Temporary Foreign Work, Precarious Migrant Labor and Advocacy in Canada:

A Critical Exploratory Case Study

By

Simone Brown-McLaughlin

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Department of Educational Policy Studies
University of Alberta

Abstract

Over the past forty-seven years, thousands of temporary foreign migrant workers have been arriving in Canada annually, to labor in sectors of precarious work including farming, caregiving and the service sector given the demand from employers seeking cheaper sources of labor or for work that Canadians are not available to do or are unwilling to do. Given the context of 21st century neoliberal capitalist globalization which has transformed the international division of labor, there has been an increase in the demand for migrants as a flexible source of cheap labor. Canada's dependence on migrant workers has been facilitated through bilateral and unilateral programs with countries of the Global South to provide a steady stream of workers for its workforce.

The purpose of this research was to critically explore and develop an understanding of precarious migrant worker exploitation and concerns pertaining to the Temporary Foreign Workers Program (TFWP) in Canada to inform advocacy undertaken by migrant organizations. Utilizing a race-gendered neo-Marxist perspective on capital and migrant labor a case study strategy was adopted and developed pertaining to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) and the Caregivers Program. Data collection included in-depth and focus group interviews with 17 farm and caregiver migrant workers and advocates, document reviews and analysis of web materials. Thematic analysis suggests temporary migrant work is marked by coercion, misrepresentation of contracts and bonded contractual arrangements. Migrant work and living in Canada are characterized by increasing levels of labor unfreedom experienced as domination, subordination, and race-gendered exploitation. Temporary foreign migrant workers are being driven further into debt, endure substandard working conditions and a social experience in Canada marred by prejudice, discrimination, and oppression. These preliminary critical exploratory findings inform advocacy work for migrant workers by contributing to new

ways of "knowing and doing" and to challenge existing predatory precarious migrant work

policies, processes, and experiences in Canada and internationally.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Simone Brown-McLaughlin. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "Temporary Foreign Work, Precarious Migrant Labour and Advocacy in Canada: A Critical Exploratory Case Study", No. Pro00094748, November 8, 2019.

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List of Acronyms

CPP	Canada Pension Plan
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CERD	Conventions on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
EI	Employment Insurance
FARMS	Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Services
FDM	Foreign Direct Movement
FDM	Foreign Domestic Movement
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GFMD	Global Forum on Migration for Development
HCCPP	Home Child Care Provider Pilot
HSWP	Home Support Worker Pilot
IRCC	Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada
INTERCEDE	International Coalition to End Domestic Exploitation
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMA	International Migrant Alliance
IMP	International Mobility Program
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization on Migration
IPPMD	Interrelations between Public Policies, Migration and Development
LMO	Labor Market Opinion
LMIA	Labour Market Impact Assessment
LCP	Live-in Caregiver Program
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MWAC	Migrant Workers Alliance for Change
NTA	National Training Agency
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

NIEAP	Non-Immigrant Employment Authorisation Program
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
COVID 19	Novel Corona virus
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PR	Permanent Residence
PMW	Precarious Migrant Worker
SAP	Seasonal Agricultural Program
SAWP	Seasonal Agricultural Work Program
SAW	Seasonal Agricultural Worker
TFW	Temporary Foreign Worker
TFWP	Temporary Foreign Worker Program
CDS	The Caribbean Domestic Scheme
KNOWMAD	The Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development
UN	United Nations
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Introduction

Background

Canada is internationally recognized as a country of immigrants and has always depended

on migrant workers to address its economic development priorities. In 2014 alone, there were

567,077 migrant workers employed in Canada, with migrant farm workers making up 12% of

Canada's agricultural workforce (Molnar, 2018). About 30,000 farm workers come to Canada

annually through the Seasonal Agricultural Work Program or SAWP (Marchitelli, 2017). The

Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) facilitates the increasing reliance on temporary

migrant workers. TFWPs are regulated by the Federal government and allow employers to hire

foreign nationals on a temporary basis to fill gaps in the workforce. Each province and territory

have its' own set of policies which facilitate the administration of the program. The TFWP, now

in its 47th year, is part of the Non-Immigrant Employment Authorisation Program (NIEAP)

which was formalized in 1973 (Fudget & Macphailtt, 2009). This program was developed to

ensure a steady supply of cheap labour for Canadian employers seeking to fill vacancies when

Canadians are not available. The TFWP can be described as the culmination of over 100 years of

migrant work in Canada. In addition to Seasonal Agricultural Workers (SAWs), care workers

have provided in-home care for children, family members with disabilities and the elderly since

the 1800's. This allowed parents to work while also facilitating people with disabilities living

independent lives. Coincident with the implementation of the NIEAP in Canada was what some

observers have described as the decimation of the economies of countries in the formerly

colonized regions of the Global South which had become pawns in the plans of the Bretton

Woods organizations (e.g. via Structural Adjustments Programs or SAPs to address the debt

crisis) including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization (WTO) in the post-independence period (Christobal, 1989), laying the foundation for "Third World" governments and migrant workers to seek out forms of precarious employment in the North (Rodriguez, 2010). This development also coincided with what Gordon (2018) describes as a period of neoliberal global capitalism which has prompted a significant growth in transnational migration and with it, increasing numbers in the ranks of unfree labor (Brass, 2019). This unfree labor is sourced primarily from the Americas and the Caribbean, Asian and African countries, or the Global South (Ness, 2016; Rodriguez, 2010; Wise, 2018).

The TFWP therefore does not exist in a national vacuum and is operated either through a Memorandum of Understanding or cooperation between Canada and governments of the participating countries in the South and has drawn attention to the role unfree labor in neoliberal labor markets (Gordon, 2018). The program has been adapted and transformed several times over the years. Activists and academic supporters (critics of these programs) of temporary migrant workers have persuasively argued that states have intentionally used temporary migrant work programmes to create a pool of legally unfree or coerced labour by systematically denying participants access to citizenship (Gordon, 2018; Phillips, 2013). Precarious migrant workers enter countries like Canada or the United States on condition of employment with a specific employer and without the ability to quit and search for work elsewhere without risking deportation. These programmes, critics argue, should be understood as part of a long history of unfree labour in capitalist societies and as a consequence of the global neoliberal ideology of the period (Gordon, 2018).

The foundation for this crisis began as the world became a global landscape and the dominant countries shifted from Keynesian political economy to neoliberalism in the late 1970s and early 80s triggered by the major recession caused by the oil crisis of 1973 (Castles, 2000).

Countries of the South were most impacted as they were coerced by multinational corporations and dominant states, such as the United Kingdom and the United States, into accepting the strategies of liberalized markets (e.g. via Structural Adjustment Programs or SAPs implemented by International Financial Institutions like the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO) which decimated their economies (Davis, 2006; Harvey, 2005). The flexibilization of labor was part of these neoliberal structural changes and has contributed towards an increase in migration from the South to the North.

The new wave of global neoliberalism has created a globally precarious situation for migrant workers in the 21st century characterized by the increase in temporary and contract employment and the lowering of wages. This is largely due to the adoption of the neoliberal ideology which requires implementation of stringent immigration policies to manage who gets into the now open labor markets (Harvey, 2005). Castles (2000) identifies a relationship between the sending and receiving countries in the migration equation, where labour importing countries are concerned with obtaining a flexible low-cost labour force while the labor-exporting countries generate jobs for an under-utilised work-force securing the maximum possible inflow of worker remittances. Harvey (2005) suggests that the implementation of neoliberal policies was a process of development for the North creating billionaires and under-development for countries of the South. The neoliberal promotion of the development-migration nexus from Third World countries, according to critics, is misleading and tantamount to an extention of the hegemonic existence of the dominant capitalist countries and classes (Rodriguez 2010; Wise & Veltmeyer, 2009). The "successful migrants" in neoliberal political-economic contexts of labor are also subjected to gender, ethnic and racial discrimination in the host country wherein gender inequalities frequently combine with race and ethnicity to make migrant women triply

disavdantaged. Women are over-reperesented in both the migrant pool and in poorly paid jobs (Piper, 2005).

Given this compelling context of precarious migrant work, my own experience as an instructor with the National Training Agency (NTA) of Jamaica conducting training in vocational skills, specifically in agriculture and hospitality, has also contributed to my interest in pursuing research pertaining to precarious and temporary migrant work. The training was geared towards preparing trainees to work in the global marketplace in accordance with the increasing neoliberalization of the Jamaican economy under the tutelage of the World Bank. One of these global avenues for our graduates is the TFWP in Canada. It is a program that has been marketed to students as a way of gaining well paid employment and as an opportunity to better themselves and their life situations. Many aspire to gain these jobs. For instance, the Overseas Workers Program as it is referred to in Jamaica, is one which is generally accepted as an opportunity for poor rural individuals, many of them peasants, to secure a better life. Each year the start of a new cycle of the program begins with a send off program where the workers are encouraged to "fly the banners of the country high", "work hard and pave the way for other workers to be accepted by Canada in future seasons". "The program is a blessing", experienced worker Howard Anderson declares at the send off ceremony in January 2019, as he heads off leaving his eight months pregnant girlfriend behind, "I have to go" he explains "to provide for my family".

My interest in pursuing research into the TFWP was cultivated during my MEd studies here in Educational Policy Studies, as my subsequent exposure to the contradictions of North-South relations and the role of migrant labor and development gave me reasons to pause and critically reflect on my work involvements in Jamaica with respect to such programs. I had gained new perspectives linking these programs to the growing marginalization, exploitation, poverty, and inequality in the countries of the South, including Jamaica. Having developed a

greater appreciation for the contradictions of such national and global migrant employment schemes including the TFWP in Canada and especially given its connections to Jamaican migrant labor is what prompted me to undertake this research.

Statement of Research Purpose & Questions

Though migration has always been a part of human existence, contemporary neoliberal policies and associated migratory practices have transformed the social and economic experience of migrants. While the transnationality of migrants is documented and celebrated, politicians and the mass media are focused on issues of 'integration' while blaming migrants for national economic problems amidst tightening borders and calls to end the influx of migrants which are widespread. Countries around the world are shutting their doors in the faces of people desperately trying to flee war, rape, and pillage (Schiller, 2009). Meanwhile, as the number of temporary foreign workers continue to increase in Canada, the immigration policies continue to change while maintaining the temporary and flexible nature of migrant work.

Given this context of migrant worker working conditions and lived situations, the purpose of this research was to explore and develop an initial understanding of precarious migrant worker exploitation and concerns in order to inform advocacy work by migrant organization. The exploration is guided by the following questions:

1. What is the recent history of TFW in Canada? What types of state programs exist to facilitate temporary worker migration?

2. Why are Precarious Migrant Workers (PMWs) migrating for work?

3. What are the workplace concerns of PMWs? What are their wider concerns around the process of migration and settlement in the receiving country?

4. What have their experiences been with advocacy groups/organizations? Based on these experiences, what suggestions might they have for advocacy organizations?

Significance of the Research

Legislated inequality (Lenard & Straehle, 2012) typifies the temporary foreign worker program in Canada. Workers enter the program under different categories with work visas which bond them to a specific employer to engage in work for a specific period of time at the end of which they return home as in the case of the SAWs or apply for permanent residence for those in the caregiver category. While workers contribute to the society of the host country, they are left to the mercy of employers who hold them to ransom with the perceived or actual threat of repatriation. Research which highlights injustice and critiques the status quo can ultimately spark action thereby contributing towards building a more just society (Lather, 1991). This research, by giving migrant workers the opportunity to have their work and life experiences heard, plays a small part in potentially addressing these injustices while contributing towards empirical studies on migrant worker experiences. For instance, although there is literature on the exploitative nature of the TFWP program, I highlight how this occurs at different sites and with different groups under the same programme.

The research also contributes to knowledge building for the participants. For example, the research process encourages participants to consider their knowledge of advocacy while suggesting possible approaches to address these intractable issues.

As part of this research I formed an affiliation with Migrante Alberta, which is involved in advocating for migrant workers from the Philippines and increasingly, countries of the South in general. It is understood that there is a beneficial link between academic research and advocacy to identify the areas needed for additional research and providing information gained from research to such groups to enhance advocacy efforts; this will also bring attention the work of advocacy.

As mentioned, undertaking this research is also of personal significance in relation to expanding my knowledge of the politics of migrant work and its relationship to precarity, as well as the related roles for advocacy.

Research Methodology

Given the concerns with justice, exploitation and inequalities associated with precarious migrant work, the research is located within the tradition of critical or transformative research methodologies (Chilisa, 2012; Sears, & Cairns, 2000) and is informed by a race-gendered neo-Marxist perspective on capital and labor (Bhattacharya, 2018; Harvey, 2013; Wise, 2013; Robinson, 2010). The related research strategy employed is a case study approach as the use of case studies in transformative research is critical because it allows for the type of relationships to develop that are needed for systematic collection of data for the purpose of social transformation (Mertens, 2009). The methodological decisions are made with a conscious awareness of contextual and historical factors, especially as they relate to discrimination and oppression. Thus, the formation of partnerships with researchers/evaluators and the community is an important step in addressing methodological questions in transformative research (Mertens, 2009).

The case study involves selecting the place and people and the potential intervention, as well as the time for the case study. In this regard the key participants who were identified for the research are current or former migrant workers as well as those involved in advocacy work, who were willing to share their experiences in the program. Case study is described as holistic and intensive, incorporating a vaierty of data collection methods: interviews, documents, observation and reports, to gather evidence (Merriam, 1998). The method of data collection therefore included in-depth semi-structured and focus group interviews with 17 participants over a period of 34 weeks. Documents, including reports and websites, as well as reviewing documentaries provided further insight and highlighted structural formations and contributed towards analysis

and findings. Data was analyzed by relying on a critical theory methodical approach (Willis, 2007), the aim was to filter the data in order to bring to the fore issues of oppression, discrimination and social justice (Mertens, 2009).

Limitations and Delimitations of the Research

A key limitation of the research was the restriction of time. If more time was afforded to engage with various groups, it would have been possible to build even deeper relationships and understandings. The research began when the agricultural season for migrant workers was nearing an end and gaining access to workers was made more difficult. Additionally, given the ethical and political implications of the research into migrant working conditions and lives and the element of risk of participation from a worker standpoint, there was an understandable fear attached to participation in the research which may have influenced the depth and breath of what participants were willing to share. For instance, there were some persons who changed their minds about participation in the research at the last minute. Some participants were also especially suspicious that I may be working with the government as a spy and that their participation may affect their chances of future participation in the program. I therefore had to reassure the participants that anonymity will be maintained and of my position in the research and that I had no affiliation with any government entity while conducting this research for a graduate degree.

I also tried to stress the importance of the social and political need to highlight the conditions of migrant work and the related impact on workers as well as their perception of their experiences in order to inform the public, the government and more importantly, advocacy for all migrant workers facing similar situations. That said, securing access and participants, even setting up interviews across time zones and provinces at times convenient for participants was

challenging and may have limited what was possible to learn from this research if not the level of confidence in or scope of the findings.

Given some of these potential limitations and challenges, the study was delimited to two programs (SAWP and Caregivers), locations, areas where access was brokered by Migrante for instance and referral of other participants because of the element of risk and nature of the research exploration, interviews were delimited to time delimitations deliberately controlled by the researcher and by the time the participants were available. Specific attempts were made to have conversations in a confidential manner to assure participants that their participation would not be compromised.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters:

Chapter One introduces this research into the TFWP and migrant labor and advocacy, in terms of the purpose and guiding questions; the significance of the research; the research methodology and the associated limitations and delimitations of the research, followed by an overview of the organization of the thesis. **Chapter Two** outlines the current literature on the TWP program; it looks at the history of migration in Canada and the synthesis of the development of the TFWP indicating the role of neoliberalism in its development. In addition, it offers an analysis of the program highlighting how precarity of workers is created by examining and outlining the policy changes and the impact on TFW's. The chapter also includes related literature on advocacy and how various approaches to advocacy can work to create knowledge as exploited people resist the situations of exploitation. Literature pertaining to neoliberal perspectives on migrant labor and Race-gendered neo-Marxist perspectives on migrant labor concludes the chapter. **Chapter Three** addresses the critical research methodology and the exploratory case study strategy and describes how data was generated and analyzed utilizing a

race-gendered neo-Marxist perspective. **Chapter Four** speaks to the emergent themes from the research and related discussion and analysis from a race-gendered neo-Marxist perspective, including participant perspectives and suggestions for advocacy. Finally, **Chapter Five** revisits the research purpose and questions and related findings. Migrant worker suggestions for advocacy organizations are summarized as are a few suggestions for future research on the subject. The chapter concludes on a note of personal reflection on the research and on being a researcher for this project.

<center>**Chapter Two**</center>

<center>**Literature review**</center>

This chapter includes an analytical review of the related literature in two parts. Part I considers migration for precarious work to Canada by providing a brief history of such migrations from the Global South; considering related policies, programs and their impacts on migrant work/ers over time; providing a selective review of empirical studies of migrant worker exploitation and conditions of precarity; and approaches to migrant worker advocacy. Part II takes up perspectives on migration, migrant work and development by addressing related literature pertaining to neoliberal perspectives and ideology, followed by literature addressing race-gendered neomarxist perspectives, which define the critical methodological approach to this research considered in chapter three.

<center>**Part I: Migration for Precarious Work to Canada**</center>

History of Migration for precarious work in Canada

Various authors have described Canada as historically dependent on migrant labour for its development. Between 1775 and 1783, the first set of immigrants arrived in Canada during and after the American Revolution (Abella & Molnar, 2019). The migrants were made up of British settlers, refugees including Quakers, Mennonites, African American slaves, and others gravitated to Canada fleeing persecution from the new American government. Abella & Molnar (2019) outline that between 1890 and the 1900's the Canadian Government, in search of farmers, resettled refugees, Mennonites and Doukhobors. Following 1870, Avery (2013) notes that an even greater number of migrants could enter Canada with the preferred migrants being British, American or others from Western Europe. Migrants from Eastern and Southern Europe were also allowed to enter; however, they were met with mixed reception. While some were being

welcomed, others were excluded and discriminated against such as the Japanese, Indians, German Jews, and the Chinese (Abella & Molnar, 2019; Palmer & Driedger, 2011). The widespread assumption among white Canadians that Canada was "…a white man's country as illustrated when the SS Komagata was turned back at sea from Canadian waters in 1914, and the passengers most of whom were Sikhs massacred upon arrival in India" (Johnston, 2016).

As immigrants continued to enter Canada for work on the Canadian Pacific Railway, Avery (2013) notes that the Chinese did the grimmest of the tasks required. Immigrants from other countries such as Asians and blacks were met with prejudice and discrimination. Post 1945, Avery (2013) describes that there were mainly three categories of immigrants: those from Britain, Germany and Netherlands who gravitated to prestigious well paying jobs; those from Asia who were entrepreneurial or business migrants; and low wage workers from southern Europe, South East Asia and the West Indies. This last group, Avery notes, are those who now occupy low paying, hazardous, itinerant, and seasonal jobs that Canadians do not want to do. This exclusionary stance existed until the 1950's, when in response to domestic pressure and protests from religious and other groups it was abated (Satzewich, 2015). Consequently, migrant workers have filled labour shortages in many areas of the Canadian society (Molnar, 2018; Ness, 2016).

In addition to economic immigrants, Canada also admits refugees who Troper (2013) notes are carefully selected abroad, in co-operation with other countries and international refugee agencies, thereby filling the need for both skilled and unskilled labour to assist with its economic development (Avery, 2013). In 1952, the new Immigration Act continued Canada's discriminatory policies against non-European and non-American immigrants (Dirks, 2019). However, Dirks notes, that in 1962 Ottawa removed the racial tones in Canadian immigration policy. For Troper (2013), this opened the door for previously excluded groups to enter, which

included the implementation of the points system which awarded points based on meeting certain demographic, language, and skill requirements. Those who were able to gain enough points were granted 'landed immigrant' status giving them most of the rights and privileges of Canadian citizens. After five years they were able to apply for Canadian citizenship. This Troper (2013) notes was a period where Canada actively pursued various methods of filling the gap in its labour force targeting its preferred source of labour to no avail.

Both the domestic workers and the SAWP began as a result of the Canadian governments' last resort effort to source other forms of labour and to satisfy years of requests from Caribbean governments to help them alleviate unemployment challenges there (Daenzer, 1997; Satzewich, 2015). In 1955 Jamaican women were invited to Canada to offer their services as domestic workers, while in 1966 the invitation was extended to Caribbean men and then to Mexicans in 1970 to work in the agricultural sector, in what would be known as the SAWP (Barber,1991/2017; Lenard & Straehle, 2012). According to Bolah (2014) the programme started after many years of petitioning from the Caribbean Heads of Government and Caribbean lobby groups to ease the unemployment in their countries. Bolah (2014) describes the many petitions, letters and proposals that were made to have Caribbean people accepted within the Canadian labor force. The proposals were met with refusals with reference to the immigration policy. One example of such correspondence is outlined by Bolah (2014) as follows:

> "confidential letter to Col. Gerald W. Birks dated April 8, 1942, in response to another request for the admission of domestic workers from the West Indies into Canada, the director was quite frank: "I know that employers in Canada are finding difficulty in obtaining domestic help and I have not overlooked the fact that these are British subjects. I did not make the regulations that I have to administer and yet I recognize that these

were framed with the purpose of encouraging certain types of immigrants and discouraging others and among the latter is immigration of the Negro race".

After many years of refusing the proposals, the Canadian Government eventually conceded. The result was that Canadian Immigration made agreements to begin a pilot project on the basis that the program would begin as part of Ottawa's aid package to the Caribbean, while enhancing trade relationships between the countries (Bolah, 2014). According to Barber (1991 p. 25) Canada described itself as a leader in offering aid in the new multiracial Commonwealth as its reason for beginning the two programs accepting people from the Caribbean.

At the outset, the Domestic Workers program offered landed status upon arrival in Canada. However, the program was short-lived and was discontinued in 1968 (Barber, 1991; Bolah, 2014) following changes to the immigration policy in the mid 1960's. The program was administered on racial and gender biased grounds, stipulating that only single females whose activities and movements would be monitored were suitable (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1997; Daenzer, 1993). Black women were subjected to further indignity through medical testing for venereal diseases and were excluded from labor legislation for minimum wage and hours of work (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1997; Daenzer, 1993). In continuing the racialized overtones (Satzewich, 2015), the SAWP was piloted and continues to be a "guest worker" program with the workers being repatriated at the end of their contract.

Policy Shifts, Programs for Migrant Workers and their Impacts

The NIEAP, including the TFWP, was implemented in 1973 by the Federal Government. It was created to facilitate economic growth and address the labor shortages (Lenard & Straehle, 2012; Molnar, 2018; Sharma, 2002). This program, Molnar (2018) describes, was to overhaul the immigration of policies in 1975 and resulted in a new Immigration Act in 1976 which took effect

in 1978 (Dirks, 2019). This change to the policy resulted in the start of temporary labor

migration.

Temporary labor migration is defined as the movement of people from one country to

another for the purpose of employment for a brief period (Molnar, 2018, p. 2). There are two

labor migration programs: (1) the TFWP allows Canadian employers to hire foreign nationals to

fill temporary labour and skill shortages when qualified Canadian citizens or permanent residents

are not available and requires a verification of Canadian worker availability through the (LMIA);

and (2) the International Mobility Program (IMP) which differs from the TFWP as it does not

require a Labor Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) (Molnar, 2018). The introduction of these

programs saw the TFWP expanded outwards in the mid 1970's to the 1980's to include Latin

American countries, the Philippines and other countries of the Global South (Bakan, & Stasiulis,

1997; Daenzer, 1997). The reforms of 1973 therefore formalized the use of temporary migrant

workers who are issued temporary work visas for work in Canada as Domestic workers and in

agriculture under the SAWP, which continues to operate today (Lenard & Straehle, 2012;

Sharma, 2000).

The TFWP in the 1980's – 1990

Caribbean Domestic Scheme – Foreign Domestic Movement: With the inception of

the NIEAP, the new domestic program was referred to as The Caribbean Domestic Scheme

(CDS) up to 1980 (Barber, 1991). Participants admitted under the CDS were issued with work

visas which allowed them to remain in Canada provided they remained with the same employer.

There were inherent challenges with this program, which included attachment to one employer

and increased instances of exploitation, abuse, overwork, and lack of pay for overtime work

(Barber, 1991). The next major policy change occurred in 1981 where the program was changed

from the CDS to the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) program, where automatic granting of

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landed status / permanent residency was removed, and workers were required to work two years before being eligible to apply for permanent residency (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1997). The addition of the two-year clause was a victory for the workers as it was lobbied by the International Coalition to End Domestic Exploitation (INTERCEDE).

There was another policy shift in 1992 when the FDM was aborted to introduce the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). Daenezer (1997) described this change as a further policy regression to the citizenship status of the immigrants, which continued the precarious work arrangement. The LCP was introduced in 1992 to address the lack of live-in caregivers in Canada. Canadim (2019) outlines that the LCP was designed as an aspect of Canada's TFWP to enable Canadians to recruit foreign nationals to provide childcare or home support for children and seniors or people with disabilities. The LCP is described as a unique aspect of the TFWP because it offered a direct pathway to permanent residence. Individuals with two years of work experience on an LCP work permit could apply to transition to permanent residence rights. The new LCP restated aspects of the 1981 policy maintaining the rescinding of citizenship and occupational mobility rights (Daenzer, 1997, p.83). The new policy introduced an additional requirement of a grade 12 equivalency for entry into the program. Both Canadim (2019) and Molnar (2018) conclude that the LCP made workers vulnerable due to its requirement for workers to live within the household of the employer. Challenges outlined with the live-in aspect included great difficulty with measuring overtime hours in a largely deregulated and invisible environment and has given rise to a host of abuse allegations (Barber, 2017; Bakan, & Stasiulis, 1997; Flecker, 2011). Participants of the LCPs had the opportunity to eventually apply for permanent resident status in Canada, after completing 24 months of paid employment within a period of four years.

TFWP 2000 – present. In June 2002 there were major reforms, in the Canadian immigration policy under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act and related regulations (McHale, 2003; Ferrer, Picot & Riddel, 2012). McHale (2003) describes the reform as a shift in the acceptance under the points-based system from occupational shortages towards human capital indicators; factors which include lifetime productivity and adaptability in the Canadian labour market. As part of the new policy, Canada tightened its immigration policy and placed restrictions on the admission of specific classes of less wealthy immigrants, required higher qualifications, and changed employment requirements to give preference to multi-skilled workers. The implementation of the Labor Market Opinion (LMO) as a requirement for the hiring of TFWs contributed to the rapid expansion in the TFWP and growth in the number of migrant workers to Canada (Foster & Luciano, 2020).

New changes impacting TFW were made effective in 2011, implementing the four-year 'cumulative duration' limit on the length of time TFWs could work in Canada, (IRCC 2011). The four-in four-out policy created further precarity for workers who may not have been able to complete processing documents to apply for permanent residency within the four-year period (Hari, 2018). This policy was repealed in 2016 ending what was described as a "revolving door" of indentured labour to Canada (Keung, 2016).

Changes to the program in 2014 removed the live-in aspect to address the issue of abuse, (IRCC, 2019). Instead, the new streams that were created are: (a) the caring for children class and (b) the caring for people with high medical needs class. The rationale given is that the changes are intended to support a broader strategy for caregiver immigration reform and are part of important changes to the TFWP, which include creating new pathways to permanent residence (PR) and reducing the vulnerability of caregivers. The new PR pathways effective Nov 30, 2014 to Nov 29, 2019, aimed at ensuring that caregivers had the opportunity to continue their career

objectives or to transition into established, well-paying careers and integrate into Canada's labour market successfully (IRCC, 2019). Even with these measures, however, the inherent challenges which open workers to exploitation still existed (Daenzer, 1997).

The new program which was implemented was referred to as "the new permanent residence pilots for caregivers" included: (a) Home Child Care Provider Pilot (HCCPP) and (b) the Home Support Worker Pilot (HSWP) (IRCC, 2019). These became effective June 18, 2019 to create a new PR pathway. This new pilot has a cap of 2,750 primary applicants per year plus their immediate family (Canadim, 2020). In addition, the new pilot program allows workers to change employers correcting what many criticized as the bonding of workers to one employer. The other change was the opportunity for applicants to be accompanied by their family on open work permits. However, workers are still required to meet certain eligibility criteria, including the language benchmark, as well as one year of Canadian post-secondary education or foreign equivalent. As a new program its impacts have yet to be assessed.

Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP). While the Domestic program has undergone several changes, the SAWP has remained largely unchanged. It is considered a guest worker program as it offers no access to permanent landed status nor the opportunity to seek permanent residency (Satzewich, 2015). The SAWP as outlined previously began in 1966, as a pilot, an agreement between Canada and Jamaica with 264 workers. Within the next decade other Caribbean countries joined, followed by Mexico joining the programme in 1974. The program is facilitated through established Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) or Bi-lateral agreements with select countries, allowing workers to legally enter Canada for periods of six weeks to eight months in order to alleviate Canadian labour shortages within the agricultural sector (Molnar, 2018). Further, the employment period is usually between January 1, to December 15, provided employers can offer the workers a minimum of 240 hours of work within a period of 6 weeks or

less. Satzewich (2015) states that the program targets males with some family connection in their home country to guarantee they will return home. The job must be related to a specific commodity sector and primary agriculture.

The IRCC (2019) outlines that the role of participating countries involves recruitment and selection of the TFWs. In doing so, their responsibility is to make sure workers have the necessary documents; maintain a pool of qualified workers; and appoint representatives to assist workers in Canada (Canada.ca, 2019). The document, however, does not specifically detail what level of assistance should be granted or the recourse that can be taken by either the worker or the representative. The contract between the employer and the worker outlines the responsibilities of the employer to include the provision of accommodation, meals, payment of wages and break periods as well as circumstances for the end of the employment contract. However, the contract speaks differently to accommodation and provision of meals for the province of British Columbia as compared to the other provinces. In British Columbia employers may charge the workers rent for the provision of accommodation.

One of the criticisms from scholars who have written about the program is that workers have no choice in where they live. Perry (2018), outlines the fact that workers live and work at the same place creates social relations problems between workers as well as power relations issues with the employer. In addition, Svennson, et al. (2013) indicate that psychosocial problems arise with migrant farm workers resulting from their isolated living and working conditions. Other challenges highlighted with the SAWP is the naming of farm workers for return to the program as well as restricted work permits attached to a single employer (Binford, 2013; Lenard & Straehle, 2012; Satzewich, 2015).

The program was originally managed by a department of the Canadian Federal Government - Human Resources and Development Canada (HRDC) and was privatized in 1987

(Braun, 2012; Flecker, 2011). Control of the program was assigned to the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Services (FARMS), a non-profit organization controlled and funded by Canadian growers. This shift in control led to the removal of the quota system, which previously limited the number of workers admitted to Canada, and the use of an employer demand/country-supply approach. Thus, the rise in the number of migrant farm workers coincided with the decision to privatize the management of the SAWP (Flecker, 2011). As the number of participants in the program increased, competition developed among Caribbean countries and Mexico for participation in the program[1] (Bolah, 2014; Daenezer, 1997). Competition was encouraged by Canadian Immigration, as it drove down the wages of the migrant workers[2] (Bolah, 2014; Daenezer, 1997). In addition, by the 1980's the policy structure of the program shifted to one which gave the employers authority to recoup funds spent on travel for SAW's as well as an extension of the program to eight weeks (Bolah, 2014).

Low skill pilot project. Further steps to address labor issues and allow for easier access of workers to employers resulted in the low skill pilot project being implemented under the TFWP (Choudry et al. 2009), opening access to other countries to supply workers for the agriculture sector. Unlike the caregiver program, the SAWP and the Low skill pilot project has no clear pathway to permanent residency, with many workers who participate in the program year after year in some instances for up to 30 years without eligibility for Employment Insurance (EI) and Canada Pension Plan (CPP) Benefits; programs which they have paid into (Braun, 2012). Overall, the changes in the TFWP have been linked by many authors to the changing

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[1] ...The signing of the Mexican agreement not only gives us alternative source of supply of agricultural workers but it also acts as a balancing force to the Caribbean supply (excerpt from memorandum between D. W. Findlay, Director, Manpower Employer and W. K. Bell, Director, Programs (Bolah, 2014)

[2] . "Competition helps. Yes, it is there between the Caribbean countries and between the Caribbean countries and Mexico... A healthy level of competition is a good thing for the program. The countries are anxious to supply labour to us and be responsive to suggestions that we make. The employer community is well served by that. (Bolah, 2014)"

global landscape and the progression to acceptance of the neoliberal ideology and its impact on countries in the Global South.

Canada's preferential migration patterns has ensured that those countries occupying the lowest paying itenerant, hazardous and seasonal jobs, are those of the "Third World" (Avery, 2013). Immigration policies have been established to facilitate those who were thought to "assimilate easily" into the society (Palmer & Driedger, 2018). Daenzer (1997), posits that the structure and the guidelines that formed the initial implementation of the SAWP and the Domestic Workers programmes, served as an extension of colonialism and the beginning of neocolonialism. Predicated on the basis of making use of cheap labour on the part of the receiving government, workers become indentured labourers without certain basic rights. Various authors have suggested that the policy decisions of Canadian immigration continuously create more jobs and work experiences of a temporary nature - in other words precarious jobs (Standing, 2011). Sharma (2002) and Valiani (2009) also suggest that the shifts made to both the domestic workers program and the SAWP in the 1980's, coupled with the changing economic model, i.e., the adoption of the neoliberal policies, contributed to the growth of the precariat. Guy Standings book 'The Precariat' (2011), sums up the changes to the TFWP outlining the evolution of the growth of the global precariat. Each change in the program since landed rights were rescinded in 1973, came with the stripping away of certain rights. The lack of landed rights immediately translated into disposability, creating a mechanism to control and keep those immigrants who are caught in this category in check. The policy changes which were made from the 1990's onward as the neoliberal model came into effect targeted a new group of workers allaying the fear of some Canadians (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2008/2010, p 372):

> "Talk of the "new economy," with more and more jobs requiring a highly skilled work
>
> force, has led some to conclude that immigrants, or at least the kinds of immigrants that

Canada welcomed in the past, are no longer necessary. Some fear that without a change

in immigrant requirements, immigrants to Canada will not create wealth but take up what

few low-paying jobs are available. In addition, with immigrants of non-European origin

making up a large majority of those entering Canada, some Canadians express uneasiness

at the changing character of urban Canada and the potential for racial tension."

As the 'new economy' emerged, the separation of immigrants to satisfy labor market

needs followed the usual patterns of earlier times. In creating a precarious class of workers

geared towards low paying unskilled jobs, the Canadian government created and has maintained

the TFW program deliberately or by chance (Foster & Luciano, 2020), by maintaining increased

emphasis on 'admission of independent or economic immigrants (Kelley & Trebilock, 2010).

The granting of landed status to these economic migrants demonstrates how capital uses race and

class to contribute to its growth, by marginalizing those with less resources and who are non-

white. Kelley and Trebilock (2010) further suggest that the need to keep a flexible labor supply

is used to maintain the European 'flavor' of Canadian society. The policies adopted by Canada

have been facilitated by the countries with which it has bilateral agreements as the remittances of

its citizens contributes to the GDP (Rodriguez, 2010).

The policy changes and their impacts discussed in this section are summarized in table 1

below.

Table 1: Timeline of Policy Changes and Impacts for Canada's TFWP

Policy	Timeline	Justification	Impact
NIEAP implemented Work visa issued to qualifying individuals.	1973	Stagflation caused by the OPEC oil crisis.	Infinity of staying in Canada while working in Domestic work.
Valid job offers required for issuance of work visa.	1974	Due to increased economic pressures. With the aim to reduce immigration numbers.	Challenge to obtain work visa
Immigration #'s tied to labor market needs	1976	Green paper suggesting increase in racial tensions associated with changing ethnic composition due to policy changes 1962-1967.	
The Caregiver Program			
The Foreign Domestic (FDM) Policy (2 yr. work Visa)	1981	To address reports of exploitation of workers. Following consultations with Governors and NGO's.	Provision to apply for PR workers must prove ability to establish themselves in the country.
Implementation of the LCP ending the FDM.	1992	Case of overturn in Pinto case 1990. Addressing recommendation for removal to prove ability to establish.	Applicants require grade 12 Canadian education or equivalent and 6 months formal training in a related field.
5-year plan to increase temporary immigrants.	1995	Complaints of shortage of providers for live in care givers.	Removal of 6 months formal training requirement. But 1-year related experience required.
LCO program maintained Implementation of Low skill Pilot Project	2002	Continued shortage of workers when needed. The SAWP was thought to be restricting	Canadian or equivalent high school education.
Four in four out policy Eventually repealed in 2016.	2011	Immigrants	Mandatory exit after four year of work. With a ban on work for the next four years.
Removal of live in aspect of caregiver program.	2014	Address issues of abuse and exploitation	Challenges to access employment.
Home Child Care Provider Pilot (HCCPP) and (b) the Home Support Worker Pilot (HSWP)	2019		Pass the English test to be eligible for visa application. New. Complete impact not yet available.
The SAWP			
Privatization of SAWP. Formation of (Foreign Area Resource	1987		Reduced cost to Canadian gov't.

Management services) FARMS			
The signing of the NAFTA* agreement with Mexico	1994		Increase in Mexican workers, reduction in Caribbean workers in SAWP.
Expedited LMO	2007	Backlog in processing work visas. Expeditiously making workers available to meet labor market needs.	

References: - (Barber, 1991; Daenzer, 1997; Dirks, 2019; Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998/2010)

*Though not an immigration policy, it has impacted the work relationship/ratio of labor.

Empirical Studies of Migrant Worker Exploitation and Conditions of Precarity

The specific impacts of migrant worker policies and programs have been studied in a growing body of empirical literature addressing, what Guy Standing (2011, p.7) refers to as "the precarity trap" wherein workers are those who lack labor related security, work-based identity, and occupational identity. This section selectively draws upon these studies to develop an empirical portrait of migrant work/ers in terms of some analytically emergent dimensions categorized in Table 2.

Health and Safety. Migrant workers face several challenges with workplace safety and health risks that are tied to their working conditions (Hennebry, 2010). A major issue highlighted is the neglect of standard workplace practices, and in many instances employer repatriation of workers who become ill. In a study conducted by Orkin, et al. (2014), over an 11 year period a total of 787 SAW's were medically repatriated, in many cases for illnesses which occurred while on the job. Medical repatriation coupled with the naming system exacerbate barriers to health care for migrant agricultural workers because fear of repatriation and subsequent lack of reporting injuries while contributing to workers' reticence to seek care while in Canada (Hennebry & Williams, 2015). In relation to health and access to health care, the issues are twofold. Firstly, employers do not make the provisions for the health and safety of TFW's a

priority. There is a lack of due process in establishing and implementing safety systems on farms as well as ensuring health cards are processed in a timely manner for workers' use. Workers in the TFW program are treated as underclass citizens (Bauder, 2011) as the basic right to health care is denied, delayed, or circumvented by the employers. Choudry et al (2009), Cohen & Caxaj (2018) and Flecker (2011) discuss the delays in processing health cards for TFW workers and in addition the delay in carrying individuals who become ill to the doctor. The delays around taking injured workers to the doctor is a clear indication of the inhumane conditions and lack of necessary support experienced by workers. It also shows how the employers use the precarious position of the migrant workers to minimize costs. In addition, the remote locations of farms keep workers hidden leading to limited access to health care, especially in the case of the SAWP's (Orkin, et al. , 2014).

The cluster outbreaks of Covid-19 in farms in Windsor-Essex, Ontario and in two meat packing plants owned and operated by JBS Foods and Cargill in Alberta are current cases in point. The reticence of the temporary foreign workers is highlighted by their response when health officials visited the farms in Windsor-Essex. MSN quoting the Canadian Press reports that farmers were fearful that a positive test would result in a loss of pay, or even repatriation to their home countries (MSNNews, 2019). Health & safety was clearly an issue in the era of the global pandemic; however, the worker's fear was crippling despite the significant health risks. The article goes on to indicate that the communal living conditions exacerbated the case of the migrant workers. At the time, the outbreak at the cluster of farms accounted for 25% of the Covid-19 cases in the region. The impact became devastating for the migrant workers as migrant workers became a part of the Canadian Covid-19 mortality statistics.

As it relates to safety, Lenard & Straehle's (2012) description of information obtained from TFW's surveyed, outline the twin dangers of being expected to operate machinery on

which they had not been trained, and the lack of provision of personal protective equipment as a major issue contributing to accidents, loss of limbs other injuries and even death (Mojtehedzadeh, 2019; Svennson, et al. 2013). The death of farm workers which have occurred on the job for example receives no further investigation nor inquest as reported by CBC News outlining the case of Ned Peart, a Jamaican whose family after 14 years still had to be fighting for an inquest into his cause of death after being crushed by a machine on a tobacco farm (How did Jamaican farm worker Ned Peart die?, 2016). In other cases, according to Lenard & Strahele (2012) SAWP workers outlined that they worked on the programme for four years without getting a health card; when cards were eventually issued they were kept by the employer, who also told the worker to be sure to tell the doctor any injuries sustained were not as a result of the job. Lenard & Strahele (2012) and Hennebry & Williams (2015) agree that the power dynamics between the employer and the worker creates barriers to workers accessing health care and claiming benefits to which they are entitled. Additionally Cohen & Caxaj (2018) agree that the power dynmaic contributes to the reluctance of the migrant workers to seek medical attention due to fear of repatriation. Another impact is that the health of workers is also implicated by their living conditions, as farm workers and often caregivers live on their employers' property. For farm workers, weak regulation and poor enforcement have meant that some housing is dilapidated, unsanitary, overcrowded and poorly ventilated (Preibisch & Hennebry, 2011).

Conditions of Indentured Labor. The aim of the TFW program is to provide a ready, flexible labour force under the pre-suppositions and assumptions of the model of neoliberalism which advances privatization and freedom of the market (Harvey, 2005). As the literature outlines, businesses have used the availability of cheap flexible labour to replace their permanent staff with temporary workers. This same scenario is then used to keep temporary workers in check as they are easily replaceable with other temporary workers. In this example, Flecker

(2011) found that 70 long-serving unionized workers of a Seniors Living accommodation in British Columbia were laid off after refusing to accept reduced wages and benefit packages when the home sub contracted its human resources management to a private labour contractor. The company then successfully submitted an application to hire temporary foreign workers on the grounds that there was a "shortage" of care aides. This example underscores the growing global and Canadian reliance on a reserve army of workers or a massive over supply of disposable labour (Delgado-Wise, 2013). Choudry, et al. (2009) note that the neoliberal values guide new policy directions in immigration, multiculturalism and employment equity. These new policies have resulted in increased privatization as in the guest worker programme, increased employer/private sector involvement as well as the devolution of responsibility of immigrant settlement to community groups. They argue that this reinforces the intensification and reclassification of capitalism which has led to the increased inequality related to labour and specifically migrant labour.

Migration regimes with the features of the TFW program reproduce unfree labour relations, given that workers are issued with a work permit restricted to a single named employer (Strauss & McGrath, 2017). The flexibility and the unfree labour relations of workers is evident in a case discussed by Flecker (2011) where migrants in the low skill pilot project were repatriated without notice after having been charged their monthly rent. The workers were sent home despite having signed a 12 month contract and most had only completed between three to seven months of the contract. As Strauss & McGrath (2017) and Siemiatycki (2015) outline, migrant workers are subject to structural forms of subordination which makes them vulnerable to such forms of exploitation.

Housing and accommodation. The living and housing conditions of workers have continuously been highligthed as a source of of concern (Hennebry, 2010; Mojtehedzadeh,

2019). The living conditions have been described as hazardous to health with bunk houses ridden with bed bugs, bathrooms with leaking pipes, over crowded housing with poorly ventilated rooms, lack of adequate cooking facilities and untreated water supplies (Binford, 2013; Hennebry, 2010; Mojtehedzadeh, 2019). In another instance Perry (2018) describes a situation when workers had returned to the bunk house after a long day of work, only for the employer to come back to tell them that they had more work to do. The employer rounded up his employee: "You think you're tired now? Let me give you another four hours and then we'll see how tired you are. My Mexicans don't sit on their asses".

Immigration recruiters and consultants/brokers and the recruitment process. The literature has indicated that the move towards government implementing neoliberal strategies and the privatization of the immigration processes has created the opportunity for new businesses in the form of brokers, consultants, and document processors. Consequently, the implementation of the low skill pilot project opened the door even wider for brokers and consultants to provide the service of connecting employers/businesses with potential workers. This has facilitated the exploitation of workers paying high fees for brokering, consultancy and processing of documents in relation to advertisements for well-paying jobs in Canada. The privatization of the market has created layers in the processing, requiring payment from workers at each point in the program, resulting in additional pressures for the worker.

It is clear from the literature that there is significant growth in the number of brokers and consultants processing documents for prospective workers in addition to sourcing employees for companies both in Canada and other source countries. Choudry & Henaway (2012), Muir (2016) and Tomlinson & Zilio (2019) have documented cases of the debt accumulated by potential workers seeking to obtain placement into the TFW program. In addition, the authors highlight cases showing exploitation and the living conditions of people employed in the TFW program.

Despite the fact that an employee paying for a job is deemed illegal in Canada, Tomlinson & Zilio (2019) find that it is a lucrative business for some recruiters, immigration consultants and employment agents who offer hope but deliver exploitation. Choudry & Henaway (2012) document that in Guatemala for example, agencies charge up to $1,806 per person (CAD) from Guatemalans to link them to jobs in Canada; jobs that never materialized. Likewise Tomlinson (2019) documents cases of individuals who paid money to recruiters for jobs which never came through. For example one person paid as much as $15,000 (CAD) to a recruiter for a temporary work permit which never materialized, while another person from Mexico paid a recruiter in Mexico $2,000 (CAD) for a job which would earn her $4,000 CAD monthly which materialized in "only meagre paying jobs and intolerable work conditions". In other instances, similar issues have been reported. Hees (2013) reported that fast food chains were using loop holes to hire foreign workers paying them as much as 15% less than Canadians, which is permitted under the program. In Muir's (2016) description of the recruitment process, the employers specify the type of worker required by gender, marital status and nationality; these are discriminatory practices which are illegal in Canada. The selection process is, however, passed to the brokers to avoid detection.

Race-gendered discrimination and exploitation. Canadian temporary migration programs, including the SAWP, are heavily gender segregated and racialized. The SAWP is dominated by men, in contrast to Canada's Live-In-Caregiver program (LCP), which is female dominated (Gabriel & McDonald, 2011). According to Muir (2016) recruitment is also overtly racialized and gendered according to sector. In research carried out, Muir indicates that recruiters classify workers according to their height, weight, age, gender, regional climate, and racial and physical characteristics. The authors outline that Canadian growers and government administrators hold racialized ideologies about the suitability of different nationalities to certain

crops (Preibisch & Binford, 2007). Muir's (2016) research finds that Canadian employers consider Jamaican workers more suited to fruit tree picking, while Mexicans or Guatemalans are preferred for field harvests. Similarly, Preibisch & Binford (2007) found that in general, Mexican workers are considered to be shorter in stature and are preferred for work that involves stooping close to the ground, while taller Caribbean workers are considered more suited to fruit tree-picking. For example, the owner of one diversified fruit farm hires Jamaican men for picking peaches, Mexican men for pruning, Mexican women for packing, and ethnic Vietnamese Canadians for vineyard work.

Further requests from recruiters are received based on region of origin: taller Ladino, workers, those who identify as white in Guatemala, are primarily recruited for chicken catching, while Indigenous Kaqchikel workers from Chimaltenango are most commonly found in vegetable harvesting; some employers request people "from cold regions … who can tolerate the cold" (Muir 2016). The segmentation and racialization of work noted by Preibisch & Binford (2007) which they reference as racial/national segmentation is illustrated by their findings which note that Mexican workers were called upon to fill 20-25% of the vacancies in apples; 30-35% in tobacco and around 40% in tender fruit, which are all suggested to be predominantly Caribbean areas for work. This suggests that factors other than racialized stereotypes regarding work abilities also play a role. These researchers further indicate that interviews with farmers and owners suggest that community members are more comfortable with Mexican workers who more closely match their skin color and further indicate that Caribbean males are more likely to party and fraternize with the opposite sex which influences selection for the program. Farmers also indicate that to combat this they will choose males from the Caribbean and females from Mexico and hence the increase in Mexican farm workers over the last two decades.

As it relates to gender, several scholars have indicated that women were originally barred from the SAWP. In recent years however, women are being included in the program. Gabriela & McDonald's (2011) research indicates that in 2015 women accounted for 3.29% of migrant workers, a number much lower than the representation of non-migrant women working in agriculture in Canada. They discuss the exclusion of Mexican workers from the program in 2016 because there were no requests for females from Canada (to the Mexican Government). Additionlly, despite working in Canada previously, Leonora indicated that she not only encountered an exclusionary quota but also "less favourable pay and working conditions" (Gabriel, & McDonald (2011). In another example Muir (2016) found that agencies have even made requests specifically for women from rural areas who are single and without commitments, that is, no children.

Social Impacts. Gibbs (2006) notes that many farmworkers did not know they had access to or know how to apply for maternity or parental benefits under the Employment Insurance program; pension benefits under the Canada Pension Plan; or workers' compensation benefits for an injury or illness that happens on-the-job. Choudry and Thomas (2013) concur with Gibbs (2006) that the farm workers who are aware of the benfits have difficulties in accessing them and are thefore not happy that they have to pay into Employment Insurance and cannot make full claims for benefits.

Several authors have indicated that migrant work is marked as isolating for both caregivers and for SAW's due to the location of farms and worksites (Tomic & Trumper, 2012). As one parent leaves to participate in migrant work, the family left behind carries the burden of taking on new roles causing stress and depression on mothers who have to take on the double role, while children are impacted by the absence of a parent (Mendiburo, McLaughlin & Lyn, 2018). Similarly from research in the Phillipines, Rodriguez (2010 p. 99) notes that, in fact, "the

absence of Filipina women from their families produces many more problems and misunderstandings in the family." Her research notes how the familly structure is impacted by migration as the separation of spouses sometimes leads to extra marital affairs and the breakup of the family.

Empirical studies conducted in relation to these experiences and impacts pertaining to migrant work in Canada and discussed above are summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 3: Empirical Studies of Exploitation & Precarity of Migrant Workers in Canada

Type of Issue	Indicators	Studies
Workplace Health & Safety	Limited access to health care due to remote locations	(Hennebry & McLaughlin, 2012;Hennebry & Williams, 2015; Preibisch & Otero, 2014; Orkin et al., 2014; Svennson, et al., 2013)
	Between 787 workers were repatriated between 2001 and 2011	
	High incidences of Occupational Injuries - limited safety training and lack of protective gears	
	Hazardous working conditions - lack of portable washroom facilities on farm	
	Long working hours – exhaustion	
	No PPE provided	
	Death on the job	
Conditions of Indentured Labor	Bonded work permits which places employers in positions of dominance while creating disadvantaged position for workers	(Barber, 1991; Binford, 2013; Choudry & Smith, 2016;Cohen & Caxaj, 2019; Daenzer, 1993; Flecker, 2011; Lenard & Straehle, 2012;Vorst, 1991;Siemiatycki, 2015 Stasiulis & Bakan, 1997)
	Naming of farm workers for return to future programs	
	Repatriation at the end of work contract (agriculture workers)	
	Forced repatriation	
	Wage exploitation	
	Forced to work beyond normal work hours	
	Physical and sexual abuse	
	Challenges in receiving overtime payment	
	No/little opportunity for representation - unionization	
Housing & accommodation issues	No freedom to choose housing for SAW's	(Binford, 2013; Brem, 2006; Sharma, 2015; Choudry, 2016; Flecker 2011; Hennebry, 2010; Hennebry & McLaughlin, 2012; Mojtehedzadeh, 2019; Perry, 2018; Preibisch & Hennebry, 2011)
	Overcrowded housing in SAWP	
	Isolated housing facilities which creates issues with access to services	
	Inadequate housing facilities	
	Inconsistent and inadequate housing guidelines	
	Unsanitary living conditions	
	Poorly ventilated facilities	
	Poor plumbing, leaking pipes	
	Pest infestation	
	Untreated water	
Growth of Brokers, Immigration Recruiters & Consultants	Many and varied Processing fees	(Muir, 2016; Tomlinson, 2019; Valiani, 2009)
	Classification of workers in the recruitment process.	
	High interest rates on loans	

	Loss of money where jobs do not materialize	
Race-gendered discrimination and exploitation Gender Treatment	Workers selected based on race, gender, age, nationality etc.	(Daenzer, 1993; Rodriguez, 2008; Rodriguez, 2010; Stasiulis, & Bakan, 2008; Binford & Preibisch, 2013)
Social Impacts	Impacted family bonding	(Choudry & Smith, 2016; Daenzer, 1997; Flecker, 2011;Mendiburo, McLaughlin & Lyn, 2018; Rodriguez, 2010;Sharma, 2002; Tomic & Trumper, 2012)
	Little job security – repatriation of workers	
	Little or no access to social benefits such as EI	
	Lack of access to social benefits due to difficulty in accessing	

Migrant Worker Advocacy in Canada

As is being established from a review of related literature, migrant work is vulnerable and insecure and given status concerns, migrant workers are understandably reluctant to complain or agitate openly due to the social, economic and political risks involved. This situation engenders, if not necessitates, a space for migrant worker advocates and organized advocacy efforts and social movement activisms, with/out the conspicuous participation of TFWs themselves (Basok, 2009; Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Gabriel & McDonald, 2011; Piper, 2010). Advocacy refers to the process of identifying with and representing a person and their concerns, in order to secure enhanced rights and entitlements. This is generally undertaken by someone who has little or no conflict of interests according to Henderson and Pochin (cited in Cambridge & Williams, 2004). It aims to influence decisions in the political, economic and social systems and situations (Advocacy & Social Justice, 2013). The dialectic between advocacy and empowerment postulates that empowerment is circularity in which social class and inequalities are revealed as the process goes on (Harries-Jones 1991, p. 6). Advocacy for migrant workers is approached in different ways due to the nature of temporary migrant work; several authors argue for a collective approach to advocacy. The various approaches to advocacy include human-rights-based advocacy (Basock, 2009), labour rights advocacy (Bal, 2015) and gender/feminist

approaches (Segal & Demos, 2015). In some instances agencies collaborate and move towards

collective bargaining. Agents of advocacy include non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and

trade unions who work at local, national and international levels (Piper, 2010).

The evolution of human rights norms reveals a complex and uneven story with major

achievements since the post 1945 period (Basock, 2009; Nelson & Dorsey, 2008). Human rights

advocacy can take various forms: bringing human rights norms into individual domestic cases;

using a human rights framing for messaging about immigration policy; and litigating before

international tribunals. Human rights advocacy can complement domestic advocacy, making

both types more powerful (Pauw, Sharpless & Wood, 2013). Furthermore, these authors indicate

that human rights norms are often soft or aspirational, lacking an enforcement mechanism.

Therefore, winning a case before an international tribunal may be classified as a symbolic

victory that has no concrete effect.

Globally, nation states have ratified the Universal Declaration of Human rights (Basok,

2009) while other human rights regimes have advanced rapidly since 1948, with new

constitutions and legislative reforms making explicit reference to the promoting and protection of

human rights (Andreopoulos & Arat, 2014). Other human rights advancement include the

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which establishes

the equal rights of all people to a decent standard of living, freedom from hunger, fair working

conditions, and equal pay for equal work (Heymann & Cassola, 2012). Human rights treaties

include the ratification of the Conventions on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial

Discrimination (CERD) 1969, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). For migrant workers, however, as a result of the shift

towards temporary migration programs throughout the globe, it has become necessary to address

the issues of non-resident migrants' access to legal protections and social rights (Basok, 2009).

According to Basok, "…we have witnessed the encroachment of the principles of human rights on citizenship rights…" (p. 184). For many human rights activists, the failure to directly and meaningfully address the human rights dimensions of poverty became unjustifiable in the face of such suffering (Nelson & Dorsey, 2008). Increasingly, the human rights field has challenged the human rights violations that fuel conditions of poverty including discrimination, marginalization in society, patterns of labor, and debt that traps individuals and societies alike in extreme inequality (Nelson & Dorsey p.3).

In relation to human rights the gendered phenomenon of migration has been indicated as a cause for advocacy. It has been documented that men and women experience migration in quite different ways with respect to job roles being assigned to men and women (Hennebry, Hari & Piper, 2019). While the bodies of women are placed under increased surviellance (Cohen & Caxaj, 2019). The link between gender and feminism is closely linked (Segal & Demos, 2015). Canada's portrayal of a well managed best practice SAWP is, however, criticized for its structural features which engenders a form of unfree labor with a discriminatory and gendered approach to the recruitment of workers (Gabriel & McDonald, 2011). This form of discrimination, prevents women from moving abroad in the same manner as their male counterparts.

According to Basok (2009), counter-hegemonic values tend not to achieve the same level of support as do hegemonic human rights values mainly because of what Hennebry, Hari & Piper (2019) refer to as normative values, in that governments lag behind civil society orgnisations in addressing the issues surrounding migrant worker advocacy. Counter hegemonic human rights initiatives undermine the political and economic foundation of some states (Basok, 2009). However since there is no international agreement on particular human rights, advocates cannot expect changes to come from this end (p. 187).

Andreopoulos & Arat (2014) note that parallel to the decline in human rights, there has also been a decline in rates of unionization and collective bargaining rights and where collective bargaining exists, it has now become the device through which workers negotiate which "gained rights" should be compromised (p. 2). Similarly, according to Kim (2015), "the global contradiction of capital flexibility and labor rigidity in terms of the states' engagement with each exacerbates the process of 'racing to the bottom. Along these same lines Gabriel & McDonald (2011) argue that the transnational character of schemes such as the SAWP impacts and limits the legal framework when it comes to addressing the rights of migrant agricultural labourers.

Civil society organisations, and particularly the more structured NGOs, have played a pivotal role over the years in the assistance of migrants at all levels (Irrera, 2016). In the realm of work, the labor movement, through trade unions and relevant NGOs, constitutes an important vehicle for the representation of workers' interests (Piper, 2010). This is moving away from the initial absence of labor unions from activism and representation of temporary migrant workers (Amelina & Lutz, 2019; Foster, 2014; Hill, 2008; Satzewich, 2015). Foreign workers' status as non-citizens has, however, been described as a primary problem in trade union representation, due to the cyclic nature of migrant work, especially for SAWP's (Hill, 2008) thus affecting traditional approaches to 'membership' (Piper, 2010). As a result, Hill (2008) suggests that to fully represent guest workers, a union must be present throughout the work cycle. In terms of the operations of NGO's, Irrera (2016) outlines that local authorities often delegate the task of handling migrant related services to NGOs rather than handling them directly to prevent backlash form citizens. Funding may also be provided indirectly to facilitate other activities. Irrera (2016) suggests that relations have been developed with NGOs for the provision of aid programmes and activities to address migrant worker's issues. Nelson & Dorsey (2008) suggest that the relationship between NGOs, human rights, and states requires rethinking.

Consequently, according to Harries-Jones new social movements note that political transformation cannot succeed without concomitant change in cultural values - 'A change of heart' (1991 p.5). Some social movements have emerged to adress the efforts of oppressed groups to collectively create a more just and equitable world (Johnston, 2014). Migrante Canada a chapter of Migrante International (Migrante Canada, 2019), Migrante Alberta as one of the 17 organizations of Migrante Canada are examples of such organized efforts. Migrante brings public attention to the plight of migrants and precarious workers through different avenues with the aim of getting broad public support and pro-migrant public awareness that has a vision for change (Migrante Alberta, 2018). The International Migrants Alliance aims to strengthen and put forward the voice of the grassroots migrants, including issues of remittances to rights and welfare to the resolution of forced labor migration. The IMA lays down its analysis from the grassroots migrants' point of view and challenges the current system and its mechanisms like the Global Forum on Migration and Development (International Migrant Workers Alliance, 2020). The Migrant Workers Alliance for Change (MWAC) works with various migrant workers support organizations including individuals, Caregiver Connections Education and Support Organization and Students Against Migrant Exploitation. In addition, MWAC organizes farmworkers in Niagara region, and Migrant Students (Migrant Workers Alliance, 2020), while another organization, The Migrant Rights Network, is a cross-Canada alliance to combat racism and fight for migrant justice (Migrant Rights Network, 2020). Organizations such as Migrante Canada and its affiliate Migrante Alberta, The International Migrant Alliance (IMA), Migrant rights Network as well as the Migrant Workers Alliance have been working collectively to address the rights of migrant workers in Canada. Steinhilper (2018) agrees with Della Porta & Diani (2009) that social actors need to control certain resources such as knowledge, money and logistics to transform eruptions of dissent into sustained mobilizations. Social actors such as

Migrante Alberta have adopted the principles suggested by these authors by offering educational opportunites to their members regarding their rights (Migrante Alberta, 2018). In addition, organizations including Migrante, IMA, MWA and the Migrant Rights Network have also maintained their autonomy by maintaining control of their resources by refusing public funding. Social movements take on various forms of dissent, one of which is direct action (Chesters & Welsh, 2011). Chesters and Welsh further describe direct action as the 'last resort' of social movements. However, recent articulations have described it as a methodology and justification for social movements, a mode of being and relating to each other. Given the nature of migrant work, direct action is employed to avoid backlash; it invloves subtle methods of resistance where overt forms of protest would result in loss of livelihood (Cohen & Hjalmarson, 2018). Direct resistance, also referred to as everyday resistance such as subtle acts of defiance, should be classified as legitimate forms of resistance undertaken by oppressed peoples expressing agency and political consciousness. Actions such as sit-ins, or bonded workers seeking a second job, are examples of everyday resistance (Cohen & Hjalmarson, 2018).

The importance of implementing international labor standards, that of domestic labor unions mediating the connection between local and global articulation of labor rights is articulated by Andreopoulos & Arat (2014). Further, the need for transnational activism has been posited as being necessary for temporary migrant workers advocacy (Piper, 2010; Steinhilper, 2018). A global social movement is one that involves conscious co-ordination of action and resources at an international level directed toward shared goals, including social and political change. Piper (2010) therefore argues that a transnational and trans-institutional perspective is required in addressing migrants' socioeconomic and legal challenges and has become necessary because of the transnationalization of labour markets and the rise in temporary migration schemes.

Advocacy is not only important for addressing inequalities and injustice but as Choudry (2016) suggests, incidental learning and informal education in activist milieus are important factors in producing conceptual resources in longer-term struggles for social change. Choudry (2016) further argues, that the significance of such learning is frequently overlooked by social movement activists and scholars alike. Since knowledge is socially constructed by and in the interest of the dominant society, Mertens (2009) and Brown & Strega (2005) suggest that an important site for the transference and production of knowledge is the fight for social justice. Therefore, learning in social action according to Choudry (2016) is crucial not only for informing strategies to create counter-power and contribute toward the formulation of radical alternatives to the prevailing world order but can also inform scholarship about social movements, and therein lies the relationship between critical adult education and social change. Social movements, Chesters & Welsh (2011) argue, have long been bearers of knowledge about forms of oppression and injustice, expressing political claims, identifying social and economic grievances, and bringing new or neglected issues to public prominence.

Part II: Perspectives on Migration, Migrant Workers & Development

Part II of this literature review introduces literature pertaining to the dominant neoliberal ideological perspective on migration, migrant workers and development and race-gendered neo-Marxist perspectives. The later perspectives inform the critical methodological approach to this research addressed in chapter 3.

Neoliberal Perspectives

Neoliberalism has become the new global rationality (Dardot & Laval 2014); its ascendancy having brought about major changes in the economic affairs of countries across the globe. Neoliberalism refers to the ideology and policy model that emphasizes the value of a free

market. The theory of neoliberalism is formed on the basis that political economic practices of human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework. It is characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, free trade, and competition (Harvey, 2005; Sparke (*nd*). The role of the state, Harvey outlines, is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices, guaranteeing, for example, the quality and integrity of money. The neoliberal era opened a new phase in the history of contemporary capitalism - a new global capitalist world economy (Wise & Veltmeyer, 2016). This new global capital economy, according to Wise and Veltmeyer (2016, p. 75) was characterized by the following: a set of rules and financial architecture based on the Washington consensus which declared the principles of free flow of investment capital, tradeable goods and services, in a global economy dominted by monopoly capital; new centres of capital accumulation and the persistence of a north-south division in the wealth of nations; a new international division of labour; industriliazation of some countries in the periphery; a new global labor market fuelled by a continuing process of argrarian tranformation in the global south.

In the last decade, importing service workers from the Global South has become a dominant trend (Ness, 2007). The World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO) view these programs as the new development model for the Global South (Ness, 2007). With this dominance of neoliberal policies, the various Global agencies such as the World Bank, The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), The United Nations (UN) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) have all adopted similar positions on different aspects of neoliberal policies including in relation to labor.

The evolution of the governance of international migration over the last 20 years, has been led by the persistence of Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, with the aim

of dealing with the last pillar of globalization that lacked institutionalized cooperation among states (Newland & Newland, 2012). The UN, therefore, Newland and Newland (2012) outline, pursued and accomplished a mechanism for a global mandate among states on Migration Development, resulting in the formation of the Global Forum on Migration For Development (GFMD). Despite this collaborative move there are competing positions among these organizations (Wise 2018).

Migration is promoted as the means of development for Third World countries, through a working relationship between the multilateral organizations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and the United Nations. All organizations collaborate on a central publication, the KNOWMAD (the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development) is described as a global knowledge hub for data, evidence-based policy recommendation, and experts and policy makers in addition to providing data on global migration statistics (World Bank Group, 2016 p. 27). In addition, in 2016, the IOM entered into an agreement with the United Nations, becoming one of its specialized agencies (UnitedNations, 2019). Through the Agreement, the UN recognized IOM as an indispensable actor in the field of human mobility (IOM, 2019). As the two agencies converged on that occasion, the member States adopted the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, giving rise to an intergovernmental consultation and negotiation process that will culminate with the adoption of a Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Secure migration.

In this vein, the organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) also promotes migration as being important for development through its exploration of the link between international migration and development. Therefore, the work of OECD development demonstrates the important gains from migration for migrants themselves, as well as for countries of origin and destination (OECD, 2019). The World Bank promotes migration as the

most effective way to reduce poverty and share prosperity (World Bank, 2018). On the other hand, IOM projects itself as the leading organization internationally on migration issues; working towards orderly and humane management of migration; promoting international cooperation on migration issues; assisting in the search for practical solutions to migration problems and providing humanitarian assistance to migrants in need. In addition, the IOM recognizes the link between migration and economic, social and cultural development, as well as to the right of freedom of movement (IOM, 2019).

The World Bank and other multilateral agencies argue that migration is beneficial to countries of origin in the form of employment and remittances (Worldbankgroup, 2016). Additionally, Wise and Veltmeyer (2016) discuss the World Bank's position on migration for development. In its world development report 08 (WDR-08), De-Janvry (2008), speaking to the Bank's neoliberal approach, suggests that migration becomes one of the ways out of poverty, as peasants are forced to abandon agriculture as a source of income due to capitalist development in agriculture. This model of migration as a development model out of poverty (Lewis, 1954), advances the argument that the countryside serves as a reservoir of surplus labor. Deeply embedded in modernization theory, this position is based on the premise that peasant farming is economically backward, marginal and unproductive; peasant farming is a drag on development and that there are too many people in rural society chasing too few opportunities for productive opportunities. The OECD concludes that even though migration can have adverse effects on the economic and social fabric of migrant-sending and receiving countries, it offers many opportunities for developing countries in the long run and that therein lies an embodied untapped development potential (OECD, 2019). Further, the OECD argues that migration contributes to development because it provides remittances which serve as income to the families remaining

behind. In addition, it can provide a source of start-up capital, and therefore it encourages entrepreneurship and self-employment.

The World Bank in its role contributes to the promotion of migration by providing evidence-based policy advice on migration, remittances, and diaspora issues as it leads many of the research and policy projects for various regions and global databases. The OECD Development Centre and the European Union have been implementing a project on the Interrelations between Public Policies, Migration and Development (IPPMD) since 2013 in ten developing countries. The project aims to provide policy makers with the report from the OECD, which addresses four dimensions of the migration cycle: emigration, remittances, return and immigration. The results of the empirical work confirm that migration contributes to the standing development of countries of origin and destination. The OECD further suggests that the potential of migration is not yet fully exploited by the ten partner countries of the Global South, as policy makers have not sufficiently taken migration into account in their respective policy areas.

Race-Gendered Neo-Marxist Perspectives

Labor power has been established as primary to an economy and is described as the engine at the heart of capitalism (Colley, 2015). For Braverman (1998), capitalist production requires exchange relations of commodities and money, with the key factor being the purchase and sale of labor power. As Colley (2011) explains, in this society driven by the exchange of commodities for profit, labor-power itself is commodified (Colley, 2015). In Marxist terms, labor is that which produces, or is intended to produce surplus value, or surplus product, or product for appropriation (Standing, 1999). When one works for a set number of hours, however, the wage accounts only for exchange value produced, so the rest of the time that is worked the worker works for free. The remaining time amounts to surplus value, or profit, for the employer.

Capitalism therefore seeks to extort a greater amount of surplus value from labor power (Colley, 2015). This unpaid portion of the work Colley (2015) suggests is one source of exploitation of workers. More important, however, is the purposive character of the worker's labor power which gives it infinite adaptability, and which produces the social and cultural conditions for enlarging its own productivity, so that its surplus product may be continuously enlarged (Braverman, 1998 p. 38; Harvey, 2017).

According to Peet & Harwick (2015 p.162) the Marxist view on labor and capital suggests that a "precondition of capital is that there is a need for a widening sphere of circulation; the need for increased population growth; expansion of markets and increased social needs of consumers." As a result, capital needs to expand over the entire globe to exploit workers, the natural resources and enter new markets thereby increasing the North's dependence on the South as a source of labor (Leech, 2012 p. 28). This process in turn encourages capitalist development of agriculture, dispossessing peasants and rural dwellers from the land or their means of production who then in turn become a part of a massive over supply of cheap labor in the global economy (Wise & Veltemeyer, 2016).

Leggett (2015) suggests that these international shifts in class forces marked by the intensification of capitalist accumulation through economic globalization and the deregulation of the labor market, reflect the strengthening of the capitalist class. In the present context however, he observes, that it is dominant nations, rather than dominant classes, which are extracting wealth from other nations using migrant labor. This is evidenced through global migration which has been promoted through bilateral agreements between the North and the South, thereby facilitating the temporary migration of guest workers from countries in the Global South (Ness, Migration and the reserve army of labor, 2016). Consequently, the TFWP has grown and expanded with the emergence and growth of the neoliberal ideology globally, a situation which

is described by neo-Marxist scholars as a global labor arbitrage (Wise & Veltmeyer 2016; Wise, 2018). Ness (2016) refers to the 'dialectical' relationship between capital and labor and the growth of guest worker programs asserting that capital almost always requires migration for continuity with the resulting lowering of wages and labor cost thereby creating a reserve army of cheap dispensable labor. Wise and Veltmeyer (2016) indicate that this uneven balance which has been expanded between the North and the South has contributed to the growth of what Guy Standing (2011) describes as the 'precariatisation' of migrant work.

Neo-Mararxist scholars have criticized the neoliberal model of development adopted by various multilateral agencies which promote migration as the development tool for 'underdeveloped' Third World countries. They critique the neoliberal proposition that promotes migration through international trade and investment with remittances as an essential tool in the development of sending countries by pointing instead to the concommitant increase in exploitation, poverty, inequality and class differentiation because of these policies (Wise & Covarrubias, 2009). Neo-Marxists, have posited that migration occurs as a result of the effects of, for example, the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that were implemented in Third World countries (Davis, 2006). In similar vein, Portes (2009) suggests that migration prompted by neoliberal prescriptions for development, is not only a symptom of underdevelopment, but a cause of it and has resulted in uneven development (Delgado-Wise, 2013). Portes (2009) suggests that migration depopulates entire regions, turning sending families from producers into rentiers while allowing governments to escape their responsibilities by relying on migrant remittances. The neoliberal doctrine leads to the creation of a dispersed and vulnerable proletariat attached to the global networks of monopoly capital as well as an expanded reserve army of labor are brought about by new forms of poverty and an underclass of workers (Delgado-Wise, 2013).

The ideological thrust of the 1970's promoted the neoliberal model, that growth and development depended on market competitiveness essentially allowing market principles to permeate all aspects of life (Standing, 2011). The result of this has been labor market flexibility which came to mean an agenda for transferring risks and insecurity onto workers and their families; in other words the creation of a global 'precariat' lacking security of job, income, reproduction, employment, work, skill, and representation (Standing, 2011). Standing (2011) suggests that the pursuit of labor flexibility relations has been the major direct cause of the growth of the precariat, outlining three main forms of flexibility, one of which is numerical flexibility, promoted by the IMF and the World Bank and based on the premise that weak employment security will attract and retain foreign capital. Standing (2011) describes this as 'non-standard' or atypical forms of labor, where companies contract out much of their labor. Additionally, there is the growth of temporary labor and the off-shoring and outsourcing of jobs to cheaper places, one result of which is the growth of employment agencies (Linden & Rodriguez Garcia, 2016).

Though migration has always been a part of human existence, Ness (2016) notes that the collaboration of the powerful countries of the north and the multilateral agencies in the 1970's into the 1980's damaged the economic stability of the countries in the periphery, the "Third World countries". Then these very institutions began to promote the concept of the migration and development nexus (Delgado-Wise, 2014). This process has been promoted through bilateral labor agreements between the North and South facilitating the temporary migration of guest workers from the Global South to countries of the Global North which has not benefitted workers but instead reinforces poverty in the countries of origin (Ness, 2016).

"Third World" countries were enticed by the IMF and the World Bank into taking loans to sustain growth resulting in the accumulation of large debts leading to a liquidity crisis in the

1980's (Davis, 2006). This laid the foundation for the introduction of SAPs which were imposed

on Third World countries in the 1980's and the 1990s; a period of collaboration between

multinational corporations and powerful governments which forced the implementation of

neoliberal dogma via the SAPs opening these countries to flexible labor along with

internationalization of capital and financialization. The same multi-national organizations then

promoted the optimistic view of the positive relationship between migration and development

(Davis, 2006; Peet & Hartwick, 2015).

Phillips (2013) suggests that contemporary unfree labor then needs to be understood

theoretically and empirically as particular forms of adverse incorporation, existing at the extreme

end of a continuum of exploitative labor relations which underpins global production. She argues

that it is important to understand the exploitation which underpins unfree labor in the global

economic activity. Similarly, for Linden & Rodriguez Garcia (2016), temporary work programs

such as the MOU between Canada and Mexico and the Caribbean countries are unfree and are

coercive with a historical foundation of colonialism. Inclusive of indentured labor relationships, ,

where the labor contract specifies wages, work and living conditions, and arrangements for

transportation to and from the country of employment (Harrington-Watt, 2019). Which are

formed as a result of the coloniality of power, which is sustained by race and racialization and is

based on the assumption of the hierarchy of whites over non-whites. Just as countries trade in

goods and services, labor has officially become a part of the trade agreements. Gordon (2018)

purports that the unfree character of temporary migrant labor has not only drawn much needed

attention to the poor working conditions faced by migrant workers, but it has also opened up an

important space to challenge those ubiquitous claims by defenders of the current political

economic status quo that people are freer under neoliberalism.

Looking at the Canadian context Vance (2012) and Choudry et al. (2009) conclude that immigration policies have been structured to fit in with neoliberal imperatives. According to Walsh:

"Globalization in Canada has been cited as the 'most significant trend affecting immigration [policy] today' (CIC 1998a, p. 1). Additional reports observed that policy must be brought inline with emerging market forces' (CIC 1996, p. 9) and that skills-based policies were essential in maintaining [Canada's] competitive position in a knowledge-based and service-oriented world economy' (CIC 2000, p. 6)".

Therefore, Walsh (2011) notes that Canada's immigration policy switched from acceptance based on familial relations to a focus on education & language ability, transferable skills which better facilitated the notion of a contemporary workforce that is flexible, adaptable and capable (p. 865). Further, Walsh (2011) argues that there is a link between immigration policy and flexible capital accumulation and he believes that immigration controls in countries such as Canada and Australia are dictated by the exigencies of neo-liberal stateness and the desire to craft market-based policies that maximize material gains while limiting migration's social costs (p.864), resulting in migrants-in-waiting which embodies the concept of just-in-time migration (Barber, 2018).

Race-gendered imbrications. The relationship between labor, gender, race, and capitalism is integral to the growth of migration (Bhattacharya & Vogel, 2017). According to & Vogel (2017), traditional Marxism fails to consider the reproductive capacity of labor in capitalism. They posit that the tremendous amount of familial as well as communitarian work that goes into sustaining and reproducing the worker, or more specifically labor power, is naturalized into nonexistence. This is especially true for migrant workers who leave their

families to sell their labor in the program while making other arrangements for their children or spouses to be cared for.

According to Fraser (2017), the very form of capitalist society harbors a deep-seated social-reproductive "crisis tendency" or "contradiction." On the one hand, social reproduction is a condition of possibility for sustained capital accumulation. For Bhattacharya (2018), the process of social reproduction encompasses how humans come into the world and what they are able to achieve once here. She suggests this process is disproportionately borne by women under capitalism and where a failure to recognize this as such "occludes the complex structures that have enabled the global reproduction of capital (p.41). It involves "domestic labour- the dirty, hidden and endless essential work of replensishing bodies and lives maintaining households for waged labor, while aslo creating the next generation of waged workers". It plays a key role in biological reproduction—as the generational replacement of the working class—and in reproducing the worker through food, shelter, and physical care to become ready for the next day of work. The contradiction, Fraser (2017) argues, is that capitalism's orientation to unlimited accumulation tends to destabilize the very processes of social reproduction on which it relies. She further highlights that capitalist societies have systematically undermined the role of social reproduction in economic affairs, which has now resulted in what is described as a "crisis of care", outlining that:

> There is a social depletion, pressures from several directions are currently squeezing a key set of social capacities: the capacities available for birthing and raising children, caring for friends and family members, maintaining households and broader communities, and sustaining connections more generally. Historically, this work of 'social reproduction' has been cast as women's work, although men have always done

some of it. Comprising both affective and material labor and often performed without

pay, it is indispensable to society (Fraser, 2017 p. 21).

Tithi Bhattacharya (2017) states that the work of social reproduction which includes

reproduction and care and effective work have under capitalism been the source of oppression of

women. Gender and race, then, have emerged as significant features in migration generally and

in labor migration more specifically. The Canadian temporary migration programs, including the

SAWP, are heavily gender-segregated and racialized. The SAWP is dominated by men, in

contrast to Canada's Live-In-Caregiver program (LCP), which is female dominated (Gabriel &

McDonald, 2011 p. 23). Feminist scholars have argued that the rise of neoliberalism and the

reduction and dismantling of social services, along with the entrance of more and more women

into the labor force, have resulted in new kinds of demands for a wide range of care work around

the world (Rodriguez, 2008). Additionally, Bhattacharya & Vogel (2017) argue that the gendered

nature of reproduction of labor power has conditioning impulses for the extraction of surplus

value which is sustained by capital's need for the generational replacement of the labor force.

This is illustrated by Standing (2011) as women take on a "triple burden" fullfilling the role of

caregivers and bread winner, while providing care to elderly family members. This is evident in

the migration of Caribbean people, and people of colour, in the Canadian context, as well as in

the evolution and development of migration and the eventual growth of temporary migration.

The domestic scheme began out of a racial patriarchal and class bias (Vorst, 1991). He

suggests that Canada's immigration policies have been shaped by the demand for cheap labor

based on racial, ethnic, gender and class biases targeted mainly towards women of colour.

Recent scholarships on the topic over the last two decades agree and support this position (Bakan

& Stasiulis, 2008; Barber, 2017; Brem, 2006; Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Dirks, 2019; Flecker, 2011;

Ferguson & McNally, 2015; Nicole, 2005; Rodriguez, 2010; Standing, 2011; Torres, Spitzer,

Oxman-Martinez & Hanley, 2012). The very basis upon which people of colour began their relationship as domestic workers in the Canadian landscape is a reproduction of the ideology of racism which was used as the justification for the construction of slavery, colonialism and imperialism (Vorst, 1991). In addition to the racial, gendered, and ethnic foundation of migration, there is the consideration that immigrant women face a gender-stratified labor market where they frequently find themselves in the bottom strata (Piper, 2005). This stratification, according to Piper (2005), occurs as social benefits and entitlements are diminished, thus exclusionary criteria and circumstances in the form of legal residency, gender and race are used as stratifiers. Social groupings such as these are given different value in our society, also referred to as social stratification, which is the process of assigning unequal value to a particular group (Ozlem, & DiAngelo, 2017).

The IOM outlines that gender influences the reasons for migrating, who migrates, the networks used and resources available. Similarly, Reeves and Jolly (2005) outline that migration is a gendered phenomenon influenced by gender norms which dictate when and why people migrate, and how. Both researches outline that traditional gender roles, which see women as nurturers and men as being strong and leaders influence, who will migrate. Jolly and Reeves (2005) further discuss that the increase in the segmentation of the labor market dictates who will migrate. In addition, they articulate that the global rise in the demand for cheap labor and for caregivers have influenced the growth in the total number of female migrants. Consequently Vorst (1991), suggests that prior to 1962 black women were restricted from immigrating to Canada except when they were needed as a cheap pool of labor. Thus, a distinctive feature of migration in the 21st century is the feminisation of migration (OECD, 2010b) with women, often moving on their own, making up a greater share of international migrants than at any time in history. However, much of the migration has been, like that of men, undertaken in the search for

a better life (Standing, 2011). He notes that the increase in women entering the labor force is largely due to the fact that women's labor was cheaper. In addition, as jobs became more flexible, they appealed to women due to their double roles of having to take care of the home as well as provide for their families. According to Standing "whether cause or effect, women's growing labor market role coincided with the growth of the precariat (2011 p. 60). Vorst (1991) and Bakan and Stasiulis (1997) outline that Canadian immigration policies have been selective in terms of race and gender. Supply countries have also contributed to the gendered nature of the program in their selection and promotion of the program to their citizens. For example, Robyn Rodriguez (2008) outlines that the Philippine government, in adopting the neoliberal regime, has developed a migration program, one which encourages and facilitates female migration.

The literature reviewed revealed that both the Caregiver programme and the SAWP are described as being gendered programs. The Caregiver programme targets predominantly women (Bolah, 2014; Barber,1991). Women from labor forces of selected poor nations are conscripted to work under conditions reminiscent of indentured work devalued by Canadians (Daenzer, 1997 p. 81). While the SAW program targets only males initially, females were only recently allowed to be a part of the program (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018). In addition, Cohen and Caxaj (2018) in their research outline that the programme creates the environment for the lack of sexual and reproductive autonomy of female migrant workers. Rodriguez (2005) notes that the state describes the migrant women as heroines as they contribute to the economy through remittances, while at the same time leaving their children and families. Filipinas' positioning as careworkers around the world is ultimately a consequence of the ways in which the Philippine state has historically drawn on the labor of Filipina women for developmental aims (Rodriguez, 2008).

The concept of racial capitalism (Robinson, 2000) is a way of understanding the role of racism in enabling key aspects of "capitalist development" (Bhattacharyya, 2018). Kelly (2017),

in explaining Cedric Robinson's (2000) work on racial capitalism, outlines the link between capitalism and racism. Capitalism is "racial" not because of the conspiracy to divide workers or justify slavery and dispossession, but because racism had already permeated Western feudal society. Capitalism and racism, it is suggested, evolved from the old feudal system to produce a modern world system of "racial capitalism" dependent on slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide (Robinson, 2000). Melamed (2015) argues that this "is instructive to the text of Marx which we must supplement with the understanding that the capitalism that was his purview was already racial capitalism" In outlining the development of racial subjects, Robinson (2000) suggests that the first European proletarians were racial subjects including Irish, Jews, Romans or Gypsies and Slaves among others, and they were victims of dispossession (enclosure), colonialism, and slavery within Europe. Bhattacharyya (2018) in discussing Cedric Robinsons's (2000) view of racial capitalism outlines that "the fictionality of the 'nation' as an agent or receptacle of economic development is revealed in the failure to recognize migrant labor in the formation of early capitalism".

"There has never been a moment in modern European history (if before) that migratory and/or immigrant labor was not a significant aspect of European economics. That this is not more widely understood seems to be a consequence of conceptualization and analysis: the mistaken use of the nation as a social historical and economic category; resultant and persistent to national labor pools, and a subsequent failure of historical investigation" (Bhattacharyya, 2018).

Racial capitalism operates both through the exercise of coercive power and the mobilisation of one's own desire, not only forced to participate in economic arrangements but also become edge subjects in capitalism (Bhattacharyya, 2018). Indeed, Robinson suggests that racialization within Europe is very much a colonial process involving invasion, settlement, expropriation, and racial hierarchy. Additionally, Melamed (2015) argues for an analysis of how

expropriation of labor, lands, and resources contribute to capital accumulation. This is a process that Melamed (2015) outlines as the creation of separateness; that is, the disjointing of relations between human beings. Similarly Bhattacharyya (2018) outlines that racial capitalism can be thought of as a process by which capitalist formation creates edge populations that serve as the other.

Robin Kelly (2010) opines that the appearance and codification of racial elements during the feudal period extended into western societies and have had important and lasting consequences. As capitalism emerged out of feudalism the clear divide of proletariats and the bourgeoisie emerged. There is an established link of migration to capitalism. The speckled history of migration, and the growth of capitalism and globalization, further establishes and supports the racial aspects of labor migration (Robinson, 2000). Migration therefore occurs because of the rise of capitalism (Ness, 2016; Marx, 2000; West, 2016). Hence as Rodriguez (2019) articulates, there is an increase in the level of migrant careworkers. She argues that "service workers" broadly defined are necessary for the reproduction of racialized and gendered social relations which are crucial to global capitalism." She then argues that the "combination of racial capitalism and social reproduction analysis should be understood as an intensification of colonial, racialized and 'unfree' labor relations across the globe."

Canada has had a racial immigration policy up until the 1960's (Lenard & Straehle, 2012). They note that Canada's immigration policy actively and overtly discriminated against racial and ethnic minorities who were described as difficult to integrate into the Canadian community. They also argue that the shift in the immigration policy occurred only when there was a reduction in immigrants from Europe and due to increased competition for skilled labor from the United States. Lenard and Straehle (2012) suggest that while the Canadian government has tried to remove race as an element of the immigration system; the temporary labor migration

programs reintroduced it. The basis is that these migrants are usually the poorest and most racially distinct. In addition, they are treated more as commodities rather than as individuals and proto citizens. Thus, Canadian employers can extract greater benefits from the employment of temporary migrant workers (Flecker, 2011; Lenard & Straehle, 2012; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2008). Several studies indicate instances of racialization of the migrant workers. For example, Bolah (2014) describes the background to the inception of the domestic and farm workers program in the mid 20th century. Bolah (2014) outlines that correspondence and immigration records indicate that the initial refusal of the Canadian Government to accept people from the Caribbean and specifically Blacks, gave way when there was the risk of losing the large imports it had to the Caribbean. The presence of racializied groups in Canada is discussed by Block & Galabuzi (2011). Racialized groups moved from less than 5% of Canada's population in the 1980's to 13.4% by 2001. By the 2006 Census taking, there was further increase to where 16.2% of the population came from a racialized group. Further, employment earnings for racialized workers are lower than non-racialized workers across all racialized groups (Block, & Galabuzi, 2011).

Several authors discuss why racism still exists and is promulgated in societies and specifically, migrant worker programs. Fleras (2014), argues that temporary migrant workers in Canada experience institutional racism, while Ozlem & DiAngelo (2017) argue that migrant workers experience institutional power, this power forming the basis for oppression and other forms of isms. Oppression, according to Ozlem and DiAngelo (2017), refers to the prejudice and discrimination of one social group against another, backed by institutional power. Oppression occurs when one group is able to enforce its prejudice and discrimination throughout society because it controls the institutions. One manifestation of institutional racism is systemic racism, which Fleras (2014p. 146-147) describes as:

Racism… "predicated on the premise that institutional rules and procedures are racist in design, by practice, or in their effects, even if the actors are themselves free of prejudicial discrimination. This operates on a business-as-usual mindset, with a commitment to treat everyone the same, even if applying equal standards to unequal contexts intensifies disparities".

Fleras further suggests that systemic bias exists based on experiences of migrant agricultural workers from Mexico and the Caribbean who qualify under Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program. Like all Canadian workers, migrant workers must pay premiums under the Employment Insurance Act. However, unlike Canadian workers, migrant workers must leave Canada upon completion of their authorized work terms, thus making it impossible to qualify for benefits, and further there is no refund of amounts paid into the programs".

Migration policies and strategies of racialization thus become integral elements of political strategies for the recommodification of labor linked to the deregulation of employment and the transformation of citizenship and welfare arrangements (Freeman, 1986). Ardittis (2018) criticizes the multi-lateral migration organizations, and the challenges to pass the EU's Global Compact highlighting the disagreement among member states on the objectives and the passing of a non-binding document.

Summary

Part 1 of this chapter addressed migration to Canada for precarious work by considering the history of migration to Canada and the development of its Temporary Foreign Workers Program. The chapter outlined several policies, programs and their impacts and discusses the findings from several empirical studies on migrant workers and migrant work and lived situations.. Part 2 introduced the dominant neoliberal perspective and ideology pertainining to

migration, migrant work and development and the race-gendered neomarxist perspective which informs this research.

<center>**Chapter Three**</center>

<center>**Methodology**</center>

This chapter considers the critical research methodology or approach to the study informed specifically by a race-gendered neo-Marxist perspective on labor and capital pertaining to migrant labor and workers in the TFW program. A critical case study strategy and related processes and methods of data collection and analysis are considered thereafter, including issues concerning ethics and the trustworthiness of catalytic research which aims to address concerns around injustice, exploitation, and oppression.

Critical Research Methodology

Critical theory analyzes competing power interests between groups variously defined (e.g. classes) and individuals within a society, identifying who gains and who looses in specific situations. Further, it requires the researcher and participants to be willing to become aware of how distorted understanding contributes to oppression and resistance by helping reproduce hegemonic controls (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Marshall & Mertens, 2005; Rossman, 2011). Marshall and Rossman (2011) suggest that the research report is not transparent, but rather is authored by a raced, gendered, classed, and politically oriented individual. In addition, race, class, and gender are critical factors in understanding experiences. Marshall and Rossman (2011) suggest that traditional research has silenced members of oppressed and marginalized groups.

Critical research is a means of empowering the oppressed through knowledge development (Rubin & Rubin, 2012) and is a methodology that does not otherize participants and has liberatory potential (Winkle-Wagner, Lee-Johnson, & Gaskew, 2019). The research explores the experiences of precarious migrant workers and critically analyzes and interprets their understanding of their experiences. The aim, therefore, through the research, is to begin the process of understanding the workers' perception of the relationship which exists in this

scenario. In addition, it fosters a move towards knowledge development (Kemmis, 1991) and the development of collective critical consciousness which can potentially lead to participation in advocacy efforts by the workers.

Structurally speaking, critical approaches to research assume a conflict orientation in terms of the ontological assumptions about society and social change. As posited by Sears and Cairns (2000), contrary to structural functionalist ontologies, critical ontologies reject the assumption that the preservation of social order serves everyone by protecting against the threat of chaos. Instead, the argument is that such a system produces inequality which produces conflict. The interest of the disadvantaged conflict with those who occupy key power positions, hence once subordinates begin to act in their own self-interest, they realize they have the capacity to challenge the existing social order; a transformation which they explain happens when, for instance, workers organize into unions and engage in class struggle. By taking a critical approach, we assume that social structures and the social world is characterized by fundamental structural inequalities which is constituted in part through oppression by dominant groups over subordinate social groups (Wotherspoon, 2009 p. 13). The basic premise of the conflict model is that our present society is organized around fundamental inequalities that can be overcome only by a substantial transformation of social relations.

In terms of this, structural and conflictual understanding of society and social, critical methodologies also assume that knowledge is shaped by society in a manner which seeks to regulate order through rules formed by dominant groups (Chilisa, 2012; Kemmis, 1991). The central task of critical methodologies on the knowledge front then is in relation to emancipating people from the positivist 'domination of thought' (knowledge for and by the unequal status-quo) through their own understandings and actions, for example, in referring to the insights of Marx, Chilisa (2012), points out that those who control the means of production (the ruling classes) also

control the mental production of knowledge and ideas which helps to perpetuate domination of other social classes. Epistemologically speaking, critical methodologies are oppositional and assume that knowledge is true if it can be turned into practice that empowers and transforms the lives of people. Rubin & Rubin (2012) describe it as empowering the oppressed through knowledge development and is constructed from the participant's frame of reference. For Winkle-Wagner, Lee-Johnson, & Gaskew (2019), critical approaches operate against ideologies which block and distort the voices of those most oppressed; deny the existence of daily acts of violence structured by race and gender differences; and cover over institutionalized forms of racism and sexism. Kemmis (2009, p. 94) points out four ways in which critical approaches are oppositional: (1) it rejects empiricism and idealism, positivism and interpretivism; (2) it is cognitively oppositional and is alert to the possibility that our perception of the social world is socially constructed and open to distortion; (3) such a theory is culturally oppositional in that the major forms of culture can sustain irrational, unsatisfying forms of life and unjust social relationships; and (4) the political aspect which is a combination of the cultural and cognitive senses through the production of knowledge which leads to action, i.e., is the products and producers of history helping 'to find the new world through criticism of the old'.

In axiological terms, Mertens (2009) suggests that ethical choices in research and evaluation need to include a realization that discrimination and oppression are pervasive, and that researchers and evaluators have a moral responsibility to understand the communities in which they work in order to challenge societal processes that allow the status quo to continue.

In light of the above, the research into the experiences of migrant workers is based on the premise that migrant workers are disadvantaged because of the neoliberal political economy of capital which shapes systems like the TFW program which exploits desperate labor and women

and people of color from the South who have few options to earn a living and take care of their families.

The assumption of critical researchers is that knowledge developed from their research will be a step towards addressing such injustices if not provide some impetus towards knowledge development and the development of collective critical consciousness which could lead to participation in advocacy efforts by the workers (Kemmis, 1991).

Race-gendered neo-Marxist perspective. In keeping with the critical methodological approach to the study, a race-gendered neo-Marxist perspective has informed the study and the analysis as outlined in some detail in the previous chapter. Neo-Marxist theories are concerned with the changing structure of capitalist economic organization, the recomposition of class relations and how these are reflected at the level of politics (Leggett, 2015). Neo-Marxism helps explain how the adoption of the neoliberal ideology and global capitalism through TFWPs have contributed to the exploitation of migrant workers. The role of labor in capitalism is where neo-Marxist scholars have criticized the neoliberal model of development espoused by various multilateral agencies and the consequent promotion of migration as the development tool for 'underdeveloped' Third World countries'.

For neo-Marxists, migration has served as a source of underdevelopment for Third World countries, resulting from the tremendous pressure faced by the imposition of the SAP's (Davis, 2006; Harvey, 2003/2013; Portes, 2009). The period of the 1990's – to the present, they argue, has been marked by economic financialization and labor flexibility (Delgado Wise, 2013; Harvey, 2003/2013), creating a vulnerable proletariat pushing displaced workers into migratory worker (Wise & Veltemeyer 2016). The global migration of guest workers from the South to the North (Ness, Migration and the reserve army of labor, 2016) across these different legal jurisdictions has been intentionally organized by states to curtail workers' rights and freedom. At

the core of this agenda is the denial of citizenship and imposition of restrictions on the ability of migrant workers to change employers which leaves them in an extremely precarious situation open to systemic abuse (Gordon, 2018).

The reproductive capacity of labor in the capitalist production has been articulated by feminist Marxists who have criticized Marx for its omission from theory (Bhattacharya & Vogel 2017; Colley, 2015). For Fraser (2017), on the one hand, social reproduction is a condition for sustained capital accumulation; on the other hand, however Fraser argues that capitalism's orientation to unlimited accumulation tends to undermine the very social reproduction on which it relies.

Racial and gender stereotypes have historically been a part of Canadian immigration (Satzewich, 2015). Critical scholars concur that the current immigration policies, although not explicitly racial, foster programs which are racial and based on a gendered labor force (Gabriel & McDonald, 2011; Satzewich, 2015). In a similar vein, social reproductive work has been cast as women's work (Fraser, 2017) in addition and patriarchy have resulted in new kinds of demands for a wide range of care work around the world (Rodriguez, 2008) and has contributed to the exploitation of females in migrant labor.

Given the shift towards temporary migration programs globally, it is imperative to address the issue of non-resident migrants' access to legal protections and social rights. International human rights treaties, by virtue of their universality, grant rights to migrants in few situations. However, unless migrants themselves or their advocates explicitly claim these rights, the rights are likely to be ignored by policy makers and employers (Piper, Temporary economic migration and rightsactivism: an organizational perspective, 2010). National governments reject counter-hegemonic human rights values as they challenge the status quo, either by undermining the political economic foundations of liberal democracies and/or the principles of national

sovereignty (Basok, 2009) . In this context, the role of migrant rights activists in labor and human rights organizations is essential to transnational forms of collaboration and contention across nation-state borders to promote workers' rights.

Research Purpose and Questions

To reiterate, the purpose of this research was to explore and develop an initial understanding of precarious migrant worker exploitation and concerns regarding the TFWP in order to inform advocacy work by migrant organization. The exploration is guided by the following:

1. What is the recent history of TFW in Canada? What types of state programs exist to facilitate temporary worker migration?

2. Why are PMWs migrating for work?

3. What are the workplace concerns of PMWs? What are their wider concerns around the process of migration and settlement in the receiving country?

4. What have their experiences been with advocacy groups/organizations? Based on these experiences, what suggestions might they have for advocacy organizations?

Case Study

In order to conduct a race-gendered neo-Marxist study of temporary foreign migrant work, a critical case study strategy was deployed. A case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (Yin, 1994). This may be a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution or a social group (Willis, 2007). The case is one that merges with its context, so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw (Gillham, 2000) but should also be a single entitiy which can be bounded (Merriam 1998). The case here is bounded by its focus on foreign migrant workers participatingin the TFWP in farming (SAWP) and caregiver sectors. A case study is holistic and intensive, engaging a vaierty of data collection

methods: interviews, documents, observation and reports, to gather evidence Merriam (1998).

The work described here preseents a holistic picture of the program; a process which developed

over several months of interviewing 18 migrant workers, supervisors and advocates, document

analysis including program documents and documentary review.

The data was analysed,interpreted and critiqued utilizing a race-gendered neo-Marxist

perspective on capital and labor to develop theoretical statements Merriam (1998), thus a critical

case study. Willis (2007) describes this as analysing thick data sources, inclusive of a descriptive

outline, and developing conceptual categories to illustrate, support or challenge theoretical

assumptions which were carried into the research. Morse (1994) outlines that in the process there

may be reinterpretation and reframing of questions as the new evidence emerges in the

hermeneutical (Patton, 1990).

Researcher positionality. The researcher is the instrument in the research deciding

which questions to ask, of whom, where, and in what order Mertens (2005). The researcher is

also the tool for the collection and analysis of data Willis (2007). Mertens (2005) further

suggests that the researchers' values, beliefs, assumptions, and biases need to be highlighted. The

research process should include monitoring of these assumptions and biases, possibly through

journaling or peer debriefing. As the evolution of the research is in the hands of the researcher

and most data analysis techniques are also highly dependent on the researcher, the dependency

leads to a major principle of qualitative research: – reflection Willis (2007). Further, reflection

can happen in many ways, the core being open and regular attention to the context of the

research, which allows for the organisation, change and or reformulation of perceptions, beliefs

and practices. As it relates to subjectivity, it was important to acknlowledge subjectivities and

make adjustments where necessary over the course of the research Lichtman (2014).

Additionally, Lichtman notes that subjectivity speaks to identifying the researcher's self in the

research. It is important to identify this to determine how it may shape the outcome of the research.

Power dynamics can make a participant feel vulnerable (Lichtman, 2014). Therefore the researcher should carefully consider "who really is in a position of power?"; as power really is in the hands of the participants who chose to share their experience. I therefore attempted in the research to create a balanced relationship, sharing with participants the importance of their contribution to the research and ultimately how it will contribute to the long term gains of the research. In addition, developing rapport and using self-disclosure through self-sharing helped the participant and the researcher to connect (Lichtman, 2014; Marshall & Rossman, 2011), an important aspect for the success of research. Moreover, offering some level of guidance where challenges were highlighted, served to enhance respondent's comfort.

I came to Canada to pursue the Master's in Educational Policy Studies. Prior to this I was the Head of Section at the National Training Agency where the 'overseas program' was marketed to students as a way of gaining well-paid employment and as an opportunity towards a better life. Additionally, I assisted, through the institutions in recruiting past students on behalf of the Ministry of Labour for the overseas program. As I assimilated into the Canadian society, I learnt through experience the challenges that new immigrants faced. As I got immersed into classes and developed a greater appreciation for the contradictions of the program and global migrant employment schemes including the TFWP in Canada. As a foreign student, the work experience I gained allowed me to interact with persons who I came to know as former migrant workers who were either trying to obtain permanent residence status or students who were in school while they pursued an open work permit.

I am therefore a product of the so called 'Third World', experiencing what it is like being "in greener pastures" which is how countries in the 'North' are generally perceived. Countries

such as Jamaica and others which have the highest participation in the TFWP have a very colored colonial past of which slavery is a part. The research and dialogue with participants who likened the program to slavery forced me to reflect on the history from which I came and therefore how I approached the research. My recent experiences have allowed me to become more aware of situations of exploitation. I have been able to observe first-hand how the othering of minorities and migrants occurs through policies. These experiences therefore formulated and concretized my commitment to social change. In so doing I was motivated even more to contribute to the education and transformation through the research.

Research participants. Several factors were taken into consideration in selecting appropriate participants for this research. As the study aimed to explore how migrant workers are forced into labor precarity when they participate in the TFW program in Canada, it was essential to select persons and case units (Merriam, 1998) with experience in the program. Participants have been selected based on their range of participation and experience working in the temporary foreign worker program, as well as those involved in dealing with matters regarding migrant workers and advocacy efforts for migrant workers in Canada. There were 17 participants, 11 current front-line worker and three former participants, one front line workers turned supervisor and one migrant worker advocate. The length of participation in the program ranged from four months to five years. All except two persons are parents with between one and three children. The participants consisted of seven males and nine females. One person is a widow, while there were six persons who are married: four males and two females; two persons in a common law union, while five participants were single, one divorced. The age of participants ranged from 30 to just under 50 years. Issues of age was not a factor, however, given the issues highlighted regarding gender, it was important to include a mix of both genders in the research. A summary of the participants who were involved in the research is outlined in table 3 as follows:

Table 3: Summary of research participants

Psueydonym	Gender	# of years in Prog.	Marital Status	# of Children	Status
SAWP					
Ewart	M	5	Married	1	Current
Tony	M	2	Married	1	Current
Jackson	M	5	Married	2	Former
Mark	M	2	Common Law	3	Current
Findley	M	5	Common law		Current
Tracey	F	3	Single	1	Current
Dorothy	F	2	Common Law	2	Former
Sophia	F	4	Married	1	Current
Lorraine	F	2	Single	-	Current
Care givers (Live in assistants)					
Rhona	F	5	Single	1	Former
Prudence	F		Single	-	Current
Bobbie	F	3	Married	2	Former
Caregivers					
Pug	M		Single	1	Current
Josh	M		Married	1	Current
Rosa	F		Divorced	1	Current
Carla	F		Widow	2	Current
Advocates/expert					
CH	F		Married		Advocate

These participants were considered the most relevant in describing their lived experience as migrant workers in the TFW program. The participants shared their experiences within the program as workers or supervisors and in providing a supportive role. This process included participants describing their perception of their experience. All except one participant expressed the need to remain anonymous. It was important to hear the workers' experience, and how they

perceived this experience in relation to the social environment and work environment. It was also important to hear the motivation behind their continued participation, despite previous experience in the program which in some cases suggest exploitation and abuse. Further, participants were encouraged to consider how the problems they were raising could be addressed in their specific location as well as generally for all programs. As Willis (2007, cited in Cornstock, 1982) outlines, by understanding the current social condition and the events and actions leading up to the present, the researcher tries to illustrate the dialectical tensions between the conditions created historically and the actor's understanding of these conditions (p. 82). From those with the direct experience of precarity I wanted to find out how advocacy was perceived and how this aligned with the workers' expectations. I further critically analyzed, interpreted, and put meaning to data gathered from the participants. In addition, I took a critical analysis of how the structural framework within the society/program influenced the workers' experiences. I was able to get a comprehensive understanding of the issues by engaging various tools in a critical theory methodological framework for this research.

Participant selection. Once the problem has been identified, the next task is to select the unit of analysis referred to as the sample (Merriam, 1998). I will, however, refer to "participants" given my use of the transformative critical research paradigm which seeks to foster self-reflection and mutual learning (Fossey, et al. 2002). Identification of participants not only focuses on the selection of people to be interviewed for example, or situations to be observed; it is conceived as a way of setting up a collection of deliberately selected cases, materials or events for constructing a corpus of empirical examples for studying the phenomenon of interest (Flick, 2011). He further outlines that this includes identifying a case that is relevant to the phenomenon being studied, then selecting those instances in which the case will be visible which in turn might lead to the identification of situations which influence the issue being studied. Additionally,

participant selection in any version of qualitative research can be conceptualized as a cyclical or spiral process (Farrugia & Elsevier, 2019). The identification process is expected to continue and is refined during the research as analysis and interpretation of data during the data collection yields no further themes, ideas, or concepts (Farrugia & Elsevier, 2019).

Participants were selected using snowballing/chain, described as an emergent strategy falling under the broad heading of purposeful sampling (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2007). This strategy was used as it was likely to yield relevant information-rich data (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2007 p. 181). From this process I was able to identify a number of well-situated persons, making the list of participants highly credible (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007).

Gaining access: strategies to recruit participants. In conducting research, access to the research site is particularly important. Yin (2018) outlines the steps to consider in gaining access to key organizations or interviewees; additionally, gaining access through informal or formal gate keepers is important (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Further, Marshall & Rossman outline the need to be authentic, rather than using a contrived role to gain access; it is important that the researcher addresses the participants' concerns of sensitivity as the consideration is made about entry. It is imperative that the researcher be respectful of participants' decision not to participate. In some cases, it is difficult to gain access to certain sites or samples (Mertens, 2005). The researcher should consider that some participants see research as risky as it may affect their reputation. However, once access to the site is achieved then the researcher should obtain consent to participate from individual participants.

Gaining access in this research came with a mixed level of difficulty. At the outset I understood and determined that it would have been difficult to gain access to the selected sites for the case study. From the research I also realized that there was a high level of fear among the migrant workers in terms of research participation around the risk to losing their jobs. As

previously mentioned, I collaborated with the advocacy group Migrante to locate participants

and gain access to events where I could meet participants to build and gain their trust.

Additionally, I gained access to the farm workers through other community groups including

churches and social media. An introductory letter, as per ethics requirements (see Appendix)

outlining the purpose of the research, was formulated, and circulated among the groups. To

address the workers' fear of participation in the research, an initial group of migrant workers was

identified. I began with an introduction and then had discussions explaining the research.

Following that, I built relationships with the participants to gain their trust. I had to convince

them I did not work for the government, and I am guided ethically by the University's research

ethics protocols. Further, I articulated the steps they can take if they felt uncomfortable with the

research. I gained their consent before beginning any interview or data gathering, which proved

to be a source of assurance for the participants.

Data collection. Data collection strategies for use in the transformative paradigm are those used

in general social sciences research (Mertens, 2005). Suitable data collection strategies suggested

by Mertens and which were used in this research study, include interview, focus group,

document review and analysis of web materials. The interviews took the form of in-depth

individual and focus group interviews; that is, data which is collected through words (Merriam,

1998). These are two of the best data collection methods to be used for qualitative interviews

(Edwards, & Holland, 2013; Merriam, 1992; Mertens, 2005; Silverman, 1993). Warren (2002)

posits that focus groups are (described as) conversation with a purpose. Merriam (1992) outlines

that interviewing is necessary in qualitative research as it is difficult to observe behavior,

feelings or how people interpret the world around them. Group interviews have an advantage, in

that it offers the opportunity to produce rich data which are cumulative and elaborative, (Denzin

& Lincoln, 2003; Morgan, 1997). Interviews take on different forms; they may be highly

structured/standardized/formal, semi-structured, unstructured/informal (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Denzin, & Lincoln, 2005; Edwards & Holland, 2013; Merriam, 1992). For the purpose of this study, I engaged in semi structured and responsive interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

Data Collection was conducted over 34 weeks from November 2019 to July 2020. Consent was obtained from participants prior to the interviews both verbally in the case of telephone interviews and written for the focus group and face to face interviews. The interviews were audio-recorded for later transcription and lasted for periods from 40 minutes to one hour and fifteen minutes. Data gathering strategies included individual in-depth interviews, focus group interview and review of documentations and websites.

Individual in-depth semi-structured interviews. Interviews are one of the richest sources of data in a case study and usually represent the most important type of data to be collected (DeMarrais & Lapan, 2004). This influenced the selection of interviews as a strategy. Just as important is the interview protocol, described by Creswell as a form designed by the researcher which contains instructions for the conduct of the interview including the questions to be asked (Creswell, 2010 p. 259). In this regard, I designed and used an interview schedule as a guide in conducting the interviews. Two sets of in-depth interviews were conducted with three caregivers referred to as live-in assistants, all females and nine agriculture workers who were participants in the Seasonal Agriculture program and included five females and five males. Interviews with the live-in assistants were conducted face to face and via telephone. All the interviews with the agriculture workers were conducted via the telephone at times convenient to the participants. I also interviewed one expert in the field to gain understanding from her perspective, of the major issues migrant workers face. It served also to triangulate the information obtained from the migrant workers from another perspective, thereby providing a foundation for analysis.

The interviews were conducted using the semi-structured and responsive interviewing techniques as described by Edwards & Holland (2013); Rubin & Rubin (2012). Though there were structured questions as a guide to conducting the interviews, I allowed the participants to speak freely. The question which I usually started with was "can you tell me how you found the experience?" and it allowed the interviewees delve into a range of various topics describing their experience. This allowed me to gain a broad picture to be used as a guide for follow-up questions and clarification as needed. I made use of probes in the interview with phrases such as 'tell me how that made you feel? I made use of open-ended and semi structured interview techniques as these are less structured (Merriam, 2009). Rubin & Rubins' (2012) notion of the interviewer's revelation of self, that is, responsive interview techniques, were applied creating an environment of reciprocity.

The questions for the data collection were divided into three groups: Questions for (1) focus group interviews, (2) key informants and (3) individual and expert interviews. Questions for each group centered around six themes. See Appendix I, II and III.

Focus group interviews. This method of data collection evolved as it was assumed that truth is out there to be collected through rigorous and highly "focused" interviews where situations or problems were defined, hypotheses formulated, interview protocol generated, and individuals questioned. Moreover, because the individual was the basic unit of analysis, in this research, the truth was thought to be in individual minds (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013). Many definitions of focus groups exist in the literature, but essentially, they are described as involving a small group of people engaging in collective discussion of a topic previously selected by the researcher (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Facilitators/Practitioners of focus groups advocate using open-ended prompts, letting participants take over the flow of talk and social interaction, encouraging solidarity building, and eventually becoming dispensable because the groups have become self-

sufficient. One suggestion was that researchers ease into a non-directive approach to facilitation slowly and deliberately, paying close attention to the effects of different ways of facilitating participants' activity (Kamberelis, & Dimitriadis, 2013).

The focus group, as outlined previously, allowed for collection of rich data; in addition, as was expected, it provided the opportunity for participation of the workers in the process. Workers were given the opportunity to voice their major concerns with the program as well as advocacy efforts. The participants got the opportunity to outline what strategies they thought would assist or work in addressing the major issues identified.

The focus group interviews with the caregivers took place on a cold winter day with the thermometer registering -42℃. The actual date for the session took extra effort, as it was difficult to get a convenient time for all the participants and even so, unfortunately two participants had to leave the session early. The session was coordinated with the help of the advocacy group Migrante Alberta. In organizing the focus groups, I took into consideration participants aiming to build and maintain a synergistic group dynamic. In addition, I followed the guidelines suggested by Wellington & Marion (2007). Along with my co-planner from Migrante, I ensured a conducive environment with the room being satisfactory in size and seating arranged in a circular manner to enable all participants to see each other thereby engendering trust and allowing for open communication.

The focus group interview was facilitated as an interactive session, with participants seated and actively involved in the process. To account for any shyness or timidity in the beginning of the discussion, a stimulus can provide a focus or starting point, for example, a photograph, film, vignette, or game (Edwards, & Holland, 2013). We convened the session with a video which outlined activist activities to give insight and to inspire the participants to share. Secondly, a stuffy was introduced, and participants were asked to express to the stuffy how they felt now.

This was meant to create a relaxing atmosphere and make the participants comfortable with each another. The use of the stuffy elicited emotions which reminded the participants of their family situation, they expressed how the stuffy reminded them of their families and what participating in the program meant. This resulted in an emotional session and really opened the door for discussion. The third step: an introductory question was posed, and participants shared openly forming a natural pattern in responding. The session continued with the two remaining participants and ended with a potluck meal.

As a follow-up to the focus group interviews, I conducted in-depth interviews with key informants who were identified to home in on deeper issues and more specific examples. These interviews were done with three persons and lasted up to 40 minutes.

Documents and records. Review of documents and records also contributed to this body of research. Secondary data documents (SDDs) are materials that are important in describing the historical background and current situation in a community or country where the research is being conducted (Given, 2008). It is suggested that text can expose the researcher to subjective knowledge or to discourses, which might expose underlying beliefs opinions, and attitudes about a phenomenon (Thorne, 2016). As such, documents about the TFW program as well as individual sites were used as sources of information. Documents used included books, archived documents, reports, and newspapers. To gain an understanding of the programs, I reviewed the Canadian immigration website, reports to parliament as well as statistics and other related documents. I also reviewed documentaries to get additional information and a deeper understanding of the program. These were found in print and electronic format. The study and analysis of the documents were done systematically to derive meaning, gain an understanding of the subject matter, and develop empirical knowledge.

Data Analysis. In this section, I bring order to the data which has been collected by describing and organizing data into patterns, categories and basic descriptive units (Patton, 1990). The analysis of the data was done using a critical theory approach, meaning that interpretation of that data entailed thoughtful analysis and reflection according to Willis (2007). In the process of creating meaning and understanding, I employed and approach that Willis describes as involving going back and forth between the topic of study, the context, and my own understanding (Patton, 1990). For this I used the hermeneutical approach in data analysis, in the process getting an understanding of human action in content (Willis 2007). In staying true to the critical approach, I engaged in critical hermeneutics which aims to make transparent and obvious the historical conditions that have led to oppression. Thematic analysis was used in analyzing the data; this refers to the process of identifying themes which capture meaning that is relevant to the research question, and making links between such themes (Willig, 2014). Being a critical researcher, I made use of 'inductive analysis' (Patton, 1990) thus establishing that there is a relationship between theory and the precarious position faced by migrant workers (Bartlett, 1991).

During the stages of the interview transcription and analysis, I followed clear procedural guidelines. The interviews provided a good foundation for thematic application, development of codes and finally interpretation, using recordings that were of good quality. This provided the opportunity to transcribe interviews verbatim as much as possible. The principles of qualitative data analysis and coding described by Boyatzis (1998), Jensen & Laurie (2017) and Smith (2008) were applied in the thematic development and analysis. Data from interviews, documents and observations were analysed using the 'constant comparative method' (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Patton, 1990; Thorne, 2000).

Upon completion of the first interview, I prepared the transcript to assess the quality of the interviewing identifying any incomplete responses and to determine how accurately the interview was carried out. Any ommisions or opportunitites for follow up questions from the interview were noted and addressed in subequent interviews. I listened to the recordings and re-read the transcripts several times to identify any key points that were missed, which also allowed me to become close with the data and to further get a sense of the interviewees description of their experiences (Jensen & Laurie, 2017). The left column was used to record significant points and intersting points made by the interviewee. There emerged the beginning of coding the data, which is desribed by (Saldana, 2013) as a word or short phrase that assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data (p. 3).

The process of analysis continued with labelleing segments of data to identify themes as Fossey, et al. 2002 postulate, that thematic analysis involves a constant comparative method; meaning a progressive process of classifying, comparing, grouping and refining groupings of text segments to create and then clarify the definition of categories, or themes, within the data. In this sense, thematic analytic procedures focus on developing categories, derived inductively from the data itself, rather than from a priori theory, to enable systematic description (p. 728).

The emerging themes were then rewritten into short phrases capturing the meaning of the interviewee's response. By doing this, I was able to identify expressions which are high-level and also possess theoretical connections with those found in the literature review. The same principle was continued through the remaining transcript, and where similar themes were identified, the same title was assigned. There followed a comparison between transcripts and clusterings, the themes was done to create the final theme codes. The themes which emerged came out of the examples of the codes.

I then developed a spreadsheet which was used to create a master table of themes which captured the identified keywords and phrases, followed by applying numbers and names to those phrases in developing the codes. Once this first process was completed, I continued with the other interviews making adjustments where necessary. Between interviews, I completed each transcript and identified further developing themes. After the first set of four interviews, the themes were then collated and the recurrence of the themes was noted on the spreadsheet.

Ethical Issues and Tensions

Ethics in research should be an integral part of the research planning and implementation process (Mertens D. , 2005). The philosophy of critical theory focuses on the ethics or special obligation to oppressed populations; actions of advocacy are considered rights actions (DeMarrais & Lapan, 2004), and additionally, ethics in social science is important. This study was approached very carefully to ensure all ethical issues such as ensuring the rights and welfare of the participants were adhered to. The philosophy of ethics is divided into good and bad actions; DeMarrias & Lapan (2004) discuss Jacobs and May's (1980) theory on ethics that should be considered when conducting research. Those principles that are highlighted as being important include the critical philosophy of research. These are reflected in the researcher's responsibility to act in a certain way regardless of the outcome, which would mean considering any emotional or other situation the participant may be experiencing at the time of the interview or data collection. The other ethical principle of critical theory, DeMarrias & Lapan (2004) outline, revolves around the researcher using their role to act as an advocate for the oppressed population. It is noted that in the research setting the researcher should be reminded that the participants agreement to participate in the research requires that they be treated with the utmost respect.

It is mandatory that all research involving human subjects be given approval by appropriate Boards of the respective University (Mertens, 2005). This process considers protecting certain rights of the participants (Willis, 2007). To conduct this research, I therefore obtained ethics clearance and approval from the research board of the University of Alberta. In this process, factors such as adhering to ethics, maintaining confidentiality and anonymity were required. Therefore, matters of confidentiality and anonymity were strictly adhered to in the conduct of the research. Confidentiality and anonymity, Mertens (2005) asserts relates to protecting the participant's information; considering the individual's data privacy needs, ensuring the data will not be associated with the participants and that no uniquely identifying information will be attached to the data, keeping it untraceable. Ensuring that there were no traces of deception in this process was just as important.

To achieve this all participants were required to give consent before any data was collected. In this regard the participant's anonymity and confidentiality were assured through the consent forms which all participants were required to sign or give oral consent to.

Trustworthiness

Concerns with the trustworthiness of data and interpretations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), were ensured through triangulation of data types (literature, reports, documentaries, websites, interviews, focus groups) and multiple sources (migrant workers, advocates, secondary sources including from advocacy groups and their websites) and through the use of member checks (participant re/engagements over data and interpretations made) and peer review (with advocates). Furthermore, critical research is judged in terms of its ability to contribute towards projects for social change addressing issues of inequality, injustice and oppression and the catalytic validity (Brown & Strega, 2005) of the research as it relates to, as in this case, the work of migrant advocacy groups and public education via production of knowledge seeking to

address the conditions of marginalized social groups and classes (e.g. precarious migrant workers).

Summary

This chapter has outlined the critical methodological approach to the study and related race-gender neo-Marxist analytical perspective; provided a description of the case study strategy and associated methods of data collection and analysis. Ethical issues and questions pertaining to trustworthiness and catalytic validity of the research have also been addressed.

Chapter Four

Migrant Worker Perspectives on Precarious Migrant Work:

Emergent Themes and a Race-Gendered Neo-Marxist Analysis

This chapter expounds on SAWP and care giver perspectives and their work and life experiences. Grounded in interview data conducted over a six-month period, the emergent thematic analysis elaborates on their motives for migration, specific experiences with work and migration and their perspectives on the need and direction for advocacy. Their experiences and related analysis expose how the TFWP, as a construct of neoliberal capitalism, reproduces, race-gendered exploitation and oppression of workers in the program.

Data analysis and emergent thematic development have been informed by the race-gendered neo-Marxist critical perspective guiding this research in methodological terms as shared in chapter 3 addressing the critical methodological orientation of this research. While the primary emphasis here is on migrant worker participant perspectives and analysis, the critical perspective guiding this research has informed the lines of inquiry (e.g. research purpose and questions) and is utilized here to amplify, extend and or add to this emergent thematic analysis of worker perspectives. Vigilance pertaining to the importance of critical reflexivity of researcher as instrument or researcher positionality in such engaged analytical endeavors has informed this approach in the interest of democratizing the power relation in such acts of interpretation to the extent possible.

There are four main themes which emerged from this primary research with migrant workers. The first theme pertains to migrant worker's experiences of what is alluded to here as modern-day slavery and conditions of indentured labor. Migrant worker participants provide a sense of how and in what ways neoliberal capitalist globalization and ideology exploit labor for the project of capital accumulation. This emergent thematic illustrates how racial capitalism and

gender are integral to a process of race-gendered exploitation and oppression of precarious migrant workers and endemic to the process of capital accumulation.

The second emergent theme elaborates on how the TFW program in Canada contributes to the creation of racialized non-citizens also referred to as denizens a group of people who, for one reason or another has a more limited range of rights than citizens do usually applies to foreigners who are given residency rights to work but denied full citizenship rights(Standing, 2011). The creation of denizens serves as the differentiation and separation of race-gendered social groups and classes under racial capitalism (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Robinson, 2000).

The third thematic pertains to systemic problems and political collusion associated with migrant worker programs, i.e., the systemic and institutional power politics which enable exploitation and oppression of race-gendered precarious migrant workers from the South. This theme clearly demonstrates how countries of the South have become sources of cheap labor (Wise & Veltmeyer, 2016) in the global migrant chain.

A fourth and final thematic considers migrant worker perspectives and experiences in relation to the question of advocacy. Participants provide suggestions and potential directions for migrant worker advocacy initiatives going forward. The emergent thematic analysis generally concurs with Gordon's (2018) observation that the systemic violation of migrant workers' rights is constitutive of capitalist social relations wherein legally unfree coerced labor is managed by coerced state measures.

Modern Day Slavery & Exploitation

Workers in the TFWP enter a contract and are issued visas that require them to remain with the same employer for the contract. The workers likened their work relationships to being like that of slaves based on the long hours they work, with little control over their freedom, their bodies, or their time. The basis of the work contract is illustrative of what is described as

indentured labor in the modern world and is also replicative of what has been described as unfree labor (Gordon, 2018; Phillips, 2013). In the words of one participant, "as far as I see it, it just slavery, slavery in a modern way", Rhona, 2019.

> Farm work a slave work you bend your back for the whole day and if you stand up for 30 seconds to straighten you back, you hear how you stand up for 5 minutes and not doing anything! So, they want you bend you back for the whole day in the sun. And some time you in the sun for the whole day and the rain start drizzle and you have to stay in the drizzling rain (Interview notes Tony, December 2019).

> Additionally, workers expressed their frustration with the fact that they were bonded to one employer, i.e., 'unfree labor' as referred to in the literature and coercive work relationships (Barrientos, 2013). The working relationships described are likened to indentured labor, which is defined as a system of voluntary labor, where the labor contract specifies wages, work and living conditions, and arrangements for transportation to and from the country of employment (Harrington-Watt, 2019). In the words of one participant,

> I could only work for that one employer named on the work permit. I found it very restricting. I guess the reason they do it is for security for the employers – for security and control cause in my opinion, this is honestly just slavery repeating itself. But slavery repeating itself in a modern way. But I had to decide depending on where I'm coming from how much I was able to risk and the ultimate goal to get PR and to work in that capacity that I could work in freely. So, it's a matter of weighing the cost and seeing what I will settle and go through until I hit the mark. But it is no different form modern day slavery. So they want to tie you to them, if you leave it's difficult for you to survive outside, and if you leave they control what you do, what you get and if you don't know

your rights or what else is out there you are doomed basically (Interview notes, Rhona December, 2019).

Indentured labor relations are indicative of the power imbalance between the employer and the employee. This is evidenced by the great levels of trepidation expressed by the interviewees: fear of being repatriated before the end of their contract or fear of not being recalled for the next season or for future seasons of the program. The fear of repatriation was more evident among the SAWs' due likely to the fact that it is a guest worker program and they are dependent on being named and recalled the for future seasons of the program. The existence of power imbalance and dominance was clear as participants described their experience. The narratives highlighted the structural inequalities within the program between dominant groups and subordinate groups. It is important to note that even though participants identified issues of exploitation, resistance was uncommon due to the fear of being repatriated or not being recalled and hence a threat to their source of income. The participants' motivation for participation in the program was also indicative of 'forced and coercive labor' relationships (Phillips, 2013). This form of labor is described as exposing workers to exploitation (Linden & Rodriguez- Garcia, 2016). The following subthematics discussed below expand on participant's experiences and conceptions of labour exploitation.

Overt labor exploitation. Labor exploitation has been understood as being inimical to capitalist social relations with, indentured labor being one such form of exploitation (Linden & Rodriguez Garcia, 2016). Participants in the interview described how their labor power was exploited. Some participants expressed that from the beginning of the work situation/arrangement they were aware that they would be earning below the minimum wage but were none the less still willing to enter the work engagement because they saw it as an opportunity to improve their current living situation. Exploitation as the participants described,

was manifested in certain forms such as: long hours, withholding pay, circumventing break times and day offs.

My experience was very challenging in the sense that the compensation that I received for the work that I was doing was very very small. I was, told everything up front. I knew it was going to be a situation where I would be working long hours would be on call 24 hours seven days a week. The work hours were 7am-9pm during the week, Monday through Fridays, we would have a break three hours from 12pm to 3pm. On the weekends, Saturdays and Sundays, there was no break. Because the clients were home all day. I knew the compensation would be less than what the minimum wage is in Canada. However, the situation that I was in back home, in terms of my job, was just a very stressful one. And I just saw this as an opportunity to change my life and of course looking ahead to the possibility that I could get permanent residence. It was a risk I was willing to take. The role entailed a lot of responsibilities, even outside of just taking care of their day to day needs, so in that it was very challenging. It was very long mostly 12-hour days. The salary at the time was like 600 and something dollars every two weeks, it was more of a stipend than a salary really. Because you also had to pay for room and board and that was taken out before we got it. So, room and board were probably around 400 or 450 a month. That was taken out before you got your salary and then I was left with about $600. So essentially, I wasn't necessarily being compensated for the work I was doing. We were always on call even when we finished work at 9pm, and then we had to sleep with a baby monitor. So that in the event that something happens during the night, you have to get up and deal with it. I've had instances where someone hurt themselves during the night and we had to go to the hospital and I was there all night, but then I still had to be back at work at 7am. Really it was like it's stuff like that, that really

made it very hard because you were sleep deprived (Interview notes, Bobbie, December 2019).

Rhona's experience was similar to Bobbie's. She knew she was working way past the eight hour a day shift. This was also the case for caregivers and farm workers who mention working overtime with the expectation they would be paid but this was seldom the case.

Coercion, espionage and 'divide and conquer'. This sub-theme continues to highlight the unequal relationships and examples of oppression of subordinate groups of workers. What becomes apparent are examples of dominance and internalized oppression in the workplace. The SAW's expressed poor treatment by supervisors, most of whom they also noted were Jamaicans or other Caribbean people. The situations described also represents "divide and rule" used historically as a strategy to control subordinate groups. Employers use this strategy to create situations in the work environment which engender a lack of trust among the workers. The employers formed allies with some workers by promising more hours of work as a reward for information or for espionage, thereby creating tension and division among workers. Workers are manipulated to work harder and coaxed to compete for favors and more hours of work. Workers who do not get involved in passing on information receive fewer hours of work and less chances to earn. The interviews highlighted a link between the worker's perception of hard work and the fear of repatriation, influenced by power struggles with co-workers fighting for positions all the time. Participants articulated that the work is hard, and while they expected to work hard, the work environment is affected by the destructively competitive relationships among workers and supervisors encouraged by employers.

> One of the first thing the boss do is he go to each person and he tells them, if you happen
> to see a guy doing something that you don't like or against the policies then they should
> come tell him, and he will do something for then. Which the thing he is talking about is to

give them extra work like a 60 or 70 hours per week". So, he limits the work for the rest of people. So, the person who inform to him a gets to do more work an make him money, so him keep them working. That is his strategy (interview notes, Tony, December 2019).

The descriptions below further highlight the systematic violations of migrant worker's rights using legal coercion (Gordon, 2018). Employers wield their power over the workers with explicit or the implied threat of repatriation. Participants consistently mentioned repatriation or the fear of repatriation during the interviews. Participants fear of repatriation is exemplified in fears related to calling off work sick, accessing health services and expressing concerns. This demonstrates the unfreedom of labor that is not really free to sell their labor power, given the constant threat of unemployment and hunger and related forms of coercion (Gordon, 2018).

The 26th of September, it was a Monday night and the boss's second came to me and told me no work for me tomorrow, you going to a different place. So, I was like, really now! In the morning when I went to him, he told me I am no longer working with him and I should pack for later. Then at two 'o clock a taxi came, and he said it's time to go. I was not given any explanation or reason, or the 7 days' notice we suppose to get. You understand, so that's how him do things cause nobody not reporting them, everybody tries to play safe and too safe so nobody doesn't report anything, so dem just keep doing them tings there over and over. The boss take report from other people, cause, he has a foolish strategy. People report me, him don't come to me and state what is ,the problem - cause guess what happen, him tell everybody that if them give him information, if you come and tell him the other person not going to know is you, So he can't come to me and say X and Y seh whatever about me (Interview notes. Tony. December 2019).

Devaluing our health and safety. Working in agriculture requires manual labor which demands bending, stretching, and kneeling. The work typically requires long periods of time to a

task, and therefore it is expected that someone working in agriculture be physically fit. Medical research has proven that this type of work generally require breaks as long standing and consistent bending is stressful on both the legs and the back and knees and break provides for stretching and relaxation of the muscles. Participants expressed the difficulties they faced as it relates to such necessary breaks. They expressed difficulties in accessing health care and the constant threat of being repatriated if they are unable to report for work due to illness. The testimonies below outline how the migrant farm workers are treated as a disposable resource. Further, workers who are repatriated because of injury and without receiving the required medical treatment before being returned home and are treated like a disposable underclass being pushed into new forms of poverty (Wise, 2013).

> I got injured and all now I didn't get to go to the doctor. I went down on a stone and hurt my knee and I call the supervisor and she asked me what she should do. My knee swell up and I have to go to work on it same way, cause if I don't go to work, I won't get pay. Another day I went down on another stone again and couldn't get back up and call out and it was some of the other girls have to help me back to the bunk house. When I bring it to her attention that my knee was injured, she let mi know she have to plan a doctor trip. Every time I remind her, she let me know she don't plan the trip yet. Then one day when it was my day off and I went to town. When I came back, she lets me know that she had planned a trip to the doctor, and I will have to wait for another trip. But up to the time I was leaving I didn't get to go to the doctor. Since I have been back home, I have been making trips to the doctor because it is still affecting me, I spend about $40,000.00 JMD so far (Interview notes, Dorothy, November 2019).

Dorothy's example is just one of several examples participants shared about the neglect and isolation they felt when they become injured. In the season of program 2020, one of the

participants in the research chose to return home after becoming injured suffering a strained back and sprained ankle and a fractured knee. It took seven days for arrangements to be made to take her to see the doctor and another three days to receive the prescribed medication and this only transpired after she called the liaison officer who then took another three days to produce the prescription. She expressed that she felt it was better to go home as she was there sick, and no one cared about what happened to her. The response to emergency situations as it relates to workers on the farm was not a priority and is made evident by the lack of established emergency procedures on the farm at some locations. This further demonstrates how workers are devalued and seen to be easily replaceable in the workforce.

> One day I see somebody slip and fell, hit her face badly and the boss was there, and he was like what must I do, what must I do? And somebody said call the ambulance. And that's the boss! And somebody seh call the ambulance, and he was like I think I have to call Ms. Diane first. And she was further down in the line. When he finally got through to her, she says call the ambulance. So, if it was something more serious than that probably something worse would happen. Because if you are the boss and have to ask the supervisor if you must call the ambulance that doesn't make no sense. (Interview notes, Dorothy, 2020).

Workers expressed that their health cards were processed but felt it was not sufficient Further, field workers are required to provide their own protective gear. When they arrive, they are given a loan by the employer to purchase the items. Repayment for the loan is done through deduction from their pay, which workers highlighted is difficult to track and are hence unaware of amount of money that they eventually repay. In addition, participants indicated a general lack of attention for the safety of farm workers; that is, there were no safety guidelines or tips especially for new workers to the farm.

We were out there planting and ripping the land same time and while ripping the land

they were spraying so you know the smell keep on blowing, That, smell was really

horrible'. Were in the field at the same time, and that don't suppose to happen cause if we

report it, they could get in trouble for it. Even though it may not affect us now, but it

could affect us later. That smell was really horrible. But we black people we don't stick

together as one, put it this way it was affecting everyone and if I was brave enough to go

up and say this is not right and such and such it would be trouble for me. Nobody will

stick up with you and say yes it was affecting us, they rather sit there and take it

(Interview notes, Findley, December 2019)

Marx's description of the wage relationship was further highlighted in what was shared.

The longer the working day the more surplus value is produced for capital (Harvey, 2017).

Hence employers used their power to continuously extract surplus value by limiting breaks and

days offs. Despite the contract stipulating that workers were required to receive a break for at

least 10 minutes for each of four hours worked, this did not happen consistently. In addition,

workers are required to receive at least one day off. Employers tried to circumvent the break and

time off. This poses health and safety issues and for females, the denial of break time posed a

problem for personal hygiene.

There was this day that we didn't even get a break and I was sick and even menstruating

and wanted to take a break and the boss decide that I can't leave, I have to stay up there

and pick the berries before I can go change myself. The rain a fall and wet me up in that

condition, you know how disgusting that supposed to feel? And him insist that me must

stay in the rain and pick the berries' (Interview notes, Dorothy, 2019).

Year before last we never really get break, some people come investigate and we start

get break. And this year they were trying to cut out the break, they want us to take the

break in their own time, like when you full a basket, so different people get break at different time so, but it was hard to calculate your time, because the scanner would mess up the time (Interview notes, Dorothy, December, 2019).

Employers circumvented the process of giving days off. These unfree work arrangements further prevented workers from requesting or addressing such issues due to fear of being considered troublemakers and being sent home.

We suppose to get day off and we never did a get any day off in last year. So, among ourselves we talk about it, I finally decide that this can't work. So, one time, me all call a meeting with the boss and when me call the meeting, one person there was to tell me that, he is not into it. I have to tell him that I never call your name sir, I just tell the boss that the guys want a day off and ask for a meeting" (Interview Notes, Tony, December 2019).

"The day off, I call it pound day off, cause the day off starts at 4:00 pm in the evening and end 4pm the next day. So, you can't do much (Interview notes, Tracey, November 2019).

Isolation and oppression. The migrant workers experience is one of oppression, framed as part of the MOU governing the SAWP and until recently the caregiver's program. In expressing their lack of freedom, isolation, and oppression the females who work on farms expressed more instances of oppression and isolation than males. The movement of females were monitored more than for males. All the interviewees lived in the bunkhouse located on the farm, and the farms in turn were located in isolated areas. The contract participants signed in their home country stipulates a curfew (small print). However, some participants were not even aware the curfew existed on the contract as they indicated they were not given enough time to read it before signing.

They told us at the orientation that we should not stay out past 11 0' clock. Cause the

door close at the 11 0' clock." (Interviewee notes, Dorothy, November 2019),

"No, no no, no visitors on the farm". They watch us, to see if we are leaving, the boss

park up his vehicle on the side to the gate and just watch us. If we going to have visitors,

we would have to tell them beforehand what time they are going to come and what time

they are going to leave. In one instance the employer attempted to prevent a girl from

going to visit her family members until the family members called the police and then she

was allowed to go. 'Another thing too, is that we have no body to talk to or share our

concerns or find confidence in' We don't know who to talk to. (Tracey, November 2019)

To the workers, there is an unwritten rule that they are not free to socialize, given they

are not 'allowed' to freely leave the farm, while also not being allowed to welcome visitors. Thus,

expressions of isolation were common. They also pointed to a lack of public transportation,

which prevented the free movement of workers, and hence they were dependent on the bus

provided by the employer which was made available once a week or once every two weeks in

some cases.

If we need items we have to wait on the bus or take cabs if we can't wait, but it is

expensive. Sometimes we put together like three of us and take the cab into town. But the

main thing because of where the bunk house is, we not able to go and come as we would

like (Interviewee notes, Dorothy, November 2019).

The descriptions of the migrant workers with regards to the monitoring of their own

behavior to avoid penalties such as repatriation, are indicative of a panopticon at work in these

precarious work environments (Ozlem & DiAngelo, 2017).

Migrant workers experience in quarantine and participation in the program during

COVID-19 highlighted further exploitation and oppression in this regard. Farm workers who

were admitted on the basis of receiving an income experienced delays in receiving monies and in some cases that they did not receive the full amount they were promised. While on quarantine some participants expressed shortage of the necessary supplies because organizers failed to consistently purchase the necessary food supplies to distribute to the workers. Additionally, workers were objectified by not being allowed to decide what supplies they required.

Our forced living conditions. The arrangement between sending and receiving nations to make travel arrangements and provide accommodation for workers is yet another example reflected of indentured labor treatment (Linden & Rodriguez Garcia, 2016). This also includes provisions to monitor workers movement as was a stipulation at the onset of the program (Satzewich, 2015). As part of the work arrangements for some temporary work, it is a requirement that the employers provide accommodation for workers. For example, the Memorandum of Understanding on which the SAW's enter Canada mandates that employers provide sleeping, cooking facilities and bathroom facilities. Some aspects of work in the caregiving area requires that workers also live on the premises where they live. Workers have no choice in the matter of where they live. They have no say in over matters of proximity in which they live to the work location, the size or conditions of the accommodations or the facilities. The living accommodations described by the workers vary in suitability among the workers ranging from almost satisfactory to extremely poor:

> Is on the Farm work I come know about upstairs bed. It was two houses, with 60 of us in the two houses. I wouldn't even call where I stay a room, but it was like nine of us in that area and then bout the same amount of people in each of the other parts! We share everything kitchen and bathroom. If they wanted to poison you, they could poison you! 'Cause everything is downstairs, you cook your food downstairs. It was just one kitchen! everybody can't cook together, some people cook from overnight an put it in the fridge,

and then go to bed, and some go bed an wake up an cook early in the morning an put up.
So, we have to cook on shift. But its who catch the stove first. With the bathroom now
there were three bathrooms. Three in one section of the house! And another three more in
the next side, so we have to try catch the bathroom first thing the morning (Interview
notes, Ewart, November 2019).

For me, the major issue was the bathroom, which was not attached to the house, it was
about 10 feet from the house. So, in the night when we want to use the bathroom that is a
problem, especially as there are usually snakes to get around. 'We have to just make best
of the situation' We cut off the drink bottles we use in the day and carry to use in the
night and then we dispose of it in the morning'. And some time it really cold so we afraid
to go out in the nighttime". The room door never really has a lock enuh, but what we do
is turn the knob from inside and then when we come back and want to open it, we just use
a coin to turn the knob. (Interview notes, Lorraine, December 2019)

The description of other participants reiterated the poor living conditions as well. Tony
highlighted the challenges with toilet facilities which were hard to access when needed: "we
have to race to get to the bathroom and form a line". He also added that the transportable toilet
that was provided about halfway through the season was not emptied until every three weeks,
causing the entire area outside to smell bad! Tony further exclaimed: "and then don't mention
water, it brown and smell bad!" Another participant, Dorothy, says: "The bed is so small; it is
smaller than my sons' bed at home and his bed is a single bed". Thus, she could not get a good
night's rest given the effort she had to make to stay in the bed.

The conditions described by the workers clearly indicate the various problems with the
conditions of the accommodation provided. It further demonstrates how positions of capital-labor
class dominance and subordination contribute to capitalist accumulation; in this case by

providing substandard living accommodations to lower costs for production. For example, in British Columbia workers' pay rent to the same farmers who are also owners of the property and who are then permitted to withdraw the rent from their salaries. The facilities are required to be inspected by the liaison officers or the counterpart before the workers are assigned. The challenges expressed here were also highlighted in the documentary and compiled report from the agriculture program (Employment & Social Development Commission 2014). However, a follow up report about the next steps to address the issues did not highlight a timeline or plan despite the recommendations from the original report as to how the housing accommodations would be improved. Workers are charged for utilities which for them varies drastically even among persons who share the same room and house. Even though the workers identified these challenges, they had not reported them to neither the Liaison officer nor their employers; given the fear of being identified as a 'troublemaker' which could impact their future chances of employment in future programs. For the care caregivers living conditions also appear to be a matter of being caught between a rock and a hard place as they are forced to live-in since "they work long hours, sometimes where there is no public transport" As CH explained "based on the hours of work, and the transportation challenges, it would sometimes be better to live in the employer's home, sometimes where they have no contact with other humans after the 10pm or when the workday ends.

Emotional isolation. Emotional isolation was a term the caregivers used to describe how the job and the process impacted them - additionally, workers are impacted by the change in culture and in emotional terms by the interrupted or broken/interrupted family bond. The emotional aspect of care work as posited by Colley (2015) became a real issue for caregivers especially those who left young children behind. This caused inner conflict in workers as they provide care to others while not being able to do the same for their families.

Josh describes that for him 'Emotionally, you are attached to what you did back home, and the people you see and relate to. If you have a hard time at work back home, you can share with your neighbor. That kind of relational efforts are not here. You need to be stronger here on the emotional front'. The cultural separation can be hard, there is no time to talk to your neighbor, your friends etc.' (Participant interview, Josh, January 2020).

Interviewees expressed that in coming here the perception is that it would be smooth sailing – no hard time expected, easy life which turns out not to be the case! We struggle for everything. I pay more for food etc. and there is still stress. The things we take for granted – having your backyard to plant vegetables'. And then we have to reconcile that we are taking care of other people's children while 'our children are missing us' we are not able to see the milestones of our children' (Participant interview, Josh, January 2020).

The description of an advocate interviewed confirmed the caregiver's expression of emotional isolation, "The caregivers tell us it is very isolating" especially she added when they are not able to interact with people that they can relate to and in their own language. She expressed that it is evident too "when they have a Sunday class, they look forward to that, and is disappointed when it ends after six or eight weeks, It is their support system, they are excited to attend"

Racism and disrespect. Capitalism is racial and the accounts of the interviews demonstrated what can be referred to as overt racialization and racism. The narratives of participants identified racial undertones and racial profiling as black workers are warned not to walk in groups since "the locals are not used to so much black people". The narratives also speak to hierarchy among ethnicities and races, demonstrating Bhattacharya's (2018) argument that racial capitalism operates through a coercive power and one own "desire" to participate in

inequitable economic arrangements. The narratives also cohere with Melamed's (2015) insight

that racial capitalism 'others', separates and differentiates groups and selection and

categorization pertaining to task allocations are common.

> The boss run some serious "joke" about killing you, in which we should have reported it.
> For example if we ask for some water cause we always have to be asking for water, the
> boss now his regular thing that he would laugh and say 'water' 'I should just put some
> poison in it for you!' and then laughs, and the guys laugh with him; But when he does
> that I am serious, and everybody look on me like I am spoiling their fun. Then when we
> go up back to the bunk house everybody saying you know we shouldn't laugh though!
> 'Cause that's a serious joke him a run. And I have to tell them you guys say that all the
> time! And tomorrow when he runs the same joke about killing us again you are going to
> laugh. 'Cause they feel that if they are serious with the boss that they are going to be in
> trouble. But because they want to come back to the same treatment next year, they are not
> going to say anything, they're not going to report it so it keep happening again and again
> (Interview notes, Tony, December 2019).

In Tony's description of his experience shared above is potential illustration of how

internalized dominance shapes migrant workers, work perspectives and is reproduced in work

environments. This example also demonstrates the racial undertones which employers and other

persons in positions of power display towards migrant workers.

Other participants shared the racial overtures that they experienced as well as how they

perceived the treatment received. Tony describes his impression of how Blacks are viewed, "I

don't think they like us you nuh, but they can't do better more than to have black people work

for them, cause we are the only ones who gonna do this work good in a the sun for the whole day

really". Additionally, Tony felt there is differential treatment between themselves and the

Mexicans. "I never see Mexicans cutting cabbage in the sun the whole day and pack in box, what they will do is like pick apple" (Interview notes, Tony, December 2019). In another instance Ewart, (November 2019) expressed that he was warned by the Senior guys - to be careful of getting too close the community members who were predominantly white cause they will call the Police if they the farmers got too close to them, an occurrence which he said had taken place before. Similarly, Sean (November 2019), outlined that "the boss tells us not to walk in groups, cause the people here not used to so much black people around them".

Creating Race-Gendered Non-Citizens

Migrant workers who arrive in Canada on temporary work permits are not given the same rights and privileges as Canadian citizens as outlined in policy documents. As expressed in the literature, migrant workers are treated like an underclass. The act of creating non-citizens includes establishing conditions which extract additional value via discriminatory immigration policies and migrant programs under racial capitalist regimes which instrumentalize exclusion for the purposes of exploitation. This is confirmed by the accounts of the participants who indicate that they come to Canada seeking a better life but instead they are treated like "second class citizens' as they are not able to access basic benefits which citizens are able to access. They also outline that even in cases where they are eligible to get certain benefits, their employers use their position as TFW to prevent them accessing it.

> I feel like a second-class citizen because of how we are treated on the job. About three
> months in the program I found out I was pregnant, which meant that I came here pregnant
> and I obviously didn't know. However, when I came into the community there was some
> uproar. Someone got married and they were threatening to send him back because. he
> didn't let them know. They were telling him they will pay his fare to send him back, so
> he did some research and found out his rights. He found the temporary foreign worker

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board and the company got into some problem. So, when I found out I was pregnant I spoke to him and I found the temporary foreign worker board to get some information. When I went this lady, she took my contract, my pay slips and started recording some things and telling me what she could do to address the issues. So, I told her I was just out of my probationary period and I didn't want to lose my job because I would not be able to find another employer, since I can't work for anybody else. I was advised that I did not have to tell them as long as I was able to work and do my job, but I can give them notice when I am ready. So, I did eventually give notice, but things got out of hand when I advised that I was pregnant. When I eventually give notice and to my surprise and probably not surprising cause it was expected, the community leader met with me to tell me she would have to send me back home, because "you are not allowed to be pregnant while in Canada". So, I'm like really are you sure about that? Cause I already got my information. So, I said do you want to check that out? But that's her tactic because I wouldn't have been the first person who got pregnant. She's been there for however long and all the workers are foreign workers 'cause no there were no Canadians not one.

The account of Rhona above demonstrates the extent of gender exploitation and oppression of women which the literature indicates is reproduced under neoliberal capital. It highlights how the social and reproductive capacities on which the society is dependent are systematically exploited and undervalued. It additionally highlights how the sexuality of migrant females are placed under surveillance and controlled, bringing into play what Cohen and Caxaj (2018) refer to as the reproductive injustice of female migrant workers. Rhonas' description below further indicates the extent of migrant worker gender oppression.

Eventually I informed them in writing that I was pregnant. Then, she sent me an email to say that as a foreign worker I can be pregnant. But they were very upset it seemed like I

had sinned against I don't know what! And they made it look like it was the worst thing. They made the work environment awfully hard for me. My supervisor's behavior changed immediately, and she piled on certain duties that was hard, even some chemicals I had to use and climb on high places. Rather than make it easier they made the work harder. One day a relief worker came in and saw me up on top of a shelf and she came in and said" get down from there because I heard you are pregnant". I will have to tell them you can't do all these stuff by yourself. I was not qualified for maternity leave by the company's policy (one year), but based on Alberta's standard I was able to get maternity benefit from the province because I had accumulated the number of hours equivalent based on the hours that I was working. I went on leave trying to get delivery arrangement it was hard, they were not supportive, no one even checked in after I had the baby to see how I was doing (Interview notes, Rhona, November 2019).

In other instances, migrant workers were treated as second class citizens and their reproductive capacities were used as a means of differentiation. The participant account above brings to light the internalized dominance reflected in the conflicting situations between the immigration policies, government agencies the process and what happens on the ground in the workspaces. This is demonstrative also of the institutional power at play. Another manifestation of institutional power occurs with how migrant workers are able to access the services of organizations such as the Temporary Foreign Worker Board. These organizations exist to address migrant worker complaints. However, they are guided by a policy which requires the permission of the migrant workers to investigate the allegations of injustice. That said, migrant workers are faced with the challenge of the bonded work relationship with their employers and therefore opt not to proceed with gaining protective redress/intervention as they try to protect their job. The problem therefore does not get addressed, even though there is a "system

documented to address them". Migrant workers also find it difficult to navigate the incongruous conditions of the federal temporary foreign worker program (Cohen & Hjalmarson, 2018).

Good to work here – but do not stay here: gate keeping policies to keep us out.

This sub theme highlights the gate keeping policies that have been established to retain migrant workers as second-class citizens. It also demonstrates how labor flexibility has resulted in the precariatisation of workers as they try to gain citizenship or maintain legal status in the country. The narrative of the workers is that regardless of the need for their services they are faced with discrimination and denied the opportunity to remain in Canada. Interviewees expressed that they feel misled based on the policies that they are able to work in Canada for two years and apply for permanent residence. However, it never works out that way. Changing policies and barriers that they must overcome make it all too difficult to move on. Gate keeping strategies include the Language test for caregivers, among others.

> I decided to come here having worked as a nurse in the Philippines to work as a caregiver. The plan was to do the two years and then apply for PR. When I came here, I realized I would have to start over from scratch to become a nurse as my qualification from the Philippines was not recognized. With this new pathway, you have to take the assessment (English) – then you need to do a grade 12 equivalent test. Luckily, I was able to get a secondary postgraduate assessment because of my nursing. The challenge with some of the caregivers now is that they are not able to pass these two assessments, so they are not able to apply for the permanent residency. The thing is you have to reach maximum of three years before you can apply for residency. Each time you get to the goal post it keeps moving, (people are not grandfathered). When I completed the two years I applied for PR in this old pathway, caring for children, but this one they closed it June 2019. I applied 1st week of August and then they told me that it was closed and sent

the application back to me. It is sometimes confusing, so now I have to go through the consultants. I have to find something else to do because I have been here three years now. I am hoping the application will be granted this year so I can go back and see my son soon. The English exam can be a challenge. There was a time when they would allow you to the challenge exam for the LPN, but they have abolished this, and now you have to start from scratch (Interview notes, Josh January 2020).

Similarly, other participants spoke about the challenges in accessing permanent residency once they had reached the eligibility criteria to apply for permanent resident status. Rosa shares her challenges regarding passing the English exam as per immigration policies which in turn is a requirement to apply for PR and the additional costs (repeat exams) accrued as a result.

I have a challenge passing the English exam, sometimes it is depressing because of the situation. We have to keep paying $320 each time, to do the test over and over. This is the third time I am going to try the exam. This is very big for the Philippines because it affects how much we can help our relatives. Some of the caregivers can pass the exam and some can't pass the exam. We learn English as a second language, so we are not experts. We can make conversation, but we have issues with the grammar. They need to give the caregivers a chance, especially since we came here with no exams being required. Skilled workers would not need as much emphasis on the English proficiency" (Interview notes, Rosa January 2020).

I am new in the program just seven months; but I am now trying to figure out which program they consider me under. Especially hearing about the experiences of my classmates. Because I got my Visa February, I didn't come here until June and then by the time I came here, in August it (the process) changed. So now I have to be trying to figure out which pathway I am under. Which highlights the length of time that it will take

to get my children here. I don't want to be here so long and can't get my children here.

The perception is different than what I expected when I was coming here. I have had to

recondition my mind that it is not going to be easy to get my children. With the help of

Migrante I am able to have the review without having to pay a lot (Interview notes Carla,

January 2020).

The changing policies have impacted workers as the long process that the workers must

go through to be united with their families have caused a lot of psychosocial and familial issues

for individuals who are the primary providers in their families. The separation experienced by

the participants is exacerbated by the changing immigration policy which as highlighted in the

literature has had at least eight policy changes or adjustment to the caregiver program between

the inception of the NIEAP and 2019. This includes moving from landed status to bonded work

permits with a two-year limit at the end of which applicants must compete to be in the top 2,750

applicants for a successful PR application for the period. As participant CH indicates in her

interview response, once doors to migration were opened, nurses and teachers eager to leave the

Philippines because of the unemployment impacts of imposed the neoliberal orthodoxies in their

home country, were willing to accept jobs as caregivers, which Canadian immigration at the time

encouraged given the demand for labor in these areas. This, according to the advocate

interviewee, led to the deskilling of workers who once they - completed the 2 year wait period

and received PR, now could not use their qualification (as nurses and teachers) to access jobs for

which they were trained. As they assimilate into the Canadian society, they either have to start

over or remain as caregivers.

The migrants' financial trail – It costs so much to get here and stay here. As

highlighted in the literature review, the frequent changes to the program continue to place

migrant workers in a precarious financial position. One of the challenges interviewees expressed

was that they are always at risk of being considered illegal immigrants. They suggest that the process to move to stability and permanence is like a moving goal post. By the time they have completed the period of their work permit and felt that they had satisfied the criteria to apply for PR there is some programs change which impacts their PR application. They are then compelled to scramble to find out what their next move is going to be, so as not to be considered illegal in the country. With this comes the additional costs of paying consultants or enrolling in school. Some persons explained that persons have had to mortgage their parent's homes or take out high interest loans to pay the fees.

> I have spent so much money to get here and then just trying to get a PR and not to mention how much I have lost in the process. To get here the initial cost I paid to an agency was 30, 000 Hong Kong dollars equivalent of 50,000 pesos and $12,500 Canadian dollars to process the work permit for me to get here. After I completed my contract it was renewed for two more years, and then by the time I tried applying for the PR they came in with the four in four out policy, so I couldn't apply for the PR. So then I paid a consultant who suggested that it was best to go to school to get an open work permit so I could apply for the PGWP when I was finished but I didn't realize I couldn't apply for the post graduate work permit (PGWP) for that school. The company that I was working for agreed to process the LMIA so I could get the work permit. I paid an agency in Canada $3,500 to process the papers for me. But before the papers were processed, I learned that the company was going to be sold. When the company sold the problems started, the company changed, and the second company said they didn't know about it (the work permit). Then the agency said they couldn't do anything about it, so I lost that money. So, I went to school again and did a massage therapy course, while I was working as a cook. When I was finished then I applied for a PGWP. So, I had to keep pursuing

schooling as an attempt to remain in the country legally. This was very expensive since the fees charged are for an international student the costs amounting up to $10,000 or more. Right now, I am waiting for the PGWP to be approved. But I have spent so much money, my family in the Philippines have had to help me to pay all the fees. I will have to pay them back when I actually get to start working properly" (Interview notes, Pug, January 2020).

Well the six weeks that we get is too short, that is not enough time to work back all the money that we spend. I paid $17,000 JMD for the visa and then I must pay for the police record the biometrics and the medical, and then $1,080.00 JMD, I don't know what that was for though! All that and then I only worked 6 weeks. They called me to come back for the program again in January. They call me in about October to go back in January after I came back in August. So, I had to look about all those documents again and pay all the fees again except for the Biometrics because that last for 10 years. It's a lot of up and down and time. And then can you imagine the ministry call me back in January to tell me that they don't need us again just like that. They don't tell me anything else, so I paid all of that money for nothing, waste my time (Interview notes Lorraine, December 2019/January 2020).

What Lorraine describes here is the 'just in time labor' referred to by Barber (1991) and the flexibility of labor which other scholars such as Standing (2016) discusses. Which is indicative of the concept of labor within the neoliberal context; a readily disposable source of labor , to be called on at any time without regards for your time (the migrant worker) or giving sufficient time for planning and making preparations for being absent from the family to take on migrant work.

Canada is willing to take foreigners but then they decide who they want, so that is where the racism comes in so, if a somebody from Spain or France applies maybe they don't have the same educational background, maybe there history or ancestral background; they are given more privilege than somebody who is black. That has been my observation. They make it hard for someone who is of color, Africans, certain immigrants regardless of the certification or experience For PR. Some, persons have challenges applying for PR, the immigration system weeds out, so if you don't have certain amount of money you don't get through. And of course, language/English is a challenge and if you don't have a certain amount of money that is a red flag" (Interview notes, Rhona, December 2019).

'Daddy/Mommy come home' - my children are missing me: Creating skype babies.
Ultimately the TFW's explain that they are simply seeking the opportunity for a better life. In seeking a better life however interviewees spoke about the emotional and familial impacts experienced.

I moved here because of my daughter; this is the fourth country I have worked in. I left my daughter when she was one year old. I was trying to get a better life, I had to leave her behind I have no husband. And then I had to leave her with my parents to take care of her. I was not able to see her much, I miss her a lot, I miss seeing her grow up. I was always working abroad, I didn't have much time to go home only like vacation which is like three weeks, so I didn't see her much when she was growing up. It's my mother and father that really grow her up until my father passed away and then it was my mother and my sister who take good care of her. I could only talk to her over the telephone, video calls and such. But she used to cry a lot and ask me when I am coming or when I am going to take her with me. Every time I have to keep tell her that I am doing this for her,

and I just keep working for her. It was very hard, when I work, I had to send money back home sometimes I only have like $10 left in my pocket; it was extremely hard (Interview notes, Lucy, January 2020).

The emotional impact of the broken bond between parent and child when one parent migrates was apparent in the interviews. The challenge of children becoming withdrawn and displaying behavioral issues was also evident. The interviews also demonstrated the triple burden that women face described in the literature (Fraser, 2017; Piper, 2005) as more women enter the workforce taking on the role as breadwinners, while doing the care work ascribed to females. Family cohesion was demonstrably affected as parents miss milestone events for their children.

Whenever I hold a stuffy it makes me think of my son cause I left him when he was just nine months, a newborn baby (emotional crying - pauses), it was a hard decision for me to leave him, but I finally decided to leave him so he would have the opportunity of a 'better life'- (a picture painted by his family who was already living in Canada). I think about it every day leaving my son in the Philippines while I am here taking care of other people's children in a foreign country. I can't hold him and put him to bed, I have to call him and video chat so that he will know me because I left him so long" (Interview notes Josh, January 2020).

My going away on the farm work program affect my son very bad. Because me and his father go on the farm work program every year, so every time, I take up a suitcase it's like he gets traumatized and he starts to watch me and get anxious. I have to tell him no we not going anywhere. The time when we gone him fall back in him schoolwork it's like him worrying. Every time we come back; we have to work at getting him back up with his schoolwork. All his behavior change, he starts acting out because he doesn't see his mother and father (Interview notes, Dorothy, December 2019).

Systemic Problems and Political Collusion

The narrative of participants highlights the inherent problems in the TFW program as well as with the systemic problems with the operation of the program in sending countries responsible for recruiting and exporting workers for the SAWP. This is especially the case in top sourcing countries like the Philippines where the government has created a labor brokerage state where it mobilizes and deploys labor for export to profit from migrants' remittances (Rodriguez, 2010). The systemic problems are embedded within the MOU between sending and receiving states. As Linden & Rodriguez Garcia (2016) suggest, this is because of the long history of the colonialism of the Caribbean nations and Spanish colonies rooted in the assumption of the hierarchy of whites over non-Whites. Across all the interviews the picture was clear that the participants understood that there were systemic problems within the program and from their countries of origin as well as within their receiving country, Canada. In the narratives below, the participants shed light on the different systemic and political issues which negatively impact migrant workers.

One of the systemic problems identified is with the Liaison officer appointed by the government of Jamaica and other Caribbean countries as stipulated by the memorandum of understanding (MOU). The role is that of an intermediary between the sending country's workers and employers in the Canadian labor market. However, when asked about the Liaison officer most of the interviewees responded with negative phrases such as 'no trust', 'nobody believes in the liaison officer', 'not much help', 'they are paid off'. All interviewees felt that Liaison officers did not represent their best interest and either colluded with the employers or were afraid to accurately represent them.

One time when the liaison officer was meeting with a group of workers and they were complaining about some issues and he said you should be grateful because we take you out of the 'gutters of Jamaica'. (Interview notes Dorothy, December 2019)

When we complained about certain issues to the liaison officer all 'he tells us just to hold on and just do what you have to do!' 'if you see how much money them draw out of our pay!' They not really looking out for us! they are probably afraid for themselves, but they are just afraid of what is going to happen. They want to speak out but they don't want to lose their job at the same time so they have to keep quiet, so they just have to encourage us to hold on' (Interviewee notes, Tracey, November 2019).

The Liaison officers find themselves in a difficult position caught in between, where in they are on the one hand, they are the voice of the workers in Canada while on the other hand they representing the government in the guest country.

Nobody believes in the liaison officer though because the liaison officer is just the boss' friend. When the Liaison officer come, the boss finds some nice things to give them. Some of the guys them a 'break dem neck' fi do things, but what them don't understand that there is a lot of farm in Canada, so even if this person don't want you on their farm all you do, call the liaison officer if you trust the liaison officer and go to another farm. But a lot of farm worker didn't trust the liaison officer. Cause you call the liaison officer, the liaison officer good as call back your boss and tell your boss everything. So, people don't rate the liaison officer. (Interviewee notes, Tony, December 2019)

The state's role in immigration and emigration is guided and facilitated by the policies and regimes of multilateral organizations controlled by the North. Furthermore, the policies established by organisations such as the United Nations are nonbinding. Countries such as Canada refuse to sign the UN international Convention on protection of the rights of all migrant

workers and their families. The unequal power relationship between sending and receiving countries is evident when sending countries continue to allow their citizens to be a part of the TFW program to Canada for financial gain via remittances or what are refered to as remittance-based economiies (Rodriguez, 2010). The Philippines, for instance,in addition to offering specfic worker training also train workers on how to send remittances. In 2017, the same country was the third highest remittance receiving country behind India and China and second in the East Asia-Pacific region with remittance contribution to gross dosmstic product (GDP) of 10.2 % . Similarly, in Jamaica, migration inflows from remittances makes up 17.6% of GDP (worldbankgroup, 2018).

> In the Philippines there is a migration body that facilitates the exit of the Philippines. The POEA (a government body that facilitates migration and the exodus and the people leaving the country) does an orientation prior to the workers leaving but it's just a basic orientation telling the workers what to do. It is not really telling them of what's coming ahead they talk about the cold weather, but they just touch the surface, of course they can't imagine, how cold it is, so they will come in in their jeans jacket saying I'm going to be alright, but its -40^0 outside. They are informed of how to send money using the remittance agencies... (Interview Notes CH, 2020)

The relationships which Canada forges with governments to facilitate the TFWP and its unilateral programs such as the low skill pilot project is based on its instutional and structural power and dominant position relative to South countires such as Jamaica. In the same vein subordinate governments fail to contest instances of abuse or exploitation assending governents work to maintain harmonious relationships with receiving governments to retain their position as suppliers of labor and are competing to increase the number of participants in the program.

They (the government) are aware of the issues, as Philippines are all over the world working. As Migrante we bring up the issues, telling them these are the needs of Philipinos in Canada. Even in other countries there are bodies that are being sent back home. It is reported that it's about 8-10 bodies a day that is being sent back home from mysterious death, a lot of them abuse, employer abuse. But the government is not doing much to support the welfare of their workers. It is up to the organizations (like us) to speak up. It depends on how strong the organization in the country is, to advocate and ask for the support for the workers from the Philippine consulate, to support the workers in their country. For example, we see when a Filipina, Flor Contemplacion was hanged in Singapore - because of national pressure, the Philippine temporarily suspended trade relations with Singapore. However, there is the fear of damaging trade relations and not having Philipinos employed anymore because of the rift between the two countries and so they prefer not to rock the boat. (Interview Notes, CH, 2020).

The neoliberal ideology of migration as a pathway to a better quality of life in the North continues to "other" the South in hegemonic state narratives promoting migration predictably without any reference to the lived working realities of migrant work and its contradictory prospects at best in these recipient countries.

"Even in Philipino movies the notion of migration is inculcated in our brains, Kids you would see in conversations in the movies, when you ask they will say when I grow up I want to go to Canada and be a migrant worker. It's like that glamourous prospective of life abroad has that promise of a better life. It's become part of the culture". (Expert Interview, CH, January 2020).

Countries such as Jamaica and the Philippines who encourage the workers being sent off to participate in precarious migrant work reinforce the need to have "right attitude toward work"

which has often simply meant the disciplining of labor to acquiescence and be obedient in harsh employment contexts (Rodriguez, 2010). Tony's analysis of the relationship between the two, receiving and sending countries, is consistent with the articulations. of various authors (Daenezer, 1997; Barber, 2018). He places the onus of the situation that migrant workers face on the sending government who he suggests should negotiate for better conditions in the Memorandum of Understanding. Similarly and as Tony perceives it, in the Jamaican context, the opportunity to participate in the program is politically driven wherein politicians use the opportunity to reward faithful supporters and this is dually used to gain political mileage and retain seats in government.

> Well you see the program bad, but it's not the workers them make it bad. Well you see it's the government system. But you see when you have a government that don't care about them people them. Cause you see it's the Jamaican them work the hardest, cause the government don't care about us. For the majority of people, you have to have a link (know someone) in the government to get on the program, while you see in Trinidad you can just go to the ministry and sign up to go on the program. In Jamaica, the government (Member of parliament) will get the farm work card dem but give it to them friend or who going vote fi dem or dem give to people in the constituency who will vote for them. We do an interview, but it's not a real interview an everything a like just set up. When you get through now after dem tell you what to do and what not to do. You see the contract now, the see Trinidad guys they get the contract to go home and read the contract and when they finish read and sign you carry it back. In Jamaica you don't get that! No, they don't give you to read it through, they just give you to sign. They call your name you go up sign (the contract) and give them back. You hurry up sign it, you don't even know what you sign to. (Interview notes, Tony, December 2019).

Governments in sending countries play a duplicitous role in administering the program. Migrant workers indicate that they are not made fully aware of what to expect from the program. It is painted in a glorious fashion in the home country. However, their experience is far from the perception created by such promotions in their home countries.

> They only explain the program a little to us, but most of the things they explain different when you get there. But because more people scared, they don't talk up. Some people complain when they get back to Jamaica, but nothing happens. A whole lot of people ask for transfer and they don't give it to them, may be only one and two people get through. If so, many people want transfer, they should figure that is a reason and they should look into it. They do some investigation, but when they investigate, they cover it down, because they come and tell us what to say when we see certain people. Them cover it down that's what happen there. They find some way to polish it off. So lately when them ask us certain question things in the field people just close them mouth and don't say anything. Rather than lie we don't say anything, they should know that if people not talking it's for a reason…, they don't trust the process, that anything a go really happen. What they say is if the employer, make the request already you not getting the transfer". (Interview notes, Dorothy, December 2019).

The neoliberal ideological framing of the program has been internalized and reproduced by migrant workers who take part in these programs and who subsequently engage in a contradictory analysis oscillating between the state rhetoric on the one hand and the harsh realities of work/life, post-migration. That said, divide and rule tactics of employers using the carrot and the stick could succeed in convincing some workers that the realty of the dominant rhetoric is the realty for all migrants. For example, according to one worker 'Once you go there and make up your mind to work, you won't have any problem'.

We Still Need a Voice - Advocacy for Migrant Workers

"Until the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned, everywhere is war. And until there are no longer first-class and second-class citizens of any nation, until the color of a man's skin is of no more significance than the color of his eyes. And until the basic human rights are equally guaranteed to all without regard to race, there is war. And until that day, the dream of lasting peace, world citizenship, rule of international morality, will remain but a fleeting illusion to be pursued, but never attained... now everywhere is war."

Haile Selassie I (Popularized by Bob Marley 1976)

As Marley outlines, the philosophy of the world which classes people based on the color of their skin thereby creating superior and inferior groups and inequality and injustice will engender resistance. The accounts of the migrant workers highlighted the need for advocacy. The initial response of some interviewees to the question of advocacy demonstrated a position of seeming acceptance of the status quo for migrant workers. The duality of their inner being according to Freire (1993) was realized, as upon reflection, the interviewees suggested the need for advocacy as they could identify areas of exploitation where they felt they were powerless and incapable of running the risk to wage the struggle for freedom. For the migrant worker, the greatest fear is unexplained repatriation. There were a few participants who actively resisted exploitation by engaging in self-advocacy. These participants encountered opposition from other workers who felt that doing so would jeopardize their jobs. This created more tension and conflict among workers in the work environment.

I think there needs to be some protection for migrant workers. The opportunity is there for us all to advance ourselves, and the truth is Canada honestly need the help because clearly who is already here is not able to deal with the demands to meet the needs, and so

they definitely rely on others to help. But when you get here, they don't want you to grow in the process. They find ways of being gate keepers instead of facilitators, they block the path. For example, the pregnancy, it didn't disuay my dedication to my work, but I had to choose that it either my work or the pregnancy. I wasn't allowed to do both. And they put that out there that I wasn't allowed to be pregnant, if you don't know your rights you are lost, and they take advantage of you. (Interview notes Rhona, December 2019).

The narrative from participants outline situations of abuse and exploitation and highlight the concern for migrant worker's rights. While participants engaged in self advocacy and direct resistance they experienced individual challenges highlighting the need for collective action. Advocacy groups can bridge the gap between workers and the government organizations and the TFW program. The arguments of authors such as Basok (2009) Gabriel and McDonald (2011) outline the challenges that migrant workers face and the abuse of their basic human and labor rights which are not uncommon in Canada. They therefore argue for advocay campaigns at the grassroots and transnational levels (Basok, 2009). The responses from the participants and the information obtained from the documentaries which were viewed, outline the myriad of human rights violations including: tardiness in taking workers to access health care; death resulting fom on the job injury; lack of due process as it pertains to termination; inadequate housing; and even the threat of being poisoned. Other violations related to labour include non-payment for overtime and witholding of break periods and dayoffs. Workers also expressed concerns regrading disparity in wages between Canadians and Temporary workers as well as payment between Mexicans and Jamaicans. Furthermore participants narratives of their experience outline discrimination against women in accessing certain jobs and women being paid at a lower rate than men. Additionally, females do not have the same freedom as males. These examples outline

the need for advocacy in the areas of human rights, labour and gender and feminist

representation as suggested by Basok, (2009) and Gabriel and McDonald (2011).

> They should work out something that if we want to stay until our visa almost expired and
>
> get some more work in the country, they can look into that and we work till our visa near
>
> to expire. Because we pay for it out here and work for a short time on the program with
>
> the visa still valid while we back home, total waste! And we have to send out money to
>
> we family. We done make back sufficient money cause the things over there expensive.
>
> They can work out a thing for us when we finish work, we get an extension that the
>
> government find some work for us to go and do (Interview notes Mark, November 2019).

> I would say that the farm workers need support, cause the Jamaican government don't
>
> look out for the farm workers, that is one of the main problems. Them don't look out for
>
> us; foreigners take advantage of us". They don't think about the workers because when
>
> they meet with us in Kingston and telling us to make sure we perform good because for
>
> every one of us who go on the farm work program there is 100 other man to replace us.
>
> And then when we reach here the boss telling us the same thing. We can't win our own
>
> government don't look out for us, so foreigner take advantage of us." (Interview notes,
>
> Tony December 2019).

Given the challenges that migrant workers experience and the debasement of their rights,

demonstrates the need for advocacy. Social movement or grass roots movements have been the

most aggressive in addressing the needs of migrant workers. Advocacy groups such as Migrante

refuse public funding, which creates additional challenges in different areas. The very workers

they are trying to protect sometimes are afraid to get close to the advocacy groups for fear of

being repatriated. The description below highlights how education and gaining knowledge can

lead to transformation of individuals who might later consider participating in transformative organized action (Choudry, 2016).

> Migrante is a Philipino group so our members are Philipino's our mandate is to work in solidarity with other organizations, churches, unions, ethnic groups, institutions so we have a lot of partnerships with different groups and so if we have a campaign for policy changes for under the care giver program for care giver, groups it's not just Philipinos. We are part of a network, for example the migrant rights network who have national membership all over Canada and so when we have recommendations for policy change so it's that within that network that leads that discussion / conversation with the CIC Minister of Immigration so that our voices are heard from the national scope. We get to workers through outreach, friends, social media, network, whether temporary workers, citizens, or undocumented persons. Sometimes we change location to make it convenient for some. We have a partnership with catholic social services, if they have a problem that we can't help them with we refer them to Catholic, and they refer people to us to get help. We believe advocacy groups can bridge the gap. Of course, it takes a lot of painstaking organizing and working side by side with the workers. We have seen how members of Migrante, who were afraid to speak up in the beginning due to the impact being separated from their families, and being alone, afraid of their employers and have transitioned from that kind of characteristic to now speaking up. In one example, we had a worker who when we told her CBC wants to interview you because of a lawsuit case, and she is willing to be the face of that lawsuit case against the organization, she is now the speaker for the group. And so, it happens, it's not always the case but advocacy have brought that confidence and given the workers a foot to standup for themselves. (Interview Notes, CH, 2020)

The interview with participant CH further highlighted other challenges impacting advocacy work as well as highlighting the push and pull factors which influence migrant work as well as the fear which keeps migrants from actively participating in advocacy.

We are a volunteer-based group, so funding is always an issue but that doesn't stop us from working, as advocates as activists. Another challenge is that a lot of the members of the community, the context of coming from their country, where the upbringing is just be happy with what you have and the fear of being deported by their employers. Most of them do not want to be associated with Migrante. Because Migrante is not afraid to dialogue with the governments in saying that these are the things that need to be changed and here are the recommendations. They (workers) are afraid that being associated with Migrante, thinking it will jeopardize their PR status. Part of the problem is the culture and their situation here; they are at the mercy of the employer. Part of the orientation session/know your rights session that we have them to look at the big picture of migration, why do people leave their countries why do people go to Canada. When Flor Contemplacion was hanged, did Philippine people stop going to Singapore? No! They kept coming. So, we see the push and pull factor in the Philippine, poverty, the political instability situation, no that's pushing them to leave the country even if they have a two-month-old baby. And then even if their job is as a Teacher or Accountant or Dentist working in the Philippines, caregivers working in Canada can work the equivalent of that money even if its below what they should be paid, in their salary or wages its comparably a bit better. So, they say even if there is abuse, I can work more money instead of working as a teacher or nurse in the Philippine. (Expert Interview notes, January 2020).

The need for advocacy was clearly identified both by participants and advocacy groups. Many have identified instances of injustice as well as exploitation and expressed a need for these

to be challenged and addressed. Despite the knowledge, however, they are always faced with various social and political constraints. Given the precarious situations surrounding migrant work, workers must use creative, powerful, and sometimes collective ways to resist the overwhelming restrictions imposed upon them by the Canadian state authorities as well as their employers" (Cohen & Hjalmarson, 2018).

Summary

This chapter presented an analytical discussion pertainting to four major themes with corresponding subtheme semergent from the primary research with migrant workers, an analysis informed by a race-gendered neo-Marxist perspective on the labor-capital relation .

<div align="center">**Chapter Five**</div>

<div align="center">**Emergent Findings, Future Research and Research(er) Reflections**</div>

The purpose of this research was to explore and develop an initial understanding of precarious migrant worker exploitation and concerns in order to inform migrant organization's advocacy work. This chapter addresses the specific questions raised in relation to this purpose, followed by some related considerations for future research stemming from this initial research experience. The chapter concludes with research(er) reflections and reflexive learning stimulated by this thesis research engagement.

Revisiting the Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

This research set out to explore and develop an understanding of precarious migrant worker exploitation and concerns related to the TFWP in Canada in order to inform advocacy work by migrant worker organizations. In order to address this purpose, the research relied on four sets of related questions.

1. **What is the recent history of PMW to Canada? What types of state programs exist to facilitate temporary worker migration?**

   In recent years, the literature indicates that the number of temporary migrant workers to Canada has been on the increase. The annual report to Parliament indicates that the number of temporary migrant increased consistently each year between 2015 to 2019 (Mendicino, 2019). The largest increases were between 2015 and 2016 when there was a 7.3 % increase, between 2017 to 2018 there was a 6.9 % increase in the number of temporary migrants. In 2018 the report indicates that a total of 84,229 work permits were issued under the TFWP (Mendicino, 2019). Marchitelli (2017) indicates that approximately 30,000 farm workers come to Canada annually through the SAWP. The main programs under which temporary migrant workers were employed include agricultural workers, care givers and other workers who required a LMIA to be granted

to obtain a permit to work in Canada. Workers can be employed under the low skill pilot project which encompasses different jobs classified as low skill, the SAWP or caregivers which include in-home worker to care for children, seniors, or persons with medical needs.

2. Why are PMWs migrating for work?

The interviews indicated that there are various push and pull factors which influence TFW's to migrate. There was a great deal of convergence between responses provided by the interviewees and those explanations highlighted in the literature. Ultimately, workers are in search of a better life both for themselves but more so for their children. The push factors emerging from the interviews include the lack of jobs in the home country along with the low remuneration. Push factors highlighted by the participants included factors such as: high levels of long-term unemployment; extreme poverty and lack of socio-economic upward mobility; few career and educational opportunities; and poor standards of living. The interviewees indicated that the comparative analysis of the income in their home country to what they would receive in countries such as Canada for the same job or jobs of lower skill and qualification levels, led to workers making the decision to enter Canada as migrant workers. This is commensurate with the information from the World Bank, which outlines that between 2013 and2010, the average income in the high-income OECD countries was $43,083, compared with $795 in the low-income countries, a ratio of 54:1. Thus the participants in the research calculated that it worked out far better to become migrant workers. There are also pull factors which TFW's indicate attract them to work in Canada including a better job or just a job and generally, a higher standard of living. These relate to the global factors indicated by the World Bank in its publication Migration Brief published by KNOWMAD. Neoliberal ideological framing and hegemonic messaging of pull factor-related perceptions seem to be convincing most workers prior to migration to migrate for work. As this and related research demonstrates, the neoliberal

rhetoric and the reality of migrant work become apparent to workers only in a post-migration context.

Under the above-mentioned circumstances, migration is not merely the product of individual or family decisions – as postulated by the neoclassical school of thought – but a phenomenon with its own patterns that is embedded in a set of social networks and transnational relations. The large-scale migration in the neoliberal era and the link between domestic and international flows are fundamentally determined by the contradictory and disorderly dynamics of uneven capitalist development. Migration thus adopts the mode of 'compulsive displacement', for instance, a new modality of forced migration (Wise, 2018).

What are the workplace concerns of PMWs?

From the perspective of the migrants, their experience can be described as exploitative and contradictory at best. These positive experiences include the opportunity to travel as well as the income which they earned (for some participants). The income they earned from the program allowed them to do things they never would have been able to do if they had remained in their home country, which is more a statement on the extent of precarity in the source countries (caused by neoliberal prescriptions under SAPs for instance which workers are generally unaware about) than it is about the generosity of wages in Canada by the standards of this context. These include building a house, starting a small business, or sending their children to school. As indicated by the literature, the remittances are used to purchase material goods and possessions and for operating small businesses or an opportunity for small "c" capitalism for the wage worker. Most participants however, classified the actual experience on the job as exploitative and coercive. The time spent on the job was filled with fear, which developed out of the realization that their position within a foreign country was precarious; precarious because they realized quickly that they lacked power and agency and could easily be repatriated without

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notice. The work environment they described was filled with tension caused by interactions with other workers given their cultural backgrounds and the general climate of espionage and suspicion created by employers pitting workers against each other. Additionally, the relationship with supervisors on the farm was a mixture of mainly negative and some positive experiences depending on the farm where participants were located. For caregivers, the work environment became strained when matters regarding accessing benefits such as days off or getting paid for overtime came to the fore. Additionally, migrant workers expressed their concerns regarding their biological and reproductive freedoms and unfreedom of movement and privacy which were controlled and monitored by employers via methods of surveillance. Speaking to, the discriminatory and oppressive experience of the program, one participant highlighted that she was told "you are not allowed to be pregnant". There was an environment of distrust which was outlined by participants. Workers therefore had to develop strategies around of how to operate while on the job and were careful in terms of their interaction with others especially those persons who they were not close to. Phrases such as 'I just keep myself to myself' 'or 'we do not know who whom is' illustrates that they felt they had to be careful and did not trust anyone.

3. What has their work experience in Canada been like?

Migrant worker participants felt that they were being manipulated and exploited by their employers. Interviewees expressed that the employers used their power to encourage workers to spy on each other and encouraged a competition for the number of hours which one gets to work. In the words of one participant 'no white man is with us; they want you to do their work and that's it! So, don't make sense fighting over position making phone call and all those stuff'. Thus, the workers felt they were not there because they were loved or that they were the first choice - they understand that they are the last choice. They are brought to Canada to work because Canadians do not want to do that type of work. In the interview workers continually said

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Canadians would not do that type of work, especially given the long hours and standing in the sun. They also felt the wage is a deterrent for Canadians. This speaks to the historical roots of the program. This is indicated in the literature where the selection of people of color to be accepted for work in Canada was a last resort as Canada was no longer able to attract its preferred groups-Italians, British and Germans. Participants further highlighted the racial undertones and micro-aggression which they experienced. They also spoke to the segmentation of work according to race and gender issues which were also highlighted in the literature. Tasks were assigned based on race, while males were only assigned field work with women reaping fruits such as strawberries and working in packing houses.

Settlement and quality of life in Canada. The workers expressed their quality of life was impacted by the oppression which they experienced. Being bonded to one employer was most oppressive which by itself created other problems such as subordination and unfreedom. Workers expressed they had no social life, 'social life? What social life?'. This is due to the long working hours which they must endure. Farm workers expressed too that their location is isolated away from major towns and public transportation. This therefore provided challenges in how they moved from one place to the other. The cost for transportation was therefore prohibitive for the workers. Their quality of life can be described as poor. The experiences for the SAWP's were somewhat different from the caregivers, supposedly due to the nature of the work that each group did. Caregivers who lived in the homes of their employers were usually on call or required to work on their day off. Participants also felt the level of work impacted their social life negatively. The level of work they expressed was too much and left little time to do anything else other than to carry out basic activities and then rest and prepare for the next day of work. Social experiences were differentiated by gender. Males expressed that in most cases their employers encouraged them to go out and enjoy themselves while the females were warned of

the curfew for the housing facilities and to adhere to the curfew time. One male Tony, however, described how he was reprimanded for breaking his curfew. He was not aware that he had a curfew but was informed by his liaison officer that it was noted in the contract which he had signed. Tony felt that that this only applied to him because he was targeted as a troublemaker. Participants highlighted the substandard living conditions where they had to endure inadequate facilities, poor bathroom facilities, and the sharing and competition for use of facilities such as the bathroom. Females expressed a general loss of freedom (e.g. reproductive) including in relation to safety and security of their persons when it came to use of, for example, bathrooms which were outside, posing a challenge at nighttime.

Impact on the family. The workers responses indicated they felt that their participation in the program impacted their family. It could be observed that the workers were emotionally affected by the separation from their children; they felt however that they had little or no choice in whether they became migrant workers because of the need to provide for their children. They expressed concern for their children who they left behind in order to participate in the program. Children then grow up without the parent-child relationship being developed while parents become despondent and express guilt because they are not there for their children at significant developmental and educational milestones.

4. **What have their experiences been with advocacy groups/organizations?** Based on these experiences, what suggestions might they have for advocacy organizations?

Most agricultural workers who formed part of the research were not aware of advocacy efforts. They were not aware any groups independent of the Canadian Government which worked on behalf of agricultural workers. They were also asked about their knowledge of groups to assist TFW workers and if they had attempted to access any of these groups or agencies. A few interviewees were able to mention agencies that they could go to for assistance and help.

Most interviewees were not able to name the agencies; neither had they attempted to get in touch with any groups or agencies. When asked if they would, one interviewee clearly said no. Only one person expressed that they had any intentions of seeking redress for issues faced but stated that he had yet not had the opportunity to do so. From follow up and relationship building and research related conversations, by the end of the research, there were four participants who began to take an active interest in advocacy. The caregivers under the Home Support and the Child Care Provider class were able to access an advocacy group. Workers and the expert advocate explained that this provided an outlet for the workers, who would have otherwise had no one to talk to. The advocacy group Migrante Alberta offers English classes to help the migrants to pass the English test. The workers look forward to these classes as it gives them somewhere to go and the opportunity to relate to other people other than their employers or the persons, they care for.

When it comes to migrant worker participant perspectives on advocacy, the following suggestions were made to migrant worker advocacy organizations to address precarious migrant work(er) situations:

1. "One I think they should come in and talk with us, because we have nobody to talk to or share our concerns or find confidence in. Sometimes you don't have to do anything for them not to send in a request for you, you can work hard, and they still don't send in a request for you for the next year. What I don't like about it, if you are in the work environment and things not going the way you want it to go and you go to ministry to try and get a transfer you have to wait a year before you can get the transfer, they not giving it to you".

2. "I would want to stay more than the three months because I was there for about one month out of the three months not doing anything, not working. And not getting no pay but I have to still pay bills and you have to eat out of what they give you. And you know

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how that one work and even some time when you work you don't get that amount of money you work, when you see you pay you have to say what is this?"

3. "I would suggest that each worker as they get to the border, they should get a package giving information about standards within the country. When the officer is about to stamp a permit, you are given that package showing what your rights are. At the end of the day theses persons are coming and are willing to work at the mercy of the employer and that is not necessarily right. I feel that they should be given information right at the border, that is outside of the Employer even knowing. I have worked in the US on the Student summer programs and when we get to the Embassy we got a package outlining where we can go for discourse- if an employer does this etc. what kind of recourse you have available to you. This was done at the Embassy even before we got to the US. They also tell you all about human trafficking. In the US just as a four-month summer worker I was aware of my rights and where to go, and the employers had to compensate us if they did something wrong". So, I think that is something that can be advocated for here in Canada".

4. Educate us on how to understand the pay scale and calculate the deductions and all the stuff that is taken from our pay. For example, like the money they take out for protective gear, if you there one month it is taken out for one month, if your there six months the same money is taken out for six months so it would be good to understand how this works.

5. Advocacy agencies can check up on us, find out how we are doing. I was sick for example and there was no one. The supervisors or boss nobody cares or even check up to find out how I was doing. And then we do not know who the boss knows or things like that.

Considerations for Future Research

During this research it became clear, through reading the literature and interviews with migrant workers, that a study which focussed on the state's role and view on policy related discussion of the TFWP may be a good place to start in making some changes. Some examples of related and other research could include:

1. The role of the liaison officer and consulates is one which was highlighted as being problematic in the process. The liaison officers had conflicting roles representing the sending countries while providing a voice for migrant workers in Canada. Research into the conflicted role of the Liaison officer would further reveal the structural challenges of Temporary Migrant work.

2. Migrant workers are objectified in that they are eliminated from the decision-making process in relation to travel, wages, and deductions from their salary. The migrant workers identified the lack of transparency in the process concerning what is deducted for what? And over what time frame? From that perspective, research into this area could highlight exactly what happens and point out areas of further exploitation.

3. While this research and others have established high levels of exploitation and substandard working conditions for migrant workers, there are variations and levels of exploitation on different farms. Therefore, targeting specific farms for research can shed light on variations and related need for different approaches and policy measures.

4. Further study in relation to the undocumented migrant workers would also be beneficial, to give a voice to those who felt they had no choice. In addition, this study could track their life after becoming undocumented and the impact of this on their lives in general.

5. A longitudinal study of farm workers highlighting, the social and economic impacts of migration on their families can further contribute to avenues for advocacy work.

Research(er) Reflections

My experience in carrying out this case study research using a critical research methodology was personally enriching and educative. I was able to engage the principles of the methodology, reflecting on Mertens' (2005) definition of the transformative paradigm which "places central importance on the lives and experiences of communities that are pushed to society's margins (e.g., women, racial/ethnic minorities… and more generally, people in non-dominant cultural groups) and analyzes asymmetric power relationships and links results of social inquiry to action", which in this case, would be in relation to informing advocacy work. Furthermore, it was encouraging to see some participants who were relatively docile and who were very accepting of the neoliberal ideology of migration as an opportunity for a better life begin to question that idea. Participants also began questioning the concept of the TFW as a program. To engage in critical research guided by the transformative paradigm required as Mertens (2005) and Chilisa (2012) indicate, the commitment to subjectivity and interactivity. Unlike positivist research, it is not a methodology where one remains neutral or sits on the fence, i.e., the development of an interactive link between the researcher and participants and power issues was addressed explicitly and issues of discrimination and oppression should be and were recognized. In so doing I was led to challenge myself, the participants and as well as those in positions of power to think about the consequences of definitions like TFW and the relations between race-gendered labor and capital.

Through this critical study, I expanded my understanding of Marx's concept that cheap labor is the engine of capitalist development, a social relation of exploitation of labor power. Further, I developed an initial understanding of the role of labor exploitation through migration in the neoliberal era. Further how capitalists and employers take full advantage of the massive

oversupply of labor in the global economy, a global labor arbitrage which has resulted in 73% of the reserve army of workers emerging from the global South to work in the North. This is evidenced in the massive increase of temporary migrant workers to Canada over the last 20-30 years. Many of these migrant workers have become undocumented, living on the periphery. For example, caregivers who are struggling to receive citizenship while others such as farm workers who are guest workers who continue to suffer abuse, injury, death, and exploitation at the hands of employers for up to 30 years. This brings home the explanation Harvey (2013, p.10) provided that "capitalist production has a dual character. It entails not only the production of material commodities for use, but also the production of surplus value for the benefit of the capitalist whose main concern is about the surplus value to be realized from labor, realized as monetary profit". Through this research it highlighted even more clearly the complicit use of labor, gender, and race in advancing capital accumulation through the neoliberal orthodoxy. The research further allowed me to see how, taken together, labor, gender and race-based coercive practices are implicated in the processes of capital accumulation, as capital seeks to plunder new lands and people for accumulation.

The research experience also gave me pause to reflect on the colonial history of the countries from which the participants in the TFWP emerge; a history, which has served to reproduce a colonial structure and oppressive ideas targeting racialized people from the Global South. I therefore became more aware of how migrant work has concretized racial inferiority through the use of colored labor. I now concur with Paulo Freire's (2000, p.64) position that the oppressors, which in this research would likely include the Canadian state and capital or employers, demonstrate an "innate desire to possess and in this eagerness develops the conviction that it is possible for them to transform everything into objects of their purchasing

power". The TFWP represents the modern mechanism by which dominant societies such as Canada commodify and objectify migrant workers.

The link between the colonial history of the sending countries and the present situation of global neoliberal ideology or what Nkrumah, (1965) describes as neocolonialism is more apparent to me today. That is, countries of the Global South are being controlled by a consortium of financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank which are controlled by imperial states of the North. I was able to make the link between the growth of migration and more specifically, precarious migration, to the SAP's initiated by these UN agencies which have contributed to the decimation of the economy and peasantry in the Global South. The global and national dynamics of capitalist development, the international division of labor, the imperialist system of international power relations, and the conflicts that surround the capital-labor relation and the dynamics of how extractive capital have exacerbated economic, social, political and cultural polarization between geographical spaces and social classes and along the North-South neo/colonial relation.

The research also brought me to consider and therefore gain an understanding of Francis' (2017) argument pertaining to social reproduction and its negation (of gendered work) in capitalism. Francis posits that the unwaged social reproductive activity is necessary for the existence of waged work, the accumulation of surplus value, and the functioning of capitalism. None of those things could exist in the absence of housework, child-raising, schooling, affective care, and a host of other activities that serve to produce new generations of workers and replenish existing ones, as well as to maintain social bonds and shared understandings. This contradiction is reflected in the "crisis" of frequent injury at precarious work sites, destabilization of family structures and emotional distress, especially for the children of migrant workers.

On a concluding and critically reflective optimistic note, some migrant farm workers participated in the rallies and protests towards the end of the research as they returned for the 2020 Seasonal Farm Work despite the effects of COVID-19. As per their admission and my observation, the discussions in the research interviews served to bring these participants to come to terms with the reality of the program and to begin to consider participating in the worker's struggle against exploitation, i.e., in Freirean terms, the situation made them less human, hence, they were able to find the strength to start the struggle against oppression. I would like to end with a quote from a radio interview (anonymous) which captures the essence of critical projects going forward:

"Ultimately, we want to live in a society where everyone has equal access to rights, where we don't have an underclass of workers that are constantly looking over their shoulder, that they're worried that they're going to be legislated out of a job."

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"University Letterhead"

INFORMATION LETTER and CONSENT FORM

Study Title: A Critical Interpretive Exploratory Study of Temporary Foreign Work, Precarious Labour & Advocacy in Canada

Research Investigator: Supervisor:

Simone Brown-McLaughlin   Dr. Dip Kapoor

Department of Educational Policy Studies   Department of Educational Policy Studies

University of Alberta   University of Alberta

Edmonton, AB, T6G 2R3   Edmonton, AB, T6G 2R3

brownmcl@ualberta.ca   dkapoor@ualberta.ca

What is this study about?

The intention of this study is to explore the Temporary Foreign Worker Program in Canada. I will explore migrant worker life experiences as it relates to settlement and migration; their experiences on the job, working conditions, their overall work relationships. It is my intention to determine how the Canadian immigration policies have impacted migrant worker experiences. Additionally, the study will seek to determine migrant worker perception of advocacy efforts for migrant workers. Thus, the results of the study will serve as a source of information for further advocacy.

What is this form?

This is a Consent Form. It lets you know about the study so that you can decide if you want to participate. This form will provide you with the background and purpose of this study. It will describe what you will need to do to participate. If you decide to participate, the researcher will ask you to sign this form or give verbal consent. You will also be given a copy. Information will be kept confidential and private.

Background and Purpose

I am currently undertaking a research project for my Master's thesis and would like to know if you are willing to be interviewed. I may also ask if you are willing to participate in a focus group. I believe you have important views and experiences related to my research.

The thesis will explore the Temporary Foreign Workers Programme (TFWP) in Canada and the major focus being to determine how the TFWP creates labour precarity and further how migrant workers are impacted by the immigration policies which guide the conditions of their employment and work situations. The research will therefore consider Canadian migrant worker life experiences as it relates to settlement and migration; their experiences on the job and working conditions and their working relationship. The study will consider migrant workers perception of advocacy efforts on their behalf.

Study Procedures

You may choose to participate in either an interview, a focus group, or both. Interviews and Focus Groups will be approximately 60 to 90 minutes each. The researcher will ask questions about your experiences and views on your participation in the TFWP. Focus group sessions will be audio recorded, therefore consent to participate in a focus group interview, signifies consent to be recorded. The researcher will also take notes. All data will later be typed out. This data will be summarized and included in a thesis.

For an interview, the researcher will meet you in a time and place convenient for you. Focus groups will be held at a time and place that works well for all those participating. Focus groups will include a guided discussion with three to five participants.

Benefits

I hope that this research will contribute to the discussions about the temporary foreign Worker Program and specifically, migrant workers experiences in the program to, highlighting their perception of inherent weaknesses with an aim to inform advocacy groups seeking to address the plight of migrant workers.

There are no personal benefits from being in this study. There are no costs involved in being in the research. There is no compensation or reimbursements for participation in this study.

Risk

This study involves minimal risk. There are no risks to physical or mental health beyond what is faced in everyday life. You may feel distress or worry if you describe painful events. Being part of a small group may mean that someone could identify you by your contributions.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time. You do not need to answer questions you do not wish to. You may leave an interview or focus group at any time.

Withdrawing Your Interview Data

You may tell the researcher to remove part, or all your information from the study for any reason. You have until December 20, 2019 to tell the researcher that you wish to withdraw from the study and have your data destroyed.

You May Not Withdraw Your Focus Group Data

Focus groups include all parts of a discussion that build on each other. If one participant's data is removed, the context for other participants' thoughts might be lost. Therefore, you may not withdraw your contributions to a focus group.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

Careful steps will be taken to protect your identity. The researcher will keep individual participant data for this research confidential. Typed data will NOT contain any mention of your name and any identifying information will be removed.

All written recorded data will be kept in a locked office cabinet upon their return to the office. All digital data will be secured on an external hard drive. Only the researcher and their supervisor will have access to the data. All information will be destroyed after five years.

Focus Group Confidentiality and Shared Responsibility In a focus group, the researcher and each participant share the duty to protect the privacy of all participants. You should not discuss this session or any participant's identities afterwards. This shared duty means the researcher cannot fully guarantee confidentiality or anonymity. You will not be able to access a focus group transcript.

Interview Data Review

You may tell the researcher you wish to review your interview transcript. You have until December 20, 2019 to tell the researcher if you wish to add, clarify, or make changes.

If you wish to read the thesis, you may let the researcher know. The thesis will be written in English. Data from this study may be used in future research. If the researcher does this, it will have to be approved by a Research Ethics Board.

Further Information

Contact Simone McLaughlin if you have any questions or concerns by email at brownmcl@ualberta.ca

The plan for this study was reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office by email at reoffice@ualberta.ca or by telephone at 1-780-492-2615.

Referrals

You may be asked if you know of other migrant workers who would be willing to participate in the study. To refer someone for the study, please provide them the researcher's contact information card which will be provided and ask them to contact the researcher if they are willing to be interviewed.

Participation Options

Please indicate if you are willing to participate in an interview, and/or a focus group. Please note that you may not be asked to participate in a focus group even if you offer to do so:

☐ I am willing to participate in an interview.

☐ I am willing to have my interview recorded.

☐ I am willing to participate in a focus group.

Consent Statement

I have read this form and the study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have more questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it, or alternatively after I provide verbal consent.

_____   _____

Participant's Name (printed) and Signature   Date

_____   _____

Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent   Date

*Note date and time if verbal consent is given.

PROPOSED FOCUS GROUP FOR Low Skill Migrant Workers in Canada

A Critical Interpretive Exploratory Study of Temporary Foreign Work (TFW), Precarious Labor & Advocacy in Canada

Welcome:

Welcome and thank you for volunteering your time to take part in this focus group. I realize you are busy, and I appreciate your time.

This focus group discussion is about your experience as a migrant worker under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program in Canada and your perception of this experience. The focus group discussion will take no more than one and a half hours. May I record the conversation to help me remember what was discussed?

Privacy:

Although the conversation will be recorded, your personal identifying information will be kept confidential. In order to protect the privacy of your fellow participants, it is important that you do not share information about them and what was discussed today. You may withdraw from the conversation at any point. However, since the information shared today depends on the flow of conversation, you may only withdraw your comments or rephrase directly after making them.

Introduce self and participants.

Introductory question:

Could we begin with you sharing with us what your personal experience of labor migration has been like?

The guiding questions for this exercise will revolve around 6 themes:

- ❖ Migrant's trail experiences (sending-transit-recipient countries)
- ❖ Migrant's trail debt/financial burdens (e.g. relations with temporary hiring agencies)
- ❖ TFW experiences in the workplace and with employers in Canada (sector by sector foci)

- ❖ TFW life/social experiences in Canada

- ❖ TFW issues/other?

- ❖ TFW pointers/suggestions to Migrant advocacy groups to address their concerns/situation

- ❖ **Migrant's trail experiences (sending-transit-recipient countries)**

- What was the role of your government in getting you into/involved in the program?

- How was the preparation if any?

- How satisfied were you with how the Government prepared you to participate in the program?

- ❖ **Migrant's trail debt/financial burdens**

- Were you assisted by agencies to be a part of the program?

- If so did you encounter any financial obligations?

- How have you been able to handle these

- How would you describe the experience with the agency you used?

- ❖ **TFW experiences in the work place and with employers in Canada (sector by sector foci)**

- How would you describe your work experience so far?

- Name three things that you were most satisfied with from the experience?

- Name the top three things you were most disappointed with

- How was the work relationship with

  A. Your colleagues B. your supervisor/s

- ❖ **TFW life/social experiences in Canada**
- How was your social experiences outside of work?
- How comfortable were you integrating into the community in which you worked?

❖ **TFW issues/other?**
- Are there any other issues that you experienced which we have not spoken about yet that you think impacted your experience significantly

TFW pointers/suggestions to Migrant advocacy groups to address their concerns/situation

- In your opinion was there sufficient help /assistance to help you settle in?
- Which agencies are you aware of for to assist new migrant workers in Canada? How did you become aware of it?
- How easy was it to access these help services/agencies when you encountered difficulties?
- Do you think migrant workers help agencies offer sufficient help to new migrant workers and migrant workers?
- How do you think these services could be improved?

Concluding question
- Of all the things we've discussed today, what would you say are the most important issues?

Conclusion
- Thank you for participating. This has been a very successful discussion
- Your opinions will be an asset to the study
- We hope you have found the discussion interesting

PROPOSED KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW

Low Skill Migrant Workers in Canada

A Critical Interpretive Exploratory Study of Temporary Foreign Work (TFW), Precarious Labor & Advocacy in Canada

Welcome:

Welcome and thank you for volunteering your time to take part in this interview. I realize you are busy, and I appreciate your time.

This interview is about your experience as a migrant worker under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program in Canada and your perception of this experience. The focus group discussion will take no more than one hour. May I record the conversation to help me remember what was discussed?

Privacy:

Although the conversation will be recorded, your personal identifying information will be kept confidential. In order to protect the privacy of your fellow participants, it is important that you do not share information about them and what was discussed today. You may withdraw from the conversation at any point. However, since the information shared today depends on the flow of conversation, you may only withdraw your comments or rephrase directly after making them.

Introduction

Introductory question:

Could we begin with you sharing your thoughts about how you felt about the last interview session?

The guiding questions for this exercise will revolve around 6 themes:

- ❖ Migrant's trail experiences (sending-transit-recipient countries)
- ❖ Migrant's trail debt/financial burdens (e.g. relations with temporary hiring agencies)

- ❖ TFW experiences in the workplace and with employers in Canada
- ❖ TFW life/social experiences in Canada
- ❖ TFW issues/other?
- ❖ TFW pointers/suggestions to Migrant advocacy groups to address their concerns/situation

❖ **Migrant's trail experiences (sending-transit-recipient countries)**
- How do you feel about your governments role in getting participants into the TFW program?
- How would you compare the information given about the program before you got to Canada, to what you actually experienced?

❖ **Migrant's trail debt/financial burdens**
- How have the financial debts impacted you?
- How were you able to meet your financial obligations while working in the program?

❖ **TFW experiences in the workplace and with employers in Canada (sector by sector foci)**
- When were you informed about your job specific duties and work situations?
- How comfortable were in communicating with your supervisors
- How did you find the procedure for accessing health services?
- Name three things that you were most satisfied with from the experience
- Name the top three things you were most disappointed with
- What are some of the benefits that you were told about that you had access to as an employee?

❖ **TFW life/social experiences in Canada**
- What were the challenges you had integrating into the community around which you worked?
- How were you able to use your time outside of work?

❖ **TFW issues/other?**

- In your opinion would greater knowledge of the program enhanced your experience?

- If so, whose responsibility would it be to inform participants

TFW pointers/suggestions to Migrant advocacy groups to address their concerns/situation

Were you able to access these services on your own time as you desired?

- How accessible were the advocacy agency/ies to you?

- How do feel about the services offered?

- Name three issues you were not able to get help with, that in your opinion the group should have been able to assist you with

Concluding question

- If you could talk to the government about the program, what would you say are three of the most important point to be addressed about the program

Conclusion

- Thank you for participating. This has been a very successful discussion

- Your opinions will be a valuable asset to the study

- We hope you have found the discussion interesting

Appendix IV
List of Secondary Sources Used in this Research

1. Next steps being taken in the Primary Agriculture Review. Employment and Social Development Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/news/2019/09/next-steps-being-taken-in-the-primary-agriculture-review.html
2. The Temporary Foreign Worker Program and compliance regime. https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/services/foreign-workers/reports/compliance-regime.html
3. Ministry Of Labour To Expand Overseas Employment Programme In Canada.http://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/news/20171121/ministry-labour-expand-overseas-employment-programme-canada
4. https://www.knomad.org/
5. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals.html
6. Publications and manuals.
7. Migrant Justice Documentary. https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=203&v=pyDB1UxymR0&feature=emb_logo
8. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nbrZV2Ph2PY https://youtu.be/nbrZV2Ph2PY
9. Leveraging Economic Migration For Development A Briefing For The World Bank Board September 2019
10. Migrant Farm Workers Left Unpaid in Ontario. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8_m_CmnUW4&t=7s
11. Contract for the employment in Canada of commonwealth Caribbean seasonal agricultural workers - 2020https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/services/foreign-workers/agricultural/seasonal-agricultural/apply/caribbean.html