the WORKER'S stay in Canada is not to exceed \$826.00.

* A working day for the purpose of this deduction is to be such that a WORKER completes a minimum of four (4) hours of work in a given day.

PART B: MEALS

For provinces and territories EXCEPT British Columbia:

7. Where the WORKER and the EMPLOYER agree that the latter provides meals to the WORKER:

The EMPLOYER agrees:

- a. to provide reasonable and proper meals for the WORKER

Agreement for the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico - 2017

The WORKER agrees:

- b.** that the EMPLOYER may deduct from the WORKER'S wages a sum not to exceed \$6.50 per day for the cost of meals provided to the WORKER, provided the WORKER agrees to receive this service from the EMPLOYER, to which end the WORKER must state in writing their agreement, prior to making the first deduction.
- 8.** Where the WORKER prepares their own meals, the EMPLOYER agrees to furnish cooking utensils, fuel, and facilities without cost to the WORKER, and to provide a minimum of thirty (30) minutes for meal breaks.

For British Columbia ONLY

- 9.** Where the WORKER and the EMPLOYER agree that the latter provides meals to the WORKER:

The EMPLOYER agrees:

- a.** to provide reasonable and proper meals for the WORKER.

The WORKER agrees:

- b.** the EMPLOYER will charge the WORKER the sum of \$6.00 per day for one meal, \$9.00 per day for two meals and \$12.00 per day for the cost of three meals provided to the WORKER as long as the meals are prepared by an unrelated third party catering company and the meal plan is reviewed and approved by a qualified nutritionist. The WORKER will have the right, prior or during their employment, to accept or refuse the payroll deduction for this service.
- 10.** Where the WORKER prepares their own meals, the EMPLOYER will furnish cooking utensils, fuel, and facilities, without cost to the WORKER, and to provide a minimum of thirty (30) minutes for meal breaks.

PART C: REST PERIODS

The EMPLOYER agrees to:

- 11.** Provide the WORKER with at least two (2) rest periods of ten (10) minutes duration, one such period to be held midmorning and the other midafternoon, paid or not paid, in accordance with provincial/territorial labour legislation.
- 12.** For each six (6) consecutive days of work, the WORKER will be entitled to one (1) day of rest, but where the urgency to finish farm work cannot be delayed the EMPLOYER may request the WORKER'S consent to postpone that day until a mutually agreeable date.

III PAYMENT OF WAGES

The GOVERNMENT AGENT and both PARTIES agree:

1. That in the event the EMPLOYER is unable to locate the WORKER because of the absence or death of the WORKER, the EMPLOYER shall pay any monies owing to the WORKER to the GOVERNMENT AGENT. This money shall be held in trust by the GOVERNMENT AGENT for the benefit of the WORKER. The GOVERNMENT AGENT shall take any or all steps necessary to locate and pay the money to the WORKER or, in the case of death of the WORKER, the WORKER'S lawful heirs.

The EMPLOYER agrees:

2. To allow EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CANADA (ESDC)/SERVICE CANADA or its designate access to all information and records necessary to ensure contract compliance.
3. That the average minimum work week shall be forty (40) hours; and
 - a. that, if circumstances prevent fulfilment of Section III, clause 3, the average weekly income paid to the WORKER over the period of employment is as set out in Section III, clause 3 at the hourly minimum rate; and
 - b. that where, for any reason whatsoever, no actual work is possible, the WORKER, shall receive an advance with a receipt signed by the WORKER to cover personal expenses, the EMPLOYER shall be entitled to deduct said advance from the WORKER'S pay prior to the departure of the WORKER.

For provinces and territories EXCEPT British Columbia:

The EMPLOYER agrees:

4. That a recognition payment of \$4.00 per week to a maximum of \$128.00 will be paid to WORKERS with five (5) or more consecutive years of employment with the same EMPLOYER, and ONLY where no provincial/territorial vacation pay is applicable. Said recognition payment is payable to eligible WORKERS at the completion of the contract.
5. To pay the WORKER at their place of employment weekly wages in lawful money of Canada at a rate at least equal to the following, whichever is the greatest:
 - a. the minimum wage for WORKERS provided by law in the province in which the WORKER is employed;
 - b. the rate determined annually by ESDC to be the prevailing wage rate for the type of agricultural work being carried out by the WORKER in the province in which the work will be done; or
 - c. the rate being paid by the EMPLOYER to the Canadian workers performing the same type of agricultural work.

Agreement for the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico - 2017

6. In the case of piecework, the WORKERS shall be paid wages at least equivalent to one hour of employment for every hour worked on the harvest.

For British Columbia ONLY

The EMPLOYER agrees:

7. In the case of piecework, the WORKER shall be paid wages at least equivalent to one hour of employment for every hour worked on the harvest.
 - a. The EMPLOYER shall pay the WORKER the approved piece work rate as set out in the "Minimum Piece Rates - Hand harvested crops" published by the B.C. Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Skills Training for harvesting.
 - b. The EMPLOYER shall pay the WORKER _____ per hour for any period spent performing duties other than harvesting. (This hourly rate shall be no less than the most current minimum wage).

IV DEDUCTIONS OF WAGES

The WORKER agrees that the EMPLOYER:

1. Will make deductions from the wages payable to the WORKER only for the following:
 - a. those employer deductions required to be made under law;
 - b. all other deductions as required pursuant to this agreement.

V HEALTH AND SAFETY OF WORKERS

The EMPLOYER agrees to:

1. Comply with all laws, regulations and by-laws respecting conditions set by competent authority and, in addition, in the absence of any laws providing for payment of compensation to WORKERS for personal injuries received or disease contracted as a result of the employment, shall obtain insurance acceptable to the GOVERNMENT AGENT providing such compensation to the WORKER.
2. Report to the GOVERNMENT AGENT within forty-eight (48) hours all injuries sustained by the WORKER which require medical attention.

The WORKER agrees that:

3. The EMPLOYER can deduct the cost of non-occupational medical coverage by way of regular payroll deduction at a premium rate of \$0.94 per day per WORKER.
4. The EMPLOYER shall remit on a monthly basis directly to the insurance company engaged by the Government of Mexico the total amount of insurance premium as invoiced by the insuring company. Such amount will be recovered by the EMPLOYER with the deduction made to the WORKER'S wages according to Section V, clause 1. In the case where the

Agreement for the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico - 2017

WORKER leaves Canada before the employment agreement has expired, the EMPLOYER will be entitled to recover any unused portion of the insurance premium from the insurance company.

5. The WORKER will report to the EMPLOYER and the GOVERNMENT AGENT, within forty-eight (48) hours, all injuries sustained which require medical attention.
6. The coverage for insurance shall include:
 - a. the expenses for non-occupational medical insurance which include accident, sickness, hospitalization and death benefits;
 - b. any other expenses that might be looked upon under the agreement between the Government of Mexico and the insurance company to be of benefit to the WORKER.
7. If the WORKER dies during the period of employment, the EMPLOYER shall notify the GOVERNMENT AGENT and, if the WORKER's life insurance policy does not cover burial and/or repatriation of the body, upon receipt of instructions from the GOVERNMENT AGENT, either:
 - a. provide suitable burial; or
 - b. remit to the GOVERNMENT AGENT a sum of money which shall represent the costs that the EMPLOYER would have incurred under Section V, clause 7a, in order that such monies be applied towards the costs undertaken by the Government of Mexico in having the WORKER returned to their relatives in Mexico.

VI MAINTENANCE OF WORK RECORDS AND STATEMENT OF EARNINGS

The EMPLOYER agrees to:

1. Maintain and forward to the GOVERNMENT AGENT proper and accurate records of hours worked and wages paid.
2. Provide to the WORKER a clear statement of earnings and deductions with each pay.

The WORKER agrees that:

3. The EMPLOYER may pay the WORKER in advance so the WORKER can purchase food and/or personal items. The EMPLOYER and WORKER must agree to this pay advance in writing, and the EMPLOYER must make payroll deductions according to federal and provincial legislation. The EMPLOYER can recover the net pay advanced during the first six (6) weeks of employment. In the event the WORKER leaves the place of employment prior to completing six (6) weeks of work, the EMPLOYER shall deduct the full remaining balance from the WORKER'S final pay. These deductions will be reflected on the WORKER'S pay stub.

VII TRAVEL AND RECEPTION ARRANGEMENTS

The EMPLOYER agrees to:

1. Pay to the travel agent the cost of two-way air transportation of the WORKER for travel from Mexico City to Canada by the most economical means.
2. Make arrangements:
 - a. to meet or have the worker's agent meet and transport the WORKER from the point of arrival in Canada to the place of employment and, upon termination of their employment to transport the WORKER to the starting point of their air travel to depart Canada; and
 - b. to inform and obtain the consent of the GOVERNMENT AGENT to the transportation arrangements required in Section VII, clause 2a.

The contracting PARTIES agree:

3. In the event that at the time of departure a named worker is unavailable to travel the EMPLOYER agrees, unless otherwise stipulated in writing on the request form, to accept a substitute WORKER.
4. That the WORKER will pay the cost of the work permit processing fee directly to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. The EMPLOYER may not recover any costs related to the work permit fee.

For provinces and territories EXCEPT British Columbia:

The WORKER agrees to:

5. Pay to the EMPLOYER costs related to air travel as follows:
 - a. The EMPLOYER may deduct up to 50% of the actual cost of air travel (i.e. from Mexico City to Canada and back) over the period of employment only and is not to exceed the maximum amounts set out in the chart below:

Airport / City / Province	Maximum amount that can be deducted
Charlottetown, PEI	\$ 617.00
Halifax, NS	\$ 617.00
Fredericton, Moncton or St-John, NB	\$ 617.00
St. John's, NL	\$ 653.00
Montreal, QC	\$ 646.00
Ottawa, ON	\$ 548.00
Toronto, ON	\$ 543.00
Winnipeg, MB	\$ 795.77

Calgary, AB	\$ 631.24
Regina / Saskatoon, SK	\$ 651.24

- b. Costs related to air travel will be recovered by way of regular payroll deductions at a rate of ten (10) percent of the WORKER'S gross pay from the first day of full employment.
 - c. The employer will provide the worker with a receipt for the cost of travel, and will reimburse the worker if the worker has paid in excess of 50% of the airfare.
6. Where a federal/provincial/territorial agreement on the selection of foreign workers exists with associated cost recovery fees, the cost of such provincial/territorial fees will be reimbursed to the EMPLOYER from the WORKER'S final vacation pay cheque.

For British Columbia ONLY:

The EMPLOYER agrees:

- 7. To pay to the travel agent the cost of two-way air transportation of the WORKER for travel from Mexico City to Canada by the most economical means. The EMPLOYER is responsible for the cost of two-way airfare for the WORKER, regardless of any early termination of the contract, whether by EMPLOYER or WORKER, and for any reason.

VIII OBLIGATIONS OF THE EMPLOYER

The EMPLOYER agrees and acknowledges:

- 1. That the WORKER shall not be moved to another area of employment or transferred or loaned to another EMPLOYER without the consent of the WORKER and the prior approval in writing of ESDC/SERVICE CANADA and the GOVERNMENT AGENT.
- 2. That the WORKERS approved under the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program are authorized by their work permit only to perform agricultural labour for the EMPLOYER to whom they are assigned. Any person who knowingly induces or aids a foreign worker, without the authorization of ESDC/SERVICE CANADA, to perform work for another person or to perform non-agricultural work, is liable on conviction to a penalty up to \$50,000 or two (2) years imprisonment or both under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* S 124(1)(C) and 125.
- 3. To provide:
 - a. WORKER with a uniform for work, when required by the EMPLOYER, and, where permitted by provincial/territorial Labour Standards, the cost will be shared at 50% between the EMPLOYER and the WORKER.
 - b. WORKERS handling chemicals and/or pesticides with protective gear/equipment at no cost to the WORKER; and where required by law, will receive appropriate formal or informal training and supervision, at no cost to the WORKER.

4. That according to the approved guidelines in the province/territory where the WORKER is employed the EMPLOYER shall take the WORKER to obtain health coverage according to provincial/territorial regulations.
5. The EMPLOYER agrees to provide existing housing at no cost to the WORKER during the time in which the WORKER must wait in Canada between the end of the WORKER's employment contract and the day of the WORKER's return flight to Mexico.
6. To be responsible for transportation to and from a hospital or clinic whenever the WORKER needs medical attention. The Consulate will work in partnership with the employer to ensure proper medical attention is provided to the WORKER in a timely fashion.

For British Columbia ONLY

7. To provide the WORKER with a uniform for work, when required by the EMPLOYER, at no cost to the WORKER.

IX OBLIGATIONS OF THE WORKER

The WORKER agrees:

1. To work at all times during the term of employment under the supervision and direction of the EMPLOYER and to perform the duties of the agricultural work requested in an efficient manner.
2. To obey and comply with all rules set down by the EMPLOYER relating to the safety, discipline, care and maintenance of property.
3. To not work for any other person without the approval of ESDC/SERVICE CANADA, the GOVERNMENT AGENT and the EMPLOYER, except in situations arising by reason of the EMPLOYER'S breach of this agreement and where alternative arrangements for employment are made under Section X, clause 5.
4. To return promptly to Mexico upon completion of the authorized work period.
5. To submit/file their tax return. For that purpose, the GOVERNMENT AGENT shall provide information on the adequate options to meet this obligation.

For provinces and territories EXCEPT British Columbia

The WORKER agrees:

6. To work and reside at the place of employment or at such other place as the EMPLOYER, with the approval of the GOVERNMENT AGENT, may require.

Agreement for the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico - 2017

For British Columbia ONLY

The WORKER agrees:

7. To work at the place of employment.

X EARLY CESSATION OF EMPLOYMENT

1. If the WORKER has to return to Mexico due to medical reasons, which are verified by a Canadian doctor, the EMPLOYER shall pay reasonable transportation and subsistence expenses. Where the WORKER's return home is necessary due to a physical or medical condition which was present prior to the WORKER'S arrival in Canada, the Government of Mexico will pay the full cost of the WORKER'S return.

For provinces and territories EXCEPT British Columbia

2. Following completion of the trial period of employment by the WORKER, the EMPLOYER, after consultation with the GOVERNMENT AGENT, shall be entitled for non-compliance, refusal to work, or any other sufficient reason stated in this agreement, to prematurely cease the WORKER'S employment. Failing any attempts to transfer the WORKER as per section XI, and at the WORKER's request to return home, the cost of the WORKER's return trip to Mexico shall be paid as follows:
 - a. if the WORKER was requested by name by the EMPLOYER, the full cost of return shall be paid by the EMPLOYER;
 - b. if the WORKER was selected by the Government of Mexico and 50% or more of the term of the contract has been completed, the full cost of returning the WORKER will be the responsibility of the WORKER;
 - c. if the WORKER was selected by the Government of Mexico and less than 50% of the term of the contract has been completed, the full cost of the returning flight will be the responsibility of the WORKER. In the event of insolvency of the WORKER, the Government of Mexico, through the GOVERNMENT AGENT will reimburse the EMPLOYER for the unpaid amount less any amounts collected under Section VII, clause 4.
3. The parties agree that:
 - a. If it is the opinion of the GOVERNMENT AGENT that personal and/or domestic circumstances of the WORKER in the home country warrant, the WORKER is responsible for the full cost of their return to Mexico.
 - b. If the WORKER wants to return to Canada to finish their contract after attending the personal circumstances in Mexico, with previous authorization from the EMPLOYER and

Agreement for the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico - 2017

the GOVERNMENT AGENT, it is considered a DOUBLE ARRIVAL and the WORKER is responsible for the full cost of his return to Canada.

- c. If the EMPLOYER, in agreement with the WORKER and the GOVERNMENT AGENT arrange a DOUBLE ARRIVAL for operational needs of the farm, the EMPLOYER is responsible for the full cost of the return ticket Canada-Mexico-Canada for the WORKER.
4. The EMPLOYER cannot continue recovering the costs incurred through the cheques issued to the WORKERS by the insurance companies.
5. That if it is determined by the GOVERNMENT AGENT, after consultation with ESDC/SERVICE CANADA that the EMPLOYER has not satisfied their obligations under this agreement, the agreement will be rescinded by the GOVERNMENT AGENT on behalf of the WORKER, and if alternative agricultural employment cannot be arranged through ESDC/SERVICE CANADA for the WORKER in that area of Canada, the EMPLOYER shall be responsible for the full costs of returning the WORKER to Mexico City, Mexico; and if the term of employment as specified in Section I, clause 1, is not completed and employment is terminated under Section X, clause 5, the WORKER shall receive from the EMPLOYER a payment to ensure that the total wages paid to the WORKER is not less than that which the WORKER would have received if the minimum period of employment had been completed.

XI TRANSFER OF WORKERS

In the case of transferred workers, the TRANSFERRING EMPLOYER and RECEIVING EMPLOYER agree that:

1. For a WORKER transfer to take place:
 - a. The WORKER does not need to seek a new work permit, provided the WORKER has a valid work permit and has not completed eight (8) months of employment.
 - b. The RECEIVING EMPLOYER must be a SAWP EMPLOYER with a positive LMIA received in writing from ESDC/SERVICE CANADA prior to the transfer of the WORKER.
 - c. All parties, including the WORKER, TRANSFERRING EMPLOYER, RECEIVING EMPLOYER and GOVERNMENT AGENT in Canada must agree to the transfer.
2. In the case of a TRANSFERRED WORKER, the term of employment shall consist of a cumulative term of not less than 240 hours.
3. The RECEIVING EMPLOYER shall be provided by the SENDING EMPLOYER at the time of transfer an accurate record of earnings and deductions to the date of transfer, noting that the record needs to clearly state what, if any, deductions can still be recovered from the WORKER.
4. Following completion of the seven (7) day trial period and no later than ten (10) days of employment, the RECEIVING EMPLOYER will provide the GOVERNMENT AGENT with written confirmation of the name(s), identity code(s), actual date of transfer and anticipated

Agreement for the Employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico - 2017

end date of employment for all TRANSFERRED WORKERS. EMPLOYERS in Ontario, Quebec, and Atlantic Canada will provide this information to their designated Third Party.

5. The GOVERNMENT AGENT is responsible for notifying the supplementary medical insurance company of the worker transfer.

For provinces and territories EXCEPT British Columbia

6. The airfare and visa costs may be deducted from the WORKER one time only. The transfer of a WORKER does not give rise to a double deduction for these items.
7. An EMPLOYER shall, upon requesting the transfer of a WORKER, give a trial period of seven (7) actual working days from the date of the WORKER's arrival at the place of employment. Effective the eight (8th) working day, such a WORKER shall be deemed to be a "NAMED WORKER" and Section X, clause 2a will apply.
8. If a TRANSFERRED WORKER is not suitable to perform the duties assigned by the RECEIVING EMPLOYER within the seven (7) days trial period, the EMPLOYER shall return the WORKER to the previous EMPLOYER and that EMPLOYER will be responsible for the repatriation cost of the WORKER.
9. In the case of a TRANSFERRED WORKER, the RECEIVING EMPLOYER agrees to pay the travel agent in advance the cost of one-way air transportation of the WORKER between Canada and Mexico by the most economical means as expressed in the Memorandum of Understanding.
10. In the case of a TRANSFERRED WORKER, the second EMPLOYER may continue to make deductions in expenses associated with the program, starting from the aggregate amount deducted by the first EMPLOYER, without exceeding the amounts indicated in Section VII, clause 5.

For British Columbia ONLY

11. An EMPLOYER shall, upon requesting the transfer of a WORKER, give a trial period of seven (7) actual working days from the date of the WORKER's arrival at the place of employment. Effective the eight (8th) working day, such a WORKER shall be deemed to be an employee of that EMPLOYER.
12. Where the WORKER becomes a TRANSFER WORKER, within the meaning of Section I, clause 4, the second EMPLOYER is responsible for the return airfare of the WORKER.
13. In the case of a TRANSFERRED WORKER, the second EMPLOYER may continue to make deductions in expenses associated with the program, starting from the aggregate amount deducted by the first EMPLOYER, without exceeding the amounts indicated in Section II.

XII MISCELLANEOUS

1. In the event of fire, the EMPLOYER will bear 1/3 of the replacement cost of the WORKER'S personal property, up to a maximum of \$650.00. The Government of Mexico shall assist the worker for the remaining cost, up to 1/3 of the replacement of the WORKER'S property, in accordance with Mexican legislation.
2. The WORKER and the EMPLOYER agree that any personal information held by the Federal Government of Canada and the Government of the Province/Territory in which the work is performed may be released to ESDC/SERVICE CANADA, to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, to the GOVERNMENT AGENT of Secretaria del Trabajo y Prevision Social and Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, to the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Service (FARMS), to the Fondation des entreprises en recrutement de main-d'oeuvre agricole étrangère (FERME), to the Western Agriculture Labour Initiative (WALI) and to the Insurance Company designated by the GOVERNMENT AGENT. Information shared must be necessary to facilitate the operation of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program.

The consent of the WORKER to the release of information includes, but is not restricted to:

- a. information held under the Employment Insurance Act, (including the WORKER'S Social Insurance Number);
 - b. any health, social service or accident compensation related information held by the government of the province/territory in which the work is performed, including any unique alpha-numerical identifier used by any province/territory;
 - c. Medical and health information and records which may be released to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada as well as the Insurance Company designated by the GOVERNMENT AGENT.
3. That the agreement shall be governed by the laws of Canada and of the province/territory in which the WORKER is employed. French, English and Spanish versions of this contract have equal force.
 4. This contract may be executed in any number of counterparts, in the language of the signatory's choice, with the same effect as if all the PARTIES signed the same document. All counterparts shall be construed together, and shall constitute one and the same contract.
 5. The PARTIES agree that no term or condition of this agreement shall be superseded, suspended, modified or otherwise amended, in any way, without the express written permission of the competent Canadian and Mexican authorities, as well as the EMPLOYER and the WORKER.

For provinces and territories EXCEPT British Columbia

6. Upon request of the WORKER, the GOVERNMENT AGENT agrees to assist the WORKER and the EMPLOYER with the completion of the necessary parental benefit forms.

DATE:

EMPLOYEE'S SIGNATURE:

NAME OF EMPLOYEE:

EMPLOYER'S SIGNATURE:

WITNESS:

NAME OF EMPLOYER:

ADDRESS

CORPORATE NAME

TELEPHONE

FAX:

PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OF WORKER
IF DIFFERENT FROM ABOVE:

GOVERNMENT AGENT'S SIGNATURE:

WITNESS: