

Claiming the Road: Intersectional Mobilities and Unfreedom  
among Migrant Farmworkers in Canada

by

Emily R. Reid-Musson

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography  
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Emily Reid-Musson 2017

# Claiming the Road: Intersectional Mobilities and Unfreedom among Migrant Farmworkers in Canada

Emily R. Reid-Musson

Doctoral of Philosophy

Department of Geography

University of Toronto

2017

## Abstract

This study considers the travel patterns, practices and conditions that shape how migrant farmworkers circulate in rural southwestern Ontario. While migrants in Canada’s Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) do not exercise occupational mobility and are housed in employer-provided accommodations, they are otherwise legally entitled to circulate freely in Canada. In practical terms, however, most experience significant mobility barriers. The study investigates the mechanisms by which migrant farmworkers are confined and immobilized to farm spaces on systemic levels, contributing to a vein of research on the *immobilities* that pervade everyday life for transnational, low-wage labour migrants. I show how localized mobility controls placed around migrants as well as inadequate transportation create a “mobility fix” for farm operators and state actors. Technologies of confinement that immobilize migrant farmworkers are

justified through racial and sexual ideologies about migrants being a threatening presence in rural Canada, while permitting high levels of value to be extracted from migrants' labour.

The dissertation is organized as three empirical journal articles which are preceded by a chapter on research methods.

In the first article I document how a purported problem with transient farm labour migration to Ontario from Quebec and Atlantic Canada was constructed in the 1960's and 1970's. In response, the Canadian government devised the SAWP as an institutional mechanism to undercut transnational migrants' constitutional and practical mobility rights, rights that transients harnessed. This chapter reveals how enacting controls around migrants' local mobilities has been crucial to the "making" of migrant agricultural workforces in Canada.

In the second article I identify how systemic immobilities for SAWP workers are enacted by Canadian *family* farm operators. I show how Canadian family farms benefit from high levels of personal and intimate interaction with SAWP employees. I identify how operators impose high limitations and constraints as to when, where, and how migrants can travel beyond formal work hours.

Finally, the third article examines how migrants have forged bicycling geographies in rural places and how migrant bicyclists are perceived in Canadian communities. Migrants are more vulnerable as bicyclists, do not bike out of choice, and have become subjects of bike safety education. I argue that racial and economic forms of exploitation as well as socio-spatial exclusions inflect actually existing bicycling geographies.

## Acknowledgements

My sincere gratitude goes to many who have supported me in one way or another through the research process.

First, to all who contributed to the research who I cannot name here, thank you—you shared your lives with me, made me question everything, and fed me unforgettable meals in warm, engaging company. Gracias a tod@s l@s participantes que me enseñaron tanto, que compartieron cenas inolvidables conmigo, y que me trataron con muchísima amistad. You deserve much better from Canada; I admire your courage as I wish for a more just world for you and your families.

Other farmworkers, migrant advocates, and allies in Toronto and beyond deserve recognition (some of whom can't be named here), either for their direct support or for inspiring me in indirect ways through their own work: Adriana Paz, Chris Ramsaroop, Craig Berggold, Daisy Buchanan, Donaree Douglas, Eduardo Huesca, Evelyn Encalada Grez, Fanny Belcoski, Fr. Frank Murphy, Gabriel Allahdua, Jane Andres, Jessica Farias, Julia McCrea, Lupe Recillas, Min Sook Lee, Peggy Houston, the incomparable Herman and Joanne Plas, the Peart family, Stella, and Tzazná Miranda Leal. In early 2016, Professor Kerry Preibisch passed away; her research has been invaluable to my own research.

I'm indebted to the Ketts in Norfolk County who lent me a place to stay for the research—memories of their lotus pond and oak savannah continue to delight. I'd also like to thank the staff at the Delhi Tobacco Museum for their assistance. I'm grateful for the maps that Sam Ettinger and Byron Moldofsky created for this research.

Geography and Planning faculty and staff at the University of Toronto have supported and mentored me, and for that they have my utmost gratitude. My supervisor Dr. Alan Walks has been an unwavering supporter, he's read my dissertation many times, and never expressed a hint of frustration; this is truly a feat of patience. My committee members Drs. Deb Cowen, Emily Gilbert, and Paul Hess continue to push me on bigger questions and all provide models for meaningful scholarship. Special thanks goes to Dr. Michelle Buckley, who has gone above-and-beyond as a provider of all kinds of opportunities—big, big thank you. Jessica Finlayson and Jenny Jung (among others) provided the foundations for my graduate studies and I'm very appreciative of their work. Don Mitchell served as external examiner; I am grateful to Don for his own research, and for taking my work seriously and pushing it forward. I also received funding from SSHRC to complete this research and sincerely appreciate that support.

Geography and Planning grads have been a supportive and brilliant group. Add to this many other grads at the U of T. Beyond U of T, other students and workers inspire me—the UNITE HERE 75 crew in particular. Overall, thank you's and much solidarity goes to: Adam Zendel, Ayesha Basit, Bryan Dale, Caitlin Henry, Carmen Teeple Hopkins, Charles Chiu, Charles Levkoe, Cynthia Morinville, David Seitz, Do Lee, Ellie Adekur, Elizabeth Lord, Elsie Lewison, Heather Maclean, James Nugent, Jordan Hale, JP Catungal, Justin Kong, Katie Mazer, Lauren Kepkiewicz, Léa Ravensbergen-Hodgins, Leah Montange, Lia Frederiksen (& Eli), Maddy Whetung, Mai Nguyen, Melissa Sobers, Mike Ekers, Nicole Latulippe, Prasad Kanolkar, Raluca Bejan, Rebecca Osolen, Robert Fajber, Sam Walker, Travis Bost, and Yi Wang.

Generous friends and neighbours have seen me through this dissertation. My gratitude to Alison C., Alison T., Carmelo P., Crystal M., Elisa D.V., Gil, John G., Karen M., Karen T. & Heather B.,

Kate T., Lisa W., Lulu, Mai N., Max, Maria, Nini & José, Ralph, Michelle, Keegan & Carson, Robbie R., Tina S., and Vicki W.

To my family: my mom, dad, Claudia, Conrad, Zu, Ian, & Gloria; the Perrys and Tebays out East—Helen, Carl, Jean, Eben, & Brian; and the Plaunts of Ottawa and the extended Reid family.

Finally, my thanks to Adam, who is always there to make sure neither of us takes ourselves too seriously.

# Table of Contents

List of Figures .....	xi
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Conceptual and Empirical Context for the Research .....	4
Research Questions .....	8
Study Sites and Scope .....	10
Overview of the Chapters .....	12
<b>Chapter 2 From the Driver’s Seat: Methods for Intersectional Mobilities Research .....</b>	<b>16</b>
Introduction .....	16
Bike-Related Qualitative Research: Overview and Assessment .....	18
Investigating Intersectionality in Bicycling Research .....	22
Overview of Qualitative Research Methods .....	27
Conclusion .....	33
<b>Chapter 3 Historicizing Precarity: A Labour Geography of ‘Transient’ Migrant Workers in Ontario Tobacco .....</b>	<b>35</b>
Introduction .....	36

Labour Geography of Precarity in Migrant Farm Work.....	43
Ontario’s Tobacco Transients.....	48
Transients and the Camp ‘Fix’.....	52
Manpower and Transient Tobacco Workers.....	56
Implications and Conclusion.....	64
<b>Chapter 4 Grown Close to Home™: Migrant Farmworker (Im)mobilities and Unfreedom on Canadian Family Farms.....</b>	<b>70</b>
Introduction.....	71
Conceptualizing Unfree Labour through (Im)mobilities: Existing Research.....	74
Canada’s Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program.....	77
Study Methods and Site.....	79
Producing the Family Farm through (Im)mobilities.....	81
Mapping webs of intimacy: Farm families, migrant workers and state officials.....	82
Immobilizing labour: Systemic confinement in the SAWP.....	90
Explaining (im)mobilities: Worker effort & employer power.....	100
Negotiating confinement.....	103
Conclusion.....	107

<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>Shadow mobilities: Regulating migrant bicyclists in rural Ontario, Canada.....</b>	<b>111</b>
	Introduction.....	113
	Geographies of Bicycling, Mobility, and Citizenship: Existing Research .....	116
	Research Approach and Methods .....	122
	Bicycling among Migrants in Rural Ontario .....	124
	Producing Visibility .....	130
	Migrant Bicyclists in Public Spaces .....	138
	Implications and Conclusion.....	144
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>148</b>
	Chapter Contributions.....	149
	Using methodological impasses as a lens on mobilities as intersectional processes .....	149
	Mobility power and powerless-ness in unorganized workplaces .....	150
	The role of Canadian family farms in systemic migrant immobilities .....	151
	The need for critical perspectives on bicycling geographies .....	152
	Conceptual Contributions .....	154

Securing immobility: Local mobility controls in transnational labour migration programs .....	154
Intersectional mobilities .....	158
Future Research Plans .....	160
Concluding Thoughts .....	162
Bibliography .....	164
Appendices .....	187

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of research areas.....	11
Figure 2: Transient tobacco workers in Aylmer, Ontario, 1974.....	42
Figure 3: Map of southern Ontario’s tobacco-growing region.....	49
Figure 4 : Tobacco harvest primers and kiln workers by origin and gender, 1969.....	51
Figure 5 : Tobacco harvest workers by origin and recruitment, 1981.....	62
Figure 6 : Percentages of early termination rates among tobacco harvest workers by origin and recruitment, 1981.....	63
Figure 7: “NO HELP NEEDED”, a warning to transients on abandoned tobacco kiln in Norfolk County, Ontario.....	65
Figure 8: Farms by proprietorship, 2011.....	84
Figure 9: Research profile of farms in Norfolk County, Canada.....	85
Figure 10: Travel distances, frequency, and destinations among migrant farmworkers.....	98
Figure 11: Comparison between three Norfolk County farms showing travel mode, destinations, and distances.....	99
Figure 12: Stills from bike safety videos.....	113
Figure 13: Frequency of bike travel among migrant employees, according to Norfolk County growers.....	126

Figure 14: Travel modes among migrants, according to workers. ....	126
Figure 15: Bicycling geographies in rural Ontario. ....	128
Figure 16: Bike-related fatalities among migrant farmworkers in southwestern Ontario since 2005. .....	129
Figure 17: Significant bike routes for migrants in Leamington, Ontario. ....	142
Figure 18: Number of approvals for temporary agricultural workers to Canada, 2006-2013 ....	187

## Chapter 1 Introduction

On a Tuesday evening in September 2005, Charles Morris was driving toward the small town of Delhi, Ontario when he hit three bicyclists, killing two of them—William Bell, aged 54 and Desmond McNeil, 39—and seriously injuring another man, Frederick Smith, 35. It was dusk and a clear night. Morris was irregularly employed as a farm worker in the area. Bell, McNeil and Smith were also farm workers; unlike Morris (a Canadian national), they were Jamaican nationals employed as seasonal guestworkers through Canada’s Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), working for a farm growing Asian vegetables, just outside of Delhi. Bell, McNeil and Smith had been on their way to use a payphone on their bikes after work. Morris was eventually charged and convicted of two counts of dangerous operation of a vehicle causing death and one count for causing bodily harm. According to witnesses and experts at the trial, Morris was speeding, though this is not considered unusual in the area. Morris claimed he failed to see the men on their bikes until the moment he hit them, and he had no previous criminal record. Fred Smith, the only survivor, was left permanently disabled, unable to continue being employed in farm work and therefore unable to remain in Canada or support his family.<sup>1</sup>

Morris received a conditional sentence in lieu of incarceration. In Canada conditional sentencing applies to those who are deemed unlikely to re-offend and deemed unlikely to pose any danger to the public. But conditional sentencing is nonetheless carceral. House arrest and other mobility restrictions are often imposed in order to stigmatize offenders in their communities and render

---

<sup>1</sup>The details from this account are based on news reporting on Morris’ trial and conviction (see Legall, 2005, 2005a, 2007 & 2008; Pearce, 2012).

daily life more taxing. Morris was under house arrest for two years. He could leave his home only to travel to and from work. To shop and run basic errands, Morris was permitted to leave his home three hours per week. Because Morris' offense involved a vehicle, he was prohibited from driving for ten years as part of his conditional sentence. In his sentencing, the judge noted that Canadian citizens rely on cars as their primary means of transportation, and that there is a lack of public transit in Norfolk County. To get to the farms where he worked, Morris would have to find alternative means of travel. Morris was also required to complete several hundred hours of community service speaking to migrant farmworkers in the region not only about bicycle safety but also about the risks of dangerous drivers on local roads, and specifically ordered to press upon workers the importance of wearing reflective gear and lighting.

Restrictions imposed on Morris' mobility for the length of his sentence are somewhat akin to the everyday (im)mobility that farmworkers like Bell, Smith, McNeil and 30,000 others experience within the context of the SAWP.<sup>2</sup> Migrant farmworkers in Ontario lack access to cars and rely on their employers and on bikes to get around. Farm guestworkers are given short periods of time off-farm each week, to shop on Friday evenings between roughly 6pm and 9pm, and are often required to inform their bosses as to their whereabouts during their free time. Access to a driver's license and a car shapes citizenship in Canada, that is, the ability to participate in society, including finding and getting to work, particularly where communities are highly car-dominant. Lacking access to a car and/or license, then, is akin to what Tim Cresswell calls "shadow citizenship" (2013), which

---

<sup>2</sup> For data on the SAWP see Appendix A

refers to the overlapping legal, social, and geographical exclusions from citizenship that are materially embodied in everyday patterns of (im)mobility.

Through the criminal justice system, Morris' sentence forced him to experience to a limited degree the conditions of *unfreedom* his victims lived in their everyday lives and workplaces. The sociologist Vic Satzewich characterized Canada's SAWP as a program which legally institutionalizes an unfree workforce to fill Canada's farm labour demands (Satzewich, 1991), in contrast to 'free' waged labour. (The scare-quotes used to denote 'free' labour underscore how waged work is not truly free in the sense that economic compulsion is constitutive of the wage relation.) Unfree work refers to arrangements where workers are compelled to accept or remain in work through additional forms of legal and political coercion or compulsion (Strauss, 2012). Racism against poor non-whites from the global South guided and justified the differential and unequal incorporation of migrants from Mexico and the Caribbean into Canadian agriculture on an unfree temporary basis (Sharma, 2006). To impose such restrictions on Canadians or European immigrants, the government ascertained, would be unduly illiberal (Satzewich, 1991). Altogether the SAWP organizes a highly flexible and deportable or disposable workforce for agricultural employers in an already low-wage and insecure sector.

At the time of the collision, Morris, Bell, McNeil and Smith all depended on precarious employment in the local agricultural sector. Their insecurity as farmworkers, then, has longstanding roots in a sector built upon worker powerlessness and poverty. Despite the fact that they shared the same occupation, salient racial and national differences divided them. Morris was a local with a home and family to which to return each day. He could quit his farm job without having to leave Canada, and could move into different sectors, if not practically so, at least under

the law. Bell, McNeil and Smith's unfreedom was a permanent feature of labour migration management. Finally, Morris also had relative privilege vis-à-vis automobility. His access to a vehicle beyond the conditional sentence—as well as the use of driving restrictions as punishment—indicate how salient automobility remains to expressions of liberal democratic citizenship (and therefore to non-citizenship), and to working-class and racialized subjectivities in the Canadian context. While in Morris' case these limits had reparative and punitive functions—an overt time-limited curtailment of his constitutional freedoms—restrictions that bind farm guestworkers' mobility are rooted in multi-scalar mechanisms of labour market regulation and exceptions from national citizenship. These restrictions are central to making the migrant farm workforce on a flexible basis. Confinement for Morris was punishment meted through the criminal justice system. For migrant farmworkers, in contrast, confinement to overlapping dormitory and work spaces is an ongoing, regularized feature of the SAWP as a work regime. This study focuses on the production and function of geographical confinement placed around migrant farmworkers in southwestern Ontario—what Rashad Shabazz (2015) calls racial “architectures of confinement” which structure quotidian spaces beyond physical prison complexes—as well as the ways that migrants negotiate immobilization and confinement.

## Conceptual and Empirical Context for the Research

By mobility, I mean “the movement of people from one place to another over the course of everyday life” and the “personal travel that is part of people's participating in the daily round of activities such as paid and unpaid work, leisure, socializing and shopping” (Hanson, 2010, p. 7). I broadly situate the study findings within an ‘immobilities turn’ in the social sciences that addresses how friction of distance, confinement, and waiting inflect (often violent) global migration, work,

and border regimes (Conlon, 2011; Cresswell, 2011, 2013; Jeffrey, 2008; Martin, 2011; Rogaly, 2015). I place debates on mobilities and immobilities within a feminist and Black geographical scholarship on migration, unfree labour, and commuting. While mobilities scholarship—both longer-standing and more recent—has been attentive to the relationship between power inequalities, social differences, and mobility, I draw out implications from these sub-areas of research to attend to issues of employment, work, and labour, namely labour control, worker reproduction and labour struggles for those experiencing the most extreme forms of labour exploitation (such as migrants in North American agriculture). Overall, research on the relationship between low-wage labour and (im)mobility is thin in so-called “core” mobilities scholarship (as Stuesse and Coleman, 2014, p.56; Cresswell, Dorow, and Roseman, 2016, p.4, respectively point out) but has long been the focus of feminist migration research (see Silvey, 2004) and more recently been central to critical research on global logistics (see Cowen, 2014).

Feminist intersectional theory refers to the process through which social differences are not singular or essential but interlock and shift in combination as “complex inequalities” with one another through particular geographical and historical processes, in relation to place and work (McDowell, 2008; Nash, 2008; Wright, 2006). Ruth Gilmore (2002) conceptualizes intersectionality one step further as a “fatal coupling” of difference and power, because she wishes to point out that these couplings involve exposing racialized and colonized people to state-sponsored suffering (if not death) and dispossession, often aligned with some form of exploitation (principally related to labour, land, and resources). My contribution in this dissertation is not to intersectionality theory per se, but rather to suggest that mobilities are intersectional processes. First, there has been a general lack of attention to racialized, classed, and non-citizen subjects in mobilities studies on commuting and transportation, though this is changing (see Roseman, Barber,

& Neis, 2015; Shabazz, 2015; Sheller, 2015). While feminist geography research has provided rich insights into the gendered dimensions of urban mobility and migration (Hanson, 2010; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Silvey, 2004; Yeoh & Huang, 2010), there is much less examination of class, race, sexuality, and dis/ability in relation to mobility. When these oppressions are addressed, they are typically viewed as discrete categories. This study focuses on the experiences of migrants as subjects of interwoven racial, class, and sexual regulation in their everyday movements, and argues that these spatially interwoven forms of regulation create violent landscapes for migrants in rural spaces. I further argue that the regulation of migrants' mobilities is crucial to containing and extracting value from migrants' labour. The goal of the study is to demonstrate the significance of mobility controls at quotidian levels to the making and maintenance of migrant labour on an unfree basis, and the intersectional forms of oppression that justify and underpin these controls.

My research thus specifically investigates this nexus between labour control, transnational migration, and the immobilization of migrant labour, notably, how confinement and immobilities are key dimensions of the lived experience, spatialities, and regulation of migrant farmworkers' labour unfreedom. At a very basic level this project provides a more "spatially sensitive story" (Mitchell, 2012, p.2) about how migrant farmworkers' mobilities matter to workers' lived experiences in the Canadian SAWP and to the making of Canada's farm guestworker program. There is an extensive, rich, and valuable body of research on the SAWP upon which this research is built and to which this project responds. Although there are multiple, interlocking legal and regulatory factors at play which immobilize migrant workers on Canadian farms, the spatial immobilities that pervade everyday life for migrants for the duration of their contracts in Canada are not explicitly inscribed or formalized in law. The SAWP legally ties workers to on-farm housing and restricts them to specific employers, yet there are no legal mechanisms permitting

employers or state officials to restrict workers' freedom of mobility within Canadian communities beyond on-farm workplaces and dormitories. Existing research on the SAWP, however, tends to lend state-level institutional regimes an over-deterministic role in structuring the experiences of migrants at localized levels. There is, of course, good reason for this, but this obscures the contested and processual nature of the SAWP as an institutional mechanism for securing migrants' labour. As I will document, states and employers have sought to fix migrants' mobilities. The resulting spatial containment that prevails today is systemic to the quotidian operation of the SAWP, the power that employers and states enact and leverage over workers, and the material geographies circumscribing both migrants' local travel and their transnational migration.

I also offer a complementary interpretation as to how power is theorized in relation to unfree labour arrangements. Where civil society, for example, is addressed in research on the SAWP, the focus remains predominantly on civil society-migrant alliances as inclusionary processes (Basok, 2004; Gabriel & MacDonald, 2011; Preibisch, 2007), and rightly so—faith, labour, and other social movement-based groups have undoubtedly reshaped migrants' ability to claim rights and participate in Canadian communities. I seek to complicate civil society-migrant relationships, moving beyond questions of inclusion and exclusion by considering power relations in these contexts on less binary terms. I foreground a diffuse array of relations in which spatial relationships and processes combine with legal and formal ones to shape the conduct and experiences of workers in dynamic relation with employers, state actors, and civil society actors. Each of the chapters differently considers how mobility matters to regulating migrant farmworkers' conduct. I document locally-scaled forms of mobility controls that migrants face from employers, sending states, and even civil society actors—controls otherwise assumed by (migrant host) states in governing migrant circulation at the level of national territorial borders (see Salter, 2013). In

addition to states and employers, then, there are a range of civil society actors in host communities which have been involved in enabling and restricting not only migrants' capacity to move but also their mobile *conduct*.

Finally, the places and localities where migrants live and work in Canada are, to varying degrees, increasingly becoming more important in research on the SAWP (see Bélanger & Rivas, 2015; Basok et al., 2015; Tomic & Trumper, 2012) and there is growing acknowledgement of the ways that migrants reshape rural Canadian spaces where they live and work (Preibisch, 2007). Overall, however, places are conceived in much research as containers or *mises en scène* upon which migrant labour struggles play out. I therefore focus on the variegated experiences of locality, place, and mobility that farmworkers experience within and between host Canadian communities and even between employers and farms, and in particular the ways that mobility and place intertwine. Two of the empirical chapters focus specifically on Norfolk County, Ontario, not as an a priori given, but as a landscape that has been produced and contested by various migrant workforces over the longer term. To summarize, my study builds from existing scholarship on the SAWP to investigate the interplay between migrant farmworkers' transnational mobility and local immobilities by documenting the mechanisms that contain and immobilize workers in rural spaces in order to secure migrant labour on unfree terms.

## Research Questions

Narrating the encounter between Morris, Bell, McNeil, and Smith and its aftermath draws attention to the central aim of this research: to document how geographical mobility is enmeshed in the regulation of unfree migrant labour in Canadian agriculture. Therefore, my primary research questions, broken in two parts, are: *How are geographical mobilities and immobilities constituted*

*and implicated in the making of unfree farm labour migration? How are local controls around migrants' mobilities harnessed and justified in managing transnational labour migration?*

In turn, the sub-questions to which I respond in each of the chapters, and which are devised to respond to the main research questions (listed just above) are:

- a. How have migrant farmworker (im)mobilities been historically produced and contested in southern Ontario?*
- b. To what degree are migrant farmworkers able or unable to travel locally in the Canadian places where they work? By whom and by what means are these mobilities and immobilities enacted and secured? What kinds of power relations do these patterns serve?*
- c. How are citizenship and non-citizenship produced and negotiated through "sustainable" mobility practices and advocacy, such as those related to bicycling?*

Each of the empirical chapters in the study narrates and theorizes how farmworkers' everyday immobility has been produced and negotiated in the making of unfree migrant farm labour in Canada. Overall, the dissertation is unique in documenting and conceptualizing spatial mobilities and immobilities as integral components in the geographical production and regulation of migrant unfreedom.

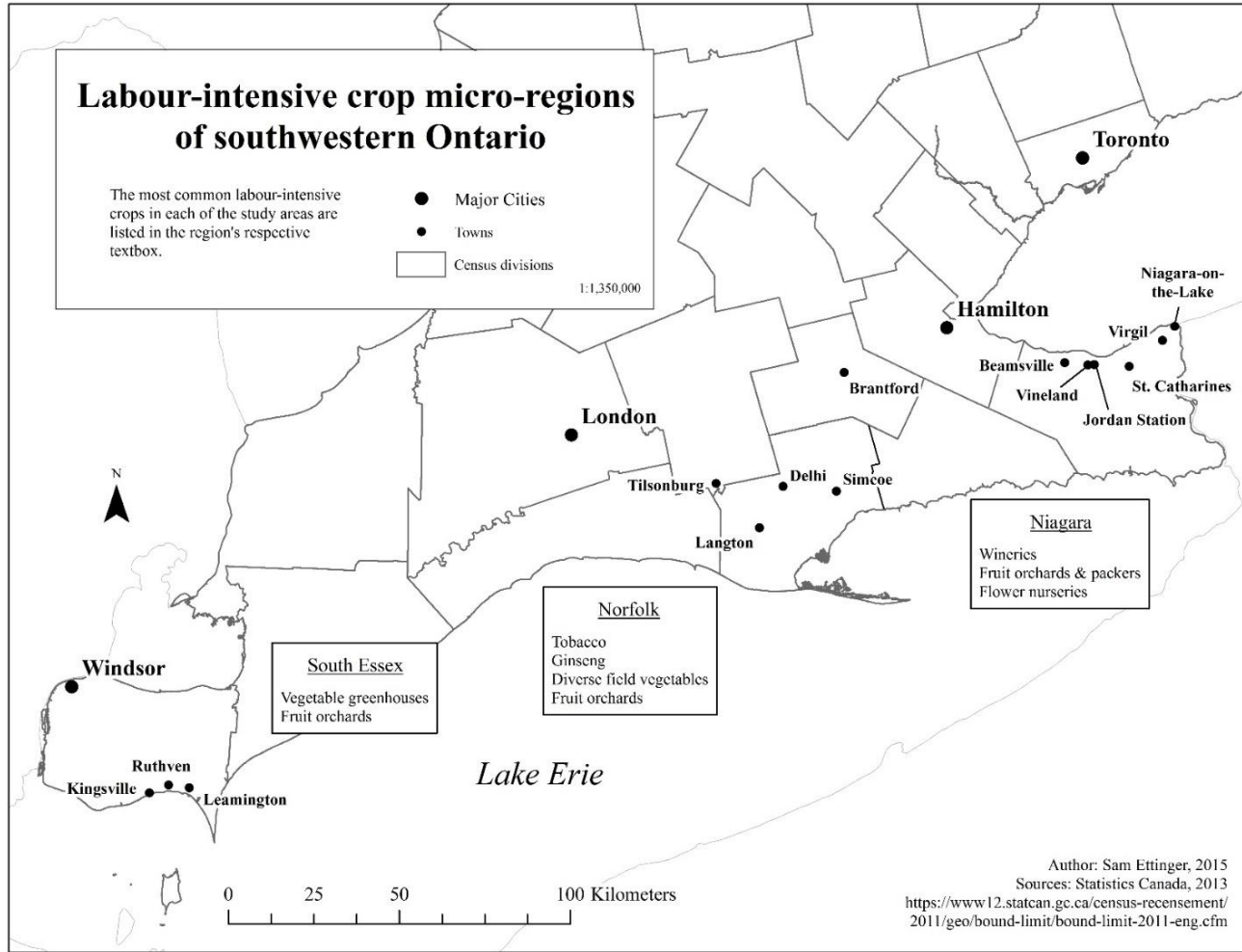
Regarding the terminology used in this dissertation, it should be noted that I use the terms *SAWP workers*, *migrant farmworkers*, and *guestworkers* interchangeably. However, in my experience migrant workers do not refer to themselves by any of these terms. Whether speaking in Spanish or English, in their own words I have found that they are likely to call themselves *farmworkers* or *trabajadores* [workers], therefore acknowledging their occupational and class positions but not their legal or national status. In farming communities, common terms typically used for migrant

farm workers are—pejoratively—referred to as offshore workers or simply *Mexicans* or *Jamaicans*. I am cognizant of the fact that all of these terms legitimize workers’ non-belonging in Canada. As Nandita Sharma explains, “Naming someone a migrant worker is no longer seen as a social process but as an embodiment of what that person actually is. In this, the differences organized between those categorized as migrant workers, citizens, or permanent residents are naturalized.” (2006, p. 54)

## Study Sites and Scope

The study focuses on southwestern Ontario, specifically Niagara (Niagara-on-the-Lake and surrounding areas), South Essex (Leamington and surrounding), and Norfolk (Delhi, Simcoe, and surrounding; see Fig. 1 for a map of the research areas). Each of these three areas receives a significant proportion of seasonal SAWP migrants to Canada, at around 5,000 each per year. Unlike Norfolk County growers, Niagara and south Essex growers have recruited heavily through additional “low-skill” streams of Canada’s TFWP (HRSDC, 2013a), in addition to the SAWP. Norfolk operations remain largely seasonal, whereas greenhouse and packing facilities in Essex and Niagara have created demand for year-round but nonetheless “temporary” migrant labour, which newer TFWP streams permit. The research focuses in-depth on Norfolk County in particular; Norfolk County is a unique agricultural area which has long depended on waged seasonal labour, including migrants, but there is limited critical research which examines this

**Figure 1: Map of research areas.**



region (see Bridi, 2013, and Dunsworth; 2013 for exceptions). In a sense, Norfolk County serves as an object of study in itself, to help reframe our understanding of Canada's distinct agricultural landscapes as laboured (Mitchell, 1996).

Finally, this study focuses specifically on migrant men in the SAWP. In contrast to south Essex and Niagara (where migrant women are overwhelmingly hired to work in produce packing facilities), there very few women who migrate to Norfolk County to work on farms. Consequently, the study focuses purposefully on migrant men's experiences in the SAWP rather than other low-wage/low-skill agricultural labour migration streams. Though the Mexican and Jamaican governments have been promoting greater participation by women in the SAWP, women remain significantly outnumbered by men in the program overall (as discussed by Becerril, 2007; Preibisch & Encalada Grez, 2010; Preibisch & Hermoso Santamaria, 2006). The mobility constraints that women migrant farmworkers face, however, are themselves highly feminized and are also much more severe than those faced by male migrants (Preibisch & Encalada Grez, 2010, p. 308), as a recent human rights case in Ontario showed.<sup>3</sup>

## Overview of the Chapters

The dissertation is built around three distinct but inter-related journal articles, which I introduce in this short overview. Preceding the articles, I describe the methods used to conduct the research, focusing in particular on the qualitative components of the study (the archival research is addressed separately in Chapter 3).

---

<sup>3</sup> See *O.P.T. v. Presteve Foods Ltd.*, 2015 HRTO 675.

Inequalities and mobilities are co-constituted but few studies have provided methodological frameworks for conducting intersectional mobilities research. In Chapter 2, *From the Driver's Seat: Methods for Intersectional Mobilities Research*, I provide an account of the research methods used in this study, commenting on my unexpected role as a driver in the research and the implications of this role for mobile ethnographies on bicycling. While recent scholarship has called for 'shadowing' or 'moving along' with mobile subjects (McGuinness, Murray, & Fincham, 2010; Spinney, 2011; Urry, Witchger, & Büscher, 2011), I contend that 'moving along' with research participants may be difficult, impossible, or ethically questionable because of the power differences between researcher and participants (Elliott & Urry, 2010). Unintentionally, I found that because I needed a car to do my research and because workers asked me for rides, I spent more time driving than bicycling over the course of the study period. My dependence on a car to access study sites combined with migrants' reliance on bikes, and therefore dependence on me for rides, reflect the uneven distribution of spatial power between us that shaped and informed this research process and the findings that emerged on (im)mobility as a contested site of unfreedom. As such, in 'driving others around' and being unable to accompany research participants as a fellow bicyclist ultimately reveals more than it initially seemed to foreclose. This impasse, I suggest, may be viewed as a useful methodological approach in and of itself.

In the subsequent three empirical chapters, I concentrate on Norfolk County, Ontario, to bring finer-grained detail to the labour mobilities and labour geographies of migrant agricultural work in the region. In the first empirical chapter (Ch. 3, *Historicizing Precarity: A Labour Geography of 'Transient' Migrant Workers in Ontario Tobacco*), I provide new historical research on labour migration to show how seasonally unemployed "transient workers" from Quebec and Atlantic Canada made up a considerable proportion of the tobacco harvest workforce. At the same time,

the federal government was devising and expanding the SAWP. I argue that the attempt to make the farm landscape more rational (Mitchell, 2012) required making labour flows more rational, and that the SAWP was formulated to rationalize the geographical vagaries of labour market circulation and unemployment within Canada's resource-driven economy. Existing historical research on farm labour migration glosses over the complexities at play at the time of the rolling-out of the SAWP. Transients were unorganized, seasonal, migrant workers; I show how they consequently used geographical mobility strategically to contest their relative powerlessness. Based on analysis of an unexamined archive, I focus on the 1960's and 1970's when tobacco growers grew concerned about the new ways that transients were organizing. I show how the SAWP was formulated in this context to institutionalize labour mobility on terms amenable to employers rather than workers by providing employers and states with the powers to tightly control labour flows to and from farms.

In Chapter 4, *Grown Close to Home*<sup>TM</sup>: *Migrant Farmworker (Im)mobilities and Unfreedom on Canadian Family Farms*, I examine contemporary labour relations that exist on Norfolk's family farms, who employ migrant men in the SAWP. I build from literature on the ways that migrants' bodies are targets of immobilization, to argue that family farm operators immobilize workers on Canadian farms. Mobility controls make workers available on work-live sites. Growers explain their actions through logics of care and responsibility for workers, actions which include controlling workers' access to farm vehicles, access to bicycles, curfews and other rules about how, where, and when migrants can travel. I juxtapose workers' own narratives of confinement against popular representations of family farms that currently circulate in food marketing. I argue that family farms should be conceptualized as interlocking sites of unfreedom, and that the Canadian family farm is worth of greater critical examination by food labour and migrant labour

researchers and activists, because the family farm ideal underpins farmworker precarity in Canada and in the US.

In Chapter 5, *Shadow mobilities: Regulating migrant bicyclists in rural Ontario, Canada*, I shift focus to consider the bicycling geographies that prevail in rural communities where migrants live and work. I respond to a gap in qualitative bicycling research that leaves under-examined the experiences of less affluent, rural bicyclists in the North American context. I argue that bicycling is a component part of shadow citizenship for migrant farmworkers, referring to the overlapping material and legal exclusions from mobility rights that make the simple act of getting around challenging and fraught. Because of the unsafe conditions that inflect biking in rural communities for migrants, migrants have become subjects of bike safety. I examine bike safety discourses in relation to their effects, contending that bike safety serves to regulate migrants' conduct in public spaces and public thoroughfares. The chapter troubles normative notions of bicycling as universally healthy and progressive, showing instead how bicycling is enmeshed in racially and economically exploitative geographies.

## Chapter 2 From the Driver's Seat: Methods for Intersectional Mobilities Research

### Introduction

It is common for mobility researchers to be active participants in the phenomena they are studying, an approach known as the move-along method originally based in “street phenomenology” (as described by Kusenbach, 2003). With precedents in anthropology, moving alongside research participants is now a standard component of mobility research. This is particularly true of social and cultural geographers’ studies of urban bike use. Naturally, many researchers who are interested in bicycling are bicyclists themselves (Aldred, 2010; Spinney, 2011; Stehlin, 2014) such that research tools of participation, observation and questioning are typically interwoven (Buscher et al., 2011). As McGuinness, Murray, and Fincham note in their edited volume (2010), “being there” as researcher—whether one’s presence is physical or mediated through a diary or video record—can be of critical importance. Mimi Sheller and John Urry (Sheller, 2004; Sheller & Urry, 2006) originally called for methods involving “co-present immersion in various modes of movement” (Sheller & Urry 2006 quoted in McGuinness et al. 2010, p. vii). Conducting mobile research as a bicyclist and with bicyclists is an essential tool for capturing the non-representational and embodied dimensions of bicycling that may be impossible or difficult to capture in traditional qualitative research, that is, spatially-static, interview-based “talk”. In view of this, Justin Spinney, for example, describes the ride-along method he harnessed using multiple tools to capture the non-representational and often fleeting dimensions of bicycling practices. Tools he proposes for use include talk-on-the-move, video, and active participation by the researcher as a bicyclist.

Ethnographies of cycling also pose research challenges just as they open possibilities. While the practical challenges of the ride along method have been noted in mobility literature, this chapter explores how intersectionality, power and positionality shape mobility in the research process itself. In my own doctoral research, I originally wanted to employ the ride-along method within a particular bicycling community (migrant farmworkers) but my efforts were stymied. Research participants insisted on car rides once they were aware I had access to a car. Intersectionality, I therefore argue, complicates researchers' taken-for-granted ability to participate in the ride-along method, but also provides noteworthy insights into the ways that mobility intersects with existing socio-spatial power differences such as nationality, race, class, and citizenship. Mobile ethnographies with marginalized groups may further trouble the feasibility of the ride-along method, while bringing light its micro-political dimensions as a specific research tool, to which this chapter attests. Most mobility researchers—like most academics—come from more privileged positions and vantage-points. Intersectionality and positionality in the research process invariably shape mobilities research outcomes. Thus, this chapter seeks to bridge significant geographical concerns between feminist geographers' longstanding arguments on positionality and reflexivity in research processes, on the one hand, and critical mobilities research, on the other.

My research design was considerably shaped by mobile methodologies, an approach to social research which embeds mobility in its design. With a specific interest in bicycling, I intended to conduct my research with bicyclists as a bicyclist among bicyclists. However, I encountered challenges when actually trying to adopt this seemingly simple approach. Workers who knew I had a car—which I needed to get to rural areas—eschewed their bikes when given the option of driving, with myself as the driver. However, these challenges ultimately reveal a great deal about how power and intersectionality across gender, race, class, and citizenship/national lines are

expressed through mobilities, especially in relation to access (or lack of access) to motor vehicles. In the sections that follow, I trace existing bike-related qualitative research before turning to a description of my research approach, the turns it took, and the conclusions I have drawn from these turns.

## Bike-Related Qualitative Research: Overview and Assessment

While the nexus between inequalities and mobility is a familiar one, “few studies have emphasized the methods best applied for its fuller understanding” (McGuinness et al., 2010, p. 3). Numerous scholars have provided in-depth explanations as to the fundamentally political character of immobility and mobility in contemporary geographical processes, particularly as they relate to migration and transportation (Conlon, 2011; Cresswell, 2011; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Moran, Piacentini, & Pallot, 2012; Parks, 2016; Yeoh & Huang, 2010). Indeed, original conceptual interventions at the forefront of the ‘mobility turn’ articulated a critical, relational view of stasis and flow through which power is intimately wrought (Cresswell, 2006, 2010; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006). In recent work, Paola Jirón and Walter Imilan similarly adopted a “shadowing” method to study the multiple mobilities that flexible workers in neoliberal Santiago, Chile, use to juggle jobs, family, and other responsibilities (Jirón & Imilan, 2015). Overall, little research explicitly engages with methodological and methods-oriented questions and concerns as they pertain to intersectionality and mobility. D’Andrea et al.’s review article (2011) notes that there are “usually messy, unpredictable and serendipitous” empirical realities that redefine research and representation, “as new questions, threads and insights are closed and opened up along the way” (pp.154-155). They further state: “the multidimensionality of mobility is entwined

with the researcher's own relative positionality before, during and after empirical research” (p.155).

Specifically turning to qualitative bicycling research (which is often embedded in a mobilities framework), geographers with social-cultural orientations have offered nuanced studies of bicycling identities, practices, and politics. Moving away from positivist approaches that have predominated in transport geography, qualitative methodologies and methods have increasingly formed the basis for bicycling research. Traditional qualitative research often relies on talk (for lack of a better term), yet conversing does not necessarily elicit in-depth understandings of mobile practices and meanings. It can therefore be difficult to communicate non-visual and non-representational dimensions of mobility. Justin Spinney has proposed modified ethnographic tools that can help to bring to light the embodied and social dimensions of biking in which both the researcher and the researched participate, notably through video-ethnographies and diary-photography (Spinney, 2011; see also Lindeke, 2015). Thus, while it is clear that mobility can be charted through more static means, such as analysis of popular representations, data, and qualitative research tools like interviews, surveys and focus groups (e.g. ‘talk’), active, mobile ethnographies are core components of mobility recent research. This is what Spinney calls the ‘ride along’ method in bike research (Spinney, 2009, 2011 based on Kusenbach, 2003). As Spinney points out, however, communication and safety can pose problematic in cases where riders are caught in traffic or are racing alongside other bicyclists.

Qualitative bicycling research tends to be initiated and conducted by researchers who are themselves active bicyclists and at times bike advocates (for examples see Aldred & Jungnickel, 2013; Aldred, 2010; Blickstein, 2010; Fincham, 2008; Furness, 2010; Hoffmann & Lugo, 2014;

Horton, Rosen, & Cox, 2007; Spinney, 2009, 2011; Stehlin, 2014) whether or not the researcher is explicit about their own background and orientations. Because of the privileged background of many researchers, auto-ethnographic approaches to bike research typically focus on more privileged spaces and vantage-points within wider bicycling populations. For examples, places in the global North are overwhelmingly the focus of such qualitative research (Copenhagen, Cambridge, or Mont-Ventoux, for example) while those who participate in the research tend to be more affluent bicyclists. This geographical and sampling focus is consequential because other bicyclists exist may be left out of research, that is, bicyclists who tend to be less affluent and racialized. Moreover, our methodological and conceptual frameworks for studying mobilities remain unassumingly one-sided and fail to work towards more equitable and just transportation objectives (on the notion of “just transportation” see Bullard, Johnson, & Torres, 2004; Lucas, 2004; Zavestoski & Agyeman, 2015). Methodologically, auto-ethnographic approaches in which the ride-along method tend to be embedded do not present overt power differences and hierarchies between the researcher and the researched, precisely because the researched are likely to be members of the researcher’s social community and networks on an a priori basis.

Notable exceptions exist, however. An ethnographer by training, Adonia Lugo (2011; 2013) has been involved in equity and diversity concerns within the bicycling movement related to low-income and racial minority bicyclists in Los Angeles in particular (see also Hoffman, 2015). Lugo’s research is situated within long-standing bike advocacy in immigrant neighbourhoods in Los Angeles. In an incisive article, Lugo (2013) argues for policies that bolster what she calls “human infrastructure”—relationships, social movements, and social networks—rather than purely physical infrastructural supports in promoting non-car mobilities like bicycling. Similarly, Pablo Bose (2014) explores mobility constraints that refugees in resettlement programs face in

Burlington, Vermont, a relatively bike-friendly health-oriented city. Refugee respondents in his research indicated that they thought access to a car was the best solution to the mobility barriers they faced. Echoing Bose, Karen Chapple (2015) argues that Complete Streets policies—which privilege bicycling as one mode of active transportation—often fail to take into consideration the views and needs of low-income car-dependent workers, a view she considers myopic and potentially harmful to these groups. Chapple states, quite appropriately in relation to migrant farm workforces: “[B]ehind every iconic place—the walkable neighborhoods of San Francisco, the boulevards of Paris—is an urban economy that supports and is supported by low-income workers and their families operating under severe mobility constraints” (2015, p. 302). Finally, William Lindeke’s research on bicycling in Minneapolis conceptualizes the “bicycling body, bicycle, and urban space” as “affective assemblages” (2015, p.21). Using various research tools, from ride-along interviews, videos, photos, and ride mapping, Lindeke reveals the variegated feelings and embodied dimensions of bicycling expressed among his research sample group of new bike riders in Minneapolis/St. Paul, contrary to the notion that riding a bike is natural and universal.

These studies indicate that engaging more invisible and marginalized groups in bicycling research can elicit surprising and significant findings, findings that complicate existing bicycling advocacy and politics. Together this newer body of scholarship demonstrates how qualitative research on bicycling can reveal about bicycling advocacy, identities and practices when viewed through the perspectives of less affluent and privileged bicyclists. Although authors emphasize the need to engage marginalized groups in cities, there remain few explicitly methodological and methods-based interventions pertaining to intersectionality in qualitative bicycling research.

Feminist geographers have shown how researchers shape research outcomes through their research conduct, particularly how relationships between investigators, study participants, and study sites shape these outcomes (Katz 1994; Rose 1997). This is what feminist geographers have called situated knowledge, an anti-positivist intervention which views intellectual knowledge as relational, embodied, and geographical rather than universal and detached (building from Donna Haraway's insights). Earlier, I defined intersectionality as the processes by which social differences are rarely encountered along a single axis, but combine in geographically differentiated ways to produce exclusions along multiple lines. Feminist geographers have built from intersectional analysis which originates in feminist scholarship (such as Glenn, 1992; hooks, 1991; Nash, 2008), offering fine-grained ethnographies in particular places, like worksites or neighbourhoods, to show the contingent, contextual, and fluid character of intersectional identities and politics as they shift, combine, and are unmade (Massey 1993; McDowell 2008; Buckley 2014). Building across these fields in qualitative bicycling research and feminist research methodologies, I will show how intersectionality is expressed through mobilities and how this can be revealed through the course of conducting research, precisely through some of the on-the-ground complexities of mobility-oriented qualitative research.

## Investigating Intersectionality in Bicycling Research

Over the course of conducting my doctoral project, I was accidentally compelled to confront the intersectional dimensions of mobility as they pertained to my research design. My original research plans—to chart the unique experience and politics of migrants' bike use and everyday mobility through ride-along tools of observation and interviews—failed. First, though I live and did my doctoral research from the basis of a large urban center (Toronto) my research took me to rural

areas. Indeed, much bicycling research positions the urban as an assumed center for utilitarian bicycling, and rural spaces as largely ones for leisure and recreational bicycling. Urban settings form the overwhelming majority of qualitative bike research foci. Migrant farmworkers' experiences as bike-dependent populations in rural areas, however, complicates this urban orientation. Moreover, the fact that they are bike-dependent in an auto-hegemonic context produces systemic isolation and confinement among workers, who remain spatially tethered to their work-live sites in rural locales, adding to the labour flexibility and control harnessed by growers in the SAWP.

Thus, to get to rural areas in Ontario where migrants farmworkers live and work, one absolutely needs a car. Therefore, despite being a lifelong bicyclist, I had to rely on a car to get to rural locales for the duration of the qualitative data collection phase of my study. In fact, I had to learn to drive and had to get a car as a new PhD student, in order to complete the project I envisaged. Getting to places like Norfolk and Leamington in southwestern Ontario is otherwise next to impossible since there is no intra-urban bus or train service to either area, despite being little more than 30 minute drives from large and medium sized cities like Detroit, London, Brantford, and Hamilton. Without a car these are very inaccessible places. What this meant was that in order to do my research, I drove out to rural communities each weekend, bringing my bike along with me.

It should also be noted that my involvement with migrant farm workers in Southwestern Ontario began as an undergraduate student. I worked on a tobacco and fruit orchard, alongside Canadian co-workers as well as Mexican co-workers, who were participants in the SAWP. I lived on-farm and also depended on a bike that my co-workers generously lent me. At the time I gave relatively little thought to my dependence on bikes to get around. Most days, I rode into town by bike. I

would often bike back to my trailer at night on unlit roads, giving no thought to it. At the time, my co-workers reported having ‘drive-by’ garbage and racial epithets thrown at them. This was commonplace, indicating how being on a bike in Leamington in particular is a marker of non-whiteness and marginality. Justin Spinney has argued that bicycling cultures, identities and politics are spatially contingent and divergent (2009). In migrant-receiving communities in southwestern Ontario, bicycling itself is racialized, as the “the image of Mexican men riding their bicycles along rural roads” has become a part of Leamington’s landscape (Basok, 2002, p. 2; see also Bauder, 2005, p. 47).

As many have shown, owning a car is a marker of relative status and privilege in North America and the UK (Lucas, 2004; Urry, 2000; Walks, 2015). Even though I relied on my bike on a daily basis, I still embodied the relative privilege of owning and having access to a car, a material manifestation of the social stratifications between my research participants and I that marked our differentiated geographical, racial and class positions. Automobility was deeply salient not simply to the socio-spatial milieu that coercively structures (Sheller & Urry, 2000) migrants’ labour on Ontario farms, but also the research process itself. “Indeed, just as the physical movements of an urban cyclist are influenced by the presence of cars and framed by a road designed for cars, the processes with which we make sense of bike riders, bicycle technologies, and cycling are similarly framed by the norms and assumptions bundled up with automobility” (Furness, 2010, p.10). As I developed new contacts and friendships through the research, it became clear that my car and reliability as a driver were quite important to the relationship-building process I was engaged in—certainly far more important than my interest in bicycling and non-car mobilities.

My field notes attest to the importance that ride-sharing became to my research. Workers would contact me for rides, checking to see if I was around and might be able to offer a lift somewhere. In some cases, I actually became acquainted with workers because of my car, as the following entry suggests.

On Friday a fellow named Julio approached me (...). He said his brother, who worked on another farm outside of London, had just had a hernia operation. He asked if I would drive him to visit his brother on Sunday evening, and I agreed. I went and picked up Julio, and his co-worker Eric joined us. (...) I was invited into their trailer before we headed out. I was struck immediately by the warmth of the place. They had some atole brewing on the stove, a rice & cinnamon drink, steeped in hot milk with sugar. Eric has an infectious smile and laugh. (...) Like Eric, Julio is, despite the circumstances, quite jolly and chatty. (Sunday, 23 September 2012)

On our drive back from London to their Norfolk bunkhouse, Julio and Eric insisted we stop at Tim Horton's at a road stop. It was late, but we sat and chatted about my research and their lives for an hour. As the episode suggests, by lending workers a lift I learned a great deal and also gained some trust. It provided me, albeit indirectly, with a sense of how imperfect and unappealing biking was for workers—an option of last resort. Having the power to offer someone ride also gave me power as a researcher.

In another case, I became acquainted with a group of workers who were dealing with an egregiously poor work situation—a very different context to the one introduced in Julio and Eric's case. Wage violations and workplace harassment were ongoing problems. Roberto described how he and his co-workers had been told explicitly not to leave the farm property without permission, and were not allowed to have visitors. Roberto instructed me to come by in the dark and to discretely park by the shoulder on the road rather than enter the property. As the weeks passed, I continued in this role as a driver. During this time, I was witness to Roberto and his co-workers debating how to address their working conditions.

This role I came to hold as a researcher and driver raise important questions about the research process. In some cases, I could determine what workers could and could not do. Julio would not have been able to meet up with his brother at that difficult time unless he paid for a very pricey taxi ride. It is possible that the rides I was providing could be construed as compensation for participating in my research—did the rides add pressure to participate in the research? I made every effort to use rides as opportunities to talk about my research, but made sure that invitations to participate in an interview were not perceived to be connected to the ‘sharing’ of rides in any way. Finally, as other researchers have documented, people who are excluded from automobility, in particular lower-income new immigrants and migrants, turn to ride-sharing as a coping mechanism where they face transportation or mobility deficits (described by Blumenberg & Smart, 2010). I found that the drives I offered simply became part of this ride-share network. Workers or crew leaders who do have access to a vehicle (whether their own or a company vehicle, for whatever reason) are wont to share some of that access with fellow workers and friends who do not have that same access. Additionally, there are also local volunteer networks, often organized through faith communities, who recognize how workers are stuck in a transit or mobility desert, and try to offer workers rides to church and other events. In that sense, I fell into a driver role within already existing informal ride-sharing networks in local communities. Taken as a whole, my relationship with participants in the project highlights how access to vehicles shapes power relations in materially significant ways, and how workers and their friends and advocates have long fashioned coping mechanisms around mobility gaps.

As the anecdotes indicate, I learned a great deal through my accidental role as a driver, in spending time driving workers around and getting to know their opinions and experiences on-the-go. In fielding request for rides, I deduced that bicycling was unpleasant, often unsuitable, and dangerous

option of last recourse for them. There are also advantages to the time spent in the car as driver and passenger(s). I had the opportunity to spend time with workers beyond the confines of the interviews themselves. As described in the anecdote above, a Sunday night drive with Julio and his co-worker provided time and space to talk about the research and get a sense what they thought about it. What this meant was that I was able to share my ideas and tentative conclusions with workers. In this sense, the challenge to my desire to conduct ride-along interviews and observations opened new possibilities, both in terms of revealing aspects of migrants' experiences that would otherwise be difficult to measure or assess, as well as deepening the ethical dimensions of the research process.

Feminist geographers have described the ways that research is shaped by a series of ambiguities—what Cindi Katz calls displacements. Katz refers to the very act of doing research as constituted by a series of spatial, intellectual, and social displacements; by this she means that most research, at its most basic level, means moving “from one position or site to another” (1994, p.72). She calls for greater attention to be paid to these dislocations, further noting: “My argument is that ethnographic research is underwritten by a host of displacements that are rarely addressed by the researcher either in the field setting or in the academy” (Katz, 1994, 72, fn.1). This is very much what D’Andrea, Ciolfi, and Gray (2011) highlight in their review of mobile methodologies: “at the most immediate level, the analyst’s own movements across spaces, institutional settings, and disciplines are significant expressions and conditions of research” (p.153). In other words, there is always mobility and displacement at play in the research process, whether it is recognized or not. These research processes, often uncertain ones, disclose a great deal more than they obscure.

## Overview of Qualitative Research Methods

My involvement with migrant farm workers in Southwestern Ontario began as an undergraduate student. I worked for a Canadian literacy organization, in which I acted as an adult educator on Canadian farms. I was a paid employee for two different farms during the day—a tobacco farm in Norfolk as well as an orchard outside of Leamington. But evenings and weekends I taught ESL to migrant farmworkers. My co-workers and most of my students were Mexican men in the SAWP. In both Norfolk and Leamington, I depended on a bike that my co-workers generously lent me, though at the time I gave relatively little thought to our dependence on bikes to get around. Most days, I rode into town or to learners' bunkhouses by bike. I would often bike back to my trailer at night on unlit roads, giving no thought to it. At the time, my learners and co-workers reported having 'drive-by' garbage and racial epithets thrown at them. This was commonplace, indicating how being on a bike in Leamington in particular is a marker of non-whiteness and marginality, something I discuss in Chapter 5. The experiences & friendships I had at the time and those I have maintained since then certainly influence and inflect this research, though none of my findings are directly derived from the relationships or experiences at that time. With regards to this dissertation research, I met all the respondents and participants in 2012 and 2013, and all my field notes are based on this period. While these experiences unavoidably inflect the research process, I have not included any direct observations from work or teaching experiences that pre-date this particular research project, nor did I request or recruit participants from my former circle of co-workers, employers or contacts when conducting my research. All of the respondents and observations documented herein are based on research activities related to this dissertation research.

The core components of the research involved participant observation, interviews with workers, interviews with other key stakeholders, and an email survey sent to Norfolk grower-employers. I will discuss each of these in the following paragraphs, which form the basis of the data analyzed

in Chapter 4 & 5, while the archival research I conducted in Chapter 3 is discussed in that section specifically. I spent nearly each weekend from May through October of 2012 in Norfolk, unless I had an interview or meeting elsewhere, in Leamington or Niagara. I was very generously offered a place to stay by an acquaintance's parents, who had a cabin in their large backyard. They lived half-way between the towns of Delhi and Simcoe in Norfolk. Similarly, I spent many evenings and weekends in Norfolk the next season, from June to October 2013, often following-up with interviews or catching up with contacts from the previous year.

On Friday nights, I volunteered with a group of local migrant farm worker advocates based Simcoe, Ontario, many of whom were involved with the Agricultural Workers Alliance (AWA) center in Simcoe, which is funded by the United Food and Agricultural Workers (UFCW) of Canada. In May 2012, I met the coordinator of the local Simcoe AWA center for the first time and was able to introduce my research project. She generously agreed to let me volunteer at the center as well as base some of my research activities there. Because migrant farm workers typically are quite busy on Friday nights, when the AWA center gets busiest, I ultimately decided not to conduct any interviews at this time. Instead, I used this time to get to know people and to assist staff with whatever they asked me to do. I also did not think it was ethical for workers who arrived with their own needs to feel as if participating in the research was concomitant with AWA assistance. Instead, I spent the rest of the weekend in Simcoe and surrounding areas to conduct my own research. On Saturday and Sunday afternoons and evenings I would bike or drive around and introduce myself to workers, when they had more free time and there was much less possibility of feeling 'pressure' to participate.

Significant care was taken with regards to how I conducted participant observation. Having no direct experience with ethnographic research, the guidelines and other research guides elaborated by the University of Toronto Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board were extremely instructive (I reviewed guidelines such as Cloke et al., 2004; Kearns, 2005; SSH REB, 2005; Watson & Till, 2010). I treated the informed consent process as continual and iterative. I remained attentive to how I was perceived by those around me, particularly workers. Because I was involved with local support groups and networks, including the AWA center in Simcoe (as just mentioned), I was more likely to be perceived first someone working for “the union” rather than as a researcher. I therefore had to find opportunities to emphasize my researcher role as much as possible, even though it could be at times obtuse to interject on a busy night to make sure people knew who I was. I kept a record of these interactions in my notes. I remained in contact with many participants in the research, which allowed me to discuss my research on an ongoing basis, particularly as to whether and how I could document and write about my observations. Where I thought it appropriate, I have deliberately excluded segments of my field notes or interviews from my findings because it is not possible to adequately conceal people’s identities and protect their privacy. It should be noted that the identities of all workers, employers, and others who participated in my research are confidential, unless otherwise requested by the respondent.

I met migrant worker respondents through random introductions in public spaces like parking lots, bike paths, or parks. I would stop bicyclists where it was appropriate to introduce myself and my project, and invite people to participate in an interview. It often took several weeks or months of on-and-off conversation, over the phone and in person, before I gained consent from respondents to participate in an interview. Indeed, I significantly underestimated how much trust I had to build with would-be respondents in order for them to feel confident and safe participating in interviews

with me. As noted earlier, it can be challenging to capture the non-representational aspects of mobility in conventional tools like the survey. It can also be unfeasible for vulnerable individuals to answer surveys when they do not know or trust me as a researcher. I realized that in order to collect the kind of qualitative data about mobility I sought, I would have to rely on more ethnographically-oriented tools than previously envisaged. Thus, instead of collecting a larger sample of surveys through impersonal means, I decided to collect a smaller sample of longer, in-depth interviews. The latter approach freed up time to invest in explaining and discussing my research at length with interviewees, who were often likelier to know me simply by my presence at events and in community spaces.

I relied on a process of verbal informed consent rather than soliciting signatures. I provided respondents with an information sheet in plain language with my contact information and details regarding the purpose and outcomes of the research project (see Appendix A). This sheet was in English and Spanish. With respondents' informed consent, I held interviews with migrant respondents where it was mutually convenient. Interviews took place in cafes, on park benches, and picnic tables outside of malls. I conducted thirty interviews with farmworkers, with roughly half of these being based in Norfolk County and the other half in south Essex County. I created and used an interview script as a basic framework for these interviews (see Appendix B), but our conversations diverged substantially from guides because of differences from individual to individual. For example, some workers were entirely dependent on bicycles to get around, while others had access to a company van. Interviews inevitably shifted according to each individual experience, and interviews were relatively unstructured (following Dunn, 2000).

I conducted twenty-five additional interviews with other individuals and groups involved in bicycling advocacy and education and/or migrant outreach in Norfolk, Leamington and Niagara in 2012 and 2013. This group of respondents included: local volunteers involved with church groups, public health officials, planning and municipal staff, police, politicians, and local bike advocates. Some ran bike safety education, others ride-sharing to and from church on Sunday evenings, others were municipal staff who worked with different interest groups. In Chapter 5, my analysis relies heavily on data from these twenty-five interviews; I specifically focus on three loosely-organized civil society efforts working on issues of bicycle safety with migrants. I describe these three groups and who I interviewed more at length in that chapter. With this group of respondents, I was more purposeful in recruiting interviewees, pursuing a snow-ball method but also reaching out to specific groups and individuals based on reputation (see Campbell et al., 2006). Because of the considerable differences between various interviewees from this group, I crafted interview scripts that varied depending on the respondent's respective vantage-point. Participants read and signed the same information sheet and consent form (see Appendix C). This form provided an outline of the basic themes used to guide interviews with this group of respondents, however divergently interview questions and answers varied depending on the participant.

In January 2013 I compiled an online survey that I sent to a list of one hundred Norfolk-based growers (all of whom were likely to depend on seasonal workers; I excluded grain farmers from my list as they are not SAWP employers) (on questionnaire design principles I followed, see Parfitt, 2005). I found email addresses online through grower association websites and Norfolk County agriculture websites. I focused the email invitation and survey on the topic of migrant farm workers' local mobility and transportation needs and challenges (see Appendix D & E). I asked employers to speak to their own roles in shaping migrant mobility – namely, their policies, rules,

and views. I offered respondents a \$10 Tim Horton's gift card upon completion of the survey. Out of one hundred farm operators invited to participate in the study, I received sixteen full responses. I sent a summary of the research findings to those who indicated interest once the survey was complete (see Appendix F).

I transcribed interviews shortly after I conducted them. I imported my research data – interviews, field notes, and other textual material (videos, brochures, news articles & other gray literature) into a qualitative analysis software platform (using Atlas.ti). I read the core qualitative data I had collected once over (interview transcripts, survey results and field notes) while taking additional notes. I then created a set of codes at the outset based on my research questions. Afterwards, I re-read the same data more closely, expanding on the first set of codes. My analysis bridged induction and deduction (following Cope, 2005). I remained attentive to locating *a priori* themes I had originally sought to find from the research data while providing room for unforeseen themes to emerge in respondents' narratives and the research process itself. For example, I did not specifically seek out or solicit descriptions of family farm relationships in the interview process, but my interest in this topic – how family farms predominate among SAWP migrants and how the regulation of their mobility is circumscribed by these relationships – crystallized as I reflected on broader discourses about local food and family farms in relation to my own concrete observations and the relationships to their employers and family members that workers spoke about in interviews. After I had transcribed and analyzed my research data, I created a research summary that I sent to respondents in 2015 (see Appendix F).

## Conclusion

My research design for this project unintentionally unfolded into a mobile ethnography of bicycling which I conducted from the driver's seat of my car. Once it became clear to research participants that I had a car, the car became the focus. Overall, my research objective in this doctoral project was to politicize mobilities studies (Cresswell, 2010; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006) by examining the relationship between (im)mobility and power specifically through the lens of precarious subjects. Employing mobile methods, my research originally intended to explore the dimensions of migrant mobility (in part) through ride-along participant observation and interviews, alongside more traditional 'sit-down'/static interviews and survey methods.

Unexpectedly and accidentally, the intersectional dynamics of mobility that I was curious to investigate in my doctoral research were brought to the fore through the research process itself. This chapter contributes to a small body of literature on power and positionality in mobile methodologies, and, more specifically, bicycling research. As became clear as I started my own research, the limits of actually conducting this bike research were made patent insofar as I quickly became sought out as a driver who had access to a car by migrants themselves, who were quick to eschew their bikes. I found this role as a driver/researcher to be a rich source of information in and of itself, revealing how my positionality and power as a Canadian doctoral student who conducted research with and about racialized migrant farmworkers was itself expressed through our uneven and differentiated access to travel means.

## Chapter 3    Historicizing Precarity: A Labour Geography of 'Transient' Migrant Workers in Ontario Tobacco

### **ABSTRACT**

So-called transient workers from Quebec and Atlantic Canada made up a significant proportion of Ontario's tobacco harvest workforce in the postwar era, though there is no existing research on this migrant population. Based on analysis of an unexamined archive, the chapter explores the relationship between seasonal transient workers, Ontario tobacco growers, and the federal Canadian government during the 1960s and 1970s. Migrants harnessed strategic forms of mobility or marketplace agency in precarious, unorganized, and seasonal tobacco work. The deepening of migrant precarity in Ontario agriculture can in part be traced back to this period of conflict between transients, tobacco growers, and different levels of the Canadian government. Migrant precarity did not go uncontested among this population. Managed migration programs, which have expanded in Canada in recent decades, reflect the attempt to undermine migrants' informal mobility agency. Transients travelled to find tobacco jobs with few constraints or pressures other than the compulsion to gain wages, using their relative freedom of mobility strategically, especially in public spaces, to disrupt local micro-hegemonies in tobacco areas and contest the conditions they faced. Government programs to manage farm labour migration were unveiled during this period in part to displace transients and solve a widely reported "transient problem" in tobacco.

## Introduction

Over several decades, under the rationale of chronic labour shortages, a rising proportion of seasonal waged farm work in Ontario has been performed by guestworkers from Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia under the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), Agricultural Stream and Low-Skill Occupation sub-streams of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2013b). This reliance has become embedded in Ontario agriculture, stabilizing fruit and vegetable crop production for small, medium and large farms, as documented in seminal research by Basok (2002), Binford (2013), Preibisch's research (inter alia 2010), and Satzewich (1991) as well as a film by Sook Lee (2004). The popularity of guestworker programs among farm growers is explained not by the lower cost of migrant labour but rather as temporary, non-citizen, *unfree* labour (Basok, 2002; Perry, 2012; Satzewich, 1991; Sharma, 2006). Unfree work or unfree relations of production refer to "situations in which workers are not only subject to labour exploitation, but are not even free to choose the buyer of their labour power" (McGrath, 2013, p.1007). As Tom Brass has argued, the existence of unfree labour relations in contemporary settings has to be understood within "the process of class decomposition/recomposition (or restructuring) that accompanies *struggles* over the direction of agrarian change" (Brass, 1999, p. 2).<sup>4</sup> Vic Satzewich (1991) and Robert Miles (1987), in contrast to Brass, emphasized how migrant

---

<sup>4</sup> New debates in geography and beyond have emerged regarding unfree labour in contemporary capitalism. This article does not engage in directly with debates here, but rather acknowledges the legal unfreedom which places

labourers' racial status in host labour markets undergirds and legitimates unfree migrant labour arrangements. However, due to the focus in research on Ontario's agricultural *guestworkers*, we know little of the experiences and governance of non-guestworkers among Ontario's seasonal, low-wage farm worker population, be they undocumented workers, summer students, paid or unpaid family workers, or immigrants and refugees. In addition to the complex make-up of this migrant workforce, all Ontario farm workers are formally excluded from provincial collective bargaining rights.<sup>5</sup> The focus on farm guestworkers arriving under the SAWP and newer low-wage agricultural streams of the TFWP implies that a structural dependence among Ontario growers on guestworkers in unfree relations of production was uncontested if not inevitable. Moreover, the specific historical and place-contingent relationships between workers, growers, the state, and the governance of migrant labour more generally, in Canada's different crop sectors and regions, deserve greater attention (see Basok, 2002, on Essex's tomato greenhouse industry; Bélanger & Candiz, 2015, on Quebec's strawberry crop; Bridi, 2013 and Dunsworth, 2013, on tobacco labour relations in Ontario's Norfolk County; and Parr, 1985 and Satzewich, 1991 & 2008 on the historical dimensions of the SAWP).

This chapter asks: How have migrant farmworker (im)mobilities been historically produced and contested in southern Ontario? In answering this question, the findings reveal how the production of migrant precarity (experienced by the diverse groups that make up Ontario's farm worker population) has been historically inextricable from individual and collective attempts to contest

---

migrant workers in Canada in secondary labour markets where they exercise limited physical, social and labour mobility. For more on this topic, see the introduction.

<sup>5</sup> For a review of the history of Ontario farm workers' associational and collective bargaining rights see Fudge, Tucker, Faraday, & Macklem, 2012; Law Commission of Ontario, 2012, pp. 74–80.

the conditions of seasonal, poorly remunerated, difficult and often dangerous farm work. By using a labour geography perspective, the ways in which migrant precarity in Ontario agriculture were historically produced and contested become clearer. Labour geographers have become interested in understanding how workers at the interstices of precarious employment and precarious citizenship strategize to circumvent enormous barriers to gain better wages and/or working or living concessions from employers or governments, especially in settings where organizing is challenging and/or workers are geographically and temporally dispersed (Coe, 2012; Rogaly, 2009). In a counterpoint piece to this literature, Don Mitchell (2011) demonstrates how mobility among braceros in the US context has systemically served as a lynchpin for labour flexibility and extreme farmworker powerlessness. Others have shown how, rather than solely undercutting solidarity among workers, precarious employment has intermittently spurred innovative examples for organizing, documented by geographers in hospitality and cleaning sectors in London and Toronto (Aguiar & Ryan, 2009; Tufts & Savage, 2009; Tufts, 2009; Wills, 2005). Taking a cue from contemporary and historical labour geography research, this chapter provides a historical analysis of organizing and agency among Ontario migrant farm workers in the context of overwhelmingly seasonal, mobile, precarious labour since the postwar era.

Specifically, this research traces the discursive and material contours of a purported problem with transient labour, based on analysis of tobacco-growing industry archives dating between 1965 and 1980 (on Ontario's tobacco industry see Bridi, 2013; Bulbulian, 1977; Macartney-Filgate, 1959; Ramsey, Stewart, Troughton, & Smit, 2003; Smit, Johnston, & Morse, 1985). Representations of transient tobacco harvesters reflected as well as shaped migrant mobility, governance, and agency. So few accounts exist of transients *in their own words* in the archive I analyzed that I cannot adequately do their own voices justice here, despite the fact that this migrant workforce was the

most important source of tobacco harvest labour after locally-recruited workers. Transients were primarily unemployed Canadians and students who arrived of their own accord to seek tobacco jobs during the 1960's and 1970's from Quebec, Northern Ontario and Atlantic Canada (Fig. 3). As will become clear, the term *transient* also harboured anxieties about migrant mobility and power. Transients were portrayed as threats and outsiders—spatially, culturally and socially—in ways unsurpassed by other groups of worker during this period (including SAWP guestworkers, Mexican-Mennonite family labour, local labour, European exchange students, U.S. tobacco curers, etc.). In part the threatening character which transients embodied is indicative of their relative freedom of mobility as they circulated in the seasonal tobacco labour market with fewer constraints or pressures other than the need and compulsion to seek wages. They used their relative freedom of mobility strategically, especially in public spaces, to disrupt local micro-hegemonies in tobacco areas. These micro-hegemonies were characterized by (1) the disproportionate power of growers in relation to seasonal workers<sup>6</sup>; (2) the tenet that migrants would consent to this scenario, and would be grateful for any work or welfare they were dealt without making waves; and finally, (3) the belief that these power relations constitutive of the tobacco growing economy were ultimately necessary and desirable in sustaining “the good life” that tobacco growing livelihoods represented. Representations of transients as intractable, out-of-place, and even prone to criminality were integral to the political construction of a labour shortage crisis in tobacco growing specifically. These representations appear in debates between various levels of the government and growers

---

<sup>6</sup> These power relations can be characterized in an abstract form as: growers paid workers as little as the market allowed them and resisted worker organizing while workers “work[ed] hard and diligently to maximize the profits of capitalists” (Wright, 2000, p.970).

over the social provisioning, governance, and mobility of transient tobacco harvesters. Like other Ontario growers, tobacco growers' widely publicized claims that they faced absolute labour shortages (Basok, 2002; Satzewich, 1991, 2008; Sharma, 2006) were deeply entangled and legitimized through the "transient [labour] problem" (Globe and Mail, 9 August 1977; Smit, Johnstone & Morse, 1985). Moreover, this crisis helped justify in part what government-enforced limits and constraints could be imposed to control (both non-citizen and citizen) workers' seasonal mobility, particularly under the new Canada Farm Labour Pool (CFLP) (1974) and bilateral SAWP agreements with Jamaica (1966), Barbados (1969), Mexico (1974) and Trinidad and Tobago (1978). Unveiled in the name of multiple interests, the federal government's CFLP and SAWP were intended to solve the government's own legitimacy crisis as well as improve working conditions for migrant farmworkers themselves, not solely to meet employers' need for "cheap" labour (Satzewich, 2008). Although these managed labour migration programs remained somewhat unpopular with tobacco growers (particularly since they cost employers more, involved government actors, and required more administrative procedures from employers), the SAWP was used increasingly to recruit seasonal workers throughout the 1970's. Overall, the rolling-out of CFLP and SAWP programs together significantly broadened the remit of state-managed farm labour migration. Labour shortages signaled by tobacco growers thus appear to have been a labour management strategy which obscured much more complex on-the-ground tensions between migrants, growers, and migrant-receiving communities. Government-managed migration ultimately *institutionalized* tobacco growers' already considerable reliance on migrant workforces and workers' mobile-but-not-free status, stripping migrants of the tacit agency that inhered in mobility where they lacked formal collective bargaining rights. In other words, the SAWP represented a "mobility fix" aimed to undercut the subversive mobility (Mitchell, 1996) that

seasonal labour migration augured for transients in Ontario tobacco. In Mitchell's words, "Workers were meant to be mobile in the California landscape, but that mobility was to be closely policed" (1996, p.80). This chapter provides an account of the struggles to secure farm farmworkers' mobilities on more rational terms, ushering in more rational labour relations through the SAWP.

The archive that forms the basis of the research is unique. My archival approach builds on more contemporary news content analysis by the geographer Harald Bauder (2005) on Ontario's "offshore workers" (a term used to refer to SAWP migrant farmworkers). Bauder shows how "interlocking narratives constitute a powerful discourse of offshore labour that simultaneously identifies migrants as cultural threat, valorizes their economic contribution but subordinates their labour" (p. 53). I carefully reviewed the Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers Marketing Board's (OFCTGMB) news scrapbooks from the period between 1965 and 1980, which are held by the Delhi Tobacco Museum in Delhi, Ontario.<sup>7</sup> The scrapbooks are large annual volumes of newspaper article clippings which appear to have been regularly selected by OFCTGMB staff news from local, regional, and national newspapers (each article is marked with the date and source in handwriting) and cut and pasted in the scrapbooks. The volumes thus draw together broad snippets of daily news on tobacco labour (a topic dwarfed by news coverage on growing public health concerns about tobacco). Locating this news by other means would have been extremely difficult and time-consuming for a researcher, and the archive provides fascinating insight into the Ontario

---

<sup>7</sup> By 1980, reporting on transient workers had ebbed.

tobacco grower association's attempt to keep abreast of its public image and ever-evolving industry interests. The topic of tobacco harvest labour was of wider public interest than I had previously assumed, with major national presses like the *Globe & Mail* as well as medium-sized city presses like the *Hamilton Spectator* reporting regularly on the topic as each season's transient influx peaked. Seasonal labour in tobacco was clearly a concern to tobacco grower representatives. The research process itself involved manually retrieving any reference to tobacco labour from the scrapbooks and manually coding the content chronologically and thematically. To verify whether these topics were of broader historical relevance beyond the news in the scrapbooks, I reviewed the OFCTGMB's Annual Reports (1965-1980), other industry and government documents and reports, as well as other secondary sources such as documentaries and older research. Where relevant, these sources are cited throughout.

**Figure 2: Transient tobacco workers in Aylmer, Ontario, 1974.**



Source: Elgin County Archives, St Thomas Times Journal fonds (image C8 Sh2 B2 F5 33b)

## Labour Geography of Precarity in Migrant Farm Work

Labour geography's key contention has been that organized workers are powerful agents in shaping the geography of capitalism in their own interests, particularly in the context of the postwar regulation of industrial labour market regulation throughout the twentieth century, the setting which Andrew Herod's work foregrounds (2001). With the growth of precarious forms of work in Western economies—declining rates of union density; temporary and subcontract employment; increasingly fewer social and employment provisions; etc.—querying labour geographies in under-regulated, low-paid workplaces is especially important (Coe, 2012; Coe & Jordhus-Lier, 2010). Used to describe labour market flexibility under post-Fordist neoliberal policies, precarity has traditionally been used to highlight how poverty is actively produced through conditions of employment, marking a departure from the commonly-held notion that poverty was synonymous with unemployment (Waite, 2009), especially as social provisions that supported safe, full-time employment have been retrenched. Here I focus on *precarity* where low-wage, insecure labour markets, temporary forms of citizenship, and social inequalities such as age, race, citizenship, and gender intersect (Goldring & Landolt, 2013; Vosko, 2006; Waite, 2009). This is because precarious work articulates with new migrant divisions of labour such that precarity and migrant low-skill, low-wage work is a systemic facet of labour market restructuring (Strauss & McGrath, 2016; Wills et al., 2010). Moreover, labour market restructuring has drawn migrant workers into unfree labour arrangements through institutionalized, formal policy mechanisms in Canada and the UK (Sharma, 2006; Strauss, 2013). Kendra Strauss (2013) argues that cheap food policies pursued to subsidize a falling household wage in Western economies are connected to recent migration management strategies by UK and Canadian governments. Low-cost labour migrants have been funneled into the lowest echelons of labour markets with few opportunities provided for

gaining a social and political foothold to pull themselves out of these sectors. Importantly, Strauss' account is historical and political economic, as she argues that unfree farm labour organized through gang-labour and performed by children, women, racialized and migrant populations is a resurgent rather than new phenomenon, socially embedded in reproduction crises in the UK.

Precarity in migrant workplaces, and by extension its effects on political, organizing possibilities and challenges, must be considered in historical, institutional, and geographical settings. For the most part, this review focuses on migration into precarious work in Anglo-American settings. As Louise Waite (2009) as argued, "Precarity as a concept for geographical enquiry will be hollow and of questionable value if it flattens or homogenizes difference" (p. 413). Workers' subjective reactions to their position in particular sectors interfaces with non-class bases of identity (McDowell, 2008), which shape how and whether migrant workers organize, a pattern that is borne out by this archival research. While the state and capital actively produce differences within the working class through labour market segmentation and national citizenship, the working class itself has also promoted exclusions along lines of gender, race, and citizenship, in part driving the making of migrant precarity (Silver, 2003, p.24). Indeed, the working-class as a historical force demarcated white, male wages against rather than in solidarity with other working populations (e.g.: racialized, immigrant and migrant work, and women's unpaid and reproductive work). There are two useful analytic categories for understanding workers' power: associational and structural. While freedom of labour mobility relative to the mobility of capital is extremely unequal, 'marketplace or mobility bargaining power' has been a crucial source of structural working class power leveraged alongside associational forms of power among working classes over the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Various scholars, like Don Mitchell (1996 & 2012), Erik Olin Wright (2000), Beverly J. Silver (2003), and Chris Smith (2006) argue that "mobility struggles" are under-recognized arenas

of struggle over labour power: “we need more research to investigate the disruptive, conflictual and destabilizing effects workers can exert by using the labour market for dispute resolution” (Smith, 2006, p. 393). As Mitchell underscores, it is not only the labour market through which workers exercise agency but also space and place (1996).

Defined by spatio-temporal fragmentation, precarious employment poses new challenges to organizing, particularly for temporary migrant workers. Associational forms of organizing among precarious migrant workers the UK, Canada and the US include successes in community, faith-based, and social unionism, for example (Aguilar & Ryan, 2009; Tufts, 2009; Wills et al., 2010). In terms of structural forms of ‘marketplace power’, the results are more ambiguous in recent research. Certainly spatial mobility shapes labour markets, wages, and working and living conditions. Some labour geographers have also queried how ‘movement across space’ itself represents agency for migrants (Castree, Coe, Ward, & Samers, 2004, Chapter 4; Rogaly, 2009). As workers “shun the worst aspects of exploitation... capital must necessarily accommodate to this process, and, to the extent that this is so, labourers fashion both the history and geography of capitalism.” (Harvey, 1982 quoted in Rogaly, 2009). Individual agency is a necessary daily practice in low-wage, temporary migrant workplaces, where “workers’ everyday micro-struggles over space and time” matter to survival (Rogaly 2009, p. 1977). Moreover, productive or workplace spaces are difficult to disentangle from social reproductive ones. Spaces of travel, recruitment, eating and shelter are all critical spaces upon which individual and collective agency in the formal workplace can be harnessed and controlled (Buckley, 2013; Rogaly, 2009). Conversely, Don Mitchell’s research on agricultural labour in the U.S. bracero program in the mid-twentieth century uses a labour geography perspective to argue that systemic mobility has rarely been leveraged to contest precarious employment and migrant poverty but rather has ensured a

flexible and docile farm labour supply that has disproportionately constrained workers' structural and associational power alike (Mitchell, 2011). Indeed, while neoliberal ideologies would have us believe that marketplace power places the full benefit of labour market flexibility in the hands of the seller of labour power (worker), for the most part seasonal, low-wage, employment-related mobility in Canada has been propelled by rural poverty and other social vulnerabilities to ongoing detriment of workers.

Debates in migration research focus on the tension between precarity and agency crystallizing at the interstices of mobility power and exploitation. Where Marxist research traditionally framed migrants as structurally powerless within systems of "super-exploitation", compelled to leave their homes as sources of surplus value extraction and cheap labour where the costs of social reproduction is borne by those left behind (Kautsky, 1988), feminist and postcolonial migration research by geographers suggest that (receiving-country) workplaces cannot be singularly seen as the locus for migrant workers' identity, power, and re/production. Migration into 'precarious work' can actually represent counter-hegemonic practices which challenge household, gender, caste, or village hierarchies, for example (Gidwani & Sivaramakrishnan, 2003; Silvey, 2004). The purpose here is to hold in tension multiple conceptualizations of migrant agency and to emphasize the crucial role relative spatial mobility plays in shaping agency within and beyond the workplace, whether it means surviving, re-working and/or resisting structural violence among precarious workers (Katz, 2004, Chapter 9).

Precarious employment for migrant farm workers in Anglo-American low-wage work has been a historical norm rather than a recent phenomenon of neoliberal globalization. Notably, these workers were excluded from or left at the margins of the (white, male) working class. Waged farm

workers and domestic workers in the US and many Canadian provinces were excluded from collective bargaining and other labour and social provisions just as the postwar ‘Wagner Act’ model of industrial relations extended these rights to other industrial sector workers. Unsurprisingly, these exclusions affected workers who were predominantly immigrants, migrants, women and racialized persons. *Migrant precarity* in agricultural labour markets in the U.S. and Canada, both contemporary and historical, has been shaped by legal and social exceptionalism (Hahamovitch, 1997; Schell, 2002; Tucker, 2012) which is distinctly racialized and gendered. Agricultural production has been capitalized upon these labour geographies (Hahamovitch, 1997; Mitchell, 1996; Walker, 2004). Much waged agricultural work today is temporary, seasonal, and migrant, filled by vulnerable populations who have limited claims to citizenship and are legally or illegally recruited across national borders. In Ontario, agricultural workers have been and continue to be legally excluded from collective bargaining, employment standards, and other labour rights (Law Commission of Ontario, 2012, pp. 74–80; Tucker, 2012). At the height of the postwar era, farmworkers were formally excluded from provincial collective bargaining entitlements (among other employment protections). In the absence of formal bargaining rights, this chapter historicizes structural mobility power and mobility struggles among migrant farm workers.

Migrant poverty in agricultural labour markets in Canadian, UK and US jurisdictions has not been inevitable or unchallenged, but rather actively struggled over and produced through institutionalized mechanisms. A labour geography lens attunes us to workers’ roles in contesting their subordinate position within these highly precarious labour markets. How were former migrant farm worker populations able to harness particular forms of agency? What oppositional forces did they confront? How is agency, in its multiple forms, historically layered within geographies of production and how does this have a bearing on on the organization and conditions of work, worker

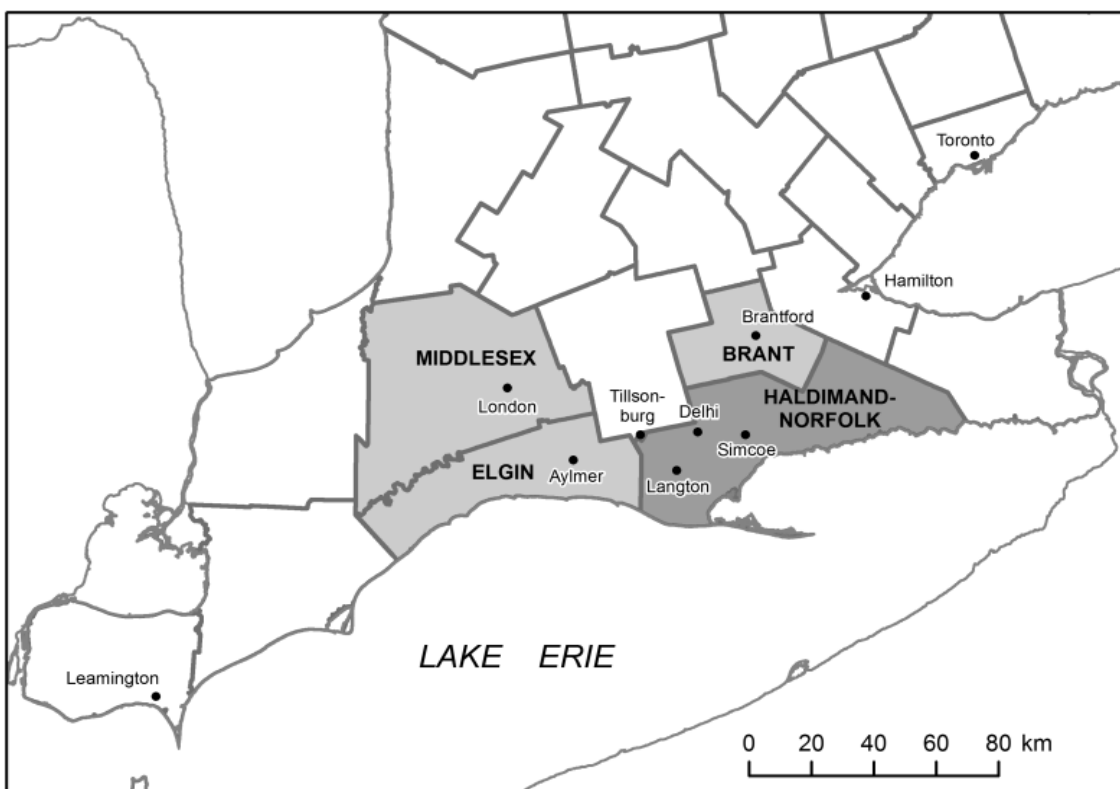
identities, and barriers to organizing in current agricultural contexts? Although migrant farm workers have historically struggled to shape social relations of agrarian production in their own interests, their efforts have been frequently lost, undermined, or short-lived due to outright and structural violence (García, 2012; Hahamovitch, 2011, Ch. 7; Mitchell, 1996, 2011). Part of this process has involved making and unmaking multiple migrant workforces divided by origin, race, and citizenship. Like California's massive agricultural sector, albeit on a different scale, Ontario growers have relied on multiple migrant workforces – recruiting, employing, exploiting and expelling workforces in cycles. Workers' "naked exposure to the market", mediated by a modicum of poor protections at different moments, has "been the permanent condition of farm labour" rather than a "passing phase" (Walker, 2004, pp. 66–67). Notably, migrant labour in agriculture in each of these settings has been organized in many instances through indentured or unfree wage relations, as mentioned earlier. These are not isolated, disconnected patterns but interrelated, emblematic characteristics of agrarian capitalist trajectories in Anglo-American settings.

## Ontario's Tobacco Transients

Tobacco-growing is an exceptional cash crop in southwestern Ontario, whose recent decline eclipses its significance to Ontario farm worker history and contemporary agricultural landscape. Beginning in the 1920's, tobacco growing in Ontario transformed sandy, low-grade agricultural land along the north coast of Lake Erie (Fig. 3) into a dynamic agricultural zone that remains strong today (OMAFRA, 2012). Historically tobacco was the most valuable cash crop in Ontario, reaping profits disproportionate to the acreage it occupied (Ramsey & Smit, 2002; Tait, 1968). Small tobacco-growing towns like Tillsonburg, Delhi, Simcoe, and Aylmer were transformed into powerful rural economies. Tobacco marketing was supply-managed in the province from 1957

until 2008 under the grower-based marketing association, the Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers' Marketing Board ('the Board' or OFCTGMB from here; Ramsey et al., 2003; Tait, 1968). The OFCTGMB was instrumental in organizing growers as a significant political and social class, in spite of major differences between growers.

**Figure 3:** Map of southern Ontario's tobacco-growing region.

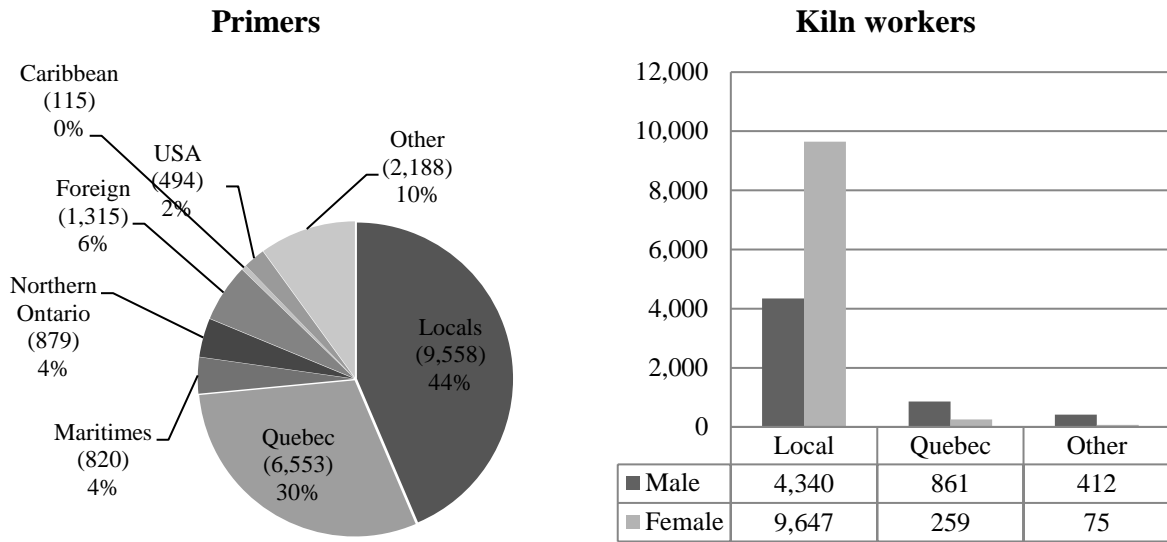


Source: Map by Byron Moldofsky.

Intensive manual labour was required to harvest ‘the back-breaking leaf’, as the crop was called in an early Canadian documentary (Macartney-Filgate, 1959). Up to 60,000 transient workers would “swarm into tobacco-land”—from Quebec, Atlantic Canada, and Northern Ontario, including university students and older skilled tobacco curers from southern US states. All sought to pocket harvest wages over a six-week span (Toronto Telegram, 2 August 1967). During the

1960's and 1970's, tobacco and other fruit and vegetable harvest workers also included new immigrants, First Nations populations, Mexican-Mennonite migrants, and the chronically unemployed. The bulk of harvest workers were primers, or field workers who picked tobacco leaves from tobacco stalks. It was difficult physical work, soaking workers in dew in the morning, scorching them in the afternoon, covering workers in tar, and sometimes poisoning them. Priming was primarily performed by local and Québécois men (Fig. 4). Cut tobacco was prepared to be hung in tobacco kilns by local women workers, the tobacco "tiers" or kiln workers (Fig. 4). Skilled kiln curers were responsible for achieving the appropriate flue-curing of raw tobacco. These three central harvesting jobs were being mechanized and de-skilled in the 1970's, reducing but not eliminating the need for harvest labour (Ramsey et al., 2003). In the absence of minimum wage provisions, associational rights, or adequate employment standards in Ontario agriculture, wages in tobacco were relatively higher than those in fruit and vegetable picking, where wages and conditions were abysmal.

**Figure 4 : Tobacco harvest primers and kiln workers by origin and gender, 1969.**



Source: OFCTGMB, 1970, p. 10

During this time farm labour supply and migration, both internal and international, came under the renewed ambit of the federal Department of Manpower and Immigration (or, Manpower, as it was colloquially known, which will be used from here) in unprecedented ways.<sup>8</sup> In the mid-1960's, Manpower adopted an increased, 'active' role to labour market planning that John Grundy (2013) has characterized as a high modernist, calculative approach. Manpower was involved in recruiting tobacco labour for Ontario growers during this era, which is characterized like this: "GET THE JUMP ON HARVEST!", a Manpower advertisement proclaimed, "Canada Manpower Centers Serve You Gladly, To Obtain Your Harvest Help, Drop In Soon". In the ad, workers are portrayed

---

<sup>8</sup> Manpower and Immigration became Employment and Immigration, and then split into Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC). As of 2014, HRSDC is known as Employment and Social Development Canada.

as cartoons, parachuting into a tobacco field, with their parachutes labelled: “Ontario High School Students, Canadian University Students, European Students, Americans, Clearance Quebec, Eastern Ontario Workers, Women Primers, Caribbeans, and Local Help” (from the Canadian Tobacco Grower magazine, issue unknown, 1970). In seasonal farm work, Manpower reserved well-paid jobs for Canadian workers while maintaining that “foreign workers” would be imported for the jobs no Canadian worker wanted (Sharma, 2006).

## Transients and the Camp ‘Fix’

Migrant housing, transportation, and other basic necessities dialectically embed labour flexibility and mobility in the agricultural landscape and infrastructure (Mitchell, 1996 & 2012). Agriculture is an exceptional form of capitalist production that must continuously “overcome some of the obstacles thrown up by agriculture’s exceptional characteristics”, in particular its bio-physical ones (Guthman, 2004, p. 65). Innovations in labour control are one means by which these obstacles have been surmounted, and the over-reliance on low-wage migrant labour is exemplary of this dynamic (Guthman, 2004). Migrant housing infrastructures, for example, socially and spatially entrench the temporally fragmented, migrant, and subordinate character of labour in the agricultural process. However, at once stabilizing forces, spaces like housing can be subverted and harnessed as a means of organizing and strategic disruptions of production (Buckley, 2013; Hahamovitch, 2011, Chapter 7; Rogaly, 2009). Migrant camps, dormitories and housing alleviate the chaos of migrant labour mobility as well as providing spaces where informal agency can be mobilized. In an infamous example in US history, large Depression-era Farm Security Administration (government-run) housing complexes for migrants were auctioned to grower associations (Hahamovitch, 1997; Mitchell, 2012). Insofar as these infrastructures of migrant

social reproduction stabilized as well as provoked social unrest, they can be seen as contradictory spatial fixes which both guaranteed production at the same time as these infrastructures could prove disruptive as platforms for subversion and organizing (Mitchell, 2012, p.53-60).

In Ontario tobacco this was no less true. Employers provided room and board, though this practice was relatively informal and rarely contractual. Growers did not feed or house harvesters until the day that the harvest commenced. Workers waited to be hired in local parks, camping haphazardly in abandoned buildings, railway cars, cemeteries, and small-town parks, often with no formal authority to do so. The beginning date of the tobacco harvest was notoriously inconsistent. Often miserable and broke, out-of-work transients would seek food and shelter from local churches and social services, while others, it was reported, stole food and clothing from gardens, stores, and clothes lines. Responsibility for workers' welfare was consistently the source of local debate. From 1962 until 1966, a local tobacco-grower committee was formed to fund and run tobacco transient camps in major tobacco towns, where the unemployed could eat, sleep and bathe. Camp conditions were purposefully minimal, "... meant only to provide the barest necessities of food and shelter until work is found, and to keep [workers] from creek banks or in shantytowns" (Brantford Expositor, 8 August 1965).

Camps were an acknowledgement that the tobacco harvest and the wider tobacco economy relied on vulnerable populations who deserved support. However, this sentiment butted against widespread portrayals of transients as criminals who brought havoc to small tobacco towns. Police reinforcements were sought from larger cities to manage increased public drunkenness, fighting and petty theft over the harvest period. A Toronto Globe and Mail reporter described how the Delhi

police chief had “no days off and long hours of overtime” during the tobacco harvest. The sensationalist article continued:

They patrol in pairs, long nightsticks on the seat of the cruiser and a sawed-off shotgun locked to the dashboard. Back at the station is Rocky, the force’s trained police dog, whose bared teeth and snarl have quickly broken potentially dangerous situations. Before harvest the town and district provincial police are plagued with petty thefts, shoplifting and trespassing. Moving in with the workers are the professional criminals, thieves, and prostitutes, who on pay nights sit in the beverage room to see who is flashing money and who will assault and rob to get it. (9 August 1965).

Additionally, the tobacco region was a rural Tory stronghold. Conflicts over Québécois migrants became refracted as broader anxieties related to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s new bilingualism policy, Quebec nationalism, and the federal government’s youth mobility and unemployment programs throughout the 1970’s (Mason, 2013, Chapter 5)—such programs were viewed suspiciously in the tobacco region as encouraging unsuitable tobacco workers, like hitchhikers and hippies, to seek harvesting jobs. The camps were designed to render migrant workflows less chaotic, to reward docile and ‘deserving’ transients, and reduce the visibility of transient misery in tobacco towns, but they produced the opposite effect. With several hundred frustrated and bored job-seekers congregating in one place, the camps helped to momentarily suspend the pervasive spatial and temporal barriers to farm worker organizing.

In 1967, a group formed called the United Transient Labourers Association. John Coyne, 26 years of age and from Montreal, stated to the press, “In some cases working conditions on farms are quite atrocious. We work for 10 to 11 hours a day for \$15, plus room and board. We sleep in barns and when it rains... barns leak. We don’t get the big wages most people believe.” After asking a local priest for help, “We were given a dollar and were told we were not from this area and were not going to be charity and were not to come back.” Police broke up the large group under the

pretext that the gathering was an unlawful assembly (Delhi News Record, 20 July 1966). Just over a week later, awaiting the harvest start-date, a group of around 100-200 tobacco transients were met by police as they marched in protest into Delhi, the center of the tobacco region (Toronto Telegram, 2 August 1967; Simcoe Reformer, 4 August 1966). Demonstrators had assembled at a nearby transient camp where 580 unemployed were registered. The marchers were concerned about lack of work, work conditions and wages, and their treatment in the camps and local area. The Riot Act was read by police, prohibiting the association of groups, and the march disbanded. Nine of the group's leaders were arrested, charged and fined with unlawful assembly.

The camps were permanently closed, with the “near-riot being blamed on trouble-makers and separatists” who congregated at the camps (London Free Times, 5 August 1966; Simcoe Reformer, 14 March 1967). Drawing a link between transients' lack of docility in the camps and their potential threat to growers, the camp committee chairman and local priest stated: “I just wonder how many of those big mouths that were making all the noise have had bacon and eggs for breakfast... If they want this food for lazing around camp, what are they going to demand on the farm?” (Simcoe Reformer, 4 August 1966). The closure of the camps brought transient debates full circle. Lacking shelter, homeless transients would be left to camp and squat in parks and on roadsides. New anti-camping by-laws were passed in numerous tobacco municipalities to stem transient encampments while police ramped up their evictions of transients. Debates about transient camps emerged intermittently over the next decade. But concerns were repeatedly raised at these proposals, with “the possibility of trouble with all the transients milling around”, that harvesters were “a bunch of trouble makers”, and that “our children wouldn't be safe in the streets” (Delhi News Record & London Free Press, 5 July 1967).

By 1970, unemployment was at a level unprecedented since the Depression (Mason, 2013). In tobacco, unemployed ‘transients’ had come to find harvest jobs since the 1930’s (Dunsworth, 2013). However the promise of tobacco wages no longer solely attracted poor, itinerant families and unemployed single men, but young hitchhikers and students. Younger unemployed Canadians lacked the same attitude as former generations of itinerant workers. Counter-cultural and new political influences infused the tensions between tobacco transients and tobacco-town locals. Transients were less likely to accept sub-standard provincial labour provisions in agriculture. As noted earlier, employment, living and associational rights for seasonal farm workers in Ontario were extremely poor during this period (Tucker, 2012). It is no surprise that some tobacco harvesters quit before the harvest’s end. Some reporters were apparently sympathetic to transients’ perspectives. A group of 75 job-seekers was profiled after they quit looking for tobacco work and accepted lesser-paying fruit picking:

The group’s social life – and that of other jobless or employed migrants ... usually centres on [a local] park. Walking through the park on most nights one will see groups sitting around tables discussing everything from how to prime tobacco to Quebec politics. A young woman from Montreal said: “It’s sort of like a community centre where you can go and meet other people from Quebec... There’s a feeling of comradeship...” (Brantford Expositor, 2 August 1969).

Yet there are few adequate accounts of transients’ own narratives and experiences in the OFCTGMB’s archives. In any case, if growers and local authorities feared that transients associated and organized as frustrations grew over lack of work, and that their organizing was embedded in broader political and cultural social movements, they were certainly correct.

## Manpower and Transient Tobacco Workers

Contrary to the notion that the federal government acted on behalf of growers alone, the federal government repeatedly refused tobacco growers’ demands for guestworkers, seeking to reserve

tobacco jobs as ‘good jobs’ for Canadian students and the unemployed (Satzewich, 1991, 2008; Sharma, 2006). Until the early 1970’s, the federal government’s role in securing seasonal tobacco workers for growers was not prominent. Efforts to ‘clear’ individual workers for specific tobacco jobs before they departed for southern Ontario and to ‘hold’ workers in their home communities until required for harvest were intended “... to prevent the area from being overrun by transients looking for work” (Simcoe Reformer, 14 July 1967). These practices were not new but more emphasis was placed on them beginning in 1967, a direct response to transient organizing the year before. The campaigns also anticipated conflicts that might arise in the conspicuous absence of any transient housing facilities (Tillsonburg News, 2 August 1967; Simcoe Reformer, 14 July 1967; Delhi News Record, 19 July 1967). Workers who registered with Canada Manpower Centers (CMC’s) had their transportation costs for long-distance travel subsidized by the federal government. But these costs would only be covered if workers finished the harvest season with their designated employers. The clearance and hold campaigns reveal how Manpower enacted soft control tactics to curtail transients’ existing labour mobility by creating incentives for them to remain with employers and reduce turnover. It provided free hostel or motel vouchers to its recruits in tobacco towns, to reduce their visibility in public space and prevent rising tensions between locals and workers (Brantford Expositor, 2 August 1969).

Tobacco growers were also encouraged to rely on Manpower’s recruiting programs. Advertisements heeded growers to register their labour needs far in advance, though tobacco growers were wary of the young workers that Manpower recruited. The latter were considered indistinguishable from the unsuitable transient workforce the federal government meant to displace. The location of CMC’s in tobacco towns aroused hostilities and opposition from locals. One tobacco-town mayor stated:

This centre is a collection point and has a tendency to keep the workers in town instead of out where the tobacco is. You can rest assured it will not be located there next year. The area around the office is a disgrace (St. Thomas Times Journal, 13 August 1969).

Government-managed farm labour migration clearly had an effect on tobacco workers. Because they travelled with government help and the promise of the job, workers were less desperate but also less autonomous and less visible when they arrived in tobacco towns. These factors shaped workers' ability to associate and mobilize.

Two exposés on poor working conditions, low pay, and widespread use of “illegal” family and child labour in southwestern Ontario agriculture were conducted by federal Manpower officials in 1973 and by the Ontario Federation of Labour (Ontario umbrella trade union organization) in 1974 (Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1973; Ward, 1974). Mexican-Mennonite families and Portuguese men working with visitor visas on Ontario farms (e.g.: the source of child and ‘illegal’ labour respectively) were recruited and employed informally by fruit, vegetable and tobacco growers (Martens & Epps, 1976; Satzewich, 2008). The reports called these workflows a form of ‘foreign transience’ (Toronto Globe and Mail, 1 June 1974a; London Free Press, 5 June 1974). Putting Manpower at open odds with the Essex, Ontario-based vegetable grower and federal Minister of Agriculture, Eugene Whelan (Satzewich, 1991; Toronto Globe and Mail, 1 June 1974a), the reports underline the need to regularize informal (internal and foreign) farm labour migration. The federal Manpower department also wanted to address regulatory gaps in statutory employment, associational rights, and housing conditions in seasonal agricultural labour that were the province’s jurisdiction (Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1973).

In 1974, Manpower unveiled two managed migration programs which sought to segment internal Canadian and ‘foreign’ farm work migration: the Canada Farm Labour Pool (CFLP) as well as

new bilateral guestworker Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) agreements (Mexico and Trinidad & Tobago in addition to already existing agreements with Jamaica and Barbados). To address accusations that the federal government was gaining too much control over labour recruitment and conditions, thirty seasonally-operated Local Agricultural Manpower Boards (LAMBs) were established to provide local grower input into farm labour issues. Southwestern Ontario-area LAMBs were critiqued for lacking any representation from organized labour, a salient exclusion since the committees were charged with setting local wages, work conditions and housing criteria, as well as “renting” workers to farmers (Ward, 1974). Growers were resistant to the CFLP because they were required to pay wages in advance to LAMBs, who in turn paid wages on Friday nights. Workers who required housing before the harvest began could be housed through CFLP funds in local motels or campgrounds (Hamilton Spectator, 15 February 1974).

SAWP- and CFLP-mandated employment contracts tied workers to particular farm employers and had the objective of displacing transient forms of work through state-managed migration. Both were meant to establish contracts in waged farm work to standardize wages and living and working conditions. Both indirectly managed workers’ movement such that they did not have strategic visibility in public space. Both programs provided growers with greater degrees of control by prioritizing recruitment of workers ‘named’ by growers over those unnamed or deliberately not named (Delhi News Record, 11 August 1976). Yet the SAWP provided a critical labour control edge to growers that the CFLP did not, and growers were well-aware of this. A grower stated, “I like Caribbean labour because I hold something over him. If he chatters too much or stays out too late at night I can send him home. You have no control over Canadian labour. *You can’t force them to stay.*” (Simcoe Reformer, 11 February 1977; emphasis added). Transnational guestworkers’ legal status as “temporary workers” under new 1973 federal immigration law was institutionalized

as formally unfree, non-citizen and deportable (Perry, 2012; Sharma, 2006). Although each program undermined the informal agency which transients (internal and ‘foreign’) could harness, the SAWP performed this function in dramatic ways. By 1975, there was greater pressure among tobacco growers to dissolve the short-lived CFLP entirely and provide greater grower access to SAWP “offshore” guestworkers. Five hundred tobacco growers attended a 1975 town-hall meeting with Manpower over annually-imposed guestworker quotas. The meeting dissolved into a “near mob scene... with local Manpower officials as the target” (Brantford Expositor, 25 March 1975). Manpower officials explained the federal government’s sense of alarm at the rapid rise in recruitment of Caribbean “offshore workers” (SAWP workers) in tobacco. There had been three guestworkers in the crop sector 1972, 400 in 1973 and 1,600 by 1974. The conflict over access to so-called offshore workers would continue through the rest of the decade, with partial and full restrictions announced and fought over between Manpower and growers each season (Tillsonburg News, 11 June 1976; London Free Press, 7 May 1977).

Efforts to displace transients were also renewed. Municipalities pursued “closed door” policies towards them. Anti-camping by-laws were passed and enforced, with signs in parks in French and English. Churches were requested to cease providing services to transient workers like food vouchers and beds. Veteran tobacco primers were unable to find work. A vicious attack by locals against two Quebecois and two other Canadian workers in a local park was widely reported (Tillsonburg News, 2 July 1975; London Free Press, 9 August 1975; Simcoe Reformer, 11 August 1975). At the same time as claims of tobacco labour shortages circulated, the media reported on experienced tobacco workers searching for work around the countryside in vain. Manpower spokespeople openly declared that claims of shortages were overblown (Simcoe Reformer, 4 August 1978). Nonetheless, evidence points to transient migration stemming due to the creation

of government-managed farm migration under the CFLP and SAWP programs. Research from 1981 explained this dynamic succinctly:

Prior to the development of the CFLP system and off-shore worker programs, a variety of labour related problems were experienced by the tobacco industry. Shortages of labour were common at crucial times of the production year such as the harvest period. Furthermore, *each year many thousands of transient workers would migrate to the tobacco growing regions creating many problems for local communities.* (Smit, 1985, p. 21, emphasis added)

By the 1980's, greater numbers of CFLP and SAWP workers made up the tobacco harvesting workforce (Fig. 6) than they had in 1969 harvesting. Further, research on labour turnover during the 1981 harvest indicates that 'named' worker provisions under the CFLP and SAWP had some effect on reducing early termination and turnover rates, either because workers were better informed of the conditions that awaited them or because they were scared of losing the privilege that being 'named' conferred (see Fig. 7). Still, many were informally recruited, whether locally, inter-provincially or internationally (Fig. 6). What had, however, clearly been resolved was the 'transient problem'. A Delhi police chief told the *Ottawa Citizen* that he credited "Canada Manpower and the Farm Labour Pool with practically eliminating problems caused by transients" (31 August 1978). A year earlier the *Globe and Mail* remarked,

A most noticeable change is on the streets of the tobacco towns. The few itinerants hanging around are mostly quiet. Only the odd one yells in the street or carries beer on his shoulder, a stark comparison to the times when hordes of tobacco workers descended on these towns and turned them into disaster areas. They came by the thousands and drank, stole, fought and even murdered. (9 August 1977)

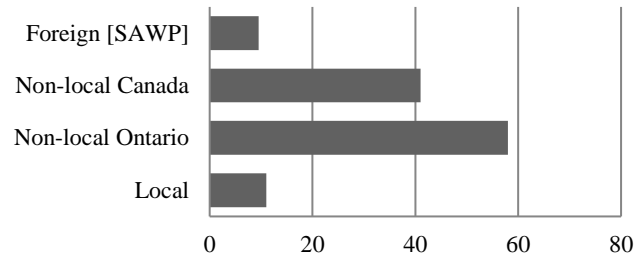
**Figure 5 : Tobacco harvest workers by origin and recruitment, 1981.**



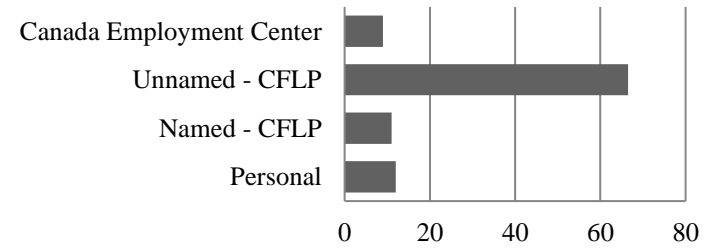
Source: Smit et al. (1985). Note: Figures based on a 1981 workforce sample from 145 Ontario tobacco farms (Smit et al., 1985). Canada Employment Centers (CEC's) replaced Canada Manpower Centers (CMC's), which managed SAWP labour migration in coordination with sending-country governments.

**Figure 6 : Percentages of early termination rates among tobacco harvest workers by origin and recruitment, 1981.**

**Early termination rates by origin (%)**



**Early termination rates by recruitment (%)**



Source: Smit et al. (1985)

## Implications and Conclusion

Mobility struggles between migrant workers, employers, and the federal government over Ontario's tobacco growing industry in the 1960's and 1970's shaped the emergence of precarious unfree, migrant labour markets as they currently exist. Peeling back growers' claims of labour shortages, we plainly observe how real conflicts animated the rolling-out of neoliberal guestworker policies and labour market planning more generally. There are few overt traces of transient tobacco workers in the region today or in existing research (Fig. 8); the posting for transients on an old tobacco kiln in this image provides rare testimony to the historical reliance of the tobacco-growing economy on transient workers. Yet in historical hindsight they prove to have shaped the labour geography of southwestern Ontario agriculture, as well as influenced how federal immigration policy vis-à-vis migrant worker programs developed. As the government stepped in to oversee migration governance, it not only institutionalized the provision of deportable, non-citizen, unfree workers for Canadian growers, but it also weakened Canadian migrant workers' agency. Today, much seasonal and temporary work on Ontario farms, including on remaining tobacco farms, is filled through managed transnational migration programs. Unlike the CFLP, the SAWP's popularity grew consistently from 1966 onwards, and 'guest' farm labour migration programs were again expanded in 2002 (Preibisch, 2010). In fact, it is unclear what happened to the CFLP. Conversely, the SAWP is seen to be well-managed. It and other agricultural streams of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program have been exempt from very recent public scrutiny and federal reforms of the TFWP (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2014a).

**Figure 7: “NO HELP NEEDED”, a warning to transients on abandoned tobacco kiln in Norfolk County, Ontario.**



Source: Photo by Alison Thomas (2002), reproduced here with her permission.

With falling aggregate demand, global competition, rising tobacco and cigarette taxation and public health pressures, Ontario tobacco growing contracted in the 1980's, a long-term process of agricultural restructuring that pushed growers to diversify into other niche crops, like ginseng and field vegetables, or out of agriculture altogether. As tobacco growing grew more financially risky, labour flexibility grew more important for growers (Ramsey & Smit, 2001; Ramsey et al., 2003; Smit et al., 1985). In an ethnography on the restructuring of North Carolina's tobacco-growing industry, Peter Benson's research (2012) expertly traces precisely this dynamic. In a 1996 survey, Ontario tobacco farmers identified "the ability to obtain offshore labour from Mexico and Jamaica" as one positive policy factor affecting tobacco farming amidst negative, anti-tobacco policies (Ramsey & Smit, 2001, p. 354). Despite the decline in tobacco growing, the economic geography of the tobacco growing industry as a whole—shaped by workers' labour—created an agricultural land market and significant capital which new and existing growers captured. Approximately 800

tobacco growers remain active in the region (Bridi, 2013), which remains one of the most important agricultural zones in Canada and Ontario and a primary destination for agricultural SAWP guestworkers (Binford, 2013; OMAFRA, 2012).

Tobacco growers' barriers in recruiting and retaining reliable harvest workers were legitimate frustrations. Yet the research situates these frustrations in the context of systemic antagonisms between employers and free labour, where the commodification of labour produces counter-movements or resistance from workers. This tension has been particularly high in agriculture, where farm labour costs and flexibility have been essential areas of struggle for growers in the face of risky crops, global competition, and increasing cost squeezes (Basok, 2002; Guthman, 2004; Hahamovitch, 1997; Mitchell, 1996; Satzewich, 1991; Walker, 2004). In turn growers have actively lobbied to maintain precarious employment in order to preserve low costs and flexibility in seasonal labour. Growers as organized social and political classes have stymied the formation of waged farm workers as an organized class (that is, from a segmented class-in-itself or community of the oppressed to a class-for-itself or active community; see Mitchell, 2011). In part these efforts have involved producing and exploiting labour market segmentation and social differences between workers along racial and national lines. Labour conflicts in tobacco and the emergence of institutionalized unfree migrant labour in the 1960's and 1970's should be understood within the context of these antagonisms.

At the same time, the character that this antagonistic relationship between growers, the state, and workers in agriculture takes necessarily varies. In the absence of formal bargaining power, migrant farm workers in tobacco harnessed mobility power (Mitchell, 1996; Silver 2003, Wright, 2000). Problems with labour turnover (Smit et. al, 1985) are indicative of the political economic salience

of what Chris Smith (2006, p. 392) calls “mobility struggles” and Don Mitchell has called “subversive mobility” (1996, Ch. 3). Growers’ complaints of high labour turnover and a transient problem were not an altogether invalid complaint, but rather symptomatic of the real threat that seasonal migrants’ mobility power posed to tobacco harvesting. Further, growers elided workers’ needs and interests, casting migrants who left harvest jobs prematurely as persons of poor character and even criminals undeserving of jobs or welfare. Discursively, the pejorative connotations invoked through the term *transient* itself performed this trick of displacement to delegitimize worker concerns.

As unfree guestworker programs have become increasingly popular with Ontario growers, it is crucial to remember how migrants have struggled over their own mobility and visibility in rural spaces. The primary purpose of this chapter has been to document how these struggles matter to the making of local controls around migrant farmworker mobility, and the racialized logics through which such controls became justified. Labour shortage crises cannot be disentangled from these struggles. Associational and labour market mobility rights interact with other regulatory, historical and socio-spatial factors to influence migrant workers’ capacity to organize. CFLP and transient Canadian migrant workers were national citizens with formal labour market freedom. Despite this, transients in the 1960’s and 1970’s seem to have harnessed unique forms of logistical, spatial and political forms of power that CFLP-recruited workers did not. While systemic geographic mobility and poverty have been synonymous in migrant farm workers’ lives, for transients, mobility could be subverted. Migrant workers used their visibility strategically in local tobacco towns in order to gain work, welfare provisions, and attention and to transcend some of the geographic, social, and temporary confines of their rural work-live spaces. The SAWP and CFLP were devised to undercut workers’ mobility and visibility—to rationalize the process of migrant recruitment, placement, and

transportation in less volatile ways. I therefore contend that regulating migrant farm workforces—like other seasonal, low-wage work in the context of Canada’s resource economy—hinge upon “mobility fixes” alongside spatial ones, aiming to reproduce mobile workforces along particular terms.

Representations of transients’ mobility were materially powerful forces. Mobile populations are frequently marked by social difference and subject to persecution and containment (Cresswell, 2006). The term *transient* functioned in this way. During the Depression, transient referred to reserve labour armies who pooled at the farm-gate willing to accept whatever wages and working conditions were on offer. In this sense, transient used to signify labour control. But the term also suggested that transients were politically insubordinate. By the 1970’s, the term reflected the changing political and social context for North American farm labour politics and unemployment. Farm workers less acquiescent of their lot. The 1960’s and 1970’s was a period of resurgent working class militancy in the US and Canada, led in particular by young workers (Brenner, Brenner, & Winslow, 2010; Milligan, 2014). Additionally, led by Cesar Chavez, the United Farm Workers spearheaded unprecedented grape and lettuce boycotts in California (García, 2012). ‘Transient’ also marked those who embodied New Leftist ideals, bilingualism, anti-authoritarianism, who practiced hitchhiking, all of which influenced transients’ non-class based identifications with one another (McDowell, 2008). Tobacco growers’ labour shortage crises crystallized as a reaction to these intersecting dynamics. Representations of transients as undeserving and subversive if not criminal populations lent material legitimacy to tobacco growers’ claims of labour shortages. While Manpower remained skeptical of the validity of this emergency, it still targeted transients as subjects of improvement.

In many ways, the globalization of low-skill, low-wage agricultural labour markets actively pursued by the Canadian government suggests that the eventual restructuring of migrant farm labour relations was overdetermined if not inevitable. Transients organized, protested and quit tobacco jobs at higher rates than growers were willing to tolerate. In its fractured and contradictory response to transients' and growers' demands, the federal government undermined migrant farm workers' labour geography, that is, the conditions favourable to migrant labour being able to "determine the structure of the political economy and social landscape within which they worked and lived" (Mitchell, 2011, p.565). Cindy Hahamovitch fittingly notes: "The [US] federal government would assume the role of guardian, benefactor, protector, even mother to migrant farm workers, but it would not legally empower farm workers to protect themselves through collective bargaining." (Hahamovitch, 1997, p. 150). In Ontario, this is no less true. The federal and provincial governments have left egregious gaps in the provision of suitable associational, employment, and other social rights for migrant farm workers. Currently, migrant guestworkers' local spatial mobility is legally and socially constricted, as I will detail in the next chapter. Migrant workers' bodies, presence and voices in rural public spaces continue to be considered socio-spatial transgressions (Black, 2013; CBC News, 2013; Sacheli, 2012; Sonnenberg, 2011) in ways which evoke the sensationalist debates over transients in rural spaces several decades ago. Historicizing migrant farm worker precarity serves to demonstrate how migrant struggles over the longer term have invariably shaped the labour migration governance, mobility, and everyday life of migrants in southwestern Ontario communities today.

**Note:** A modified version of this chapter exists in published form as "Reid-Musson, E. (2014). Historicizing Precarity: A Labour Geography of 'Transient' Migrant Workers in Ontario Tobacco. *Geoforum* 56: 161-171. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.07.005>."

## Chapter 4 Grown Close to Home™: Migrant Farmworker (Im)mobilities and Unfreedom on Canadian Family Farms

### ABSTRACT

Migrant farmworkers in Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) are bound by unfree labour relations. Migrants are employed by and live adjacent to Canadian family farms. Extending current research on Canada's SAWP, I specifically conceptualize the family farm as a locus of unfree labour relations. The chapter identifies how employers impose mobility controls around migrants' freedom to leave their workplaces, circumscribing where, how, and when migrants can circulate in Canadian communities. Growers use discourses and practices of paternal care and protection to justify these controls, revealing the familial features of employer-worker relationships. Direct involvement by state officials and legal frameworks undergirding the SAWP effectively enable and sanction employer practices. Harnessing a relational understanding of the family farm, I argue that worker (im)mobilities reveal key features of extant family farm relationships. Contributing to mobilities research, I identify how family farms exercise and directly benefit from state-sanctioned forms of power which allow them to restrict and regulate migrants' mobilities at localized levels. With relevance to both Canadian and US contexts, the power to fix racialized farm labour in place is highly desirable for family farms as a labour control mechanism. Material geographies of everyday (im)mobility help employers and states secure high levels of labour control from this low-wage migrant labour force. Arguments are based on qualitative research with fifteen migrant farmworkers

employed on ten farms in Norfolk County, Ontario, Canada, as well as additional interviews with sending government officials, local civil society, and growers.

*Mobility; Migrant Farm Labour; Farm Families; Unfree Labour; Agriculture*

## Introduction

In 2010, the large Canadian food retailer Loblaw's launched Grown Close to Home™, a campaign to promote and personalize Canadian farmers. Styled as family photo albums, the ads are located in Loblaw's fresh produce aisles. The campaign crafts a clever portrait of rural, family-oriented intimacy for urban consumers. These ads caught my attention at a personal level because I recognized key farms from my own research with migrant farmworkers, providing me with a glimpse into the families who employ migrants. Focusing on Norfolk County, Ontario, Canada—a diverse vegetable and fruit crop region on the north shore of Lake Erie—this chapter considers relationships between Canadian farm families and migrant farmworkers in Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), a sub-stream of Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP). Dating from 1966, the SAWP is Canada's oldest guestworker program, allowing for the circular flow of migrants from Mexico, Jamaica and several other English-speaking Caribbean countries who enter the country seasonally to work in Canadian agriculture. Existing research identifies the SAWP as a legally-sanctioned form of labour *unfreedom* because migrants must work for one Canadian employer, live in employer-provided housing, and have no formal opportunity to gain Canadian citizenship (Satzewich 1991; Sharma 2006).

Workers in the SAWP experience a great deal of proximity and closeness to Canadian farm families. Rather than suggesting that the farms depicted in the Grown Close to Home™ images are not “truly” family farms, this chapter argues for a more relational view of the family farm as constituted through (im)mobilities. This chapter responds to the research sub-question: To what degree are migrant farmworkers able or unable to travel locally in the Canadian places where they work? By whom and by what means are these mobilities and immobilities enacted and secured? What kinds of power relations do these patterns serve? I document how both employers and state officials control when, how, and where migrants can travel through relatively banal mechanisms such as access to company vehicles and bicycles. Farm employers and state officials justify tactics of control over workers’ mobilities based on the idea that growers are responsible for workers. Thus, racialized workers are situated as dependent, subordinate subjects at the limits of farm family units. Concretely, workers are more often than not immobilized and confined to farms where they both live and work. Migrant farmworker immobilities are therefore systemic to the SAWP while the power to control workers’ mobilities is invaluable to the labour control that family farm operations harness through Canada’s labour migration programs.

This chapter contributes to several strands of interdisciplinary research on migrant (im)mobilities, farm labour justice, and unfree labour. There is now considerable research on various dimensions of the SAWP and other streams of Canada’s TFWP (see inter alia Basok, 2002; Binford, 2013; Preibisch, 2010; Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010; Satzewich, 1991; Strauss & McGrath, 2016). There is also growing interest in work-related (im)mobilities, a term which refers the ways stasis and movement are interwoven unevenly for low-wage workers along intersectional lines (pertaining to race, gender, sexuality, class and global North/South) and across multiple scales (see various contributions to a 2016 special issue of the *Annals of the AAG*, titled 'Geographies of mobility');

as well as Conlon, 2011; Roseman, Barber, & Neis 2015; Yeoh & Huang, 2010). At the same time, labour exploitation is under-examined in mobilities scholarship (an argument recently made by Cresswell, Dorow, & Roseman, 2016). I specifically extend critical debates on unfree labour currently underway (Bakan & Stasiulis, 2012; Lewis et al., 2014; McGrath, 2013; Strauss & McGrath, 2016) and Rashad Shabazz's notion of racial architectures of confinement (2015) by considering the family farm as a constellation of unfree labour relations produced in part through worker mobility and immobility.

I argue that this spatial immobilization of workers on farms serves political economic power relations, benefiting Canadian farmers, food consumers, and the states who manage migration flows. Affective and spatial closeness produced through immobilities and mobility controls affords family farms unique forms of labour control that are instrumental to workers' unfreedom. I demonstrate how employers deploy state-like powers to enable and constrain their workers' mobility while using rationales of care and responsibility to justify their actions. I contend that employers gain disproportionate control over the labour process by controlling access to relatively banal travel modes, such as access to bikes and vehicles. Employers further benefit from the auto-centric character of rural Canada, if indirectly so, because low-income migrant workers cannot afford cars and this fixes them to remote locales where they live and work. Taken together, my main argument is that material geographies of everyday (im)mobility help employers and states secure high levels of labour control and exact value from this low-wage, migrant labour force.

In what follows, I situate my findings and argument within literature on migrant worker mobilities and immobilities as well as research on unfree migrant labour, including scholarship on the SAWP. Then I provide a brief descriptive overview of Canada's SAWP as a form of unfree labour. Next I

outline the study methods. From there, the study findings are subsequently divided into three subsections. First, I profile the family farms in the study, based on workers' perspectives; second, I describe the mobility controls experienced and negotiated by migrants; and finally, I pinpoint the effects of these controls as they pertain to family farming and agricultural production.

## Conceptualizing Unfree Labour through (Im)mobilities: Existing Research

For the purposes of this chapter, I define mobility as “the movement of people (...) over the course of everyday life (...) in the daily round of activities such as paid and unpaid work, leisure, socializing and shopping” (Hanson, 2010, p.7). I use the term (im)mobilities consistent with scholarship on the intertwined and relational nexus between power and (im)mobility (Conlon, 2011; Cresswell, 2010; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006). At the same time, there is very limited research that explicitly foregrounds the nexus between mobility and work. Recently, Cresswell et al. (2016) identify this lacuna when they argue that there is “a relative absence of attention to work in the core mobilities scholarship” (p.4). They go on to explain that studies on work-related mobility predominantly refer to elite mobility (a point also made by Angela Stuesse and Mat Coleman, 2014, p.56). In this brief review, I draw from various strands of scholarship to build a conceptual framework for arguing that geographies of (im)mobility regulate low-wage and unfree migrant labour.

Early feminist geographical research identified mobilities as gender, race, and class processes within urban spaces of flow (Burgos & Pulido, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Gilbert, 1998; Massey, 1993; see recent work by Parks, 2016). Indeed, there are often heavy mobility demands—from long-distance or multiple commutes to spatial containment—that are assumed by working people

along intersectional lines (see Jirón & Imilan, 2015; Roseman, Barber, & Neis, 2015). While migration scholars have traditionally focused on restrictions and controls that migrants face at international borders, recent studies have shown how migrants' mobilities are enabled and restricted *within* territorial state limits through various mechanisms (Gilbert, 2007; Kalir, 2013). Migrants may be fixed to intimate spaces like the home or left waiting in camps (Conlon, 2011; Yeoh & Huang, 2010). Stuesse and Coleman (2014) have shown how municipalities, counties, and state governments in the U.S. have sought to restrict migrant access to driver's licenses (which migrants require to work) in order to deter migrants from putting down roots in particular jurisdictions. Rashad Shabazz (2015) traces the historical technologies of spatial confinement placed around Black migrants as they settled in Chicago in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, arguing that carceral architectures have been constructed not simply at the level of prison complexes but in quotidian urban space. Together, these studies demonstrate how exploitation on the basis of class, gender, citizenship, and race is enrolled in strategies that immobilize migrants at everyday levels, historically and currently speaking.

Research on Canada's temporary labour migration regimes have recently wrestled with a mobilities framework. Explicitly using a mobilities lens, Patricia Tomic and Ricardo Trumper (2012) identify the SAWP as a system of transnational circular migration grounded in the daily immobility of labour. Workers are "restrained from changing employers at will, from traveling freely in the country, and from dwelling outside the premises assigned to them by their employers", Tomic and Trumper state (p. 76). Similarly, in a recent article on Canada's TFWP (of which the SAWP is a sub-set), Kendra Strauss and Siobhán McGrath (2016) explain: "That migrant workers are by definition mobile (...) can obscure the ways in which migration may result *from*, and/or *in*, the significant curtailment" of various forms of mobility (p.5, emphasis in original). They further

explain: “Geographical and spatial immobility—the inability to move to a new city or region to find work, as well as the inability to move freely about the worksite or leave the worksite”—mark unfree labour arrangements, such as the SAWP (p.6). Despite these studies, it remains unclear what specific mechanisms and techniques farm operators and state actors harness to obtain, maintain, and justify confining and immobilizing workers to farms for the duration of their contracts.

In order to answer this question, I rely on instructive literature from feminist mobility studies (Sheller, 2004; Holdsworth, 2013) focused on the ways that “mobile practices sustain intimate relationships which shape and reshape families” (Waitt & Harada, 2016, p.3). These scholars argue that mobilities reproduce the social relations which make up “the family”, especially gender and age hierarchies. Rather than focusing on structural and static concepts of the family, these scholars emphasize how embodied mobility practices produce social differences and relations. I am specifically interested, then, in the mobility practices that constitute the Canadian family farm. I consequently draw critical attention to employment relations between migrants and Canadian family farm operators with the objective of documenting the tactics employers use to immobilize workers to farm sites. I argue that expressions of familial intimacy by Canadian employers for migrant employees (see Bakan & Stasiulis, 1997; Inouye, 2012) are manifest in the coercive mobility controls that shape farm labour processes at everyday scales. In other words, rather than arguing that discourses of familial responsibility and concern for migrants by growers are outright false, I argue that declarations of intimacy (and indeed representations of the family farm) align with concrete mobility controls in powerful ways.

Together this literature suggests several key points. Low-wage migrants are targeted by processes that immobilize them at the same time that migrants are compelled to move across transnational distances. Mobility therefore distributes resources and power unevenly, compounding and reproducing intersectional forms of difference and exploitation. In different research, others argue mobile practices and travel behavior constitute intimate family relationships. At the same time, there is little research that directly theorizes how concrete mobility practices serve to regulate and control labour. I argue that access to concrete mobility resources (such as a vehicle) shape unequal and unfree relations of production and reproduction which make up the Canadian family farm. I argue that state powers to restrict mobility are re-scaled to family farm operators in employer-employee relationships. The fact that employers can control worker mobility at local levels is essential to the labour control they harness in transnational labour migration programs.

## Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program

Through bilateral negotiations, the SAWP enables circular farm labour migration to Canada from Jamaica (since 1966), as well as Mexico (since 1974) and several other English-speaking Caribbean countries. Farmers' access to seasonal migrant labour, including the SAWP, has been propelled by fears that farm labour shortages will destroy Canada's family farms (Binford, 2013, p.195-200; Hennebry, 2012, p.3-4). In the SAWP, workers are admitted to work in Canada for up to eight months a year with closed work permits. Standardized employment contracts establish basic working and wage conditions in line with applicable labour legislation. Canadian farm operators are contractually obligated to house migrants; consequently, farmworker housing is more often than not located on farm properties. Employers are therefore indirectly responsible for offering worker transportation at local levels (to get groceries and meet other basic needs). Overall,

this system of seasonal labour migration is tightly managed by authorities. Upheld as a ‘win-win’ program for governments, growers, and workers, the SAWP is touted in mainstream policy circles as a model for migration management (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010).

Researchers, unions, and migrant advocates have consistently shown otherwise (UFCW Canada & the Agriculture Workers Alliance, 2015; Ramsaroop & Wolk, 2009). Under the law, migrants in the SAWP are ineligible for Canadian citizenship and, as mentioned, do not exercise occupational mobility. As a legal framework, the SAWP is driven by exclusionary immigration policies that deem poor, non-citizen, racialized farmworkers from the global South temporary labour migrants rather than future Canadian citizens (Satzewich, 1991; Sharma, 2006). Under Ontario’s labour laws, farmworkers (whether migrant or not) are exempt from notable employment standards like overtime pay, the right to collectively bargain and unionize, and until 2006, occupational health and safety coverage (Tucker, 2012). Migrants must be ‘named’ by employers each year to return to work in Canada. Migrants are subject to rapid dismissal by officials or employers for nearly any reason, and thus subject to removal from Canada, often within 24 hours (Basok, Bélanger, & Rivas, 2013; Vosko, 2016). Participants in the SAWP cannot migrate with their spouses and children. Canada’s SAWP represents an “exclusionary notion of reproductive futurity” that “precludes intimacy, love and familial connection” (at least formally so) for migrants (Oswin, 2012, p.1624). In sum, the SAWP provides legally unfree labour to Canadian farmers through multiple legal exclusions from mobility and permanency, exceptions circumscribed by racism and nationalism (Satzewich, 1991; Sharma, 2006). While migrants in Canada’s SAWP do not exercise occupational mobility and reside in farm bunkhouses, they are otherwise free to circulate in Canada. This study research specifically investigates the mechanisms by which migrant farm workers are confined and immobilized to farm spaces on systemic levels. I explore

the role of the family farm in generating and benefiting from migrant farmworker immobilities and unfreedom; the study is unique in pursuing this line of inquiry.

## Study Methods and Site

The data, findings, and arguments presented in this chapter are based on two years of doctoral research on migrant farmworker (im)mobilities in southwestern Ontario. I was initially motivated to conduct this research to explain fifteen bike-related fatalities among migrant farmworkers that occurred in the region between 1995 and 2013. It was only by virtue of the research process—time spent in farming communities, with worker advocates, and through interviews with workers—that I came to consider the *families* who employ and work alongside migrants as relevant actors shaping workers' travel patterns. As noted earlier, the chapter focuses on a sub-set of my research that I conducted in Norfolk, where family farms are successful and multi-generational. The County pursues the marketing adage that Norfolk is “Ontario’s Garden”; it is Canada’s top producer of asparagus, cabbage, cucumbers, ginseng, peppers, pumpkins, squash, zucchini, sour cherries, and strawberries. To produce these seasonal labour intensive crops, growers rely heavily on the SAWP for labour; there are approximately 5,000 migrants that work in Norfolk County each season.<sup>9</sup> Norfolk County is relatively rural in character, having no major cities of its own. There is very limited public transit (what does exist caters primarily to seniors) and the area is not serviced by intra-urban buses or trains.

---

<sup>9</sup>There were approximately 28,000 SAWP entrants Canada-wide in 2011, while Norfolk County’s year-round County population was 63,175 in 2011 (Grand Erie Immigration Partnership, 2012).

The study findings and arguments are based on qualitative data from three sources. First, I rely on data from fifteen interviews conducted with male SAWP workers employed on ten Norfolk County farms (see Table 2), whose nationalities are Jamaican (four), Trinidadian (four) and Mexican (seven). Respondents have spent varying amounts of time in the SAWP, from three seasons to more than 20 seasons in Canada. One interviewee has participated in the SAWP since 1974. I recruited participants randomly (by introducing myself on Sundays in public spaces, like parking lots or along bike paths) as well as through existing migrant advocacy networks based in Norfolk County. Some workers introduced me to their co-workers. With participants' informed consent, I conducted unstructured interviews built around themes of transportation and mobility with the objective of assessing concrete mobility practices (where, when, travel mode, etc.) as well as participants' subjective experiences and interpretations of their freedom of mobility or lack thereof in host communities. Some interviews were held in Spanish. I transcribed interviews in Spanish before translating sections of interviews. The identities of research participants are confidential; I use pseudonyms to maintain respondents' confidentiality. For the purposes of this project, I focus on *men's* experiences specifically, for several reasons. Nearly all SAWP participants in Norfolk County are male, though the overall number of women in Canada's SAWP has grown over the past decade. By including just a few migrant women in my respondent sample I would run the risk of making these specific women identifiable. Even so, migrant women's experiences are significant—the mobility constraints they face on family farms are highly feminized and are often much more extreme than those male migrants face (see Preibisch & Encalada Grez, 2010, p.308). That said, I devised my respondent sample purposefully in order to analyze the regulation of migrant men's (im)mobilities specifically.

Second, I draw from twenty-five interviews held with local government officials and civil society group members in host communities (in Norfolk County, Essex County, and the area surrounding the town of Niagara-on-the-Lake, all which are located within southwestern Ontario). I purposively recruited individuals based on their roles and experiences; interviewees ranged from migrant allies (with or without formal affiliations to any particular group), consular officials, municipal employees, and bike advocates. Interviews were tailored to assess respondents' unique roles and perspectives but were all equally designed to understand how civil society groups and state officials are involved in shaping and intervening in migrants' everyday mobilities. Last, the third source of data upon which my study draws is a survey I conducted with Norfolk County farm operators who rely on the SAWP. The survey elicited employers' perspectives on farmworker transportation and mobility. I received sixteen complete responses from one hundred email invitations to participate in the survey. To be clear, the farmers who responded to the survey are not affiliated with the farmworkers who I interviewed. In other words, the growers who responded to the survey do not employ the workers I interviewed.

To summarize, the research involved two seasons of qualitative research with Norfolk County-based workers, government officials, employers, worker advocates, and others. The data provides a revealing portrait of intimate and family based forms of mobility controls that pervade labour practices in the SAWP, shaping how, when, and whether migrants travel within host communities.

## Producing the Family Farm through (Im)mobilities

June marked the thirtieth anniversary of one of our seasonal workers. We have several workers that have been with us for over 20 years each – *they feel like family* when they return in the spring! (Ontario farm newsfeed, emphasis added)

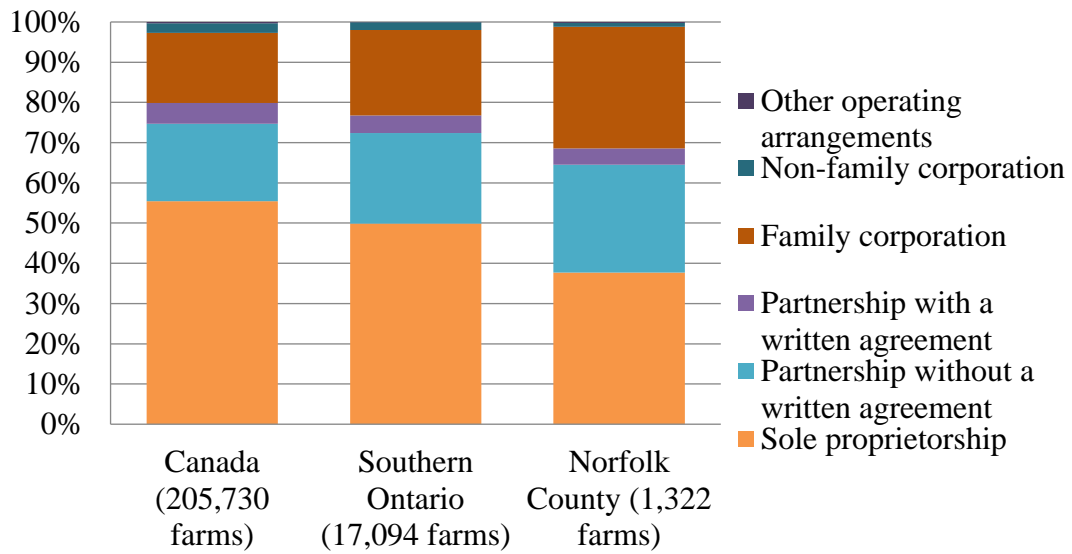
Feeling and treating workers in the SAWP “like family” is a common refrain among farmers. Growers describe their relationships to workers as circumscribed by responsibility, protection and care. Declarations of love are often used by Canadian households to describe their relationships to migrant domestic workers (Inouye, 2012). Rather than dismissing these proclamations, taking them seriously brings to light the familial characteristics of labour practices that constitute farming production in Canada. I describe my findings and argument in the following sub-sections: (1) I map the relationships between family farms, state officials and workers, (2) I chart the kinds of mobility constraints respondents’ face, and (3) I explain how family farms benefit from worker immobilities.

### *Mapping webs of intimacy: Farm families, migrant workers and state officials*

Family-based farm operations are the norm in Norfolk among SAWP-reliant growers. According to 2011 statistics, only 4 percent of Ontario farms are non-family corporations, while the majority—as elsewhere in Canada—are operated as sole proprietorships, partnerships without written agreements, and family corporations (see Fig. 8). Indeed, in practice, Norfolk farms are operated by nuclear, heterosexual and often inter-generational families from Caucasian European backgrounds. Divisions of work within farm operations themselves follow gendered divisions of labour (see Fig. 9), though women within the family farm household do occupy significant positions within operations and positions of power vis-à-vis migrant workers. Of the ten farms profiled here, nine are directed by men, whose wives or sisters may be responsible for administrative tasks on the farm (again, see Fig. 8). Farm families are constituted through hierarchical gender and race relations, which continue to shape agricultural production. Women

and children's unpaid labour subsidizes agricultural labour costs, and these work demands are in some respects downloaded on paid but highly subordinate migrant forms of labour.

**Figure 8: Farms by proprietorship, 2011.**



Source: CANSIM Table 0040230, Census of Agriculture, Statistics Canada, 2011 (most recent census data)

**Figure 9: Research profile of farms in Norfolk County, Canada.**

<b>Farm</b>	<b>Main Crops</b>	<b>Farmworkers in the SAWP who participated in the study</b>	<b>Farm employers' family relationships*</b>	<b>Number of SAWP employees (approx.)</b>
1.	Flower nursery	Carlos & José	Older husband, wife & their adult sons	5
2.	Apples & other fruit	Brian, William & Lewis	Older brothers & their adult sons	>100
3.	Field vegetables	Dennis & Ben	Husband & wife	>100
4.	Ginseng	Simón	Husband & wife	5
5.	Asparagus	Henry	Adult brothers	50
6.	Berries	Gregory	Husband & wife	>100
7.	Field vegetables	Roberto	Older woman & two adult sons	20
8.	Ginseng	Julio & Eric	Brothers	10
<b>Respondents who do not work directly alongside or for families</b>				
9.	Tobacco	Timothy	Not family-operated	10
10.	Ginseng	Jesús	Not family-operated	20

\*Descriptions of farm employers' relationships (to each other) are based on my research interviews with farmworkers. I characterize employers as 'families' where respondents (farmworkers) indicate in interviews that they are supervised and/or work alongside multiple family members on a daily basis.

Employers are obliged to house workers in the SAWP. Workers typically live on farm properties; Canadian farm families and workers live and work in close proximity to one another. Migrants in the SAWP may also work with locally hired seasonal and/or full-time workers (such as high school or college students). Of the ten farms profiled here, workers live adjacent to their employers on eight farms. For example, two workers from Mexico (Carlos & José) report to their adult male boss (the farm owner-operator) who inherited the farm from his parents, now an elderly couple who continue to be involved in daily operations. Once when I stopped by to visit them, their boss' elderly mother had taken the two men to get their hair cut. Jesús' case stands out as an exception. In his case, the farm owner is an absentee operator living in Toronto; daily operations are managed by a local Canadian man who lives adjacent to workers with his own young family. However, workers have nearly no relationship to this manager beyond work hours (let alone the manager's family). Furthermore, Jesús and his co-workers have unlimited access to two farm vehicles for personal use; they exercise greater freedom of mobility than other respondents in this respect.

As noted earlier, migrants are recruited based on their roles as breadwinners but their family members are not entitled to migrate alongside SAWP participants. Migrants thus experience long-term separation from their own families, enduring a cruel spatiality in which they labour and live in intimate geographic proximity to a Canadian family in order to support their own family. Interviews with workers revealed their own personal struggles to justify long-term absences from their own families. Shared living and working quarters between single migrant men and nuclear Canadian families, as well as unequal family rights between these two, are interlocking mechanisms that bolsters agricultural production in Canada. Additionally, employers, their family members, and migrants interact with consular officials in Toronto and in Leamington (officials charged with responding to problems workers face in the SAWP). Consular officials may act as

an interface between workers and employers in conflict situations (see Binford, 2013, p.52-58). It is well-known among researchers and advocates that consular officials act in the interests of managing the program to the benefit of employers rather than in defense of workers' well-being and rights (see Basok, Bélanger & Rivas 2013; Vosko, 2015).

Officials enforce stark forms of state-based controls over workers' mobilities and intimate lives. Consular officials based in Canada explained how they act to maintain the SAWP as a breadwinner model program.

There have been cases where [we] know that a worker's wife hasn't heard from her husband in three months. We had to locate him. That's something we have to do. (...) [When we confronted him,] he makes up some tall tale, which we can see straight through. We tell him that based on his behaviour, 'That's it—you're returning to Mexico, simple as that'. We tell him *he's not fulfilling the basic duty of the program which is supporting his family*. If you want to be here to be a Don Juan, go back to Mexico and do it there. That's not gonna be easy here. Our role is important here, in order to maintain, well, not cohesion, but the fundamental principles of the program beyond the work itself. (emphasis added)

Here, officials determined that a SAWP worker who was out-of-contact with his family in Mexico was too involved in relationships with Canadian women outside of work and so expelled this individual from the SAWP. Thus, the seemingly benign Canadian family farm is produced through intimate forms of state power over migrants' own family lives, forms of power which operate at the level of the workplace but are exercised by a diverse array of actors. Consular officials' sovereign power over migrant men in Canada extends into their intimate and family decisions, exposing the coercive edge of transnational migration management enacted at intimate scales. While migrant-sending governments celebrate workers as breadwinners, they surveil migrants' private lives in Canada. The Canadian government is also implicated in intimate family controls around migrants insofar as temporary labour migration frameworks restricts migrants' family

rights, restricts migrants to on-farm housing, and restricts their labour and occupational mobility in Canada.

Before describing the array of mobility controls that family farms enact (in the next section), I will discuss two key dynamics that appear in workers' narratives regarding the families that employ them. The first pertains to how workers view their relationships to growers. Workers do not refer to love or intimacy between themselves and their employers; they remain keenly cognizant of their subordinate positions on Canadian farms. Just as employers' expressions of love and intimacy for migrant workers have conditional limits, as examined in Inouye's media analysis (2012), workers are aware that their relationships to employers (and their families) are equally conditional. Simón's experience is perhaps the best example of this pattern. A young ambitious man from Mexico, he held a relatively privileged position on a successful ginseng farm. He was part of a relatively small work team, had respect for his employer, developed camaraderie with his boss' wife, and taught himself English. Unlike most SAWP workers, Simón had a private bedroom, albeit one on-farm that he shared with several other SAWP workers. He expresses gratitude to his employer with the following caveat:

I'm very grateful to my boss. The little I have is because of him, and I can't complain or deny that. I'll always have respect for him. Always. But let's be sincere and honest. He's a businessman, which is fine. We're all grateful to him, but we're just his workers. If I didn't show up next year, he'd call me, but then he'd hire another Mexican. His work doesn't stop because I or any other worker doesn't show up. His work continues. He doesn't worry about anything—at all. He'll just call and ask for another Mexican, a Jamaican, or even a Canadian. He's focused on the future.

Here Simón is aware of the limits of his relationship with his employer, of his racialized and classed position within the farm, as 'just another worker' who can be replaced. Despite being in a

relatively advantageous position, he situates his emotions (gratitude & respect) impassively within the field of power relations that constitute the Canadian family farm.

Secondly, personal labour relations create unique and distinct forms of labour control in agriculture (on this point see Gray, 2013, p.53-61). Canadian farm family members occupy positions of relative power on farms vis-à-vis migrant employees, though there are most often hierarchies between men and women and between younger and older family members. On farms with fewer employees (as in five of the ten farms profiled in Fig. 9), family members work directly alongside migrants. Working for a family spreads intra-family tensions into the workday. At time-sensitive periods of the season such as planting or harvesting, tensions between families and workers may overflow. Working on a small tobacco farm, Gregory has been caught between his boss, his boss' son and boss' sister during tobacco harvesting. Receiving contradictory orders from different family members, Gregory and his migrant colleagues feel that they can be held at fault for problems resulting from family arguments. Overall, respondents indicate that women family members often oversee and conduct feminized supervisory duties on farms (key examples are administration and payroll, and/or worker housing inspections). Not only does this highlight the unequal relationships between men and women within farm families, these patterns also reveal how women may hold greater sway over migrant workers' intimate spaces and lives, at least relative to male farm operators.

Migrants in the SAWP work alongside their employers and are housed adjacent to farm families while they are separated from their own respective families. Local officials may also be involved in farm-level operations, intervening in migrants' work-live arrangements on Canadian farms and even their personal lives outside of work. Relationships between migrant farmworkers, Canadian

operators in the SAWP, and government officials are highly personal and hierarchical ones. Workers negotiate positions as racialized and subordinate subjects within family farming operations, positions that legal frameworks and state officials maintain.

### *Immobilizing labour: Systemic confinement in the SAWP*

I contend that Canadian *family farms* operationalize the SAWP in concrete, uneven practices that immobilize workers. Farm operators and state officials involved in the SAWP routinely limit and police migrant farmworkers' mobilities through curfews, access to bicycles, and access to company vehicles. While the SAWP "is designed to immobilize workers" on Canadian farms (as argued by Tomic & Trumper, 2012, p.74), it is important to emphasize that there is no explicit policy or regulation in the SAWP contract (or other applicable framework) specifying that workers must remain at their worksites or dormitories. In justifying their actions, farmers and officials tell workers that employers are responsible for workers and that employers have the obligation to protect workers while in Canada. Moreover, the car-centric character of daily life in rural areas compounds migrants' mobility constraints. Long work hours also limit mobility. Simple travel is significantly fraught by friction of distance. Getting on a bike to meet a friend, have a beer, or call home is a challenge. Take getting to a pay phone, for example. While many migrants now benefit from access to cell phones, workers previously had to travel to find phone booths. One participant (Dennis) explains,

A: We had to use the phone box on the street. Whenever we go to town, you use the pay phone. But then sometimes if you have an emergency situation, we go to the boss to ask if we could call back home. A hurricane or whatever would blow [back home] – we didn't know what was happening. We'd go and ask if we could make a call and so on. (...) [Or] in the evening we would walk two or three miles to use the pay phone.

Q: That's a long walk after work.

A: Yeah, but you had no other way!

Another respondent describes how his long work hours signify that he never leaves the farm beyond his weekly trip into town for groceries. The only time he left on his own, he says, was a rare Sunday without work when he decided to walk to a nearby town by foot, taking six hours. These experiences highlight how access to basic transportation that others take for granted are significant challenges for migrants. What these anecdotes also demonstrate is that even in circumstances where employers do not impose overt immobilization strategies, farmers nonetheless take advantage of the fact that workers can be fixed in place due to workers lacking access to a car or transit and can therefore be available to work much more readily than locally-recruited workers with their own homes nearby. Therefore, lack of access to adequate transportation maintain and bolster the long work hours and high levels of work effort that characterize migrant farmworkers' labour.

Farm operators do not act in isolation; they cooperate with government officials charged with managing the program (and with representing migrants abroad). Sending government officials informally remind SAWP workers in Canada that they are not freely mobile and that they are under the responsibility of farm operators. Dennis, an older worker who has worked for Canadian farms on an annual basis since 1974, explains how he and his workers are bound by a 9pm curfew and basic rules about where and when they can travel locally:

A: Well, the policy is, like, whenever you're off work, you're supposed to stay – you're not supposed to leave and go out, like, all over to different places.

Q: Who tells you that?

A: Like, the Liaison Officer,<sup>10</sup> they tell us that. You're not supposed to leave and go places.[...] They say, by 9 o'clock, you should be in your bunk, you're not supposed to be in town, you're supposed to be home, you're not supposed to be outside. Because some farmers, they would have a bus to take you, but by 9 o'clock you're supposed to be in—not supposed to be out. [...] I know a farm [where] the only time you're gonna leave is when you go and do grocery, and then you come back. You're not supposed to leave. If you're gonna leave, you have to hide and go out. *Because they're the ones that are responsible for you.* (emphasis added)

Dennis relates here how state officials are directly involved in spatially fixing workers to the farm confines, whether or not individual employers enforce such rules. Dennis' explanation for these rules—that farmers are responsible for migrant employees—also clarifies the familial logics at play that naturalize these limitations. These rules are not isolated to Dennis' case. Several (though not all) participants in the research referred to rules established by state officials; rules include informing employers as to when and where they go out, rules about what times they must return and remain on farms, as well as rules about what visitors, if any, they can host on farms. These separate responses from migrant workers in Norfolk illustrate the diversity of rules that employers and government officials impose vis-à-vis mobility.

Liaison officers tell us we can't go anywhere without our boss's permission. (Worker from St. Lucia)

We're not obligated to tell anyone when we go out. The only rules we get are about biking. We watch a video on the farm. (Worker from Trinidad)

The latter response is important because it shows how rules imposed by sending government agencies vary from country-to-country; unlike SAWP migrants of other nationalities, Trinidadian workers indicate that they are not bound by the same spatial-temporal limitations, at least from state officials. Nevertheless, based on the guidelines state officials outline from the outset, farm

---

<sup>10</sup> Jamaican consular officials based in Canada are known as Liaison Officers.

operators benefit from a consistent framework around which they expect workers' behavior to adhere. Employers limit the geographic and temporal scope of their employees' mobility unevenly from farm-to-farm.

In general, long work hours and intense work requirements themselves limit the spatial and temporal scope of workers' lives. As Dennis explains, "We don't have much time to move around normally. Because work, work, work. Every day it's work. It's just work. It's from seven in the morning 'til sometimes 12 or 1 o'clock at night". Employers typically provide off-farm transportation once a week, often on Friday nights. Some use converted school buses to transport workers, buses decorated with farm insignia. Fleets of converted and chartered school buses fill mall parking lots on Friday evenings. Hired bus drivers bring lawn chairs to sit and chat with one another in parking lots while workers shop. Grocery stores are packed, and long lines form to wire money. A weekly irruption in quiet rural communities, these brief hours render visible farm labour that is otherwise cloistered on work-live sites. This weekly (at times bi-weekly) employer transportation circumscribes workers' mobility. For a worker who misses a return trip back to farms (usually at 9pm), finding one's way home alone can be stressful and costly; a taxi between a farm and a local town can cost from \$30 to \$50 CAD each way. Even on these sole "free nights", usually Fridays, the 9pm return bus trip acts as a curfew enforcement mechanism; it compels workers to return to farm sites, allowing migrants very little personal time to socialize in host communities beyond their employers' purview.

Employers rely on rules about how, when, and where workers can travel to control workers' mobilities. These relate to bike use, hitchhiking, intimate relationships, and access to employer vehicles. Many workers rely on bicycles to travel, as well as hitchhiking, ride-sharing, relying on

friends for rides, and waiting for permission to use company vehicles. These are important modes of getting about beyond weekly Friday trips. After several workers were killed in bicycling accidents (in Norfolk and Essex Counties), a small but not insignificant proportion of growers have chosen to control and sometimes limit or ban use of bikes among workers. For example, two of sixteen Norfolk farmers surveyed for this research state that they outright discourage or prohibit migrant employees from bicycling, explaining that they do so out of concern both for how they will be held accountable as well as for their workers' safety, should anything serious occur. Of these, one states that s/he prefers workers remain on farm property at all times. Others specify that they provide alternate transportation such as paid taxi trips or a vehicle for workers' personal use. But it is unclear how frequently these paid taxi trips or access to vehicles are provided in lieu of bike access. Well-aware of these patterns, Mexican consular staff told me:

Not all employers prohibit workers from biking. The reason that some do is not out of concern for the physical integrity of their workers but the fact that employers could be liable if accidents happen. [...] *This means that workers can't get around, or they have to hide their bikes in the bushes around the property so their boss doesn't notice. We have informed employers that they can't prohibit workers from biking. Even if it might be your property you can't control who comes and goes, especially when it comes to daily mobility.* So we've been opposed to these bans even though we know the risks and implications of biking around here. We're talking about adults here, not just humble Mexican workers. We're talking about adult human beings. (emphasis added)

Concern for workers' freedom of mobility, expressed by Mexican consular officials in this passage, rings hollow; as noted earlier, migrants are directly informed by these same officials that they should remain on farms as much as possible, and be in bunkhouses at specific times of the day. More generally, it is well-known that consular officials do not work on behalf of workers' best interests, as many worker advocates are well-aware (see Vosko, 2016). Nonetheless, officials' concerns expressed here reveal how controls around bicycling are pervasive.

Workers can be licensed as drivers in Canada but the costs of owning and insuring a vehicle are onerous. Migrants can rarely afford to purchase and insure a vehicle. Consequently, private vehicle ownership among migrant farmworkers is extremely rare. Additionally, some employers discourage vehicle ownership among workers; one Norfolk farmer plainly explains in a survey response<sup>11</sup> that he/she does not permit car ownership among employees: “Any employee who has come here for sufficient years can afford a vehicle at home. No employee would have one here, or at least I would not allow it”. In stark contrast to the latter response, another farm operator responds to the same question with quite different concerns. While migrants are authorized to drive in Canada with international driver’s licenses, insurance companies cannot check driving records on individuals’ driving records outside of Canada. For larger farms that grow crops on multiple properties; work teams need to move considerable distances between field sites over the course of the day, week, or season. Having a designated driver for work purposes is consequently “critical”, as this respondent explains:

It is critical for our operation that foreign licensed drivers are able to drive company vehicles to and from work. The foreign licensed workers with valid international licenses should be allowed. The insurance companies are complaining that they cannot do background checks on foreign licenses. If a worker who is a designated driver could bring upon their arrival a background check or a letter from their country’s transportation office to show driver history that would really help the insurance company up here

This employer wants workers to be able to drive legally not for their own well-being but rather in order to fulfil work duties. It is unclear whether workers employed by this operator have access to company vehicles for their personal use. Access to company vehicles for personal use can afford

---

<sup>11</sup> This statement was in response to a survey question about car ownership among migrant farmworkers.

workers more freedom to move independently; workers sometimes gain access to company vehicles and have differing levels of access to company vehicles. However, this access is treated as a privilege that can be withdrawn as punishment and is subject to high levels of control. As one employer explained matter-of-factly, “Our employees have come here for 25 years and know the area well. We allow them to come and go [with a company vehicle] as they feel *but they can only go to the local towns*. They never abuse the privilege so it works very well” (emphasis added). Highlighting their long-standing relationship with their employees, as well as the rules they impose about where workers can travel, this employer unassumingly reveals just how commonplace mobility controls imposed by farm operators truly are. The passage further confirms how farm employers treat migrant employees much as a parent might monitor a young adult’s use of a family vehicle. In this way, the family-like relationship is expressed here as kind of ‘infantilization’ of migrant employees.

Julio and Eric, for example, use a farm van as long as they inform their boss when and where they are going prior to each trip. They may be denied permission to drive, especially at night or to attend a party. During one of their first solo trips, they visited a different mall from the one for which they had permission to visit, innocently assuming their minor route change was insignificant. Unknown to them, their boss followed them to the mall where he accused them of lying about where they were going. Their boss was not concerned about where they went, what they bought or who they met—he was upset because he felt entitled to know their travel plans and made it clear that he was serious about them sticking to those plans. Again, this is akin to the way a parent might govern their child’s mobility through a graduated system of supervision, permission and punishment when trust is broken by a child. In contrast to Julio and Eric, Jesús has free access to a company van with very few strings attached. As mentioned earlier, Jesús’ case is also unique

because his employer does not live or work on the farm. He and his colleagues are not restricted as to when and where they can drive, other than being aware that they have to maintain a clean driving record. Aware that any missteps like drinking or getting fined would compromise their access to the van (and potentially their jobs), they otherwise have greater freedom of mobility and freedom to dispose of their free time than other workers I interviewed. When I noted how unusual this was, Jesús responded, “That’s what we tell each other—we have to take care of our freedom”.

From farm-to-farm, uneven controls are placed around workers’ mobility, workers have differential access to travel modes, and farms are located at disparate distances from nearby towns and cities. Together, this creates irregular levels of social and spatial access for workers—to access services, foster personal relationships, and political connections beyond work proper. The figures below illustrate these patterns. The first (Fig. 10) summarizes how often, how far, and by what means migrant workers travel in the Norfolk County sample (referring, that is, to those who participated in the research).

**Figure 10: Travel distances, frequency, and destinations among migrant farmworkers.**

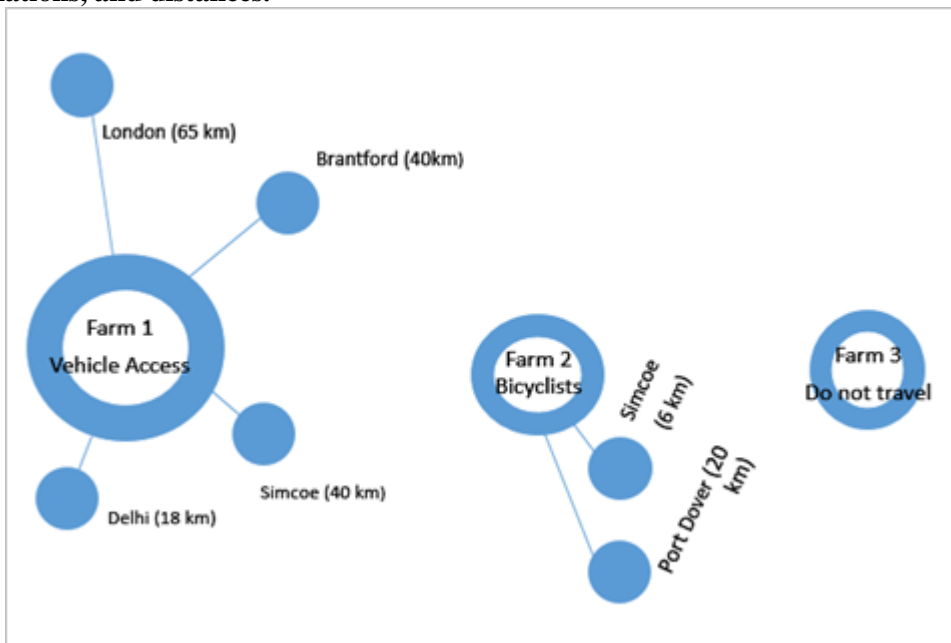
<b>Participants</b>	<b>Farm to nearest town (one-way)</b>	<b>Farm to nearest city (one-way)</b>	<b>Actual Travel Frequency, Mode and Destination</b>
<b>Carlos &amp; José</b>	13km (35 min bike ride)	35km	Weekly, by bike, to town
<b>Brian, William &amp; Lewis</b>	5km (10-15 min bike ride)	40km	Daily, by bike, to town
<b>Dennis &amp; Ben</b>	7km	12km	NA
<b>Simón</b>	15km	31km	NA
<b>Henry</b>	3km (8 min bike ride)	43km	Daily, by bike
<b>Gregory</b>	10 km	48km	NA
<b>Roberto</b>	10km	41km	NA
<b>Julio &amp; Eric</b>	9km	25km (22 min drive)	Daily/weekly, in farm vehicle, to cities and towns
<b>Timothy</b>	10km (30 min bike ride)	55km	Weekly, by bike, to town
<b>Jesús</b>	22km	34km (30 min drive)	Daily, in farm vehicle, to towns and cities

Source: Interviews with workers.

Examining workers' travel patterns summarized in the figure above, it is evident that proximity to nearby towns or cities in terms of absolute distance does not necessarily entail that workers will have the ability to travel to and from such places on regular bases. Take Dennis, Ben, and Roberto, for example. They work and live relatively close to more urbanized places. However, because of long work hours and considerable controls around their travel imposed by state officials and employers, they do not regularly access these places and benefit from being in close proximity to them. In contrast, others living farther from urban centers have greater access to vehicles (e.g.: Julio, Eric, and Jesús), giving them a wider and more frequent range of travel opportunities. Figure 11 contrasts three Norfolk farms (where eight respondents respectively live and work) relative to their travel practices and the destinations such travel options permit. For example, with a vehicle

workers are able to visit London, a medium-sized city many services, social spaces, and a larger immigrant community than Simcoe, Port Dover, or Delhi. Between small towns services vary considerably, too. Some destinations provide greater advantages for fostering social and political connections for migrants, while others provide few or none. That said, migrants reshape rural towns; while few services and amenities may initially exist to welcome migrants, over time their presence creates opportunities and incentives to provide migrant-oriented social and political services.

**Figure 11: Comparison between three Norfolk County farms showing travel mode, destinations, and distances.**



Source: Interviews with workers.

Travel is subject to surveillance and control by employers and state officials; they use logics of care, responsibility, and protection for migrant workers in ways which perpetuate and naturalize such controls. At play here are systemic patterns of spatial containment. As feminist geographers have explained, experiences of immobilization “underline [how] space is not a container” upon

which labour and work processes alongside gendered and/or racial identities take shape, but a medium through which these relationships and identities are produced (Gilbert, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995, p.226). Power struggles over daily travel are intersectional processes in which race, gender, class and citizenship differences, are produced through and reflected in mobilities (Hanson, 2010; Hague, 2010; Parks, 2016; Roseman, Barber, & Neis 2015; Spinney, Aldred, and Brown 2015; Stuesse and Coleman 2014). Here the farm household is composed of hierarchical relationships between migrants, as subordinate racialized members of the family, and farm operators, who assume roles as all-knowing ‘protectors’ of family members (and farmworkers). Migrants’ travel patterns are replete with direct and indirect boundaries about where, when and how they can travel in Canada. These relationships do not exist in vacuums, however; state officials are actively involved in controlling how, when, and where migrants circulate in Canadian communities.

### *Explaining (im)mobilities: Worker effort & employer power*

What are the effects and outcomes of such immobilities for workers? Feminist scholars have long reminded political economists that the confinement, concealment, and appropriation of women’s labour on an unpaid basis within the household are the foundation for reproducing workers and for generating surplus value within capitalist social relations (Picchio, 1992; Strauss, 2013). Moreover, by confining particular bodies to particular places (e.g., the home and the plantation), employers have been able to appropriate value not only from women’s labour but also racialized people’s transnational and domestic labour (Hague, 2010; Parks, 2016; Yeoh & Huang, 2010). As Rashad Shabazz (2015) explains, “The plantation (...) drew its power in part from its ability to contain and incapacitate Black people” (p.5). Because the mechanisms (travel controls) that

confine workers result in power for employers, I argue that spatial containment plays a lead role in the labour process (Hanson & Pratt, 1995, Ch.8) and that this is enacted through racial technologies for the “capture, hold, and transport” of (racialized and feminized) people (Shabazz, 2015, p.6). Under the SAWP framework, migrants must live on their employers’ properties and cannot change employers. This live-in requirement creates a highly captive workforce for farms (Basok, 2002). But the SAWP framework (and the legal requirements connected to it) does not directly specify or guarantee that workers will remain static on farm sites beyond work hours. As such, farmers and state officials extend multiple forms of controls around migrant farmworkers’ mobilities at everyday scales.

Roberto works on a farm operated by an older woman and her adult sons, a farm where the relationship between migrants and growers is overtly coercive; there are extreme restrictions around workers' mobility. Workers are expected to be on-site at all times. Roberto once fell ill and was refused a lift by his boss to a doctor. He resorted to grabbing a small child’s bike from a nearby home in order to bike himself to see a doctor. More generally, he and his co-workers are definitively barred from leaving the property. He explains:

He [our boss’ son] wouldn’t give us permission to go anywhere. We had to be there [on the property]. Sometimes we didn’t work until 2 or 3 in the afternoon, and then he would tell us he needed us to work, all of sudden without any warning, but we had to get started quickly, straightaway. [Then] we’d work until 9 at night.

As a result, because they are stuck on their employers’ property and unable to dispose of their free time, workers are available and willing to work. They can be summoned and dismissed at short notice. Earlier in the chapter, I quoted another worker (Dennis), who stated: “We don’t have much time to move around normally. (...) It’s just work, work, work”. In stark terms, Dennis reveals how being stuck or immobile is related to his availability to work as well as high levels of work.

Whether direct or indirect, mobility controls have clear consequences for work intensity and flexibility on family farms. Workers are made available beyond paid work hours and spaces; they can be called upon conveniently to and from nearby dormitories as required (as others have noted, see Basok, 2002, Ch.7; Sharma, 2006; on the US context, see Gray, 2013, Ch. 2). The pervasive forms of compulsion which bind migrant farmworkers like Roberto and Dennis to farm sites—as appendages of and at the disposal of the Canadian family farm—secure high levels of labour effort. Workers are not adequately compensated for this effort, because they are not paid for the time they are required to be on-farm and available for work.

In a less egregious but equally instructive case, Simón had the unique experience of having access to a vehicle before the privilege was withdrawn as a reprisal. When he had access to a company van, he was able to make friends and social connections in Norfolk; he attended events, dinners, classes, and went on trips. As a strong English speaker, he felt confident that he could remain in Canada permanently. He parlayed his spatial mobility into upward mobility, as he crafted informal networks and gained access to services and education. Unfortunately, his relationship with a manager soured, though he is unsure of the reason. He was no longer allowed to drive and felt the effects immediately.

They took away my driving privileges, and obviously that's really hard, because it's like they're depriving you of your freedom—well, maybe not your freedom, but you need a vehicle here to get anywhere. There are no buses, everything's cars. If you don't drive, you don't go out. It's just work and home, and back again. [...] Sometimes it's hard here, you just work, and work, and work. There comes a point where you just want to get out, but you can't, you know. You cook for yourself every day—every day. There's a point where you're sick of cooking for yourself. And if you don't have a car, you can't go out. That's a crappy feeling—waiting and hoping that they'll lend you a truck.

In his view, loss of access to the vehicle made life in Canada untenable because it intensified work (“you just work, and work, and work”) and made him unhappy and unfree (“they're depriving you

of your freedom” and “that’s a crappy feeling”). Loss of access to the vehicle was his manager’s means of punishing Simón. He remains unsure as to the nature of the offense, because it was not communicated to him by his manager. The lost privilege put Simón in ‘his place’ within the farm operation. At the same time, this example indicates how unfree work in the SAWP is subjectively and unevenly experienced in relation to mobilities and immobilities, both from farm-to-farm and even over the same individual’s time in a single workplace. Having access to a van does not by any means transform or undo the unjust foundations under which the SAWP is operationalized within farms. But Simón characterized his work and sense of place in Norfolk on a much different register depending on whether or not he had access to a vehicle. In fact, after I completed the research, Simón left the SAWP, choosing to remain in Mexico without plans to return to Canada.

Worker immobilities and mobility controls are mechanisms permitting growers to extract value from farmworkers’ labour. These mechanisms are rooted in gendered and racialized logics that appear “natural” within family-like hierarchies, to which migrant farmworkers are subordinate. In determining when, where, and how workers can travel beyond farm sites, farm operators justify their actions as a form of protection for their workers. Employers possess dual forms of power as both employers and household heads. Yet as Simón’s example highlights, experiences of mobility and containment are uneven—workers’ subjective experiences of the SAWP may vary considerably.

### *Negotiating confinement*

Workers negotiate confinement in various ways. Hidden and open evasion of curfews and other mobility rules are commonplace.

A: There's this guy who used to go out Friday night and not come back, you know. When the boss dropped us off, a friend of his would come and pick him up. He used to go out and come back in late, like 4 or so in the morning. But he was always ready to work – that never stopped him from working. So we didn't bother say anything about it, you know, we let him do his thing. One year, you know, he decided to stop the hiding thing. He said [to our boss], 'I'm not coming in tonight'. The boss didn't like it.

Q: His hiding thing? I didn't get that part.

A: I'm saying, he decided that he wouldn't bother to hide going back out. So what he gonna do, he was going out and not coming back with us. He was gonna stay out until he was ready to come in. The boss spoke to me about it. He spoke to me one day and told me something about a guy who doesn't come in Friday nights on the bus, and that he's gonna have a problem. I said, 'Well boss, I don't think it's a problem if he does his work'.

Q: What did he say to that?

A: He didn't say anything. He just shut down.

In this passage, Gregory explains how one of his co-workers refused to abide by an informal farm rule: that they return back to farms with their employers when their employers decide. He further explains: "Once a week, Friday night, we go to town. After groceries, you know, we hang around, until 9.30, he comes around, picks us up and takes us home. So we all have to go home when he's ready." Gregory uses the term *hiding* to describe how his co-worker defied this rule, by refusing to return with the others and making his own way back to his bunkhouse and workplace, without letting it interfere with his paid work. Notably, a missing gap in this story is the co-worker's own interpretation of events. From Gregory's point of view, the conflict between his co-worker and boss over staying out past curfew was apparently resolved but it is possible that it was not.

Small acts of negotiation and defiance (both covert and outright) are not anomalous. For example, one participant based in Leamington informed me about how he and his co-workers continue to use their bikes despite their employer having banned it. They keep their bikes hidden in a treed area next to their dormitory, exiting discreetly by way of a path bypassing an adjacent property. Furthermore, over the two-year research period, three workers opted to leave the program entirely,

for a variety of reasons. The first, who was mentioned previously, is Simón. After losing access to a vehicle, he became disillusioned as he became increasingly cognizant of the lack of opportunities for him in Canada through the SAWP. He returned to Mexico to focus on his young family and has so far remained put, finding opportunities in Mexico instead of Canada.

A second example is Roberto, also introduced earlier in the chapter. Previously, Roberto had been employed by a family farm that embodies some of the worst forms of abuse that migrant farmworkers can endure in Ontario. In addition to near-total confinement, he told me about routine harassment from their employers (that is, from various adult members of a family) and routine wage and working conditions violations. Their work hours were often logged incorrectly by employers. There was significant pressure to work through legislated mid-morning and mid-afternoon breaks, and extra breaks workers needed for water or to use a bathroom elicited strong push-back from their boss' son, who remained at their sides the entire working day. When they reported these concerns to Mexican consular officials located in Canada, their complaints were quickly dismissed as inconsequential. Roberto and several of his co-workers drafted a formal complaint letter which was typed, signed, and delivered in-person to the Director of the SAWP program with the Mexican Ministry of Labour upon arrival in Mexico. In subsequent years, they returned to work for different farms in Canada. While these actions are unlikely to have forced their original Canadian employers to change their behaviour—lodging this formal complaint does not transform the exploitative legal and social systems that underpin the SAWP or labour migration writ large—Roberto was able to gain some individual and collective control with his co-workers over a situation in which workers have very little control. They were also able to take advantage of the formal structure of the SAWP administration, making their grievances legible by lodging a formal complaint and by insisting on meeting with government directors.

Together, workers' decisions to leave the program (whether permanently or temporarily) or to secure employment with different farmers contradicts core scholarship on the SAWP, which has overwhelmingly focused on the ways that migrants accept difficult and/or exploitative working and living conditions because they are tied to growers through closed work permits, and they must please their employers sufficiently enough to be 'named' to return to Canada the following year. These high levels of worker compliance are embedded in the management of the SAWP and remain at the core of how activists and scholars conceive of migrant farmworkers' unfreedom in Canada today (Basok, 2002; Binford, 2013; Satzewich, 1991). While I agree that this is the case, this characterization obscures the diversity of ways in which workers respond, react, and negotiate unfree work and confinement, something Basok and Bélanger (2016) have recently called "performances of defiance" and "performances of escape". In the first instance, Basok and Bélanger argue that migrants perform and construct themselves as subjects with rights and power in various ways despite being formally defined many rights. In the second instance, they use escape to describe the fact that some migrants remain in Canada without authorization. In contrast, I refer to situations from my own research where migrants quit their jobs in defiance to work for a different Canadian farmer, despite the challenges in doing so. I conceive of quitting as escape as a mode of performing defiance much in line with Basok and Bélanger's definition. Like Basok and Bélanger, I purposefully avoid using "resistance" to describe these acts because quitting and evading unjust or unfair situations do not transform inequitable and unfree relations of production—though there are, of course, numerous instances in which migrant farmworkers in the SAWP who have engaged in outright collective resistance. My point is that migrants relate and react subjectively to their work and migration experiences in Canada in order to safeguard their sense of dignity, autonomy, and control.

## Conclusion

I am specifically *not arguing* that the stories employers tell about themselves—through idyllic marketing images of their families, for example—are deceitful ones. Instead, I have sought to show how these stories provide insight into the ways that work and power are organized within farming operations. In the SAWP, employer and state mediated mobility controls are intimate ones. Rejecting an ideal, normative or structural view of the family, I have shown how farm family relationships are constituted through mobility practices. Therefore, I assert that migrant farmworker (im)mobilities sustain and produce family-like relationships between employers and workers in Canadian farming operations. Family farms are sites of interlocking relations of unfreedom in which migrant farmworker immobilities are systemic. Finally, the actions of state officials and the various legal mechanisms that undergird the SAWP are significant because they sanction and extend state power to employers, allowing them to legally curtail migrants' everyday travel.

This chapter builds upon existing scholarship and advocacy on unfree migrant labour in Canada by arguing that spatial immobilization and techniques of mobility control are dynamic facets of unfree migrant work in Canadian agriculture. Second, the specific role of the family farm has been under-examined in current research. SAWP labour is an essential workforce that keeps Norfolk County's family farms in operation year-to-year, among many other farms across the country. Ontario farms are spaces where reproduction and production overlap, ones constituted through personal but deeply hierarchical relationships across gender, class, race, and citizenship divisions. Through access to state sponsored labour migration programs, the white Canadian family farm is able to download intense labour demands (that women and children may have historically

performed) onto racialized workers. In doing so, farm operators exact significant value from workers' unfree status, as subordinate and tethered appendages of the farm. Living and working directly alongside growers and their family members, migrant farmworkers are treated as subordinate subjects of farm households. Farm operators justify their actions based on the logic that they are contractually and personally responsible for migrants for the duration of their time in Canada. These technologies or mechanisms of confinement are distinctly racialized and feminized ones with long-standing historical antecedents.

I also contribute to a vein of research on migrant immobilities, purposefully outlining the gendered and racist mechanisms and practices that allow employers and states to legally confine migrant men of color to rural workplaces and to curtail their local travel patterns. Existing research suggests that state based strategies to shape migration within national borders operate through local mobilities; travel barriers and controls targeting migrants have been re-scaled to intimate and local levels. That said, more explicit attention could be paid in mobilities literature to low-wage employment, labour exploitation, and, indeed, unfree labour relations. In my research, I have illustrated how family farm operators, with permissions from state officials, immobilize and fix migrant workers to isolated farm spaces. Farm operators do so through relatively banal means, such as access to vehicles and bicycles. These powers are not unique to the SAWP or to Canadian farm contexts, as Gray documents (2013). Small family farms in the US may benefit from undocumented workers' lack of access to transportation and driver's licenses. Like Gray, I argue that the barriers that migrant farmworkers face in rural car-centric places add to the labour control that employers harness. Arguably, however, migrant farm guestworkers in the SAWP face tighter, more routine, and more coercive levels of internal and employer-level mobility control than do undocumented farmworkers in the U.S. context. Migrant farmworker (im)mobilities that I portray

here are characterized by limits and rules around daily travel, as well as outright confinement. Migrant participants in the SAWP are immobilized through unique means, such as bicycling and vehicle access. For migrants, traveling relatively short distances for basic services is challenging. Farm operators exercise state-based forms of power at highly localized levels. Immobilities are embedded in patterns of extreme labour exploitation (i.e., unfree labour) and intersect with transnational forms of migration. I argue that the power to ‘fix’ labour in place, often on-farm, is highly desirable for family farms in both Canada and the US. Operators wrestle with migrant farmworkers’ mobilities in order to secure flexible and often high levels of work, using discourses of care to justify these tactics. Lack of access to adequate transportation bolsters long work hours and high levels of work effort. Migrant farmworker (im)mobilities are important to conceptualizing how Canadian family farms enact, operationalize and benefit from unfree work arrangements.

Finally, I have suggested that we need more research on Canada’s family farms to contest the unfreedom that migrant farmworkers face in Canada. This study is limited by lack of in-depth qualitative engagement with farmers, who invariably face their own structural constraints. That said, based on my findings, I do not believe that employer practices I have profiled here can be explained or justified as anomalous or the inevitable results of farmers’ own vulnerabilities within a highly competitive industry. Canadian farmers deploy intimate forms of economic and social power over workers, ones that circumscribe workers' bike use, for example. Canada's temporary labour migration programs disproportionately empower employers (Strauss & McGrath, 2016, p.7). By being able to draw migrant workers into the farm family fold—albeit as non-belonging “others” at the margins of the Canadian national family (Sharma, 2006)—farm operations systemically breach the socio-spatial boundaries and worker rights that prevail in other

workplaces, without violating Canadian law. Feminist political economist Antonella Picchio's (1992) statement several decades ago remains relevant to the current conjuncture: "Potential allies (...) must go beyond the false gender neutrality of exploitation of waged labour if they are Marxists: and, if they are ecologists, they must go beyond the *romantic exaltation of the family*" (p.7, emphasis added). Indeed, the family ideal remains a compelling arrangement to which food sustainability discourses and practices persistently gravitate (as others have pointed out: see Alkon & Agyeman, 2011; Cairns et al., 2015; Gray, 2013; Guthman, 2004; Pilgeram, 2012; Minkoff-Zern, 2014). The family farm remains under-analyzed as a site of intersecting power inequities. Personal relationships between states, farmers, their families, and migrant workers cannot, I have shown, be construed as measures of social equity in farm labour practices because these relationships are in fact dynamic facets of unfree work on Canadian farms. We need to dispel the popular notion that family farms are inherently just means for organizing food production. This ideal gives credence to the very discourses underpinning farmworker exceptionalism and therefore the mechanisms that reproduce farmworker precarity in North America.

**Note:** A modified version of this chapter exists in published form as "Reid-Musson, E. (In press). Grown Close to Home™: Migrant Farmworker (Im)mobilities and Unfreedom on Canadian Family Farms. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. DOI:10.1080/24694452.2016.1261683."

## Chapter 5 Shadow mobilities: Regulating migrant bicyclists in rural Ontario, Canada

### ABSTRACT

To date, qualitative bicycling research has focused on urban bicycling spaces and more affluent groups of bicyclists. Recently, a small vein of U.S.-based research considers bicycling among poor and racialized people. Turning a research lens on rural spaces outside the US context, this chapter explores bicycling practices among migrant farmworkers in rural southwestern Ontario, Canada. Migrant farmworkers are legally authorized to work, live, and circulate within Canada for up to eight months a year. They lack access to cars in isolated regions where there is little to no transit; because of this bicycling is an essential yet often unsafe means of transportation for this population. I argue that for migrants bicycling is part of everyday geographies of what Tim Cresswell calls “shadow citizenship” which refers to the overlapping regulatory and geographical exclusions from mobility rights that preclude migrants and other low-wage workers from taken-for-granted freedoms of mobility. Shadow citizenship brings attention to the disabling spatialities by which migrants are made out-of-place and non-belonging in Canadian communities. Migrants have become subjects of bike safety education because of their vulnerabilities as bicyclists in rural communities. I argue that bike safety regulates and orders migrants’ bicycling conduct rather than addressing the roots of unsafe bicycling conditions. Overall, the chapter complicates the conventional view of bicycling as a universally healthy and progressive travel

mode. Racial and economic forms of exploitation as well as socio-spatial exclusions inflect actually existing bicycling geographies.

*Mobility; Bicycling; Citizenship; Migrant Farmworkers; Racialization; Canada*

“Your family at home wants you to return safe, and the family you work for here also want you to be safe. Do it for the ones you love—don’t end up like this.” As a body is loaded into an ambulance, dramatizing a bloody collision between a vehicle and a bicyclist on a rural Ontario road, the narrator of a bike safety video warns migrants about the importance of bike safety (see Figure 12). In English and Spanish, respectively, and set in rural southwestern Ontario, the videos depict male bicyclists from the English-speaking Caribbean and Mexico. The videos explain rules-of-the-road for bicyclists under applicable laws. Narrators explain how difficult bicyclists can be to see at night for passing drivers. There are scenes from the vantage point of a driver overtaking barely-visible bicyclists at night. In Spanish, the narrator states, “The majority of bike accidents happen because bicycles are not maintained in good order or because the bicyclist was not riding carefully”. Ontario laws are noted, particularly the requirement that bicyclists use reflective tape and front and rear bike lights. Having a well-maintained bike is recommended. Bicyclists should not wear dark clothes. Riding in the same direction as traffic is recommended, as is signaling one’s turns, while riding on the sidewalk is not. Bags and objects should be secured rather than left hanging from handlebars. “Most bike trips will be safe and enjoyable but it is your responsibility to make sure they are. How do you want your time in Canada to end?” As the camera cuts to a scene of a coffin, the narrator concludes, “Certainly not like this”.

**Figure 12:** Stills from bike safety videos.



Source: “Bicycle Safety for Offshore Workers”, produced by Amtelecom Cable 5 (2007), and untitled video produced by Wildwind Productions (2001). Reproduced in line with fair dealing.

## Introduction

Roughly thirty thousand migrants from the English-speaking Caribbean and Mexico participate in Canada’s Seasonal Agricultural Work Program (SAWP) each year. In the SAWP, migrants are legally authorized to work on Canadian farms for up to eight months per year. Housed by farmers on rural work sites while working long and difficult hours, migrants are usually socially and spatially isolated from Canadian communities. In this context, bicycles are often migrants’ sole

means of affordable and autonomous travel. Migrants bike along roads that cater to drivers, however. Southwestern Ontario is a major North American hub for auto manufacturing and its rural and suburban centers are highly car-centric. Driving is essential to living, working, and participating in rural and semi-rural Canadian places. While Canada's cities and suburbs are highly diverse and celebrated for their multicultural makeup, Canada's rural areas are disproportionately white, in simple terms. Drivers are unused to bicyclists and can be outright hostile to them. Migrants are doubly stigmatized as bicyclists and as migrants; indeed, these categories often overlap. Migrants' reliance on bikes "marks" their subordinate citizenship, class, and racial position when they travel locally within Canadian communities. Following a rash of bicycling fatalities among migrant farmworkers, as bike safety videos introduced above suggest, several groups in Canadian host communities have formed to improve migrant farmworkers' bike safety. While such bike safety projects are aimed at making bicycling safer, I explore how bike education and outreach inscribe bicycling as socio-spatially out-of-place within Canadian host communities. Overall, this article charts the racialized geographies of bicycling for migrant farmworkers in white-dominant rural southwestern Ontario landscapes.

This chapter inquires how citizenship and non-citizenship are produced and negotiated through "sustainable" mobility practices and advocacy, in this case specifically, bicycling? I conceptualize bicycling geographies as dynamic citizenship processes demarcating "who is accepted as a worthy, valuable and responsible member of an everyday community of living and working" (Painter and Philo, 1995 quoted in Spinney et al., 2015, p.325). Geographers in particular have argued that citizenship materializes unevenly across space, in stark contrast to universal, abstract conceptualizations of liberal citizenship as socially and geographically undifferentiated goods. Citizenship can be conceptualized as an ensemble of practices and systems reaching beyond

juridical and legal notions of membership. Citizenship defines a person as a competent member of society; in distinguishing who is “worthy, valuable and responsible”, citizenship shapes the flow of and access to resources among individuals and groups along intersectional axes (Spinney et al., 2015, p. 325; Parks, 2016). As such recent research has emphasized, (im)mobilities are implicated in making citizens and non-citizens (Cresswell, 2013; Spinney et al., 2015). Tim Cresswell notes that “the capacity to move is central to what it is to be a citizen” (2013, p.110; see also Cresswell, 2006, Ch. 6; Langan, 2001). The chapter harnesses Tim Cresswell’s concept of ‘shadow citizenship’ (2013, p.118) to describe how, as temporary workers in Canada under federal law, legal exclusions from mobility rights combine with geographical and social exclusions to immobilize migrant farmworkers in Canada’s rural and small town settings. Shadow citizenship thus refers to the distinct geographies of (im)mobility circumscribing migrants’ concrete ability to participate in Canadian communities. I further argue that ‘bike safety’ discourses and outreach in these contexts work to regulate migrants’ conduct as outsiders. That said, my intent is not to impugn the actions or intentions of those involved in delivering bike safety for migrants, but rather to unsettle how bike safety discourses shape citizenship and non-citizenship differences in practice and in concrete settings.

Bicycling is predominantly regarded as a progressive and healthy mode of active transportation, especially in an era of climate crisis. Activist and academic bike proponents seek to catalyze new bike ridership in cities overwhelmingly dominated by private auto use, while bike amenities in North American cities are slowly improving. This chapter provides an alternate case within existing bicycling scholarship on North American contexts. Bike ridership is high among migrant farmworkers in rural Ontario locales despite the fact that the built environment is considerably unsuitable for bicycling. Here, bike ridership and private vehicle usage are profoundly defined

along intersecting and unequal race, citizenship and class lines. I document how several civil society groups in rural places have organized to bicycling safer for migrants. I argue that these efforts cast migrants as subjects of behavioural improvements and in some regards spatially stigmatize migrants further. These approaches to bike safety are not anomalous, however—bike safety education and outreach in North America overwhelmingly focuses on individual behaviour modifications and risk as a problem of individual bicyclists (Aldred, 2010; Furness, 2010; Horton, 2007). As in driver's education, fear of the accident is frequently harnessed to organize proper, safe conduct among bicyclists (Packer, 2006, p.15). My aim is to show how bicycling in and of itself does not represent a more just form sustainable transit (Bullard et al., 2004; Lugo, 2013; Stehlin, 2014). What may appear as more sustainable forms of human mobility in my study are in fact imbricated in geographies of racial and economic injustice against migrant farmworkers.

## Geographies of Bicycling, Mobility, and Citizenship: Existing Research

Freedom to move is contingent on access to resources, including means of transportation, which enable and restrict people's movements in deeply unequal ways (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam et al, 2006; Parks, 2016). Citizenship status confers particular mobility rights while citizenship regimes regulate human mobility. At the same time, people's material capacity to move, so paradigmatic of liberal citizenship ideals, equally determine citizenship (understood as political, social and economic membership) in practical and concrete ways. Tim Cresswell traces this geographical and legal nexus between citizenship and mobility in much of his research. National citizenship within many Anglo-American jurisdictions confers rights related to mobility, pertinent to moving *internally* within state territorial limits, as well as to 'leave-and-return' *across* territorial borders (as does section 6 of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms, for example). Legal status

therefore plays a significant role in determining non-citizens' exclusions from mobility rights, both internal and cross-border mobility rights. In addition to the ways citizenship and non-citizenship are expressed in unequal access to mobility rights—practically and legally, Cresswell discusses how liberal citizenship rights falsely presumes “individual, moving, able-bodied” political subjects (2013, p. 119). Cresswell uses the catchall ‘shadow citizenship’ to ascertain how legal citizenship renders citizenship “mostly meaningless in everyday life” for those who cannot enjoy, exercise or claim mobility rights which they may otherwise formally possess (2013, p. 118-120). My research here argues that the geographies of (im)mobility delineating migrants' insecure claims to belonging and place can be understood through the concept of shadow citizenship, which blurs non-citizenship/citizenship binaries. Citizenship theorists rightly point out that citizenship is co-produced through non-citizenship and non-citizen activism (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005; Goldring & Landolt, 2013)—in other words, citizenship's constitutive outside. Citizenship, they claim, is interstitial; it is lived and produced in relation to both legal status and the everyday landscapes in which we inhabit, including our bodies and particular places.

A component part of the materiality of citizenship is automobility, which undergirds liberal and neoliberal citizenship formations (Rajan, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Walks, 2014). Those excluded from car ownership and licensing face barriers accessing employment, housing, and services (see Lucas, 2004, as well as wide-ranging literature on spatial mismatches). Access to a car in North America is paradigmatic of the degree to which class, gender, citizenship, ability, sexuality, and race inequalities inflect the independently mobile citizen-subject ideal and actually existing geographies of automobility (Hess, Huang, & Vasic, 2014; Langan, 2001). Disinvestment in public transit has had disproportionate impacts on racialized groups, women, and low-wage immigrant groups in North America, who cannot access a private car for various reasons (Attoh,

2011; Henderson, 2006; Kirouac-Fram, 2012; Parks, 2016). Over the past decade, anti-immigration advocates and legislators in the US cities, counties, and states have sought to deter migration by restricting undocumented people's access to vehicle licensing (Stuesse & Coleman, 2014; Varsanyi, 2010). As an essential but devalued workforce, these licensing restrictions demonstrate how bordering and the securing of flexible labour are together being enacted through anti-immigrant exclusions from automobility.

Jeremy Packer explores how automobility historically was produced through new forms of governing the self through the inculcation of new common-sense ideas about 'safe driving'. Within driver's education, fear of the accident was heavily used to organize and inculcate proper, safe conduct (Packer, 2006, p.15). Packer traces how safety has been crucial to organizing conduct, and thus to governing a new and ever-growing driving public. This process was integral to what "the good American" would come to mean. In research unrelated to automobility specifically, other research has investigated how safe and efficient travel and communications infrastructure are increasingly devised with an eye to the security of more privileged groups, providing them with spaces of movement that entirely bypass and bisect the places where poor and racialized people live (Castells, 1996; Graham & Marvin, 2001; Stehlin, 2014). This point is important because it indicates that secure enclaves are dynamically constituted in relation to the same spatial arrangements that produce insecure and inadequate conditions of travel and immobility for 'shadow citizens' (Cresswell, 2013, p. 120; Parks, 2016).

More recent research has focused on bicycling as an ordinary process through which citizenship and mobility are co-constituted and contested (Aldred, 2010, 2013; Spinney, 2009; Stehlin, 2014). Distinctions between appropriate and inappropriate ways of embodied physical movement are also

consequential to the moral geographies through which citizenship is constituted (Cresswell, 2006, p. 142, 2013). Much of this literature is focused on bicycling in heavily-motorized jurisdictions like Canada, the US and the US. Indeed, though attitudes towards bicycling are being normalized, bicycling continues to be stigmatized (Aldred, 2013; Stehlin, 2014). Contrasting notions of normal versus proper bicycling behaviour are shaped in relation to place and the embodied markers of bicyclists themselves (Hoffman, 2015; Lee, 2015; Spinney, 2007). Bicycling is far from a universal or natural habit, but felt and embodied by riders, something Bill Lindeke calls “affective exclusions” in bicycling geographies (Lindeke, 2015; Spinney, 2009). These exclusions are increasingly patent as bicycling is being depoliticized and expanded in gentrifying North American cities (Golub, Hoffman, Lugo et al., 2016; Lee, 2015; Stehlin, 2014). Adonia Lugo, writing on LA bike advocacy among low-income immigrants, explains:

Though a growing number of people choose car-light lifestyles in LA, they are vastly outnumbered by the low-income people of color who have relied on public transportation and bicycles for decades out of economic necessity. The terms “car-free” and “transit-dependent” have very different connotations, with the former implying a celebration of sustainable transport and the latter referring to poverty and its associated pressures. (Lugo, 2010, p. 50)

Affluent bicyclists are more likely to perceive themselves in society as ecologically and socially responsible citizens (Aldred, 2010). Bike *advocates* tend to be composed of white, middle-class urban groups who presume a certain bicycling habitus tied to their social location in cities (Furness, 2010; Hoffmann & Lugo, 2014; Horton, 2006; Lubitow & Miller, 2013; Lugo, 2010; Stehlin, 2014). That white, affluent groups occupy privileged vantage points is not uncommon across a range of environmental/ecological social movements more broadly (Gibson-Wood & Wakefield, 2012). One significant outcome of this is that “many low-income bicycle users have been overlooked by the professional advocates who lobby for bicycle infrastructure” (Hoffmann & Lugo, 2014, p. 49).

In contrast to those groups who have the choice to walk, bike, take transit, or drive, many groups who rely on walking, biking, and transit in North America do not do so out of choice but by default, and often under less than ideal conditions (Hess & Farrow, 2010; Golub, Hoffman, Lugo et al., 2016). Disenfranchised groups who rely on bikes have “come to be framed as outside of bike culture”, and this status is “actually maintained through certain techniques of outreach” (Stehlin, 2014, p. 33). These techniques of outreach include bike education, upon which the findings below will focus. Bike education presumes a set of behaviour modifications through which normalized rules or habits can be acquired in order for individuals to become more responsible, competent and worthy within a community (Cresswell, 2013; Spinney et al., 2015). Bike education is evocative of Packer’s description of driver’s education, in which risk is viewed as a problem of individual bicyclists (Aldred, 2010; Furness, 2010; Horton, 2007). Dave Horton argues that fear of cycling and fear of the accident are constructed through bicycling safety techniques, including helmet promotion and bike education. He further argues that argues that “the compulsion on the cyclist to ‘be seen and be safe’ puts the onus to change on the wrong group”, in a context where motorized travel is the cause of disproportionate amounts of human and ecological carnage in comparison with non-motorized forms of travel (2007, p. 139). The research charted here suggests that new modes of belonging in places are generated through bicycling practices and cultures, and that bicycling is itself involved in the coding of spaces and people’s belonging within those spaces along intersectional lines. In sum, this qualitative bicycling research argues that making space for more bikes in cities cannot itself resolve mobility inequities that car-dominated cities create.

It is important here to review debates within scholarship on the SAWP itself, particularly as they relate to citizenship and mobility. Kerry Preibisch (2003, 2007) discusses the rise of community-migrant alliances between migrants and faith, labour, and bike advocacy groups in rural

southwestern Ontario. She argues these relationships are emblematic of how citizenship operates both from above and from below, on the one hand as a mode of organizing low-wage labour at a global scale through national citizenship hierarchies, and on the other, insofar as citizenship is contested and reshaped through rights advocacy in civil society relationships (see also Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). Civil society-migrant alliances, this research argues, are examples of re-scaled citizenship ‘from below’ which support and expand migrant farmworkers’ capacity to claim existing and new rights (Basok, 2004; Choudry & Thomas, 2013; Gabriel & MacDonald, 2011; Preibisch, 2003, 2007). As others, including Preibisch, describe, migrants cannot access many of the rights to which they are in fact entitled precisely because migrants often not have the resources to claim and exercise them. To do so depends on the “degree to which members of the host community make this knowledge [about rights] available” to migrants, and “extend support to them”, which itself “depends on whether migrants are viewed as members of the local communities” (Basok, 2004, p. 49). These forms of rural inclusiveness through citizenship from below resonate with what Cresswell calls the “mobility-citizenship nexus”, by which he means that legal citizenship rights are meaningless if they cannot be claimed in actual practice because of geographical and material exclusions (2013, p.119). At the same time, I am skeptical of characterizing civil society-migrant relationships solely as evidence of inclusion; such a view leaves the broader social geographies of domination in the SAWP unquestioned, ones in which civil society is in fact enmeshed. Instead, I inquire how bicycling geographies, including bike safety projects, emerge from and reshape the bounds of shadow citizenship, migrant mobilities, and rural places. In the following sections, I first provide a brief overview of the research sites and bike projects profiled in this chapter, before turning to the findings and analysis.

## Research Approach and Methods

This chapter is based on my doctoral research, a mobile ethnography conducted over two growing seasons, mainly in Norfolk County and south Essex, Ontario, but also focused to a lesser degree on the area around Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario. Dotting the north shore of Lake Erie, each of these distinct regions are rich agricultural zones whose farmers depend heavily on the SAWP. Overall, the observation, interviews, and surveys upon which my findings are based were designed to gain deeper understanding into migrant farmworker geographies of mobility, transportation, and bicycling. The identities of research participants in the study are confidential, unless otherwise noted.

I conducted thirty interviews with migrants (all men from Trinidad, Jamaica and Mexico, who migrate to Canada seasonally under the auspices of the SAWP). These interviews were broadly designed to assess migrant farmworker mobility; with participants informed consent, I inquired how, by what means, where, and when interviewees were able to travel locally, and asked how they interpreted and subjectively experienced mobility or lack thereof. In particular, I was interested in the links between migrants' negotiations of (im)mobility and their sense of place and belonging. Yet as other researchers have argued, documenting bicycling practices, identities, and geographies through static qualitative methods such as interviews can be challenging. Frequently, the embodied and non-representational dimensions of bicycling are difficult to capture through these traditional qualitative modes (Spinney, 2009; Lindeke, 2015), while riders who do not choose bicycling as a means of travel are unlikely to *make conscious* their bicycling experiences and habits in the same way individuals who identify actively as bicyclists. In this study, qualitative interviews were necessary but did not suffice as stand-alone tools of qualitative inquiry. As a researcher based

in Toronto, I depended on a car to get to Norfolk to conduct the study. I became involved as a volunteer with local migrant advocates and allies in Norfolk County. Unexpectedly, I fielded requests from migrants for drives. Therefore, I was able to observe how ride-sharing substituted for bike ridership; participant observation was therefore also an important part of my research methods. Research observation and interviews were interwoven; I often asked respondents in interviews to refer directly to earlier events or stories I had witnessed or learned about prior to interviews.

Additionally, I interviewed twenty-five individuals from local civil society, government, and migrant advocacy groups. Of these participants, the majority are volunteer members of bike advocacy or migrant advocacy groups in south Essex, Norfolk, and Niagara areas. Others include police, public health officers, consular officials, local politicians, or planning services officials. I recruited purposefully; others came forward to participate in the research through snow-ball contacts. For example, in Leamington I interviewed members of an ad hoc group that included bicycle advocates (Share the Road Essex) and a migrant community group (Migrant Worker Community Program, or MWCP), as well as representatives from municipal police and planning services. Share the Road Essex is led by residents who organize to improve bicycling in the region through lobbying and advocacy, a local chapter under the umbrella of Share the Road (STR), a province-wide advocacy group which has become a key bike lobby group in the province. Excluding consular staff, all the group members I interviewed are assumed to be Canadian citizens, with only one who identified as an immigrant. This latter person was also the only non-white person I interviewed from this respondent group. Each of these interviews shifted depending on the vantage-point of the respondent, but were generally devised to assess the following: how respondents became involved in migrant and/or bike advocacy, how they describe gaps and

problems with migrants' access to mobility and transportation, and how migrants are perceived and involved in civil society relationships in local communities. Finally, I conducted an email-based survey with farmers who rely on migrant labour through the SAWP. Finally, I collected and analyzed textual material such as bike safety videos. (For further information on my research methods, see Chapter 2).

## Bicycling among Migrants in Rural Ontario

That's the challenge with migrant workers, they're on their bikes. That's not recreation for them, that's transportation for them. Where here it's not transportation for people. When I ride to work, from my house, I work at a facility where almost 5,000 people work, an assembly plant, there are 9 bikes out front. I'm not kidding, nobody rides to work. We're car centric. I build cars all day. Well, I don't build them, I supervise people building cars. Sometimes there's that, that cycling's not looked upon as transportation. For [migrants] it certainly is.

As this quote suggests (from a bike advocate who makes a living as an auto plant supervisor in south Essex), concerns about bike safety among migrants need to be contextualized within broader problems of automobility. Take Henry, who has worked picking tobacco, asparagus, and other field vegetables for nearly two decades on three different Norfolk County farms. I met Henry on a summer Sunday afternoon in the small town of Delhi, Ontario. He uses his bike daily. Weather permitting, he leaves his bunkhouse evenings and weekends, whether to get a beer at a local bar or just to sit on a park bench. He explains his bike use in the following way:

Q: How often do you think you leave [your bunkhouse] to come into town?

A: Actually, every day I'm in town. *I have to*, like, maybe—except when it's raining, I don't go into town. But if it's not raining, and I get home a little bit early, well I just steal away and come in town. Cause, I just like to get a little ride in the afternoon.

Q: Do you *like* riding?

A: Maybe *it's just what I have to do!* [laughs] It's just what I have to do! Maybe some people like it. [pauses] Well, I don't mind it. (emphasis added)

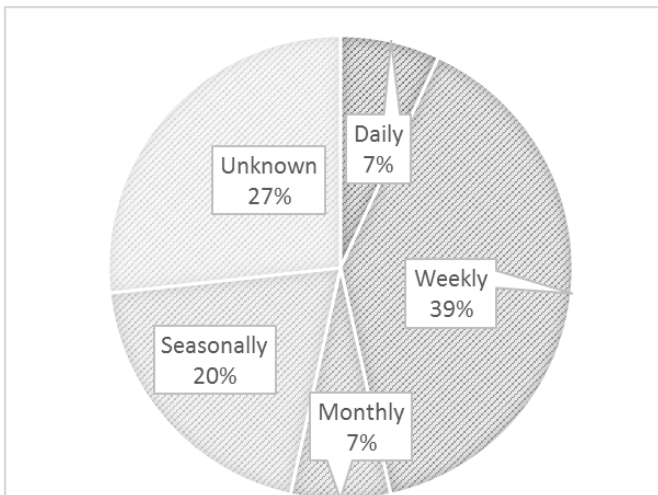
When Henry says “I have to” and “it’s just what I have to do”, he articulates that he while relies on his bike regularly to circulate beyond his bunkhouse and farm workplace, he does not do so out of choice. He remains ambivalent about whether he enjoys bicycling when he contrasts how “maybe some other people like it” with his own experience—“it’s just what I *have* to do” and “I don’t mind it”—implying a lack of choice and default mode of travel, albeit one that serves a distinct purpose and need. It should also be noted that elsewhere in the interview, Henry regularly uses laughter to punctuate painful experiences and memories. Unable or unwilling to express resentment directly, he often reframes negative experiences with laughter. I interpret Henry’s laughter at the end of first quotation as crucial to understanding how he views himself as a bicyclist by default rather than choice. Bicycling is perceived as an undesirable mode of travel for migrants like Henry in rural spaces, an option of last resort in highly car-oriented communities where there is little to no public transit. I therefore conceptualize bicycling as a material facet of shadow citizenship for migrant farmworkers. The lack of choice they face as bicyclists also shapes the lack of choices they have when it comes to safety.

In the SAWP, migrants are admitted to Canada seasonally under closed work permits that tether them to specific growers, restrict them to agricultural work alone, and make them ineligible for permanent residency in Canada. They are dependent on employers for housing and transportation, residing primarily on work-live sites. Migrant farmworkers face systemic confinement on Canadian family farms (as I document in the previous chapter). Bicycling is therefore often an essential means of travel for migrants in rural Canada, offering an affordable and autonomous way of circulating beyond their work-live site and beyond the purview of employers. Migrants rely on their bikes to visit friends and acquaintances on nearby farms, to access corner stores with pay

phones, and to remit wages; in sum, bicycles permit migrants to use what minimal ‘free time’ they have to circumvent the systemic confinement on farms that prevails in the SAWP.

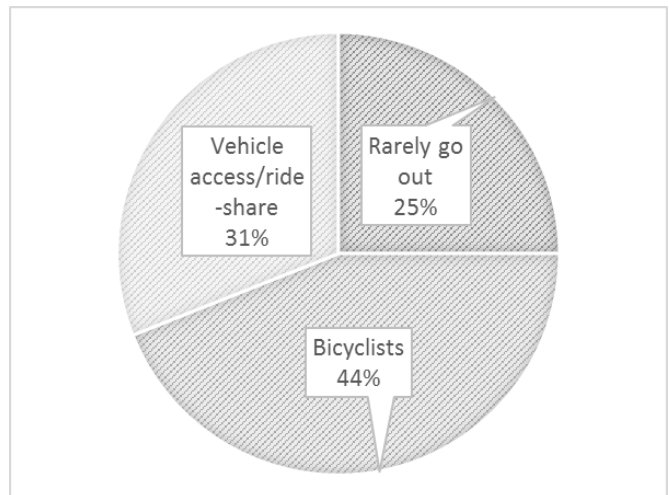
In a survey conducted with sixteen Norfolk County growers who rely on the SAWP for seasonal labour—who employ a total of 560 (mainly male) SAWP workers—fifteen out of sixteen growers stated that his/her migrant employees regularly rely on bicycles for local travel. In terms of how often their employees travel by bike, Figure 13 shows that around half of these employees regularly travel by bike, on a weekly or daily basis. Of the SAWP workers in Norfolk County who participated directly in my research, fewer identified as regular bicyclists than the rate suggested by growers in the above survey: only half used a bike once or more weekly (Fig. 14). These are workers who do not have access to employer vehicles and cannot leave at all because of long work hours. Altogether, the differences between workers in relation to travel mode and access creates qualitatively distinct experiences of space and belonging.

**Figure 13: Frequency of bike travel among migrant employees, according to Norfolk County growers.**



Source: Employer survey (n=16) referring to over 500 workers.

**Figure 14: Travel modes among migrants, according to workers.**



Source: Interviews with Norfolk County workers (n=15).

In the Leamington area, in contrast, migrants who participated in the research were *all* regular bicyclists. Greenhouse operations around Leamington are dense, putting workers in closer proximity to the city of Leamington. Indeed, most bicyclists can travel to Leamington on a daily basis in under five kilometers. Bike trips in this areas are generally shorter than they are in Norfolk County. Although Leamington is more accessible by bike for migrants, bicycling tends to be more dangerous. Most migrant fatalities that have occurred in bike-related incidents have been in Leamington. Overall, this contrast between Norfolk County and south Essex (i.e., Leamington and surrounding area) in differing levels of regular access to non-work related travel indicates just how salient and how uneven geographies of mobility and bicycling are within southern Ontario for migrants. Altogether, bikes are ubiquitous to migrant social spaces in Canadian communities. Figure 15 (below) illustrates this pattern; migrants rely on bikes to attend union organizing events and weekly church services. Migrant farmworkers even appear in Google Earth images of south Essex roads.

**Figure 15:** Bicycling geographies in rural Ontario.



Source: Author photos (top and center); Google Earth (bottom).

Biking is also dangerous. Between 1995 and 2016, there were sixteen bike-related fatalities<sup>12</sup> among migrant farmworkers in southwestern Ontario. The most recent of these are outlined in Fig. 16.

**Figure 16: Bike-related fatalities among migrant farmworkers in southwestern Ontario since 2005.**

Name	Year	Location	Time of Day, Week & Season
William Bell	2005	Norfolk	Tuesday in September at dusk
Desmond McNeil	2005	Same as above	Same as above
Alberto Tableros	2005	Near Leamington	Sunday in October at dusk
Arnulfo Garcia Gutierrez	2006	Leamington	Sunday night in June
Abraham Soto Lopez	2009	Leamington	Sunday night in August
Crisanto Jimenez Gomez	2012	Leamington	Sunday night in July
Marco Rojas Torres	2013	Leamington	Thursday evening in August [fatality due to fall from bike, not car collision]
Andres Dominguez Moran	2016	Dundas	Sunday midday in August

In 2016 there was also a non-migrant greenhouse worker who was killed while leaving a late-night shift by bike (Thompson, 2016). While bike fatalities primarily occur among migrant farmworkers in these areas, there is clearly a pattern at play in which employers who require low-wage labour are locating in transit-deficient zones, posing significant mobility challenges for employees in getting to and from work. These patterns are part of overlapping geographies of shadow citizenship both for migrant and non-migrant greenhouse workers in rural areas. Vulnerabilities associated

---

<sup>12</sup> Based on statistics collected by F.A.R.M.S. cited in *Peart v. Ontario (Community Safety and Correctional Services)*, 2014, para. 120, on fourteen fatalities between 1997 to 2013 (see Basok, 2002, p.xiii). See also: Bruser (2006); CTV Windsor (2013), Diebel (1999), Jarvis (2013), Noseworthy (2016) Pennington (2006), Wilhelm (2009) and Windsor Star (1997).

with bicycling are intersectional ones; these vulnerabilities flow from and compound existing racial and economic forms of inequality. I interpret bicycling practices as embedded in geographies of shadow citizenship that circumscribe mobilities among migrants and other low-wage/low-income populations in rural Canada.

In the next section, I chart how Canadian civil society groups have responded to these fatalities through bike safety projects. In doing so, I explore how bicycling is perceived and regulated in the Canadian communities that host migrants.

## Producing Visibility

When you must use a bicycle for transportation, especially at night, please pay attention to: wear a helmet; ensure you have working lights, reflectors and tape; ensure you have a working horn or bell; use a backpack, rack or basket to free your hands to operate the bicycle; wear shoes that cover your toes – no slippers; wear light-coloured clothing and a reflective vest; keep pant legs tied down or tucked into boots, be aware of the Rules of the Road and follow them. Remember, an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure.

These instructions are drawn from a handbook created by the Trinidad & Tobago government that is directed at SAWP migrants. Much like the content from bike safety videos described in the chapter epigraph, these scenes aim to sensitize migrants on matters of bike safety. The themes outlined in these films, handbooks, and other educational material revolve around responsibility for the self in order to ensure safety on the road. Instructions on proper bicycling behaviour are disseminated by sending government agencies as part of the good behaviour they seek to inculcate in migrants as worker-ambassadors of their countries. Here, I examine bike safety discourses targeting migrants as a way of understanding how migrants, as bicyclists, are perceived and regulated in host communities. I want to draw attention to the broader social geographies in which migrants live and work in Canada, to consider how social and spatial relationships beyond farm

workplaces and bunkhouses shape migrant mobility and belonging. I analyze the race and class problematics involved in making migrant bicyclists more physically visible.

Migrants are viewed as casual, laid-back, and informal bicyclists. A common way of explaining bicycling practices among migrants in rural communities, including their failure to properly follow rules of the road, is as the result of ‘Mexican’ or ‘Caribbean’ customs.

[I]n the rural areas of Jamaica, it is very laid back. And [they’re] just kinda tooting along, [they’re] sorta weaving on the road, so you sorta had to say, c’mon guys, our rural roads are 80km/h. It’s not like on your winding roads where you only go 10 miles an hour. You have to drive defensively on your bicycle (...) [Niagara]

It was very common for them to cycle in their own communities if they had a bicycle. But the conditions under which they cycled here and there because of congestion and speed, so if you’re cycling on the side of the road, in a little community in Jamaica, everything is more local, it’s just different. They may not understand the need for helmets, all the other things you need ... So first of all, they grew up with [that] and have a different understanding (...) [Norfolk]

However, one respondent did acknowledge he was making assumptions about migrants’ customs in their countries of origin, as in the next quotation.

Leamington is somewhat unique to other areas because of the numbers of cyclists in and around the town, and the fact that most of those cyclists unlike you and I do not speak the language, they are from out of Canada, they have a different cultural awareness of what using a bike is. *I don’t pretend to know what Mexico and Guatemala and Central America is like in terms of cyclists, all I can give you is my ignorant view*, which is I’ve been to Mexico couple times on vacation, and people just ride their bikes around, from what I see. They can bike where they want, anytime. *That’s my limited, narrow view. I’m assuming it’s like that* in most developing countries, I would say. [Leamington; emphasis added]

The perception that it is common for migrants to bicycle in their own ‘home communities’ is surprising, because migrant workers rarely rely on bikes in these places in the same way they do in Canada, if at all. For example, Brian depends on his bike on a daily basis while in Canada but his income as a farmworker has allowed him to purchase two vehicles in his native Trinidad, of which he is quite proud. In fact, he openly resents the fact that his only travel option in Canada is

by bike. He explained: “People here think there’s something wrong with you if you don’t have a car. People think we’re poor and have no education.” Brian directly senses how he is perceived as a migrant from the global South in relation to his lack of access to a car in Canada; he is keenly aware that he is stigmatized and misidentified in Canadian communities. He also draws attention to the upward mobility that transnational labour migration can afford migrants in the SAWP. Working in Canada permits migrants to acquire vehicles in their countries of origin at the same time that they remain largely excluded from automobility in Canada.

As mentioned earlier, class and income organize differential access to transportation, travel mode choice, and automobility itself. Migrants do not choose to bicycle (as previously mentioned) but fall back on bicycling as their sole means of transportation. Migrants rarely use a helmet, lights, or take other safety precautions; I consider that this lack of taking individual safety precautions is strongly influenced by their lack of travel mode choice. As a result, providing migrants with knowledge about their obligations as bicyclists in terms of safety does not guarantee that migrants can or will follow such rules of conduct. In other words, poor and racialized people are subject to geographies (of automobility, for example) within which compliance with proper bicycling conduct is highly challenging, if not impossible.

Many of the known bike fatalities among migrant farmworkers occur at night. Workers’ daylight hours are primarily spent working, travelling at dusk or dark on roads where drivers predominate. Roads may or may not have shoulders, driving speeds are over 80 km/hour, and there is little to no lighting. In several incidents, drivers involved in fatalities have stated that they could not see the bicyclists they hit. Making bicycling safer for migrant workers, then, is often focused on the importance of bicyclists’ physical visibility for drivers. Migrants are encouraged not to ride at

night, or to take precautions to make themselves more visible and ride in more orderly and predictable ways for drivers at night. Typically, bike education projects involve distributing reflective gear to workers, including lights and reflective vests, through outreach in public spaces or during organized bunkhouse visits (which require permissions from employers). Emphasis on visibility and individual behaviour change is related to a broader focus in conventional bike safety regulation and policy. Under Ontario law, bicyclists are responsible for making themselves as visible as possible to other road users, namely drivers (Office of the Chief Coroner for Ontario, 2012). Many of those I interviewed acknowledge how other bicyclists are not subject to the same rules around visibility that migrant bicyclists are. They note that reflective vests stigmatize migrant workers.

We had to be a bit more discreet so that they weren't being treated differently from anybody else in the community. Cause, 'Oh, migrant workers wearing a vest'—there's a stigma involved. So we came up with an idea of the vests, but something that might be more culturally and socially acceptable to them might be reflective armbands and light bands that they can take off at their destination. (Norfolk)

They already feel like second rate citizens, so to have to look like dorks and wear these vests is just one more way of saying, 'You're not smart enough', or whatever. (Niagara)

The problem of bicyclists' lack of visibility is as much one for drivers as it is for bicyclists, that is, fear and discomfort for drivers. Those I interviewed noted their own experiences with close calls, as drivers overtaking bicyclists at night on rural roads (recalling the vantage point of the driver foregrounded in the bike safety videos as shown in Fig. 12):

There's lots of times where we've gone 'Oh my god!' as we're driving by them—so many times. (Police, Leamington).

I live in the country and of course, they go by on their bikes all the time. And it's scary because they go by at night. (County staff, Norfolk)

There have been incidents that shouldn't have had to happen. We've heard of a lot of close calls, too, that don't even end up being incidents, and every time I hear that I just shake my head, and say, 'That shouldn't have happened'. (Bike advocate, Leamington)

We're also part of the community, and in no way have we avoided the experience of nearly hitting a cyclist. So it's something that affects not only cyclists but also drivers, because you cross paths with them a lot as a driver. (Consular officials, Leamington)

Finally, in Niagara:

I had a few close shaves with guys on our roads. It got to the point where in the summer, I would always drive in the middle of our road rather than off to the side, but then I'd turn off my headlights because you have lights coming towards you, you can't see what's going on the side, right. It got to the point where: drive in the middle of the road. Anyways, still, some close shaves. (Former councilor)

Strong emphasis on visibility in bike education, I argue, reflects a fear of cyclists among drivers in local communities. Indeed, Dave Horton describes how bike safety is constitutive of a fear of cycling and fear of cyclists, and that these fears and safety discourses are produced themselves within auto-dominant contexts (2007, p.145-146). The need for bicyclists to change their behaviour reinforces the idea that bicycling is somehow deviant while driving is normal. The emphasis in these narratives on visibility and individual behaviour serves to re-orient our understanding of responsibility for harm towards individual cyclists. Dave Horton argues that "the compulsion on the cyclist to 'be seen and be safe' puts the onus to change on the wrong group" (2007, p. 139). When I inquired about Crisanto Jimenez Gomez, who had been killed in the spring of 2012, a local bike advocate responded with a rhetorical question:

Do you know what time of day? And what colour clothes? That's pretty basic, right? Because the cyclist needs to take responsibility for the colour of clothing at night time. If you're wearing dark clothes or not wearing reflective tape and you get hit, you can't point the finger at the driver all the time. (Bike advocate, Leamington)

I also became aware of bike safety debates about compliance, that is, how to ensure that migrants complied with obligations to maintain visibility for drivers. There is of course no jurisdiction

within Ontario's traffic and highway legislation for police to enforce the use of reflective gear among bicyclists.

[W]e live in a democratic society and you can't make adult males on bikes do certain things. They have the same rights as you and I do. (...) Some of the things brought up were comments like, "The police will force them to wear vests". Well, no, we're not, because I can't force you to wear a vest just like you can't force me. (Police, Leamington)

Employers are powerful members of these communities, who are often involved in civil society projects directed at bike safety for migrants. Employers' roles in bike safety projects require some negotiation. Volunteers and employers are often one another's neighbours. Other research of civil society-migrant relationships has shown how employer involvement in community-based initiatives limits the extent to which such projects can address workers' rights (Basok, 2004, p. 58; Preibisch, 2007). This was explained in several interviews in relation to bike safety projects:

Employers seem to be the elephant in the room. The only reason that [grower name] came to our road safety review – (...) I hate to say this – they weren't that concerned about the safety of the workers. They're rotational and seasonal. They're considered – disposable. They were really just concerned about having to replace their equipment that got schmucked by a passing truck. That was their focus rather than the safety of the workers. (City official, NOTL)

Employers' powers reach far beyond the workplace and work-hours proper. Employers often participate in devising and/or conducting bike outreach. They may promote bike education, post bike safety awareness posters, revise rules of the road with workers, and provide reflective vests for them each season. In some instances, police and employers are enrolled in ensuring migrants' 'compliance' in wearing reflective vests, for example, not biking at night, or not biking at all. Two Norfolk County employers explained how they enforce bike safety rules (drawn from survey responses):

We provide all our Mexicans with reflective safety vests that *they have to wear* when on their bikes. This is our rule, no exception.

When our men would ride their bikes *they were not allowed off the farm* without their safety vests. [emphasis added]

Here, it is also important to note the racial paternalism evident in the phrase “our Mexicans” and “our men”; referring to migrant employees in this way is not uncommon. In another case, an individual who coordinates bike safety outreach to farmworker bunkhouses describes learning during one workshop that migrants in the workshop were prohibited from bicycling by their employer. He explains:

When we went to do the bicycle workshop, and we always end with a question and answer period, and one of the questions was, “Would you talk to our boss [about letting us use our bikes], now that we’ve been trained, would you mind?” (Migrant advocate, Leamington)

In becoming involved in bike projects, volunteers thus become involved in stickier issues of labour control and exploitation that exists in the context of the SAWP. Migrant workers’ lack of rights and power in the workplace shape their travel practices; however, workers’ rights are never addressed in bike safety initiatives.

Bike education presumes a set of behaviour modifications through which normalized rules and habits can be acquired in order to become more responsible, competent, and worthy within a community, as described by Spinney et al. (2015). Like driver’s education, the responsible conduct of the self is paramount in order to create safe bicycling conduct. I conceptualize bike safety involving both drivers and bicyclists as citizenship practices enacted between volunteers and migrants. As I have mentioned, bike safety ideals are keenly influenced by drivers’ perspectives. Clearly bike safety is a real and significant concern, but I argue that ‘safety’ operates in this context as a means of ordering and regulating migrants’ conduct in an attempt to help make bicyclists’ behaviour less out-of-place and predictable for drivers. Migrants are cast as ‘outside’ bicycling culture (a pattern described by Stehlin, 2014) and as recipients of education rather than participants

with equally important leadership capacities within advocacy movements. Indeed, this dynamic pervades migrant/non-migrant alliances more generally (see Preibisch, 2007, p.112). It is in this context that mobility injustices and lack of workers' rights are problematically framed as problems of individual conduct and responsibility.

Overall, migrants themselves are much more emphatic that aggressive driving, lack of space for bicyclists, and racism are responsible for the lack of safety that migrants experience as bicyclists. Migrants are the targets of direct forms of racial hate from drivers in host communities. They have objects thrown at them from overtaking drivers, like garbage, eggs, and water balloons, and are regularly targets of overtly aggressive driving and verbal taunts. It is uncommon for those devising and delivering bike safety projects for migrants to acknowledge or address aggression and violence against migrants. Workers were particularly emphatic on these points in Leamington (quotes drawn here from three separate responses):

I've been pushed off the road before. Drivers do it for kicks. They know they can get away with it. Especially Mennonites. I don't ride at night anymore, it's too dangerous.

I know I'm not supposed to ride on the sidewalks. That's a problem because I use the sidewalks because the roads are unsafe.

Drivers have intentionally pushed me off the road, into the ditch.

It is important to highlight here how, in the first quote, the respondent places responsibility for aggressive driving on a particular group—Mennonites—of which there is significant community across southwestern Ontario (particularly in south Essex), and who, like Mexican nationals, are perceived as relative outsiders within Canadian communities. Although these responses indicate that aggressive drivers with the intent to harm are a significant cause of lack of safety for migrant bicyclists, migrants also indicate that they themselves could benefit from taking more personal

responsibility for their own safety. For example, two other respondents—two co-workers employed on the same farm—explain that Canadian drivers are relatively respectful towards other road users [in their direct terms, “*tienen mucha cultura*”, translated directly as ‘they have a lot of culture’]. Likewise, a different respondent states: “I see where [bike safety rules] helped. You ride with the vests and you don’t have an excuse. You have to be careful. [pauses] To me, the vest thing is a good thing. It is.” I interpret this passage as revealing how migrants partly internalize bike safety discourses, particularly where the respondent says, “you don’t have an excuse”. The emphasis on excuses is evocative of state officials’, volunteers’, and employers’ narratives and stereotypes about migrants lacking personal responsibility.

The harassment that migrants face from drivers suggests that *being physically visible* to drivers—by wearing a reflective vest, for example—can make migrant bicyclists less safe than highly visible white bicyclists. Tenets about bike safety and bicycling’s benefits are oddly dissonant when situated in the everyday contexts of migrant farmworker mobilities in rural Ontario.

## Migrant Bicyclists in Public Spaces

Our right of way isn’t big enough for the amount of cyclists to park their bikes along the trees. (...) [W]hat they’re doing is putting it up against buildings, near entrances, on trees. So it’s taking up a lot of space. And they’re standing around on the sidewalks as well.

And a lot of the storage and parking of bicycles in that part of town has created quite a nuisance. So one of the things with the bicycles is where they’re stored and parked. We’ve provided them with a lot of bike racks, but they just don’t seem to use them. [Both excerpts from an interview with Leamington planning services]

Migrants have long been cast as nuisances and problems in public space (as discussed in Chapter 3). Racism and class hostilities towards migrants fuel exclusionary attitudes; in this case, however, it is bicycles rather than migrants that are directly treated nuisances. Attitudes towards migrants in rural places and small cities in Canada indicate how the urban “bicycling renaissance” that others

have charted (Pucher et al., 2011) does not presume all bicyclists as equally desirable, as John Stehlin has argued (2014). Stehlin identifies how the expansion of bike infrastructure in many North American cities has become enrolled in broader exclusionary tendencies which are displacing poor and racialized communities through urban development and renewal efforts. Bicycling promotion is currently oriented towards making space more amenable to privileged subjects, as much as (if not rather than) encouraging transportation equity. Efforts to promote bicycling in Essex County, for example, are lauded at one register while actually existing bicyclists are perceived as a kind of blight at another; such discordance, while unique, is very much in sync with the broader contradictions Stehlin highlights.

Migrants play a crucial economic and cultural role in Leamington's public spaces and commercial areas because their presence and the businesses that have emerged to cater to them foster a unique sense of place. However, migrants' physical presence and bicycling habits in public spaces are perceived by some measures as outright problems. A recent community improvement plan (CIP) for Leamington's uptown district—an area dominated by businesses catering to migrants—represented bicyclists as a negative drag on the area's commercial potential (Jones Consulting Group Ltd., 2011; Jones Consulting Group Ltd, 2012). The results of the Uptown CIP consultation with constituents were troubling; responses from constituents identified that migrants and bicycles were a significant problem in the area. Notably, migrants themselves were not directly consulted, though a stand-in was. This lack of direct consultation is not anomalous. Migrants are viewed as a 'special interest group', if they are considered stakeholders at all, in contrast to the ways that individual constituents are given formal voice in local planning processes. In the CIP consultation, constituents indicated that the large groups of men (of colour) who congregate in Leamington make customers (i.e., Canadian customers) feel uncomfortable. Though officials explicitly

recognize (in interviews with me) why migrants use public spaces—because migrants do not belong anywhere else and their living quarters do not afford comfort or privacy—these officials also contribute to exclusionary discourses by characterizing migrants in public spaces as loiterers and bicycles as nuisances:

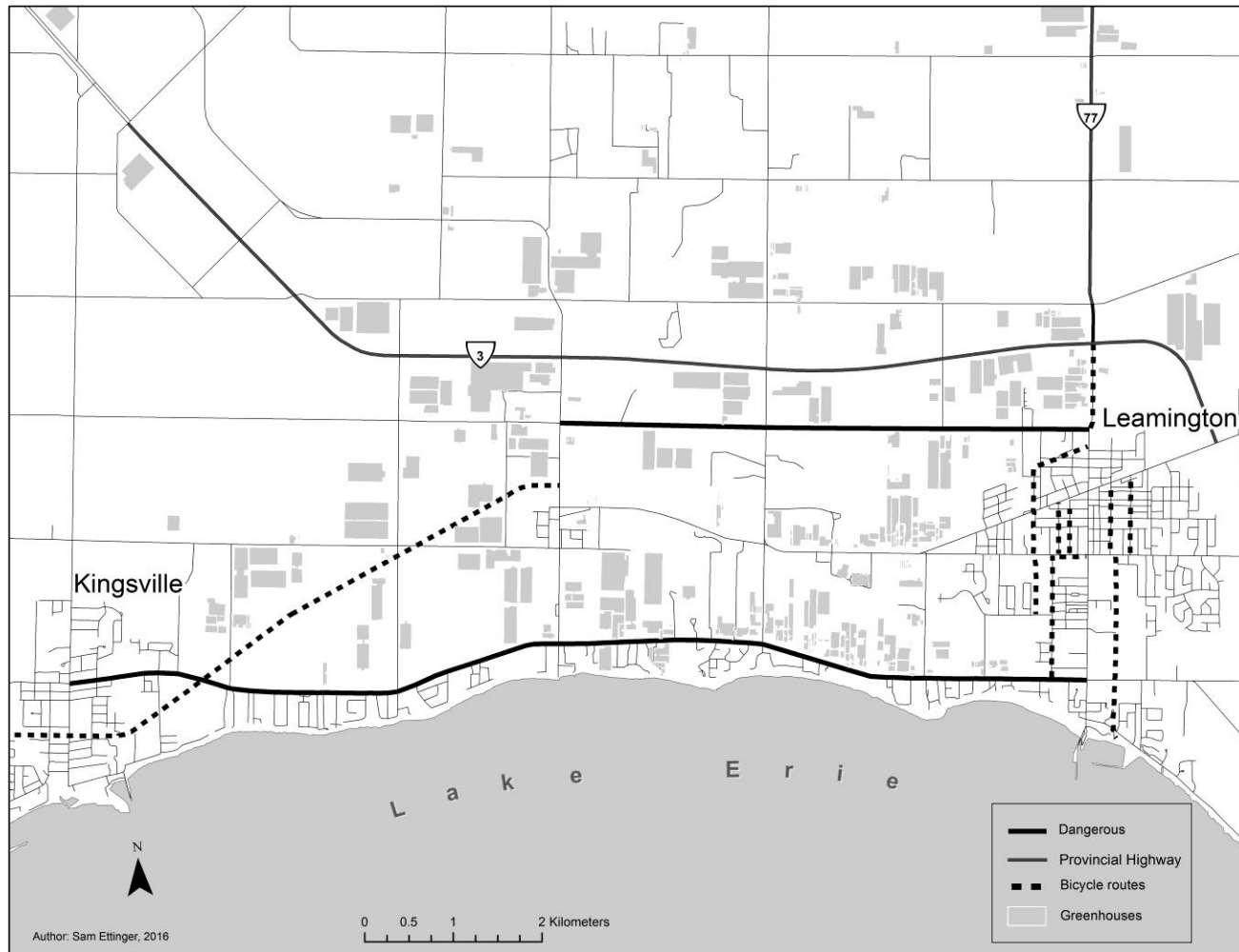
[O]n their Sunday off, they've come and done their shopping, and there's no sense for them to hurry up to the farm. Because they've seen those four walls, this is their chance to take a break. (Leamington planning services)

Local governments have responded unevenly to bicyclists' needs in south Essex, Norfolk County and Niagara. I learned about the tensions between local migrant advocates, on the one hand, and municipalities and broader constituencies on the other. Bike networks are most extensive in the Niagara Region, primarily catering to recreational bicyclists, who constitute a significant segment of the region's considerable tourism clientele. More specifically, however, NOTL's official transportation plans formally identify migrant farmworkers as a key group of existing bicyclists (Town of Niagara on the Lake, 2004, p.4). Bike advocates in south Essex, in contrast, have faced considerable challenges in persuading municipal services and local politicians to improve bicycling conditions.

The figure below (Fig. 17) illustrates the density of greenhouse operations (shown as white/gray polygons in the image) clustered between Kingsville and Leamington. In contrast to Norfolk County where the average distance to nearby cities from farms is around 30km, worker bunkhouses in south Essex are located relatively close to Leamington, a small city. For most workers in this region, Leamington is less than 5km away. This signifies that during the growing season there are significant numbers of bicyclists using local roads to move to and from greenhouses, especially evenings and weekends. Workers identified two routes as the most dangerous for bicyclists, ones

that could benefit from immediate improvements in terms of bike amenities. One well-used bike route in south Essex, used by both migrants and recreational bicyclists, is Seacliff Drive (County Road 20), a relatively scenic route directly along the shore of Lake Erie that runs through Leamington. Bike and pedestrian amenities along Seacliff Drive have been the subject of debate for over a decade.

**Figure 17: Significant bike routes for migrant farmworkers in southern Essex County, Ontario, in relation to greenhouse industry.**



Map credit: Sam Ettinger (2016). Sources: Author research; Google Earth (2016); SWOOP: Orthophotography 2010, Land Information Ontario, Ministry of Natural resources (2010); Natural Resources Canada, National Topographic Database (2016).

Seacliff Dr. has extremely narrow shoulders and no sidewalks though the curb is mountable (such that bicyclists can get off the road quickly if they need to). In 2005, Pedro Rosales, a greenhouse worker, was seriously injured in a bike collision on Seacliff (see Bruser, 2006). Migrant workers told me they purposefully avoid the road; they are pushed up onto the curb by passing vehicles and are wary of drivers exiting driveways. To re-route, workers travelling from Kingsville are using a new bike trail (built along an old rail line, shown in purple in Figure 17) but this is only convenient for those travelling the entire route from Kingsville, not those who work (and reside) directly on Seacliff Dr.<sup>13</sup> Despite how well-known the dangers along the Seacliff route are for bicyclists, local governments have been largely unresponsive to the issue, as local bike advocates have expressed.

I believe the road [migrants] use the most is Seacliff Drive. I don't really put that onto the province, as much as I put it on the local. Because the local sees that, the province doesn't see that. It's the municipalities, actually.

Relatively affluent homeowners have also stymied road-widening for sidewalks and/or shoulders for bicyclists and pedestrians, which would have encroached on upscale properties. Due to pressure from local bike advocates in the face of stalled efforts to widen the road, the municipality agreed to create ad hoc shoulders, despite the fact that they did not meet the conventional one-meter width requirement. Explaining government inaction on these issues, a Leamington bike advocate expressed the point plainly stating: “How many more people have to get hurt for councils to invest money? Well, I hate to say it, but how many locals need to be hit?”

---

<sup>13</sup> Since I conducted my research there is a new off-road gravel trail running north-south adjacent to Hwy. 77 (this trail is not illustrated in Fig. 4).

The second significant and dangerous route workers identified is County Road 3 (in Fig. 17 this route runs east-west immediately south of Highway 3). This route is heavily used by greenhouse workers to travel to and from Leamington by bike; it is also heavily travelled by motorists, particularly transport trucks. Based on the fatalities that have occurred within the past decade, another problem is the fact that bicyclists have to cross heavily motorized routes like provincial highways. Bicyclists have been killed crossing Highway 3, running east-west, and travelling along Highway 77, running north-south (these highways are indicated in Fig. 17).

Bike advocates are aware of the racial, class, and citizenship underpinnings at play in the slowness with which municipalities have responded to unsafe bicycling conditions. In many improvements to physical bicycling amenities in places where it is really only migrant farmworkers who bike regularly, bike advocates and municipalities are, I think, creating more inclusionary places for migrants and unsettling long-standing class, citizenship, and race hierarchies. Very recently, Leamington has agreed to commit funding with the province and Essex County to improving the thoroughfare, consistent with Essex County's County-Wide Active Transportation Plan (known as CWATS). According to those I interviewed, these bike improvements are long overdue. Leamington council remains reticent to commit to funding to the CWATS plan, of which Seacliff was a proposed component.

## Implications and Conclusion

In everyday material practice, legal mobility rights bear little resemblance to the paradigmatic liberal subject—the independently mobile, rational, and able-bodied individual (Cresswell, 2013; Langan, 2001; Rajan, 2006; Spinney et al., 2015). Neglected public transit systems and segregated urban landscapes sever racialized, disabled, and poor people from jobs and services, people who

are otherwise full citizens—what Bullard calls transportation racism (Bullard et al, 2004). I have argued that migrant farmworkers embody double exclusions vis-à-vis mobility rights. As non-citizens they are excluded from legal entitlements to freedom of mobility but they also inhabit shadow geographies of citizenship where their actual ability to move is considerably limited. Migrants are obligated to live on Canadian farms and cannot legally circulate between employers. In addition to the regulatory provisions that restrict migrants' mobility, they also reside and work in highly auto-hegemonic rural locales. Migrants live and work in Canada under regulations that restrict their circulation in order to extract maximum value from their labour. Automobility further restricts their mobility. In most of rural Canada, participating in the labour market and civil society is contingent on having access to a vehicle; it is rare to encounter public transit facilities in rural locales. (Other rural low-income populations also face the disabling effects of automobility.) Together, regulatory and geographical patterns act to preclude migrants from taken-for-granted freedom of (daily and physical) mobility. The processes that disable migrants from participating in public arenas enable states, employers, and others (e.g.: food consumers who benefit from cheap food costs) to accrue social power and thus directly benefit from migrants' (im)mobility. As such, the notion of 'exclusion' does not adequately capture how mobility impairments and deficits for migrant farmworkers creates value for producers and states.

Bicycling practices provide insights into the ways that migrants negotiate and survive unfreedom. Because they have access to bikes, migrants may participate in local communities and in public spaces. In doing so, migrants may reshape rural places. In these ways, narrating migrant geographies through quotidian mobilities helps reconceptualise rural Ontario spaces as partly produced by migrants themselves. At the same time, as racialized people in extremely low-paid jobs in Canada, migrants are marked as out-of-place in Canadian communities and bicycling

practices in heavily motorized contexts compounds their marginalized status. Sustainable mobilities, like bicycling, do not necessarily solve the inequalities that automobility has created (Stehlin, 2014), but in fact spatialize intersectional forms of difference and may help secure racial-economic exploitation. Migrants' bicycling practices are produced within interstitial or shadow geographies of citizenship, where both legal and socio-spatial exclusions from mobility rights (that full citizenship implies) tether migrants to their workplaces to secure their labour. By accessing bikes, migrants are able to partially circumvent these exclusions, bringing migrants into public spaces. However, these spatial practices themselves 'mark' migrants; migrants literally circulate in shadows, at night, while they are also most likely to be hurt or killed as bicyclists relative to other bicyclists in rural places. Migrants' reliance on bikes in white, auto-hegemonic places is itself indicative of their powerlessness, whose temporary status under the law is doubly expressed in street-level exclusions. Bicycling as a spatial practice also is itself coded as transgressive and out-of-place. Migrants' conduct and presence in local spaces is perceived as a nuisance.

In investigating how migrants are perceived by local communities and governments, as well as the roles they play in migrant-civil society relationships, I complicate the notion of migrant "inclusion" in Canadian communities. Those I interviewed who offer bike education express genuine concern about the unsafe bicycling conditions that migrants face. They have pushed municipalities to improve bicycling routes based on migrants' specific needs. Still, the findings raise critical questions about the effects of bike safety discourses, ones which circulate more broadly than the study sites I have focused upon here. Concretely, bike safety projects with migrants focus on individual behaviour change and the inculcation of rules and habits. Under this rationale, migrants only knew and followed proper rules and modified their behaviour they would be safer. Bike safety projects rarely broach how worker rights and power inequities produce unsafe

bicycling conditions. Bike safety, I have argued, serves to regulate bicyclists' conduct rather than demand create spatial justice for racialized bicyclists in public space. Bike safety projects demand that racialized migrant subjects make themselves hyper-visible in places where being racialized can be outright dangerous.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

In the spring of 2016, Jean-Francois Michaud, a Leamington man, was killed on his bike leaving a greenhouse after finishing a 10pm shift. Police reported to the media that Michaud was not visible to drivers—he was wearing dark clothes, and had no lights or reflective gear (see Chen, 2016; Thompson, 2016). Michaud was a Canadian-born citizen. As should be clear by now, this incident is not isolated or unpredictable, but rather part of systemic patterns of precarious work. In this context, mobility gaps reflect how workers are systemically devalued through disinvestment and neglect in broader social and spatial provisioning. This neglect has a disproportionately negative effect on working people. As industries that rely on low-wage workforces (workforces who cannot afford cars) expand in transit-deficient places, employers and governments reap economic benefits from these sectors while workers bear the banal, everyday burdens of finding means to get to-and-from work. Though governments and industries bear significant responsibility for this precarity, media reports focus on how Michaud did not comply with basic bike safety. Focusing on precarious workers in rural and semi-rural spaces, this study has brought to the fore broader questions about mobility injustices that workers bear in relation to intersecting forms of difference as they relate to place, class, race, and citizenship. The research has charted how governments, employers, workers, and civil society mutually govern, regulate, and negotiate power within these in-between spaces. The bicyclists upon whom I have focused in this project occupy and embody multiple positions of marginality, including the very gravel shoulders along out-of-the-way roads that bicyclists use. By attending to overlapping marginalities—social and spatial, and essential but devalued—the research has sought to politicize mobilities studies (Cresswell, 2010; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006) by examining the relationship between (im)mobility and power specifically through the lens of migrants' precarious subjectivities. In other terms, the research asked how the

very category or subject position that migrant farmworkers embody materializes through travel practices, and identifies the actors and processes that produce these mobilities. My objective has been to theorize how controls over migrants' mobility are distinguishing feature of their labour unfreedom, both in the way unfree labour migration was historically institutionalized as well as the ways unfreedom has been more contemporaneously articulated in concrete practices, relationships, and spaces.

Expanding on the significance of the empirical research findings, below I discuss each of the chapters in turn, before turning to the broader contributions that the dissertation provides.

## Chapter Contributions

### *Using methodological impasses as a lens on mobilities as intersectional processes*

Mobile methodology research has proposed new ethnographic forms of conducting social science research. One approach that is increasingly used involves moving alongside and amongst mobile subjects or through particular systems. While some researchers have discussed the challenges of conducting bicycling ethnographies, I argue that too little research directly engages how power and positionality in mobile methodologies. Unexpectedly so, the intersectional dynamics of mobility were brought to the fore in the process of conducting this research project, and I explore the limits and possibilities of my research methods in Chapter 2, *From the driver's seat: Intersectionality and mobility in qualitative bicycling research*. As became clear as I started my own research, the limits of actually conducting this bike research were made patent insofar as I quickly became a sought out as a driver who had access to a car. I found this role as a researcher however, to be a rich source of information in and of itself, about how my relationship as a

Canadian doctoral student with racialized migrant farmworkers was expressed through our differentiated access to travel.

Conceptually, the research methods offer insights that bridge research on positionality and reflexivity in research processes, as well as critical mobilities research. I propose that bicycling research might pay more attention on the impasses and blockages in research processes as mechanisms through which to understand intersectionality, through non-essentialist perspectives. If bicycling research intends to grapple more fully with transportation justice, then the ways that researchers conduct and analyze research also needs to shift.

### *Mobility power and powerless-ness in unorganized workplaces*

Focusing on Norfolk County, Ontario, in Ch. 3, *Historicizing Precarity: A labour geography of 'transient' migrant workers in Ontario tobacco*, I argue that migrant workers' power and powerlessness is dialectically embedded in southern Ontario's landscapes. Migrant workers have attempted to improve their livelihood, working conditions, and claims to place and citizenship over several decades, and therefore have contested farmworker powerless-ness. I situate my analysis of transient farm workforces in the 1960s and 1970s in the sub-field of labour geography and take up the idea of 'mobility power' as a distinct form of structural power over which migrants, tobacco growers, and the Canadian federal government have struggled. In doing so, I provide a more dynamic conceptualization of mobility among precarious migrant workforces. Mobility is not simply an experience of insecurity or a geographical mechanism through which labour control is exacted. Mobility is simultaneously a reflection of workers' agency, particularly in the absence of more robust associational forms of power.

There is no existing research on transient workers in Ontario agriculture, and therefore at a very basic level this study fills a gap in historical research on farmworkers in Ontario. I also show how the history of transient migrant workers shaped the SAWP, and in particular, how unfreedom was institutionalized in the SAWP. Through archival sources, I identify how the emergence of the SAWP has to be understood in the context of these on-the-ground struggles. The SAWP framework helped not to solve purported labour shortages but to transform labour mobility and labour control in seasonal farm labour migration. The SAWP legally undercut farmworkers' mobility power, both in relation to their labour mobility but also their spatial mobility. Although transients were perceived and treated as outsiders in southwestern Ontario's farming areas, they were white Canadian citizens. Therefore, it is clear that race and citizenship differences have organized how the Canadian government sought to govern farmworkers' labour and spatial mobility in ways which patently abrogate Canada's constitutional rights and social rights to mobility in practice. These racial ideologies and the mobility fix they serve cuts to the heart of the dialectic between power and powerlessness among different migrant workforces.

### *The role of Canadian family farms in systemic migrant immobilities*

Contrary to the notion that large, impersonal farms hire farm guestworkers, in Ch. 4, *Grown Close to Home: Migrant Farmworkers (Im)mobilities and Unfreedom on Canadian Family Farms*, I take seriously the fact that many SAWP workers are employed directly by and work and live alongside farming families in southwestern Ontario. Migrants' experiences of local, small-scale farming are contrary to celebratory representations of family farming in food marketing. Instead, migrants' experiences of farm families are characterized by systemic spatial entrapment and mobility controls. These controls are rationalized through paternalist and familial discourses of care and

responsibility over workers by employers and government representatives. Migrant farmworkers' mobilities are defined by tightly managed controls over where, with whom, how often and why what means they can travel, all of which significantly limits the scales of their everyday lives. These controls exist both at international and local levels. National-level regulation, global mobility, and local mobility controls together combine to create labour unfreedom and squeeze labour productivity from workers. These inter-scalar mobility flows and restrictions, then, together compel unfree work through the production of highly localized scales. Thus the 'family-run farm' is sustained and reproduced through the conjoining of these mobility flows and restrictions at multiple spatial scales.

The research provides critical interventions in the fields of food studies, where food sustainability discourses continue to reify the family farm as a solution to problems in food systems, including labour challenges. Such views inhibit critical conversations about how food insecurity and precarious work are rooted in the institution of the family farm in North American contexts. I argue that spatial immobility is a feature rather than a symptom of unfreedom in the SAWP, and that this relates to the family farm as a site of interlocking labour unfreedoms.

### *The need for critical perspectives on bicycling geographies*

In contrast to the portrait of geographical confinement and stasis elaborated in the previous chapter, in Ch. 5, *Shadow mobilities: Regulating migrant bicyclists in rural Ontario, Canada*, I explore the ubiquity of bicycles as a means through which workers negotiate isolation and immobilities, however unsafe and impractical bicycling remains. In rural areas that rely on seasonal migrant farm labour in Ontario, bicycling is a racially-coded practice, substantiating Justin Spinney's claim (2007) that bicycling acquires spatially-specific and spatially-mediated

meanings which vary from place to place. As bicyclists, migrants are perceived as outsiders in what are overwhelmingly racially segregated and auto-hegemonic landscapes.

Based on the perspectives of civil society groups that coalesced as a reaction to bike fatalities among migrants, I unpack how citizenship and non-citizenship are constituted through bike safety projects with migrants. I identify exclusionary and inclusionary tendencies in local attitudes towards migrants' bicycling practices. In particular, I focus on bike safety, which emphasizes personal responsibility and proper conduct. Concretely, bike advocates who work directly with migrants or in migrant hosting communities should consider addressing migrants' work and social rights alongside technical and individual bike safety rules. Local advocates and local government agencies are well-placed to create and support migrant advocacy projects. Such support and relationship-building is significant to building leverage to make changes to inadequate legal loopholes and contest the rights gaps that continue to define the SAWP framework.

My findings indicate that bicycle advocacy and research needs to address equity and diversity more explicitly. As others have pointed out, more privileged bicyclists take main stage in organizing bike advocacy. This is clear from the bike projects I profiled in the research, but it is not unique to them. More careful efforts are required to question the privilege of those who produce knowledge and norms about bicycling behaviour and infrastructure, and thus how inequities are unintentionally reproduced through these practices. For example, the push to make bicycling safer by imposing fines on bicyclists without lights or reflective gear represents a new level of formality that might unduly push out and punish very low-income bicyclists. In this way, equity matters to the way that existing bicyclists' needs are conceptualized and addressed. Because of the privileged vantage point of many formal bike advocates who participate in formulating policy with the

government, the voices of many existing bicyclists (who rely on bicycles precisely because they are poor, racialized, and/or lack status) are unlikely to figure within these discussions and may not benefit from improvements to bicycling amenities.

## Conceptual Contributions

### *Securing immobility: Local mobility controls in transnational labour migration programs*

In the introduction I outlined my key research questions in two parts: *How are geographical mobilities and immobilities constituted and implicated in the making of unfree farm labour migration? How are local controls around migrants' mobilities harnessed in managing international cross-border labour migration?* Based on my findings I argue that the power to confine and immobilize migrants on Canadian farms is integral to the power that employers and states enact and leverage over workers in the labour migration process, and that are therefore integral to workers' unfreedom. My research shows how systemic confinement is crucial to the quotidian operation of the SAWP. More broadly, I contend that migrant farm workforces are regulated and controlled in part through what I have called "mobility fixes", aimed at resolving the "contradictory, contested, and fragmentary" (Mitchell, 1996, p.81) flows and spaces that make up farm production and worker reproduction. In other words, rationalizing migrant workers' local mobility has been an important component in the "making" of migrant farm workforces in the Canadian context. These processes are, however, terrains of contestation and struggle at various inter-scalar levels. Making labour mobility more orderly and undercutting the "subversive mobility" of migrant workers (Mitchell, 1996, Ch. 3) has involved state and employer interventions not only at the level of international and intra-regional recruitment, transportation, and placement but also the lived (or local) arena of daily life, work, and public space. These

mobility fixes, moreover, are justified and legitimized through race and gender ideologies and exceptions from mobility rights, both constitutional and social.

Workers in the SAWP face outright exclusions from constitutional mobility rights that full citizens otherwise enjoy (at least formally so). These legal exclusions materialize in uneven and unique ways, which I characterize according to Cresswell's concept of shadow citizenship. The research reveals how regulatory exclusions related to migrants' legal status combine with material and symbolic geographies of automobility (and its exclusions) to immobilize workers on Canadian farms. In North America, access to a driver's license and a car shapes social citizenship in geographically uneven ways. Even in instances where farm operators do not explicitly control workers' time beyond work hours, the citizenship and class exclusions of automobility and impracticalities of living without a car considerably impede migrants' capacity to circulate and participate in Canadian communities. Here, the global mobility of migrant workers across international borders combines with national level citizenship exclusions and local level mobility restrictions to create a series of inter-scalar immobilities and mobilities embedded in the regulation of SAWP workforces. Therefore, global mobility of migrant farm labour combined with its everyday immobilization in Canada on unfree terms is critical to the production and circulation of food commodities within regional and global trade channels (for a detailed exegesis on the relationship between labor control and logistics systems, see Cowen, 2014). The processes that disable migrants from participating in public life actually enable states, employers, and others (i.e., food consumers who benefit from cheap food costs) to accrue social power and thus directly benefit from migrants' (im)mobility. The notion of *exclusion* does not therefore adequately capture the powerful effects of migrants' mobility impairments and deficits as mechanisms through which social power and economic value accrues for more powerful players.

This argument fills an important research gap on the relationship between labour control, mobility, and transportation. I argue that lack of adequate transportation bolsters and helps to maintain a highly flexible and immobile but transnational labour force. Mobility controls conventionally harnessed by the state are re-scaled to employers in the SAWP; it is employers who verify, examine, and interrogate migrants as they move at local, everyday scales (to paraphrase Salter, 2013)—almost in the guise of border officials. My findings show how state mobility controls are enacted in the employer-employee relationship, and I argue that these controls are essential facets of labour control in the SAWP. Migrants’ presence in public space (as documented in relation to their bicycling practices) remains a problem for local officials; when migrants do use public space they are cast as nuisances and loiterers in need of education. There is an implicit view among local constituents that migrants are not entitled to enjoy public space in the same way others are—that migrants’ presence in public space is inherently transgressive.

In documenting how states and employers have institutionalized and profited from migrant farmworker immobilities, I have pointed to this phenomenon as an under-theorized dimension of labour unfreedom. Historically speaking, employers and the Canadian state had less capacity to control inter-provincial transient migrant labour flows into Ontario agriculture. States and employers struggled to accurately time workers’ arrival for harvest periods, to ensure workers were placed and remained on specified farms, and to guarantee they departed back ‘home’ to communities in Eastern Canada as harvesting was completed. Because of these challenges, many young workers arrived in farming towns without work, spending time in public places where they were often disruptive and out-of-place. Consequently, the Canadian government and growers sought to secure migrant labour flows whose arrival and departure for harvests, and their placement on farms, could be determined and ensured with much greater precision. Government officials

offered transportation to and from farms as part of their new labour market policies, seeking to seamlessly match Canadian transient job-seekers with Ontario farm jobs.

However, the search for managed migration was perfected in launching the SAWP, which remains a “model” for state-managed farm labour migration. Migrant labour flows in the SAWP are administered very tightly, such that migrants are ushered seamlessly between their homes to airports, into charter flights, and from Canadian airports to farms. Flights are timed such that migrants arrive in Canadian cities at night and wake up on Canadian farms by morning; migrants rarely move through Canada’s urban spaces by daylight. The same is true upon their departure from farms at the end of their work season. During the course of their contracts—at the daily lived level—migrants’ mobilities are tightly controlled, too. Worker transportation, like farmworker housing (as discussed by numerous farm labour scholars), are crucial components in the struggle over landscapes of reproduction. This makes transportation an important site through which labour relations, worker reproduction, and at times, labour organizing unfold.

By making the management of farm labour migration a formalized flow leveraged across broader and broader distances, the Canadian government, sending governments, and employers secured means through which to ensure the efficient movement of labour while allowing workers to be spatially fixed to workplaces for the length of their contracts and made largely invisible in Canadian society and absent from public space. Managed migration is purposely devised with these aims—to immobilize workers on farms, make their travel orderly and legible to various state and para-state agencies (like F.A.R.M.S.), and to make workers absent from public space and invisible to the public. The SAWP therefore operates through the production of scale; while the agricultural labour market is itself stretched across transnational scales, the local scale of daily life

and work in Canada for SAWP participants is intentionally devised to confine migrants' bodies and labour in extremely limited ways. Yet these constraints are themselves often explained and justified as a "natural" result of rural landscapes themselves.

### *Intersectional mobilities*

A set of sub-questions this research asks is: *To what degree are migrant farmworkers able or unable to travel locally in the Canadian places where they work? By whom and by what means are these mobilities and immobilities enacted and secured? What kinds of power relations do these patterns serve?* My research contends that how subjects move—who participates, what conditions predominate, and who bears the costs and consequences of travel patterns connected to wage and other social relations—are deeply inflected by and connected to existing power relations along intersectional lines. I argue that the intersectional dimensions of mobility matter to the regulation and reproduction of insecure work and precarious subjectivities. Migrant farmworkers' mobilities are characterized by tightly managed transnational labour migration combined with local patterns of daily confinement and restricted mobility. Unfree work is marked by legal and extra-legal forms of immobilization. The unfreedoms that structure cross-border labour migration dovetail in concrete ways in the urban and rural mobilities of everyday travel that migrants and other historically subjugated groups face at quotidian scales.

The findings show how racial, sexual and class ideologies are co-constituted through mobility and the regulation of unfree labour. While research on the SAWP has shown quite carefully demonstrated how migrant unfree wage labour status rests upon their racialized status within a in Canada as a northern white settler state, there has been less attention to gender subjectivities and gendered power relations in the SAWP. Feminist research on Canada's farm labour migration

analyzes female SAWP migrants' experiences, while studies focusing on men's experiences remain gender-neutral. Responding to this gap, my findings show how male migrants' bodies and labour are regulated through gendered and sexual forms of regulation as well as with class and racial forms of regulation. As racialized working people in white-dominant spaces like rural Ontario, migrant farmworkers are subject to mobility controls that white people have not. Indeed, these controls serve to secure their labour on a basis which does not disturb the racial order of these communities and economies. In Chapters 4 and 5, I document how intersectional logics of labour exploitation undergird the ways that migrants are tethered to the farm through law, through employers' rules, state reprisals, and through public attitudes that regulate migrants' access and presence in public space. These forms of regulation rest upon racial-sexual ideologies about the 'place' of migrants as racialized farm labour that may be threatening if not contained to farms. I also show how these mobilities are quite literally fatal couplings (in the sense meant by Gilmore, 2002). Even though most migrants in the SAWP are male, I argue that gender ideologies about 'keeping workers close to home' in order to be available for work and to protect workers is instrumental to producing migrant workers' immobilities at local scales and to securing labour flexibility through these immobilities. Class exploitation is also enmeshed in regulating and producing farmworker (im)mobilities, insofar as governments and employers have wrestled to maintain the seasonal labour mobility of various farm workforces on a flexible basis over several generations. Finally, there are significant citizenship dimensions to the (im)mobilities that farmworkers in the SAWP in migrating to Canada. As non-citizen 'temporary workers' under the law, migrants are excluded from the labour mobility rights that Canadian citizens otherwise enjoy (at least de jure if not in practice), while migrants are also exceptionally deportable and must invariably leave the country at the end of each season in order to secure their return the next year.

Automobility is also shaped by income, class, and citizenship hierarchies; poor people who cannot access a car face significant spill-over effects related to lack of services and labour market opportunities, while licensing and insurance required to access a car may be inaccessible for temporary residents and workers like migrants in the SAWP. Together, all these dynamics cohere to shape migrant farmworkers' mobility as an integral part of the labour process in Canadian agriculture.

Space and spatial processes—here (im)mobilities—play a fundamental role in producing place-specific constellations of power/difference for migrants in the Canadian context. It is not that by gaining access to mobility (through access to vehicles, for example) that migrants can circumvent or undo conditions of labour unfreedom, but rather than it is within patterns of control over the minutiae of daily mobility and immobility that power imbalances and violent relations articulate between differently positioned subjects in relation to mobility. It is through interactions over the means and modes of travel and use of road and public spaces that multiple power hierarchies and positions—between workers and employers, between workers and state actors, between drivers and bicyclists, between settle Canadian citizens and racialized migrant labourers, and between global North and global South—together become, in a sense, spatially braided to produce violent roadscapes for migrants. These spatially braided relations also reveal how migrants' unfree conditions bleed into the broader spatialities of daily life.

## Future Research Plans

There is too little critical scholarship on the labour politics of Canada's family farms as they pertain to farmworkers' rights, or lack thereof. As noted in Chapter 4, family farms are politically powerful forces in North America. The idea that the family farm is exceptional has undergirded legal

regimes and social relations that foster farmworker precarity and poverty. The fact that family farms' political power directly undercuts workers' well-being is an ongoing concern. In Alberta, farms are not covered by workplace occupational health and safety legislation or collective bargaining rights. After four children were killed on separate Alberta farms in 2015, the Alberta government sought to address this gap by extending work protections to agricultural operations, including occupational health and safety legislation and numerous employment standards, and would have protected both paid and unpaid workers, including children working for their parents. The legislation—Bill 6, the *Enhanced Protection of Farm Workers Act, 2015*—elicited such strong opposition from Alberta farmers that the legislation was considerably modified before it passed. In the legislation that eventually passed, new protective provisions are only applicable to paid employees and exclude unpaid household workers from tentative OHS protections (despite the fact that unpaid child labour was the original catalyst for proposing the new legislation in the first place). While the fact that the legislation passed at all should be considered a moderate victory for farmworkers in Alberta, the backlash against Bill 6 serves as a reminder that family farm-based activism and lobbying has been instrumental in producing and maintaining farmworker precarity under the law and therefore, more often than not, in actual fact.

In farm labour research, the exemptions that farmworkers face under provincial labour law and federal citizenship and immigration exclusions are well-known—this is precisely why the term farmworker exceptionalism is so widely used among farmworker advocates and researchers to make sense of the legal basis for farmworker poverty and powerlessness in North America (see Schell, 2002 & Tucker, 2012). Yet it is still relatively unclear in existing research *what logics and forces* have helped justify exemptions for farm operations from Canadian labour law and regulation. There is no existing research that directly examines the role of family farm as a political

and social force in relation to farmworker exceptionalism in Canada. In view of this research gap, my future research goal is to investigate the role and representations of Canadian family farms as they relate to producing and maintaining farmworker exceptionalism under Canadian law and regulation.

To conduct the research, I have identified several tentative approaches. One of the weaknesses of my research is that I did not conduct in-depth qualitative research with growers and their family members, because I sought to foreground farmworkers' voices. Moving forward, the research could be strengthened by including the voices of family farm members themselves. Second, legal and policy records could provide a rich source of historical data on actual farm lobby groups and the discourses and ideals they have harnessed to advocate for legislative and policy exceptions. Provincial legislative assembly debates (including the lobbying surrounding Alberta's Bill 6) would be one rich research source. Finally, the third approach involves online content analysis of blogs, social media, and food marketing. These sources might help to examine representational dimensions that family farms through these platforms. Together analysis of data derived from sources would provide well-needed research on family farms in Canada, in order to understand how to address and context farmworker precarity as it currently exists.

## Concluding Thoughts

I started this study with the desire to explain a rash of bicycling deaths among migrant farmworkers in southwestern Ontario over the past decades. These patterns, it seemed, suggested a unique relationship between unfree work, citizenship and mobility, patterns otherwise too easily passed off as inevitable results of rural space, on the one hand, or on the other, over-determined outcomes of the SAWP. When I broadened my lens methodologically to consider mobility beyond bicycling,

I was able to bring into focus a longer genealogical view of the ways that migrant farmworkers have shaped the agricultural landscape along Lake Erie's north shore, one against which migrants have perpetually been perceived as outsiders. Indeed, the very reproduction of migrant workers as essential labour but non-belonging subjects within Canada's agrarian landscapes and the Canadian body politic more broadly has been ideologically engendered through the presumed entitlement of white farming families to that very land. I therefore explain the disciplinary constraints around migrants' mobility as intimate ones, correlated with migrant workers' relationships to the farm families who employ them as pastoral but ultimately subordinate subjects. But what stands out about my study, as I conclude here, are not migrants' vulnerabilities as bicyclists, non-belonging in rural communities, or exploitation in work-live spaces. What stands out for me are the modes through which distinctive mobility practices and civil society relationships are forged within these contexts, and the possibilities these relationships and practices pose for creating more just forms of belonging and work in Canada.

## Bibliography

### Archival sources

Delhi Tobacco Museum Archives

News scrapbooks, Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers Marketing Board, 1965–1978, including records from:

*Aylmer Express.*

*Brantford Expositor.*

*Canadian Tobacco Grower.*

*Delhi News Record.*

*Hamilton Spectator.*

*London Free Press.*

*Ottawa Citizen.*

*Simcoe Reformer.*

*St. Thomas Times Journal.*

*Tillsonburg News.*

*Toronto Telegraph.*

*Toronto Globe and Mail.*

Elgin County Archives

St. Thomas Times Journal fonds.

### Academic & Secondary Sources

Aguiar, L. L. M., & Ryan, S. (2009). The Geographies of the Justice for Janitors. *Geoforum*, 40(6),

949–958.

Aldred, R. (2010). “On the outside”: Constructing cycling citizenship. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 11(1), 4–6. <http://doi.org/10.1080/14649360903414593>

Aldred, R., & Jungnickel, K. (2013). Matter in or out of place? Bicycle parking strategies and their effects on people, practices and places. *Social & Cultural Geography*, June, 1–21. <http://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2013.790993>

Alkon, A.H., and J. Agyeman (Eds.). (2011). *Cultivating food justice: Race, class and sustainability*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Attoh, K. (2011). The bus hub. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 10(2), 280–285.

Bakan, A., & Stasiulis, D. K. (Eds.). (1997). *Not one of the family: Foreign domestic workers in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bakan, A. & Stasiulis, D. K. (2012). The political economy of migrant live-in caregivers: A case of unfree labour. In P. Lenard & C. Straehle (Eds.), *Legislated inequality: Temporary labour migration in Canada* (pp. 202–226). Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press.

Basok, T. (2002). *Tortillas and tomatoes: Transmigrant Mexican harvesters in Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press.

Basok, T. (2004). Postnational citizenship, social exclusion and migrants rights: Mexican seasonal workers in Canada. *Citizenship Studies*, 8(1), 47–64.

Basok, T., & Bélanger, D. (2016). Migration management, disciplinary power, and performances of subjectivity: Agricultural migrant workers in Ontario. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 41(2), 139–163. <http://doi.org/10.1080/10383441.2013.10877014>

Basok, T., D. Bélanger, and E. Rivas. (2013). Reproducing deportability: Migrant agricultural workers in south-western Ontario. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40 (9): 1394–1413. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2013.849566.

- Basok, T., Bélanger, D., Candiz, G., & Rivas, E. (2015). Espacios de “ilegalidad”: El caso de trabajadores mexicanos en dos comunidades rurales de Canadá [Spaces of “illegality”: The case of Mexican workers in two rural Canadian communities.]. In M. J. Sánchez Gómez & S. M. Lara Flores (Eds.), *Los programas de trabajadores agrícolas temporales ¿Una solución a los retos de las migraciones en la globalización?* (pp. 25–56). México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales. <http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Bauder, H. (2005). Landscape and scale in media representations: The construction of offshore farm labour in Ontario, Canada. *Cultural Geographies*, 12(1), 41–58.
- Becerril, O. (2007). Transnational work and the gendered politics of labour: A study of male and female Mexican migrant farm workers in Canada. In L. Goldring and S. Krishnamurti (Eds.), *Organizing the Transnational: Labour, Politics, and Social Change* (pp. 157–71). Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Bélanger, D., & Candiz, G. (2015). Fraises douces amères: Territoire et précarité chez les travailleurs agricoles migrants de la région de Québec [Sweet and sour strawberries: Territory and precarity among migrant agricultural workers in the Quebec City region]. *Cahiers de Géographie du Québec*, 59(166), 7. <http://doi.org/10.7202/1034346ar>
- Benson, P. (2012). *Tobacco capitalism: Growers, migrant workers, and the changing face of a global industry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Berlant, L. G. (2011). *Cruel optimism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Binford, L. (2013). *Tomorrow we're all going to the harvest: Temporary foreign worker programs and neoliberal political economy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Black, K. (2013, September 27). Leamington loitering bylaw delayed. *Blackburn News Windsor*. Retrieved from <http://www.blackburnnews.com/windsor/windsor-news/2013/09/27/leamington-loitering-bylaw-delayed>.
- Blumenberg, E., & Smart, M. (2010). Getting by with a little help from my friends...and family:

- immigrants and carpooling. *Transportation*, 37(3), 429–446. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s11116-010-9262-4>
- Bose, P. S. (2014). Refugees in Vermont: Mobility and acculturation in a new immigrant destination. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 36, 151–159. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2014.03.016>
- Brass, T. (1999). *Towards a comparative political economy of unfree labour: Case studies and debates*. London: Frank Cass.
- Brenner, A., Brenner, R., & Winslow, C. (2010). *Rebel rank and file: Labor militancy and revolt from below during the long 1970s*. New York: Verso.
- Bridi, R. M. (2013). Labour control in the tobacco agro-spaces: Migrant agricultural workers in south-western Ontario. *Antipode*, 45(5), 1070–1089.
- Bruser, D. (2006, September 5). 'No one wanted to know about me'. *Toronto Star*, p.D1.
- Buckley, M. (2013). Locating neoliberalism in Dubai: Migrant workers and class struggle in the autocratic city. *Antipode*, 45(2), 256–274.
- Bulbulian, M. (Dir.) (1977). *On the Tobacco Road* [Motion picture]. Canada: National Film Board of Canada.
- Bullard, R. D., Johnson, G. S., & Torres, A. O. (Eds.). (2004). *Highway robbery: Transportation racism & new routes to equity*. Cambridge: South End Press. Retrieved from <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip049/2003021033.html>
- Burgos, R., & Pulido, L. (1998). The politics of gender in the Los Angeles Bus Riders' Union/Sindicato de Pasajeros. *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, 9(3), 75–82. <http://doi.org/10.1080/10455759809358818>
- Cairns, K., McPhail, D., Chevrier, C., & Bucklaschuk, J. (2015). The Family Behind the Farm: Race and the affective geographies of Manitoba pork production. *Antipode* 47(5): 1184-1202. <http://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12147>

- Campbell, L.M., Gray, N.J., Meletis, Z.A., Abbott, J.G., & Silver, J.J. (2006). Gatekeepers and keymasters: Dynamic relationships of access in geographical fieldwork. *Geographical Review* 96(1):97-121.
- Castells, M. (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society*. (Vol.1). Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing.
- Castree, N., Coe, N. M., Ward, K., & Samers, M. (Eds.) (2004). *Spaces of work: global capitalism and geographies of labour*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- CBC News. (2013, August 30). Leamington mayor wants “lewd” Jamaican behaviour to end. *CBC News Windsor*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/windsor/story/2013/08/30/wdr-lewd-jamaican-migrant-workers-leamington-mayor.html>
- Chen, D. (2016, March 18). No charges expected after Leamington cyclist killed on County Road 31. *Windsor Star*. Retrieved from <http://windsorstar.com/news/local-news/no-charges-expected-after-leamington-cyclist-killed-on-county-road-31>.
- Choudry, A., & Thomas, M. (2013). Labour struggles for workplace justice: Migrant and immigrant worker organizing in Canada. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 55(2), 212–226.
- Cloke, P., I. Cook, P. Crang, M. Goodwin, J. Painter, C. Philo. (Eds.) (2004). *Practising human geography*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Coe, N. M. (2012). Geographies of production III: Making space for labour. *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(2), 271–284.
- Coe, N. M., & Jordhus-Lier, D. C. (2010). Constrained agency? Re-evaluating the geographies of labour. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(2), 211–233.
- Conlon, D. (2011). Waiting: Feminist perspectives on the spacings/timings of migrant (im)mobility. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 18(3), 353–360.
- Corporation of the County of Essex. (2011). *County-Wide Active Transportation (CWATS) Master Plan*. Essex County, Ontario (Canada). Retrieved from

<http://weblink8.countyofessex.on.ca/weblink8/ElectronicFile.aspx?docid=18045&dbid=0>

Cowen, D. (2014). *The deadly life of logistics: Mapping the violence of global trade*. book, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Cresswell, T. (2006). *On the move: Mobility in the modern western world*. New York: Routledge.

Cresswell, T. (2010). Towards a politics of mobility. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28(1), 17–31.

Cresswell, T. (2011). Mobilities II: Still. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(5), 645–653.

Cresswell, T. (2013). Citizenship in Worlds of Mobility. In O. Soderstrom, D. Ruedin, S. Randeria, G. D’Amato, & F. Panese (Eds.), *Critical Mobilities* (pp.105-124). New York: Routledge.

Cresswell, T., S. Dorow, and S. Roseman. (2016). Putting mobility theory to work: Conceptualizing employment-related geographical mobility. *Environment and Planning A* (early online view): 1-17. doi: 10.1177/0308518X16649184.

CTV Windsor. (2013, August 26). Migrant worker dies after falling off bike in Leamington. Retrieved from: [www.windsor.ctvnews.ca/migrant-worker-dies-after-falling-off-bike-in-leamington-1.1427498](http://www.windsor.ctvnews.ca/migrant-worker-dies-after-falling-off-bike-in-leamington-1.1427498)

D’Andrea, A., Ciolfi, L., & Gray, B. (2011). Methodological challenges and innovations in mobilities research. *Mobilities*, 6(2), 149–160.  
<http://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2011.552769>

Department of Manpower and Immigration. (1973). *The seasonal farm labour situation in Southwestern Ontario: A report*. Report prepared by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, Ottawa, Canada.

Diebel, L. (1999, October 14). ‘Motorist’s “criminal act” killed two men drunk driver likely to get five-year term’. *Hamilton Spectator*, p.A10.

Dunn, K. (2000). Interviewing. In I. Hay (Ed.) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human*

- Geography* (pp.50-82). Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Dunsworth, E. (2013). *Green gold and red threats: Tobacco harvest workers in 1930's Ontario*. (Master's thesis). Department of History, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada
- Elliott, A., & Urry, J. (2010). *Mobile Lives*. New York: Routledge.
- Employment and Social Development Canada. (2014). *Web Highlights—New Reforms for the Temporary Foreign Worker Program*. Retrieved from [http://www.esdc.gc.ca/eng/jobs/foreign\\_workers/reform/highlights.shtml](http://www.esdc.gc.ca/eng/jobs/foreign_workers/reform/highlights.shtml)
- Employment and Social Development Canada. (2014a). *Number of temporary foreign worker positions on positive Labour Market Impact Assessments (LMIAs) under the Agricultural Occupations, by location of employment—Annual Statistics*. Retrieved from [http://www.esdc.gc.ca/eng/jobs/foreign\\_workers/lmo\\_statistics/annual-agriculture.shtml](http://www.esdc.gc.ca/eng/jobs/foreign_workers/lmo_statistics/annual-agriculture.shtml)
- Food Chain Workers Alliance. (2012). *The hands that feed us: Challenges and opportunities for workers along the food chain*. Los Angeles: Food Chain Workers Alliance. Retrieved from <http://foodchainworkers.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Hands-That-Feed-Us-Report.pdf>
- Fudge, J., Tucker, E., Faraday, F., & Macklem, P. (Eds.) (2012). *Constitutional labour rights in Canada: Farm workers and the Fraser case*. Toronto: Irwin Law.
- Furness, Z. (2010). *One less car: Bicycles and the politics of automobility*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Gabriel, C., & MacDonald, L. (2011). Citizenship at the margins: The Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program and civil society advocacy. *Politics and Policy*, 39(1), 45–67.
- Gibson-Wood, H., & Wakefield, S. (2012). “Participation”, White Privilege and Environmental Justice: Understanding Environmentalism Among Hispanics in Toronto. *Antipode*, 45(3): 641-662.
- Gidwani, V. & Sivaramakrishnan, K. (2003). Circular migration and the spaces of cultural assertion. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93(1), 186–213.

- Gilbert, E. (2007). Leaky borders and solid citizens : Governing security, prosperity and quality of life in North America. *Antipode*, 39(1), 77–98.
- Gilbert, M. R. (1998). “Race,” space, and power: The survival strategies of working poor women. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 88(4), 595–621. <http://doi.org/10.1111/0004-5608.00114>
- Gilmore, R. W. (2002). Fatal couplings of power and difference: Notes on racism and geography. *The Professional Geographer*, 54(1), 15–24. <http://doi.org/10.1111/0033-0124.00310>
- Glenn, E. N. (1992). From servitude to service work: Historical continuities in the racial division of paid reproductive labor. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 18(1), 1. <http://doi.org/10.1086/494777>
- Goldring, L., & Landolt, P. (2013). *Producing and negotiating non-citizenship: Precarious legal status in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Golub, A., Hoffman, M.L., Lugo, A.E., & Sandoval, G.F. (Eds.) (2016). *Bicycle justice and urban transformation: Biking for all?* New York: Routledge.
- Graham, S., & Marvin, S. (2001). *Splintering urbanism: Networked infrastructures, technological mobilities and the urban condition*. New York: Routledge.
- Grand Erie Immigration Partnership. (2012). *Grand Erie Immigrant Profile (2012)*. Grand Erie Immigration Partnership, Brantford, Ontario, Canada.
- Gray, M. (2013). *Labor and the Locavore: The Making of a Comprehensive Food Ethic*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grundy, J. (2013). *Calculative Practices in Canadian Labour Policy, 1965-1975*. Paper presented at the Regimes of Calculation and Global Governance Workshop. Balsillie School of International Affairs, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Canada.
- Guthman, J. (2004). *Agrarian dreams: The paradox of organic farming in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Hague, E. (2010). 'The right to enter every other state': The Supreme Court and African American mobility in the United States. *Mobilities* 5 (3): 331–47. doi:10.1080/17450101.2010.494839.
- Hahamovitch, C. (1997). *The fruits of their labor: Atlantic coast farmworkers and the making of migrant poverty, 1870-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Hahamovitch, C. (2011). *No man's land: Jamaican guestworkers in America and the global history of deportable labor*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hannam, K., Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). Editorial: Mobilities, immobilities and moorings. *Mobilities*, 1(1), 1–22. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17450100500489189>
- Hanson, S. (2010). Gender and mobility: New approaches for informing sustainability. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 17(1), 5–23.
- Hanson, S., & Pratt, G. (1995). *Gender, work and space*. New York: Routledge.
- Henderson, J. (2006). Secessionist automobility: Racism, anti-urbanism, and the politics of automobility in Atlanta, Georgia. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(2), 293–307. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00662.x/full>
- Hennebry, J. (2012). Permanently Temporary? Agricultural migrant workers and their integration in Canada. *IRPP Policy Options*, pp. 1–44.
- Hennebry, J., & Preibisch, K. (2010). A model for managed migration? Re-examining best practices in Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. *International Migration*, 50, e19–e40. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00598.x>
- Herod, A. (2001). *Labor geographies: Workers and landscapes of capitalism*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Hess, P. & Farrow, J. (2010). *Walkability in Toronto's High-Rise Neighborhoods*. Toronto: Cities Center, University of Toronto. Retrieved from [http://janeswalk.net/old/assets/uploads\\_docs/Walkability\\_Full\\_Report.pdf](http://janeswalk.net/old/assets/uploads_docs/Walkability_Full_Report.pdf)

- Hess, P., Huang, H.W.W., & Vasic, M. (2014). Automobility, adaptation, and exclusion: Immigration, gender, and travel in the auto-city. In Walks, A. (Ed.), *Urban political economy & ecology of automobility: Driving cities, driving inequality, driving politics* (pp.169-183). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hoffman, M. (2015). Recruiting people like you: Socioeconomic sustainability in Minneapolis' bicycle infrastructure. In S. Zavestoski & J. Agyeman (Eds.), *Incomplete Streets: Processes, Practices and Possibilities* (pp. 139-153). New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Hoffmann, M. L., & Lugo, A. (2014). Who is "world class"? Transportation justice and bicycle policy. *Urbanities*, 4(1), 45–61.
- Holdsworth, C. (2013). *Family and intimate mobilities*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- hooks, b. (1991). *Yearning: Race, gender and cultural politics*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Horton, D. (2006). Environmentalism and the bicycle. *Environmental Politics*, 15(1), 41–58.  
<http://doi.org/10.1080/09644010500418712>
- Horton, D. (2007). Fear of cycling. In D. Horton, P. Cox, & P. Rosen (Eds.), *Cycling and Society* (pp. 133–152). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC). (2013). *Agreement for the employment in Canada of Seasonal Agricultural Workers from Mexico (2013)*. Retrieved from [http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/jobs/foreign\\_workers/agriculture/seasonal/](http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/jobs/foreign_workers/agriculture/seasonal/)
- Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC). (2013a). *Agricultural workers - Comparison of program options and criteria*. Retrieved from [www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/jobs/foreign\\_workers/agriculture/comparison.shtml](http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/jobs/foreign_workers/agriculture/comparison.shtml)
- Inouye, K. (2012). Conditional love: representations of migrant work in Canadian newsprint media. *Social Identities*, 18(5), 573–592. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13504630.2012.692895>
- Jarvis, A. (2013, May 15). "Migrant workers at risk". *Windsor Star*. Retrieved from:

[www.windsorstar.com/Migrant+workers+risk/8385986/story.htm](http://www.windsorstar.com/Migrant+workers+risk/8385986/story.htm)

Jeffrey, C. (2008). Waiting. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26(6), 954–958.

Jirón, P., & Imilan, W. A. (2015). Embodying flexibility: Experiencing labour flexibility through urban daily mobility in Santiago de Chile. *Mobilities*, 10(1), 119–135. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.848583>

Jones Consulting Group Ltd. (2011). *Discussion paper: Leamington Uptown Commercial Community Improvement Plan*. Report prepared by Jones Consulting Group Ltd. Retrieved from <http://www.leamington.ca/en/municipalservices/resources/DiscussionPaperLeamingtonUptownCommunityImprovementPlan-Jun2011.pdf>. Accessed 21 September 2013.

Jones Consulting Group Ltd. (2012). *Leamington Uptown Commercial District Community Improvement Plan, Draft No. 4*. Report prepared by Jones Consulting Group Ltd. Retrieved from <http://www.leamington.ca/en/municipalservices/resources/Draft4LeamingtonUptownCommunityImprovementPlan-Apr2012.pdf> Accessed 21 September 2013.

Kalir, B. (2013). Moving subjects, stagnant paradigms: Can the ‘mobilities paradigm’ transcend methodological nationalism? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(2): 311-327. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2013.723260

Katz, C. (1994). Playing the field: Questions of fieldwork in geography. *Professional Geographer*, 46(1), 67–72. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.0033-0124.1994.00067.x>

Katz, C. (2004). *Growing up global: Economic restructuring and children’s everyday lives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kautsky, K. (1988). *On the agrarian question*. (Vol. 1 & 2). (Trans. P. Burgess, H. Alavi & T. Shanin, Eds.). Winchester: Zwan Publications.

Kearns, R.A. (2005). Knowing seeing? Undertaking observational research. I. Hay (Ed.)

- Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (p.196-206). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kirouac-Fram, J. (2012). "Public transportation is very important to Wal-Mart": The urban bus and race in the neoliberal age. *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society*, 14(3-4), 160–184. <http://doi.org/10.1080/10999949.2012.763701>
- Kusenbach, M. (2003). Street phenomenology: The go-along as ethnographic research tool. *Ethnography*, 4(3), 455–485. <http://doi.org/10.1177/146613810343007>
- Kwan, M.-P., & Schwanen, T. (2016). Geographies of mobility. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 106(2), 243–256. <http://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2015.1123067>
- Langan, C. (2001). Mobility Disability. *Public Culture*, 13(3), 459–484. <http://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-13-3-459>
- Law Commission of Ontario. (2012). *Vulnerable workers and precarious work*. Report by the Law Commission of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario. Retrieved from <http://www.lco-cdo.org/en/vulnerable-workers-final-report>
- Lee, D. (2015). The unbearable weight of irresponsibility and the lightness of tumbleweeks: Cumulative irresponsibility in neoliberal streetscapes. In S. Zavestoski & J. Agyeman (Eds.), *Incomplete Streets: Processes, Practices and Possibilities* (pp. 77-93). New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group
- Lefebvre, H. (1971). *Everyday life in the modern world*. (Trans. by S. Rabinovitch). New York: Penguin Books.
- Lefebvre, H. (2004). *Rhythmanalysis: Space, time and everyday life*. (Trans. by S. Elden). London: Continuum.
- Lefebvre, H. (2005). *Critique of everyday life* (Vol. 1). (Trans. by J. Moore). New York: Verso.
- Legall, P. (2005, September 29). Car kills two men cycling on rural road. *Hamilton Spectator*,

p.A1.

Legall, P. (2005a, October 5) Farm workers mourn 'outstanding sons of Jamaica'. *Hamilton Spectator*, p.A3.

Legall, P. (2007, September 27). Expert testifies car was speeding. *Hamilton Spectator*, n.p.

Legall, P. (2008, March 19). No jail for driver who killed two. *Hamilton Spectator*, p.A5.

Lewis, H., P. Dwyer, S. Hodgkinson, and L. Waite. (2014). Hyper-precarious lives: Migrants, work and forced labour in the global North. *Progress in Human Geography* 39 (5): 1–21. doi:10.1177/0309132514548303.

Lindeke, W. A. (2015). *In search of new riders: Affective exclusions and bicycle planning in Minneapolis/Saint Paul*. (Dissertation) Department of Geography, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Lubitow, A., & Miller, T. R. (2013). Contesting sustainability: Bikes, race and politics in Portlandia. *Environmental Justice*, 6(4), 121–126. <http://doi.org/10.1089/env.2013.0018>

Lucas, K. (2004). *Running on empty: Transport, social exclusion and environmental justice*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Lugo, A. E. (2010). Planning for diverse use/rs: Ethnographic research on bikes, bodies and public space in LA. *Kroeber Anthropological Society*, 101(1), 49–65.

Lugo, A. E. (2013). CicLAvia and human infrastructure in Los Angeles: Ethnographic experiments in equitable bike planning. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 30(June), 202–207. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2008.05.007>

Macartney-Filgate, T. (Dir.) (1959). *The Back-Breaking Leaf* [Motion picture]. Canada: National Film Board of Canada.

Martens, H., & Epps, F. (1976). *Mennonites from Mexico: Their immigration and settlement in Canada*. Research Grants Program, Canada Manpower and Immigration & Mennonite

Central Committee, Toronto, Ontario.

- Martin, C. (2011). Desperate passage: Violent mobilities and the politics of discomfort. *Journal of Transport Geography* 19(5): 1046–1052.
- Mason, J. (2013). *Writing unemployment: Worklessness, mobility and citizenship in twentieth century Canadian literatures*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Massey, D. (1993). Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place. In J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson, & L. Tickner (Eds.), *Mapping the futures: Local cultures, global Change* (pp. 59–69). New York: Routledge.
- McDowell, L. (2008). Thinking through work: Complex inequalities, constructions of difference and transnational migrants. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(4), 491–507.
- McGrath, S. (2013). Many chains to break: The multi-dimensional concept of slave labour in Brazil. *Antipode*, 45(4), 1005–1028.
- McGuinness, M., Murray, L., & Fincham, B. (Eds.). (2010). *Mobile methodologies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Miles, R. (1987). *Capitalism and unfree labour: Anomaly or necessity?* New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Milligan, I. (2014). *Rebel youth: 1960's Labour unrest, young workers, and New Leftists in English Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Minkoff-Zern, L.-A. (2014). Challenging the agrarian imaginary: Farmworker-led food movements and the potential for farm labor justice. *Human Geography*, 7(1), 85–101.
- Mitchell, D. (1996). *The lie of the land: Migrant workers and the California landscape*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mitchell, D. (2011). Labor's Geography: Capital, Violence, Guest Workers and the Post-World War II Landscape. *Antipode*, 43(2), 563–595.

- Mitchell, D. (2012). *They saved the crops: Labor, landscape, and the struggle over industrial farming in Bracero-era California*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Moran, D., Piacentini, L., & Pallot, J. (2012). Disciplined mobility and carceral geography: Prisoner transport in Russia. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(3), 446–460. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2011.00483.x>
- Nash, J. C. (2008). Re-thinking intersectionality. *Feminist Review*, 89, 1–15.
- Noseworthy, K. (2016, August 4). ‘It’s a great loss’ says farmers of migrant worker’s death. *Hamilton Spectator*. Retrieved from <http://www.thespec.com/news-story/6794578--it-s-a-great-loss-says-farmer-of-migrant-worker-s-death/>.
- Office of the Chief Coroner for Ontario. (2012). *Cycling Death Review*. Office of the Chief Coroner of Ontario, Toronto, Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.mcscs.jus.gov.on.ca/stellent/groups/public/@mcscs/@www/@com/documents/webasset/ec159773.pdf>
- Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Grower Marketing Board. (1965-1980). *Annual Reports*. Tillsonburg: OFCTGMB.
- Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA). (2012). *Southern Ontario region at a glance*. OMAFRA, Toronto, Canada. Retrieved from [http://www.omafra.gov.on.ca/english/stats/county/southern\\_ontario.pdf](http://www.omafra.gov.on.ca/english/stats/county/southern_ontario.pdf)
- O.P.T. v. Presteve Foods Ltd., Human Rights Tribunal of Ontario HTRO 675 1–90 (2015).
- Oswin, N. (2012). The queer time of creative urbanism: Family, futurity, and global city Singapore. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(7), 1624–1640. <http://doi.org/10.1068/a44282>
- Packer, J. (2006). *Mobility without mayhem: Safety, cars and citizenship*. New Haven: Duke University Press.
- Parfitt, J. (2005.) Questionnaire design and sampling. In R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (Eds.), *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project* (p.78-109).

Prentice Hall.

- Parks, V. (2016). Rosa Parks redux: Racial mobility projects on the journey to work. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 47(50), 1184 – 1202.  
<http://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2015.1100061>
- Parr, J. (1985). Hired men: Ontario agricultural wage labour in historical perspective. *Labour/Le Travail*, 15(2), 91–103.
- Pearce, D. (2012, September 11). Totally burned out. *Simcoe Reformer*, p. A1.
- Peart v. Ontario (Community Safety and Correctional Services), Human Rights Tribunal of Ontario HTRO 611 113 (2014).
- Pennington, R. (2006, June 8). Migrant worker mourned: Boss, co-workers shaken by bicycle. *Windsor Star*, p.5.
- Perry, J. A. (2012). Barely legal: Racism and migrant farm labour in the context of Canadian multiculturalism. *Citizenship Studies*, 16(2), 189–201.
- Picchio, A. (1992). *Social reproduction: The political economy of the labour market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pilgeram, R. (2012). Social sustainability and the white, nuclear family: Constructions of gender, race, and class at a northwest farmers' market. *Race, Gender & Class*, 19(1-2), 37–60.
- Pratt, G. (2004). *Working feminism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Preibisch, K. (2003). *Patterns of social exclusion and inclusion of migrant workers in rural Canada*. Report prepared for the North-South Institute, Ottawa, Canada.
- Preibisch, K. (2007). Globalizing work, globalizing citizenship: Community-migrant worker alliances in southwestern Ontario. In L. Goldring & S. Krishnamurti (Eds.), *Organizing the transnational: Labour, politics and social change* (pp. 108–125). Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

- Preibisch, K. (2010). Pick-your-own labor: Migrant workers and flexibility in Canadian agriculture. *International Migration Review*, 44(2), 404–441.
- Preibisch, K. & Hermoso Santamaria, L.M. (2006). Engendering labour migration: The case of foreign workers in Canadian agriculture. In: E. Tastsoglou and A. Dobrowolsky (Eds.), *Women, migration and citizenship: Making local, national and transnational connections* (pp.107–130). Burlington: Ashgate.
- Preibisch, K., & Encalada Grez, E. (2010). The other side of el Otro Lado: Mexican migrant women and labor flexibility in Canadian agriculture. *Signs*, 35(2), 289–316.
- Preibisch, K., & Hennebry, J. (2011). Temporary migration, chronic effects: The health of international migrant workers in Canada. *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 183(9), 1033–1038.
- Pucher, J., Buehler, R., & Seinen, M. (2011). Bicycling renaissance in North America? An update and re-appraisal of cycling trends and policies. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 45(6), 451–475. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.tra.2011.03.001>
- Rajan, S. (2006). Automobility and the liberal disposition. *The Sociological Review*, 51(1), 113–129. Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2006.00640.x/full>
- Ramsaroop, C., & Wolk, K. (2009). Can we achieve racial equity in the food security movement? In C. Palassio & A. Wilcox (Eds.), *The Edible City: Toronto's food from farm to fork* (pp. 252–263). Toronto: Coach House Books.
- Ramsey, D., & Smit, B. (2001). Impacts of changes in the flue-cured tobacco sector on farmers in Ontario, Canada. *Applied Geography*, 21, 347–368.
- Ramsey, D., & Smit, B. (2002). Rural community well-being : models and application to changes in the tobacco-belt in Ontario, Canada. *Geoforum*, 33, 367–384.
- Ramsey, D., Stewart, C., Troughton, M., & Smit, B. (2003). Agricultural restructuring of Ontario

- tobacco production. *The Great Lakes Geographer*, 9(2), 71–93.
- Rogaly, B. (2009). Spaces of work and everyday life: Labour geographies and the agency of unorganized temporary migrant workers. *Geography Compass*, 3(6), 1975–1967.
- Rogaly, B. (2015). Disrupting migration stories: Reading life histories through the lens of mobility and fixity. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 33(3), 528–544. <http://doi.org/10.1068/d13171p>
- Rose, G. (1997). Situating knowledges: Positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3), 305–321.
- Roseman, S. R., Barber, P. G., & Neis, B. (2015). Towards a Feminist Political Economy framework for analyzing employment-related geographical mobility. *Studies in Political Economy*, 95(Spring), 175–203.
- Ross, K. (1995). *Fast cars, clean bodies: Decolonization and the reordering of French culture*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Sacheli, S. (2012, May 28). Leamington grant program revealed, migrants called “problem.” *Windsor Star*. Retrieved from <http://blogs.windsorstar.com/2012/05/28/leamington-grant-program-unveiled-migrants-called-problem/>
- Salter, M. B. (2013). To make move and let stop: Mobility and the assemblage of circulation. *Mobilities*, 8(1), 7–19. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2012.747779>
- Satzewich, V. (1991). *Racism and the incorporation of foreign labour: Farm labour migration in Canada since 1945*. New York: Routledge.
- Satzewich, V. (2008). Business or bureaucratic dominance in immigration policymaking in Canada: Why was Mexico included in the Caribbean Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program in 1974? *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 8(3), 255–275.
- Shabazz, R. (2015). *Spatializing Blackness: Architectures of confinement and Black masculinity in Chicago*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

- Sharma, N. (2006). *Home economics: Nationalism and the making of “migrant workers” in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Sheller, M. (2004). Automotive emotions: Feeling the Car. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21(4-5), 221–242. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0263276404046068>
- Sheller, M. (2015). Racialized mobility transitions in Philadelphia: Connecting urban sustainability and transport justice. *City and Society* 27 (1): 70–91. doi:10.1111/ciso.12049
- Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2000). The city and the car. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24(4), 738–757.
- Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(2), 207–226.
- Silver, B. J. (2003). *Forces of labor: Workers’ movements and globalization since 1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sinkowski, C. (2007, November). Bikes without borders. *Briarpatch Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/bikes-without-borders>.
- Smit, B., Johnston, T., & Morse, R. (1985). Labour turnover on flue-cured tobacco farms in Southern Ontario. *Agricultural Administration*, 20(1), 153–168.
- Smith, C. (2006). The double indeterminacy of labour power: Labour effort and labour mobility. *Work, Employment & Society*, 20(2), 389–402. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017006065109>
- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board (SSH REB). (2005). *Guidelines for Ethical Conduct in Participant Observation*. University of Toronto SSH REB. Retrieved from <http://www.research.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/Participant-Observation-Guidelines.pdf>
- Sonnenberg, M. (2011, September 12). Bunkhouse response called “xenophobic.” *Simcoe Reformer*. Retrieved from <http://www.simcoereformer.ca/2011/12/09/bunkhouse-response-called-xenophobic>

- Sook Lee, M. (Dir.) (2004). *El Contrato* [Motion picture]. Canada: National Film Board of Canada.
- Spinney, J. (2007). Cycling the city: Non-place and the sensory construction of meaning in a mobile practice. In P. Rosen, P. Cox, & D. Horton (Eds.), *Cycling & Society* (pp. 25–46). Burlington: Ashgate.
- Spinney, J. (2009). Cycling the city: Movement, meaning and method. *Geography Compass*, 3(2), 817–835. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2008.00211.x>
- Spinney, J. (2011). A chance to catch a breath: Using mobile video ethnography in cycling research. *Mobilities*, 6(2), 161–182. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2011.552771>
- Spinney, J., Aldred, R., & Brown, K. (2015). Geographies of citizenship and everyday (im)mobility. *Geoforum*, 64, 325–332. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.04.013>
- Statistics Canada (2011). CANSIM Table 0040230, 2011 Census of Agriculture, Statistics Canada.
- Stehlin, J. (2014). Regulating inclusion: Spatial form, social process, and the normalization of cycling practice in the USA. *Mobilities*, 9(1), 21–41. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.784527>
- Strauss, K. (2012). Coerced, forced and unfree labour: Geographies of exploitation in contemporary labour markets. *Geography Compass*, 6(3), 137–148. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2011.00474.x>
- Strauss, K., & McGrath, S. (2016). Temporary migration, precarious employment and unfree labour relations: Exploring the “continuum of exploitation” in Canada’s Temporary Foreign Worker Program. *Geoforum*. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.01.008>
- Stuesse, A., & Coleman, M. (2014). Automobility, immobility, altermobility: Surviving and resisting the intensification of immigrant policing. *City & Society*, 26(1), 51–72. <http://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12034.I>
- Tait, L. (1968). *Tobacco in Canada*. Tillsonburg: Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers Marketing

Board.

- Tomic, P., & Trumper, R. (2012). Mobilities and Immobilities: Globalization, Farming, and Temporary Work in the Okanagan Valley. In P. T. Lenard & C. Straehle (Eds.), *Legislated inequality: Temporary labour migration in Canada* (pp. 73–94). Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Thomas, D. (2010). *Foreign nationals working temporarily in Canada*. Statistics Canada, Canadian Social Trends, no. 11(008-X), pp. 32–48.
- Thompson, C. (2016, March 20). 'My world shattered': Family grieves son killed in collision. *Windsor Star*. Retrieved from <http://windsorstar.com/news/localnews/myworldshatteredfamilygrievessonkilledincollision>.
- Schell, G. (2002). Farmworker exceptionalism under the law: How the legal system contributes to farmworker poverty and powerlessness. In C. Thompson & M. Wiggins (Eds.) *The human cost of food: Farmworkers' lives, labor, and advocacy* (pp.139-166). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Stasiulis, D. K., & Bakan, A. (2005). *Negotiating citizenship: Migrant women in Canada and the global system*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Town of Niagara-on-the-Lake. (2004). *Transportation Master Plan Study*. Town of Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, Canada. Retrieved from [http://www.rnbc.info/Press\\_Room/Final\\_Executive\\_Summary\\_Nov\\_2004\\_NOTL.pdf](http://www.rnbc.info/Press_Room/Final_Executive_Summary_Nov_2004_NOTL.pdf)
- Tucker, E. (2012). Farm worker exceptionalism: Past, present, and the post-Fraser future. In F. Faraday, J. Fudge, & E. Tucker (Eds.), *Constitutional Labour Rights in Canada: Farm Workers and the Fraser Case* (pp. 41–67). Toronto: Irwin Law.
- Tufts, S. (2009). Hospitality unionism and labour market adjustment: Toward Schumpeterian unionism? *Geoforum*, 40(6), 980–990.
- Tufts, S., & Savage, L. (2009). Labouring geography: Negotiating scales, strategies and future

- directions. *Geoforum*, 40(6), 945–948.
- United Food & Commercial Workers Canada. (2011). *Report on the status of migrant workers in Canada, 2011*. Report prepared by the United Food and Commercial Workers, Rexdale, Canada.
- UFCW Canada & the Agriculture Workers Alliance. (2015). *The status of migrant farm workers in Canada, 2015*. Report by the UFCW Canada & Agricultural Workers Alliance, Rexdale, Canada.
- Urry, J. (2004). The “system” of automobility. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21(4-5), 25–39.
- Urry, J., Witchger, K., & Büscher, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Mobile methods*. New York: Routledge.
- Varsanyi, M. W. (2010). *Taking local control: Immigration policy activism in U.S. cities & states*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Verma, V. (2003). *The Mexican and Caribbean Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program: Regulatory and policy framework, farm industry level employment practices, and the future of the program under unionization*. Report prepared for The North-South Institute, Ottawa, Canada.
- Vosko, L. (2015). Blacklisting as a modality of deportability: Mexico’s response to circular migrant agricultural workers' pursuit of collective bargaining rights in British Columbia, Canada. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 9451(December), 1–17. <http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1111134>
- Vosko, L. F. (Ed.). (2006). *Precarious employment: Understanding labour market insecurity in Canada*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- Waite, L. (2009). A place and space for a critical geography of precarity? *Geography Compass*, 3(1), 412–433.
- Waite, G., and T. Harada. (2016). Parenting, care and the family car. *Social & Cultural Geography* (early online view): 1-21. doi:10.1080/14649365.2016.1152395.

- Walker, R. A. (2004). *The conquest of bread*. New York: The New Press.
- Walks, A. (Ed.). (2015). *Urban political economy & ecology of automobility: Driving cities, driving inequality, driving politics*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Wall, E. (1996). Unions in the field. *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 44, 515–526.
- Watson, A. & Till, K. (2010). Ethnography and Participant Observation. In D. DeLyser, S. Herbert, S Aitken, M. Crang & L. McDowell (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography* (p. 121-138). Sage.
- Wilhelm, T. (2009, August 5). 'Senseless death' outrages Mexican migrant community. *Windsor Star*, p.3.
- Wills, J. (2005). The geography of union organising in low-paid service industries in the UK: Lessons from the T&G's campaign to unionise the Dorchester hotel, London. *Antipode*, 37(1), 139–159. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.0066-4812.2005.00477.x>
- Wills, J., Datta, K., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., May, J., & McIlwaine, C. (2010). *Global cities at work: New Migrant divisions of labour*. New York: Pluto Press.
- Windsor Star. (1997, June 9). Police seek clues about identity of crash victim. *Windsor Star*, p.5
- Wright, E. O. (2000). Working-class power, capitalist-class interests, and class compromise. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(4), 957–1002.
- Wright, M. W. (2006). Differences that matter. In N. Castree & D. Gregory (Eds.), *David Harvey: A critical reader* (pp.80-101). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Yeoh, B. S. A., & Huang, S. (2010). Transnational domestic workers and the negotiation of mobility and work practices in Singapore's Home-spaces. *Mobilities*, 5(2), 219–236.

## Appendices

### **Appendix B: Statistical overview of the SAWP within the context of temporary agricultural labour migration to Canada, 2006-2013.**

**Figure 18: Number of approvals for temporary agricultural workers to Canada, 2006-2013**

	Canada			Ontario				Total – Canada
	SAWP	Agricultural Stream	Lower Skilled	SAWP	Agricultural Stream	Lower Skilled	Total	
<b>2006</b>	26,610	-	2,930	20,420	-	985	21,685	30,330
<b>2007</b>	25,340	-	4,370	17,660	-	1,695	19,700	30,985
<b>2008</b>	27,845	-	6,145	18,340	-	1,715	20,375	35,185
<b>2009</b>	28,780	-	7,475	18,170	-	1,785	20,135	37,205
<b>2010</b>	27,685	-	7,045	18,195	-	1,915	20,380	35,860
<b>2011</b>	28,835	2,160	6,030	18,700	870	1,275	21,095	37,955
<b>2012</b>	29,020	7,680	2,385	18,500	1,340	1,110	21,130	40,275
<b>2013</b>	34,045	8,485	1,905	20,845	1,260	930	23,185	45,370

Source: Employment and Social Development Canada, 2014a

# Appendix B: Information Sheet for Research Participants (Workers)



## LETTER OF INFORMATION: Doctoral research on migrant agricultural workers' mobility in Ontario

My name is Emily Reid-Musson and I am a doctoral student at the University of Toronto in Geography. I am doing research on cycling, transportation and mobility in migrant farm worker communities in southern Ontario. I am approaching people from these communities to participate in a 30 minute survey on mobility, and if appropriate, a 30-60 minute interview on the same topic. I am recruiting individuals who are migrant farm workers or individuals who work, employ, provide services or advocacy to migrant farm workers to participate in surveys and interviews. If you are a worker, I will ask you about your experiences and opinions regarding mobility in relation to sense of belonging, employment and citizenship status. I am also speaking to social agencies, politicians, employers and employer representatives and civil servants on their roles in shaping transportation access and mobility. The results of this study will be published and presented. If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me at the phone number and email on the card I gave you. If you speak English, you can also contact Alan Walks, my research supervisor and the Ethics Review Office at the University of Toronto. Their contact information is listed at the bottom.

Your participation is voluntary and you may refuse to participate. You can also begin the survey or interview and withdraw at any time. You may decline to answer any question or any part of the process. None of these decisions will result in negative consequences. Your answers will be private, anonymous and confidential. Before an interview, I will ask you for permission to make an audio recording, and afterwards I will transcribe that recording making sure to hide any identifying features, through the use of pseudonyms and generic descriptions of places, dates and events so that your identity and privacy are protected. That means that I will not share your name or place names you mention with anyone. After documenting the audio recordings and surveys, I will destroy them. If you do choose to withdraw from the study, I will destroy the audio or document material you provided. Only I will have access to the information you provided to me. There is no direct benefit for participating in this research. While I am committed to protecting your privacy and anonymity to the highest degree possible, as a migrant farm worker there are possible risks to your work status, for example, that may stem from participating in this research. Compensation is provided in the form of bike lights, as gratitude for your participation. If you choose to withdraw compensation will not be affected. At any time, please contact me if you have questions, concerns or comments.

*If you participate in a group:* All of us in this group will know each other's identities and answers. Our answers will be anonymous and confidential outside the group as long as participants agree to each other's privacy and confidentiality. If you chose to withdraw what you shared with the group after agreeing to participate or after the focus group has ended, I will make every effort to do so.

## CONTACT

Emily Reid-Musson  
Geography and Planning  
University of Toronto  
(647) 464-3371  
[emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca](mailto:emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca)

Supervising professor, Dr. Alan Walks  
Geography and Planning  
University of Toronto  
(905) 828-3932  
[alan.walks@utoronto.ca](mailto:alan.walks@utoronto.ca)

Research Ethics Review Board  
University of Toronto  
[ethics.review@utoronto.ca](mailto:ethics.review@utoronto.ca)  
(416) 946-3273

**CARTA INFORMATIVA: Investigación sobre la movilidad en comunidades de trabajadores agrícolas en Ontario**

Mi nombre es Emily Reid-Musson y soy estudiante de doctorado en la Universidad de Toronto en el Departamento de Geografía. Mi investigación trata los temas del ciclismo, el transporte y movilidad en la vida diaria de trabajadores agrícolas en el Canadá. Quiero invitar a trabajadores para participar en una encuesta de 30 minutos y si es apropiado, en una entrevista cuya duración sería entre 30 a 60 minutos. Me interesaría conocer sus experiencias y opiniones sobre su propia movilidad durante la temporada de trabajo en Ontario. En especial, me interesa la relación entre la movilidad física y social, y entre la movilidad y el trabajo temporal en agricultura. Además, quiero conocer el rol de las agencias sociales, los representantes de empleadores, y funcionarios públicos en promover o limitar la movilidad de trabajadores temporales en sus lugares de trabajo. Al cabo del proyecto, los resultados serán publicados y presentados. Cualquier pregunta que usted tenga, por favor, comuníquese conmigo por teléfono y/o por correo electrónico.

Su participación es voluntaria y usted está libre de negarse a participar. Usted puede empezar el proceso y luego retirarse en cualquier momento. Puede negarse a responder cualquier pregunta o cualquier parte de la encuesta sin que esto resulte en consecuencias negativas. Sus respuestas serán privadas, anónimas y confidenciales. En el caso de las entrevistas, le pido permiso para hacer una grabación del audio. Es mi intención hacer copias escritas de las grabaciones, cuidando de ocultar su identidad y las identidades de otras personas, eventos, lugares y fechas que usted haya descrito durante el proceso de la entrevista. Después, pretendo destruir las grabaciones (que sean audio u escritas, en el caso de las encuestas). Sólo yo tendré acceso a la información que usted contribuya al proyecto. Su decisión de participar en este proyecto no implica beneficios. Aunque me comprometo a proteger su privacidad y anonimidad, siempre corre un algún riesgo como trabajador temporal en Canadá. Una compensación en forma de luces para bicicleta será entregada como agradecimiento por su participación. En cualquier momento no dude en hacerme preguntas, comunicar sus opiniones o pedir explicaciones.

*Si es participante en grupo:* Todos los presentes en el grupo conoceremos las identidades y contribuciones de cada uno. Les pido mantener dicha información privada y confidencial para mantener nuestra privacidad y confidencialidad como participantes. Si alguno de ustedes decide retirarse del grupo, yo retiraré toda su contribución de los resultados finales.

**CONTACTO**

<p><b>Emily Reid-Musson</b> Geografía y Planificación Universidad de Toronto 1 (647) 464-3371 <a href="mailto:emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca">emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca</a> (Inglés y español)</p>	<p><b>Supervisor, Dr. Alan Walks</b> Geografía y Planificación Universidad de Toronto 1 (905) 828-3932 <a href="mailto:alan.walks@utoronto.ca">alan.walks@utoronto.ca</a> (Inglés)</p>	<p><b>Research Ethics Review Board</b> (comité de ética en investigaciones) Universidad de Toronto <a href="mailto:ethics.review@utoronto.ca">ethics.review@utoronto.ca</a> 1 (416) 946-3273 (Inglés)</p>
---	--	---

## Appendix C: Interview Guide (Workers)

NAME:	
DATE:	
LOCATION:	
—	STUDY EXPLAINED/INTRODUCED
—	INFORMED CONSENT EXPLAINED
—	INFORMED CONSENT GIVEN

### Personal information

1. AGE/*Edad*:
2. SEX/*Género*:
3. CURRENT WORK LOCATION/*Sitio de trabajo actual*:
4. PLACES OF WORK IN CANADA OTHER THAN CURRENT/*Otro(s) lugar(es) de trabajo en Canadá*:
5. OTHER PLACES OF WORK (OUTSIDE CANADA)/*Otro(s) sitio(s) de trabajo fuera de Canadá*:
6. YEARS OF WORK IN CANADA/*Años de trabajo en Canadá*:
7. NATIONALITY/*Nacionalidad*:

### Mobility between housing and work

8. DO YOU LIVE IN HOUSING PROVIDED BY YOUR EMPLOYER?*¿Vive en alojamiento que proporciona su empleador?*
  - Please describe/*Por favor explicar*: \_\_\_\_\_
9. HOW MANY CO-WORKERS DO YOU HAVE/*Cuántos compañeros de trabajo tiene?*  
\_\_\_\_\_
10. HOW DO YOU GET TO WORK EVERY DAY/*Cómo llega a trabajar cada día?*
11. WHAT DISTANCE DO YOU TRAVEL TO WORK EVERYDAY?*¿Qué distancia viaja para llegar a trabajar cada día?*
12. HOW MANY HOURS DID YOU WORK ON YOUR LAST PAYCHEQUE?*¿Cuántas horas trabajaste en su último cheque?* \_\_\_\_\_
13. IF YOU LIVE ON OR NEAR YOUR WORKPLACE, HOW OFTEN DO YOU LEAVE YOUR WORK-LIVE SITE?*¿Si vive en el sitio de trabajo mismo o muy cerca del trabajo, con qué frecuencia puede salir del lugar de trabajo y vivienda?*
14. WHAT TOWNS AND CITIES DO YOU VISIT, AND HOW OFTEN?*¿Cuales pueblos visita, y con qué frecuencia?*

15. HAVE YOU BEEN ABLE TO TRAVEL OR VISIT ANYWHERE (BEYOND THE NEAREST TOWN) WHILE IN CANADA? / *Ha podido viajar o visitar sitios fuera de la comunidad donde trabaja (por ejemplo, sitios turísticos o para visitar a familiares)?*

Employer-provided transportation

16. DESCRIBE HOW OFTEN YOUR EMPLOYER PROVIDES YOU WITH TRANSPORTATION, AND ANY RELATED POLICIES.

17. DOES YOUR EMPLOYER EVER LEND YOU A VEHICLE AS WORKERS? / *Su patrón le presta un vehículo a ustedes como trabajador(es)?*

*[If no, skip to #28]*

HOW OFTEN? / *Con qué frecuencia?*

WHO DRIVES IN THESE CASES? / *Quién maneja en estos casos?*

WHERE DO YOU GO, HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU HAVE, AND WHAT DO YOU DO DURING THIS TIME? / *Dónde va, cuánto tiempo tiene, y qué hace durante este tiempo?*

Bicycles

18. DO YOU CYCLE?

- IF SO, HOW OFTEN? WHERE? WHAT DO YOU DO?
- IF NOT, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHY.

19. HOW WOULD YOU EXPLAIN WHY SO MANY SEASONAL WORKERS CYCLE? / *Cómo me explicarías porque muchos trabajadores usan bicicletas?*

Taxis

20. UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES DO YOU USE TAXIS? / *Bajo cuales circunstancias usa taxis?*

Other – Personal Mobility

21. DO YOU HAVE A DRIVER'S LICENSE? / *Tiene licencia de conducir?*

22. IS THERE A WAY THAT YOU GET AROUND THAT I HAVEN'T MENTIONED? / *Cuales otros modos de transporte usa?*

23. WHAT ARE YOUR BOSS' RULES OR POLICIES REGARDING TRANSPORTATION, WHETHER CYCLING, TAXIS, PRIVATE CARS, ETC? / *Recibió instrucciones o reglas con respecto a su movilidad, que sea el ciclismo, taxis, carros, u otro modo de transporte?*

24. DO YOU HAVE TO TELL YOUR BOSS OR ANYONE ELSE WHEN AND/OR WHERE YOU ARE GOING? *¿Tiene la obligación de informar a su empleador, compañeros, mayordomo/gerente, y/u oficial civil o del consulado de los detalles cuando sale?*
25. COMPARE YOUR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT BETWEEN DIFFERENT WORK LOCATIONS IN CANADA *Comparar su libertad de movimiento entre diferentes sitios de trabajo. [IF APPLICABLE]*
26. HOW MUCH FREEDOM TO MOVE IN CANADA WOULD YOU SAY YOU HAVE? *¿Cuánta libertad de movilidad en Canadá siente que posee?*
27. HOW WOULD YOU COMPARE YOUR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IN CANADA FROM THAT IN YOUR HOME COUNTRY? *¿Cómo distingue su libertad de movilidad en Canadá a la calidad de movilidad que tiene en su país de origen?*

CONCLUSION

# Appendix D: Information Sheet & Consent Form (Government & Other Interviews)



**FROM:** Emily Reid-Musson, PhD Candidate, Geography, University of Toronto

**To whom it may concern:**

**RE: Letter of Information** regarding doctoral research on cycling, transportation and mobility in seasonal/temporary farm worker communities in Ontario.

My name is Emily Reid-Musson and I am a doctoral student at the University of Toronto. I am currently engaged in my thesis research under the supervision of Dr. Alan Walks in the Department of Geography and Planning. Migrant workers (representing both Seasonal Agricultural Worker Programs and Temporary Foreign Worker Programs) are heavily dependent on non-car mobility and on their employers to circulate in Canadian communities. In agro-industrial sectors, for example, bicycles and taxis are a affordable and independent means of transportation. Since 2005, 23 individuals in migrant work have been killed and over a dozen have been seriously injured, while cycling or travelling in employer-provided vans. My doctoral research examines migrants' mobile practices and experiences through participant observation, surveys and interviews among workers and other relevant individuals and agencies. My research questions are: (1) How does migrant workers' geographical location, as well as social and legal status influence their access to a dequate mobility? (2) How have various levels of government and civil society addressed migrants' access to a dequate transportation and lack of mobility? (3) How do migrant workers practice mobility in Canadian regions where they are employed, despite constraints identified?

I would like to invite you to be interviewed as part of my research. I will be asking you questions on your involvement in:

---

---

---

Please let me know if you have any questions or concerns at any point. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Alan Walks at [alan.walks@utoronto.ca](mailto:alan.walks@utoronto.ca) or (905) 828-3932.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Emily Reid-Musson  
PhD Candidate  
Department of Geography  
University of Toronto  
(647) 464-3371  
[Emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca](mailto:Emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca)

**Consent form**

I have been given, read and understand the Letter of Information provided to me by the researcher. My signature below indicates that I consent to participating freely and willingly in the study outlined in the Letter of Information.

By providing your consent, you agree to participate in an interview. The interview is designed to last up to 60 minutes. The interview will, with your permission, be digitally recorded. There will be no remuneration provided for participating in this project. There are no known physical, psychological, economic or social risks associated with participation in this research project.

Please note that all information gathered from you will not be treated as confidential unless indicated otherwise below. Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary and name and identifying characteristics will not be revealed in any publications or reports that result from this research, without your written permission. You are free to withdraw up to and including the end of the interview. You may decline to answer any question.

I consent to participate in this interview	Yes ___ No ___
I agree to have this interview recorded	Yes ___ No ___
I agree to be named in this study. Information I provide will not be treated as confidential.	Yes ___ No ___

You can contact me by phone at (647) 464-3371 and by email at [emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca](mailto:emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca).

You can contact my supervising professor as follows: Dr. Alan Walks - by phone at (905) 828-3932, or by e-mail at [alan.walks@utoronto.ca](mailto:alan.walks@utoronto.ca).

You may contact the Ethics Review Office at the University of Toronto at [ethics.review@utoronto.ca](mailto:ethics.review@utoronto.ca), or at (416) 946-3273 if you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix E: Email Invitation to Participate in Survey

You are being requested to participate in a 10 minute survey because your website, trade organization website, or Norfolk County website shows you are a farm employer in southern Ontario. Your email was located on those websites. Survey respondents will be compensated with a \$10 Tim Horton's gift card. This letter outlines the purpose of the survey so you can be properly informed in your decision to complete the survey or not.

Research project: The survey is part of Emily Reid-Musson's PhD dissertation research in Geography at the University of Toronto. As an employer you likely know that 'offshore' farm workers often depend on bicycles to get around. Volunteer groups and the OPP have also provided bicycle safety outreach to offshore workers. The goals of the research are to generate research data on 'mobility' among farm workers that does not currently exist. Rural bike use is poorly understood in bicycle planning and policy. Mobility here refers to any mode of transportation that allows for physical movement. Primary participants in this research are offshore workers themselves, as well as local planners, politicians, employers, and bicycle advocates.

This survey: This survey addresses your role as a farm employer. It will ask how your workers use bicycles and other means of transportation. It will ask you to describe your farm policies for your workers on bike use and transportation, and what agencies – if any – help you make decisions about those policies (churches, OPP, F.A.R.M.S., etc.). It will also ask you about the relationship between government farm worker programs and worker transportation.

Who is eligible to participate: You are eligible to complete the survey if: 1. You're a farm employer or the equivalent (ex.: experienced manager, human resources personnel, family member, etc.); AND 2. You hire from one or more 'offshore' worker program (regardless of government program or worker nationality/origin).

Other information: Completing this survey will take approximately 10 minutes. There are no known risks to participating in this survey. Participation is voluntary, and you may refuse to participate, refuse to respond to particular questions, or withdraw from the survey at any time. Your responses are confidential and accessible only to the researcher collecting the survey results. No identifying information will be collected in the survey. If they wish, survey respondents will be provided with a summary of research results.

Compensation: Compensation for participation will be provided to respondents following their completion of the survey. Participants will be asked to provide a mailing address to send a \$10 Tim Horton's gift card to the respondent. This mailing address will not be used or included in any way to identify the survey respondent, and will not be used in the research data more generally.

Contact: If you have any questions regarding the research or the terms of participation, you can contact the researcher: Emily Reid-Musson (647) 464-3371 [emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca](mailto:emily.reid.musson@utoronto.ca)

How will results be used? The results of the survey will be analyzed, presented and published in academic conferences and publications. In any presentation or publication, no identifying information will be used (including names, or any places, dates, events, and other features that jeopardize anonymity). Completion of the survey is indication that you understand and consent to participating.

(Employers)

# Appendix F: Survey (Employers)

SURVEY: Farm employer policies: Bicycle use and transportation among offshore workers

## GENERAL: FARM BUSINESS TYPE

### What do you currently grow?

Please check up to three most important crops.

<input type="checkbox"/> Ginseng
<input type="checkbox"/> Tobacco
<input type="checkbox"/> Field vegetable
<input type="checkbox"/> Greenhouse vegetable
<input type="checkbox"/> Apples and/or soft fruit
<input type="checkbox"/> Melon
<input type="checkbox"/> Nursery and horticulture
<input type="checkbox"/> Berries
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify... _____

### In which county are your primary operations (ex.: administrative office) currently located?

<input type="radio"/> Brant
<input type="radio"/> Chatham Kent
<input type="radio"/> Norfolk
<input type="radio"/> Oxford
<input type="radio"/> Other, please specify... _____

### What is the maximum or 'peak' number of offshore workers (with temporary work permits) you employed this year and last year (2012 and 2011)?

2012	<input type="text"/>
2011	<input type="text"/>

Within the past five years, how did you hire farm workers from outside Canada? Indicate the nationality of offshore workers you have hired to the left, by selecting the appropriate work permit type in the drop-down boxes in the right-hand column.

Please check all that apply. Leave 'nationality' drop-down boxes blank (e.g. '-') that are not applicable to your hiring history. Please note: 8 month contracts refer to the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (contracts expire annually on December 15th) 1 to 2 year contracts refer to the Low-Skill Pilot Project

Mexican	<input type="radio"/> 8 month work contract
	<input type="radio"/> 1 to 2 year work contract
	<input type="radio"/> Other type of temporary work permit
	<input type="radio"/> Unsure
Jamaican	<input type="radio"/> 8 month work contract
	<input type="radio"/> 1 to 2 year work contract
	<input type="radio"/> Other type of temporary work permit
	<input type="radio"/> Unsure
Other Spanish-speaking country	<input type="radio"/> 8 month work contract
	<input type="radio"/> 1 to 2 year work contract
	<input type="radio"/> Other type of temporary work permit
	<input type="radio"/> Unsure
Other Caribbean country	<input type="radio"/> 8 month work contract
	<input type="radio"/> 1 to 2 year work contract
	<input type="radio"/> Other type of temporary work permit
	<input type="radio"/> Unsure
Thai	<input type="radio"/> 8 month work contract
	<input type="radio"/> 1 to 2 year work contract
	<input type="radio"/> Other type of temporary work permit
	<input type="radio"/> Unsure
Filipino(a)	<input type="radio"/> 8 month work contract
	<input type="radio"/> 1 to 2 year work contract
	<input type="radio"/> Other type of temporary work permit
	<input type="radio"/> Unsure

Other country	<input type="radio"/> 8 month work contract
	<input type="radio"/> 1 to 2 year work contract
	<input type="radio"/> Other type of temporary work permit
	<input type="radio"/> Unsure

Based on your hiring practices in the past year, indicate the gender of your workers, in rough proportions.

<input type="radio"/> All male workers
<input type="radio"/> More male than female workers
<input type="radio"/> Roughly half male and half female workers
<input type="radio"/> More female than male workers
<input type="radio"/> All female workers

Please check the option that best reflects your current attitude:

<input type="radio"/> Workers are free to cycle
<input type="radio"/> I discourage cycling but do not prohibit bike use among workers
<input type="radio"/> I discourage and prohibit bike use among workers

#### GENERAL POLICIES ON BICYCLE USE:

In the past year, what proportion of your workers have used bicycles?

<input type="radio"/> Most
<input type="radio"/> Around half
<input type="radio"/> Very few
<input type="radio"/> None
<input type="radio"/> I don't know

In the past year, how regularly do your workers use bikes?

<input type="radio"/> Daily
<input type="radio"/> Weekly

<input type="radio"/> A few times per month
<input type="radio"/> A few times per year/season
<input type="radio"/> I don't know

Based on your above answers please describe whether these patterns are different now (2012) from previous years (any year prior to 2012).

Changes in how many of my workers use bikes	<input type="radio"/> No change
	<input type="radio"/> Less now than in the past
	<input type="radio"/> More now than in the past
Changes in how regularly my workers use bikes	<input type="radio"/> No change
	<input type="radio"/> Less now than in the past
	<input type="radio"/> More now than in the past

At any point in time, have you been made aware of injuries and/or fatalities incurred by offshore farm workers while riding bicycles?

<input type="radio"/> Yes
<input type="radio"/> No

#### BIKE USE POLICIES (CONT.)

Have you ever provided bicycles for your workers (whether as a gift or for a cost)?

<input type="radio"/> Yes
<input type="radio"/> No

Have you ever had any contact with the following agencies on bike use policies or recommended 'best practices' on bike use among workers?

Please check all that apply.

<input type="checkbox"/> Local volunteer groups
<input type="checkbox"/> Local police

<input type="checkbox"/> F.A.R.M.S.
<input type="checkbox"/> Liaison office or Consulate
<input type="checkbox"/> Local churches
<input type="checkbox"/> None
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify... _____

Please briefly describe what these agencies recommend to employers with regards to worker bicycle use:

**BIKE USE POLICIES (CONT.)**

How do you currently discourage or prohibit workers from cycling?

Please check up to three that apply.

<input type="checkbox"/> Signed contract or form
<input type="checkbox"/> I request that they not use bikes
<input type="checkbox"/> Workers are warned
<input type="checkbox"/> I deduct wages
<input type="checkbox"/> I factor bike use when deciding who to re-hire
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify... _____

Why do you currently discourage or prohibit workers from biking?

Please check up to three that apply.

<input type="checkbox"/> I am concerned about liability
<input type="checkbox"/> I am concerned about the safety/well-being of my employees
<input type="checkbox"/> I was advised to do so by: _____
<input type="checkbox"/> I had a negative experience in the past with workers using bikes
<input type="checkbox"/> I prefer workers remain on the property
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify... _____

Currently, what alternative forms of transportation do you provide?

Please check up to three that apply.

<input type="checkbox"/> No alternatives provided
<input type="checkbox"/> Additional transportation provided upon request in addition to weekly/bi-weekly trips
<input type="checkbox"/> Paid taxi trips on request
<input type="checkbox"/> I provide a vehicle for workers to use (with designated driver)
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify... _____

Have you had any contact with the following agencies on cycling policies or guidelines for your workers?

Please check all that apply.

<input type="checkbox"/> Local volunteer groups
<input type="checkbox"/> Local police
<input type="checkbox"/> F.A.R.M.S.
<input type="checkbox"/> Liaison office or Consulate
<input type="checkbox"/> Local churches
<input type="checkbox"/> None
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify... _____

**GENERAL - WORKER TRANSPORTATION**

'Worker transportation' refers to any transportation that occurs outside of paid work hours.

How often do you currently provide transportation to workers?

Please check all that apply.

<input type="checkbox"/> Weekly trip
<input type="checkbox"/> Bi-weekly trip
<input type="checkbox"/> Medical trips upon request
<input type="checkbox"/> Medical trips for emergencies and serious medical issues
<input type="checkbox"/> Infrequent (e.g.: annual or bi-annual) trips for tourism, recreation, and leisure
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify... _____

**Why do you provide transportation for workers?**

- I'm contractually obliged to do so
- It is a standard practice, but I am not aware of contractual obligations
- I was advised to do so by: \_\_\_\_\_
- Other, please specify... \_\_\_\_\_

Below is a list of commonly used vehicles for worker transportation. On the right, please select from the drop-down box the type of driver most frequently responsible for worker transportation.

Please select only the drop-boxes that correspond to vehicles currently used for worker transportation.

Mini-van or mini-bus	<input type="radio"/> Employer or employer family member <input type="radio"/> Chartered bus drivers <input type="radio"/> Canadian manager <input type="radio"/> Offshore worker manager <input type="radio"/> Designated offshore worker(s) <input type="radio"/> Any employee with a valid license <input type="radio"/> Taxi driver <input type="radio"/> Other
Car	<input type="radio"/> Employer or employer family member <input type="radio"/> Chartered bus drivers <input type="radio"/> Canadian manager <input type="radio"/> Offshore worker manager <input type="radio"/> Designated offshore worker(s) <input type="radio"/> Any employee with a valid license <input type="radio"/> Taxi driver <input type="radio"/> Other
Chartered schoolbus	<input type="radio"/> Employer or employer family member <input type="radio"/> Chartered bus drivers <input type="radio"/> Canadian manager <input type="radio"/> Offshore worker manager

	<input type="radio"/> Designated offshore worker(s) <input type="radio"/> Any employee with a valid license <input type="radio"/> Taxi driver <input type="radio"/> Other
Schoolbus (company owned)	<input type="radio"/> Employer or employer family member <input type="radio"/> Chartered bus drivers <input type="radio"/> Canadian manager <input type="radio"/> Offshore worker manager <input type="radio"/> Designated offshore worker(s) <input type="radio"/> Any employee with a valid license <input type="radio"/> Taxi driver <input type="radio"/> Other
Field vehicle	<input type="radio"/> Employer or employer family member <input type="radio"/> Chartered bus drivers <input type="radio"/> Canadian manager <input type="radio"/> Offshore worker manager <input type="radio"/> Designated offshore worker(s) <input type="radio"/> Any employee with a valid license <input type="radio"/> Taxi driver <input type="radio"/> Other
Pick up truck	<input type="radio"/> Employer or employer family member <input type="radio"/> Chartered bus drivers <input type="radio"/> Canadian manager <input type="radio"/> Offshore worker manager <input type="radio"/> Designated offshore worker(s) <input type="radio"/> Any employee with a valid license <input type="radio"/> Taxi driver <input type="radio"/> Other
Taxi	<input type="radio"/> Employer or employer family member <input type="radio"/> Chartered bus drivers <input type="radio"/> Canadian manager

	<input type="radio"/> Offshore worker manager <input type="radio"/> Designated offshore worker(s) <input type="radio"/> Any employee with a valid license <input type="radio"/> Taxi driver <input type="radio"/> Other
Other	<input type="radio"/> Employer or employer family member <input type="radio"/> Chartered bus drivers <input type="radio"/> Canadian manager <input type="radio"/> Offshore worker manager <input type="radio"/> Designated offshore worker(s) <input type="radio"/> Any employee with a valid license <input type="radio"/> Taxi driver <input type="radio"/> Other

**At any point, have your offshore workers bought or had access to a private vehicle in Canada for their personal use?**

Exclude any farm business or employer vehicle.

<input type="radio"/> Yes
<input type="radio"/> No

**In your opinion, which category(ies) of offshore worker is more likely to own their own private car?**

Category (work permit type; nationality):	<input type="text"/>
Briefly explain why they are more likely to own a vehicle:	<input type="text"/>

**Please include any further comments:**

**Thank you for completing the survey.**

Please note that any identifying information provided below is voluntary and will not be gathered in conjunction with the research data.

**I would like to receive a summary of this research when completed.**

If yes, please enter an email or mailing address.

 Yes 

**I would like to claim compensation for participating (\$10 Tim Hortons gift card).**

If yes, please include mailing address.

 Yes 

**I am willing to be contacted to discuss this topic further. (All discussions will be treated anonymously.)**

If yes, please include email or phone.

 Yes 

\*An online survey program was used to conduct this survey by email.

# Appendix G: Research Summary for Participants

## Research Summary

**'Claiming the Road': Mobility, Transportation & Bicycling among Migrant Farmworkers in Southwestern Ontario**

E. Reid-Musson

### Summary

This research focuses on physical mobility and transportation among migrant farm workers (MFWs) employed in the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) in southwestern Ontario. MFWs depend on their employers for on-farm housing and are 'tied' through their work visas to a single employer. They rely on employers for transportation, and may rely on other contacts and friends for rides. MFWs experience high levels of confinement and control over their mobility that would be considered unacceptable in other Canadian workplaces. These controls are enacted by some – though not all – employers. These controls are also sanctioned and sometimes encouraged by sending- and receiving-government representatives. In this context, bicycles are an important means of independent transportation that many MFWs rely upon. Though overall bike advocacy remains concentrated on the needs of middle- and higher-income bicyclists in urban settings, local civic groups composed of church volunteers and bike advocacy groups have created new avenues for social inclusion that could help to broach the 'mobility deficits' that MFWs face. This has occurred through the formation of cross-cultural relationships. Sometimes MFWs feel stigmatised or blamed for how and when they bike. Therefore it is significant that the needs of low-income rural bicyclists are addressed in this context.

### Study Context & Background

Migrant farmworkers (MFWs) in the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) and 'Low-skill' and Agricultural Streams of Temporary Foreign Work programs often live and work on rural and often remote sites.<sup>1</sup> They often depend on their employers for housing and transportation, including visits to doctors, grocery stores, and so forth.<sup>2</sup> Transportation is commonly provided on a weekly or bi-weekly basis. To get around independently, however, MFWs use bicycles (and to a lesser extent, taxis and employer-provided vehicles). But they largely travel on local roads that cater to cars. As a result, between 1995 and 2013 there were fifteen

fatalities among MFWs from bicycle-car collisions, of which twelve occurred in Leamington (see Figure 1).<sup>3</sup> There have also been major injuries that workers have incurred as a result of collisions on local roads.<sup>4</sup>

### Research Questions

- (1) How do migrant farmworkers' social and spatial location and legal status influence their physical mobility and travel practices?
- (2) How have government and civil society addressed migrants' lack of access to adequate transportation?

### Research Process

Over two years, the research involved interviews with 30 men who participate in the SAWP, as well as a mapping exercise with ten Spanish-speaking individuals, conducted in south Essex and Norfolk County, Ontario. Twenty-five individuals from government agencies & local civic groups participated in additional interviews, held in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Leamington and Norfolk, Ontario. Sixteen farmers based in Norfolk (SAWP employers) responded to an email survey about worker transportation. Overall, the geographic focus of the research was Southwestern Ontario (namely Norfolk, Leamington and Niagara-on-the-Lake). I conducted in-depth research in Norfolk specifically. The identities of those who participated in the research remain confidential, unless individual respondents explicitly sought otherwise.

**Figure 1: Bike-related fatalities among migrant farmworkers in southwestern Ontario since 2006**

Name	Year	Location	Timing
William Bell	2005	Delhi	Tuesday in September at dusk
Desmond McNeil	2005	Same as above	Same as above
Alberto <del>Tabletas</del>	2005	Ruthven	Sunday in October at dusk
Arnulfo Garcia Gutierrez	2006	Leamington	Sunday night in June
Abraham Soto Lopez	2009	Leamington	Sunday night in August
<del>Cosanto</del> Jimenez Gomez	2012	Leamington	Sunday night in July
Marco Rojas Torres	2013	Leamington	Thursday evening in August [fatality due to fall from bike]

# Research Summary

## Research Findings & Discussion

### *Mobility Controls*

Researchers and migrant advocates have shown that MFWs in Ontario face highly limited social and labour mobility, as well as limited geographical and physical mobility, in receiving communities.<sup>5</sup> Multiple aspects of Canadian law have generated conditions which allow these inappropriate controls around MFWs' mobility to flourish.

Under federal law<sup>6</sup> migrants are tied to specific employers, who must provide workers with housing. While this does save workers housing costs, housing is frequently provided on-site, such that workers live and work in varying degrees of isolation from wider Canadian communities. MFWs depend primarily on their employers for rides beyond their work-live sites. Under Ontario laws, farmworkers do not have access to adequate labour protections, limiting their ability to advocate for themselves within the work-live space and within the SAWP.

MFWs often have their mobility unduly controlled by employers and state officials who manage the SAWP<sup>7</sup> via controls that would be considered unacceptable in other workplaces. These include curfews, rules regarding where and how far workers can travel & visit, rules about visitors, and rules about transportation modes (such as prohibiting or restricting bike use). Though these controls are not enacted by all employers, these controls cannot be considered an isolated problem. Moreover, these controls are sanctioned and sometimes encouraged by government representatives.

Farmworkers make very low wages in Canada and can rarely afford a private vehicle. Their legal status in Canada as non-citizen temporary workers, as well as their low-income status, create high barriers to owning and operating a personal vehicle. Driving is a basic necessity in Ontario's rural areas, where there is little to no public transit. Compared to other farmworkers, then, MFWs have low incomes, but face additional challenges in accessing the limited social rights and supports they do have because of their citizenship status and status within the SAWP.<sup>7</sup>

Farm industries dependent on low-wage (and often migrant) labour have expanded in Ontario in recent decades.<sup>8</sup> Increased demand for these workers from

industries in semi-rural areas has not been matched by adequate infrastructure and social supports from governments and industries that workers need and deserve (including transportation supports).

### *Bicycle Use among MFWs*

In this context, this research found that bicycles are an important means of independent transportation for MFWs, an important means of circulating within local communities to access services and build relationships.

But migrants face adverse bicycling conditions. Bicycling is popularly viewed as a healthy personal choice. For MFWs bicycling is an often unhealthy, imperfect and often insecure mode of travel because of inadequate conditions on local Ontario roads for bicyclists. Rural roads do not cater to bicyclists. Because of long work hours and limited incomes, MFWs bicycle at night and more often than not do so without lights, helmets or reflective gear. MFWs report that they are racially harassed on their bicycles, both verbally and physically, by motorists passing-by. This increases their sense of insecurity as bicyclists.

This research reveals how bicyclists are pervasively blamed for bicycling accidents, namely, in a context where bicycling itself is viewed as 'out-of-place', a marker of social and spatial difference in farming communities. These views about migrants and about bicyclists as out-of-place reflect the unquestioned dominance of cars in Canada, but also exacerbates MFWs' subordinate social and economic position in Ontario farming communities. Despite their essential role to agriculture, MFWs face systemic discrimination in multiple arenas, including as bicyclists.

Broadly speaking, low-income bicyclists in rural and urban areas are rarely acknowledged by North American planners. This neglect has been evident in south Essex, which has been relatively slow to expand active transportation facilities compared to Niagara.<sup>9</sup> In south Essex, there is a high level of bicycling among MFWs throughout spring, summer and fall. Yet many of the routes that MFW bicyclists have been using on an ongoing basis for several decades remain dangerous for bikers. That is, bicyclists' needs have been systemically overlooked by local-level politicians and other public officials.

# Research Summary

Local civic groups profiled in the study have consequently sought to address MFWs' bike needs, and are to be commended for doing so. In particular, they have focused on building relationships between migrants and local civil society groups, as well as lobbying for infrastructural improvements based on the needs of existing bicyclists.

Some groups have successfully advocated for new infrastructure, as in Leamington & Niagara-on-the-Lake, based on the routes used by existing bicyclists. Other groups have created informal ride-share networks that help to broach the mobility deficits MFWs face. Many help distribute free reflective gear. Moreover, these efforts have helped create cross-cultural relationships and help to explain recent government commitments to improving bicycling conditions.

At the same time, MFWs are often not considered active participants or for leadership positions in civic efforts. Moreover, migrants' rights are not explicitly addressed in bike projects and outreach, though organizers in these initiatives are aware of the lack of rights that produce the conditions under which migrants live, work and travel in host communities. Migrants' rights (civic, social and political) shape the degree to which they can participate in host communities. Thus the technical focus on individual safety and the 'top-down' character that bike safety projects take may alienate migrants and fail to address the root of migrants' lack of bike safety. MFWs may perceive that they have an obligation to wear reflective vests. They may feel stigmatized, and rightly so, because they are aware this obligation does not apply to other groups of bicyclists.

## **Key Recommendations**

Curfews, mobility controls, or other rules regarding travel should not be placed on workers. Family members, managers, supervisors, and others involved in farming operations should respect all workers' freedom of mobility, autonomy and privacy. Community members may consider addressing this issue with family, friends, employees, and others.

In internal and bilateral consultations, F.A.R.M.S. and Consular Officials (with sending governments) in particular should revise any practices or policies (whether formal or informal) which may contribute to

the enforcement of mobility restrictions placed around workers.

Municipal, county, regional, and provincial governments, as well as non-governmental organizations that address transportation or labour issues, cannot justifiably ignore the active transportation needs of bike-reliant populations, like MFWs. Governments have the responsibility to provide safe transportation facilities for all road users, including bicyclists, free of discrimination based on origin, citizenship, or class. This is particularly pressing as industries reliant on low-wage and migrant workforces continue to expand in areas underserved by transit and dangerous for bicyclists. Recent plans to expand active transportation in Essex are to be commended, but these proposals are relatively late, in view of how frequently bicycling accidents have occurred since the 1990's, and the seriousness of these accidents.<sup>10</sup> Bicyclists reliant on these routes have faced unsafe conditions for too long; making such routes accessible for various modes of travel is an urgent need.

Moreover, civil society groups and government agencies need to consider how to involve such groups (like MFWs) in more active roles in advocacy and policy-making. Ontario's first bicycle policy plan that was released in 2012, Ontario's Cycling Strategy, makes strides in seeking to promote bicycling in the province. In the future this policy framework and recommendations could better address diversity and equity concerns as they pertain to active transportation. For example, increased fines for bicyclists without lights or reflective gear might unduly punish very low-income bicyclists if enforced.

Local advocates and government officials in rural areas are well-placed to be leaders in creating model programs and policies for transportation equity and access. This includes innovative models for bicycling infrastructure, ride-sharing and public transit with low-income groups in mind.

Bike safety projects could focus explicitly on existing protections for bicyclists on the road (*vis-à-vis* drivers). These include new fines and penalties for 'dooring' and the one-meter passing rule. Migrant workers may be unfamiliar with these rules. Local bicycle projects might consider addressing migrants'

# Research Summary

rights alongside bicycle safety. This might include discussions as to how migrants could participate in municipal political and civic processes relevant to their lives, and/or how local groups can support migrants' workplace rights and concerns. Farm employer participation in bike safety projects compromises the effectiveness of these projects, limiting the degree to which workers can participate freely. Care should be taken to create spaces where workers can participate in projects free of the view of employers or managers.

Bike advocates involved in outreach with migrants should consider supporting reforms to legal frameworks such that farm workers may enjoy authentic and robust protections at work and in Canada, ones which Canadians enjoy. Local civil society support, including involvement from bike advocates and faith groups based in actual communities which host MFWs, do and can play a significant role in supporting broader legal and social changes to the benefit of migrant and other farmworkers who undergird our food systems.

## Acknowledgements

All those who participated in this research are sincerely thanked for their contributions.

## Researcher Contact

PhD Candidate  
Department of Geography  
University of Toronto

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> K. Freiblich and J. Hennebry, 'Temporary Migration, Chronic Effects: The Health of International Migrant Workers in Canada', *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 183.9 (2011), 1033–38; K. Freiblich, *Patterns of Social Exclusion and Inclusion of Migrant Workers in Rural Canada* (Ottawa, Canada, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> T. Basok, *Tortillas and Tomatoes: Transmigrant Mexican Harvesters in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> See Basok, 2002, p. xli; D. Bruser, 'No one wanted to know about me' (*Toronto Star*, 2006, September 5, p.D1); CTV Windsor, 'Migrant worker dies after falling off bike in Leamington' (CTV Windsor, 2013, August 26, retrieved from: [www.windsor.ctvnews.ca/migrant-worker-dies-after-falling-off-bike-in-leamington-1.1427498](http://www.windsor.ctvnews.ca/migrant-worker-dies-after-falling-off-bike-in-leamington-1.1427498)); L. Diebel, 'Motorist's 'criminal act' killed two men drunk driver likely to get five-year term' (*Hamilton Spectator*, 1999, October 14, p.A10); A. Jarvis,

[reidmussone@geog.utoronto.ca](mailto:reidmussone@geog.utoronto.ca)

## Further Contacts

[Migrant Workers Alliance for Change](#)  
[Agricultural Workers Alliance](#) (Canada-wide)  
[Caribbean Workers Outreach Program](#) (Niagara)  
[Justice for Migrant Workers](#) (Ontario-wide)  
[Legal Assistance of Windsor](#)  
[Share the Road Essex](#)



Figure 2: Author photo.

'Migrant workers at risk', (*Windsor Star*, 2013, May 15, retrieved from: [www.windsorstar.com/Migrant-workers-at-risk/838688/story.html](http://www.windsorstar.com/Migrant-workers-at-risk/838688/story.html)); P. Legal, 'Car kills two men cycling on rural road' (*Hamilton Spectator*, 2005, September 29, p.A1); Pearl v. Ontario (Community Safety and Correctional Services), *Human Rights Tribunal of Ontario HTR0 611*, 2014, para. 120 <<http://www.canlii.org/en/on/on/hrt/tdoc/2014/2014hrt0611/2014hrt0611.html>>; R. Pennington, 'Migrant worker mourned: Boss, co-workers shaken by bicycle' (*Windsor Star*, 2006, June 8, p.5); T. Wilhelm, 'Senseless death' outrages Mexican migrant community' (*Windsor Star*, 2009, August 5, p.3); *Windsor Star*, 'Police seek clues about identity of crash victims' (*Windsor Star*, 1997, June 9, p.5).

<sup>4</sup> Bike fatalities prior to 2005 are not specified here, because details pertaining to these events are not available in existing records.

## Research Summary

Between 1995 and 2013, at least six other MFWs (of which I am aware) in this geographical area were left with critical injuries from to bike-car collisions. In March 2016, a Leamington man was killed riding on a rural road in a collision with a motor vehicle (see D. Chen, 'No charges expected after Leamington cyclist killed on County Road 31' (*Windsor Star*, 2016, March 18, retrieved from <http://windsorstar.com/news/local-news/no-charges-expected-after-leamington-cyclist-killed-on-county-road-31>).

It is difficult to definitively measure fatalities let alone major injuries among bicyclists according to social markers like race or citizenship because this data is not collected.

Workers who are seriously injured face both the loss of their livelihoods as farmworkers and their legal right to remain in Canada. The cases of Frederick Smith and Pedro Rosales – two separate 2005 bike accidents – exemplify this trend. Rosales, a greenhouse worker from Mexico, was involved in a bike accident on Seaciff Dr. (CR20) specifically. See Bruser and Legall (see [table 3](#)).

<sup>5</sup> K. Preibisch; K. Preibisch and E. Encalada Grez, 'The Other Side of El Otro Lado: Mexican Migrant Women and Labor Flexibility in Canadian Agriculture', *Signs*, 35.2 (2010), 289–316.

<sup>6</sup> To expand on this point, under federal law, MFWs in the SAWP specifically face a lack of appeals in cases of repatriations, and can be repatriated for nearly any reason by employers or government officials. As noted, their visas tie them to specific employers and to the agricultural sector specifically (producing dramatically limited occupational and labour market mobility), and finally they do not have access to any formal channels to gain permanency and citizenship in Canada.

For an overview of the legal framework underpinning the SAWP see V. Verma, *The Mexican and Caribbean Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program: Regulatory and Policy Framework, Farm Industry Level Employment Practices, and the Future of the Program Under Unionization* (Ottawa, 2003); F. Faraday, *Made in Canada: How the Law Constructs Migrant Workers' Insecurity* (Toronto, 13 September 2012) <<http://metcalfoundation.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Made-in-Canada-Full-Report.pdf>>; J. Fudge and others, *Constitutional Labour Rights in Canada: Farm Workers and the Fraser Case* (Toronto: Irwin Law, 2012); Law Commission of Ontario, *Vulnerable Workers and*

*Precarious Work* (Toronto, 2012) <<http://www.ico-odo.org/en/vulnerable-workers-final-report>>; J. Hennebry, 'Permanently Temporary? Agricultural Migrant Workers and Their Integration in Canada', *IRPP Study*, 26 February (2012), 1–44; J. Foster, 'Making Temporary Permanent: The Silent Transformation of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program', *Just Labour: A Canadian Journal of Work and Society*, 19 Autumn (2012), 22–46; P. Lenard and C. Straehle, 'Legislated Inequality: Temporary Labour Migration in Canada', 2012.

<sup>7</sup> E. Reid-Musson, 'Automobility's Others: Migrant Mobility, Citizenship, and Racialization', in *The Urban Political Economy and Ecology of Automobility: Driving Cities, Driving Inequality, Driving Politics*, ed. by R. Alan Walks (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 184–96.

<sup>8</sup> D. Thomas, 'Foreign Nationals Working Temporarily in Canada', *Statistics Canada: Canadian Social Trends*, 11.008-X (2010), 32–48; K. Preibisch, 'Migrant Workers and Changing Work/Place Regimes in Contemporary Agricultural Production in Canada', *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food*, 19.1 (2011), 62–82.

<sup>9</sup> Niagara's bike planning directly recognized MFWs as a group of road users with unique needs. See Town of Niagara on the Lake, *Transportation Master Plan Study* (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, 2004) <[http://www.mbc.info/Press\\_Room/Final\\_Executive\\_Summary\\_Nov\\_2004\\_NOTL.pdf](http://www.mbc.info/Press_Room/Final_Executive_Summary_Nov_2004_NOTL.pdf)>; Regional Niagara, *Regional Niagara Bikeways Master Plan: Final Report*, 2003 <<http://www.niagararegion.ca/government/initiatives/bikeway-master-plan-study.aspx>>.

Essex greenhouse workers who participated in the research consistently reported that the most unpleasant and dangerous local bike routes they use (due to lack of suitable alternatives) are Wilkinson Dr./Mersea Rd. 3, Seaciff Dr. (CR20) and Talbot Dr. (CR34) west of ~~Albion Townline~~.

<sup>10</sup> Corporation of the County of Essex. (2011). County-Wide Active Transportation (CWATS) Master Plan. Essex County, Ontario (Canada). Retrieved from <http://weblink8.countyofessex.on.ca/weblink8/ElectronicFile.aspx?docid=18045&dbid=0>