

**(Em)Bodies and Documents: Examining Information-Sharing Practices in the Seasonal
Agricultural Worker Program**

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Abstract

This study examines information-sharing practices within the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) – focusing on the program as it is administered within Ontario. Drawing on a conceptual framework which weds Foucauldian theory, critical discourse analysis (CDA), and “embodied labour,” I analyze 61 documents for their content, codification of stakeholder relationships, and discourse regarding the program. Documents were selected based on their creation, use, or circulation within Ontario, and based on their consideration by stakeholders as “official”; that is, that at least one stakeholder group would look to the document for (what they perceive to be) reliable information. Documents include, for example, SAWP contracts, webpages describing program requirements, and e-pamphlets on workplace safety and accessing services. Document analysis was supplemented by interviews with industry and service provider experts, which guided interpretation of documents’ significance.

I argue that documents function as material actors, alongside (and sometimes beyond) human actors, and make physical impact on SAWP bodies and realities. That is, documents communicate, discipline, and uphold neoliberal structures surrounding the program – contributing to the creation and sustaining of incomplete, labour-centric individuals. Through consistent sharing of narrow, “work-related” information (wages, work conditions, workplace

injuries, etc.), and the rare inclusion of more well-rounded, “non-work” knowledge (mental health, sexual health, social integration, etc.), documents subtly discipline the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable communication. In doing so, material actors (alongside other SAWP actors) perpetuate a foreign worker program which does not consider the varied, complex needs of “whole workers” (McLaughlin et. al., 2017) – but, instead, treats them as disposable labouring bodies.

Acknowledgements

Wa'tekhenonhwerá:ton ne yonksothokón:'a nè:ne wa'onkká:ron' ne kí:ken.

Wa'tekhenonhwerá:ton akenanakaráhsera tahnnon akhwá:tsire. Kateweyénhstha ne kahenta'kéhson ne kèn:tho né:'e tsi wakateryèn:tare tsi Onkwehón:we onkyonhwéntsya.

(Thank you to my ancestor who gifted me my story. Thank you to my family and my community.

I study these fields knowing they are Indigenous homelands).

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Thank you to the migrant workers who labour in our fields and support our food systems year after year.

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List of Acronyms

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

EI – Employment Insurance

F.A.R.M.S – Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Service

ILO – International Labour Organization

LSPP – Low-Skill Pilot Project

MOHLTC – Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care

MOL – Ministry of Labour

OHIP – Ontario Health Insurance Plan

OHSА – Ontario Health & Safety Act

SAWP – Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program

TFWP – Temporary Foreign Worker Program

WSIB – Workplace Safety Insurance Board

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1. INTRODUCTION

Literature has long noted the existence of a significant “information barrier” within the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) in Canada. Migrant workers, themselves, have been speaking to this issue for a number of years (Basok et. al., 2014; McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Paz Ramirez, 2013). The information barrier does not appear to have a standardized definition within the field, but is typically discussed around such issues as: language barriers (Mysyk et. al., 2009; Paz Ramirez, 2013), inadequate translation services (Mysyk et. al., 2009), unclear program processes (Vosko, 2018, p. 902), insufficient job training (Cohen & Caxaj, 2019; Paz Ramirez, 2013), weak inter-governmental and cross-agency communication (Braun, 2012; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010), minimal communication with the public on key issues (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010), and lack of supports in understanding (Canadian) formal and informal infrastructure (Basok et. al., 2014; Cohen & Caxaj, 2019; McLaughlin et. al., 2017). For the purposes of this thesis, I define the information barrier as follows:

The blockage (through inefficient processes or insufficient/unclear documentation) of information flow across established networks, that negatively impacts the operation of SAWP across stakeholder roles. Stakeholders include, but are not limited to, farm-owners, administrative farm workers, migrant workers, migrant worker families, community members/the public, and institutions (formal and informal¹).

This definition is potentially different from the aforementioned literature for its intention to consider the information barrier as it impacts networks (and all its stakeholders) as a whole.

Literature has typically focused on the impacts for SAWP enrollees as a specific and individual group (given the systemic and longstanding harms against them). This definition is in line with

¹ Formal institutions may refer to government agencies, private administrators, etc. Informal institutions may refer to advocacy groups, non-profit organizations, and social networks.

project aims (outlined later in this chapter) to decenter discussions of individual agency. As

Derks (2010) explains, the intended outcome of this type of conceptualization is that:

By analysing migrant labour arrangements as a *process* and in *context*...I have attempted to throw new light on the different interpretations of 'force' and 'freedom'...these different interpretations are neither related to separate migrant groups — 'exploited' vs. 'successful,' 'trafficked' vs. 'voluntary,' 'legal' vs. 'illegal' — nor solely contributable to 'bad' and 'good' employers (p. 931).

In my professional employment (2011-2019)² with SAWP enrollees, the information barrier has been a constant and detrimental part of workers' experiences; I have witnessed inadequate communication regarding program processes, rights, responsibilities, fees, benefits, and non-work expectations.³ In interview and participatory research settings, scholars have documented the physical, mental, emotional, and economic impacts of information barriers. Farm-owners receive little formal support and experience excessive burden in administering quality of life (McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013) – often feeling unsure or overwhelmed regarding where to place boundaries on their responsibility for worker wellbeing (Narushima & Sanchez, 2014). Workers find themselves at risk due to communication barriers which constrain access to information about their rights (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019, p. 3), prevent adequate healthcare (Paz Ramirez, 2013, p. 22), and fail to adequately communicate critical educational information on health and safety protocols (McLaughlin et. al., 2017, p. 687). Paz Ramirez

² For many years, I worked in the fields and in packing facilities alongside SAWP workers as coworkers and friends. In later years, I worked in various administrative roles, hoping to make small, positive change to communication about and within the program at a local level. I worked with SAWP documents (LMIAs, contracts, work permits), living conditions (inspections, repairs), training and orientation (health & safety, explanation of fees, processes), transportation (to appointments, clinics, work, bunkhouses), and communication facilitation (between workers and community members, organizations, and other staff).

³ Non-work expectations around issues such as social integration and leisure-time mobility.

(2013) quotes a worker who questions, “I wonder if do you have to die there [on the fields] so they bring you to the doctor or don’t think you are lazy?” (p. 33).

Though aspects of SAWP’s information barrier have been noted in various scholarly works (Basok et. al., 2014; Braun, 2012; McLaughlin et. al., 2017; McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010; Paz Ramirez, 2013; Perry, 2018a; Silverman & Hari, 2016; Vosko, 2018), very few have considered the information barrier as a main area of focus. This study aims to address gaps in documenting and understanding SAWP’s information barrier. It will seek to: 1. contribute to a comprehensive and robust understanding of the information barrier, and 2. open conversation and explore possibilities for actionable change which does not stem from an assignment of singular responsibility or reliance on individual agency.

My research asks whether the examination of documents (in addition to research done with human actors) assists us in the study and improvement of SAWP. It seeks to shift emphasis from government agencies, public servants, farm-owners, and advocacy groups to the bits of paper they consult, draft, fill in, type up, and circulate every day – understanding these materials as active and acting within SAWP. Given the shift from human to document, the subject focus of my study is not a specific stakeholder group(s); many SAWP actors may interact with the documents (for different, or similar, reasons) collected for this study. Rather, this study explores how the processes and uses of documents function as agents (helping to shape certain realities) beyond or alongside human actors. Ultimately, it hopes to answer: What is the role of (access to) information in positive change for SAWP?

In Chapter 2, I begin with background on the history of SAWP, its current iteration and context, and basic logistics of the program. I then review relevant literature on the program, tracing developments from early scholars (1980s, 1990s) to recent scholarship – noting several nuances and innovative frameworks from interdisciplinary fields. The literature review encompasses a (brief) scan of relevant work on international worker programs and undocumented labour. Chapter 3 outlines the study’s conceptual frameworks (Foucauldian studies and critical discourse analysis), how they are integrated, and their limitations (particularly in regards to critical race theory and (post)colonial theory). It introduces a third concept (embodied labour) which speaks to the importance of work on documents as actors, and may facilitate future SAWP research in this area. In Chapter 4, methods for data collection (documents and interviews) and analysis (critical discourse analysis) are explained. Briefly, here: documents created, circulated, or applicable⁴ in Ontario⁵ are collected (as primary data) and analyzed under critical discourse analysis (CDA). Analysis is informed by insights from professional experts (obtained through interviews), which are not intended as primary data, given the small sample size.

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss findings, implications, conclusions, and possible next steps – with intention towards theoretical implications (for who and what we consider actors within SAWP) and practical implications (for SAWP stakeholders). Overall, results suggest that the material actors of SAWP (i.e. documents, webpages, etc.) currently provide labour to the

⁴ Documents which are circulated or applicable (but not created) in Ontario are included given, for example, the existence of federal documents (e.g. applications) and advocacy groups which operate at a national scale.

⁵ Ontario is chosen as a case study given that over half of SAWP workers are currently located there (Preibisch, 2012).

program in ways which (for the most part) uplift “traditional” and narrowly-defined conceptualizations of the program. That is, documents “make visible” four stakeholders (employer, employee, sending countries, receiving country), and isolated segments of their lives (rather than “whole workers,” as in McLaughlin et. al., 2017) related to “work needs”⁶ (e.g. work conditions, wages, employer program responsibilities, Workplace Insurance Safety Board procedures, etc.). As will be discussed in Chapter 5, “arranging lives” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 103) within SAWP documents this way – as if there are only “employers” and “employees,” and therefore, only “work needs” – may contribute to a lack of robust and comprehensive information-sharing within the program.

Stemming from these results, Chapter 6 introduces theoretical and practical recommendations. Theoretical recommendations are as follows: 1. Additional study of documents-as-actors, 2. Additional study of bodies-as-texts, and 3. Additional study of “non-traditional” documentation formats (podcasts, social media, mobile applications). Practical recommendations are as follows: 1. Increased structural and governmental support for the sharing of transparent, “in-practice” information, 2. Development of initiatives to formulate/strengthen a greater variety of stakeholder relationships, 3. Creation and circulation of SAWP-specific documents, 4. Increased attention to “non-work” aspects of SAWP within documents, and 5. Continuation of “radical writing” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018) to shift discursive positions.

⁶ As will be discussed in Chapter 2, “work” and “life” are often artificial separations and, as such, discussing documents as related to “only work” or “only personal life” is often similarly deceptive.

2. PROGRAM BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Background & Logistics

SAWP began in 1966 as a pilot project intended to combat (real or perceived) labour shortages in Canada (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2011, p. 20). It falls under the broader Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) category of programs, which collectively admit workers in numerous employment sectors (Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012, p. 6). TFWPs (including SAWP) are needs-based programs – having no limit on the number of workers admitted (p. 6). Under SAWP, Canadian farms (growing produce and crops from a list of specified commodities)⁷ can apply to host and employ temporary foreign workers (TFWs) as follows: “employers can hire TFWs from participating countries for a maximum period of 8 months, between January 1 and December 15, provided they are able to offer the workers a minimum of 240 hours of work within a period of 6 weeks or less” (Government of Canada, 2019e, para. 2).

Initially, the agreement existed between Jamaica and Canada. By 1974 (Basok & Belanger, 2016), this had grown to include additional Caribbean countries and Mexico, as labour shortages continued and the program was widely deemed successful (Braun, 2012). Participating countries are currently: Mexico, Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago (Government of Canada, 2020a). The majority of workers requested under SAWP travel from Mexico (Preibisch, 2004). In 2013, 18,499 enrollees from Mexico worked in Canadian provinces (Consulate of Mexico, 2016). SAWP workers are

⁷ Apiary products, fruits, vegetables, mushrooms, flowers, nursery-grown trees, canola seed, sod, tobacco, bovine, duck, horse, mink, poultry, sheep, swine (Government of Canada, 2020a).

concentrated predominantly in Ontario and Quebec, with British Columbia and Alberta holding the next highest populations (McLaughlin, 2009; Preibisch, 2012). In 2014, SAWP accepted 35,000 workers to work in the field fruit and vegetable, tree fruit and vine, and greenhouse, nursery and floriculture industries (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017). Work typically consists of planting, cultivating, irrigating, pruning, harvesting, sorting, and packaging (Government of Canada, 2020b). In 2014, 17,968 workers were located in Ontario (Agri-Food Economic Systems, 2015, p. 6), numerous enough to necessitate a Mexican Consulate office in smaller, rural areas such as Leamington, Ontario.

The program operates under a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) mandating bilateral agreements between sending and receiving countries (McLaughlin, 2009). Immigration and Citizenship Canada is responsible for approving and issuing visas and work permits, while Employment and Social Development Canada handles employer requests for workers (Preibisch, 2012, p. 66). Day-to-day details of SAWP are largely administered through private sector non-profit organizations. In Ontario, the relevant organization is Foreign Agricultural Resources Management Services (F.A.R.M.S); in Quebec, La Fondation des Entreprises en Recrutement de Main-d'oeuvre Agricole Étrangère (F.E.R.M.E); in British Columbia, Western Agricultural Labour Initiative (WALI) (Preibisch, 2012).

Given the administrative structure, there is significant heterogeneity across provinces. Certain program requirements are mandated federally. For example, “employers must always arrange and pay for the round-trip transportation...of the temporary foreign worker (TFW)...a portion of these costs can be recovered through payroll deductions in all provinces, except British Columbia [BC]” (Government of Canada, 2020c, para 2). Yet, given BC’s exception,

variation exists even at the level of federal jurisdiction. Provincial and municipal differences are present across areas (housing, housing inspections, health and workplace safety, etc.)

(Government of Canada, 2019c). As one illustration:

Provinces and territories have jurisdiction over employment and labour issues (including worker housing), building codes, and landlord/tenant matters. The TFW Program requires employers to follow provincial/territorial housing and inspection requirements (Government of Canada, 2019c, para 23).

In Ontario, where over half of the workers are typically located (Preibisch, 2012), much of SAWP's workplace and housing guidelines are mandated and monitored under (for example) the Ministry of Labour (MOL), Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care (MOHLTC), and Occupational Health and Safety Act (OHSA), among others. It is beyond the scope of this study to outline the various provincial and municipal policies applicable to SAWP across Canada. However, it is necessary to note the existence of this heterogeneity, as it is potentially relevant to the information-sharing processes (and challenges) of SAWP.

Additionally, significant variation exists in the pathways through which agricultural workers enter Canada – SAWP being one of several programs currently in operation. In 2002, the government introduced the Low Skilled Worker Pilot Project (LSWPP). This pilot does not restrict participation by country, and can be used across employment sectors⁸ classified as “C” or “D” (i.e. low-skill) within the National Occupation Classification (NOC) system (Basok & Belanger, 2016). In 2007, the program was renamed Pilot for Occupations Requiring Lower Levels of Formal Training (NOC C&D) (Preibisch, 2014, p. 410). In 2011, the Agriculture Stream NOC C&D was launched (Preibisch, 2014, p. 67). This program has similar program

⁸ Still, it is frequently utilized within the agricultural sector (Basok & Belanger, 2016).

requirements to LSWPP⁹ but is available only to activities “...related to on-farm primary agriculture” (Government of Canada, 2019c, para 1). Primary agriculture has received explicit definition and corresponding NOC codes (see Government of Canada, 2019c), but generally refers to employment in fields, packing facilities, and processing facilities. As of 2019, agricultural migrants under the broader category of TFWP can enter through four different streams collectively referred to as “primary agriculture” TFWPs (see Fig. 1): the SAWP, the agricultural stream, primary agriculture-low wage, and primary agriculture-high wage (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019).

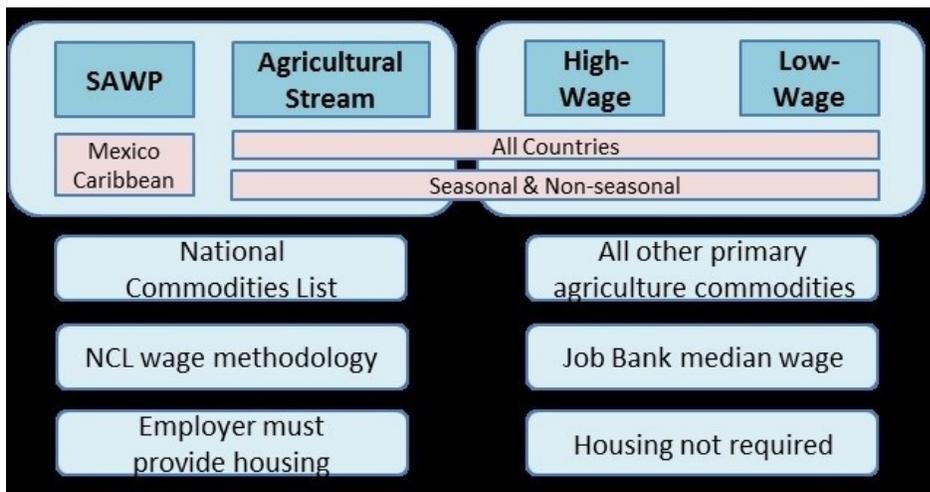


Figure 1 – illustration of the four sub-programs under “Primary Agriculture Stream” and some (basic) differences between them (Government of Canada, 2019c).

Taken together, changes to TFWPs within the agricultural sector (beginning as early as 2002) have been fairly significant – affecting requirements around participating countries, housing requirements, and length of stay, among other things (Government of Canada, 2020c). With the introduction of new streams and pilot projects, for example, farm-owners have

⁹ For example, both LSWPP and the Agricultural Stream NOC C&D have no restrictions by country (unlike SAWP), and include a low-skill (i.e. C&D) requirement.

increasingly made use of the aforementioned alternative pathways to labour (see Fig. 1) (often perceived as more flexible and less regulated) (Hennebry et. al., 2014; Preibisch, 2014).

However, SAWP continues to be a predominant avenue for agricultural migrant labourers; in 2017, 74% of primary agriculture TFWPs entered under SAWP, while 26% entered under one of the three remaining streams (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019).

2.2 Literature Review

Scholars frequently point to SAWP's positive reputation (Preibisch, 2004; Vosko, 2018) when discussing why initial (academic, activist, media) critiques of the program were slow to emerge. Many argue that change remains slow-going. Horgan & Liinamaa comment that in the early 1990s scholars documented the everyday experiences of the SAWP workers in Canada, and more than twenty years later, "...the situation...looks eerily similar" (2012, p. 33).

Though initially slow-going, academic attention to SAWP has become more prevalent. In the early 2000s, "...a small but growing amount of research...emerged that...made important gains in documenting the phenomenon of temporary, managed migration to Canadian agriculture..." (Preibisch, 2004, p. 207). At this time, critical historical perspectives on seasonal agricultural workers were emerging within migration, development (Preibisch, 2004), and political economy (Satzewich, 1991; Strauss & McGrath, 2017) fields. These early studies (Cecil & Ebanks, 1991; Colby, 1997; Knowles, 1997; Satzewich, 1991) made important gains in unpacking the success of SAWP. Dominant discourse hailed SAWP as a "triple-win" (Vosko, 2018, p. 882) and a model of migration management (Binford, 2019). As such, many researchers "...concentrated on...documenting [migrants'] working and living conditions" (Preibisch, 2004, p. 207) to counteract and nuance this narrative. These studies laid a significant

amount of groundwork for later research by first rendering “...the production of exploitative relations...” within SAWP (Braun, 2012, p. 6) visible.

Satzewich, for example, is regarded as an early and important contributor to the study of SAWP (Braun, 2012). He argued that “the tacit racialization of Canadian identity (and by extension, its foreign ‘Other’) obscures and excuses the production of exploitative relations...” within SAWP (as cited in Braun, 2012, p. 6). Satzewich’s project, then, was to uncover these relations, in what he described as a two-pronged approach. First, to explore “...within the framework of political economy...the link between migration and capitalism in Canada” (Satzewich, 1991, p. 2). Second, in response and often contradiction to scholars writing at this time, to “...emphasize both the role of the state in organizing and controlling...agents across international boundaries, and the importance of political and ideological relations in the structuration of migration flows” (p. 2), his work intervened in a field that, at the time, typically “...understood [coercive work] as residual, exceptional, or non-capitalist...” (Strauss & McGrath, 2017, p. 201).

These early projects frequently made (and continue to make)¹⁰ use of ideas around free/unfree labour (Satzewich, 1991; Knowles, 1997) as an integral part of their research. This term facilitated discussion of the unexceptional, common, and structural existence of labour exploitation under capitalism. Satzewich, an early proponent of the term, categorized “...foreign-born workers [in Southern Ontario’s fruit and vegetable industry]...as free immigrant labour, unfree immigrant labour and unfree migrant labour” (Satzewich, 1991, p. 182). In

¹⁰ Though there have been nuances to the use of the term; see Thomas (2016) and Strauss & McGrath (2015).

highlighting and employing the concept of unfree labour, Satzewich intended to problematize, not just the income stratification or occupational/social differentiation of migrant labourers (p. 2), but also “...the problem of international migration to the country” under capitalist systems itself (p. 3).

More recently, in defining (and demonstrating the nuance of) “unfree labour,” Thomas (2016) writes that:

Contemporary dynamics of ‘unfree labour’ are often conceptualized through the framework of the International Labour Organization’s (ILO) definition of ‘forced labour,’ articulated in its Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), which includes ‘all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which said person has not offered himself [*sic*] voluntarily’ (Article 2(1)) (Thomas, 2016, p. 23).

Building on the ILO definition, Thomas goes on to note that many situations involve “much broader conditions of ‘unfreedom,’ ...systemic to the organization of capitalist labour markets” (p. 23). Here, “conditions of freedom/unfreedom should not be understood as a simple dichotomy, as this binary approach occludes many of the conditions...experienced by workers in the global economy” (p. 23). As such, “unfree labour” becomes a complex study of the continuum between “free” and “unfree” labour within the SAWP program. Though Satzewich’s categorizations could lend themselves to a more binary approach, recent scholarship (Thomas, 2016; Strauss & McGrath, 2017) has underscored the fluidity of experiences under this concept.

Given continued (though arguably improving¹¹) flaws within the program, rendering systems of unfree labour visible continues to be an integral part of studying SAWP. Literature continues to document limited government oversight (Hahamovitch, 2011; Horgan & Liinamaa,

¹¹ See McLaughlin & Weiler (2019) for an argument regarding the existence of improvements within SAWP.

2012; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010; Vosko, 2018), inadequate accountability structures (Silverman & Hari, 2016; Vosko, 2018), barriers to health services (Barnes, 2013; McLaughlin et. al., 2017; Pysklywec et. al., 2011; Salami & Salami, 2015), harmful media discourse and public opinion (Bauder, 2008; Inouye, 2012), and a lack of structural support for providing quality of life (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013; Mysyk et. al., 2009). These realities exist in contradiction to, and often hidden under, international reputation as an overwhelmingly successful migration model.

Alongside this continued work, there have long been efforts to “...expand our understandings of migrant workers” (Preibisch, 2004, p. 211), the complexities of the program they enter through, and the nuances of their lives in both sending and receiving countries. Legality (Basok et. al., 2014; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012), unfree labour (Strauss & McGrath, 2017; Thomas, 2016), and violence (Gamlin, 2013), are increasingly discussed as continuums. SAWP stakeholders are recognized to be many, varied, and far-reaching (McLaughlin et. al., 2017; Narushima & Sanchez, 2014). Scholars have worked to broaden the disciplines and theories involved in the study of SAWP (Braun, 2012; Silverman & Hari, 2016). Below is a more detailed discussion of some of these developments.

SAWP on Indigenous Lands

SAWP, already complex, is further layered by its interactions with settler-colonialism. SAWP exists and operates on the occupied, unceded Indigenous lands of *A'nowara'ko:wa* (Turtle Island¹²). Many Mexican SAWP enrollees are indigenous or of

¹² Turtle Island is a term frequently employed by Indigenous peoples to describe North America without recognizing the legitimacy of North American borders in their histories, traditions, and discussions of sovereignty.

indigenous descent (Holmes & Bourgois, 2013; Paz Ramirez, 2013). There is a significant gap in SAWP research addressing these dimensions. Hjalmarson et. al. (2016) examine the racialized experiences of migrant workers on unceded Syilx Territories (Okanagan Valley, BC), and explore the possibilities of solidarity between Indigenous nations and SAWP workers to combat an agricultural economy “...operating upon a foundation of land dispossessed from Indigenous people, as well as the superexploitation of migrant workers...” (p. 80). SAWP scholars (Holmes, 2013; Holmes & Bourgois, 2013; Paz Ramirez, 2013; Satzewich, 1991) have acknowledged Indigeneity in agriculture to varying degrees, though it has not often been a main focus of study. Within broader agricultural studies, there is some engagement (Bronson & Knezevic, 2019; Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2018; Rotz, 2017) with the relationship between settler family farms and sustained colonialism on *A'nowara'ko:wa*, but much work is still needed.

SAWP & Resistance

Scholars continue to examine resistance through formal, political channels. These strategies include unionizing (Vosko, 2013; Vosko, 2018), legal work (Gabriel & Macdonald, 2011; Gabriel & Macdonald, 2014; Smith, 2013), and protests (Hahamovitch, 2011). In addition to and alongside this, many scholars, particularly within feminist SAWP studies (see *SAWP & Womxn*), have called for a reframing of resistance and political mobilization in varied ways (Paz Ramirez, 2013; Perry, 2018b; Perry, 2019; Cohen & Caxaj, 2018). Much of this comes from attention to the unique and powerful ways – contextualized within their circumstances – migrant workers engage in subversive power. Research (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Hahamovitch, 2011; Paz Ramirez, 2013) suggests these actions are often missed by traditional conceptualizations of political activism. As Hahamovitch argues:

Guestworkers' conditions are not poor because guestworkers come from poor countries and complacently accept whatever they get...they have complained to liaisons, written to the press, gone on strike, and gone to court. Yet their struggles remain hidden... (2011, pp. 210-211).

Paz Ramirez (2013) discusses social and informal activity as an act of resistance within migrant labour contexts (p. 69). She writes that "...[SAWP's] system of labour control is contested by workers through unorganized, individual and/or collective strategies of creative resistance" (p. 85). This encapsulates activities ranging from "... 'stealing' products of the farm produce to give out to friends or to exchange..." (p. 66) to formal (or traditionally-recognized) acts of political resistance (p. 66) – yet, much of their resistance centers on the aforementioned sociality. For example, Paz Ramirez writes of Paulina and Rosario, two womxn¹³ workers who explain:

Well, we are not supposed to meet them [laugh] but we know them [Mexican farmworkers] because we work in a farm nearby packing the plants that they grow here [in this greenhouse] so we became friends. Our bosses told to the two groups [Mexican male workers and Guatemalan female workers] to not engage in any exchanges [...] but today we managed our way to come here to visit our friends [laughing] (Paz Ramirez, 2013, p. 68).

Here, small acts of sociality and solidarity function as acts of resistance; resistance is redefined within the context of a worker program which seeks to restrict or erase social and intimate relationships amongst enrollees (Paz Ramirez, 2013).

Scholars (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Paz Ramirez, 2013) have turned their attention to these expressions of resistance and, in particular, these expressions among SAWP womxn. A growing body of literature which has sought to reframe "resistance" within complex labour issues; where previously, resistance was defined in formal and overt ways, scholars are increasingly

¹³ "Womxn" is an LGBTQ2+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, two spirit, plus) and gender inclusive term used in place of "woman" and "women" to connote individuals who identify in various ways with femininity and feminine identity. This is intended to move away from gender binaries (male/female).

opening eyes to the informal, subtle, everyday resistance of individuals like SAWP enrollees. Yet, given the body of literature in this vein remains relatively small, they suggest it remains necessary “...to broaden our understanding of resistance...” (p. 99) to fully encompass a range of (occasionally unfamiliar) political actions, and contest the dominant discourse that SAWP enrollees are unconcerned with rights mobilization (Hahamovitch, 2011).

SAWP as Network

SAWP research has increasingly focused on emphasizing SAWP as a networked and interconnected phenomenon. McLaughlin et. al. (2017)’s engagement with the concept of “whole workers” is perhaps most succinctly emblematic of these shifts. This concept recognizes that “real people do not live two separate lives, one beginning when they arrive at work and punch the clock and another when they punch out at the end of their shift” (McAlevy, 2014, cited in McLaughlin et. al., 2017, p. 684). Relevant to this study, there is perhaps less emphasis on objects (e.g. documents) as part of this network.

Work on family and community networks (Colby, 1998; McLaughlin et. al., 2017), informal support systems (Colby, 1998; McLaughlin et. al., 2017; Preibisch, 2004; Vosko, 2018), sending country dynamics (Colby, 1998; Braun, 2012; McLaughlin et. al., 2017; Hahamovitch, 2011), social relationships and sexual autonomy (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Paz Ramirez, 2013), and non-work interactions with employers (Narushima & Sanchez, 2014) have opened up the appreciation of the numbers, types, and dimensions of actors within SAWP. These aim to acknowledge that SAWP enrollees hold complex lives and interact (or are unable to interact) in complex ways with a whole host of stakeholders within expansive and far-reaching networks.

This literature will be discussed as it relates to three broad conceptual shifts (social networks, global networks, and local networks).

A. Social Networks

Preibisch (2004) was among initial scholars addressing a research gap on the social and informal harms of SAWP. She researched social engagement between migrant workers and rural Canadian communities (p. 205). Interviewing across stakeholder groups, Preibisch explored the relationships between formal institutions and social membership (p. 234), suggesting that formal citizenship had significant impact on informal/social citizenship. Her research confirmed significant social barriers between settled and migrant communities, but it:

...also present[ed] findings that suggest processes of social inclusion [were] at work, highlighting the development of personal ties between members of the permanent Canadian community and migrant agricultural workers as friends, lovers, or spouses (p. 210).

More recently, researchers (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Narushima & Sanchez, 2014; Paz Ramirez, 2013; Perry, 2015; Perry, 2018b) have continued to incorporate sociality and informal networks into their work. Many of these overlap with discussions of resistance (see *SAWP & Resistance*) and with feminist theorizing on SAWP (see *SAWP & Womxn* section below). Increasingly, scholars include at least cursory mention of informal networks and social integration in their overviews of the program and their policy recommendations (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2011; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010; Vosko, 2018).

Horgan & Liinamaa (2012) examine social ties between migrant workers and settled communities. For Horgan & Liinamaa, the idea is that “we can better mitigate the risks

associated with double precarity by enhancing our understanding [of] the interplay of labour rights and human rights within local social contexts” (p. 14). Their study concludes with recommendations to enhance the social opportunities of SAWP enrollees in Nova Scotia. Among these are a funding pool for organizing events, and increased contact between former SAWP enrollees (settled permanently) and current SAWP enrollees (p. 36).

McLaughlin et. al. (2017), using the (previously defined) idea of “whole workers,” seek to encourage conceptual frameworks where employment and sociality are not separate experiences. For McLaughlin et. al. (2017) SAWP enrollees are simultaneously worker and father (and many other things) – inexplicably intertwined. McLaughlin et. al. (2017) are able to offer nuanced policy recommendations that encapsulate a range of roles, experiences, and needs. Thus, recommendations like maximizing remittances, pensions, and Parental EI benefits (p. 697) attend to their lives as workers, but also as fathers.¹⁴

Narushima & Sanchez (2014) research the role of employers in ensuring social well-being for enrollees. They find that in often “paradoxical and problematic” ways (p. 10), employers treated worker issues simultaneously as “...‘personal’, related to workers’ lifestyle and behaviour choices” and as part of employer responsibility, “...having potential repercussions in work productivity” (p. 10). This contradictory and fragmented phenomenon results in unclear or inconsistent employer-employee dynamics. Further, the relationship is complicated by the fact that enrollees “...work and live in their employers’ rural farms” (p. 10), blurring the

¹⁴ McLaughlin et. al. (2017) are additionally notable for their inclusion of extended social networks (e.g. teachers) in their study (p. 689) – expanding our conception of traditional stakeholders.

boundaries between work and personal life. Yet, ultimately, employers continue to treat worker health and sociality as predominantly “...a personal issue, not a business concern” (p. 10), resulting in varied harms for workers.

Overall, existing literature documents the pervasiveness of social isolation and the harms associated with it. Studies demonstrate that good practices around social integration are not well-understood (Narushima & Sanchez, 2014), or well-supported (Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012).

B. Global Networks

Researchers (Braun, 2012; McLaughlin et. al., 2017) have noted a lack of research on sending countries. This may be partially attributed to access; Hahamovitch notes, “finding guestworkers to interview was easy. Finding government documents in Jamaica’s National Archives was another story” (2011, p. 20). Yet the SAWP field’s “explicitly national framework” (Braun, 2012, p. 8) has left international dimensions of the program understudied. Scholars (Braun, 2012; Hahamovitch, 2011; Hennebry et. al., 2012; McLaughlin et. al., 2017; Preibisch, 2010; Preibisch, 2012; Reed, 2008) have thus begun to paint a more globalized picture.

Braun (2012) utilizes postcolonial and critical race theory (see *SAWP & New Frameworks* below) in engaging with Caribbean nations. He highlights the relational existence of SAWP countries, and demonstrates that the receiving country (on its own) provides an insufficient picture. Because SAWP is a “tool of population management...inherited from the colonial era,” carrying the same “language and rationality” as historic civilization projects and the operation of Jamaican sugar plantations (p. 3), the administration of SAWP within Canada is necessarily linked to Jamaica and the way “...the Jamaican government negotiates its relationship with

seasonal farm workers it places in Canada...” (p. 3). For Braun, the sending country, receiving country, and worker enrollees are in constant, highly contextual and contingent relationships with each other. That is, “...the CSAWP is an expression of interlocking colonial processes between Canada and Jamaica, and the Jamaican government and its citizens” (Braun, 2012, p. ii).

Vosko (2013) conducts research with a group of Mexican SAWP enrollees in BC, amidst the recently-granted right to unionize. As she explains, “this article tells a story of a sending state’s efforts to limit labour rights and protections among migrant worker on behalf of employers in a host state” (p. 515). Similar to Braun (2012), Vosko highlights the complementary and often collaborative relationships between sending and receiving countries. Vosko’s case study of a 2011 court battle (p. 514) demonstrates, as she argues, that “...Mexico’s strategy to use its emigration power to black-list union supporters...highlights sending states’ potential role in perpetuating limited labour rights and protections among migrant workers” in Canada (p. 530).

McLaughlin et. al. (2017)’s “family-oriented perspective” (p. 683) is necessarily concerned with the sending country – as SAWP workers cannot migrate with their families (Paz Ramirez, 2013, p. 22). Their research demonstrates what Maclean & McLaughlin (2018) later describe as “hardships for family back home,” which stem directly from conditions in the receiving country, and are “measur[able] in tangible terms” (Maclean & McLaughlin, 2018, para. 21). McLaughlin et. al. (2017) document the decline of mental and physical health among workers (p. 691), children (p. 691), and spouses (p. 694) during these periods, as well as difficulties in school (pp. 693), and fundamental shifts in relationship dynamics (pp. 692, 694).

Other scholars (Basok & Belanger, 2016; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Narushima & Sanchez, 2014) are increasingly alerted to the need for internationally-focused work, if not explicitly exploring it. Basok et. al. (2014), in their section titled “Beyond the Receiving State” note that “...many other actors are involved in the reproduction of the deportation regime” (p. 1400) and engage in brief discussion of the role of *Secretaria* (Mexican Ministry of Labour) and the Mexican Consulate (pp 1401-1402). Additionally, research has occasionally taken to comparative work of SAWP and other temporary worker programs (See *SAWP & Broader Literature*).

These areas of study have the potential to highlight the ways sending countries, receiving countries, and enrollees develop together (Braun, 2012, p. 22), as well as provide a more rounded picture of SAWP workers’ lives – which, in addition to the workplace, involve relationships, rights, and needs outside of Canada (McLaughlin et. al., 2017, p. 695).

C. *Local Networks*

Recent literature has begun broadening the scope of research focused on the receiving country to contribute additional stakeholders— among these, specific regions, municipalities, and provinces. These projects (Preibisch, 2004; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Vosko, 2018) suggest that SAWP research can benefit from more heterogeneity in discussing geographic, political, cultural, legal, and social factors at micro-levels.

In the early 2000s, Preibisch “...chose [interviewees located in] two regions with contrasting migrant worker populations and production processes to illustrate the different contexts in which migrant farm workers work and live...” (2004, p. 211). Though not part of the main

research question(s), she concludes that “considering the sheer diversity...in terms of production systems and social differentiation, further comparative research is clearly warranted” (p. 211). Since Preibisch (2004), many scholars have turned their attention to this diversity.

Vosko (2018) evaluates the potential of unionizing to mitigate the insecurity of SAWP enrollees (stemming from their deportability). Vosko’s article limits itself to BC due to its unique allowance for unionizing (not present in Ontario).¹⁵ These geographical differences between BC and Ontario demonstrate the importance of studying localized context; SAWP functions differently in BC, where unions have occasionally “...mitigate[d] unjust termination...” (p. 884), from how it does in Ontario, where unions cannot provide this function. In keeping narrower contexts, Vosko is able to “...highlight the novelty and strengths...” of processes in BC (p. 884) as they relate to (and may benefit) SAWP more broadly, without obscuring localized issues and needs.

Horgan & Liinamaa (2012) focus on a specific SAWP population located in the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia. The scope of their research narrowed, beyond the provincial level, to a specific community – as they intend to “contribut[e] to existing research by examining a specific community of migrant workers that has not been addressed in existing research” (p. 5). Horgan & Liinamaa find that aspects of SAWP are scalable and applicable across Canada, but that others remain locally-situated and contingent. As they explain, SAWP enrollee’s realities are “...institutionally produced, socially practiced and individually experienced” (2012, p. 4),

¹⁵ In 2011, the Supreme Court of Canada upheld Ontario’s laws prohibiting agricultural workers from collective bargaining (Preibisch, 2012). As of 2018 (MacLean Wells & McLaughlin, 2018) this remains the case.

resulting in “multifold dimensions” impacting how SAWP will unfold at different scales and geographic levels (p. 4). They find that, for example, “the patterns of social and spatial isolation of migrant workers identified by research in other provinces are replicated in Nova Scotia, but are compounded by the small size and the relative isolation of their work sites” (p. 3).

Cohen & Caxaj (2018) narrow their research to the Okanagan Valley region of British Columbia, noting that “...each province and region brings unique challenges and histories that require a closer examination...” (p. 92). They unpack some of these regional differences – examining, among other factors, the specific activist groups present in Okanagan Valley (e.g. Radical Action with Migrants in Agriculture, or RAMA) (p. 93), and the unique branding of Okanagan Valley as “...‘wine country,’ and more recently, as a new frontier for tech entrepreneurs...” (p. 95). Cohen & Caxaj discuss the impacts these elements have on the local and contextual operation of SAWP in Okanagan Valley. Hjalmarson et. al. (2016) also contextualize SAWP within Okanagan Valley (see *SAWP on Indigenous Lands* above).

Scholarly work on locality, overall, is focused on the heterogeneity of the receiving country. Geographic, political, social, legal, and cultural contexts in the various receiving locations will impact the realities of SAWP workers and the unfolding of the SAWP program. As such, scholars (Vosko, 2013; Vosko. 2018; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Hjalmarson et. al., 2016) are increasingly turning their attention to specific geographies. This research is able to enhance our understanding of micro-level issues while still contributing to a broader, macro-level perspective on SAWP in Canada.

SAWP & the Legal Continuum

Scholars have suggested discrepancies between formal legal entitlements and in-practice realities among SAWP enrollees. Silverman & Hari (2016) note that formal “...rights to organize, unionize, and [earn] fair wages...” (p. 98) are limited in practice by structural obstacles (p. 98). MacLean Wells & McLaughlin (2018) discuss SAWP workers’ inability to collect employment insurance (EI), despite their legal eligibility and their mandatory monetary contributions to the fund. Binford (2019) notes that the standard SAWP contract “...‘appears’ to protect temporary foreign workers from abuse and underpayment...” but, in practice, often does not (p. 4). McLaughlin finds that legal entitlement does not guarantee access to healthcare. Rather:

Most employers mediate access to the workers’ health cards, their work hours, transportation, and their ability to take time off work; in some cases, the employers also translate for workers who do not speak English. Yet the employers also control workers’ dismissals and the evaluations which influence future involvement in the program. These power dynamics make their mediation of workers’ healthcare access problematic for workers, even in cases where employers may have the best intentions or go out of their way to facilitate care (McLaughlin, 2009, p. 6).

With these intricacies in mind, work around citizenship often discusses “precarious legal status” (McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013; Hennebry & Preibisch, 2011; Goldring et. al., 2009; Vosko, 2006), “double precarity” (Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012), and “institutionalized deportability” (Vosko, 2018; Basok et. al., 2016). Each concept has its own nuances (elaborated on below), but broadly refers to experiences of systemic fragility and unsafety in their positions (physical and symbolic) within Canada.

Scholars trouble the narrative that SAWP workers enjoy the safety and security typically associated with legal status in Canada. Deportability within SAWP is frequently defined as: program functionality predicated on the threat of deportation, where readmission is placed in

constant relationship with “the possibility of removal” (Vosko, 2018, p. 883). This exists alongside and within precarious legal status; where SAWP enrollees must persistently engage in self-discipline to protect their (already fragile) status. For example, “...learn[ing] to mute signals of tiredness or symptoms of sickness in order to continue working at the pace required...” (Paz Ramirez, 2013, p. 32). Failure to meet formal program requirements, informal or unspoken program requirements, may quickly place their legal status in question (Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Paz Ramirez, 2013; Vosko, 2018). In this way, SAWP workers fall squarely in no category; experiencing aspects of legality, illegality, and a spectrum of statuses in-between.

Horgan & Liinamaa coin “double precarity” to describe SAWP workers – arguing “temporary foreign workers...are doubly precarious in terms of their employment and their immigration status...” (2012, pp. 31-32). Enrollees have limited or zero access to the permanent residency pathways often available in “traditional” immigration processes. Yet, even within their legal residency periods, SAWP workers have very little control over their place in Canada (Vosko, 2018; McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013) – often facing abrupt termination and repatriation without opportunity for appeal (Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012).

Much of the literature has focused on these themes and has examined the ways citizenship and legality are constructed for migrant labourers, exploring the consequences of these different constructions on safety, security, and quality of life in Canada. As in the above works (Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Paz Ramirez, 2013; Vosko, 2018), and many others (McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013; Vosko, 2010; Goldring et. al., 2009), legality is increasingly understood as a continuum. This has impacted SAWP research in two overarching ways. First, current work understands that formal status does not guarantee status in practice. Second, it

acknowledges that migrants are highly mobile across the legal continuum, potentially experiencing several shifts, transitions, and in-betweens in their lifetime. As Horgan & Liinamaa describe: “the divide between legal and illegal resident is not so clear cut; instead, we have, ‘the systemic, legal and normalized production of a range of precarious, or less than full, im/migration statuses’” (2012, p. 7). These developments have provided insight across several areas of SAWP study, as scholars find that ambiguous legal status can impact physical and mental health (McLaughlin, 2009; McLaughlin et. al., 2017; McLaughlin et. al., 2018; Pysklywec et. al., 2011; Salami & Salami, 2015), social integration (Preibisch, 2004), and workplace wellbeing and satisfaction (McLaughlin et. al., 2017), among other things.

SAWP & Womxn

Though “...the gender vulnerability faced by female workers in the program...” is acknowledged as an important and complex topic (Paz Ramirez, 2013, p. 59), there has been limited research on womxn in SAWP. This is partially due, as scholars note, to a gender bias within the program itself (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Hennebry et. al., 2012; Preibisch, 2010; Preibisch, 2012). The number of womxn entering SAWP throughout the years has been significantly lower, at 2% (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018, p. 95). In recent years, the number of womxn SAWP workers has been growing (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Preibisch, 2012). The proportion of Mexican womxn travelling to Canada through SAWP in 2016 was estimated at 4% of the SAWP workforce – a 2% increase from previous years (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018, p. 95). This is partially attributed to the “...landmark agreement...with the Mexican government that...eliminate[d] the ability of Canadian growers to request SAWP workers of a particular gender” (Cohen & Caxaj,

2018, p. 95).¹⁶ As womxn SAWP participants become more common, scholars are turning their attention to this gap in the literature.

Sexual, romantic, and familial relationships have been increasingly centered within discussions. Though much of this work continues to focus primarily on male/cis-men experiences (e.g. McLaughlin et. al., 2017), womxn migrant workers are beginning to reach the forefront of conversation. Paz Ramirez (2013) identifies “denial of sexual relations” as one of ten apartheid-like conditions of SAWP. She notes that enrollees are “...forbidden to establish relationships with the opposite sex to prevent ‘romantic’ relationships from flourishing between them” (p. 67). Within her work, she highlights the strategies womxn labourers employ to circumvent and resist this technique of control (see *SAWP & Resistance*); impromptu salsa nights, traditional meals, and celebrations of birthdays/national festivities create “...social spaces [where] opportunities and moments [exist] in which workers can relate to each other...” (p. 68).

Cohen & Caxaj (2018) discuss the “...reproductive oppression in which migrant women find themselves unable to make free choices about their own bodies and sexuality” (p. 91) as it relates to SAWP specifically. Using a “reproductive justice framework” (p. 91), they examine the institutional and systemic factors contributing to these reproductive barriers. Cohen & Caxaj explain:

We argue that women’s access to full sexual and reproductive justice [as SAWP enrollees] is restricted by state-level policies and practices, employer coercion and control, and circumstances related to the structure of the SAWP. Despite these restrictions, however, women are involved in various acts of resistance that range from

¹⁶ This agreement was specific to Mexico – not SAWP-wide.

covert or 'everyday' strategies to more overt ones, which when considered together represent an ongoing movement for public advocacy and solidarity (2018, p. 92).

Scholars have increasingly devoted space in their work to acknowledging the lack of womxn-focused research (McLaughlin et. al., 2017; Hahamovitch, 2011), though literature examining the unique challenges of womxn enrolled in SAWP remains uncommon. A small group of scholars have begun documenting the lived experiences of womxn – researching SAWP through (intersectional)¹⁷ feminist lenses in crucial ways. Their work lifts up womxns' leadership and organizing roles (Paz Ramirez, 2013), and examines their particular social and health barriers (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018).

SAWP & New Frameworks

SAWP research has increasingly employed diverse frameworks. To name a few covered here; Foucauldian (Braun, 2012; Basok et. al., 2014; Basok & Belanger, 2016; Paz Ramirez, 2013); anti-trafficking feminist (Silverman & Hari, 2016); anti-racist Marxist (Asomah, 2014; Smith, 2013); postcolonial (Braun, 2012; Hjalmarson et. al., 2016); and critical race (Braun, 2012).

Braun (2012) proposes postcolonial studies and Foucauldian analysis (specifically "governmentality", see Chapter 2) as a nuanced method for examining the various actors, locations, and tensions involved in the administration of SAWP in Canada. Employing these concepts, Braun (2012) focuses specifically on Caribbean populations within his work. He examines the ways in which SAWP contributes to shaping "respectable black subject[s]"

¹⁷ Paz Ramirez (2013), on intersectionality, notes that workers' "...struggles are specific to their condition of 'temporariness' and the intersections of race, gender, immigration, and employment status..." (p. 75).

through the use of the program as “a tool of population management” (p.3). This exploration is specific to the racialized existence, and colonial history, of Caribbean migrant labourers. Braun argues that:

...the evolution of Jamaican labour migration [is] a solution to social, as well as political-economic, problems that begin with the plantation sugar and slave economy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries” (2012, p. 10).

Other scholars (Basok et. al., 2014; Basok & Belanger, 2016; Paz Ramirez, 2013) have since incorporated Foucauldian concepts (often focused particularly on discipline and power) into studies of the ways SAWP racializes enrollees. For example, Basok et. al. (2014) set up deportation and deportability within a landscape of disciplinary technique and biopolitical power (p. 1395). They discuss the techniques workers use to self-discipline, arguing that these “...calculative and reflexive practices [by workers] to secure their own employment” simultaneously “...co-construct the disciplinary power of the deportation regime” (p. 1396).

Conversely, some scholars have suggested that critical race theory does not capture the complexity of SAWP realities. Smith (2013), for example, examines the Supreme Court of Canada’s Fraser (2011) decision “regarding the constitutional right to freedom of association of agricultural workers in Ontario” (p. 15). He employs a “Marxist anti-racist class analysis” to understand “the marked indifference to the racialized class dimensions of both the Fraser ruling and the wider understandings of agricultural labour production in Canada” (p. 17). He argues that the “Marxist anti-racist class analysis” adequately addresses the capitalist exploitation at the core of SAWP, where critical race theory does not (pp. 19-20).

Smith’s intervention is similar to work done by Basok (2004) and Asomah (2014), who consider the importance of the intersections of race, economics, and citizenship. Basok (2004)

highlights the neoliberal policies that affect marginalized (and racialized) populations' social citizenship – particularly SAWP workers. Asomah (2014) considers “how the state facilitates capitalist accumulation in the agricultural sector in Canada through immigration policies and practices” (p. 117) – and how this disproportionality affects marginalized populations like SAWP workers (p. 121).

Paz Ramirez (2013) provides an analysis of SAWP as a labour apartheid system of discipline and control (p. ii), within a context of “heightened neoliberal hegemony and state multiculturalism” (p. ii). That is, though the program does not “...explicitly contain race based exclusions and restrictions on rights and entitlements...” (due to the state’s commitment to multiculturalism), workers experience “systemic social and legalized forms of racism and discrimination...on a daily basis and in multiple dimensions of their lives” (p. 3).

Overall, there is a predominance within SAWP literature to choose conceptual frameworks which tease out the particular (and increasingly nuanced) neoliberal/capitalist/class considerations that interact with SAWP workers’ racialized existences within Canada. Though scholars employ different frameworks (e.g. critical race vs. anti-racist class theories) to engage with these dimensions, scholars are nuancing their discussions of race as they intersect with SAWP (and the many facets that are involved in the program’s operation).

There are additional developments in feminist studies (some of these overlapping with and discussed in *SAWP & Womxn*). Silverman & Hari (2016) suggest that anti-trafficking feminist theory may add substantially to research on SAWP. They argue that “theoretical

insights can be gained from the feminist anti-trafficking debate to recognize SAWP enrollees' agency despite their exploitative living and working conditions" (2016, p. 92). This framework, according to Silverman & Hari, allows for more comprehensive recommendations – namely, ones that involve the continuation of the SAWP program (as a vital source of livelihood) without disregarding the many and varied areas which require improvement (2016, p. 92).

SAWP & Solutions

Academic work in this area of study is often divided between abolitionist and reformist positions. Some say activist and policy work is similarly divided; Hahamovitch (2011), for example, argues that policy-makers propose solutions based on their "...search[] for a compromise between those who demand and those who oppose guestworker programs..." (p. 212). Others, such as McLaughlin & Weiler (2019), suggest, "to our knowledge, none of [the migrant justice organizations across Canada] call for outright abolition" (p. 3).

Both positions typically stem from rigorous research into the program, and scholars on both sides of the debate frequently agree on aspects of the conclusions reached – particularly around the harms of SAWP. Vonk & Holmes, responding to an abolitionist perspective set out in Binford (2019), acknowledge that they "...agree with the general argument and important concerns laid out in Binford's article..." (2019, p. 2) but cannot agree to eliminating the program (pp. 3-4). This is where scholars often diverge in their conclusions and recommendations.

Authors like Binford (2019) conclude "under current structuration, any meaningful collective organization of SAWP workers is unlikely" (p. 15) and the program should thus be eliminated. These arguments often point to issues such as workers' deportability and existence

under unfree labour regimes (Binford, 2019) as justifications for abolition. Under this perspective, SAWP is typically viewed as slow or unable to change, given its roots in structural systems of oppression. Others suggest collaboration between community organizations, government agents, and migrant workers has been increasing (Vonk & Holmes, 2019, p. 1) and small but meaningful improvements have been made over the years (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019). These scholars argue that “the wholesale termination of TFWPs would end one of the few (yes, imperfect and often abused) legal options left for migrant laborers traveling to the Global North” (Vonk & Holmes, 2019, p. 2).

Scholars assuming reformist positions typically offer policy recommendations as solution alternatives (to abolishment). These recommendations center on better quality of life and access to workers’ rights (Silverman & Hari, 2016; McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013; Vosko, 2018; McLaughlin et. al., 2017) and are directly informed by workers’ desires and voices (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019, Vonk & Holmes, 2019). Many of these recommendations echo, or are directly informed by, statements made by SAWP workers in interviews, participatory research, and activist settings (Preibisch, 2004; McLaughlin et. al., 2017; Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Perry, 2018a; Perry, 2018b). Policy recommendations include certified interpreters (Mysyk et. al., 2009), greater mobility within work permits (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010; McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Vosko, 2018), increased support for health and safety services (McLaughlin, 2009; Cohen & Caxaj, 2019), more nuanced public awareness (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010), funds and program infrastructure for social integration (Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012), among other things.

Excluding social communication between communities (Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Paz Ramirez, 2013; Perry, 2015; Perry, 2018b), few researchers explicitly consider information-

sharing or formal communication practices within their recommendations. Notable exceptions being Nakache & Kinoshita (2010), for their recommendation “...that communication between different governmental players be improved” (p. 1), and Mysyk et. al. (2009) for their recommendation of certified interpreters.

SAWP & Broader Literature

Given the scope and focus of this study (concerning itself primarily with SAWP), and given the ample literature on SAWP more narrowly, I will not attend to broader migration and labour literature in detail. Rather, I will provide a cursory look into some of the work being done, and how it may connect to SAWP on various common issues, concerns, and research aims.

Some of the literature on labour and migration explicitly explores the relationships between SAWP and other migration pathways. On legality, it is particularly common to incorporate a range of migratory processes (see *SAWP & the Legal Continuum* for further discussion). Basok et. al. (2014), for example, “...explores the reproduction of the deportation regime used to discipline both unauthorized and legally employed temporary farm workers” (p. 1396). Hahamovitch (2011) argues that “if the history of guestworkers in the United States demonstrates anything...it’s that guestworker programs are not an alternative to illegal immigration. Rather, the two systems...have always existed in symbiosis” (p. 208). Goldring et. al. (2009) situate “seasonal workers” and “temporary foreign workers” (p. 250) within their discussion of illegality – arguing that:

...rather than legally producing unambiguous and uniform undocumented illegality, elements of the Canadian policy and national context contribute to generating varied

forms of irregularity. Moreover, there may be movement [by migrants] between forms of irregularity, and between these and legality (Goldring et. al., 2009, p. 255).

Others (Binford, 2013; Preibisch, 2004; McLaughlin, 2010; Preibisch & Hennebry, 2012) have similarly pointed to analogous experiences of precarious status and deportability in seasonal agricultural workers and undocumented immigrants. Overall, scholars have recognized the continuity between SAWP and other forms of legal/illegal/ambiguous migration and migratory labour in their day-to-day experiences, risks, and struggles.

Additionally, some scholars have placed North American TFWPs and “undocumented”¹⁸ labour within a global stage. However, Preibisch’s suggestion that comparative work is uncommon (2004, p. 211) may still hold merit; more recently, McKay et. al. (2011) have similarly noted a need for more robust frameworks related to “...comparative and cross-national research, particularly in the context of researching undocumented migrants” (p. 45). Nonetheless, there is fairly substantial work done on comparing or contextualizing programs within global migration models, movements, and issues (Basok & López-Sala, 2016; Colby, 1998; Fudge, 2014; Preibisch, 2010; Preibisch, 2012; Hahamovitch, 2011).

McKay et. al. (2011) place undocumented workers in Europe and the US in conversation. They discuss analogous impacts of the interwar years (p. 18), contrasting migration policies in the 1960s (p. 23), and ultimately conclude that undocumented workers in Europe face parallel challenges to those in the US (p. 1). Preibisch (2012, 2010) situates Canada’s agricultural TFWPs within a “liberalized, global food economy” (2010, p. 429). She attributes the rise of flexible,

¹⁸ There are several problems noted with term “undocumented.” First, as McKay et. al. (2011) note, this term often refers to different legal statuses and situations for different research communities – often making the term unclear. Second, so-called “undocumented migrants” are some of the most well-documented (and surveilled) individuals (McKay et. al., 2011).

disposable workforces to increased competition under globalization (p. 429). Hahamovitch's project documents a global history of "guestworker" programs, tracing the impacts of world events on programs in the United States, Canada, Europe, and Singapore, among others (2011, p. 14).

Other research is focused more squarely on systems beyond SAWP. Undocumented labour networks (McKay et. al., 2011; Vila-Henninger, 2019; Walter et. al., 2004), and temporary worker programs in Europe, East Asia, and the US (Anderson & Franck, 2019; Belanger & Giang, 2013; Cheng, 2016; Derks, 2010; Scott, 2015) are frequent areas of focus. Broadly speaking, research on global worker programs is largely concerned with the creation of precarious workforces (Belanger & Giang, 2013) through neoliberal discourse which emphasizes individual responsibility and "the "outsourcing of recruitment and supervision" (Anderson & Franck, 2019, p. 1207) for economic benefit (Scott, 2015). Work additionally examines "rights deficits" (Basok & López-Sala, 2016, p. 1274), mainstream media discourse (Cheng, 2016), social citizenship and the construction of the Other (Cheng, 2016; Vickers & Rutters, 2018), among other things. Research on undocumented workers unpacks similar themes; capitalist systems in which businesses increasingly appeal to flexible workforces (Bloch & McKay, 2015, p. 50); neoliberal discourse which bolsters anti-immigration policies (Vila-Henninger, 2018) and results in social, legal, and physical precarity for workers (Fernández, 2018; Goodson, 2017).

As mentioned in opening paragraphs, SAWP literature has expanded significantly since its initial popularization. Early theorists laid groundwork by documenting the "unfree labour" of SAWP enrollees – a phenomenon which, previous to this work, was taken as extraordinary or rare. Building on these insights, more recent research has been able to turn attention to an

increasing number of stakeholders, themes/issues, and applicable theories, with the desire to improve SAWP experiences for participants – often building small successes towards this aim (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Holmes & Vonk, 2019). As one of my interview participants noted, “there’s research that’s being done all the time in regards to workers, and we sometimes will refer to that research...a lot of really great work and a lot of good research” (Participant 4, 2019).

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Conceptual Framework (Overview)

This thesis relies on elements of two conceptual frameworks: Foucauldian theory, and critical discourse analysis (CDA). With respect to Foucault, this research draws on Foucauldian ideas about bodies, spatial organizations of power, and documents. Additionally, CDA is employed as a conceptual framework (in addition to its use as a data analysis method). As Knezevic (2011) notes, “...interpretations of power, ideology, and discourse are fundamental to all CDA work, thus making the approach theoretical as much as it is methodological” (p. 46). These two frameworks are discussed below – as well as an additional framework (embodied labour) which may lend insight during discussion of the broader implications of this research.

This study remains cognisant of the importance of race to the lived experiences of SAWP enrollees. Given the heterogeneity of racialized existences, cultures, and sending countries involved in the program, scholars working within critical race and/or (post)colonial theory have typically concentrated on smaller sample sizes and concerned themselves with specific populations (Braun, 2012; Hahamovitch, 2011). As such, given the scope of this study, my research does not engage *explicitly* with critical race or (post)colonial theory, although the analysis is nevertheless informed by those theoretical traditions.

3.2 Conceptual Framework A: Foucauldian Theories

Foucauldian frameworks have gained prominence within SAWP literature (Basok et. al., 2014; Basok, 2016; Braun, 2012; Paz Ramirez, 2013). These ideas have been useful as we have sought to study increasingly nuanced, immaterially, or indirectly violent expressions of power

within SAWP. Among these are: self-discipline (Basok et. al., 2014; Basok, 2016; Paz Ramirez, 2013), covert or colour-blind racism (Braun, 2012; Paz Ramirez, 2013), flexible and docile work forces (Basok, 2016; Hennebry & Preibisch, 2011; McLaughlin et. al., 2017) and various informal controls across health, sociality, sexuality, and mobility (McLaughlin, et. al., 2017; Paz Ramirez, 2013). Much of the literature working with Foucault relies on theories of biopower and disciplinary techniques (Basok et. al., 2014; Basok, 2016).

In this study, Foucauldian thought is used as it pertains to three concepts that are particularly crucial to my research. Space, as a geographically-specific¹⁹ and land-based (agricultural) program; bodies, which are at the forefront and on the ground (literally) within these issues; and documents, for their direct relevance to information-sharing.

A. Spatial Organizations of Power

Elden & Crampton (2007) suggest that Foucauldian frameworks require researchers to begin with a certain perspective on space. Namely, they require recognizing that “thinking about and organizing space is one of the pre-occupations of power” (Elden & Crampton, 2007, p. 25), and that “...the knowledge/practice of space...can serve to subvert power itself” (p. 26). Here, space facilitates relationships of power and is thus a potential source of both oppression and resistance – and a spectrum of power relations in-between. As Elden & Crampton (2007) explain:

¹⁹ Given the geographic concentration of the agricultural sector in Canada and the regional variations within the program.

Power is both productive and negative, locally defined and yet immanent within particular fields...of action. Space is a vital part of the battle for control and surveillance of individuals, but it is a battle and not a question of domination (p. 2).

This conceptualization is complementary to the SAWP literature that this study seeks to situate itself within; work which recognizes creative and informal resistance (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Paz Ramirez, 2013), moves away from binary approaches to complex networks (Basok et. al., 2014; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Strauss & McGrath, 2017), and centers migrant worker voices in research, discussion, and recommendations (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019). Space, being highly relational, contingent, and fluid, allows for a similar conceptualization of power and its various expressions (in overt, subtle, covert, everyday, formal, and informal ways).

B. Documents (and Space and Bodies)

This study considers how, within SAWP, physical documents organize space, bodies, and possibilities for domination and resistance. Research has shown SAWP documents are particularly preoccupied with space. Work permits are location-based, tied to one employer and one location (Asomah, 2014, p. 118). Workers must reside on employer property (Paz Ramirez, 2013, p. 22). Worker mobility is determined and (dis)allowed by an employer's contractual obligation to provide transportation (Government of Canada, 2020c).

For Foucault, "in the form of documentation, writing is also an important technology of power" (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. vi). That is, there is significance in "the techniques by which documents about the living are arranged and displayed, techniques which constitute a discipline that parallels that of the discipline of the living, make documents stand-ins for the living people to which they are yet perpetually bound" (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, pp. 103).

This conceptualization intervenes in SAWP scholarship that, though overwhelmingly concerned

with power relations, has been largely unconcerned with the power of documentation.²⁰

Foucauldian thought conceptualizes documents as important objects with significant impact in ways that recognize the “aliveness” of space (Elden & Crampton, 2007, p. 55) and the mobilization of documents within space(s) to discipline and control populations (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 101) (see *Bodies* section for further discussion).

This disciplinary technique also encompasses counter-discipline through the potential for “radical writing” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 131). Here, documents produced from resistance, solidarity, and sociality have the potential for change; “...as one writes about oneself to others, and as others write back, what one can say of oneself transforms, until one contests the limits of one’s discursive position” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 131). In and through documentation, workers (and allies) can shift discourses and, by extension, the way these things impact the physical organization of spaces (and bodies and lives). This has been demonstrated in SAWP workers’ desire to mobilize writing, language, and documentation – in news media (Hahamovitch, 2011), letters (Hahamovitch, 2011), English-language classes (Huffa, 2018), partnerships with activist groups (Migrant Worker Alliance for Change, n.d.), documentaries and physical demonstrations (remembering that documentation need not be written) (Hahamovitch, 2011), among others.

C. Bodies (and Documents and Space)

This study is largely concerned with information sharing, and its impact on program participants’ physical realities (i.e. documents and bodies) – some of this has been discussed as

²⁰ Notable exceptions being discussion of the work permit (Asomah, 2014; Paz Ramirez, 2013) and a few scholars’ (Braun, 2012; Hahamovitch, 2011) inclusion of SAWP documents in their primary data.

it relates to previous sections (see *Spatial Organizations of Power* and *Documents* sections).

Though scholars have argued that Foucault's work was devoid of "thingness" (Elden & Crampton, 2007, p. 56), in some of Foucault's work, there is a sustained engagement with documents as "things" acting on and with bodies (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018). While, for the Foucauldian tradition, documents are in part immaterial language and text (Elden & Crampton, 2007, p. 56), they are also physical and physically-impactful objects. As Sheldahl-Thomason (2018) explains, "...it becomes clear that documents serve a panoptic function...the 'turning of real lives into writing' is ultimately a panoptic procedure" – rendering lives visible and identifiable (p. 100) in tangible ways and with tangible consequences.

Relevant to this study, this is perhaps most clearly developed in *Lives of Infamous Men*²¹. Here, Foucault argues that "collisions with power" (2000, p. 161) made lives, and bodies, "describable and transcribable" (p. 169) within documents. In and through the actions of these objects, the real "trajectories" of bodies and lives shifted (p. 161). Foucault demonstrates this with the *lettres de cachet* (king's letters),²² which encapsulate both the sovereign power and the disciplinary/self-disciplinary mechanisms (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 99) of the state. Or, as Foucault phrases it, lives were "...observed, categorized, and indexed only within a power relation...haunted by the figure of the king – by his real power [*sovereign*]

²¹ This research draws on Foucauldian works (e.g. Foucault, 2000) which attribute "misfortune," "wildness," and "dubious madness" to individuals, describing their lives as "obscure" and "ill-fated" (Foucault, 2000, p. 159). This project departs from these conceptual elements, and (as in McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Vonk & Holmes, 2019) strives to pay attention to the concerns, needs, and opinions of SAWP workers in a way which recognizes "people who, at different points in a single day, reproduce, resist, are complicit in, rage against, celebrate, throw up hands/fists/towels, and withdraw and participate in uneven social structures" (Tuck, 2009, p. 420).

²² The *lettres de cachet* were letters signed by the King of France enforcing orders and judgements (often penal) which could not be appealed. These letters were often signed by request of French families in seeking justice or correction of perceived wrongdoing.

or by the specter of his might [*disciplinary/self-disciplinary*]" (2000, p. 170). Foucault's work in this text conceptualizes the range of overt-subtle expressions of state power, violence, and unfree-ness continually noted by SAWP scholars (Holmes & Bourgois, 2013; Strauss & McGrath, 2017; Thomas, 2016), placing it within the context of documentation in a way which more fully suits a study on information-sharing.

D. Summary

Overall, this study employs Foucault's work and Foucauldian work to:

Analyze space as a key tool in expressions of power. Space restricts and supports both resistance and oppression in subtle, everyday ways. Space facilitates and impedes networks, which facilitate and impede information sharing across groups, platforms, and locations.

Recognize documents as significant, physically-impactful, and alive (as actors). Documents are actively mobile across spaces and in organizing spaces (and bodies). Documents are understood as simultaneously insignificant and significant. "Dry texts" and small snippets (Foucault, 2000, p. 158) may contain as much intensity as long, rich texts (p. 160). "Insignificant" documents are discursively rich for what they seek to omit, obscure, or erase.

Center bodies in the discussion. Bodies are in the fields, in resistance, in oppressive contexts. Their relationship with immaterial program administration (documents, processes, information) is not inconsequential but vitally linked and physically significant.

Acknowledge the (often inseparable) interconnectedness of space, power, bodies, and documents. Foucauldian frameworks as outlined above are sufficiently fluid to allow analysis

which recognizes the (often messy) human enterprise of SAWP information sharing without excessive quantification – while still providing clear concepts towards clear analysis.

3.3. Conceptual Framework B: CDA

As an early and influential writer on CDA, Fairclough offers three broad stages characteristic of the method: description, interpretation, and explanation – or, in the updated text, critique, interpretation, and explanation (as cited in Robinson, 2016, p. 117). The shift from “description” to “critique” resolves some of the challenges in “describing” reality (Robinson, 2016, p. 117) within an academic tradition which shares similarities with post-structuralism (Knezevic, 2011, p. 47) – where reality shapes and is shaped by language, and is not merely described by it.

More recently, scholars in migration and labour fields have employed CDA to examine “...interrelated elements such as social relations, power, institutions, and cultural values...” (Cheng, 2016, p. 2513), as well as neoliberalism (Bennett, 2018), and media construction of the Other (Vickers & Rutters, 2018), among other things. For this study, CDA provides four main conceptual bases for analysis: 1. a rich understanding of neoliberalism, capitalism/new capitalism, and economic relations, 2. an emphasis on practical outcomes, 3. an understanding of documents, text, and language as discursively significant, and 4. a recognition of the physicality and physical impact of documents, text, and language. Some of these elements engage with the Foucauldian framework in complementary ways.

A. Neoliberalism, Capitalism/New Capitalism, and Economic Relations

CDA scholarship has sought to understand and analyze “narratives of progress,” ideas of modern advancement, and capital growth (Fairclough, 2000, p. 148), and as such, holds comprehensive and long-standing knowledge on neoliberal/capitalist systems (Knezevic, 2011). Within labour studies broadly,²³ CDA is often used to analyze discursive and textual tools employed for the creation of individualized and productive citizens within a neoliberal context of privatization, responsabilization/accountability, and deregulation (Bennett, 2018; Shin & Ging, 2019). CDA studies have situated migratory labour within capitalist systems which increasingly require flexible, disposable workforces (Basok, 2016; Bennet, 2018; Hennebry & Preibisch, 2011), and are characteristic of governments which outsource and download responsibility (Anderson & Franck, 2019) to maximize economic benefits.

Given SAWP’s reputation as foreign aid, national and international development, and a model of economic progress (Bauder, 2008; Satzewich, 2007), CDA can provide insightful analysis to this program more specifically. Almost all of the literature on SAWP mentions the dominant discourse on the program as “triple-win” (Vosko, 2018) or as “best practice” within migration management models (Satzewich, 2007). Vosko notes that “...TFWPs are promoted by international organizations such as the World Bank...and the International Organization on Migration as the way forward in global migration policy” (2018, p. 882). National and international²⁴ economic motivations are often identified as a barrier to effective, timely, positive change within the program (Satzewich, 2007; Vosko, 2013) – given, for example, the

²³ Studies on TFWPs (more specifically) using CDA typically analyze the racialized power relations of settled and migrant labour communities (e.g. Cheng, 2016).

²⁴ Both sending and receiving countries are frequently implicated in these economic motivations (Braun, 2012; Vosko, 2013).

program's success in lowering production and labour costs (Hennebry et. al., 2012). CDA will thus complement the Foucauldian framework discussed above – adding the economic perspectives, and critiques of capitalism/neoliberalism, that scholars (Basok, 2004; Braun, 2012; Asomah, 2014) suggest are crucial in studying SAWP.

B. Practical Outcomes

In his work, Fairclough suggested that we “...critically account ... for the ways that discourse relates to other (non-discursive) parts of social reality...” (Robinson, 2016, pp. 116-117). Similarly, Myer (2001) suggests that “CDA scholars play an advocatory role...” and “thereby... derive[s] results which are of practical relevance” (p. 15). This approach is well-suited to SAWP studies for its emphasis on the “real-world” implications of discourse, and thus its call for “praxis, for activity and action” (Robinson, 2016, p. 117). As mentioned in Chapter 2, scholars studying SAWP have noted the continued need for practical outcomes and policy implications within a program which – though improving – can be slow to change (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019). Thus, CDA successfully weds theoretical and practical considerations in a way which complements the intended outcomes of this project (see Chapter 1 for outcomes).

C. Documents, Text, and Language

CDA is additionally complementary for its perspective on documents. CDA is often interested in “deconstructing the commonsensical” (Knezevic, 2011, p. 44); that is, documents which appear devoid of subject positions, assumptions, or connotation. Given the “dryness” (Foucault, 2000) of the documents to be analyzed within this study, frameworks which approach documents from this perspective are crucial. As Fairclough notes, CDA claims to “help

correct the widespread underestimation of the significance of language in production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power” (Fairclough, 2014, p. 45). This conceptualization of typically-insignificant language is extremely helpful when basing analysis around these types of “just-the-facts” informational documents.

D. Physicality and Physical Impact

CDA provides some mitigation of Foucault’s tendency to be “caught up in the verbal” (Meyer, 2001, p. 20). This is beneficial, given this study’s emphasis of the material realities, bodies, and labour of SAWP workers. In conceptualizing relationships between discursive practices and realities, CDA assumes a fairly material (but not deterministic) perspective. As Meyer writes:

CDA generally sees its procedure as a hermeneutic process...Compared to the (causal) explanations of the natural sciences, hermeneutics can be understood as the method of grasping and producing meaning relations...which implies that the meaning of one part can only be understood in the context of the whole, but that this in turn is only accessible from its component parts... (2001, p. 16).

Through this scaling, CDA allows for “the mediation between grand theories as applied to society at large and concrete instances of social interaction” (p. 18). This approach, alongside Foucault, allows for examination of the material impacts between documents and realities/bodies without assuming a totalizing perspective. Developed within Siegfried Jager’s work, CDA often sees “the social acting subject [as] the link between discourse and reality” (as cited in Meyer, 2001, p. 20) – allowing both materialism and fluidity in CDA’s analysis of the implications of discourse.

3.4 Conceptual Framework C: (Possibility of) Embodied Labour/Performance Studies

SAWP studies frequently theorize about the body, but do not often (explicitly) reference concepts of “embodied labour,” or “embodiment”. Notable exceptions are Chavez (2009), Perry (2018a, 2019), and more briefly, Paz Ramirez (2013).²⁵ Though these scholars have done much to advance the work at the intersection of these fields, there is not a wealth of recent writing utilizing an “embodied labour” approach.

As Chavez argues, the relationship between documents and bodies is intimate – under this approach, they are “bodies-as-texts” (2009, p. 18) and texts-as-bodies²⁶. Further, centering bodies as important objects is crucial when working within SAWP studies – where bodies are livelihoods, are in constant motion and use (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Perry, 2018). Finally, performance theory assumes certain perspectives at its core. As Pettinger (2015) explains, “embodied labour” sees communication (“performances”) as networked, ongoing, and contingent. Importantly, it also sees materials (e.g. documents) as “living” actors within this network. She writes:

The key aspect [of embodied labour is]: working *with* rather than working *on*– whether that be with materials or humans – means that work is done through a conscious engagement by a situated working body committed to relationships with other beings, to a material environment and capable of judgment and discrimination (p. 284).

This conceptualization is potentially useful²⁷ in negotiating ideas of power and unfree labour without reducing the complexity of lived experiences, relationships, and networks within SAWP.

²⁵ Additionally, Walter et. al. (2004) employ the concept of “embodied social suffering” (in regards to workers’ intimate and embodied experience of injury and illness on-the-job), but this work is conducted with “undocumented” workers in the US.

²⁶ This conceptualization complements the Foucauldian framework I am employing (regarding bodies and documents).

²⁷ However, given the established success of Foucauldian and CDA frameworks, and the relative lack of “embodied labour” approaches within SAWP/TFWP studies, this is not the main framework – rather, it is a supplementary conceptual tool in the discussion chapters of this research (and a possibility for recommendation in future studies).

Further, it allows us to consider how SAWP documents continue to change and impact the program even after they are filled-in, printed, sent, mailed, accepted, rejected, published, or destroyed. It invites consideration of the ways that SAWP participants are continually negotiating and negotiated – allowing a move away from finite or individualized recommendations regarding SAWP, as scholars in the field are increasingly recommending (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Vonk & Holmes, 2019).

3.5 Conceptual Framework: Summary

Within this study, Foucauldian and CDA theory are utilized in complementary ways, to provide a robust understanding of the interactions of labour, bodies, space, power, documents, and discourse. Both frameworks equip my study with a foundational understanding of the significance of “insignificant” or “commonsensical” text. Where one framework has traditionally been found lacking, the other supports it; Foucauldian theory, for example, with its tendency to be “caught up in the verbal” (Meyer, 2001, p. 20) is tempered by CDA’s emphasis on physicality and physical/material impact. These frameworks, together, allow me to employ theoretical considerations which are suitable for both my research questions (in their understanding of documents as important actors) and my research aims (in their ability to provide both theoretical and practical outcomes).

4. METHODS

4.1 Data Collection & Analysis: Cyclical Relationship

Data collection was informed by literature on grounded theory (GT) and modifications to GT within critical grounded theory (CGT). CGT differs from GT in the use of the term “critical,” which is intended to explicitly acknowledge that grounded theory rarely claims to be purely inductive in its modern uses (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017, p. 258). Under either theory, data collection should be carried out as an “...ongoing process of data analysis and collection...” (Tan, 2010, p. 97). As a result, although data collection and analysis are separated within this chapter for clarity, they often took place in relation to one another. As Belfrage & Hauf (2017) explain:

[CGT] involves a deductive moment, in which existing theories and concepts are worked through and applied to the research object to generate initial conceptualizations that sensitize the researcher’s understanding of observations... [and yet it] also involves an inductive moment...before working up empirical data through deskwork into emerging conceptualizations, refining previous concepts, deepening understanding, altering explanations, and reconstructing existing theory... (p. 260).

Using this approach, data collection for this study was a two-pronged process that entailed documents and interviews. Documents are the primary data, while interviews (though referenced in this study) were secondary to documents, and largely used within a GT and CGT approach as the “field work” that guided my “desk work” (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017, p. 260)²⁸. As in CGT, “continued cycles of field work and desk work” allow the researcher to test, refine, and expand initial observations (p. 264). Given that interviews were conducted before, in-between,

²⁸ As such, the sample size for the interview data set is acknowledged to not be representative of stakeholder population and diversity, and is therefore not considered a reliable representation of all stakeholder opinions and experiences.

after, and simultaneously with document collection and analysis, the two forms of knowledge-gathering supported each other in a cyclical way – where, for example, information shared by participants led to new data sources for document collection, or content from documents informed the context of upcoming interviews. Thus, interviews allowed for 1. the experiences and expertise of SAWP stakeholders to inform and guide data collection and analysis; 2. continued refinement of data collection and analysis at each stage; and 3. the ability to remain cognizant of a broader range of “documents.” As mentioned in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, this study aims to conceptualize “document” expansively, encompassing oral “texts,” and bodies-as-texts, as well as communications technologies (podcasts, videos, etc.) and standard-format documents. Literature (McLaughlin, et. al., 2017; Narushima & Sanchez, 2014; Paz Ramirez, 2013) has demonstrated that many aspects of SAWP continue to occur within informal, bodily, and oral networks; interviewees thus tempered analysis’ potential to be skewed towards written content – serving as a reminder during document analysis that content which is not present (in official documents) is not necessarily neglected (in SAWP’s interpersonal relationships).

4.2 Data Collection

A. Interviews

Five in-depth (30-90 minute) semi-structured interviews were conducted as part of the data collection process, between October 20, 2019 and December 5, 2019. Potential participants were identified during the literature review, initial search engine queries, by recommendation from stakeholders, and based on well-known organizations within the field.²⁹ These interviews

²⁹ Given my professional experience in the agricultural sector.

took place by phone or in-person with civil servants (n = 1), farm-owners and farm-owner organizations (n = 2), and migrant rights groups and community organizations (n = 2) who have experience with SAWP (and communicating about SAWP). Interviews related to participants' (and their organizations') information-sharing networks, practices, experiences, and recommendations; what they communicate about SAWP, to who, and how; what works well, and what they hope to see. The interview guide is included in Appendix 1.

B. Documents

Documents were initially located through search keywords.³⁰ Documents were added as I was made aware of organization names, websites, and publications, both in the interview process and in the contact lists, links, and text references of initially-collected documents. A total of 61 documents of varying lengths (anywhere between 1 and 76 pages) were collected from online sources and by request from relevant government agencies/departments, advocacy groups, community organizations, and farms. Originally 68 documents were collected, and after initial analysis 7 were excluded from the data set due to: incompatibility with coding software (n = 4)³¹, the data source did not meet the collection criteria (see below) (n = 2), and/or relevance to SAWP was low (n = 1). Documents ranged from SAWP employment contracts, to government research/review of the program, to info-documents on providing services to SAWP workers, among others (Appendix 5 includes a reference list for all data sources). In addition, one podcast, one series of online courses, one mobile application, and three social media

³⁰ Appendix 3 includes all search engine queries, with search keywords.

³¹ In addition, these documents provided either limited or outdated information – the SAWP transfer form (form with blank table for worker name, work permit #, etc.), payroll templates (2), and a copy of the National Occupation Classification Matrix (2006) – thus, the content was not considered to negatively impact the study by exclusion.

accounts (belonging to non-governmental organizations, or NGOs³²) were examined (separate from, and more cursory than, coded analysis) and used to inform the document analysis.

Document selection was based on the following criteria: documents must be explicitly created for, or used within,³³ SAWP contexts; documents must have been circulated in Ontario (not necessarily created in Ontario³⁴); the intended audience of the document must (appear to or explicitly) be a SAWP stakeholder (defined in Chapter 1); and the document must be “official.” For the purposes of this study, “official documents,” were considered to be those which SAWP stakeholders would seek out for (what they perceived to be) reliable information on SAWP, related processes and issues, and/or life in Canada. Op-eds, news media, personal blogs, etc. were excluded from the “official documents” criterion. Data collection (of documents) took place from September 25, 2019 to October 25, 2019.

4.3 Data Analysis

I documented the experience of seeking out and accessing information on SAWP (given this study’s emphasis on embodied labour) and included these “field” notes in the analysis. In particular, I paid attention to currency of information, the expediency, clarity, and simplicity of access, and the level of pre-existing knowledge needed at start of access (i.e. How specific must search-engine entries be? Does the individual need familiarity with organization names, web

³² Though there are important differences between community organizations, grassroots organizers, service providers, advocacy groups, etc., for the sake of clarity/simplicity, when discussing these groups as a whole (typically in contrast to government departments and their representatives), this study will employ the term “non-governmental organization/NGO” going forward.

³³ Originally, selection criteria required that documents be targeted towards SAWP specifically. However, after initial search, it became apparent that SAWP stakeholders make frequent use of documents intended for broader audiences (e.g. Ontario workers, migrant workers, etc.) – many of these documents were linked on SAWP stakeholder websites – and as such, this criterion was expanded.

³⁴ Given the abundance of SAWP-affiliated organizations with national scope, and the abundance of federally-produced documents related to SAWP (as it is administered in Ontario).

addresses, etc.?). All of this information assisted in the analysis of the content of the documents. This practice was in some ways similar to participant observation methods, where “...a researcher takes part in in the daily activities, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines...” (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010, p. 12). This process diverged somewhat from participant observation in that my experience may have differed more substantially than is ideal for participant observation (e.g. conditions around internet access, differing environment/setting, a research background on SAWP, etc.).

The main data set (documents) was analyzed using the CDA approach, as described in Chapter 3. All documents were imported into, and analyzed using, the qualitative analysis software, nVivo³⁵. Documents were coded for 3 areas of analysis, with 73 sub-codes between them. These areas were: 1. Discourse (8 sub-codes) 2. Relationships/networks (36 sub-codes) 3. Thematic actor-specific information (29 sub-codes). Appendix 2 contains all codes and corresponding definitions. Generally speaking, codes under “discourse” referred to common phrases associated with government-produced discourse on SAWP; how the program was represented differently/similarly by the stakeholder groups, and whether dominant ideas on SAWP were adopted and circulated by community and grassroots organizations. Codes under “relationships/networks” related to the comprehensiveness and clarity of stakeholder roles and responsibilities in relation to the material and human networks of SAWP; from these documents, can stakeholders understand and agree to full and responsible participation in the

³⁵ nVivo software version 12.

program? Codes under “thematic actor-specific information” pertained to the types and content of information circulated within SAWP; what transparent, complete, whole information would look like, and what dimensions of life in the program that information would cover (as in McLaughlin et. al., 2017, “whole workers”).³⁶ Social media, podcasts, and online learning were explored (but not explicitly coded) for these elements, as well. Given the exploratory nature of GT and CGT, I chose to keep my angles of analysis open with a wider variety and number of codes. However, as the study progressed, and I started to identify patterns in the data, narrower avenues for fruitful results were identified, and as such, not all code groups are discussed equally in subsequent chapters.

Each document (n = 61) was coded three times. During the first stage of coding, documents were coded according to CGT and GT, where codes were added as they became necessary during the process (though “proto-theories,” Belfrage & Hauf, 2017, had established expectedly-useful codes) – rather than setting up the entirety of the codebook before analysis began. After the first round of coding, the codebook was reviewed for clarity and usefulness. Codes which were redundant (due to minimal references, similarity to other code groupings, etc.) were deleted in the second round of coding. In the second phase, codes were largely pre-established based on the first (trial) phase of coding. In the third phase of coding, code groups which I (had now) decided to focus more heavily on (relationships & thematic actor-specific

³⁶ For clarity, and given the scope of the project, “thematic, actor-specific information” were grouped according to “worker,” “employer,” “sending countries,” and “receiving country” (as the primary participants listed in SAWP legal documents). As in Chapter 5, documents lacked some variety (regarding themes, subject matter, and stakeholders), and fit easily under these 4 actors. Information about other stakeholders (e.g. F.A.R.M.S., general public, service providers, etc.) was not well-represented (unless in information authored *by* these stakeholders, *about* workers or employers) and did not require additional categories.

information) were coded through again to ensure accuracy of both the codes and the information coded to them. Phase 2 and phase 3 were compared to ensure consistency in my coding methods. Finally, due to a (discovered) lack of heterogeneity in codes related to sending countries and the receiving country (see this chapter, above), text coded to these nodes in nVivo³⁷ were coded a fourth time to discern additional details regarding information shared (related to sending countries/receiving country). In this stage, the (61) documents themselves were not coded – only the text assigned to sending countries and receiving country nodes.

The findings from this analysis are presented in the next chapter. The content of the documents is presented first in a descriptive manner, which offers both a quantitative account of certain key terms, phrases and references, and a qualitative assessment of their relative importance. Where appropriate, the description is supplemented by quotes from interviews that offer context or additional understanding of the observed results. That descriptive section is then followed by a critical discussion of the results, which relies on CDA and interprets the implications of these findings.

³⁷ nVivo allows you to see a summary document of all information coded to a specific node; sentences coded to a node are pulled word-for-word into the document, with corresponding citation. This document was downloaded in Portable Document Format (PDF) and re-uploaded to nVivo in a new project, where it was coded again for increased variety and nuance.

5. FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

This section presents the descriptive (*Section 6.1*) and CDA (*Section 6.2*) analysis. First (in *6.1 Descriptive Findings*), findings are presented by code type (a. discourse, b. relationships/networks, and c. thematic, actor-specific information). Within the third code type (c. thematic, actor-specific information), information is categorized by “actor,” as follows: i. worker, ii. employer, iii. sending countries, and iv. receiving country. After descriptive results are provided, (in *6.2 CDA Analysis*) the implications and significance of these findings are expanded upon.

5.1 Descriptive Findings

A. Discourse

Discourse was coded for 8 common phrases attributed to dominant discourse on SAWP. These were pulled from literature, initial review of the documents, and interview participant responses. Figure 2 contains all 8 sub-codes with total reference counts and file distribution.

Code Name	Total Reference Count	# of Files (out of 61)
Creation of jobs for Canadian citizens	1	1
Benefits SAWP workers	2	2
SAWP as “foreign aid”	2	2
“Successful labour mobility - program”	3	2
Equal protection	8	7
Benefits Canadian economy	9	3
“Canadian First”	13	8
“Labour shortage”	21	9

Figure 2 – Coding Results for “Discourse”

Overall, documents typically avoided background or contextual information on SAWP (making reference counts for these phrases low). This may be explained by the fact that many of the 61 documents were not created explicitly on/for SAWP (n = 40)³⁸ – rather, documents created for broader audiences (e.g. migrant workers as a whole) were often distributed by SAWP stakeholders.

When discourse on SAWP was referenced explicitly, common phrases were found among all stakeholders to some degree. “Labour shortage” was the most frequently cited (n = 21), predominantly by government and government-affiliated organizations (e.g. F.A.R.M.S) (n = 18), but occasionally by NGOs (n = 3). Despite documented use of the term by all parties, interview participants demonstrated that “labour shortage” was not inevitable discourse on the program among NGOs. One (community organization) participant shared:

an expanded Temporary Foreign Worker Program should at no time...and in no way be viewed as the solution to labour challenges facing Canada’s agri-food system. We think that a larger labour strategy is immediately needed for the agri-industry (Participant 2, 2019).

Discourse which, in documents, appeared frequently in short, “factual” descriptions of SAWP, appeared to reinforce the commonsensical logic of migrant-worker-as-labour-shortage-solution (even among SAWP critics). Nuancing this discourse (as above) may challenge us to consider more robust, long-term solutions for the agricultural sector.

³⁸ This was determined by factors such as: explicitly referencing SAWP within the text (rather than, for example, saying “migrant workers”), referencing elements of SAWP-specific life within the text, or examining the mandate of the organization who produced the document (for example, if their mandate is to “help all migrant workers” vs. “help SAWP workers”).

Of the remaining (7) codes, only “equal protection” (n = 1) and “Canadian First” (n = 1) were referenced by NGOs. Overall, government and government-affiliated³⁹ organizations were responsible for most of the discourse surrounding SAWP’s economic necessity and benefit.

B. Networks & Relationships

Figure 3 contains all 36 sub-codes, and demonstrates fairly substantial gaps in defining and documenting relationships within SAWP. Relationships which may be more fruitful contain asterisks beside their code names, and will be focused on most heavily.⁴⁰

Code Name	Total Reference Count	# of Files (out of 61)
F.A.R.M.S-Sending Country(ies)	1	1
F.A.R.M.S-Worker	1	1
F.A.R.M.S-NGO	1	1
Industry-Receiving Country	1	1
Employer-(Settled) Community *	2	2
Researcher-NGO	2	1
F.A.R.M.S-Researcher	3	1
Employer-(Employer’s) Family & Community *	4	1
Receiving Country-Researcher	4	1
Consulate/Liaison-Sending Country(ies)	5	5
F.A.R.M.S-Receiving Country	5	3
Third-Party Representative-Employer	5	4
NGO (Sending Country/ies)-Worker	6	1
Employer-NGO *	7	7
Consulate/Liaison-NGO *	7	5

³⁹ F.A.R.M.S, government-funded and F.A.R.M.S-funded research groups, consulates and liaisons

⁴⁰ Some (e.g. third-party representatives-employer, n = 5 references; F.A.R.M.S-NGOs, n = 1 reference, etc.) were extremely infrequently documented, but may be less fruitful relationships than others. F.A.R.M.S, for example, may require little from service providers for efficient program operation, and vice versa. However, (as shared by interview participants about their own work) organizations which traditionally held limited roles within the program have since expanded and reconceptualized their responsibilities and abilities in fostering successful SAWP operation – by, for example, reaching out to additional stakeholders, or creating/distributing resources on topics not typically included in their (previous) mandates. As such, these relationships are still included in my results, with the knowledge that possibilities for meaningful support and engagement within SAWP are ever-expanding.

Employer-Researcher	8	4
Consulate/Liaison-Receiving Country	11	4
NGO-(Settled) Community *	12	4
Sending Country(ies)-Employer	13	10
F.A.R.M.S-Employer	14	8
NGO-NGO *	20	7
Sending Country(ies)-Receiving Country	22	10
Worker-Worker/Migrant-Migrant *	23	10
NGO-Receiving Country *	23	9
Intra-governmental (Receiving Country) *	26	11
Worker-(Settled) Community *	34	14
Worker-Family & Community (Sending Country/ies) *	39	12
Consulate/Liaison-Worker*	40	14
Employer-Employer *	41	14
Sending Country(ies)-Worker	42	15
Consulate/Liaison-Employer	58	12
NGO-Worker	114	30
No Explicit Relationship ⁴¹	156	35
Receiving Country-Employer	181	29
Receiving Country-Worker	225	35
Worker-Employer	316	43

Figure 3 – Coding Results for “Relationships/Networks”

Overall, the documents typically focused on “traditional” or formalized stakeholder relationships; those between workers, employers, liaison offices/consulates, sending countries, the receiving country, and the F.A.R.M.S. organization. This is consistent with discourse which describes SAWP as a partnership between four entities: employer, employee, receiving country (representatives), and sending country (representatives) (Government of Canada, 2020a; Government of Canada, 2020b; “Questions and Answers, n.d., para. 6). These relationships

⁴¹ This node was created to ensure 100% coverage of text in nVivo (so that, during coding, I could verify that I had not missed an area of text). Not all information pertained to SAWP networks – for example, if a document wrote, “the program was created in 1966” – and thus, not all information could be coded to these nodes.

made up 63 percent of total references (n = 934 references). Within these, discussion of worker-employer relationships was most commonly included in information documents (n = 316 references, 21%; referenced in 43 files, 70%). This may contradict literature (Government of Canada, 2019c; McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013; Narushima & Sanchez, 2014) which finds employer-employee relationships are often unclear. However, this may be partially explained by the amount of informal variation (despite formal guidelines) among employers regarding their interactions with employees (Government of Canada, 2019c; Silverman & Hari, 2016; Vosko, 2018)

Networks between NGOs and SAWP workers were also highly present in documents (n = 30 files), likely due to the distribution of authorship (these groups created and/or distributed a large amount of the data in this study, n = 29 files, 47%). However, NGOs were infrequently cited in legal and government-produced files (Government of Canada, Jamaican Liaison Service, Consulate of Mexico) (n = 12 references). Most references (n = 8) from these stakeholder groups referred to employers' medical insurance and documentation requirements, while only a few (n = 4) pertained to worker access to services and resources. Although NGO-worker relationships were well-documented (n = 114 references), connections between NGOs and employers (n = 6), NGOs and receiving country government (n = 23), NGOs and the settled community (n = 12), NGOs and consuls/liaisons (n = 7) and intra-NGO relationships (n = 20) were less present.

This is consistent with literature (McLaughlin, 2012; Vosko, 2013) and (NGO) interviews that note, or point to, weak working relationships with government and employers; "we, personally, at [our organization], we don't really have input with government, or anything like

that” (Participant 4, 2019)⁴²; “we try to say that we’re open to working with farmers...but we tend to find they don’t really reach out to us much” (Participant 4, 2019). However, the absence of documented intra-NGO relationships contradicts interview participants (Participant 2, 2019; Participant 4, 2019; Participant 5, 2020) who attest to strong, collaborative working relationships with other providers. For example, one interviewee, when asked about working with other providers, shared:

Oh, it’s great, because we’re all trying to figure out ways we can provide better services to workers, because there are so many different barriers in place, so it’s nice to get together as a group and talk about, ok, what are you doing? What’s working? What’s not working?... (Participant 4, 2019).

Interview participants did note the usefulness of (Participant 2, 2019) and need for online networking (Participant 4, 2019; Participant 5, 2020) which may help to explain the discrepancy between my results (drawn from online data) and interviewees’ personal experiences.

Working relationships between different levels of government (intra-governmental networks) were infrequently mentioned, totaling 4 references across 3 documents. This is consistent with literature (Braun, 2012; Government of Canada, 2019c; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010) and interview participants (Participant 2, 2019; Participant 3, 2019; Participant 4, 2019; Participant 5, 2020) who identify a need for greater intra-governmental communication and increased clarity on jurisdiction, roles, and responsibilities. One (farmer) participant elaborates,

...it’s just part of doing business, you gotta keep working at it until you get a consensus...one of them is telling you to do one thing, the other is telling you to do

⁴² When asked if participants felt government responsiveness to program critiques was changing – if they felt they had more input into SAWP – Participant 2 (2019) and Participant 4 (2019) answered positively. Participant 2, for example, said “...I think...it’s changing toward the right direction...we have more collaboration with the government...” (2019).

another thing, and they're two different levels of government...sometimes it's easier said than done... (Participant 3, 2019).

Relationships between workers and the broader settled community, their families, and intra-worker networks were very infrequently cited, overall. In total, only 17 documents spoke to any of these relationships (n = 96). Literature has spoken to gaps in addressing non-work and personal needs of SAWP workers, which aligns with the results outlined here. Documents focused most heavily on relationships necessary for a workers' professional duties; governments, and employers; occasionally, (of the more "personal" relationships) service providers – however, often insofar as they facilitate healthy bodies for work. Most references to health dealt with reporting injuries (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 8), workers' compensation (Industrial Accident Victims' Group of Ontario, n.d.), and return-to-work procedures (Justicia for Migrant Workers & Centre for Spanish-Speaking People, n.d.) – fewer references dealt with general wellbeing (e.g. check-ups), healthy lifestyles, sexual health, or mental health.⁴³ Additionally, references to consulate/liaison-worker interactions were fairly infrequent (n = 40), given the emphasis on consular and liaison offices as oversight and support for SAWP enrollees (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017; Consulado General de México en Toronto, 2016).

Similar to workers, within this data, farm-owners/farm administrative workers received very few references to their social relationships (n = 4). Just as workers' relationships (with family, friends, and each other) function as program support (Paz Ramirez, 2013), educational

⁴³ A few documents did reference these healthcare elements – for example, documents produced by Migrant Worker Health (see primary data reference list).

partner (Participant 3, 2019; Participant 4, 2019), and source of wellbeing (Perry, 2015; Perry, 2018b), employers' informal relationships are important for successful program operation; as discussed in Chapter 2, due to minimal government oversight (Hahamovitch, 2011; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012), employers experience significant autonomy in SAWP decision-making and, stemming from this, significant burden in ensuring worker wellbeing and quality of life (McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013). Further, intra-employer relationships (n = 41) were moderate, but could have been better-referenced, given the usefulness of peer networks in providing guidance, support, and accountability.

References to networks between employers and the broader, settled community were extremely low (n = 2), which is consistent with literature (Bauder, 2008; Inouye, 2012) and anecdotal experience (Participant 3, 2019) suggesting that polarized reactions to SAWP can significantly strain relationships between employers and the general public.

Networks and bonds between workers and innovative stakeholders explored in scholarly work (e.g. teachers, in McLaughlin et. al., 2017) and alluded to in interviews (e.g. researchers, by Participant 4, 2019; workers-industry representatives, by Participant 5, 2020), were mentioned rarely (n = 1 file or less), or not at all in the SAWP documents examined here. As literature (McLaughlin et. al., 2017; McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Vonk & Holmes, 2019) and interview participants (Participant 5, 2020) suggest that networks of support have expanded/strengthened within SAWP, these results suggest that further engagement with new (and existing, but underdeveloped) stakeholders is still needed.

C. Thematic/Actor-Specific Information

Below, thematic/actor-specific information is discussed as it relates to a. workers, b. employers, c. receiving country, and d. sending countries. Overall, documents did not contain a wide variety of codes; the average number of codes per document was 6.85, with the most diverse containing 19 of 29 codes. Documents (often webpages, rather than downloadable, self-contained files) tended to be brief, targeted to one stakeholder⁴⁴, and pertain to a specific aspect of the program. As a group, documents were fairly comprehensive (29 themes), but not at all exhaustive. Elements brought up in interviews (e.g. safer sex, Participant 4, 2019) were largely or completely absent in the 61 documents analyzed.

Coding for “in-practice program administration”⁴⁵ (related to any theme and/or actor) was included based on consistent scholarly reference to the discretionary and variable nature of the program (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017; McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Vosko, 2018). Reference to program administration where explicitly (documented as) different from formal guidelines were infrequent (n = 31). Most documents focused on official regulatory aspects of the program, even in cases where literature has demonstrated an on-the-ground difference; for example, the stated requirement that “[employers] must notify workers of pesticide and chemical use and provide workers with: free protective equipment appropriate formal and informal training...” (Government of Canada, 2019e) is contradicted by literature (Cohen & Caxaj, 2019; Paz Ramirez, 2013), and by anecdotal

⁴⁴ N = 10 documents appeared to target migrant workers (with n = 1 targeting migrant workers most generally, and n = 9 targeting migrant farm workers or SAWP workers more specifically); n = 2 appeared to target the general public; n = 20 appeared to target community organizations/service providers; n = 16 appeared to target farm-owners/farm administrative workers; n = 13 appeared to have unclear target audiences, or very broad target audiences.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 2 for definition.

evidence (e.g. Participant 2, 2019) that suggests safety training may be infrequently provided. Rather than undermine the integrity of SAWP, realistic information on the program (its positives and negatives) may support stakeholders in holding each other to honest and accountable operation.

Community and grassroots groups (e.g. Justicia for Migrant Workers, Migrant Worker Health, Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, etc.) were responsible for the majority of in-practice program administration references (n = 29 of 31) – providing realistic and transparent information that reflects anecdotal and scholarly evidence on SAWP experiences (see Chapter 2). For example:

Your employer may terminate your contract, and send you home – after the completion of the trial period – if you have, refused to work or for any other sufficient reason. The agreement does not state what these reasons could be. Many employers send workers back without a good reason (Migrant Worker Alliance for Change, n.d., p. 2).

This kind of information is often difficult to hear (or record), and may contribute to anxieties around the program – for example, farm-owners’ fears that, among the general public, “...growers may be perceived to have ulterior motives...” (Participant 3, 2019). However, when accomplishments and setbacks are shared transparently, and in balance, these honest experiences may help the polarizing reactions to SAWP shift.

I. Workers

Code Name	Total Reference Count	# of Files (out of 61)
Communication/Social Needs (Personal)	35	17
Communication Needs (Professional)	119	24
Education	48	26
Family & Home Life	49	17
Health	185	39
Housing	41	14

Language, Literacy & Translation	19	10
Legal Rights & Responsibilities	133	27
Mobility/Transportation	103	24
Program Responsibilities	105	24
Working Conditions & Wages	283	35

Figure 4 – Coding Results for “Thematic, Actor Specific Information –Workers”

Figure 4 contains all sub-codes (under thematic, actor-specific information) related to SAWP workers, with total reference counts. Working conditions and wages was the most commonly-referenced code (n = 283 references, 25%). This result echoes literature (Narushima & Sanchez, 2014) that finds some SAWP stakeholders (e.g. some employers) emphasize work relationships and de-emphasize personal relationships – as a (farmer) participant explains:

We look at it as we have to respect that they’re adults and they can choose. The only time it really applies is if they start to damage their facility or damage their surroundings, that it affects the people that are around, or it affects their work, then it becomes a work issue (Participant 3, 2019).

It also fits within SAWP discourse (within my data) which stressed a lack of difference between Canadian and SAWP workers; SAWP documents frequently remind us the program operates by “...giving the same rights to [SAWP] workers as given to Canadian workers” (Government of Canada, 2019a, p. 2). Similarly, a (farmer) participant shared, “...the standards we have, whether they’re mandated or otherwise, for our regular workforce is no different for our offshore workforce. And the way we communicate to them is no different...” (Participant 3, 2019). This discourse, though well-intentioned, may ignore the structural and practical differences between SAWP and Canadian workers⁴⁶, and may contribute to program operation which does not support the varied needs of workers.

⁴⁶ For example, SAWP enrollees live on their employer’s property, and rely on their employer for the majority of their transportation needs (and therefore, their access to services, gathering places, etc.).

Professional communication needs (n = 119) were frequently documented, but the difficulty of keeping high volumes of information current may mean that, on occasion, these needs were not well-met (see *Data Collection Process: Information-sharing as Embodied Labour* section). Health (n = 185) was well-documented, but typically only for physical and work-related health, rather than well-rounded health across physical, sexual, spiritual, mental, and emotional life (see *Discussion* below). Legal rights and responsibilities (n = 133) were frequently cited, though these results are not supported by literature (Basok et. al., 2014; Cohen & Caxaj, 2019; Paz Ramirez, 2013) and anecdotal professional experience (Participant 2, 2019; Participant 4, 2019) that finds workers largely unaware of these elements. This gap in results may point to issues of distribution, access, literacy-inclusivity, etc., as a contributors in workers' barriers to legal information. Transportation and mobility (n = 103) are well-documented, but typically only related to professional transportation (e.g. to fields) and mobility (e.g. work permit regulations) (see *Section 5.2*).

Personal communication/social needs (n = 35), family and home life (n = 49), language, literacy and translation (n = 19), education (n = 48), and housing (n = 41) were all relatively absent from these documents. Overwhelmingly, when these items were referenced, references were contained within NGO documents, not those created or shared by government and government-affiliated organizations (e.g. Government of Canada, F.A.R.M.S, liaison offices, consulates). With the exception of housing (which is regulated explicitly within SAWP contracts), these themes fall outside definitions of "work life." Again, this is consistent with literature (McLaughlin et. al., 2017; Narushima & Sanchez, 2014) which finds that workers' lives

are often artificially separated by work/home boundaries – where supports for “non-work” needs are then left underdeveloped.

References coded to “transportation/mobility” typically pertained to work-related transportation needs (airfare fees, transportation to fields, etc.) and work permit mobility (or lack of) – rarely relating to off-work transportation needs to reduce social and physical isolation.⁴⁷ For example, a typical reference under this sub-code might state the employer’s responsibility to “...meet or have the worker’s agent meet and transport the worker from the point of arrival in Canada to the place of employment...” (Government of Canada, 2019b, p. 13). This is consistent with literature (Asomah, 2014; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Paz Ramirez, 2013) which has documented restricted mobility and access to transportation among SAWP enrollees.

Code references for “program responsibilities,” were fairly low (n = 105, 9%), given that comprehensive information here may be a basic expectation and the starting-point for informed participation in SAWP. This is supported by literature which documents workers’ desire for increased and clearer information on program responsibilities (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017; Vosko, 2018).

II. Employers

Code Name	Total Reference Count	# of Files (out of 61)
Administration Challenges	34	3
Education	12	9
Family	5	3
Health	4	1
Abuse, Improper Program Administration, & Consequences	60	25

⁴⁷ With the exception of the weekly, contract-mandated trips to town for groceries, banking needs, etc.

Legal Rights & Responsibilities	30	12
Program Administration Responsibilities	272	35

Figure 5 – Coding Results for “Thematic, Actor-Specific Information – Employers”

Figure 5 contains all sub-codes (under thematic, actor-specific information) related to SAWP employers, with total reference counts. Program administration was the most frequently cited code (n = 131, 81%). Information targeted towards employers was lacking in variety, with only 6 total sub-codes, and very few references coded to any of the 5 beyond program administration (communication needs, n = 5; education, n = 2; health, n = 2; improper program administration, n = 12; legal rights/responsibilities, n = 9). Given (deserved) emphasis on workers’ structural vulnerability, employer experience and needs may be an understudied and undernourished area of SAWP. Engaging employers by providing tailored information on supports available to employers, creating avenues for voicing concerns and struggles in administering SAWP, and promoting an environment of transparency and cooperation may benefit program operation.

III. Sending Countries

Code Name	Total Reference Count	# of Files (out of 61)
Program Administration	104	26

Figure 6 – Coding Results for “Thematic, Actor-Specific Information – Sending Countries”

Figure 6 contains all sub-codes (under thematic, actor-specific information) related to SAWP sending countries, with total reference counts.

Code Name	Percent of Total References (n = 104)
Services Provided	2%
Program Enforcement & Review	14%
Administrative Duties (Sending Country(ies))	26%

Administrative Duties (Receiving Country)	58%
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Figure 7 – Coding Results (2nd Version) for “Thematic, Actor-Specific Information – Sending Countries”

Figure 7 contains all sub-codes (under “sending countries”) used during the re-coding of “program administration” (for increased variety and detail).

Sending countries thematic codes also lacked diversity. Though information including sending countries’ program administration (the only code assigned to this actor) contained four broad types of information (administrative duties in the sending countries, administrative duties in the receiving country, program enforcement and review, and services provided to workers⁴⁸), information beyond program administration (e.g. civil servant education, administration challenges, community initiatives, etc.) was completely missing. Information under program administration was most commonly related to duties in the receiving country⁴⁹ (n = 58%), with less space devoted to duties in the sending countries (n = 26%), and very little space assigned to program enforcement and review (n = 14%) or explicitly outlining services provided to workers (n = 2%). This is consistent with literature which has found a lack of attention to program details outside the receiving country (Braun, 2012; Hahamovitch, 2011; Hennebry et. al., 2012; see Chapter 2). As scholars (Braun, 2012; McLaughlin et. al., 2017; see Chapter 2) note, workers’ lives do not cease after repatriation – yet official SAWP documents did not often address the entirety of SAWP workers’ experiences (in both countries).

⁴⁸ Sending countries and receiving country codes were recoded after the previous rounds of coding resulted in a lack of variety for these actors – recoding was a much shorter process, and intended to provide slightly more nuance and detail regarding sending countries/receiving country information. See Appendix 2 for definitions.

⁴⁹ Information on duties in the receiving country typically pertained to documentation requirements.

IV. Receiving Countries

Code Name	Total Reference Count	# of Files (out of 61)
Program Administration	181	28
Enforcement Challenges	1	1

Figure 8 – Coding Results for “Thematic, Actor-Specific Information – Receiving Country”

Figure 8 contains all sub-codes (under thematic, actor-specific information) related to the receiving country, with total reference counts.

Code Name	Percent of Total References (n = 181)
Application Processing	23%
Enforcement & Review	21%
Government Services	32%
Federal/Provincial/Municipal Legislation	16%
Program Explanations/Communication with Participants	8%

Figure 9 – Coding Results (2nd Version) for “Thematic, Actor-Specific Information – Receiving Country”

Figure 9 contains all sub-codes (under “receiving country”) used during the re-coding of “program administration” (for increased variety and detail).

As with sending countries, receiving country codes were limited (“program administration,” and “enforcement challenges”). Program administration references (n = 181) fell into 6 categories⁵⁰: application processing (n = 23%), enforcement and review (n = 21%), government services (n = 32%), federal/provincial/municipal legislation (outside SAWP

⁵⁰ Codes for “sending countries” and “receiving country” were subject to an additional round of coding to increase nuance and detail – initial round(s) of coding revealed a lack of variety in sub-codes for these actors.

regulations) (n = 16%), program explanations/communication with participants (n = 5), and program operation (after processing) (n = 8%)⁵¹.

The majority of information shared on receiving country duties pertains to application process, rather than ongoing program operation. Government services (predominantly Workplace Safety Insurance Board, Ontario Health Insurance Plan, and Employment Insurance) were fairly well-documented, but overwhelmingly covered by NGOs (n = 75%) and rarely mentioned by government agencies themselves (n = 15%). Program explanation and communication of requirements to participants were largely absent from documents. This is consistent with research that finds both employers and SAWP enrollees do not receive (what they consider) adequate information on program responsibilities, roles, and processes (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017).

Enforcement and review (n = 21%) were high, given that literature (Hahamovitch, 2011; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010; Vosko, 2018) suggests a lack of government oversight into the program. However, most references under this theme pertained to administrative details (compliance/integrity audits, fines for non-compliance, etc.), rather than any specific information provided to SAWP enrollees regarding the complaints process.

⁵¹ “Application processing” refers to information regarding application requirements, wait-times, review processes, and approvals/denials. “Enforcement and review” refer to information regarding oversight, consequences of improper program administration, and ongoing/annual program review. “Government services” refer to information regarding government responsibilities outside SAWP-specific administration (e.g. health cards, road maintenance, etc.). “Federal/provincial/municipal legislation” refers to information regarding legal rights/responsibilities of SAWP stakeholders outside SAWP-specific regulations. “Program explanations/communication with participants” refers to information on the responsibilities, techniques, and content of government communication/explanation regarding the SAWP program. “Program Operation” refers to government administration of SAWP after initial processing of applications.

V. Data Collection Process: Information-sharing as “Embodied Labour”

Given the conceptual emphasis on experiential and bodily knowledge, labour, and labouring bodies, I recorded the process of accessing SAWP-related information online⁵². Locating resources and information on SAWP was often difficult, confusing, and time-consuming. Excellent information (e.g. McLaughlin et. al., 2012; Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, 2015) was typically unavailable by general query through search engines⁵³ and had to be found by direct access to organization websites. Often, work done by community and grass-roots organizations⁵⁴ were absent during initial search, and was only discovered by recommendation during the interview process. Search results largely offered government-produced information (Government of Canada, 2019c; Government of Canada, 2019e; Government of Canada, 2019f).⁵⁵ These sources typically contained historical and background information on the program, spoke to the success of the program, its reputation and contributions to national and international economies, and/or outlined brief descriptions of SAWP and participating countries – for example:

The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program was established in 1974. It has proven to be a successful labour mobility program between Canada and Mexico; it is a model of international cooperation that has demonstrated the possibility to maintain an effective and regulated flow of migrant workers between the two countries⁵⁶ (Consulado General de México en Toronto, 2016).

⁵² Scholarly work (McLaughlin et. al., 2012; Paz Ramirez, 2013), as well as my interviews with stakeholders, finds that in-person, oral, and face-to-face communication is still frequent/necessary with SAWP – as such, not everything is accessible online.

⁵³ Appendix 3 contains the list of all search queries.

⁵⁴ For example, HUB Connect (mobile application) and the Migrant Worker Community Program in Leamington, Ontario.

⁵⁵ Appendix 4 contains details on the online pathways, search methods, etc. used to collect each document.

⁵⁶ It is discursively interesting that the Consulate of Mexico describes SAWP as an agreement between two countries, established in 1974 (rather than an agreement between 12 countries, initially established in 1966) – this may potentially speak to an aspect of isolation between stakeholders (where stakeholders may, at times, envision

This information may be helpful for public interest, and perhaps for initial inquiry from potential program participants, but is unlikely to provide specific, comprehensive guidance for current program participants (both employee and employer).

As outlined in Chapter 2, service providers and academics have identified knowledge gaps when it comes to workers' awareness about resources (Participant 2, 2019; Participant 4, 2019; see Chapter 2). This was further evident during data collection; McLaughlin et. al. (2002), in a document (collected for this study) produced under Migrant Worker Health⁵⁷, shared:

There are distinctive challenges to informing workers about services. Many migrants are outside the reach of such typical methods of communication...To be effective, promotional efforts should target the areas which workers frequent or partner with organizations with well established channels of accessible communication for the workers (p. 3).

Consistent with this, participants from my study noted, for example, "...[migrant workers] don't necessarily know who we are, what we do...or why we're offering the things we're offering" (Participant 4, 2019). As such, access may become difficult when migrant workers are required to possess, at minimum, knowledge of organization names, website addresses, and/or service descriptions to gather in-depth or nuanced information on SAWP details. Further, those organizations (largely governmental) which appeared in search results rarely cross-referenced NGOs (e.g. in contact lists), and thus, could not act as a guide in discovering additional resources.

their role as limited and individualistic). A few interview participants and interview recruits (who were not interviewed) made comments with similar connotations.

⁵⁷ This project is funded by a grant from the Workplace Safety Insurance Board's Research Advisory Council (McLaughlin et. al., 2002, p. 2).

Similarly, NGOs and employers (though often in better positions for access) have expressed through consultations (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017; Government of Canada, 2019c) and in interviews (Participant 3, 2019; Participant 4, 2019; Participant 5, 2020) that they experience confusion regarding where and how to access clear, helpful information. As such, arduous and overly-complex pathways (e.g. excessive links) and lack of visibility⁵⁸ may also impact stakeholders' ability to effectively administer SAWP and services related to SAWP.

Many documents were thorough, but contained outdated information (e.g. on program requirements and regulations) without a clear date of publication/modification to alert individuals to its age. NGOs often shared resources written by fellow organizations, but without rigorous citations, and occasionally without any identifying information (author, publisher, year, affiliated organization, etc.); these elements can be important for SAWP stakeholders in screening documents⁵⁹, considering them in context, and sharing them within their own networks. Websites often compiled extremely helpful contact lists and external resources. However, many of these sites listed inactive phone numbers, emails, and links – sometimes for organizations which had since ceased operation.⁶⁰ Interview participants agreed that keeping information current was a challenge; one participant, describing the potential benefits of an online forum, explained “It would keep [information] current, right? Because people would have to log into it...” (Participant 4, 2019). As such, it is evident that, rather than a lack of labour

⁵⁸ Visibility, for example, by promoting awareness of website addresses/names, or collaborating on cross-referencing within documents/webpages (between government and NGOs, for example).

⁵⁹ Deciding whether the document comes from (what they consider) a reliable source, for example.

⁶⁰ I discovered links/contact details were out of date during data collection (either by attempting to access links to gather documents, or by attempting to call/email and finding them inactive).

and effort on the part of NGOs, outdated information may reflect a lack of structural (large-scale, governmental) support for the sharing of information.

Though not representative of the stakeholder population, none of my interview participants felt they (or the SAWP enrollees they work with) had efficient, clear, comprehensive information in all of the areas where they require it. For example, an (NGO) participant shared that, though there are some areas where workers appear well-informed, “...there are probably a number of different areas that they don’t seem to have a lot of information” (Participant 4, 2019); among them, pay cheque deductions, healthcare access, and workplace rights (Participant 4, 2019). Similarly, lack of communication and unclear program explanation were a repeated critique in government (Government of Canada, 2019c) and government-affiliated (e.g. F.A.R.M.S, as in Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017) consultations with stakeholders. During my data collection, I experienced similar barriers to information-gathering, which have the potential to impact stakeholder education, information exchange, and program participation in both everyday and “big picture” ways.⁶¹

5.2 CDA Analysis

A. Documents as Actors

Within SAWP, documents function as material actors. As information is created, distributed, and placed in different contexts⁶² (occasionally, out of context), texts, infographics,

⁶¹ See Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 for discussion of the impacts of the “information barrier” within SAWP. In addition, for example, Participant 5 (2019) shared that unclear information on SAWP guidelines has impacted their organization’s ability to effectively communicate information to other SAWP stakeholders who require it.

⁶² For example, the sharing of non-SAWP documents by SAWP stakeholders, or the re-posting of documents by other organizations. The “migrant worker guide” (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, 2015), for example, was re-posted by various SAWP NGOs within this study, but without the corresponding publication date (2015). See Appendix 4 for where documents were found (i.e. where they have travelled).

and information within SAWP take on their own “aliveness” within space (Eldon & Crampton, 2007, p. 55). Rather than existing as finished communicative products, SAWP documents are “contingent...experiences” (Pettinger, 2015, p. 283) which continually act within the program, long after they have been printed, uploaded, or sent. As discussed in Chapter 5 (*Section 5.1*), SAWP documents have complex exchange pathways which, in addition to complicating access, see material actors interacting with a whole host of actors (material and human) and situations in different, ever-changing ways.

As stakeholders possess different (and contextual) motivations, techniques, and concerns for communicative practices (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017; Participant 5, 2020; Government of Canada, 2019c), documents are similarly active and acting within SAWP spaces. Far from static or passive objects, documents are open to change based on their relationships with other (material and human) actors. That is, the relationship with material elements of SAWP is “...working *with* rather than working *on*...” (Pettinger, 2015, p. 284). A document created in 2015 circulating in 2020; health and safety campaigns created in the United States and shared by Canadian organizations; discourse popularized by government departments adopted (or coopted) by NGOs; information guides intended for a broader migrant worker experience proliferating within SAWP networks. These (often unseen or unintended) actions of such materials are not inherently negative (in fact, they’re often positive), but an awareness of the ongoing, contingent, and contextual impact of these texts is important.

That is, these materials are significant for the power documentation practices have to contribute to stakeholder realities. Rather than existing as neutral, inconsequential pieces of

text, documents have discursive (and material) weight. Relevant to this study, Foucauldian, CDA, and “embodied labour” theory (see Chapter 3) demonstrate that documentation can: 1. Document SAWP lives and labour, 2. Function as disciplinary, self-disciplinary, and counter-disciplinary techniques, and 3. Co-constitute the physical spaces and bodies of SAWP. That is, as documents are formed, they do initial work (record, and decide what is recorded) and, in being formed and after formation (modification, distribution, etc.), they do ongoing work.

The documents examined within this study initially “observe,” “categorize,” and “index” (Foucault, 2000, p. 170) the labour and lives of stakeholders as they engage with information within SAWP. They identify and describe who, what, and how they are. In doing so, these documents then “make visible” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 100) their roles, labour, and participation in the program – often unevenly. Organizations are doing important work to cultivate broader stakeholder relationships and address robust SAWP issues (Participant 4, 2019; Participant 5, 2020; see Chapter 2). Yet these multidimensional elements of life have not often engaged with official SAWP documents to any significant degree (often, even among NGOs’ official documents); these efforts do not “collide with power” (Foucault, 2000, p. 161) in the same way, in that they were not typically uplifted or made tangible in official documents.⁶³

Rather, in the 61 documents examined here, SAWP remains concerned with limited (work-related) issues and (“official”) participants. When considered as a whole, this arrangement of material actors may contribute to a certain conceptualization of SAWP – not always a full, transparent, or robust one. Rather, it is one where SAWP networks contain four

⁶³ However, this does not mean that these documents are not “doing work” within the program – the possibilities for “radical writing” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018) will be discussed below.

points of information flow (employer, employee, sending countries and representatives, receiving country and representatives), and concern themselves largely with issues mandated within program contracts.⁶⁴

When material actors do not “make visible” the work of diverse SAWP (human) actors, there are real, physically-impactful consequences for the ways SAWP is experienced by participants. What is not shared, uplifted, arranged, and displayed is less likely to act fully within the program; as such, when information on “whole workers”⁶⁵ (McLaughlin et. al., 2017) is not shared,⁶⁶ this information cannot do positive work (as effectively) within the material realities of the program. Each of these areas of concern (1. Document SAWP lives and labour, 2. Function as disciplinary, self-disciplinary, and counter-disciplinary techniques, and 3. Co-constitute the physical spaces and bodies of SAWP) is discussed in more detail below.

B. Documentation: “Arranging and Displaying” Human Actors

Foucauldian theory places importance on the ways “...documents about the living are arranged and displayed” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 103) as a technique of power. That, by arranging human actors in materiality, we decide what will be known of them (Foucault, 2000, p. 162) and, as a result, we choose the techniques human actors should employ to “...speak of themselves – speak publicly...” (Foucault, 2000, p. 172)⁶⁷.

⁶⁴ For example, working conditions, wages, deductions, work-related transportation, etc.

⁶⁵ Use of the term here can apply to all stakeholders, including (but not limited to) SAWP enrollees – as all stakeholders “work” within the networks of the program in different ways.

⁶⁶ Informal networks, family, intra-worker communication, education, etc.

⁶⁷ This relates to disciplinary, self-disciplinary, and counter-disciplinary techniques, and will be discussed in the following section.

As touched on above, the written spaces of SAWP arrange and display particular lives (and areas of life) more frequently and more accessibly than others. Overall, those elements which are arranged most prominently (given the most space and accessibility⁶⁸) correspond to aspects of SAWP which are formalized by government (e.g. in SAWP contracts), and to stakeholders which are officially recognized, authorized, or supported (i.e. employer, employee, sending countries and representatives, receiving country and representatives). Employer-employee relationships, work conditions, wages, contractual obligations, and some (basic) healthcare information, for example, are arranged prominently; informal networks, intra-worker relationships, family, “non-work life,” well-rounded health (mental, sexual, social, etc.), and education are poorly arranged, and infrequently displayed.

Of n = 61 documents, for example, n = 0 engaged explicitly with sexual health. Anecdotally, a (sexual health service provider) participant shared that, “...a lot of them didn’t even know that there was HIV in Canada. They were like, ‘what?! There’s HIV here? That’s crazy, we didn’t know that’” (Participant 4, 2019). Similarly, literature (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Paz Ramirez, 2013) finds that sexual health and expression are neglected within SAWP operation (see Chapter 2, *SAWP & Womxn* section). Of n = 61 documents, as another example, n = 1 engaged in any robust way with employers as stakeholders who possess desire for support in administering the program. Anecdotally (Participant 3, 2019), and in research (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017; Government of Canada, 2019c; Hennebry & McLaughlin, 2013; Narushima & Sanchez, 2013), employers experience frustration, confusion,

⁶⁸ Information is made accessible by, for example, inclusion in texts produced by those with structural support and resources for widespread circulation (e.g. government departments), receiving funding or promotion by well-known/officially-recognized organizations, etc.

and anxiety when labouring within SAWP – as, often, this labour does not feel well-connected or well-supported by the labour of other stakeholders (for e.g., government, NGOs).

Documentation (or the lack of) “illuminate” (Foucault, 2000), record (and in some ways, constitute) these realities experienced by SAWP stakeholders. As material actors document and formalize the lives of human actors, they arrange the prominence of certain actors/issues in relation to others. In the process, some may risk “...pass[ing] away without a trace” (Foucault, 2000, p. 160) – as in the above examples, the sexual health needs of SAWP enrollees, or the administrative needs of employers. These documented aspects of SAWP life act as “...stand-ins for living people to which they are...perpetually bound” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 103). They can influence how SAWP actors and spaces communicate *about* the program, and *to* participants – what is shared, to who, and by whom. Material actors (and the lives they contain) are part of the network of things we use to know the world, to know SAWP, and to know what matters within SAWP. That is, what is arranged, displayed, and given space is significant.

In fact, these discursive views, in turn, may encourage certain actions, positions, and self-conceptualizations over others among stakeholders. That is, the discursive world of SAWP documents may, in part, “train” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2019) human actors to see SAWP, themselves, and others in ways complementary to that discursive world. This is discussed in the following section.

C. Discipline, Self-Discipline, and Counter-Discipline: Changing Stakeholders’ Discursive Positions

When we look at information-sharing within SAWP, we can conceptualize what is known (and shared), what we hope to know (or know better), and who appears (dis)allowed to take action towards those needs. That is, SAWP documents may “...communicate where bodies should be, how they should be observed, and how their parts should move to accomplish certain tasks” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2019, p. 229) within the program. Documents may (self-)discipline stakeholders’ definitions of their own (and each other’s) roles and responsibilities. Similar to the self-disciplinary techniques of workers, who “...learn to mute signals of tiredness or symptoms of sickness in order to continue working at the pace required...” (Paz Ramirez, 2013, p. 32), SAWP stakeholders may limit or change their own (or each other’s) involvement in the program to align with dominant (documented) discourse on who contributes to SAWP, and how – where involvement may be, in some ways, defined by ideas around “legitimate” and “illegitimate” information-sharing (both content and bodily actions). That is, the idea that SAWP bodies may be disallowed participation in information exchange because:

...[we were told that] if we want community members to be on board with welcoming the workers and being kind to them and being part of the community, we don’t want the community thinking that they’re sex-crazed and just here to have sex with everybody, and [so, when they turned down our involvement] we were like, “um, ok” (Participant 4, 2019).

For example, within my data, references to employer-NGO relationships (n = 7) were rare, and when included, typically related to improper program administration (e.g. statements regarding employers maladministering their healthcare requirements). When these are the only records to (accessibly) exist,⁶⁹ such displays of (NGO and employer) lives are unlikely to

⁶⁹ Of course, these elements are real, important, and should be “made visible” – however, they are not the extent of (potential for) NGO-employer networks.

encourage full, honest, and collaborative relationships. Rather, this discourse may subtly suggest to (NGO and employer) stakeholders that, despite a potential willingness to engage,⁷⁰ relationships between certain stakeholders cannot (should not, will not) be cultivated, and information-sharing cannot (should not, will not) be facilitated between them. That is, that this is not “...how their parts should move to accomplish certain tasks” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2019, p. 229).

Similarly, despite anecdotal (Participant 2, 2019; Participant 3, 2019) and scholarly (Paz Ramirez, 2013; Perry, 2018) evidence that intra-worker networks are a positive and fruitful resource within SAWP information-sharing, document references remain quite low (n = 23). Of n = 23 references, n = 0 were contained within documents produced and/or circulated by government. Again, as above, this absence may restrict the discursive positions of workers, as these documents communicate, with “discipline [which] corrects bodily activity...” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2019, p. 230), proper and improper information-sharing, networks, and roles within the program. That is, that SAWP does not (should not, cannot, will not) support intra-worker relationships. Indeed, as Paz Ramirez (2013) notes, workers often hide intra-worker bonds due to (real or perceived) discipline. A worker recounts: “well, we are not supposed to meet them...but today we managed our way to come here to visit our friends” (Paz Ramirez, 2013, p. 68).

⁷⁰ An (NGO) participant shared, “...we try to say that we’re open to working with farmers...” (Participant 4, 2019). Similarly, an (employer) participant shared, “...we’re very happy to talk to what we would call honest stakeholders, people that really, that we really are convinced actually care about our workers...” (Participant 3, 2019).

Literature (Cohen & Caxaj, 2019; McLaughlin et. al., 2017; see Chapter 2) and interview participants (Participant 2, 2019; Participant 3, 2019; Participant 4, 2019; Participant 5, 2020) have identified the volume and complexity of SAWP stakeholders. However, when employer, employee, sending countries, and receiving country⁷¹ are the only stakeholders to have well-supported and well-documented relationships within the program, the discursive idea that SAWP is “...a four party agreement between the Worker, the Employer, the Foreign Government, and the Government of Canada” (“Questions and Answers,” n.d., para. 6)⁷² may remain a significant limitation on who has responsibilities within, and input into, SAWP.

Conversely, “...one [can contest] the limits of one’s discursive position...” through documentation (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 131). In part, the labour of stakeholders, what they do, say, and record⁷³ in relation to the program, affects possibilities, growth, and relationships within the spaces of SAWP (and vice versa). When we “make visible” a willingness and openness to engage with diverse stakeholders, we may see this visibility “shifting trajectories” (Foucault, 2000, p. 161) within the program. Following this, NGOs spent significant time uplifting and documenting each other’s work, both in interview settings⁷⁴ and within the data (n = 47% authorship; almost all included “contact lists” for other NGOs). Though this

⁷¹ Yet, even sending countries and receiving countries lack comprehensive or nuanced documentation (see Chapter 5.1).

⁷² Though this is the legal arrangement, this does not necessitate similar language and ideas in the way we discuss, share, and act within the program outside of the SAWP contract.

⁷³ All forms of documentation in their own ways (though not all were equally explored within the data for this thesis – see Chapter 6).

⁷⁴ Participants (e.g. Participant 4, 2019) acknowledged each other frequently during the interview process – for example, highlighting work other organizations are doing, or recounting ways they have collaborated on work together.

labour may not always reach government-endorsed levels of input⁷⁵ or visibility⁷⁶, the existence of this documentation (taking up space) within SAWP speaks to the potential for the shifting and broadening of discursive positions within the program. Indeed, "...communicative practices can have transformational effects, and they can have such effects even when wielded by those who are not in privileged discursive positions but lead mundane everyday lives" (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2019, p. 235).

That is, when documentation is used as "radical writing" (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 131), when it resists, transforms, or nuances existing discourse, it may (slowly) expand and strengthen relationships between stakeholders, and communicates new realities for SAWP. This is a task of "...painstakingly restructur[ing]a discourse from within..." (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2019, p. 235). As in McLaughlin & Weiler (2019), SAWP stakeholders are ushering small, consistent improvements into the program. Through the documentation of this labour, these relationships and desires, groups are "shifting trajectories" (Foucault, 2000) for themselves, each time they write, share, and "make visible" (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 100) the "mundane everyday" (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2019, p. 235) efforts of stakeholders. For example:

Keep records...get support...you don't need to deal with the problem alone...many different organizations and workers are coming together...be part of this process...meet other workers who are fighting for change (Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, n.d., p. 4).

D. Co-Constituting Physical Spaces and Bodies: "Aliveness" Despite "Dryness"

⁷⁵ For example, in consultations (such as Government of Canada, 2019c); in government-produced documents, etc.

⁷⁶ As previously mentioned, NGO documents, webpages, etc. were often not available in search query results, and were infrequently referenced by those with structural support for widespread information-sharing (e.g. government departments).

While results demonstrate the “dryness” (Foucault, 2000) of SAWP documents⁷⁷, the commonsensical remains significant within SAWP. That is, “these discourses really crossed lives; existences were actually risked and lost in these words” (Foucault, 2000, p. 160). Though workers have adaptive and creative methods for information-gathering,⁷⁸ a lack of standardized, formalized, and structurally-supported knowledge can have significant impacts on wellbeing. As suggested in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, inaccessible information can contribute to lack of awareness regarding rights (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019, p. 3; Participant 2, 2019; Participant 4, 2019; Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017), health and safety protocol (McLaughlin et. al., 2017, p. 687; Participant 2, 2019), and the inaccessibility of adequate healthcare (Paz Ramirez, 2013, p. 22; Participant 4, 2019), among other things.

Consistent with this literature, my analysis demonstrated a fairly significant information barrier regarding similar themes (e.g. education, n = 48; see Figure 3). N = 85 references to professional mobility, for example, and n = 18 to personal mobility (sociality, day-to-day needs, etc.) suggests that the “aliveness” (Elden & Crampton, 2007) of these documents comes, not from any particularly-flawed line or sentence within them, but from what is not able to take up space – what does not get shared. The prevalence of vehicular and cyclist accidents involving migrant workers (CBC News, 2012, February 6; Saylor, 2019, July 19; Simon & Hunter, 2016, September 5; Wilhelm, 2013, May 6), suggests that (among other factors) these absences matter – bodily, materially.

⁷⁷ For example, the lack of explicit discourse on the program within the 61 documents examined, and the brevity of content (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of these).

⁷⁸ For example, text groups (Participant 4, 2019), or asking workers with seniority (Participant 3, 2019) and developing worker networks (Paz Ramirez, 2013).

Further, in addition to workers, these consequences may be felt by those in administrative or service provider roles within SAWP. When those tasked⁷⁹ with providing knowledge, resources, and contacts do not have their own resources and (formalized/well-documented) peer networks to look to, the flow of information can be negatively impacted. Rather than existing in isolated roles, the human actors of SAWP often rely on their stakeholder relationships for information-gathering (especially in the absence of clear guidance from government⁸⁰). When material actors (e.g. documents) are not fulfilling this role to their full potential, the path to information may become unclear and difficult to follow (as in Chapter 5).

Again, the work of these material actors has material consequences. A (service provider) participant spoke to the real, physical impacts of being able to say, “hey, you know what, call this person. Here’s their name, here’s their number, this is what they do” (Participant 4, 2019). That is, the importance of having

...a lot of research there that you can access if you need it, [the ability to have] chats with different people...where, say, you’re running into a particular snag, and you don’t really know what to do, you can reach out to your peers who are doing similar work, and maybe get some ideas (Participant 4, 2019).

Though (as previously mentioned), SAWP documents do not always communicate the important labour of all stakeholders equally, NGO groups provide essential services across healthcare, education, translation services, social activities, advocacy, legal services, and more. As SAWP exists in relational networks (as “embodied labour” suggests; see Chapter 3), a lack of

⁷⁹ Whether officially authorized by government (e.g. F.A.R.M.S), or by their own organizational mandates.

⁸⁰ Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017; Participant 3, 2019; Participant 4, 2019; Participant 5, 2020. For example, research finds that farm-owners and farm administrative workers rely on F.A.R.M.S for a large portion of their information on SAWP regulations, processes, and requirements (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017).

information provided to one or some stakeholders may mean a lack of information (and access) for others. The Migrant Worker Health Project demonstrates the networked existence of SAWP stakeholders (and the importance of this network) well:

The aim of the Migrant Worker Health Project is to provide evidence-based educational initiatives that describe these barriers to healthcare and service providers, and facilitate collaborative identification of strategies to increase these workers' access to healthcare services and workers' compensation, or WSIB ("About us," n.d., para. 2).

Following this, when NGOs are equipped with on-the-ground, transparent, and comprehensive information on the processes of and issues related to SAWP, they are better equipped to perform their own roles within the program, as they work in relation to other human (e.g. workers) and material (e.g. applications, pamphlets) actors.

5.3 Implications for Labouring Bodies

Both descriptive findings and CDA analysis indicate that the discursive world of SAWP fails to consider "whole workers" (McLaughlin et. al., 2017) or "whole stakeholders."⁸¹ (Official, institutionalized) information-sharing is limited, as documents fail to address full, multidimensional lives, needs, and relationships. What is consistently omitted (as documented in *Section 5.1*) within individual documents goes on to affect macro-level realities of SAWP (as suggested in *Section 5.2*). This has implications for SAWP specifically, and for working bodies within neoliberalism more generally (as discussed below).

As touched on throughout *Section 5.1* and *Section 5.2*, official documents do not capture the nuance that stakeholders (in documents and interview data) and scholarly work (see

⁸¹ As other stakeholders also "work" within and under the (government) program.

Chapter 2) have pointed out. Below, I briefly summarize these aspects as they appear, chronologically, in Chapter 2.

N = 0 of 61 documents recorded the existence and operation of SAWP on Indigenous lands, with Indigenous resources. Documents that do address resistance are generated by NGOs, and continue to frame resistance through the lens of political demonstrations, official consultations, and similar techniques (Paz Ramirez, 2013; Cohen & Caxaj, 2018). This may be attributable to NGO need to protect enrollees' livelihoods by working with, rather than against, SAWP (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019). NGO documents record local and social networks well, reminding that SAWP is locally, contextually, and interpersonally enacted (Preibisch, 2004; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Cohen & Caxaj, 2018; Vosko, 2018). However, particularly in code results for "relationships/networks" (see *Section 5.1*, Fig. 3), SAWP often continues to be represented as a program comprised of isolated (often, ideologically opposed) actors. Documents acknowledge (the continuum of) precarity to varying degrees. Government documents, to some extent, acknowledge workers' dissatisfaction with SAWP's immigration policies, though not extensively or meaningfully (Basok et. al., 2016; Horgan & Liinamaa, 2012; Vosko, 2018). NGO documents frequently stress the social, physical, and legal precarity of workers. Often, this acknowledgement is implicit; NGOS provide resources which support workers in accessing safe channels towards the expression of their rights which, without explicitly challenging the program, communicates their knowledge of program harms. Again, as in McLaughlin & Weiler (2019), this may stem from NGO desire to work with, rather than against, the program. Lastly, some texts acknowledge that, "...a small proportion [of SAWP enrollees] are women..." ("Health risks," n.d., para. 1). However, in both documents and interview data, use of male-gendered

pronouns remains prevalent (“our guys” instead of “our workers”), and explicitly womxn-focused issues (e.g. reproductive health; Cohen & Caxaj, 2018) are not substantially addressed.

As suggested in *Section 5.2*, documents have the potential to formalize and institutionalize these realities beyond the human actors, organizations, or departments that initially drafted them. Documents which communicate SAWP (and Canada) as, to varying degrees, an economically-successful, historically-innocent, male-gendered, labour-centric, well-regulated program go on to do their own work within stakeholder networks, and within the spaces of SAWP. Despite the intentions of human actors, when these documents are circulated, filled in, sent, approved, filed, and so on, they act as barriers to human actors and actions. To stakeholders seeking knowledge, these documents perpetually communicate, with “official” status, these same dominant discursive ideas – in direct contrast to what human actors may communicate (or hope to communicate).

These documents, as actors themselves, reinforce the framing of bodies as labour sources within neoliberal narratives of progress. *Section 5.1* demonstrates extensive documentation of work conditions, wages, and other work-related themes, and a significant failure to consider the “human” in the “worker” (as these are ultimately indistinguishable; McLaughlin et. al., 2017) – consistent with the above literature (see Chapter 2 for in-depth discussion). Stakeholders are “categorized” and “indexed” (Foucault, 2000) according to their usefulness to program labour, and encouraged, disciplined, “trained” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2019) to act accordingly. This is done, in part, by the privileged “arranging and displaying” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 103) of certain lives, and aspects of lives, over others within networks of documentation – communicating, overtly or implicitly, which areas of human life are

(un)acceptable under neoliberalist program structures. Further, as human actors are responsabilized, within documents, to work and act in individualized ways (see Chapter 5; a lack of well-institutionalized stakeholder relationships), they take on the burden of accountability structures through the downloading of responsibility. SAWP operates with an ineffective self-reporting system (Silverman & Hari, 2016; Vosko, 2018), which, ultimately, requires (individualized) stakeholders to enact regulatory aspects of the program (McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013). The end result of these techniques is that of disciplined, isolated labouring bodies who regulate their own, and each other's, participation in capitalist structures.

In addition, key phrases like “successful labour mobility program” (Consulado General de México en Toronto, 2016; Canadian Agricultural Human Resources, 2017) emphasize the economic benefits of SAWP, and discursively silence alternative interpretations of the program – as is demonstrably prolific within SAWP discourse (Bauder, 2008; Satzewich, 2007; Vosko, 2018; see Chapter 5.1). Programs promoted as “triple-wins” (Vosko, 2018) protect themselves against structural critique by suggesting that “...[their] longevity...indicates a level of satisfaction by the workers themselves” (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017, p. 10), where SAWP enrollees are individualized (and thus, autonomous) in their participation, yet responsible for aspects of both countries' economic prosperity (completing the “triple-win”).

Together, these documentation practices – the creation of isolated, incomplete workers towards economic ends – contribute to a model of “migration management” which:

...not only...permit[s] receiving states to import labour at times of need and discard it when the demand disappears but...also makes it possible for sending states to ensure that migrants' earnings are channeled into the sending countries' economies via remittances (Basok et. al., 2016, p. 139).

As above, the economic motivations characteristic of neoliberal structures are both *reliant on* and *benefiting from* the creation of “disposable workforces” and “docile bodies” (Basok, 2016; Hennebry & Preibisch, 2011; McLaughlin et. al., 2017). Documents, as material actors, play crucial roles in these techniques, as they “...communicate where bodies should be, how they should be observed, and how their parts should move to accomplish certain tasks” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2019, p. 229). The recording of (incomplete, labour-centric) lives suggests where (male, working) bodies should be, how we should view and treat them.

This has significant implications for the role of communicative tools, like documents, as material actors in the formation of social realities, and the creation of positive change. As documents take on their own lives within institutions, and are placed in different contexts, or read through different lenses, they work alongside (against, or beyond) the intentions and actions of human stakeholders. The study of texts-as-bodies (or documents-as-actors) may thus allow research to “...isolate[e] the various aspects of communication in order to see how they work together as a coherent whole” (Chávez, 2009, p. 31). That is, consideration of the *use of* communicative tools by human actors may not provide the coherent role; rather, when “...working *with* rather than working *on*...” material actors (Pettinger, 2015, p. 284), it is not just the *use of* (static, dead) materials that bears relevance to the study of communication, but the labour of material actors alongside, against, and occasionally beyond, human actors.

6. CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS, & RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

Research on the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) has often made cursory reference to the “information barrier.” Though often not explicitly defined within the literature, for the purposes of this study, I have defined the information barrier as:

The blockage (through inefficient processes or insufficient/unclear documentation) of information flow across established networks, that negatively impacts the operation of SAWP across stakeholder roles. Stakeholders include, but are not limited to, farm-owners, administrative farm workers, migrant workers, migrant worker families, community members/the public, and institutions (formal and informal⁸²).

As discussed in Chapter 1, this study aims to address the information barrier in ways which, building upon previous work (Braun, 2012; Basok et, al., 2014; Cohen & Caxaj, 2019; Mysyk et. al., 2009; Paz Ramirez, 2013; Vosko, 2018), helps provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. The study does this, namely, by answering: 1. whether the examination of documents (in addition to research done with human actors) assist us in the study and improvement of SAWP and, following that, 2. what is the role of (access to) information in positive change for SAWP? In addressing these questions, this study sought to shift emphasis from government agencies, public servants, farm-owners, and advocacy groups to the bits of paper they consult, draft, fill in, type up, and circulate every day – understanding these materials as active and acting within SAWP.

⁸² Formal institutions may refer to government agencies, private administrators, etc. Informal institutions may refer to advocacy groups, non-profit organizations, and social networks.

Using Foucauldian theory and CDA (and remaining cognizant of the potential usefulness of “embodied labour” theories⁸³), I have analyzed 61 documents gathered from search queries, stakeholder recommendations, and frequent mentions within both the literature review and my time working within the agricultural sector. In addition, one podcast, one set of online courses, one mobile application, and three social media accounts were reviewed (though not explicitly coded).⁸⁴ Interviews (n = 5) with varied stakeholders (civil servants, farm-owners and administrative workers, farm-owner organizations, community organizations, and service providers) were used as a guidepost during analysis – ensuring that results remained grounded in the experiences, voices, and needs of real SAWP participants (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Vonk & Holmes, 2019). Using a CDA approach, documents were coded in nVivo⁸⁵ for three areas of analysis: 1. Discourse, 2. Relationships/networks, and 3. Thematic, actor-specific information (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 2 for more information on these codes).

Results for codes under “discourse” suggest that both government/government-affiliated and NGO groups use dominant discourse on SAWP to an extent; in particular, the discursive idea that SAWP is a solution to labour shortages within the agricultural sector. Other common phrases (“Canadian First,” and “equal protection”) were less commonly used by NGOs, but still made occasional appearances within documents they produced and/or circulated. Some codes (“creation of jobs for Canadian citizens,” “benefits SAWP workers,” “SAWP as ‘foreign aid,’” “successful labour mobility program,” and “benefits Canadian economy”) were

⁸³ See *Recommendations for Future Research* section.

⁸⁴ See *Recommendations for Future Research* section for limitations and recommendations regarding these documentation formats.

⁸⁵ nVivo software version 12.

not used at all by NGOs. Overall, SAWP operation may benefit from more rigorous challenging of dominant discourse – this resistance may be inspired by NGO statements such as:

an expanded Temporary Foreign Worker Program should at no time...and in no way be viewed as the solution to labour challenges facing Canada's agri-food system. We think that a larger labour strategy is immediately needed for the agri-industry (Participant 2, 2019).

Results for codes under “relationships/networks” uncovered gaps in documenting and formalizing stakeholder roles and responsibilities within SAWP. Relationships between the four “traditional” participants were most common (employer, employee, sending countries, receiving country), and may contribute to the discursive idea that SAWP is “...a four party agreement between the Worker, the Employer, the Foreign Government, and the Government of Canada” (“Questions and answers,” n.d., para. 6) – potentially limiting the legitimacy of broader stakeholder input, and disciplining the views actors hold on their own roles and responsibilities within the program.

Results for codes under “thematic, actor-specific information” demonstrated that, similar to relationships and networks, information here lacks both variety and comprehensiveness. Content related to explicit program requirements (e.g. work conditions, wages, work-related transportation, etc.) were documented more thoroughly, while content related to “non-work” aspects (e.g. informal networks, sociality, family, education, personal transportation needs, education, etc.) were typically documented sparsely. Overall, well-documented aspects typically corresponded to program aspects officially (legally) mandated by governments and their representatives.

As discussed in Chapter 5, these results have implications for the discursive and material existences of SAWP bodies; first, for the ways they hold space within the program; second, for the “discursive positions” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018) they make possible for human actors (as human and material actors labour together within the program); and third, for the material impacts of their actions, as ““these discourses really crossed lives; existences were actually risked and lost in these words” (Foucault, 2000, p. 160).

Based on these results and implications, the next two sections address recommendations for 1. Future research, and 2. SAWP information-sharing. These recommendations address both theoretical and practical areas of SAWP work, given this study’s desire to respond to the call for “praxis, for activity and action” (Robinson, 2016, p. 117) within CDA (Fairclough, 2000; Myers, 2001; Robinson, 2016) and within SAWP (McLaughlin & Weiler, 2019; Holmes & Vonk, 2019). The final section (*Section 6.3*) will address limitations.

6.2 Recommendations

A. Recommendations for Future Research

As mentioned in Chapter 3, use of “embodied labour” within research on SAWP’s information barrier is intended to expand the ways we think about actors (who and what these are) and documents (what these are and how they look). Thus, this study emphasizes the need for increased research on documents-as-actors within SAWP; in particular, the potential for complete, transparent, honest documents to aid in stakeholders’ work within the program.

Further, as demonstrated in interviews (Participant 4, 2019; Participant 5, 2020) and research (Paz Ramirez, 2013; McLaughlin et. al., 2012), information-sharing within SAWP is often persistently interpersonal, oral, and (given agriculture’s unpredictability⁸⁶) spontaneous. Given data collection methods, this study was not able to fully capture the spectrum of documentation practices and information-sharing within SAWP. Organizations drive out to farms to sit and chat with workers (Participant 4, 2019); they “pester” stakeholder groups to respond to outreach and relationship-building (Participant 5, 2020); they stand outside grocery stores to hand out pamphlets (Participant 4, 2019). These practices constitute bodily documentation of SAWP information, in ways which are often (not yet) translated to “traditional” (physical/online) documents. Knowing this, additional research into the potential for analyzing bodies-as-documents may be beneficial, following theorists like Chavez (2009) (see Chapter 3) – how SAWP stakeholders keep a physical record of information-sharing in their labour, experiences, and bodily knowledge.

In addition, as touched upon in Chapter 4, this study took a cursory look at “non-traditional” document formats (podcasts, social media, mobile applications, etc.). Interesting elements were raised in relation to these platforms – for example, participant 5 (2020) noted that, within the participant’s organization, a mobile application allows the group a flexible, adaptable, and timely method of information-sharing⁸⁷. As such, additional research on

⁸⁶ Unpredictable due to, for example, its reliance on weather (Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017) to determine the working day.

⁸⁷ This is, perhaps, an improvement for issues noted by participant 4 (2019), and in my analysis of the data collection process (see Chapter 5) – that information is often outdated due to the complexity and number of SAWP stakeholders, and the lack of structural support for keeping communication (consistently) open between them. A few participants shared (Participant 3, 2019; Participant 4, 2019), consistent with research (e.g. Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017; Government of Canada, 2019c) that annual/monthly meetings are not always sufficient.

documentation practices within SAWP should examine the impacts of “non-traditional” and innovative methods (of exchange) on the challenges of information-sharing within SAWP – for example, the difficulty of keeping high volumes of information current (Participant 4, 2019), and the unpredictability/inconsistency of SAWP workers’ access to communication tools (McLaughlin et. al., 2012).

As discussed in *Section 6.3*, the documents examined within this study may work uniquely within this idea of “official document.” The possible consideration of NGO documents as “official” in particular contexts (e.g. workplaces) but not others, and by particular stakeholders (e.g. general public, SAWP enrollee, etc.) but not others, for example, suggests that “official documents” within SAWP may exist on a continuum – as with other areas of SAWP (see *SAWP & the Legal Continuum* section). With this in mind, additional research on the (networked, contingent, and changing) differences between government and NGO documents may be much needed.

B. Recommendations for SAWP

The results of this study’s analysis have suggested that material actors within SAWP (i.e. documents, webpages, etc.) do not always work within the program to their full potential. That is, documents have not often “made visible” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018, p. 100) the robustness of SAWP stakeholders’ lives. “Making visible,” as discussed in Chapter 5, is important for the discursive world it helps to (dis)enable, and the consequences of that discursive world on the physical, material realities of SAWP stakeholders. As such, the following recommendations are

made with the intention to support the human and material actors of SAWP in their efforts to fully utilize information-sharing within and around the program:

- Increased structural and governmental support for the (well-cited) sharing of current, transparent, and “in-practice” information. Participant 4 recommended cross-stakeholder meeting groups and an online forum, and participant 5 shared the benefits of a mobile application.
- Development of initiatives to cultivate, formalize, and document stakeholder relationships which may have been discursively limited/discouraged: employer-NGO, worker-worker, employer-(settled) community, employer-(employer’s) family & community, etc. (See Chapter 5, “relationships/networks”).
- Creation and circulation of documents pertaining to SAWP more explicitly. Given the regulatory, structural, and on-the-ground differences between SAWP enrollees and other migrant workers/TFWPs, the more detailed and specific the information, the better.
- Increased attention to “non-work” aspects of SAWP within official documents (especially government documents): social life, intra-worker relationships, non-work mobility and transportation, education, family and community ties, sexual health, and mental health.
- Continuation of the use of “radical writing” (Sheldahl-Thomason, 2018) among NGO (community, grassroots, service provider) groups to shift discursive roles, uplift each other’s labour, and restructure discourse on the program.

C. Summary: Recommendations

Both scholarly research of and stakeholder participation in SAWP can benefit from increased attention to the ways documents and documentation practices function as material actors, alongside (and sometimes, beyond) human actors within and around the program. These recommendations are intended to 1. broaden and nuance academic understanding of the types and number of stakeholders involved in SAWP (to include documents), and reframe definitions of “document” to include “non-traditional” formats and bodies-as-texts, 2. decenter human actors in emotionally-charged, polarizing discussions of the program and, in doing so, 3. support stakeholders in collaborative use of material actors (i.e. documents and documentation) in communicating and educating transparently, comprehensively, and effectively within SAWP.

6.3 Limitations

The limitations of this study have been touched on throughout, but will be consolidated here. Theoretical limitations include the lack of explicit post-colonial or critical race theory (though analysis has remained mindful of these dimensions). Limitations in data collection relate to the lack of representative stakeholder interviews (which, in future research, could add additional insight – see *6.2 Recommendations*), and the inability to capture a full range of oral and “non-traditional” documents, which (based on research and interview responses) are employed heavily in SAWP information-sharing.

In addition, analysis and discussion have demonstrated that boundaries between government/NGO information-sharing (as the authors who, jointly, make up 100% of authorship within the data) are complex – and could not be fully explored here. That is, the documents examined within this study may exist within a continuum; where, dependent on the

context and stakeholder population, among other things, documents may function as “official” to varying degrees, and in varying ways. The documents included in this analysis are all “official” in at least one context, to at least one stakeholder group, during at least one time or another. Individuals attempting to understand, make sense of, or gain knowledge on SAWP would typically encounter many of these documents as a group⁸⁸, which may formulate certain discourse and imagery on the program both as a whole (in some ways, regardless of government/NGO boundaries), and distinctly (where government/NGO boundaries matter). As my results have demonstrated (see *5.1 Descriptive Findings*), these distinct differences between government and NGO documents make themselves apparent at times, and not at others, in relation to certain issues⁸⁹, and not others. Further research that delves more deliberately into those differences may be fruitful, though such an exercise was beyond the scope of my study.

⁸⁸ Especially given, for example, the existence of many of these documents within the same search engine queries, and the reference of many of these documents/organizations across stakeholder groups (e.g. in my interviews).

⁸⁹ For example, particularly relating to SAWP workers’ “non-work” quality of life.

8. APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. Do you have experience and/or involvement with the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program?
 - a. What is your involvement?
2. What is your experience and/or involvement with SAWP documents/information-sharing?
3. Can you provide some examples of documents you typically work with, and how you work with them?
4. Can you share your understanding of the flow of documents within SAWP administration – as much as you are familiar with through your line of work? Who sees/uses/submits which documents, and to whom?
5. In general, are there any insights you've gained from witnessing/participating in information sharing within the SAWP program?
6. SAWP-related information is shared within and between various stakeholder groups. Groups may include farm-owners, civil servants, migrant labourers, community organizations, or others. Do you have any observations about how these groups share information? Are there any practices that are common across groups? Any practices that are unique?
7. What do you like about information sharing within SAWP? Can you provide examples of situations you've witnessed where information sharing has had positive results?

8. Which information-sharing practices are helpful to you?
9. Is there any information you do not see shared, that you wish would be?
10. Do you have any recommendations on how information sharing can be better facilitated in the SAWP program?

Appendix 2: Codes & Definitions

1. Discourse:

Code Name	Definition
Equal protection	References to equal rights/protections for SAWP enrollees and Canadian/Ontario workers, or references to their being “treated equally” or being “equal to.”
Canadian First	References to job recruitment of Canadian/Ontario workers before employer use of SAWP, or use of the phrase “Canadian First program.”
Benefits workers	References to the benefits SAWP provides for migrant workers (and their families/communities, etc.).
Benefits Canadian economy	References to the benefits SAWP provides to the Canadian economy, Canadian agri-food industry, etc.
Labour shortage	References to their being a labour shortage in the Canadian agricultural sector which necessitates the use of SAWP.
Successful labour mobility program	References to/examples of SAWP as a successful labour mobility program, nationally or internationally.
SAWP as foreign aid	References to SAWP as providing “aid” to sending countries, their economies, governments, citizens, etc.
Creation of jobs for Canadian citizens	References to a “trickle-down” effect, where the use of SAWP workers creates Canadian jobs in other areas/sectors/etc.

D. Relationships/Networks:

All “relationships/networks” codes pertain to: Mention/ explanation of relationships, partnerships, and support between (or among, in the case of intra-stakeholder bonds) two stakeholders (or stakeholder groups), as follows:

Code Name	Definition
Consulate/Liaison-Employer	between (Mexican) consuls and employers, or (Caribbean) liaison officers and employers.
Consulate/Liaison-NGO	between (Mexican) consuls and receiving country NGO workers, or (Caribbean) liaison officers and receiving country NGO workers.

	Note: NGO is used within this thesis as a broad term. See footnote 32.
Consulate/Liaison-Receiving Country	between (Mexican) consuls and receiving country civil servants, or (Caribbean) liaison officers and receiving country civil servants.
Consulate/Liaison-Sending Country(ies)	between (Mexican) consuls and sending countries' civil servants, or (Caribbean) liaison officers and sending countries' civil servants.
Consulate/Liaison-Worker	between (Mexican) consuls and SAWP enrollees, or (Caribbean) liaison officers and SAWP enrollees.
Employer-(Employer's) Family & Community	between SAWP employers and their family and/or members of their personal community.
Employer-(Settled) Community	between SAWP employers and the broader settled community (i.e. general public).
Employer-Employer	among SAWP employers (intra-employer networks).
Employer-NGO	between SAWP employers and receiving country NGO workers.
Employer-Researcher	between SAWP employers and researchers (academic or industry).
F.A.R.M.S-Employer	between the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Service and SAWP employers.
F.A.R.M.S-NGO	between the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Service and receiving country NGO workers.
F.A.R.M.S-Receiving Country	between the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Service and receiving country civil servants.
F.A.R.M.S-Researcher	between the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Service and researchers (academic or industry).
F.A.R.M.S-Sending Country(ies)	between the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Service and sending countries' civil servants.
F.A.R.M.S-Worker	between the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Service and SAWP enrollees.
Industry-Receiving Country	between industry representatives and receiving country civil servants.
Intra-governmental (Receiving Country)	among receiving country civil servants across different government departments/levels.
NGO (Sending Country/ies)-Worker	between NGO workers in the sending countries and SAWP enrollees.

NGO-(Settled) Community	between receiving country NGO workers and the broader, settled community (receiving country; i.e. general public).
NGO-NGO	among receiving country NGO workers across different organizations.
NGO-Receiving Country	between receiving country NGO workers and receiving country civil servants.
NGO-Worker	between receiving country NGO workers and SAWP enrollees.
No Explicit Relationship	text with no explicit reference to relationships, partnerships, or support between any SAWP stakeholders.
Receiving Country-Employer	between receiving country civil servants and SAWP employers.
Receiving Country-Researcher	between receiving country civil servants and researchers (academic or industry).
Receiving Country-Worker	between receiving country civil servants and SAWP enrollees.
Researcher-NGO	between researchers (academic or industry) and NGO workers.
Sending Country(ies)-Employer	between sending countries' civil servants and SAWP employers.
Sending Country(ies)-Receiving Country	between sending countries' civil servants and receiving country civil servants.
Sending Country(ies)-Worker	between sending countries' civil servants and SAWP enrollees.
Third-Party Representative-Employer	between SAWP employers' third-party representatives and SAWP employers.
Worker-(Settled) Community	between SAWP enrollees and the broader, settled community (receiving country).
Worker-Employer	between SAWP enrollees and SAWP employers.
Worker-Family & Community (Sending Country/ies)	between SAWP enrollees and their families/personal communities in their sending country.
Worker-Worker/Migrant-Migrant	Among SAWP enrollees or between SAWP enrollees and migrant workers in other programs.

E. Thematic, Actor-Specific Information:

Code Name	Definition
In-Practice Program Administration (related to any theme/actor)	<i>Explicit</i> mention of day-to-day program administration (how to, roles, responsibilities,

	etc.) as different from formal guidelines and program protocols.
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c. Worker:

Code Name	Definition
Communication/Social Needs (Personal)	Mention of personal communication and/or social needs of workers.
Communication Needs (Professional)	Mention of professional communication needs of workers (e.g. contact information).
Education	Mention of training, professional development, general knowledge/skills facilitation for SAWP workers.
Family & Home Life	Mention of SAWP workers' families and/or lives outside of receiving country.
Health	Mention of SAWP workers' mental, physical, sexual, spiritual, emotional health (common challenges, how/when/where/why to access services and what services to access).
Housing	Mention of SAWP workers' housing accommodations (standards, inspections, rights, etc.).
Language, Literacy & Translation	Mention of SAWP workers' needs regarding language services (e.g. translation) and literacy (accessible documents, supports for reading/writing comprehension, and opportunities to improve literacy levels).
Legal Rights & Responsibilities	Explanation of SAWP workers' legal rights and responsibilities beyond SAWP protocols (within Canadian legislature).
Mobility/Transportation	Mention of SAWP workers' transportation needs (personal and professional) and (social, physical, legal) mobility.
Program Responsibilities	Explanation of SAWP workers' responsibilities and role in administering SAWP and connected Canadian systems (what, where, when, why, and how).
Working Conditions & Wages	Explanation of SAWP workers' labour conditions (breaks, workplace rights, etc.) and wages (including provincial/federal deductions and SAWP-related deductions).

b. Employer:

Code Name	Definition
Administration Challenges	Mention of employer barriers to effective program administration (regulatory, structural, individual, etc.).
Education	Mention of training, professional development, and general knowledge/skills facilitation about SAWP and surrounding issues.
Family	Mention of employers' families and/or personal relationships beyond work.
Health	Mention of employer health (physical, mental, emotional, spiritual) as it relates to SAWP and SAWP challenges.
Abuse, Improper Program Administration, & Consequences	Mention of general "what-not-to-do" or formal transgressions (as outlined in SAWP contract, etc.) and subsequent consequences for the employer.
Legal Rights & Responsibilities	Mention of (codified) legal rights and responsibilities (e.g. OHS Act, Employment Standards Act, etc.)
Program Administration Responsibilities	Explanations of employer roles and responsibilities in administering SAWP and connected Canadian systems (what, where, when, why, and how).

c. Sending Countries:

Code Name	Definition
Program Administration	Explanation of sending countries' responsibilities and role in administering SAWP and connected Canadian systems (what, where, when, why, and how).

Code Name	Definition
Services Provided	Explanation of services provided by sending countries to their SAWP enrollees (outside of specific SAWP administrative duties).
Program Enforcement & Review	Mention of program oversight, annual or ongoing review, and/or consequences and

	procedures for improper program administration.
Administrative Duties (Sending Country(ies))	Explanation of sending countries' SAWP responsibilities in the sending country.
Administrative Duties (Receiving Country)	Explanation of sending countries' (and their representatives') SAWP responsibilities in the receiving country.

d. Receiving Country:

Code Name	Definition
Program Administration	Explanation of receiving country responsibilities and role in administering SAWP and connected Canadian systems (what, where, when, why, and how).
Enforcement Challenges	Mention of receiving country barriers to effective enforcement of SAWP compliance (regulatory, structural, individual, etc.).

Code Name	Definition
Application Processing	information regarding application requirements, wait-times, review processes, and approvals/denials
Enforcement & Review	information regarding oversight, consequences of improper program administration, and ongoing/annual program review
Government Services	to information regarding government responsibilities outside SAWP-specific administration (e.g. health cards, road maintenance, etc.).
Federal/Provincial/Municipal Legislation	information regarding legal rights/responsibilities of SAWP stakeholders outside SAWP-specific regulations
Program Explanations/Communication with Participants	information on the responsibilities, techniques, and content of government communication/explanation regarding the SAWP program

Program Operation	Information on government administration of SAWP after initial processing of applications
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Appendix 3: Search Engine Inquiries (Google, Incognito Mode)

“health SAWP workers”

“SAWP explanation”

“SAWP information”

“SAWP organizations”

“SAWP resources”

“SAWP regulations”

“SAWP requirements”

“SAWP worker things to know”

“SAWP”

“Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program”

“seasonal agricultural workers Canada”

“seasonal farm workers Canada”

“transportation SAWP”

“how does SAWP work”

“migrant rights activist groups Ontario”

Appendix 4: Document Collection – Online Pathways

1. Documents found through targeted searches (i.e. organization name/website address previously known):

Justicia for Migrant Workers & Centre for Spanish-Speaking People, n.d.

Toronto Workers' Health and Safety Legal Clinic, n.d.

"Resources & education for farm workers," n.d.

"Health risks and issues among migrant workers: faqs," n.d.

"Resources," n.d.

"Cards needed for health care (Caribbean SAWP workers)," n.d.

"Cards needed for health care (Mexican workers)," n.d.

"Background on migrant workers in Ontario: faqs," n.d.

"Healthcare and insurance for migrant workers: faqs," n.d.

"Workplace safety insurance board (WSIB) access for migrant farm workers: faqs," n.d.

"Key contacts," n.d.

McLaughlin, et. al., 2012.

Consulado General de México en Toronto, 2016.

Jamaican Liaison Service, 2013a.

Jamaican Liaison Service, 2013b.

Justicia for Migrant Workers, 2013.

Government of Canada, 2019a.

Government of Canada, 2019b.

Employment and Social Development Canada, 2019.

"Questions and answers," n.d.

"Health card registration process for seasonal agricultural workers," n.d.

"Workplace safety insurance board (WSIB)," n.d.

"Pesticide safety training for farmer assistants," n.d.

“Personal protective equipment,” n.d.
“Employment standard act,” n.d.
“SAWP worker transfer confirmation,” n.d.
“2019 Ontario agriculture wage rates,” n.d.
“2019 program related costs,” n.d.
“Transferring workers,” n.d.
“Caribbean early cessation,” n.d.
“Mexico early cessation,” n.d.
“General principles for SAWP,” n.d.
“Administrative processing,” n.d.
“Compliance reviews – integrity services,” n.d.

2. Documents found through search engine inquiry:

Migrant Rights Alliance for Change, 2019.
Canadian Agricultural Human Resources Council, 2017.
Community Legal Education Ontario, 2019a.
Community Legal Education, 2019b.
Niagara Migrant Worker Interest Group, 2019a.
Justicia for Migrant Workers, n.d.
“SAWP checklist for Ontario,” n.d.
Government of Canada, 2020a.
Government of Canada, 2020d.
Government of Canada, 2020c.
Government of Canada, 2019c.
Government of Canada, 2018.
Government of Canada, 2019f.
Migrant Rights Network, 2019.

Migrant Rights Alliance for Change, 2019.

Government of Canada, 2019c.

3. Documents found through cross-referencing on other websites/in other documents:

Occupational Health Clinics for Ontario Workers, 2019.

Appendix 5: Primary Data Reference List

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