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of elimination and replacement of SAWP based on what is happening on the ground in Canada in 2019. Essentially, what migrant workers' support groups are demanding is not elimination but a radical reform of all temporary foreign worker programs (TFWP): Granting permanent

farm only if requested by the employer. Workers will return to Canada at all only if employers give them a good review. Wages are slightly above the minimum wage in each province and, in Canada, it is the provincial governments that legislate employment standards. Employers have huge power over workers, as they can dismiss them at any time, which can effectively mean deportation. Deportability lies in the program's institutional structure, not the employers themselves; it is not an issue of "bad apples." Employers can also change the source country of the workers, so that their consulates cannot do much to advocate for them, given that developing-country governments are generally interested in having as many of their workers participate in the SAWP. Employers have full control of the labor process, which allows them to set the working pace at levels that would be entirely unacceptable for local citizens or permanent residents.

Leigh Binford elaborates on the very important point about employers' control over the labor process and overexploitation. Employers can achieve unusually high levels of productivity from temporary migrant workers. A stunning example of tree planting is this: an employer who used to be a tree planter in his youth planted 600–800 trees per day; Mexican workers he supervises plant up to 4500 per day and are asked to plant a minimum of 2000 per day. One of my interviewees in British Columbia also narrated how his employer gave him an example of work intensity for 15 min. He then requested that the worker should replicate the same work and pace. But, as the worker commented to me: it's not the same keeping up the same pace for 15 min as over ten to twelve hours a day, up to seven days a week. The key point is that, given their precarious situation and unfreedom to circulate in the labor market, employers extract higher levels of productivity from migrant workers than can be consistently obtained from Canadian citizens or residents. Such productivity levels

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TFWPs should be allowed to work on the same terms as citizens and permanent residents. I have addressed this question in some of my collaborative work (Preibisch and Otero 2014; Otero and Preibisch 2015; Weiler et al. 2016) and we made a concrete proposal: that the only way for new workers in Canada to play on a level field with the rest of the workforce, without enabling employers to undermine the latter, is by getting permanent residency on arrival.

This discussion is in part about semantics: rather than “abolishing” TFWPs, my suggestion would be to “transform” them, not least because workers themselves would like to continue to have access to work in Canada one way or another. A transformed program should allow workers to circulate freely on the labor market, migrate with their families, have better bargaining power, including the right to unionize, etc. Rhetoric about abolishing or curtailing temporary foreign

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