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Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers in Canada: a Language and Migration Approach

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MEXICAN TEMPORARY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN CANADA: A LANGUAGE AND MIGRATION APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to fill a gap in the sociolinguistic research on language issues faced by temporary migrants. My research involves a compilation and analysis of the sociolinguistic facts relating to the situation of transnational Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers (MTAW) who come to Ontario and Quebec through the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP). The SAWP has become a model of international cooperation because it helps to have respectable and regulated temporary migratory flows that replace the illegal and unwanted migration (Basok, 2000). Nevertheless, these workers face more disadvantages and problems compared to other migrants and employment sectors that have attracted the attention of scholars who have carried out relevant economical, political, and social research with important policy implications (Hennebry, 2006). Within this literature, language barriers have always been mentioned as a major problem because such barriers magnify challenges faced by migrants in meeting their social and work needs. Following an ethnographic approach and methodology, I investigated the following research questions: 1). How do the biographic backgrounds −human capital- of MTAW restrict or allow them to renegotiate their identity and to be able to deal with their new social and linguistic environment? 2). What and how are the communicative practices of MTAW? 3). What linguistic barriers do MTAW face and how does it affect their daily lives? 4). How do the receiving communities include or exclude MTAW? Among other results, I have found that MTAW live in conditions where language/dialect and contacts happen. However, MTAW's communicative practices show a stable language maintenance phenomenon, with

transidiomatic[1] practices (Jacquemet, 2005), where sociolinguistics barriers impact their lives in almost every space of their life creating dehumanizing barriers that marks them as vulnerable individuals that suffer from linguistic inequalities and exclusion. On the other hand, these same conditions have promoted social awareness among the community at different levels, where there has been an active participation to help MTAW adapt to the community, while at the same time the community also tries to adapt to MTAW's seasonal presence and needs.

Keywords: language and migration, sociolinguistics, temporary migration, Mexican temporary agricultural workers, seasonal agricultural workers program, Canada

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[1] Transidiomatic practices describe communicative practices of transnational groups with linguistic interactions using different languages and codes (Jacquemet, 2005).

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Introduction

Migration contributes to modify and challenge boundaries between nation-states, national identities, national ideologies, economies, cultures, ethnic groups and languages (Castles, 2000). Thus, when we talk about language and migration, we are also talking about humans and their languages moving across geographic areas and geographic lines where *languages and contacts*[2] can happen (Weinrich, 1968). Linguistic and territorial unity and uniformity are constantly challenged by migratory flows not only because of the linguistic diversity that they can face, but also because of asymmetrical power relations across spaces (Jacquemet, 2005).

The concept of border is very flexible within migration and language studies. When people trespass physical boundaries, languages "are mapped onto people and therefore onto ethnic nationality (which may or may not map onto a nation-state)" (Urciuoli, 1995, p. 534); and new ways to define borders arise within the new social reality through "border-making language elements" (1995, p. 539) as accents, code mixing, code switching, borrowings, etc. Languages become deterritorialized but continue to be a social and symbolic resource that indexes differences among social groups and its members in the new territory they occupy (1995) becoming in this way linguistic communities[3] (Gumperz, 1971).

To talk about population movements, either permanent or temporary, involves also talking about languages and contacts (Mufwene, 2007). Language contact is an expected consequence of human migration that "interacts in a complex, yet transparent way" (Kerswill, 2006, p. 19) because when people that speak different languages come into contact, there is the need to communicate finding a common form that may be far away from the standard language

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[2] Zima (2007) proposes to think about *languages **and** contacts* explaining that the contact happens between human beings that use their available codes to communicate with each other.
[3] For Gumperz (1971), linguistic communities "may consist of small groups bound together by face-to-face or may cover large regions, depending on the level of abstraction we wish to achieve" (p. 101).

of both parties (Winford, 2003). As Mufwene (2007) explains, languages do not have fixed boundaries, indeed they are "quite osmotic" (p. 78), and language varieties are a self-explanatory result of the lack of these boundaries.

According to Saussure (1959), language is a social fact, a collective product that is the result of language change throughout history, in great part because individuals' language varieties come in contact and elements from one language become adapted to the other and vice versa (Coulmas, 2005). Therefore, migration can be seen as an external key factor that induces language changes (Kerswill, 2006) impacting both the migrants and the host society, although, in different dimensions. This multidimensionality derives from variables such as migratory category, type of language contact, ethno-linguistic group, individual traits (e.g. gender, age, socioeconomic status, level of education), community, institutional involvement and procedures, political processes, power relations, etc. But also, from the "sociolinguistic and discourse reconfigurations which have effects across wide ranges of situations for everyone involved" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 201).

Languages in migratory settings are especially susceptible, with factors such as education, law, language policy and planning, language ideologies and attitudes (overt or covert), social networks (old and new ones), and the idea of belonging to an ethnic group or the nation, or both, impacting them, their identities, and their sense of belonging (Urcuoli, 1995). In Kershen's (2000) perspective, most immigrants suffer from language deficiencies and depend on language mediators becoming, in consequence, the subjects of exploitation at different levels.

To better understand the sociolinguistic situation of migrants it is necessary to see it as "stratified, layered and unequal phenomena that reveal systemic features of (unequal) social

structure" (Blommaert, 2007, p. 15), as well as to expand the study of language issues and consider the social environment, the space and time where they occur (Djité, 2009).

In this way, the main purpose of this study is to fill a gap in the sociolinguistic research on language and migration issues faced by Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers (MTAW) in Canada guided by the following research questions:

1. How do the biographic backgrounds –human capital- of MTAW restrict or allow them to renegotiate their identity and to be able to deal with their new social and linguistic environment?

2. What and how are the communicative practices of MTAW?

3. What linguistic barriers do MTAW face and how does it affect their daily lives?

4. How do the receiving communities include or exclude MTAW?

In the following two chapters I present the literature review. Because of the interdisciplinary approach of this study, the first chapter reviews literature about migration (specifically temporary migration) and the second chapter reviews literature in context about language and migration. The chapter of Migration begins with a review of international migration, temporary migration (as part of international migration), a recent history of temporary migration in Europe and the United States, temporary migrant programs, temporary migration to Canada and finally, challenges and consequences of temporary migration. The second chapter, looks at the interrelationship of language and migration, revising and explaining ideas such as space, temporality, languages and contacts, languages and dialects, language practices, language ideologies, as well as language attitudes.

Literature Review: Migration

International Migration

International migration is seen as a normal trend because people move from one place to another in search of better income and living given the economic, employment, education, demographic and social wellbeing disparities between nation states (Castles, 2000). For Martin (2003), migration "is a response to differences, and rising differences in demographics and economics, plus revolutions in communications, transportation and rights, that facilitate movement over borders and promise ever-more international migration for employment" (p. 5). Concurrently, Castles (2000) explains that international migration is the consequence of social development and transformation in the world, but it is also an agent for social transformations in the countries involved in the migratory process.

According to the UN Migration for development report (2010), the number of international migrants in 2010 was around 214 million, with a relative decrease on migration flow tendencies due to the recent economic crisis. The decline for long-term immigrants was 6 per cent, it was 4 per cent for temporary labour migration, and return migration did not show an increase as a consequence of the economic crisis (OECD, 2010). As we can see, international migration flows are shaped by local and global economies and in that sense; future trends are not always straightforward (UN, 2010).

During the last decades economic globalization has opened the borders to capital flows and international markets, but human flows and cultural differences seem to represent a threat to the nation-states and national identities (Castles, 2000; Ruhs, 2006). In response, nation-states try to restricts and normalize migration flows through ad-hoc immigration policies (Ruhs, 2006),

which usually results in the implementation of more regulations and barriers for international

migration (i.e. securing borders for human flows).

International migration has been classified in different ways depending on the

motivations of the receiving countries. There are different social meanings of migration for the

nation-states, so in these lines, migration policies are country or area specific. However,

migrants can usually fall under categorizations such as temporary migrants, business migrants,

irregular migrants[4], refugees, asylum-seekers, forced migration, family members, and return

migrants, to name some (Castles, 2000).

Temporary migration is the main topic of this chapter. The main focus is on temporary

migration and Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers (MTAW) that work in the fields of

Canada as part of a bilateral agreement within both countries (i.e Mexico and Canada). In this

manner, this chapter begins with a review of temporary migration and continues to explain the

idea of temporary migration seen as a way of life. It continues with a review of the recent

history of temporary migration, beginning with the *guestworker* era, followed by *guestworkers* in

Europe, the *guestworker* American experience (i.e. the Bracero Program), and continues with the

settlement of *guestworkers* in the post-war era. Later on, Temporary Migrant Programs (TMP)

are introduce, explaining Seasonal Agricultural Programs, the relation among sending countries

and TMPs, and the relation between TMP and temporary migrant worker's rights. Next, we go

over temporary migration in Canada, explaining the Season Agricultural Workers Program

(SAWP) and its relation with Mexico, to be able to understand why Mexican agricultural

workers participate in the SAWP. Finally, this chapter explains the challenges and consequences

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[4] In this study I will use the term "irregular migration" instead of "illegal migration" in line with ILO and other
scholars.

of temporary migration with particular attention to the Mexican agricultural workers under the

SAWP.

Temporary Migration.

Temporary migration favours the movement of migrants between sending and receiving

countries with a cyclical pattern. It is seen as a 'potential solution' for countries that have

difficulties accepting migrants and even for the migrants themselves that do not want to leave

their countries on a permanent basis (Vertovec, 2007). Both sending and receiving countries

look at temporary migration to pursue short-term aims (Castles, 2000); the International Labour

Office (ILO) states that there are around 86 millions temporary migrants around the world

(Abella, 2006).

According to Werner (1996) there is not a straightforward definition of temporary

migration because migration is not *fixed*; nonetheless, he explains that the major characteristic of

temporary work, in terms of migration, is that "it is limited in time and cannot be a preliminary

step for a foreign worker to settle permanently in the host country" (p. 5). Likewise, Abella

(2006) explains that it is difficult to define temporary migration because every country has

different laws and regulations for temporary workers. However, he explains that a working

definition for temporary migrant workers (that will be used in this study) is "those whose legal

status is temporary, regardless of the amount of time they may have actually stayed in a country"

(Abella, 2006, p. 4).

As it has been said, one of the most important characteristics of temporary migrations is

the time limit, i.e. temporary workers must return to their home country at the end of their

contract. But if the demand in the host country continues, they and/or new migrants may take the

opportunity to go as (replacement) labour force to work for a higher wage, send back

remittances, learn new skills and implement them back home. In this way, temporary migration

has been a (self)-perpetuating growing industry in the last decades (Martin, 2003; Ruhs, 2006;

Hennebry, 2008); in fact, the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) (GCIM,

2005) recognizes that temporary and circular migrations are the new trends and recommend

facilitating temporary flows between countries.

Temporary migration is also, in nature, transnational[5] migration. Temporary Migrants

Workers (TMW) organize their lives in a transnational way because of their social and economic

activities and practices that heavily rely on Information and Communication Technologies (ICT),

temporary social networks, organizations and associations across national borders (Goldring et

al, 2003; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004; Hennebry, 2008). TMW transnational practices, i.e.

looking after their families' educations, health, economy, and wellbeing, contribute to the

transformation of sending and receiving societies. These transnational practices are possible

thanks to technology, trips, and financial systems that all together facilitate information, capital

and the flow of goods (Levitt, 2001; Vertovec, 2004), as well as the construction of TMW's

multiple identities, affiliations and identifications (Meinhof, 2009).

In broad terms, some characteristics of temporary migration are that there must exist a

fixed-term contract, which may specify the kind of work, the geographical area of the work, and

the name of the employer (i.e. the conditions, rights and limitations of the work permit) (Ruhs,

2006). A temporary worker cannot choose and/or change employer, must adjust to the period of

the contract, must not intend to reside permanently in the receiving country, and cannot apply for

family reunification (Werner, 1996).

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[5] Migrant Transnationalism is "a broad category referring to a range of practices and institutions linking migrants, people and organizations in their homelands or elsewhere in a diaspora" (Vertovec, 2009, p. 12).

On the other hand, even if by definition temporary migration is circular (Martin, 2003), it is relevant to say that the possible settlement of temporary migrant workers is not necessarily wrong, but it is also true that temporary migrant worker programs (TMWP) were not made for this purpose. As Martin explains (2003), it is necessary to pay attention to two major factors that may foster the non-return and rotation of TMW, *distortion* and *dependence*.

Distortion refers to the idea in the host country (i.e. employers, communities and government) that there exists a chance that TMW may become permanent residents. In this sense, economic planning may be done under speculation. On the other hand, countries of origin (i.e. TMW, families, communities, and governments) may create *dependence* on the foreign jobs and specifically on this kind of migration. Temporary employment abroad may be an escape from unemployment or a source to reduce unemployment in the home country, at least for some time, and the income earned abroad and the acquired knowledge can be used to set up businesses after returning home, at least according to an idealistic way of thinking (Werner, 1996).

Temporary migration should have the objective of building up the human capital of the TMW so that they could be able to achieve the return with good expectations of making a career, either employed or self-employed, without being in the position of 'needing' the temporary migration as a way of life, and by finally being part of the development of their communities without totally depending on temporary migration and remittances (Ellerman, 2005).

Likewise, *economic migration* is a cover term that includes different migration subcategories that are organized in relation to different working sectors, working skills, permanence of residency and legal status (IOM, 2010). Under the working skills subcategory, there are two main differentiations: high-skilled workers and low-skilled workers. Both can be

considered essential workers (GCIM, 2005) but there are different kinds of policies and programs to address the demands of the receiving countries for these different kinds of TMW.

Over all, low-skilled workers experience more difficulties within their admission process and stay than high-skilled workers. Low-skilled workers are considered to be vulnerable individuals because of their level of education, length of stay, kind of job, working conditions, etc. Low-skilled workers are considered to be less able to protect themselves and fight for their human and labour rights than high-skilled workers (Martin, 2003).

Low skilled workers are also enclosed under the category of labour migration, which is usually defined as "a cross-border movement for purposes of employment in a foreign country" (IOM, 2010, np). Labour migration is considered to have a selective process where employed individuals, of low and intermediate social status, that belong to regions experiencing changes, look to go overseas to pursue better economic opportunities for them and their families, while at the same time they try to escape from poverty and to improve their living standards (Werner, 1996; Castles & Miller, 2009). Labour migrants cover a manpower supply bottleneck in receiving countries that can be "of a cyclical, regional, sectoral (e.g. construction industry), qualification (e.g. nurses) or seasonal (e.g. tourism, agriculture) type" (Werner, 1996, p. 6).

According to IOM (2010) there is a considerable demand for temporary labour migrants; therefore, migration systems are usually supply or demand driven. Under the demand-driven system, the employers asks their government for permission to hire foreign workers, but always after they have looked with considerable effort for workers in their own country without results (i.e. the labour market situation or labour market tests) (Ruhs, 2006). Labour market demands are not fixed, so the programs or permissions to bring migrant workers change periodically, normally each year.

Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, UK, and European countries like Switzerland, France, and Germany, are all well known for their longstanding tradition of receiving immigrants, including labour immigrants. Recently, Spain, Italy, Singapore and Middle East countries have also become labour immigration receiving countries. All of them request low-skilled labour under Temporary Migration Programs (Ruhs, 2006).

Labour migration is seen as integral to the organization of global capitalism because labour market demands are a growing reality around the world where all the actors involved engage in "temporary production relations that are an increasingly vital component of local and international economies" (Hennebry, 2008, p. 354). For Jansen and Piermartini (2009) temporary labour workers "are foreigners authorised to perform non-permanent, fixed term labour services and their employment and residency authorisation is legally contingent" (p. 735).

Even so, nation states develop restrictive immigration policies with a great number of barriers for temporary and seasonal workers that in reality do not answer to temporary or seasonal needs[6] (Wickramasekara, 2008). As a matter of fact, there are immigrant sectors that are characterized for being dependent on labour migration such as agriculture, construction, cleaning, catering, hospitality services, tourism, care work, domestic service and the entertainment industry (Wickramasekara, 2008). All these sectors rely on labour migration because it helps to cut the cost of labour "which increases efficiency and strengthens the competitive position of individual companies and the national economy…" (Werner, 1996, p. 6).

In like manner, the specialization of labour migration to specific sectors needs cooperation between labour markets in sending and receiving countries to regulate the type of worker, qualifications, working conditions, training, quotas, selection, benefits, etc. (Werner,

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[6] (Temporary and seasonal needs (e.g. health workers and caregivers' demands) are not temporary because an ageing society cannot be considered temporary (Wickramasekara, 2008).

1996). That is, receiving and sending countries have also specialized in specific working sectors

and as an example Griffith (2004, cited in Hennebry, 2008) explains that agricultural Mexican

labour has the United States and Canada as receiving countries for seasonal agricultural workers.

Concurrently, countries such as Mexico and Canada move labour migrants through

bilateral agreements or memoranda of understanding (MOU), which have been developed to

serve different purposes and sectors (e.g. agricultural workers). Thus, in most cases, these

bilateral agreements (Ruhs, 2006) are settled to agreed wages, housing facilities and/or costs,

travel costs, possibility of nomination, work through employment services or agencies, etc.

(Werner, 1996).

One of the questions that we may ask is why do receiving countries need temporary

migrant workers? One possible answer is that the need of temporary migrant workers has its

origin in the employers' need to get labour force from other countries in order to meet an

inordinate demand for workers of a specific sector (Abella, 2006). In fact, most first world

countries with high incomes have agreed that they need migrant labour to fill labour shortages at

all levels. Being so, if the governments of the host countries agree that there is a real need of

temporary migrant workers, that the unemployment rate of the country is low, that there are job

opportunities, and that temporary migration may help the country to grow in economic terms,

temporary migrant workers programs are developed and implemented to cover the labour force

demands (Martin, 2003).

TMP promise to be a possible solution to deal with irregular migration offering legal

avenues to both sides, employers and employees (Abella, 2006), while at the same time they

promise to deal with sectoral labour shortages with great flexibility, promoting the circulation of

human capital and labour, recruiting workers for a reliable pool of workers, retaining trained

workers, keeping wages as low as possible, and making sure that temporary migrants return to

their home country at the end of their contract (Werner 1996; Vertovec, 2007).

Once a receiving country has opened its doors to temporary migrant workers, there is a

self-feeding process of temporary migration originated by the lack of national labour force to do

unattractive jobs or unwanted jobs (Werner, 1996) and the phenomenon of chain migration (i.e.

migrants followed by family or friends to work in the same kind of jobs).

However, temporary migration is a two-way avenue, and we may now want to ask why

do Temporary Migrant Workers leave their countries? According to the GCIM (GCIM, 2005)

"development, demography and democracy" (p. 12) are the great motivations for international

mobility. In this way, and as Werner (1996) explains, temporary migration is a way to ease the

pressure of irregular migration and at the same time, it is a way to contribute to the development

of countries under a developmental stage without the loss of human capital (Abella, 2006)

providing purchasing power through remittances and vocational know-how (Vertovec, 2007), in

agreement with what is known as the *pull-push theory*.

With the disparity between developed and less-developed regions, less-developed regions

(usually located in the southern hemisphere) tend to send temporary migrants to developed

countries that experience a shortage in their labour market. By doing so, less-developed

countries expect an improvement in their economies as a result of the economic spill-over of

remittances if the money transfers are used to improve living conditions of the families who were

left behind. Thus, labour-sending countries appreciate and welcome the "help" in relieving

unemployment (Castles, 2000; Martin, 2003); i.e. countries of origin look to ease their high level

of unemployment and opportunities, while TMW learn new skills and acquire human capital to

invest in their hometowns (Ellerman, 2005).

However, it is also known that employed young people are the ones that tend to migrate temporarily and that the numbers of temporary migrants are not enough to solve the general unemployment problematic of a region or a country. Nevertheless, it can make a difference for the individual who migrates on a temporarily basis as "it can mean an escape from poverty" (Werner, 1996, p. 23) even if migrants are not necessarily the poorest people in their countries. Indeed, most migrants are recognized by their entrepreneurial attitude and desire to make a better life for themselves and their families, as well as for their working skills, their financial resources to migrate, and even to motivate others to follow them (Ellerman, 2005). As it is well known, many migrants under a temporary migration scheme have multiple seasons migrating to work overseas and as Vertovec (2007) explains, frequency matters because with each season migrants gain 'migration-specific capital' that lowers their risks and increase their chances to succeed, which in this way also self-perpetuates temporary migration.

On the other hand, it also argued that temporary migration "exports the unemployment problem" while at the same time it only imports capital (Ellerman, 2005, p. 620). In this sense, exporting the unemployment problem only alleviates the situation, instead of taking actions to solve or change them structurally; while at the same time, having an increase in income does not necessarily mean an increase in development because if TMW are not planning to stay in their country, they only tend to invest in their own household and in their living standards, but not (directly) in their community (Ellerman, 2005).

To summarize, the potential reasons that justify temporary migration for individuals may include the alleviation of a difficult labour situation, the promotion of the return of human capital and labour, the promotion of remittance flows into their households, the development of their

households, the improvement of their living standards, and their own protection from

exploitation while they are working abroad (Werner, 1996; Vertovec, 2007).

Choosing temporary migration as a way of life.

Migration can work as a safety valve (Ellerman, 2005) because, instead of solving

problems, it only alleviates them on a temporary basis. However, at the individual level,

temporary migration may begin as a safety valve and within time it may become a way of life for

those who take the risk of going abroad to work. Temporary migration helps migrants to create,

expand, and share their social networks across physical borders, here and there, while at the same

time the social networks relevance is maximized with constant and repeated flows, ITC

resources, and global communications systems (Vertovec, 2007).

As Ellerman (2005) explains, "some family members go abroad to work, not as a

temporary measure to acquire capital or knowledge but as a career choice that will increase and

diversify the income of the whole family" (p. 618). 'Temporary', in these terms, means

something different; it actually "means a permanent way of life" (Ellerman 2005, p. 619). The

temporality exists because workers migrate on a temporary basis (i.e. for a specific period of

time) but at the same time, the temporality does not exist because workers migrate year after year

(some times without any limits).

TMW can choose migration as a way of life, in part, because of the existence of

Temporary Migrant Programs (TMP) that address the aspect of temporality by design, setting

working periods, number of entries, and returning frame-times. Furthermore, TMP are

constantly changing, always trying to avoid immigration (i.e. permanent immigration) and its

social implications by focusing on the return; while at the same time they foster the idea of

migration as a career choice that can help TMW and their sending countries to escape from underdevelopment.

Recent History of Temporary Migration: The Beginnings, the *Guestworker* Era

During the post-Second World War era, and even during the war, the United States and Western European countries needed to admit temporary migrant workers or *guestworkers* to reactivate their economies because the labour force was insufficient (Martin, 2003; Plewa & Miller, 2005). It was necessary to import large-scale unskilled labourers for low skilled jobs in different areas such as manufacturing, construction and other kinds of services (Martin & Miller, 1980; Castles, 2006). It was a time when macroeconomic factors led to macro-guest-worker programs (Martin, 2003).

Guestworkers programs became very popular as a solution to address the fast growing rhythm of industrialized economies, while at the same time the temporality of the programs and policies were focused on protecting the local labour force of possible unemployment periods by sending back home the *guestworkers* when they were not needed anymore (Martin & Miller, 1980). In theory *guestworkers programs* were a win-win solution for the receiving countries.

Guestworkers in Europe.

All the Western European countries experimented with the recruitment of *guestworkers* (Castles, 2006), but France, Switzerland and Germany were the ones that received over half of the migratory flows[7] (Plewa & Miller, 2005). There were two different kinds of 'needed' migrants in Europe, wanted migrants and temporary migrant workers. Thus, in France the government implemented "a two-track immigration policy, admitting Catholics from nearby countries, especially Italy, for demographic purposes (i.e. in the hope that they would settle permanently), and North Africans and other non-Europeans for temporary employment"

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[7] Although Switzerland and Germany did not consider themselves to be immigration countries until recent times.

(Tapinos, cited in Plewa & Miller, 2005, p. 62).   However, the non-European *guestworkers*

were trying to establish themselves permanently in France instead of returning to their home-

countries. As a result, the government of France tried to overcome the permanent establishment

of *guestworkers* and by 1974 they decided to stop foreign labour, except those that were coming

from European Countries (EC) and seasonal workers (Plewa & Miller, 2005).   Over time,

France created the National Immigration Office (ONI by its abbreviation in French) to regulate

migration and to benefit the involved parties creating bilateral labour agreements. Anyhow,

undocumented migratory flows prevailed and illegal hiring of unauthorized migrants also

remained a constant (Plewa & Miller, 2005).

Meanwhile, in Switzerland migration was also needed to reboot the economy and the

country's migratory policy was founded in the idea of receiving *guestworkers.*   During the post-

war era the economic boom forced the government to sign a (clear-cut) bilateral agreement with

Italy to recruit seasonal workers for specific periods.   As Martin and Miller (1980) explain, the

Swiss *guestworker* policy was "a complementary work force providing manpower elasticity in

periods of economic expansion as well as a buffer for indigenous labour in periods of recession"

(Martin & Miller, 1980, p. 316).

Switzerland's government faced international pressure to make changes to its

immigration policy and the Italo-Swiss agreement was renegotiated to let *guestworkers* stay for

long-term working periods.   The consequence of this policy was the design of another policy,

but this time for the establishment of quotas for recruiting TMW (Plewa & Miller, 2005)

controlling in this way the *guestworker's* flow to Switzerland. However, seasonal workers were

still needed in the country and they continued going, especially from Italy, so by the 1980's they

were considered 'resident aliens' and the major source of TMW (Miller, 1986, quoted in Plewa

& Miller, 2005, p. 65).

Similarly, Germany imposed a system for attracting and recruiting TMW through the

signature of a guest worker program, *Gastarbeiterprogram,* which was considered to be a

measure to alleviate a temporary labour market demand (Martin & Miller, 1980) because

Germany's labour force was shrinking due to four major reasons 1) demographic reasons that

included a delayed baby boom and youths that stay longer in school because of the educational

opportunities offered; 2) the resistance to risk a fragile economy recovery; 3) a unifying Europe

based of freedom of movement; and 4) the temporality of the demand of foreign workers

(Hermann, 1992, cited in Martin, 2003).

The German guest worker program began in 1955 with the recruitment of Italian

agricultural workers and then expanded to other sectors and sending countries. The *guestworker*

programs evolved and later were based on a "high degree of state involvement, as well as

bilateral agreements with countries of origin" (Castles, 2006, p. 2) where German authorities

from the Ministry of Labour were supervising the *guestworker* recruitment (Plewa & Miller,

2005). The idea was to recruit *guestworkers*[8] for a limited period, with poor wages (if compared

to those of unskilled national workers), poor working conditions, restricting their working

places, right to unionize, and market, as well as their residence rights and family reunion options

(Castles, 2006).

Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Morocco, and Turkey[9], were the

guestworkers' suppliers of Germany. These countries were able to provide a constant flow of

guestworkers that, in theory, did not want to settle on a permanent basis, therefore minimizing a

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[8] A transliteration of the German word *Gastarbeiter.*
[9] Turkey became the biggest supplier of *guestworkers* to Germany after the 1960's, where the bilateral agreement
was signed with Turkey.

carry-over effect of social and cultural consequences for Germany. It was a time where

importing labour was important, but people were not (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Martin, 2003).

    With time, Germany realized that *guestworkers* were not *'guestworkers'* anymore

because they were settling[10], the courts rejected the repatriation attempts and families were

allowed to reunify (as a human right). Hence, even if the *guestworker* system was considered by

some scholars as an important element in the economic boom of Western Europe from 1945 to

1975, is saw its dramatic (but temporary) end in Germany from 1973, and in the rest of Western

Europe from 1974 on (Castles, 2006).

    European countries decided to stop the *guestworker programs* because of the economic

recession; however, they did not expect that, by terminating the contracts, many workers would

stay, experiencing then the *heimkehrillusion[11]* or *the illusion of return,* family reunions were

going to speed up, and the typical receiving countries were going to become *countries of*

immigration.

    The host-countries were not prepared to what was going to happen as a result of the

illusion of return. It was expected that the rules of the *guestworkers programs* were going to be

followed, but it did not happen that way and as a result there were no plans for the settlement

and the integration of the *guestworkers*. As Martin and Miller (1980) explain, the *guestworker*

programs in Europe provided short-term economic benefits to alleviate labour shortages, but led

a resident worker program with discrimination problems and demands for a wide variety of

economic, social and political services. In short, the *guestworker programs* impact was beyond

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[10] Only a 25 percent of the *guestworkers* settled in Germany, while 18.5 million (75%) returned back to their origin countries.

[11] In 1964 that the term Heimkehrillusion or the illusion of return was used for first time by a Swiss scholar to explain the disassociation between being a temporary worker and actually being a permanently temporary migrant worker (Plewa & Miller, 2005). In the 1970s France recognized the 'mythe de retour' and in the 2000s Spain faced the same problematic, especially wit Moroccan and Ecuadorians TFW (Plewa & Miller, 2005).

the governments' previsions, and the TMW became a structural component of European

economies.

Interestingly, "seasonal worker and European community worker migration was

unaffected" (Plewa & Miller, 2005, p. 66) by the changes to European immigration policies, and

bilateral agreements and treaties were still under effect and were perpetuated by the system,

maybe because of the nature of the employments and the low wages, or because instead of

upgrading the paid wages and implementing a restructure working conditions, employers

preferred to maintain them low, even if they had to pay government fees, housing,

transportation, interpreters or supervisors with linguistic proficiency in the language of the

guestworkers (Martin & Miller, 1980).

The *guestworker* American experience: the Bracero Program.

The Bracero Program (BP) was the *guestworker* program between Mexico and the United

States established to address low-skilled labour shortages in the agricultural and railroad sectors

in the US during World War II (Escobar-Latapí, 1999). US farmers in part, promoted this

bilateral agreement with the argument for the need of foreign workers to overcome the demand

of manpower.

The BP transformed old migratory flows from Mexico to the US by establishing a legal

migratory process for agricultural jobs. It was framed as a bilateral agreement that recognized

the existence of a mutual interest on a temporary bi-national labour market (Durand, 2007). The

BP was grounded on a temporary basis, where Mexican male workers worked in US farms on a

seasonal and cyclical way during 22 years (Durand, 2007). The BP began in 1942 and was

cancelled in 1964, after 4.6 million contracts and 22 years of operation (Escobar-Latapí, 1999).

The BP competed at the time with irregular migration, which began to grow at the end of the 1940's, but the program was not perfect and has been considered as a 'lesson in migration mismanagement'. However, Durand (2007) express that in one sense the duration of the program proves its success, while Escobar-Latapí (1999) shares the same idea when he explains that of the 4.6 million contracts, only around 500 thousand TMW overstayed in the US. It seems that the actual problem of the BP was that the US government offered the possibility of legalizing workers that arrived in an irregular way (not through the BP), fostering irregular migration instead of protecting the BP, and the Mexican authorities failed to implement an effective surveillance of its borders. In this sense both countries "lost control of much of the flow" (Escobar-Latapí, 1999, p. 15).

The BP was considered to be a new way of slavery, or semi-slavery, because the TMW were tied to one employer with low wages, lived on poor housing conditions, experienced corruption, discrimination, etc. The contract was a failure, where neither of the governments involved supervised working and living conditions, and where irregular migration kept growing (Durand, 2007). The result of the BP was *distortion* and *dependence* as US farmers thought that *Braceros*[12] were going to be there for them wherever and whenever they needed. At the same time *Braceros* became dependant of the US farm jobs (Martin, 2003) and they kept going to the US even without the program.

From *Guestworker* to permanent settlement in the post-war era.

As Castles (2006) explains, the shift from *guestworker* to permanent migrant was related to people's objectives, life cycle and agency. The first time that someone decided to become a *guestworker*, usually it may have been at a very young age and in consequence they only wanted

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[12] Bracero was the term given to the Mexican migrant workers that were part of the BP. The term *bracero* comes from the Spanish word *brazo* [arm] (Bracero History Archive, 2011).

to stay for a couple of months or years in the host country, but with time most of their plans, interests, and objectives, changed. On the other hand, *guestworkers* looked for job opportunities and a better economic situation in the host country; and when industrialized countries went into recession, so did sending countries, and going back home was not a choice for them and their plans of a better life.

Moreover, receiving countries offered partial benefits for the *guestworkers*, so they were entitled to receive unemployment benefits, education and social services.   In this way, *guestworkers* had better unemployment opportunities in the host country than in their home country.   Likewise, governments of democratic societies were not able to send back *guestworkers* because they had legal status; in this way, even if governments did not want them anymore, the constitutions of the host countries were protecting *guestworkers*' rights (Castles, 2006).

When *guestworkers* became permanent residents, economic and social mobility was anticipated for the second generation (i.e. the children of the *guestworkers*) who were expected to compete for job opportunities with the native labour force because they would have the same kind of education and skills. The first generation, considered always as foreigners, "remain in the lower tiers of their host-society's income distribution" (Martin & Miller, 1980, p. 325) and in this way, they also remain in low-income ethnic neighbourhoods with social integration problems. *Guestworkers* that became residents did not leave their precarious migratory status or got full rights.

In Martin's words (2003), "all guest worker programs fail, in the sense that the need or demand for migrants persist longer than expected, and some of the migrants settle in destination

countries, leading to the aphorism that there is nothing more permanent that temporary workers"

(p. 3).

A New Era: Temporary Migrant Programs (TMP)

During the last decades most countries have received temporary migrants under the

design of 'new categories' or micro-policies/micro-programs that are based on the idea of

bringing TMW on a short term basis to particular sectors and occupations (Hönekopp, 1997;

Martin, 2003). Receiving countries have experimented with different programs but it has been

difficult to find the perfect approach to address the need of temporary workers without falling in

the *distortion/dependence* cycles and *the myth of return*.

In Western Europe temporary migrant programs (TMP) and policies were born as a by-

product of the economic boom of the post-war era, the large flow of temporary foreign workers,

the fear of losing national identity, the non-return of the *guestworkers* to their home countries,

the formation of foreign trade unions, the pressure of religious and human rights representatives,

and also the demands of civil society (Martin & Miller, 1980).

Most European countries kept looking for avenues to 'import' temporary migrants. At

the beginning they only wanted to receive high-skilled TMW, but with time they had to admit

the need for low-skilled workers, too (Castles, 2006; Ruhs, 2006). They were afraid of past

guestworker policies, so they developed bilateral agreements or memoranda with sending

countries (Plewa & Miller, 2005). These new agreements were based on the idea that migrant

workers must have to return to their countries at the end of their contract or designated period

(nothing fundamentally different from the past *guestworker* programs).

TMP promise to offer great flexibility in the labour market, are easy to promote at the

political level, and do not involve the integration of its participants (Ruhs, 2006). But even if

TMP by design does not contemplate the settlement of TMW in the receiving country, they

cannot avoid it and, depending on different factors, they could even promote it. In this way, the

countries involved in TMP have to use different strategies, via policies, to encourage TMW's to

return to their home country, such as giving accurate information about employment conditions,

travelling and living costs, salaries and deductions, as well as issuing work permits with a

duration that might encourage the achievement of financial means to go back home and avoid

irregular overstays (Ruhs, 2006).

TMPs have been considered as a feasible 'solution' over permanent migration (Abella,

2006) and have become a popular policy instrument to address labour migration around the

world. Likewise, TMPs have been promoted by international agencies because they are an

option for the expansion of legal migration, an opportunity for development, and a way to adjust

temporary labour shortages. The GCIM, the World Bank, and the ILO, explain that TMPs are a

way to address the economic needs of both countries involved in them, without being a threat for

migrant workers. The generalized support for this kind of migration is grounded in the idea that

sending countries will not loose human capital on a permanent basis; in fact, they will have a

gain in human capital, remittances, and development, while at the same time they could

experience a relief in poverty because low-skilled workers are the most likely to participate in

this kind of programs (Wickramasekara, 2008).

Therefore, even if TMP (in general) are not the only solution for labour immigration or

for eliminating irregular migration (Ruhs, 2006), according to Martin (2003) "guestworkers

programs are here to stay" (p. 27). Along these lines, there is a constant need of best practices

that must try to reduce the dependence on foreign labour and the distortion of the employers and

the markets through national borders. From Ruhs' (2006) point of view, the success of TMP

"depends on the host country's willingness and capacity to enforce the law strictly against all parties –recruitment agents, employers, and migrant workers- who illegally circumvent the program" (p 16); however, Ruhs also explains that experience tells us that countries with a history of receiving temporary migrants have not enforced the law with employers that infringe the rules. Thus, the TMPs promise a '*win-win-win*' situation, where the design of the program must assure a legal, ordered, secure and successful avenue for migrants and their families, sending, and receiving countries (Vertovec, 2007) can result in a long lasting myth from the point of view of temporary migrants.

To summarize, and as Abella (2006) explains, the wide variety of TMPs and categories for TMW is a complex one, but the most common policy objectives are to increase the flexibility of the labour market to respond to seasonal and cyclical fluctuations of economy; to support specific industries/economic sectors facing labour shortage; to increase a country's competitive edge in certain industries; to minimize possible displacement of native workers by managing the sectoral and spatial allocation of foreign workers; to minimize the cost of providing social welfare benefits of an equivalent population of local workers; to serve as a first sieve for selecting those who can be successfully integrated as permanent migrants; to support multinational firms which have to move their staff between branches/subsidiaries and headquarters as part of their normal global operations; to promote goodwill by providing young workers from certain countries with opportunities for short-term training or apprenticeship; to promote international commerce and investments by facilitating the movement of traders and service providers, and to promote exchange by allowing the youth to finance their holidays partly through part-time or short-time employment in countries visited.

With temporary migration under agreements and categories it is expected that the long-term effects[13] of migration can be avoided (Werner, 1996). But in reality, TMPs are not straightforward and depending on the type of TMP there can be some kind of flexibility where workers may stay for long-term periods, stay as permanent residents after a certain period of being part of a TMP, or after marrying a citizen of the receiving country. The criteria for the possibility of obtaining permanent residence are country and TMP specific (Martin, 2003; Ruhs, 2006).

Seasonal agricultural programs.

According to Martin (2003), farmers and farm workers constitute between a 30 to 60 percent of low and middle-income countries' population and because of their poverty level and a disappearing agricultural industry, many of them are or will be displaced from their economic activity. Therefore, this population is pushed to migrate, either internally or internationally.

On the other hand, farm employers from developed countries rely on seasonal worker manpower to maintain low operation costs. Farmers look for foreign labour because of the characteristics of the seasonal agricultural jobs (i.e. its temporality, low wages, poor benefits, and low possibilities of moving upward) (Abella, 2006).

Thus, industrialized countries that have developed agricultural seasonal worker programs with a duration ranging from three months to less than a year, ask for certified agricultural workers and have a great involvement of both countries' governments; but they differ in the working conditions, housing, wages, benefits, international and national transportation arrangements, and unionizing rights (Martin, 2003). As Ruhs (2006) explains, the decision on

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[13] i.e. migrants establishing in the receiving country, the creation of social networks and ethnic neighbourhoods or ghettos.

what kind of policy is going to be implemented is country specific and depends on institutional

settings, and the economic situation in a certain moment in time.

The possible reason to implement seasonal worker programs, according to Martin (2003),

is that these programs tend to give more liberty to employers or employer organizations in

relation to issues related to admissions, transportation, and also because worker representatives

are rarely involved in any matter related to the design or administration of the programs. As

Abella (2006) also explains, the seasonal agricultural program…

> "Illustrates how the search for labour market flexibility is made compatible with the
> objective of avoiding settlement of unskilled workers through a combination of measures
> attaching different limitations and conditions for admissions. The most common elements
> are quotas, age ceiling, the specification of qualified countries of origin, the obligation to
> leave after the agricultural season is over, and the denial of right to mainly reunification"
> (Abella, 2006, p. 28).

TMP and the sending countries.

Both countries, sending and receiving, have their own requirements for bilateral

agreements. Sending countries will usually look for long-term agreements without complicated

clauses; while receiving countries will look for a procedure that can respond with flexibility to

changes in the labour market situation (Werner, 2006). TMP can "generate significant net-

benefits for receiving countries, migrants and their countries of origin. TMP can help host

countries to manage the demand for migrant labour; help migrants to gain better legal access to

the labour markets of high-income countries; and help sending countries in their efforts to

maximize the developmental benefits from emigration" (Ruhs, 2006, p. 32).

It is important to evaluate the impact of TMP in sending countries in different areas as

remittances, brain drain, labour drain, migrants who return/don't return, economic and fiscal

impact. In doing so, Ruhs (2006) explains that typical sending countries such as Mexico, Egypt,

and The Philippines, do not benefit from temporary migration as a development strategy because

conditions are not yet created. In relation to the 'benefit' of remittances, Ruhs (2006) explains

that remittances have the potential to impact on development, but that the effects depend on their

use, as well as on the kind of migrant that sends them, because as it has been said, TMP have the

potential to promote the good or productive use of economic resources by offering access to

legal channels for money transfers, that in consequence have a better chance to be administrated

through bank accounts.

For Ruhs (2006), TMP are designed with the ideal of TMW returning to their home

country at the end of each period or contract. Therefore, countries of origin must design policies

to motivate the return. The receiving countries can promote the temporariness of the programs

by giving the necessary and accurate information to TMW so they do not need to overstay

because of economic or paperwork problems; at the same time, the duration of the contracts

must match their financial needs, for them in the receiving country, and for their families in the

sending countries.

Opposing these ideas, Ellerman (2005) explains that labour migration is detrimental to

the development of the sending countries because of the drain of the 'best and the brightest'

individuals of the lower stratum, because of the meritocratic system. Therefore, when migrant

workers leave their country, they are taking with them their labour and human capital to invest it

in the receiving (developed) countries, instead of investing in the development of their own

country. Along these lines, the governments of both sending and receiving countries are helping

to perpetuate the prevailing status quo of developed and underdeveloped nations, and

threatening the possibility of achieving changes driven by social pressure.

On the other hand, Ruhs (2006) states that TMW must be allowed to travel without

excess on restrictions to "maintain networks in their home country, and thereby increase the

probability of their return" (p. 29); transfer the long term social security benefits, deducted from

their payroll, to the sending country as an incentive to return; as well, the design of financial

investment instruments for returning TMW could be recommended as another way to avoid the

settlement of TMW in the receiving country. Another recommendation is the creation of a

financial security bond as a controlling measure, as it happens in Singapore that is given to

TMW when they leave the country. Finally, Ruhs (2006) also proposes the idea of punishing

employers that infringe the law by hiring irregular TMW, the ones that overstay.

According to Ruhs (2005) the positive outcomes of temporary migration programs[14]

(TMP) can be classified as follows,

1. Strict enforcement of immigration and employment laws

2. The regulation of the cost at which migrants are made available to employers

3. The implementation of effective labour market test (looking first at labour market in the
   host country)

4. The regulation or monitoring of the migrant recruiting industry

5. Protection of migrants' rights (work permits portable)

6. Mixed incentive-enforcement measures to facilitate the return home of migrants whose
   temporary work permits have expired

In summary, temporary migrant programs try to promote the replacement of exploitative

guestworker programs with bilateral agreements of voluntary circular migration (Castles, 2006).

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[14] In this study I will use the term Temporary Migrant Programs (TMP) when I refer to the programs after the *Guestworker* era (i.e. postwar era).

Temporary migrant programs and temporary migrant workers' rights.

As it has been mentioned, individuals become temporary migrant workers because they are looking for (better) job opportunities outside their national borders; however, the opportunities come with a long list of entailed, non-economic, costs that put them in a vulnerable and precarious situation in relation to local workers. In this way, while TMW contribute to support the economies of the host countries, they face risks and restrictions to their fundamental human rights (Ruhs, 2006).

Along these lines, TMP have been considered to be a double-edged solution for individual (economic) problems. In one sense, these kinds of programs contribute to the individual development of foreign workers, taking them out of their poverty level and helping their offspring to obtain a better education level, therefore better job and economic levels. On the other hand, on a higher level, TMP help sending countries to (temporarily) solve unemployment and economic problems, but at the same time the implied cost of these so called benefits is that these TMW may be exploited in the host country, with social, health, and human rights negative consequences. In brief, TMP policy and a "reasonable levels of non-discrimination within a society are probably mutually exclusive" (Martin & Miller, 1980, p. 323).

As Wickramasekara (2008) explains, development benefits from TMP are related to the migrants' rights protection, as well as to the working conditions. Increasing TMP will have a negative and unacceptable effect on migrant workers' rights, violating international norms in this way because TMW are seen as commodities. There is a need to humanize these kinds of temporary labour migrant programs and avoid the short residence implicated factor (something that has not been done) granting them permanent residence rights (Martin & Miller, 1980).

Temporary worker programs may aggravate the political, social and ethnic employment problems (Martin & Miller, 1980) as they discourage TMW full integration, participation and protection (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010) instead of allowing TMW social membership in the host communities/countries as part of their human rights even if they lack legal citizenship (Basok, 2003).

As temporary migration has proven throughout the time, there are TMW that have the will to become permanent residents. Thus, Ruhs (2006) recommends the creation of point system immigrations programs (as those of Canada) to regulate the process. Under this kind of systems, working experience grants points, as well as the adaptability factor, so those TMW that may want to stay as permanent residents can have an advantage over new applicants. However, if it was to consider the possibility of TMW becoming permanent residents, there may be the risk of making TMP obsolete, therefore the process should be extremely strict and transparent, but at the same time may give hope to those TMW that want to stay without irregularities, and in the same way it may benefit the receiving country for the same reasons.

"The possibility of conditional upgrading into permanent residence based on clear rules and criteria would give some such migrants the option of acquiring the skills required to fulfil the conditions of eligibility for permanent residence status" (Ruhs, 2006, p. 32). Skill requirements may be language skills, experience, arranged employment and adaptability.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) recognises everyone's right to leave any country, as well as the right of every person to return to their home country. However, it does not recognises the right to enter, stay, or work in a third country; restricting in this way the mobility of humans from one nation-state to another and consequently, the scope of the mentioned human rights (Wickramasekara, 2008).

Temporary Migration to Canada

Canada is well known because its population is composed by a wide variety of immigrants, both in origin and category of immigrant. With time, Canada's demography has changed because immigration needs and policies are not fixed, they change as a result of Canada's needs.   Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) is the department with the responsibility for establishing immigration and citizenship policies in Canada, as well as dealing, processing, and implementing programs and services to build a strong country.   According to CIC (2010b) its policies support Canada's immigration and humanitarian objectives to build a prosperous nation (CIC, 2010b).

CIC has developed temporary workers programs (TWP) to "facilitate the entry of visitors, students and temporary workers for purposes such as trade, commerce, tourism, international understanding and cultural, educational and scientific activities"; "to protect the health and safety of Canadians and to maintain the security of Canadian society" (CIC, 2010a, p. 20); to provide economic opportunities (e.g. job creation and the transfer of skills and knowledge); and to contribute to the economic development of the country by enhancing trade (CIC, 2009).   In recent years, the number of TMW accepted in the country has more than doubled, but always in a regulated way (Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010) that will also assure the return of TMW to their countries of origin.

CIC works with The Human Resources and Social Development Centre (HRSDC) to admit foreign workers and to ensure that employment opportunities for Canadians and permanent residents will not be affected (CIC, 2009).   Temporary labour migration is considered to be the main mechanism to address labour and skill shortages in Canada and in this sense the recruitment of TMW has experienced an important rise (Nackache and Kinoshita, 2010).

In 2009, 382 330 TMW were living in Canada (CIC, 2010), and 178 478 of them were foreign workers according to CIC's definitions (i.e. 46.7 per cent of temporary migrants). Foreign workers are divided in different categories as is shown in Table 1. These categories are not fixed, they have to be flexible in order to respond to labour force shortages and job opportunities. In 2010, temporary migrants in Canada were categorized as follows:

- International Arrangements: North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), other Free Trade Agreement (FTA), provincial agreements, General Agreement of Trade in Services (GATS), and International Arrangements

- Canadian Interests: Reciprocal employment, employment benefit, spouse/common law partners, research and studies related

- Other workers without Labour Market Opinion (LMO): PR applicants in Canada, Performing arts, other permits without LMO

- Workers with LMO: Information Technology Workers, Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP), Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), Low Skill Pilot Program which also includes workers from Guatemala working in agriculture), and other workers with LMO (CICb, 2010).

Table 1

Facts and figures 2009-Immigration overview: temporary residents.

Yearly sub-status	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
NAFTA*	15,615	15,110	13,424	11,691	11,525	11,879	13,364	14,081	15,561	14,948
Other FTA**	280	481	385	266	289	309	361	382	533	521
International agreements	2,552	2,786	2,841	3,197	4,883	1,469	1,707	2,132	2,707	2,329
Provincial agreements										360
GATS***	2,171	2,246	1,689	616	502	435	521	636	603	371
Workers - International arrangements	20,618	20,623	18,339	15,770	17,199	14,092	15,953	17,231	19,404	18,529
Reciprocal	16,395	16,920	19,110	20,947	24,797	31,445	34,203	35,991	44,680	49,014

employment Employment benefit	7,607	7,646	7,688	7,928	7,889	8,204	10,001	10,163	10,903	10,105
Spouse/comm on law partner	1,124	1,281	2,807	3,499	4,416	5,212	6,341	8,196	9,887	9,298
Research and studies related	2,646	2,956	3,477	3,387	3,477	3,676	4,046	5,203	6,258	6,674
Other Canadian interests	8,646	8,461	4,720	1,312	1,137	1,782	1,632	1,491	1,442	1,541
Workers - Canadian interests	36,418	37,264	37,802	37,073	41,716	50,319	56,223	61,044	73,170	76,632
PR applicants in Canada	3,207	2,821	505	989	1,085	912	972	1,346	1,200	1,523
Performing arts	9,612	9,848	4,139	14	--	--	0	0	0	0
Other work permits without LMO	250	215	111	5	--	--	0	17	41	58
Other workers without LMO****	13,069	12,884	4,755	1,008	1,087	913	972	1,363	1,241	1,581
Information technology workers	927	904	839	1,059	1,308	1,783	2,155	2,984	3,215	2,697
Live-in caregiver program	2,684	4,372	4,739	5,086	6,708	7,199	9,334	13,775	12,882	9,816
Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program	16,710	18,512	18,615	18,694	19,050	20,280	21,248	22,571	24,181	23,372
Low skill pilot program			2,592	2,671	3,204	4,237	6,997	15,870	26,333	19,656
Other workers with LMO	26,114	25,129	23,217	21,867	22,271	23,871	26,165	29,954	31,855	26,195
Workers with LMO****	46,435	48,917	50,002	49,377	52,541	57,370	65,899	85,154	98,466	81,736
Foreign workers	116,540	119,688	110,898	103,228	112,543	122,694	139,047	164,792	192,281	178,478

Source: CIC, (2010).

Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP).

The Season Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) was design to allow and organize the

entry of TMW to meet seasonal labour needs of Canadian producers when there are national

labour shortages (HRSDC, 2009). The program operates within the provinces of British

Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia,

and Prince Edward Island, under a seasonal basis[15] (HRSDC, 2010) and it is the longest

prevailing temporary foreign worker program in Canada (Hennebry, 2008).

The SAWP's main objective is to address labour shortages in Canada's farms 'importing'

temporary agricultural workers from designated countries. As any other seasonal worker

program, the SAWP was designed "to add temporary workers to the labour force without adding

permanent residents to the population" (Martin, 2003, p. 3). It began as a pilot program in 1966

with the Caribbean[16] and in 1974 Mexico was incorporated. The SAWP works through bilateral

international agreements that promotes that TFWs will have the same rights and obligations than

Canadian workers in the same activity (CIC, 2010a).

According to Abella (2006), "Canada's seasonal migration programs have worked

reasonably well. Foreign workers come and work for short periods of time during the year, their

employment conditions appear satisfactory, and most of them return" (p. 28). The SAWP is

recognized around the world as model that brings balance to the flow of temporary foreign

workers with the needs of Canadian farmers, as well as for having an active participation of the

employers in the design and administration of the program, and the involvement of the countries

of origin in the recruitment and worker's conditions in the receiving country (Abella, 2006).

However, the Union of Food and Canadian Workers (UFCW) have evaluated the

program as "seasonal, labour intensive, dangerous, and low paying" (UFCW, 2007, p. 5) with

little or no consideration from provincial employment acts regarding provisions governing hours

of work, vacation pay, overtime, weekly days of rest, lunch breaks, minimum wage, maternity

and parental leave (UFCW, 2007). Moreover, this kind of programs "send a message that

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[15] The contracts cannot exceed 8 months of duration.
[16] Jamaica was the first country to be incorporated in 1966, followed by Barbados and Trinidad-Tobago in 1967 and Antigua, Grenada, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vand Montserrat in 1976 (Basok, 2003).

Canada wants lower-skilled individuals only as workers but skilled individuals as future citizens"

(Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010, p. 41).

The process to hire an agricultural worker under the SAWP begins with the farmer

applying for a certificate to be able to employ foreign agricultural workers at a Local Human

Resource Centre (LHCC); this has to be done at least 8 weeks before they need the workers. The

minimum requirements for asking for a foreign worker is to offer at least 240 hours of work in 6

weeks, free housing and cooking facilities, and the minimum wage in the Province. The LHCC

sends the certificate of approval to the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Services[17]

(FARMS) or Fondation des Entreprises en Recrutement de Main-d'ouvre Agricole Etrangére

(FERME in Quebec), which FARMS/FERME send it to Mexico or the Caribbean, where the

proper authorities of the Federal Government make the selection process (HRDSC, 2010).

Once the migrants are selected, they receive their papers and travel arrangements from

CanAg (a FARMS/FERME affiliate), which is the only authorized travel agent that arranges

travel services on behalf of the employers. Travel costs are arranged and paid by the farmer[18]

and later deducted from the workers' wages[19] (no more than C$ 575). When the TFWs arrive in

Canada, they have a probation period of 14 days. At the end of the contract, the employer

evaluates each worker and sends the report (in sealed envelopes) with the worker to the Mexican

government for possible re-selection for the following year (Abella, 2006). When the farmers

are applying for a second, third, or more times for a certificate to contract foreign agricultural

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[17] FARMS/FERME is a non-profit agency conformed by representatives of government ministries and farmers associations in Canada since 1987. FARMS/FERME main objective is to facilitate, coordinate and process the requests for foreign seasonal agricultural workers.

[18] The employer may pay the following costs: partially pays round-trip airfare (except in British Columbia), costs of travel between the airport and the worksite, supplies free housing that meets municipal building standards and provincial health standards (except in British Columbia), cooking facilities or meals (deducting $ 6.50 per meal), on the job injury and illness insurance (HRSDC, 2010).

[19] The worker must pay: a portion of the airfare (except in British Columbia where the worker pays the full fare), employment insurance premiums, Canada Pension Plan premiums, Canadian income tax, and the work authorization or work visa fee (HRSDC, 2010).

workers, they can nominate their workers by name, which according to Basok (2002) happens 70 percent of the time.

For Martin (2003) "the potential best practice aspects of the Canadian seasonal farm worker program include the active involvement of farm employers in program design and administration, Mexican government involvement in recruiting and monitoring migrants in Canada, and exceptions that allow the provision of health insurance in Canada" (p. 23). The downside would be the inability of worker organizations to be involved in the design or administration of the program, the dependence on the farmer, and the costs to get into the program (UFCW, 2007). But for Hennebry (2008), the way in which the SAWP is organized "institutionalizes power relations in such a way that migrant workers are controlled and restricted temporally and spatially from the moment they enter the evaluative process of the program and this makes these migrants 'captive markets' for intermediaries and businesses targeting migrants" (p. 347).

Nonetheless, the SAWP has become a model of international cooperation (for the nation states) because it helps to have respectable and regulated temporary migratory flows that replace the illegal and unwanted migration (Basok, 2000; Barrón, 2000). However, the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) through the Agricultural Workers Alliance[20] (AWA) centres along the provinces of Ontario, Alberta, Quebec, and British Columbia, heavily criticize the SAWP because in most of the provinces where the SAWP operates the workers are not allowed to unionize or strike in order to protect the farmers, and their crops, jeopardizing in this way the integrity and wellbeing of MTWs (Martin, 2003, UFCW, 2007).

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[20] AWA looks to provide assistance and representation for migrant farm workers in Canada since 1990 with seven centres (UFCW, 2007).

The SAWP has expanded in every direction during the last 40 years. More workers, provinces, farmers, and kind of crops have been included. It is through the SAWP that Canadian farmers have expanded their operations because they can rely on a source of temporary labour; in consequence, other related industries have also seen a positive grow (Abella, 2006).

In 2009, there were 23,372 TMWs that came to Canada under the SAWP, 15 727 from Mexico and 7 645 from the Caribbean, as is shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Total entries of SAWP by yearly sub-status.

Yearly sub-status	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Mexican	9,235	10,456	10,799	10,566	10,842	11,877	12,987	14,416	16,278	15,727
Caribbean	7,475	8,056	7,816	8,128	8,208	8,403	8,261	8,155	7,903	7,645
Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program	**16,710**	**18,512**	**18,615**	**18,694**	**19,050**	**20,280**	**21,248**	**22,571**	**24,181**	**23,372**

Source: CIC, (2010).

The provinces that receive the highest numbers of Seasonal Agricultural Workers are Quebec and Ontario as is shown on Table 3[21]. Ontario farmers employ TMWs to work, mostly, on farms, nurseries and greenhouses that grow apples, flowers, tree farming, fruit, vegetables, tobacco and ginseng. As well, TMWs are hired to work on canning/food processing, and apiculture (FARMS, 2010). In Quebec, TMWs are hired to work on apiculture, horticulture, tobacco, vineyards, fruit, vegetables, nurseries, and tree farming (FERME, 2010).

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[21] Notice that the total of workers under the SAWP from HRSDC (2010) differs from those of CIC (2010). The reason of the lack of correlation between HRSDC and CIC data is that even if an LMO is issued, the decision to give the work permit pertains to CIC. Therefore, not all workers that have an employment confirmation will receive a working permit (Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010).

Table 3

Number of temporary foreign worker positions under the SAWP by location.

Province	2006	2007	2008	2009
Prince Edward Island	81	131	118	145
Nova Scotia	322	407	622	805
New Brunswick	17	25	19	28
Quebec	3,171	3,595	3,758	3,754
Ontario	18,097	18,744	18,552	17,989
Manitoba	311	299	343	362
Saskatchewan	*42*	84	101	124
Alberta	527	684	950	1,010
British Columbia	1,484	2,614	3,768	3,437
Canada – Total	**24,050**	**26,622**	**28,231**	**27,654**

Source: HRSDC, (2010).

SAWP and Mexico.

Mexican temporary migrants have become an important group regarding seasonal agricultural work since 1974 when Mexico agreed, through a bilateral Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), to begin a labour migratory circuit with Canada on a seasonal basis. At the same time, a bilateral agreement to hire Mexican temporary agricultural workers in Canada was included. This agreement guided the responsibilities of the employers and employees. Finally, Mexico was incorporated to the SAWP, which regulates each government and organization involved in the program's operation (Durand, 2007).

Mexico is responsible for the recruitment, selection, documentation, and maintenance of a pool of Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers (MTAW) that can move to Canada when Canadian employers request them; for the appointment of agents at the Mexican Embassy (and

Consulates) to serve as the contact with MTAWs in Canada[22], and to work together with people

at Citizen and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada

(HRSDC/SC) in the administration of the program (HRSDC, 2010).

The Mexican Ministry of Labour (STPS) is the responsible agency for recruiting

agricultural workers, coordinating the elaboration of the workers' files, making sure that TMWs

fulfil the employers' requirements, and also for negotiating the workers' wages with Human

Resources Development Canada (HRDC) under the terms of a government-to-government

bilateral memorandum of understanding (MOU). Finally, STPS makes the follow up of the

contract between the Canadian employers and the Mexican workers[23] (HRSDC, 2010). Other

agencies involved in the administration of the SAWP in Mexico are the Ministry of External

Relations (*Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores*-SRE) responsible for issuing passports and

controlling exits; the Ministry of Interior (*Secretaría de Gobernación* SG) responsible for

migratory issues; the Ministry of Finances (*Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público*-SHCP)

responsible for the charge for passports; and the Ministry of Health (*Secretaría de Salud*-SSA)

responsible of health tests and the emission for health certificates.

The STPS (2009) states that the SAWP is a secure, organized, and legal alternative for

unemployed agricultural workers to temporarily work in Canadian agricultural farms. In order to

qualify to be part of the SAWP, candidates (men and women) must fulfil the following requisites

(STPS, 2009; HRDSC, 2010):

1. Have Mexican citizenship

2. Be an agricultural worker, peasant, or day labourer (*agricultor, jornalero, campesino*)

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[22] Who are insufficient to serve workers in Canada (Verma, 2003).
[23] The Ministry of Interior (Secretaría de Gobernación) is responsible for issuing the needed documentation for the immigration of the MTAWs, and the Ministry of Health (Secretaría de Salud) responsible for the medical examinations and issues the medical approval.

3. Know the process of planting and harvesting: cereals, vegetables, flowers, fruits, and tobacco, and have experience working in greenhouses

4. Be at least 18 years old and maximum 40 years old for women and 45 for men

5. Men must be married or live in common-law for at least 6 months previous to their application.

   Women must be married, live in common-law, or be single mothers with children who are at least 2 years old

6. Must have at least grade 3 and maximum grade 10 of education

7. Must live in a rural area

8. And must accept to sign an employment contract between the employer and the foreign worker[24].

The above admission conditions are not focused on the human capital that is the key component of permanent resident's candidates. There is a lack of emphasis on education and language ability, factors that have been recognized as the best predictors of success in adapting to the receiving country (Alboim, 2009 cited in Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010).

Mexican TMWs under this program are categorized into 3 kinds of workers:

1. Nominal worker: those who were re-selected by name by Canadian farmers.

2. Selected worker: solicited labours without specifying the name of the workers, these workers are the ones that will come for the first time according to their profile.

3. Reserve workers: those workers that are on a waiting list and who have already passed the selecting process. They are on a list to substitute nominal or selected workers that cannot fulfil their contract and/or to cover any extraordinary requirement of the program.

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[24] The contract provides details about the worker's job, conditions of employment: maximum number of hours of work per week, wage rate, deductions (from Employment Insurance and Canada Pension Plan premiums, and Canadian income tax) (HRSDC, 2010).

Mexican participation in the SAWP began with 203 foreign workers in 1974 (CONAPO, 2006) and has had a sustained growth and expansion year after year. In this way, CIC reported that 15 727 Mexicans, from all over the country, participated in the program in 2009[25] (CIC, 2010). In 2009, 17 federal states (out of 31) were responsible for sending TMWs to Canada as is shown on Table 4 (STPS, 2010).

Table 4

Statistics by Mexican Federal State, contracts issued in 2009.

Sending Mexican State	Total of TMWs contracts issued in 2009 (n=15,352) %
Coahuila	0.69
Zacatecas	1.57
Distrito Federal (D.F.)	1.93
Nayarit	1.77
Sinaloa	2.21
Chiapas	2.91
Durango	2.46
Campeche	1.30
Michoacán	5.58
Veracruz	6.57
Morelos	5.06
Hidalgo	4.95
Guanajuato	6.25
Oaxaca	4.61
Tlaxcala	14.00
Puebla	6.75
Estado de México	18.69

Source: STPS, (2010).

The Mexican and Canadian government, designated agencies and organizations, are not the only actors involved in the entry process to the SAWP. Family members are an important piece acting as mediators or facilitators. In her study, Hennebry (2008) found that workers knew

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[25] That number represents the 8.8 per cent of the total of the foreign workers that enter Canada in 2009 (CIC, 2010).

or enter the program with the help of a family member, lawyer or even *coyotes*, acting in this

way as "mediators between individuals and the migration system" (p. 348).

Why do Mexican Agricultural Workers participate in the SAWP? Mexican Agricultural

Workers participate in the SAWP because they want better opportunities to improve the quality

of life of their families (Gibb, 2006). For many workers the SAWP is a career choice that makes

them return to Canada year after year for long periods of time.

However, Barrón (2000) explains that they choose this path because they need to do so,

not because it is a choice. Likewise, Hennebry (2008) explains that workers engage in programs

such as SAWP as a way to diversify the household's income. These workers and their families

organize their economic life around the remittances generated by their contract, which pay the

education of their children, debts, construction, begin a business, and also pay basic daily needs

such as food and housing expenses. Better wages is an important factor to travel each year to

work in Canada (Gibb, 2006).

For Basok (2003a) SAWP provides positive benefits in migrant's hometowns because

there is investment in land, housing, business, education, health, clothing, and overall in the

quality of life of the migrants and their families. At the community level, there exists a ripple

effect of development as the local economy is stimulated. However, the mentioned benefits self-

perpetuate migration because in order to keep up with the 'new' life-style migrants need to keep

participating in the program (i.e. dependency has been created). Gibb (2006) explains that

MTWs participating in the SAWP also enjoy the certainty of working legally in Canada,

avoiding in this way the risks of irregular migration.

The SAWP's benefits seem to exceed the problems, but in practice it is not by any means

a perfect program.   There have been reported problems derived either form the Mexican

authorities and the farmers in Canada. Problems with Mexican authorities arise from a

bureaucratic system and the surveillance of the contract rather than the workers; from the

Canadian perspective the problems that arise are complaints of unequal treatment as agricultural

workers, poor working and living conditions (Mueller, 2005), the lack of opportunities and

strategies to be integrated or at least included in the host society (e.g. language training and

knowledge about the life in the receiving society), and the inability to establish permanently.

Migrants under the SAWP are considered in this way a vulnerable racial group, socially

excluded, with limited working rights[26], constantly under threat to be repatriated or blacklisted,

geographically immobile and locally concentrated while they live in Canada (Verma, 2003).

One of the most salient problems that Mexican migrant workers face in Canada is the

language barrier. This language barrier originates a snowball effect because the lack of language

instruction and linguistic skills in English or French, as well as the lack of access to translators or

interpreters, prevents Mexican agricultural migrant workers from knowing and understanding

their working rights and working regulatory health and safety measures, understand basic

instructions at work, be able to be included and participate in the social interactions of the

community, and receive health care, to name some. Recommendations by different studies have

been made to address the linguistic barriers, such as translating manuals and instructions, having

translators and/or interpreters with Spanish knowledge, and language training (Basok, 2003;

Verduzco & Lozano, 2003; Verma, 2003; Preibisch, 2003; Gibb, 2006; Hennebry, 2008;

Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010).

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[26] MTAWs are not entitled to work minimum hours (they work 40 hours a week in average), reject doing risky jobs, and receive vacation and overtime payments, as well as daily and weekly or bi-weekly rest periods. At the same time MTAWs cannot claim seniority and skill levels in the wage rate calculation (Verma, 2003) or claim regular benefits from their contributions to Employment Insurance (EI) in Canada (Gibb, 2006).

However, it is important to mention that in recent years community groups, religious groups and Non-governmental organizations have developed social and language support groups. Frontier College, Migrant Worker Community Program (WMCP), The Latin Immigrant Niagara Community Association in Saint Catherines, ENLACE (Community link) Inc., Community of Agricultural Foreign Workers and Friends of Exeter (CAFFE), and the Agricultural Workers Alliance (AWA) in its different locations, offer services such as free ESL/FSL lessons, computer lessons, translation services, organize social events and outreach services, publish newsletters, and try to work as a bridge between the community and the MTWs. On the other hand, churches and parishes such as Saint Vincent de Paul, Niagara –on-the-Lake, Saint Michael's Catholic Church and other parishes in Leamington, Our Lady of La Salette Catholic church in Simcoe, Fraternité Quebecoise Latino-Americaine (with services in Saint-Rémi, Saint Joseph Oratory in Monteal, Saint-Patrice Sherrington, and Sainte-Marguerite d'Youville in Chateauguay, Qc), El Sembrador (in Bradford, Holland Marsh and Keswick) and The Vineland Christina Reform Church and Holland Marsh Christian Reformed Church, offer mass in Spanish, spiritual help, host outreach events, and impart ESL classes (Gibb, 2006).

Challenges and Consequences of Temporary Migration

According to IOM (2010) the impact of labour migration depends on the country, either receiving or sending, but in general the results may depend in the migratory flows, i.e. the number of temporary migrants, skill level, context, duration, legal situation, labour market situation, etc. Specifically, in the origin countries it is expected that labour migration may impact the population of the sending towns by encouraging some kind of development due to the expected remittances and the know-how, creation of new businesses, increment of education level of second generation and trade networks. On the other hand, receiving countries also have

an impact because TMWs migration may solve the labour shortages and economy may develop,

it may add to the human capital stock, and also, maintain the workforce levels of the country.

Martin (2003) suggests that it is necessary to pay attention to government policies related

to migrants and propose more effective ones to ameliorate the systems and conditions of

migrants; the (positive) economic benefits of labour migration, and finally, the legality of labour

migration. Likewise, Wickramasekara (2008) observes that a global regime for migration should

address issues related to the liberation of the global market to maximize the possible

development benefits of migration, protecting human and working rights, while at the same time

negative consequences must be minimized. But according to Castles (2006) *guestworkers* or

foreigners have always been socially separated as "economically disadvantaged and racially

discriminated minorities" (p. 5).

Another consequence of temporary migration has to do with foreign labour and the

labour market relationship. As Werner (1996) explains, it is difficult to supervise that the

established (fair) wages are paid to TMW, first because they live in a precarious situation (i.e.

without full citizenship rights), and second, because even if they have low wages in relation to

citizens, they agree to work for those wages given the fact that those low wages in the receiving

country are high wages in the sending one.

As well, temporary migration may be a bridge-head (Werner, 1996) to increase or

perpetuate undocumented migration because there are no borders that can escape filtration, as

well as the lack of supervision of employers; however Martin (2003) explains the opposite, when

he states that labour migration and the micro-programs for *guestworkers* can foster the

regularization of unauthorized foreigners, even if they outnumber legal *guestworkers.*

In addition, we must highlight social and health problems that derive from temporary migration. Employers and employees try to take advantage of the 'temporary work' and the isolated working and living conditions of the TFW; for this reason they usually work overtime, accept difficult working conditions, live in difficult housing conditions, deny illness, pains or labour accidents and perpetuate their precarious status (Werner, 1996).

Labour migration under a temporary basis is self-sustained by the employers that keep demanding more programs for the admission of foreign workers because such strategy lowers their costs. "Short-term employment of migrant workers is excluded from some conventions" (Werner, 1996, p.11), but ILO works toward the development of international migration systems that may protect foreign workers while governments, employers, unions, associations, and organizations, "review the optimal ways to move workers over borders" (p. 31).

Finally, according to Abella (2006) what nation-states need to do is to manage the demand for labour through the development of policies on temporary foreign workers and programs as temporary migration programs continue expanding. But focusing only on temporary migration does not help solve long-term goals and could be unrealistic in promoting labour force growth, as Nakache and Kinoshita (2010) explain about the growing Canadian temporary foreign workers programs.

Challenges and consequences for Mexican agricultural workers under the SAWP.

Mexican temporary migrants have been working under the SAWP for 36 years and as we know, 70% of them are (re)selected the following season. These workers face more disadvantages and problems compared to other migrants and employment sectors that have attracted the attention of scholars who have carried out relevant economic, political, and social

research with important policy implications (Hennebry, 2006) because they are considered to be

a vulnerable population with a precarious legal status.

It is important to mention that even if the rights of temporary workers are not that

different from those of Canadian citizens and permanent residents, in reality, as Nakache and

Kinoshita (2010) explain, these rights do not always transfer in practice. On the other hand,

TMW experience other difficulties as "inexperience with the Canadian legal and social systems,

limited opportunity for permanent immigration, language barriers, misleading employer-

provided information, and self-censorship to protect their jobs and threats of deportations, among

others (Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010, p. 9).

To sum up, language barriers have always been mentioned as a major problem of this

population because such barriers magnify challenges faced by migrants in meeting their social

and work needs, in their relationships and adaptation process to the local community. However,

the conditions of admission do not consider knowledge of English or French or linguistic capital

as it will limit the number of candidates and no provisions are taken to help the workers to

overcome their linguistic barriers once they arrive at their destination.

The level of education and the lack of linguistic skills in the language of the host society

are two factors that raise concerns about what the Canadian government is doing to help these

TMW to face language and cultural challenges during their temporary stay in the country. But,

national interest does not have to be divergent to the wellbeing of temporary migrants even if the

aim of the official rules of the SAWP is to avoid the integration of temporary migrants and the

responsibility of participation or temporary social integration is left to the employer, community,

organizations, associations, and the same worker (Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010).

The next chapter looks at the interrelationship of language and migration, revising and explaining ideas such as space, temporality, languages and contacts, languages and dialects, language practices, language ideologies, as well as language attitudes. All this concepts applied to studies of language and migration can help to explain language choice, language use, as well as the linguistic competence of temporary migrants. It is important to mention, that language in language and migration studies is usually considered a form of human capital; therefore, this concept will be used in the following chapter to explain social inclusion/exclusion into the host society.

Literature Review in Context: Language and Migration

In this chapter, I will examine space and temporality and its relation to language and migration; language and contacts on a migratory context with a specific interest in languages/dialects and contacts on a temporary migration situation; as well as issues related to language and identity and the relationship between language, ethnicity and migration. Moreover, I will go over language practices, language ideologies, and language attitudes and the way that they influence language choice, language use, and the linguistic competence of immigrants. Additionally, I will address the issue of language as a form of human capital and social (in)equalities, and how it shapes migrants' social inclusion or exclusion from the host society. Finally, I will make a review of language policy and planning and the way that it affects immigrants to Canada, as well as how Canada's language policy influences their sociolinguistic situation.

Space and Temporality and its Relation to Language and Migration

The sociolinguistic effects of migration have been separated from the effects of the spread of linguistic features originated by geographical diffusion[27] (Kerswill, 2006) and related to the relocation diffusion model which proposes that cultural elements are spread to other regions by human migration where social factors, and not only the geographical movements, are taken into account (Britain, 2003). Kerswill (2006) explains that in relation to space, "sociolinguistically, the distinction between moves within, and across administrative boundaries within a state is of little consequence except insofar as the boundaries reflect, or in some cases shape, differing allegiances" (Kerswill, 2006, p. 4).

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[27] Chambers and Trudgill (1998) talk about linguistic areas that take into consideration linguistic borders where expansion diffusion by itself result on language and/or dialect contact.

For Blommaert et al. (2005), people's linguistic resources and skills are contested when they move from one place to another, showing this situation as a sociolinguistic problem in multilingual[28] environments, common to many individuals in a globalized era. In their study in urban centres, Blommaert et al. (2005), examine how space as an agentive force organizes regimes of language that may "incapacitate individuals" (p. 198), arguing that the lack of an adequate communicative competence[29] in real environments is not a problem *of the speaker*, but it is a problem *for the speaker* because "communication problems in such situations are the result of how individuals and their communicative 'baggage' are inserted into regimes of language valid in that particular space" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 198).

Likewise, the concept of 'space' includes scales of social structure, i.e. which are hierarchically ranked and stratified (Blommaert, 2007). Space in this sense, is part of what other scholars have conceptualized as 'context'; but for them, context (including space)

> "Organizes and defines sociolinguistic regimes in which spaces are characterized by sets of norms and expectations about communicative behaviour –orders of indexicality[30]. Entering such spaces involves the impositions of the sets of norms and rules as well as the invoking of potentially meaningful relations between one scale and another (e.g., the local versus the national or the global). This has effects on,
> a. what people can or cannot do (it legitimizes some forms of behaviour while disqualifying or constraining other forms);
> b. the value and function of their sociolinguistic repertoires;
> c. their identities, both self-constructed (inhabited) and ascribed by others" (p. 203).

Hence, it is important to notice that the idea of scales "refers to (social) phenomena that develop in TimeSpace" (Blommaert, 2007, p. 5). TimeSpace interact either on a lower scale, i.e. time is momentary and space is local, situated; and/or on a higher scale, i.e. time is timeless and

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[28] Blommaert, et al. (2005) does not conceptualize multilingualism "as full competence in different languages" (p. 199).

[29] As Hymes (1985) explains, "the competence of a person in a language is party and variably a function of other languages he or she may know and use. Moreover, the scope of a language itself is partly and variably a function of its niche among other modes of communication, and may be larger or smaller relative to these, depending on practices with regard to exuberance or reserve in verbal image, discursive or memetic instruction, sensory satisfaction in sound or other senses, etc. (p. 18).

[30] Indexicality is seen as the "connection between signs and contexts" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 204).

space is translocal, widespread. Thus, scales allow us to incorporate ideas of power and inequality as "integral features of every social event" (Blommaert, 2007, p. 7).

Moreover, Vigouroux (2005) conceives space as a multidimensional concept seen as a "spatially delimited environment, lived practices, and a system of relations, all bearing symbolic meaning" (p. 241) that influence language practice (especially in multilingual settings); paying attention to the "speaker and his/her attempts to maintain, organize, transform and ratify the space he/she lives in" (p. 241). Vigouroux (2005) shows in which way different dimensions of space affect language practice and attitudes, as well as how individuals negotiate their agency and meaning on a specific space.

On the other hand, she proposes that the concept of *territoriality*[31] helps us to understand how language and space are interconnected; while Jacquemet (2005) brings the idea of *deterritorialization*[32] to rethink the exchange between the global and the local where the dynamics of *deterritorialization* bring out processes of *reterritorialization* that in its turn produces "recombinant identities, usually produced through encounters between global and local codes of communication" (Jacquemet, 2005, p. 264), -i.e. that migrants and locals combine personal and social features in the same real or imagined space (or territory) and time.

As it is possible to appreciate, migration is not a fixed phenomenon, and in this sense, space/territoriality, time, motivation, and socio-cultural factors are parameters to be studied while describing and categorizing migration and its sociolinguistics consequences. That is why in this work, following Blommaert et al. (2005), one of the main interests of the study of language involves speakers' communicative goals in particular situations and in particular

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[31] Vigouroux (2005) uses the term territoriality "in order to highlight what people do to shape, protect, and defend what they claim to be their domain of action" (p. 241).

[32] "To account for the cultural dynamics of people and practices that either no longer inhabit one local (finding themselves in borderlands, diasporic groups, or mixed cultural environments) or inhabit a locality radically transformed by the global cultural phenomena" (Jacquemet, 2005, p. 262)

spaces, as well as in the processes of negotiation of meaning on a language and contact context, -

i.e. their situated communicative practices, without the unreal idea of language uniformity either

of individuals and/or groups.

Language and Contacts in a Migratory Social Context

Language contacts "is only possible because of language diversity" (Fill, 2007, p. 179). It

is a phenomenon that occurs not only between bilinguals, but also between the contact of two or

more people that try to communicate with each other but speak a different language. However,

according to Zima (2007) the idea of *languages **in** contact* is an abstract one. He proposes to

think about *languages **and** contacts*[33] explaining that the contact happens between human beings

that use their available codes to communicate with each other. When these contacts happen,

there is an open possibility "for interference among all codes used in such communication"

(Zima, 2007, p. 102).

In these lines, the different linguistic phenomena that can happen because of language

and contacts may occur in cases that involve language maintenance, language shift, and the

formation of new languages. These phenomena may be classified as language borrowings,

interference/ transfers, calques, and convergence; code-switching; code-mixing; morphosyntactic

change; second language acquisition; language attrition; bilingualism, multilingualism and the

formation of pidgins, creoles, semi-creoles, and media lengua, between others (Winford, 2003;

2007). On the other hand, there can also exist dialects in contact (i.e. the contact of two or more

individuals that speak a different dialect of the same language), which may result in processes as

accommodation, mixing, simplification, levelling, hyperdialectism and reallocation, among

others.

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[33] In this study I will use Zima's language and contacts approach.

However, are languages and contacts enough to impact the linguistic system of individuals and linguistic communities? In reality, there are other factors that are also intertwined with the languages and contacts phenomena. That is why languages or dialects and contacts must be studied and explored individually, in the context and space of their own history (Fought, 2006). The results of languages and/or dialects and contacts also depend on the nature of the contact, the groups involved in the contact, or speech communities[34], the social context (Trudgill, 2002; Winford, 2003), the particular ecological conditions (i.e. patterns of population structure and growth) (Mufwene, 2007) the intensity, quantity, and quality of the contacts (Zima, 2007), as well as on the macro-sociolinguistic factors (i.e. language ideologies, language attitudes and linguistic identities) that may determine the linguistic choices, individual or societal bilingualism[35], and power relations between the individuals or groups in contact (Winford, 2003; 2007).

As it is possible to appreciate, the study of language and contacts is complex and multi/interdisciplinary in nature. As Collins et al. (2009) explains, **"**Issues of language contact are ubiquitous in the study of language…" (p. 4). Therefore, in this study, the approach to language contact has an interdisciplinary approach and is centred in the socially embedded linguistic communicative practices[36] (Collins et al, 2009) constructed through the complexity of a specific moment in time, social context, ethnic group, and migratory status of the participants, and it is focused in the macro-sociolinguistic factors mentioned above.

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[34] For Hymes (1972) a speech community is "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety" (p.54)

[35] Societal bilingualism exists in situations where members of a society use more than one language (defined by geographical, political or society) (Fill, 2007).

[36] The idea of practice is explained as the cultural knowledge of an activity related to its social nature (Baynham, 1995).

Temporary migration: language and contacts.

The study of temporary migration and language contact is a particular instance of the study of languages and contacts because, as Winford (2007) explains, "what we need to ask is how the particular configuration, linguistic inputs, and social contexts, produced the particular outcome it did" (p. 25-25), keeping in mind that the study of language as practice assumes that language is in constant activity, never static, always changing and adapting to the social context (Mufwene, 2007).   At the same time, it is important to consider that not only the linguistic repertoires of migrants are affected, but also those of the host population, institutions, businesses, organizations, etc. (i.e. the whole sociolinguistic system) because migratory flows happen across spaces with material and symbolic features where individuals must re-order their linguistic resources (Blommaert et al., 2005).

Mufwene (2007) explains that there is no need to separate internal and external linguistic changes derived from language contact because "all causes of change in any language are external to its structure, lying in the communicative acts of speakers, such as the accommodations that speakers make to each other in order to be (better) understood and in the exaptations they make of old materials to convey new ideas" (p. 65). Linguistic changes are the result of competition and selection not only at the individual level, but also at the community level; where important patterns can occur toward the evolution of a language (Mufwene, 2007). The impact of the language of the majority can be seen, usually, at the structure and lexicon level through the borrowing[37] or incorporation of linguistic items of one language into another language. The members of the same linguistic minority group are known as the agents of change, as in any language contact situation (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988).

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[37] Structural borrowing refers to the borrowing of phonological, morphological, syntactic and/or semantic features (Winford, 2003).

In the context of temporary migration, where collectives of ethnic groups migrate 'together', the social context provides a certain ethno-linguistic homogeneity as individuals can communicate with each other in their own language and they mostly socialize among themselves.   Furthermore, temporary migrants (TM) experience home and social ethnic segregation, social isolation, limited contact and exposure to the local language variety, and only in restricted situations (Mufwene, 2007).   Moreover, the TM live in an exogenous linguistic environment where a language other than theirs is the language of the majority, representing a sociolinguistic marker that places them in a low-prestige position because being *permanently a temporary migrant* is dehumanizing as it means not having rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1996), and not being part of the country where they live.

That is why, in some circumstances, TM sociolinguistic situation can be compared to slaves in those colonies that did not develop a permanent slave population because they were in transition to other destinations and replaced rapidly; therefore, a Pidgin or Creole was not developed (Mufwene, 2007).   As these slaves in transition, TM usually do not spend enough time in the host country, they cannot settle down, and whatever linguistic variety may emerge because of the languages and contacts, usually experiences a fast death as soon as TM are replaced at the end of the temporary immigration contract (Mufwene, 2007).

In the same way, another linguistic phenomenon that is possible in a TM context is language maintenance. Language maintenance, independently of the social context, alludes to the conservation of the native language of a minority group or speech community. In a language maintenance situation, the main areas of the linguistic system remain almost unchangeable (Winford, 2003). In this way, in a migratory context, language maintenance means that the minority language in contact experiences slight changes because of the 'normal' evolution of the

language; but also because of the limited contact with the language of the majority (Winford,

2003), and the social isolation that TM experience. At the same time, having a considerably

large and strong ethnic group in the receiving country (or even relative transnational relations

and practices through ITC) has as consequence a reduced tendency to acquire the L2 because the

need to learn and use the L2 is overshadowed (Van Tubergen, 2004; Esser, 2006).

Additionally, there is another phenomenon that can be categorized as language

maintenance in a situation of languages and contacts (or the lack of language and contacts) called

language islands (Kerswill, 2006) and that can be compared to the temporary migrants'

experience. Examples of *language islands* are groups like the German Mennonites that speak

Low German, as well as the Amish in the United States and Canada that speak Old English

Amish. Both of these groups are considered to be *language islands* because even if they have

migrated many generations ago, they continue to be isolated and (self)segregated populations

that are not looking to be integrated to the dominant population at any level. Moreover, the

government and the society are not attempting to integrate or include them either. In this

manner, *language islands* maintain their language (L1) because of cultural and religious

motivations, using their language as an identity marker (Mufwene, 2007), but the limited contact

with *the other* and their desire to be a *close* ethnic group, fosters their language maintenance per

se.

On the other hand, in temporary migratory contexts it is also possible to find an abundant

"turnover of interlocutors" (Weinrich, 1968, p. 90) where communication is commonly

improvised and the language of the immigrants is exposed to interference with heavy lexical

borrowing and little resistance as a result of their "social and cultural disorientation" (Weinrich,

1968, p 91). It is necessary to analyze the linguistic continuum where we have a 'typical'

language contact situation (see Figure 1). In this continuum it is possible to see that

monolinguals in L1 (e.g. Spanish) and L2 (e.g. English or French) come in contact with each

other and may become bilingual dominant either in the L1 (e.g. Spanish) or L2 (e.g. English or

French), to 'idealistically' move forward towards a balanced individual bilingualism.

However, in real-life situations, this continuum can look very different because linguistic

issues derived from languages/dialects and contacts are complex phenomena that do not occur in

isolation. Temporary migrants can usually be positioned in the starting point of the bilingualism

continuum, i.e. linguistic marginality and monolingual segmentation. Some of them can pass

that threshold and become bilinguals or even be assimilated as monolinguals in the L2 (i.e. the

language of the majority in the receiving community). In the German *guestworker* situation and

subsequent generations, linguistic marginality is the result of the languages and contact situation

and competent bilingualism fails. In contrast, in the U.S. the most common problem with

immigrants is the abandonment of the L1 and the assimilation to the L2 (i.e. English); and again,

competent bilingualism was not achieved (Esser, 2006).
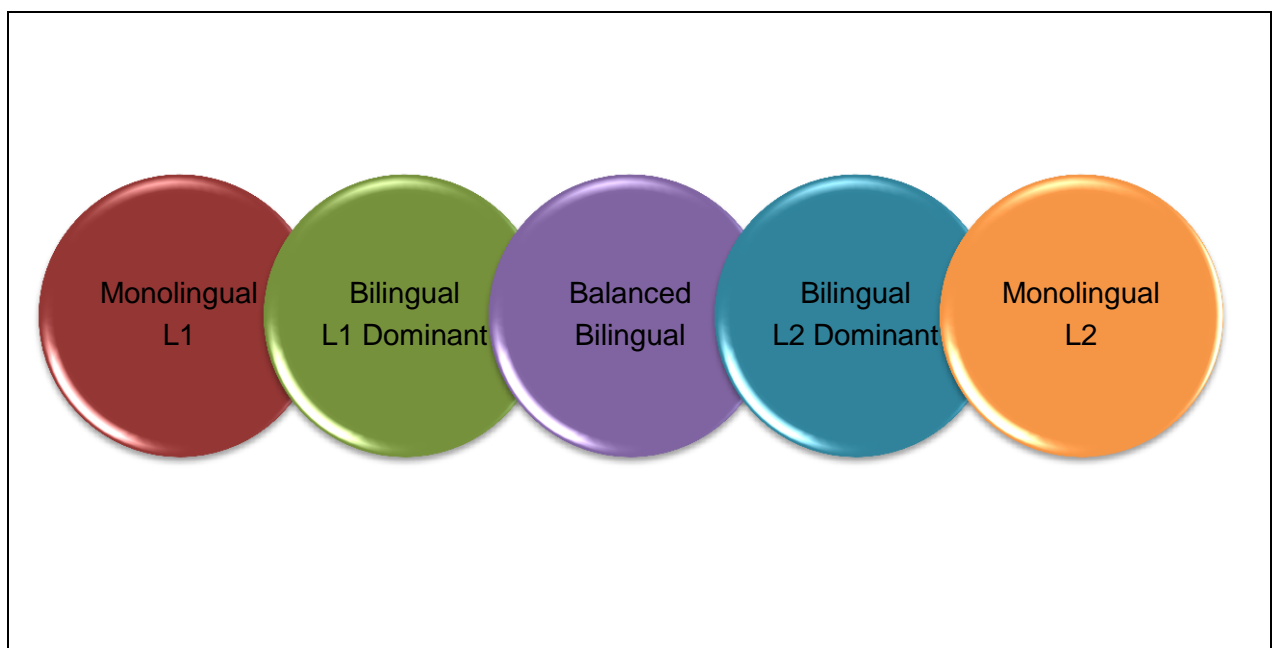
Figure 1. Linguistic Continuum on a language contact situation (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

Along these lines, and in order to understand the linguistic situation of TM, it is also important to acknowledge that in most cases, this population goes through naturalistic acquisition or natural second language acquisition (Winford, 2007), so the spread of the language of the majority is informal (Mufwene, 2007).   Therefore, temporary migrants linguistic knowledge in the language of the majority (or source language) is limited, where it is possible to observe processes of 'relexemization[38]', a process that is "clearly an instance of borrowing under recipient language agentivity, in which the incorporated lexeme is fully adapted to the morphology and morpho-syntax of the linguistically dominant language" (Winford, 2007, p.35).

Migration can also cause the phenomenon known as *truncated multilingualism*, "linguistic competencies which are organised topically, on the basis of domains or specific activities" (Blommaert et al, 2005, p. 199) where individuals appropriate in a very creative way the voices of the *others*, while at the same time they possess a very limited knowledge of the language(s) that they try to appropriate (Rampton, 1995 cited in Blommaert et al, 2005). This *truncated multilingualism* can also be explained as situations of "translinguistic encounters where there are sharp differences in knowledge of relevant language varieties across a group of interactants" (p. 200).

As it is possible to appreciate, migrants' languages and contacts can lead to a wide variety of linguistic consequences; however, according to Kerswill (2006) the formation of new dialects or koineisation is "the most strikingly purely effect of migration" (p. 14).

Temporary migrants: dialects and contacts.

Taking into account that a dialect identifies individuals with their place of origin, it is possible to assume that individuals under a temporary migration setting arise from different

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[38] "The lexical entry, including morphology, morphosyntactic properties and (for verbs) subcategorization, are retained intact. Only the lexeme associated with that lexical entry changes (Winford, 2007, p. 35).

places of the sending country, possibly, with different dialects of the same language. It can also

happen that temporary migrants may come from different countries that share the same language;

consequently, they will speak (again) different dialects of the same language. Whatever the case,

both are considered to be *language missionaries*[39] because of their potential to introduce

innovations to the same language (Trudgill, 1986).

Then, what happens in a situation where individuals with different dialects of the same

language coexist?   The different dialects that may come in contact can experience either

convergence, i.e. when two dialects influence each other resulting in becoming more similar; or

divergence, i.e. when two dialects influence each other becoming more different, almost

independent from each other (Fought, 2006).   Thus, it is important to point out that dialect

divergence does not result in a koiné, but it is an important parameter in the study of ethnic

identities because linguistic features (i.e. linguistic variation) can show the preservation of

personal/ethnic identities among a bigger ethnic group (Fought, 2006) that place social factors as

social barriers that result in linguistic attitudes towards the other groups and their linguistic codes

(Zentella, 1990).

A koiné is a new variety of language and is the result of the contact between speakers of

the same language, with different varieties or dialects of it that share the same geographical

space for a period of time (Trudgill, 1998). Trudgill (1998) calls this phenomena 'new dialect'

or 'koiné', while Siegel (1985, cited in Kerswill, 2006, p. 14; Kerswill (2002)) refers at it as

'immigrant koines'. According to Kerswill (2006) "koineisation is composed of the mixing

elements from different dialects, followed by levelling" (p. 14) and leading eventually

> "to the reduction in the number of different realisations of the same linguistic element (a
> phonological variable, a grammatical morpheme or a lexical item) found as a result of

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[39] The term refers to mobile individuals who had left their hometown and return introducing new features into the
local speech (Trudgill, 1986, 57).

prior mixing. Koinés, are also simplified with regard to the input dialects, usually having smaller phoneme systems, more invariant word forms, and simpler morphophonemics" (p. 14-15).

On the other hand, as Trudgill (1986) explains, a new-dialect or koiné can be developed as a result of dialects and contacts. Indeed, a new-dialect can be developed under circumstances where a dialect and contacts are followed by a dialect mixture situation (i.e. when different variants from the different dialects of the same language are mixed), followed by a reduction in the number of variants within time, leading to a process of accommodation between speakers, and subsequently to the formation of a "new, intermediate or hyper-adaptive or other interdialect norms which were not actually present in any of the dialects in the original mixture" (Britain and Trudgill, 1999, p. 246).

In the formation of a new-dialect or koiné, social and linguistic variables are intertwined. It is necessary to consider demographic factors (i.e. where are these individuals with different dialects o the same language coming from?) and purely linguistic forces. Thus, the process of koineization begins with dialect levelling or loss of linguistically and demographically variants; simplification or survival of the simpler linguistic forms; and even the reallocation of variants with different sociolinguistic or functional roles (Britain & Trudgill, 1999).

Finally, whatever are the results of languages and contacts and/or dialects and contacts they seem to be charged with individual and social markers that makes both, the individual or the group, to be indentified as 'who they are'.

Language and Identity

Our language is part of who we are as individuals. When we communicate, we exchange information, but also who we are (Vigouroux, 2005). A language variety is a marker of identity that can serve to self-identify a member to a linguistic group –i.e. individuals reveal their personal identity and social roles as phenomena that are related to language- both consciously

and unconsciously, with different language uses[40] (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, cited in Niño-

Murcia et al, 2008). Language as practice creates and identifies social group membership (Jupp

et al, 1982). Therefore, linguistic identities are not stable or constant; they are always changing

according to the social environment where they have to be deployed (Romaine, 2004).

For this study, I will use Norton's (1997) suggestions regarding identity and Blackledge

and Pavlenko's (2001) suggestions about linguistic identity. For Norton (1997) identity refers to

how people perceive the world through time and space in the past, present and even the future

through imagined identities. Likewise, for Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) language is

intrinsically linked to the identity of an individual because it is through language that one can

construct, negotiate and renegotiate one's identity; even more, language ideologies as well as

identity guide the way in which linguistic resources are used to index identity.

Along language index features (i.e. accents, register, genres, etc.) there are other

important variables in the construction of the imagined identities of immigrants such as age, race,

status, education, etc., as well as the amount of time that a group has been in a specific

community, and the historical and socio-political context of specific spaces (Gal, 2006; Fought,

2006). Thus, in relation to international migration, language is one of the most salient aspects

that identify an individual as *the other*. Immigrants use language to index and reproduce their

ethnic identity with resources such as code-switching, which indexes affiliation with both, the

local community and the ethnic group; specific linguistic features (i.e. phonetic, syntactic, or

lexical items) that may be tied to an ethnic group; suprasegmental features or intonation patterns

(the use of syllables to index ethnicity) that mark membership; discourse features, which may be

as important as other structural elements of language; and the use of a borrowed variety or code

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[40] Thus, while monolinguals may choose to use a specific register, multilinguals can choose to change languages to identify themselves.

that was originally originated outside the ethnic group (e.g. AAVE) (Fought, 2006). Hence, the ability of immigrants to (re)negotiate their *linguistic identities* can help them to reduce the language barriers that they may face in the host environment (Mohanty, 2010).

Even before migrating, pre-immigrants (i.e. individuals that have certainty about their plans to migrate on a short period of time) have expectations of what they are going to find in the host country. Such ideas can be true or false, but in the mind of the pre-immigrant, there is an imaginary that comprises his/her own identity as immigrant; because thinking about migration, language matters (Barkhuizen and de Klerk, 2006). Linguistic changes in migratory contexts increases or aggravates the lost or change of identity that individuals may experience, per-se, when they move. On the other hand, as Djité (2009) explains, knowing a new language becomes part of their identity.

Migrants use their linguistic identities to distinguish themselves from other migrants through a collective identity. But they also have their individual identities that go from using language with instrumental functions to use language with integrative functions. These divergent identity strategies, in Mohanty's framework (2010), can lead to linguistic identity without language and/or language without identity. Thus, according to Rubenfeld et al. (2006) it is through de acquisition of a second language that speakers can have access to new social representations, typical of a specific culture, and to negotiate and construct meaning. Therefore, it is expected that when an individual gains linguistic competence in a second language, it would have an impact in his/her social identity.

Along these lines, Lambert (1975) proposes the idea of additive and subtractive bilingualism; where the difference can be found in the consequences, i.e. when a L2 is learned there is a subtractive effect in the L1 (a loss), but there is a gain (addition) in the L2. The

consequence is a loss of identification to one group and a gain of social identification with the

other group. Likewise, Gaudet and Clément (2008) explain that the acquisition of a second

language can influence the ethnic identity and the adjustment to a new culture both for the

minority and the majority groups. On the other hand, they also found that that when a speaker

feels more comfortable with his/her L2, with better self-esteem and less stress, he/she also feels

more identified to and with the group, but at the expense of the loss or erosion of their

identification with the minority group and a bigger degree of acculturation.

In consequence, immigrants almost always can be associated with the idea of having

hybrid identities[41]. As an example, Fought (2006) explains that Latinos in the US have access to

different codes or varieties, not only English and/or Spanish, to communicate and voice their

multiple identities. These different codes are 'Standard' English, Latino English (e.g. Chicano

English, Cuban English, etc.), local varieties of English, non-native Spanish influenced by

English, 'Standard' Spanish, regional varieties of Spanish (e.g. Puerto Rican Spanish), varieties

of Latino Spanish (e.g. Los Angeles Spanish), non-native English influenced by Spanish, and

code-switching between English and Spanish (Fought, 2006).

Language, ethnicity and migration.

Language and ethnicity are intrinsically related. Language interweaves the personal

identity with the collective identity and it is one of the most salient characteristics of an ethnic

community where a sense of boundedness serves to give a sense of belonging to specific groups

that are socially constructed (e.g. ethnic, national, linguistic, or economic groups).

Linguistically, the concept of boundedness seems to be created to separate language varieties,

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[41] A hybrid identity can be explained as a blend or interrelation of the identities, linguistic identities for this purpose,
of the minority and the majority group. This blend or integration is not always straightforward; on the contrary, there
exists a constant process of negotiation of identity where the language is a resource for social interactions and
integration, but also part of that same identity.

with or without power, according to the context that is usually reinforced and perpetuated by the

system and social groups. As Urciuoli (1995) explains, "the phrase 'language and borders'

suggests that language differences signify categories of persons defined by ethnic or national

origin and that these categories are opposed to each other" (p. 525).

According to Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) ethnicity and social identity are

maintained through the use of language; as well, ethnicity is linked to the idea of borders and

ideologies among those groups where language is used as an instrument to maintain, cross, or

change the boundaries between different groups (Fought, 2006). Thus, according to Fought

(2006), ethnicity can be studied only if it is seen as a "complex process of constructing and

reproducing identities within a particular community, a process intertwined with social,

historical, ideological and biographical factors" (p. 16-17).

In this way, according to Urciuoli (1995) for migrants ethnicity is no longer a

characteristic that can be related to a specific space, on the contrary, ethnicity becomes non-

localized because people moves to global ethno-spaces. In Giles, et al.'s (1977) perspective, a

linguistic group is considered to have ethnolinguistic vitality when it is perceived as a separate

and collective entity that coexists with other ethnic groups in multilingual settings. Some factors

that may contribute to the ethnolinguistic vitality and survival of a minority group are

demography or the size of the group, institutional support or power, and status (Giles, Bourhis,

and Taylor, 1977; Fishman, 1998). But Haarmann (1986) explains that this approach is mostly

descriptive, so he offers a more taxonomical approach to study ethnicity as a cluster (in the

ecology of language framework) that includes general and specific variables, as well as the links

between those variables in relation to the general conditions of the groups and their languages.

Additionally, variables such as the context (or geographical space), and the kind of employment (e.g. ethnolinguistic enclaves[42]) could be the real reason for the correlation between being a member of an ethnolinguistic group (with a minority language in our linguistic repertoire) and economic situation. This coincides with other approaches, not necessarily ecological, like Chiswick and Miller (2007) and Dustmann's (1993; 1994; 1999) studies that link income with human capital and ethnic groups. Hence, Haarmann's (1986) approach assumes that the interplay between the ethnic groups is the result of their experiences in a specific space and time, where language is studied as a social phenomenon (i.e. language ecology), with the paradigm that includes the individual, the group, the society and the state. More specifically for the purpose of the study of language, the paradigm becomes the study of language behavior of an individual, the role of language in the group (or group relations), the functional range of language in a given society, and the role of language politics in a given state; where "language as the means of communication for an individual speaker is of a different nature than language within group relations in a speech community" (Haarmann, 1986, p. 6).

It is important to note that there is a different approach related to the study of language in individual relations and in-group relations. When we talk about the individual, the general model of ecological processes must be used to illustrate individual relations, as language skills and language choice, among bilinguals communication. In this manner, the variables embedded in the categories proposed by Haarmann (1986) study the factors that are 'directly' related to the

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[42] An ethnolinguistic enclave is a group of individuals that are similar in relation to their language use at work. Everyone there, owner, workers, and maybe even the customers, are part of a specific ethnic group and share an ethnic language (i.e. minority language) as mother tongue.

language, from a communicative point of view, of an ethnic group and its structure[43] where

language ideologies and language attitudes have an important role.

Language Practices, Language Ideologies and Language Attitudes

From a Chomskyan point of view all languages are the same; however languages in

society, in use, are all but the same. As Hymes (1996) explains, it seems 'ideal' that languages

are equal but in reality "people know that you can accomplish some things in one language or

variety that they cannot in another" (p. 211). Language ideologies "are beliefs about language

and interpretations of its relationships with its social and cultural setting. Language itself,

as well as beliefs about it, is viewed as inherently socially and culturally positioned"

(Anderson, 2008, p. 15). Thus, according to Blommaert et al. (2005) "language is an

ideological object, i.e. an object invested with social and cultural interests, not just a vehicle for

(denotational, neutral) meaning" (p. 199).

However, as Anderson (2008) suggests, ideologies change as "…particular groups shift

in and out of salience in the sociolinguistic landscape at different times and places" (p. 16).

Changing ideologies can yield different patterns of use and are thus an important component of

processes of language change because language ideologies represent a perception of language

and the discourse constructed in the interest of a socio-cultural group; which suggests that each

group constructs a set of beliefs about language that serves their own interests and that each

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[43] The categorization of ecological ranges related to language are the following, 1) ethnodemographic variables, including size, concentration/dispersion, homogeneity/ heterogeneity, urban/rural settlements, and static settlement/migration movement of the ehtnolinguistic group; 2) ethnosociological variables, including sex, age, social stratifications, and family relations in the social structure; 3) ethnopolitical variables, including group-state relations, institutional status of languages, institutional status of a community's language (national language, official language, etc.(.; 4) ethnocultural variables, including descent criteria, organizational promotion of group interests, etc.; 5) ethnopsychological variables, including attitudes, language –identity relationship, etc.; 6) interactional variables, including communicational mobility, language-variety use, etc.; and 7) ethnolinguistic variables, including linguistic distance between contact languages and sociocultural categorization of language contacts.

group also constructs language ideologies that support and preserve their own linguistic and

sociolinguistic practices.

Interestingly, language ideologies are usually opposed, i.e. one linguistic ideology tries to

destroy the other (e.g. English vs. Spanish) because of what is known as language panic and

language pride (Martinez, 2006). Language practices perform as cultural and symbolic capital,

but because language practices are embedded in the social context (larger context) political and

social structures also have a strong voice in valuing or devaluing this symbolic capital.

Besides, language practices and language ideologies in a migratory social context can

cause linguistic inequalities and language barriers (Pujolar, 2009) because many immigrants

cannot communicate effectively in the language of the host society or national language (Piller &

Takahashi, in press). Therefore, language ideologies and languages can be dehumanizing thanks

to a hierarchical linguistic order that is socially constructed and time-space specific (Mohanty,

2010). In these lines, language barriers are the bridge to social inequalities as language is

> "The gateway to all levels of day-to-day interaction in the public and private spheres, to
> intellectual and cultural development and to furthering our understanding of the ways in
> which humankind functions. As much as it produces union and community it separates,
> creating invisible barriers, alienating outsiders whose otherness is manifested by
> language" (Kershen, 2000, p. 11).

According to Pedersen (2010) "language ideology and language attitudes are dependant

of societal processes at the macro level and of the social factors at the micro level" (p. 129).

Language attitudes are a predisposition towards the own language or the languages of others

(Crystal, 1992) and have a strong impact on language status and group solidarity towards them.

Language attitudes are originated in the collective, but attitudes are expressed in an individual

way as a reaction to certain languages or language varieties with higher or lower prestige and

with multifunctional expressions (i.e. integrative or instrumental[44]) (Edwards, 1982). Thus, it is

important to separate linguistic ideology from linguistic attitudes even if they are close concepts.

The major difference is that linguistic attitudes can be considered as the parts that construct

ideology and are almost always an individual reaction (Martinez, 2006). Language attitudes and

language ideologies are not fixed; people change their language attitudes over time.

The evaluation of one's language or the language of *the other* is done under social terms,

rarely under linguistic terms. Hence, according to Edwards (1994), attitudes towards different

languages or language varieties are in reality attitudes towards the members of linguistic

communities where interactions and perceptions influence the formation of those language

attitudes (Cargile et al., 1994). In this manner, language attitudes can help us to understand

language ideologies, but also language choices that individuals make, and thus even predict the

maintenance, shift or change of a dialect or language within an ethnic group.

Language choice, language use and linguistic competence.

According to Coulmas (2005), every individual has the ability to change the way he/she

speaks in order to exchange information and understand each others. Individuals have agency

and/or intentionality in making decisions to choose one language or another in a communicative

event. At the same time, language choice in bilingual/multilingual communities also happens

when its members do not have equal linguistic resources in all the languages and language

choice is decided by the need to be understood (Gumperz, 1971). In fact in a migratory situation,

individuals usually "adjust their language-choice patterns during their lifetime and/or from one

generation to the next" (Coulmas, 2005, p. 147), but they also use and choose language

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[44] An integrative linguistic attitude is positive and joins the speaker with the group, while an instrumental linguistic attitude is a positive attitude of a speaker towards a language and results in a symbolic or material profit (Martínez, 2006).

depending on the situation and context, i.e. the practices in which they engage (Blommaert et al.,

2005).

Function and value given to a language are usually very different and will influence

linguistic choices. For example, English is considered to be a *world language,* an *imperialistic*

language, but also a *lingua franca*, so its knowledge has become necessary in order to have

international mobility and to communicate (Colic-Peisker, 2002). Thus, migrants moving to

countries where the majority language is an imperialistic language such as English, may have the

will and need to learn it because as a *world language* it is assumed to give "international

mobility, success and prosperity" (Blommaert, 2007, p. 13), instead of being a linguistic choice

to integrate to the host society.

On the other hand, Coulmas (2005) explains that since language loyalty and tolerance for

linguistic pluralism are different according to specific communities, it is hard to predict the

course of minority languages in migratory contexts, even if history has let us know that in stable

migratory contexts the mother tongue of the first generation is the default choice, while the

second language will always remain a foreign language for them. But over generations,

migration normally generates language change not only at the individual level, but also at the

linguistic community level, where the choices, desires, and willingness to assimilate, integrate,

and divide, can also have an effect on language shift, change, or language maintenance

(Coulmas, 2005).

A linguistic choice can lead to language shift, which seems more common in younger

generations than in older generations of immigrants for reasons that have already been

mentioned. Hence, as language choice, language shift and language change requires agency or

intentionality and is "enforced by a set of interrelated agencies –the languages and their speakers

with unjust and inequitable power and control over resources, state policies of discrimination and

homogenization, and socially constructed inequalities among languages pushing some to disuse

and marginalization" (Mohanty, 2010, p. 132).

For example, in a migratory situation where *guestworkers* stay in the receiving country

and have a second (or more) generation living there, like in Germany and the U.S., it is possible

to see a clear language shift to the language of the majority (and away of the mother tongue)

across subsequent generations, and in many cases the abandonment of the mother tongue or L1

towards the L2. However, it is not possible to generalize outcomes as ethnicity shows linguistic

resilience (e.g. Mennonites) and the tendency to maintain the L1 (Esser, 2006) because culture

and values are also embedded in language (Clyne, 1994).   In this way, certain linguistic groups

in contact with others tend to maintain their language by linguistic accommodation (Bhatia and

Ritschie, 2004, cited in Mohanty, 2010), but also becoming bilingual or multilingual to adapt to

the others. Also, frequently, the language shift of immigrants' speech communities happens

domain by domain, instead of all in a sudden. Language shift by domains is an indication of

functional linguistic adjustment because what speakers look forward to is to use the language of

greater utility, to communicate, accordingly to the needs of each domain (Coulmas, 2005).

But for Blommaert et al. (2005) this view is difficult in multilingual and multidialectal

settings where "assumptions about shared knowledge and stable communities are most

problematic" (p. 211). Therefore, they assume that "people have varying language abilities –

repertoires and skills with languages- but that *the function and value of those repertoires and

skills can change as the space of language contact changes*" (p. 211). This is exemplified with

different scenarios of immigrants where in one space their linguistic knowledge and

communicative competence are valuable (i.e. useful) and considered as higher-scale resources,

whereas in other spaces these same resources are unworthy (i.e. useless) and consider and lower-scale resources.

Then, basically it is a matter of "scale-based agentivity –what is valued and devalued in given environments- and the notion of negotiation and repair –what is or will be done in response to competence assessments and situated expectations" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 212). The main issue here is that moving from one space to another positions immigrants in a situation where they keep 'gaining and/or losing' communicative competence according, also, to orders of indexicality or norms connected to specific social contexts (i.e. the family, the neighbourhood, religious groups, social networks, transnational networks, the State, the working place, the media, etc) (Blommaert, 2007).

But linguistic competence comes in a wide variety of levels and most likely will be different for each linguistic skill (i.e. talking, understanding, reading, and writing). When someone acquires a language, what comes to be crucial is that language proficiency matches the pertinent needs of everyday domains and most of all, of each individual's needs. Esser (2006) states that assimilative bilingualism/multilingualism is necessary for integration in a migratory context (for adult migrants), referring to assimilation as equal to competence. Language proficiency is considered an elemental part of immigrant inclusion, so Van Tubergen and Kalmijn (2009a) propose to study it in different points in time (i.e. at their arrival and later in time). For that to happen, four basic parameters play an important role, *motivation, opportunities, capability,* and *cost,* as well as the active intention to learn a language without forgetting the family and personal biography; the origin context in relation to the access to the L2 via language instruction and cultural distance; the receiving context, where contact and limited social distances between the majority and the minorities have a positive effect on the acquisition

of the L2; as well as the availability and effectiveness of language courses for migrants (i.e.

institutional promotion of L2) and the ethnic context[45], via interpreters, transnational relations,

ethnic group size, language use at home, etc.

According to Zima (2007) "obviously, the intensity of contact in communication is

related to the inventory of speakers/listeners and to the volume of information being

communicated in the given situation" (p. 103) so, keeping in mind the intensity/quantity of

information exchanges, he proposes three basic types of contact situations, a) zero contact; b)

minimum contact; and c) extended contact. On the other hand, quality is important and may

separate real contacts, where individuals communicate; and virtual contacts, where individuals

try to communicate with each other but small bodies of communications are transmitted (Zima,

2007).

Esser (2006) reports that extended duration of stay, low age at migration and good

education[46] have positive effect on the second language acquisition; whereas strong intention to

return, short duration of stay or temporarily planned migration are negative (and poorly

recorded) and with weak links regarding L2 acquisition. In addition to these negative factors,

low literacy level or illiteracy influences negatively the L2 acquisition. As Dustmann (1994)

explains, illiteracy is a limitation for acquiring a L2. Consequently, it is important to pay

attention to the literacy level of migrants in order to better analyse and understand their linguistic

competence in the language of the host society; as well as to provide them with information and

services delivered through printed texts and digital literacies (Luke, 2003).

As Hymes (1996) explains, there is no social, cultural, and linguistic homogeneity.

Language is diverse in nature, because people are diverse in nature too, as well as the media,

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[45] Considering all of these factors as part of the human capital of an immigrant.
[46] Chiswick & Miller (2005) explain that language skills improve by two percent for every year of education
completed correlated with other factors as age, duration of stay, etc.

structures, and functions to which they are related. Consequently, what we need to do as scholars is to acknowledge the diversity in human interaction as a reality, rather than as an ideological concept (Maryns & Blommaert, 2002) and explain that linguistic inequalities, therefore linguistic barriers, can be reduced by understanding language as a human problem and as a human resource with a wide variety of language practices, beliefs and abilities, and at the same time, in relation to the basic and transcendental ideal of the situated communicative practices (Hymes, 1985; 1996).

Finally, as Vigouroux (2005) explains, language (the host language) is not enough for migrants to be integrated. Therefore, to choose to learn the language of the majority and to be able to make linguistic choices according to the necessities and opportunities is not always the answer for inclusion to the host society, but it could be a way to reduce communication problems and social inequalities.

Language: a Form of Human Capital and Social (In)equalities

Language has a special meaning in relation to integration/adaptation to the host community because it is considered to be a valuable *resource* that allows acquiring human capital, but it is also a *symbol* that helps to describe things, express states, and convey requests; as well as a *medium* of communication and transactions. Hence, languages seen as a *resource* can increase/decrease labour productivity; as a *symbol* can increase/decrease discrimination; and as a *medium*, they can increase/decrease transaction costs (Esser, 2006).

According to Chiswick and Miller (2002) "language skills are a form of human capital" (p. 4) that requires time and resources (i.e. investment), that are specific to an individual, and that may have material consequences with a high rate of return. Human capital in a migratory context is language dependant, because the lack of L2 proficiency directly affects the possibility

of taking advantage of one's human capital (e.g. education), as of other skills and opportunities (Dustmann, 1994). In this way, language seen as human capital may increase the possibilities of success of immigrants in the receiving country only if the language knowledge they have is the one of the majority. Along these lines, the study of language and language proficiency in the L2 as human capital is relevant because of its relation to the economic attainment of migrants; however, from the *language use* perspective it is important because of what it says to us about ethnicity, identity and culture (Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009). Thus, it is very important to consider the opportunities for using the second language, and consequently the opportunities to improve linguistic competence and skills (i.e. proficiency level).

For temporary migrants, the language dependency of human capital seems to be more salient because this population cannot invest in learning the language of the receiving country because of the duration of the stay, among other factors. As Dustmann (1993) explains, being temporary workers "may result in a lower incentive to invest into country specific human capital as is the case with permanent migration". On the other hand, if immigrants have a low-skilled job, their need to use the L2 will also be limited because labour jobs do not require high linguistic skills (Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009). For this reason immigrants tend to stay either in their ethnic enclaves or ethnic oriented jobs where they do not need to be proficient in the L2.

But immigrants need to communicate; therefore, it is important to acquire the language of the host society. Without being able to communicate, immigrants become vulnerable in different domains of their lives, while at the same time they are restricted to receiving better earnings as 'better' jobs usually require linguistic skills such as speaking and writing (Dustmann, 1994). According to Dustmann (1994) migrants that "manage the foreign language in an appropriate way have access to information about job opportunities and benefit entitlements they otherwise

would not perceive" (p. 134). Hence, it seems crucial to gain communicative resources to be

able to adapt to different communicative situations that are essential to interact with people and

claim personal and social control. As Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) explain,

communicative resources "form an integral part of an individual's symbolic and social capital,

and in our society this form of capital can be every bit as essential as real property resources

were once considered to be" (p. 5).

Because of the importance of the study of language as human capital, Chiswick and

Miller (2002) conducted a study in Canada to learn about the impact of language proficiency on

immigrants' earnings. They assumed that a better linguistic proficiency level in the official

languages of Canada (i.e. English or French) would result in better job opportunities matching

their job skills, education, and previous experience; whereas at the same time the linguistic

proficiency was supposed to impact their productivity because of better communicative practices

at all levels. Their findings show that language skills are crucial for immigrants in Canada, so if

immigrants are not able to communicate in one of the official languages of the country they have

lower income "because of the direct effect of lower proficiency and indirect effect through the

smaller returns from schooling and pre-immigration experiences" (Chiswick & Miller, 2002, p.

17).

Additionally, for Pendakur and Pendakur (2002) linguistic human capital can bring

material consequences to an individual, as language is seen as a way to obtain market

opportunities, both for sale and consumption. Therefore, from the point of view of the human

capital theory, and in agreement with Chiswick and Miller's (2002) ideas, language has value

because it has a direct impact on productivity. In consequence, if an individual knows more than

one language, the economic benefit should increase. The results of Pendakur and Pendakur's

(2002) study with thirteen minority languages in three main cities of Canada (Montreal, Toronto

and Vancouver), show that knowledge of minority languages, both as L1 or L2, is correlated

with a negative economic impact only if the knowledge of those minority languages affects

competence in the language of the majority (i.e. fluidity, accent, pronunciation, etc.) or even

when it is closely linked –negatively- to a specific ethnic group. This means that human capital

theories based on the effect of language knowledge and the positive impact in the market labour

seem to be not always consistent (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2002); hence, it is necessary to look for

social factors that are intertwined with migrants' linguistic competence to better understand the

correlation of human capital and economic outcomes of immigrants.

Likewise, even if Mohanty (2010) does not deal with (multi)linguistic minorities as a

result of migration, his work with (multi)linguistic minorities in India is a good example of what

immigrants also experience as 'linguistic communities'. As Mohanty (2010) explains, Indian

minorities have the challenge of maintaining their languages in difficult situations because they

are poor, belong to rural environments, and are socially and economically disadvantaged.

Therefore, their languages are associated with "powerlessness and insufficiency" (p. 192) and

suffer from inequality and discrimination at all levels (i.e. social, economic, political and

educational) with the consequence of marginalization (including domain restriction, identity

crisis, poverty, etc). As Mohanty (2010) states,

> "processes of language maintenance should be associated with empowerment of
> languages that begins with the recognition of the inherent equality and sufficiency
> of all languages. Languages do differ in their form and structure, but, in the cultural
> spheres of their use, they are all equally functional" (p. 137).

Consequently, ethnic inequality is a consequence of international migration where one of

the most salient factors is the language proficiency deficit of immigrants, as well as its

acquisition, not only on the society but also in the labour market because language is a very

important component of the integration/adaptation process of immigrants as individual actors

and as members of ethnic groups into the host society (Dustmann, 1999; Esser, 2006; Chiswick

& Miller, 2002; 2007).

Language and social inclusion/exclusion.

In immigrant countries, bilingualism and multilingualism are considered forms of social

exclusion rather than inclusion, and at the nation-state level these personal characteristics have

been related with poverty and underdevelopment. Accordingly, these assumptions result in the

perception that being bilingual/multilingual or having a bilingual/multilingual society is a

synonym of lack of economic success (Gal, 2006). Multilingualism is usually seen as human

capital; but depending on the context, multilingualism can also be perceived as an obstacle to

communication (Djité, 2009). Consequently, linguistic assimilation seems to be the solution,

apart from bringing national unity –i.e. the one country one language discourse. But with time, it

has been proven wrong. Linguistic assimilation is not always the key to social inclusion as Piller

(in press) explains in the following paragraph,

> "The valorisation of a particular linguistic practice in a particular institution or social
> space pertinent to social inclusion –such as employment, welfare, the police and the
> courts, health care or education- automatically enhances or restricts access to those spaces
> on the basis of having the right sort of linguistic proficiency. As Bordieu (1991, p. 550)
> puts it: "[S]peakers lacking the legitimate competence are *de facto* excluded from the
> social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence."" (p. 9).

But also, as Piller (in press) points out, things are not white or black. Being

bilingual/multilingual or monolingual may work different by depending on the context, as it has

been previously explained in this same chapter, because multilingual policies are not more

inclusive or exclusive than monolingual policies and practices (Piller, in press). Along these

lines, sociolinguistic studies try to address issues of inequality (Maryns & Blommaert, 2002) and

discrimination, because both of these have a linguistic dimension that can be reinforced by social

and linguistic distance, differences, stereotypes, etc., as a result of people's interactions (Jupp et al., 1982). In this way, the term social exclusion is very useful for language and migration studies because it opens the range of the term to include the absence of civil and social rights, specifically "the recognition that identities are a major source of exclusion" (Piller, in press, p. 1), instead of focusing exclusively on the absence of economic wellbeing with terms such as marginalization.

Speakers of less privileged languages, in specific spaces[47], become socially invisible and, as we know, marginalized and excluded; language in this sense is a *gate-keeping* practice (Gal, 2006). As Pujolar (2009) explains, "real-world languages are socially stratified in complex relations with socioeconomic, territorial, racial, ethnic, gender, age and professional differences. Different linguistic forms are the object of social struggles, processes of inclusion and exclusion even within the national community as traditionally constructed" (p. 86).

In the Australian context, a multilingual country with English as the main language, different studies have shown that limited proficiency in English makes it difficult to get into the job market. Language is the main barrier and the most important reason that restricts the inclusion of immigrants into society (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007) even if the country has made efforts to make language lessons accessible to immigrants. Similarly, Colic-Peisker (2002) explores the migration and settlement experience of two Croatian groups (a labour group and a professional group) that migrated to Australia as adults and with non-English speaking background (NESB). Some findings were that Croatians experienced difficulties integrating into the receiving country because of the language barriers. The language barrier is a big issue for

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[47] We cannot forget that a minority language in one space or context can be a majority language in another space or context.

immigrants, and usually creates an *ethnic bubble* that keeps the speaker isolated in their ethnic

enclaves, like language islands, from the rest of the society (2002).

Likewise, in their study with refugees from three different origin countries, Colic-Peisker

and Tilbury (2007) found that language, visible differences (ethnicity), and foreign names, were

the principal barrier for getting a job according to their qualifications. They concluded "that

migrants are recruited not just as additional labour, but as a pool of reserve labour, available to

meet the vagaries of demand and supply in a market economy, and keep wages down" (p. 77).

This situation places immigrants on a permanent subordinated and disadvantaged position.

Furthermore, limited proficiency in the language of the majority is seen as a main barrier

for employment (Piller & Takahashi, in press); accent is also highlighted as one of the main

issues that discriminate against migrants (even if they can communicate) on the job market.

Accent has become a social marker, a symbol of otherness (Colic-Peisker, 2002); as Castles and

Miller (2009) explain, accent has a low connotation in migratory contexts. But even if Piller and

Takahashi (in press) conclude that linguistic discrimination substitutes racial or ethnic

discrimination at many levels, race seems to be the main factor for social exclusion.

According to Esser (2006) in the labour context, the poor linguistic competence of

immigrants influences the productivity of their human capital (i.e. endowment). This author

classifies four processes related with language skills that impact the productivity of a given

human capital as follows, 1) *cultural fit* of the L1 in the labour market; 2) the *general

communication value* of a language; 3) the *relevance of linguistic communication* in the context

of the labour market/occupation; and 4) *form*, written vs. oral, because in certain activities the

written language is more valued than the oral and vice versa. On the other hand, the demand and

supply for work (i.e. reduction) also comes into play as empirical conditions that affect labour

market success as it can be seen on Table 5 (based on Esser, 2006, p. 81).

Table 5

Empirical conditions that affect labour market success of immigrants.

Endowment	Variations in Productivity	Reductions
Human Capital	Cultural fit	Demand: discrimination
Language Proficiency in the L2	Communicative value (Q-value)	Demand: transaction costs
	Communicative relevance	Supply: Intervening opportunities (group size)
	Language form	Supply: Ethnic networks

Source: *Esser,* (2006, p. 81).

In summary, there is a correlation between language, migration and the labour market,

more specifically between the linguistic proficiency of the workers and the labour market

success that directly impacts a) income, given that, depending on the L1 of the migrants it will

have a positive or negative (reduction) effect in the earnings according to the occupation and

linguistic requirements; b) employment opportunities and occupational mobility, and c)

interpersonal communication, a poor linguistic proficiency in the L2 directly affects the

successful use of the human capital of immigrants. In this way, the lack of linguistic proficiency

in the L2 has negative effects of the labour market success of immigrants. In Esser's (2006)

view, "educational opportunities decline with language deficits and, as a result of this, labour

market opportunities in later life are also reduced. However, even those who achieve educational

qualifications will derive little benefit if they do not have the corresponding (second) language

skills" (p. 88).

On the other hand, the lack of linguistic proficiency discourse is also used to keep certain

immigrants 'available' to fill labour jobs with low wages that are undesirable for the rest of the

population of the receiving country (Piller, in press). That is, lack of linguistic proficiency, real

or not, keeps certain groups available for undesirable jobs (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). In

migratory settings, it happens that the voices of migrants are 'silenced' because they lack the

knowledge of the language of the 'other' and vice versa; but not only because they are an

ethnolinguistic minority, but also because they are outside their national territory[48].

Thus, the following question arose. How can migrants' linguistic barriers be overcome?

In Piller and Takahashi's (in press) view, migrants need to learn the language of the host

community but they don't have to be left alone in this endeavour. Therefore, language policy

and planning is crucial for the inclusion of immigrants. However, it is important to say that the

discourse of immigrants lacking linguistic proficiency can be an excuse instead of the reason for

inclusion to the society and the labour market, where linguistic ideologies and attitudes come in

play with variables as 'linguistic discrimination' that 'substitutes' racial or ethnic discrimination

because "linguistic discrimination is largely invisible" (Piller, in press).

Language Policy and Language Planning: How Does it Affect Immigrants?

The movement of people implies the movement of languages; but nation-states see this as

a threat to *homogeneity*, as if the 'better' society was the one without intergroup differences even

if nations, by nature, are multilingual (Stevenson, 2005). Language is part of the culture and at

the same time it is part of the identity of people. Thus, immigrants bring their national and

linguistic identities with them when they move, but soon the host country challenges them to

integrate functionally into society (Stevenson, 2005). In these lines, immigration and language

policies and planning (LPP) may promote the integration or exclusion of new immigrants.

Where there is interest in developing language policies, it is because of the existence of

political actors who believe that there are important factors at play in relation to one or more

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[48] Language rights are traditionally linked with specific communities and territories (nation-states).

languages, and therefore, it is necessary to have the intervention of the state (Schmidt, 2006).

However, nation-states are not the only ones involved in language policies, generally, nation-

states are not autonomous in making such decisions because they are influenced by society,

regional and local governments, and the same linguistic communities, among others (Blommaert,

2006).

Therefore, in planning and determining the status of a language, the nation-states try to

maintain, spread, and cultivate its status; while at they try to enhance, extend and increase its

functions and forms in the different domains of life (Romaine, 2007). Through LPP, the state

can ensure to perpetuate its power, to seek to influence language ideologies (i.e. the

preconceived ideas of quality, value, status, rules, roles, and properties of a language and its

speakers) and to guide the behaviour of individuals (Blommaert, 2006). However, language

policies are usually oriented towards assimilating immigrants to the language of the nation and to

abandon their languages (i.e. minority languages), and rarely towards the promotion of

multilingualism or plurilingualism (Ricento, 2007). Thus, "the optimum combination would be a

tolerant public and assimilation policy. Such a combination is however, unlikely if is to be

assumed that the (migration) policy of a country and public values relate to each other, at least to

some extent" (Esser, 2006, p. 29).

For Dustmann and Van Soest (2002) the ability that immigrants have to communicate

with the members of the receiving country is the most important and changeable factor for social

and economic integration. Most countries have laws that show how a legitimate form of

communication and expression is politicized by proposing the learning of the standard variety of

a single language -the official language (Stevenson, 2005) through the education system. Thus,

learning the language of the host society is very important in order to be able to participate,

integrate/adapt to the new environment, as well as to pursue upward economical mobility (Ricento, 2007).   The teaching/learning of official languages is usually promoted at the institutional level, most of the time as part of the immigration policy of the receiving country, to help immigrants in their integration/adaptation process because language is conceived as a symbol of inclusion, but also as a symbol of domination (Heller, 1995).

According to Dustmann and Van Soest (2002) language programs and similar actions are simple policies to put in practice and its costs overcome the benefits having migrants with better levels of language proficiency.   On the other hand, studies show that writing in a second language needs formal training, simple contact with the host society does not enhance literacy skills (even if for speaking, contact seems to be relevant) (Dustmann, 1994).   Hence, these studies show that language courses are important for migrants. However, according to Esser (2006) there is little evidence of the efficacy of these kinds of language courses and their relation with integration to the society and labour market.   What is known is that there exists a correlation regarding students with higher levels of education and better qualifications and the benefits from these courses, even if one general problem is their completion rates (Esser, 2006).

Some examples of LPP and migration are language courses for immigrants (newcomers) in Germany and Austria. Both countries have proposed changes to their laws where migrants must have a basic knowledge of German, at least to communicate and read simple texts, to know simple every day concepts, bureaucratic proceedings, knowledge of the country, etc. This is delivered through obligatory courses for all new immigrants and for those that want to extend their permanent residence in the country (in Germany the courses are free and in Austria people have to cover 50% of the cost).

Another example is Australia, where for more than six decades the state has worked towards the reduction of linguistic barriers for its immigrants by delivering a national language-training program, the Adult Migrant Program (AMEP), available to legal new comers (i.e. with a permanent status) that have less than a functional level of English. AMEP was designed because in Australia it is recognized that the migrant (newcomer) needs to learn the 'new language' in order to be able to integrate into the host society instead of being excluded. The program has worked well, and has evolved to address different migrants' needs and different migrant groups. But there are linguistic communities that are left out, such as temporary workers and other categories with precarious status (Piller, in press; Piller & Takahashi, in press).

Likewise, in the U.S. immigrants are encouraged to learn English because of the importance of the language in becoming an American. There are English as a Second Language (ESL) or English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes for adult immigrants that are offered by local volunteers in school districts, community colleges, community organizations, libraries, and religious groups, among others. These programs are usually free or only cost a small fee (USCIS, 2009).

In the U.S., according to Worthy's study (2006) with adult Latino immigrants in Texas, people do not take advantage of the ESL courses for immigrants. He explains that the most salient reasons were that Latino immigrants, for example, have found linguistic and social enclaves where people speak Spanish and they did not need to learn English; besides, they did not have time to attend ESL classes and even if they did, ESL classes were too basic, difficult and time consuming. Likewise, they felt old to go back to study, they did not have free time because of long working hours, transportation was bad, they had trouble getting to the places where ESL classes were delivered, and the schedules of the classes were not suitable for them,

etc.   Consequently, the way that they were addressing their linguistic barriers was through linguistic brokers, their children, making them feel frustrated and limited because of their linguistic dependence to communicate (Worthy, 2006).

Additionally, Jupp et al.'s (1982) study with South Asians immigrants in their workplace in Britain makes clear that language acquisition per se is not enough for adult immigrants to become competent communicators.   For them, immigrants also need a process of language socialization -i.e "the learning of speaking practices which construct and guide social interaction within specific social contexts" (p. 244).   But the opportunities for language socialization in the workplace are usually very limited because of the complexity and rigidity of the contexts that stresses status differentials with managers, supervisors, etc.   Results are, languages and minimal contact between linguistic communities, with situations where there is no chance to learn how to use language to do things or construct social relations.   Consequently, adult immigrant workers only acquire limited English knowledge that reinforces stereotypes and social exclusion; and linguistic diversity keeps being "the single greatest barrier to language socialization for South Asians, and when applied to judgements about people is a significant source of indirect discrimination" (Jupp et al, 1982, p. 247).

Finally, as Dustmann and Van Soest (2002) suggests "language plays a far more important role in enhancing immigrant's productivity…" (p. 489).   Hence, it is important to consider language policies that affect migrants (permanent and temporary) because it can have positive effects both for the nation-states and the migrants themselves, while at the same time migrants can overcome the social reproduction of inequality (Heller, 1995).   Not knowing the language of the host country, and not being able to communicate, is like being physically disabled (Worthy, 2006).

Canada, an immigration country: language policy.

Canada is an immigration country that is officially bilingual (and bicultural) in English and French according to the Official Languages Act[49] (OLA) of 1969; and multicultural, according to the Multiculturalism Act[50] of 1988. English and French have been protected through the Constitution Act of 1982, as well as through the Charter of Rights and Freedoms that also protects the rights and privileges of any other language (i.e. minority languages) (Hudon, 2010). But bilingualism in Canada is institutional; the Canadian language policy consists in the institutional promotion (i.e. institutional bilingualism[51]) of the French language in the Francophone areas of the country, as well as a strategic second language program for immigrants tailored to Canadian interests (DeVoretz et al., 2002). In reality, Quebec has its national language (i.e. French), New Brunswick has been recognized as bilingual (i.e. English and French) and the rest of the country has English as a "universal medium of discourse" (Berdivhevsky, 2004, p. 123).

English and French are the languages of hegemonic powers in Canada. Both languages have a symbolic status, they are object of oppression and discrimination that unite and divide its members and non-members (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998) creating language barriers becoming social barriers too, exerting major distortions which are the equivalent of greater imagined physical distances (Berdichevsky, 2004). At the same time, Anglophones and Francophones mistake their linguistic identities as superior, perpetuating in this way the existing

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[49] Through the Official Languages Act, English and French have equality of status and equal rights and privileges for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada (Hudon, 2010).

[50] The multiculturalism policy promotes the respect and support for all the languages and cultures of Canada through anti-racism and affirmative action in support of visible minorities.

[51] "Institutional bilingualism is the capacity of the government and its institutions to communicate in public, and within these institutions, in the two official languages" (Hudon, 2010, p. 1).

power relations (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001) and linguistic attitudes towards each other and

other linguistic minorities.

In Canada, the bilingual language policy was designed to try to equalize the Francophone

community, in economic terms, to the Anglophone community. However, the results have not

been as expected and Anglophones still have better incomes than Francophones along Canada.

In this way, being bilingual with French as L1 is not the same as being bilingual with English as

L1 in relation to income and social status. But in Quebec the situation seems a little bit different

and being a monolingual Anglophone leads income penalties, even if monolingual Francophones

do not earn significantly more (Esser, 2006).   The primary language of an individual indexes

class, educational level, ethnicity, race, and age; while at the same time reinforce stereotypes

(Ricento, 2007).

Likewise, monolingual (i.e. monolingual in a minority language) Canadian immigrants

are disadvantaged. As Pendakur and Pendakur (2002) show, even if immigrants are multilingual

with at least one official language in their linguistic repertoire, they have less income than

monolingual residents. These results evidence a labour market discriminatory attitude towards

immigrants with a poor linguistic competence in the official languages (especially English) of

Canada, which seems to be opposed to the multicultural (and multilingual) policy of the country.

For Esser (2006) the language policy of Canada, in practice, demands abandonment of the

culture and language of the country of origin in order to be integrated to the Canadian labour

market and society.

For immigrants to Canada, the knowledge of at least one of the official languages has

been recognized as important and determinant for the integration to the host society. Citizenship

and Immigration Canada (CIC) states, "Being able to communicate and work in one or both of

Canada's official languages is very important. Knowing English, French or both help you in the

Canadian job market." (CIC, 2010a, nd). However, Canada's immigration policy is divided in

different categories and programs (see Chapter 1) and the mastery of any of the official

languages of the country will be different depending on the immigration category, as well as on

the province of destination.

For example, the provincial nominee system requires different language proficiencies for

every province under that program[52], but the skilled workers and professional category, and the

entrepreneur program (i.e. investors, entrepreneur and self-employed persons category), requires

a language test[53] from an agency designated by CIC before starting the immigration process. For

these last categories, there is a self-assessment tool to identify the language level in a point scale

system (maximum 24 points). CIC offers the self-assessment tool on-line and has a description

of each level of proficiency (as shown in Table 6).

Table 6

Description of each level of proficiency and points.

Proficiency Level	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing
HIGH: You can communicate effectively in most social and work situations.	High **1st official language** (4 points) **2nd official language** (2 points)	High **1st official language** (4 points) **2nd official language** (2 points)	High **1st official language** (4 points) **2nd official language** (2 points)	High **1st official language** (4 points) **2nd official language** (2 points)
MODERATE: You can communicate comfortably in familiar social and work situations.	Moderate **1st official language** (2 points)	Moderate **1st official language** (2 points)	Moderate **1st official language** (2 points)	Moderate **1st official language** (2 points)

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[52] The provinces and territories that participate in the Provincial Nominee Program are: Alberta, Manitoba, Newfoundland and Labrador, Ontario, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Yukon, Northwest Territories and Quebec (CIC, 2010).

[53] The English language test (General Training option) can be taken from IELTS: International English Language Testing System or CELPIP: Canadian English Language Proficiency Index Program. For French, TEF: Test d'évaluation de français (CIC, 2010).

BASIC: You can communicate in predictable contexts and on familiar topics, but with some difficulty.	Basic **1st official language** (1 points) **2nd official language** (1 points)	Basic **1st official language** (1 points) **2nd official language** (1 points)	Basic **1st official language** (1 points) **2nd official language** (1 points)	Basic **1st official language** (1 points) **2nd official language** (1 points)
NO: You do not meet the above criteria for basic proficiency	Does not meet basic level **1st official language** (0 points) **2nd official language** (0 points)	Does not meet basic level **1st official language** (0 points) **2nd official language** (0 points)	Does not meet basic level **1st official language** (0 points) **2nd official language** (0 points)	Does not meet basic level **1st official language** (0 points) **2nd official language** (0 points)

Source: CIC, (2010b).

But for temporary workers programs (TWP) and temporary foreign workers programs (TFWP), there is no language requirement even if it is recommended for the employer to indentify the language requirements for a specific job, as "some jobs may require a high level of language skills, while others may not" (Government of Canada, 2009, nd). On the other hand, there are jobs where only basic language skills are required; therefore, the government also suggests considering "selecting workers who do not speak fluent English or French for positions where basic language skills are sufficient" (Government of Canada, 2009, nd). Some other recommendations are to advertise the job offers in languages other than English and French for those jobs that do not require a high level of language skills, and that "good candidate's language skills can be improved through training or on-the-job-experience" (Government of Canada, 2009, nd.)

To identify the language skills that an employer needs it is recommended to use the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB), developed as national standards for measuring language proficiency of adult immigrants and prospective immigrants (CIC, 2010b; Government of Canada, 2009). In this way, adult immigrants will be placed in adult ESL/FSL courses based on the Canadian Language Benchmarks Assessment (CLBA) that was developed by the government

in order to standardize language instruction and to inform immigrants of their required language

standard for their specific profession.

The newcomers' course is called Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada

(LINC). To be eligible for LINC, immigrants have to be adults and landed immigrants,

convention refugees, or Canadian citizens. To assure that newcomers can attend these language

courses, they can receive public assistance, childcare, and transportation support. All of the

ESL/FSL courses at different levels are sponsored by the government of Canada for up to three

years and are delivered by non-profit organizations. The objective of the courses and their

duration are to give newcomers the necessary linguistic competence to achieve social, cultural

and economic integration (DeVoretz et al., 2002).

However, in the province of Québec there are opportunities to learn French for the TFW

and their spouses with a temporary stay permit issued with a view to the eventual granting of

permanent residence, as well as for asylum seekers, refugees; and foreign students and their

spouses with a Certificat de Sélection du Québec (CSQ). All of these categories are eligible for a

part-time course by applying to a Québec Acceptance Certificate for Studies and a study permit

at the Canadian Visa Office. The part-time courses are delivered for 4, 6, 9, or 12 hours per

week, in different locations, during the day, evening and weekends (Gouvernement du Québec,

2006). The government of Quebec has designed these different formats to make FSL courses

accessible to all of the above categories because "the Québec government assigns great

importance to learning French" as it is the official language of the province and the common

language of public life. Besides, the French language is a symbol of belonging to the society of

the province and the heart of the Quebec identity (Gouvernement du Québec, 2006). The FSL

courses are free of charge (under certain conditions) in several formats, and financial aid is granted by the *Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles* (MICC).

To summarize, Canada's immigration policy, including language policies for immigrants, is geography and labour market dictated. It is an immigrant designer policy "made-to-order", based on human capital, that reduces "the burden of assimilating newcomers" and that also has an immediate impact on the economy of the country (Spellman, 2008, p. 87). Immigrants' success in Canadian employment will depend on their linguistic proficiency and the government supports immigrant linguistic needs by developing assessment tools and courses that help migrants improve their linguistic proficiency in the official(s) language(s) of the country through language assessment and language courses. However, temporary migrant workers have been left out. ESL/FSL classes are not available for TMW even if language skills in English or French are essential to the integration into the labour market in Canada and lacking English or French is considered one of the largest barriers for integration (Government of Canada, 2009).

The following chapter explains and describes the methodology and design of this study, as well as the instruments, the fieldwork, the places and the participants. It also explains and describes the tools used to make the analysis of the data and lists the categories and themes used for the analysis and further discussion.

Methodology and Design

Methodology

This chapter explains the methodology and design used for the present study. It begins

with a description of the design, the decision to use an ethnographic approach, a description of

the instruments used to collect data, the fieldwork, the places where data was collected and the

participants involved. Following this is an explanation of the tools used to analyse the results

and a list of the categories and themes that emerged from the analysis.

Design.

This research consists of a sociolinguistic study of Mexican Temporary Agricultural

Workers (MTAW) in Canada. The methodology used follows an ethnographic approach with a

transnational orientation. I decided to use an ethnographic perspective because I needed the

participants to be informants and collaborators in search of understanding (Gilmore & Smith,

1982); but more than anything, because ethnography demands to address situated language

practices in real circumstances (i.e. real time, space, environment) (Blommaert et al, 2005).

Ethnography studies the behaviour of people in their natural setting and it focus on the cultural

analysis of people's conduct; at the same time ethnography helps us to make detailed

descriptions and interpretations of social contexts (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). But ethnography is

more than describing and doing fieldwork, it is a methodology of great significance to the study

of language and society because it involves a perspective on language and communication,

focusing on communities and the complexity inside and between them and their members (i.e. on

language as a resource and on language in context) (Blommaert & Die, 2010).

Likewise, the ethnographic approach helped me to document and interpret a great variety

of information, not only coming from the participants, but also from my own perceptions, ideas

and connections (Hymes, 1982). At the same time, ethnography helped me to study language as

a consequence of socially and culturally embedded practices of MTAW in context, paying

attention to situated linguistic ideologies, language attitudes as well as language and power

relationships. Using an ethnographic approach also allowed me to pay attention, to describe,

explain and make connections to theoretical issues about complex and complicated

sociolinguistic phenomena that happen in a temporary migratory context (Blommaert & Die,

2010).

On the other hand, the transnational perspective allowed me to study the participants

across the physical borders and thus to be able to better understand their linguistic and ethno-

linguistic identity and attitudes, and the way that they perceive how this experience has impacted

them, their homes, families, and home communities in Mexico (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004).

Data collection.

The ethnographic approach allowed me to use a wide variety of quantitative and

qualitative research instruments in the fieldwork, which according to Blommaert and Die (2010)

"is aimed at finding out things that are often not seen as important but belong to the implicit

structures of people's life." (p. 3). The ethnographic instruments that I used in this study were

observations, field notes, recordings (i.e. audio and photographs), structured interviews (i.e.

sociolinguistic questionnaire), semi-structured interviews, and artefacts. These instruments

helped me to gather and triangulate the data to obtain results that satisfy criteria of reliability and

validity.

Observations.

Observation in ethnography is a constant. Therefore, as an ethnographer I was also an

observer, always documenting what I have seen in my field notes. But observation is not plain

and simple. Trying to observe everything may be tempting, but in practice it is not helpful. It is

important to know 'what to observe', so before beginning the fieldwork it is very important to

have clarity of the objective and research questions of the study.

Therefore, when using an ethnographic approach it is important to distinguish between

observing everything, and being able to do *general observations*, *specific observations* and

selective observations (Spradley, 1980). In this way, during the first stage of the study, making

general observations was expected and needed because that kind of observations helped me, as a

researcher, to have a general image of the place, the people, the environment, etc. The idea was

to get the 'big picture' of what happens in that specific space, time and context, and to be able to

make descriptions in a general way to later concentrate on more specific observations that could

help me to focus on the particular spaces (e.g. AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centres where I

met the participants), context (e.g. selected location), and people (e.g. MTAW). For example,

one of my observations describes in a very general way my first visit to the AWA-Migrant

Support Centre at Saint-Rémi, Qc., as it can be appreciated in the following excerpt of my field

notes.

> *The centre is located in Saint-Rémi's downtown (the main street), in a second floor. It
> has three rooms that work as offices and one leaving room that is used as waiting room.
> There are three sofas, a couple of chairs and a TV. It also has a little area with a table to
> have lunch and besides there is a microwave, a coffeemaker a mini-fridge and a cabinet
> to keep dishes, cutlery, cups, coffee, sugar, etc. **OC: They have tried to make a
> comfortable space where the workers can sit and stay (for long periods of time),
> while they have a coffee or watch TV (even if it was turned off).**

> *On the walls there are posters to inform people about the different services that are
> offered at the centre. On one wall there are two flags, one from Mexico and the other
> from Guatemala (as the majority of the TMW in the area are from those countries). **OC: I
> think that the flags help to identify with the workers).** There are also a lot of flyers, in
> French or Spanish that people can take with them and that may help them to be informed
> about their rights as agricultural workers in Canada. Other things that I found (and
> photographed) are maps, safety information, language material (like how to say 'x' thing
> in French, or how to pronounce the words), a *Virgen de Guadalupe* (from Mexico), and
> many posters from the association (**OC=Observer comments**).
> MEDEL-022

Besides carrying out general observations, I also performed specific observations, which helped me to create patterns of expectations, i.e. to know in a certain way what to expect from my potential participants in the particular space where we were (Blommaert, & Die, 2010). For example, MTAW go to AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centres to get help for specific problems that they may have. Sometimes they have to wait for a couple of hours to be served because there is a high number of MTAW that need help and not enough people to help them; but on other occasions MTAW only go to the centre to socialize, but they will still be sitting there for a couple of hours talking with colleagues and the people that work at the centre. In this manner, when you get to know these facts (by doing specific observations) you may get to know who will be willing to participate in the study and has the time to do it. Likewise, I was not the only observer; they were also observing me and making decisions to approach me or not in order to participate in this study.

Finally, selective observations helped me to observe in a more systematic way. Consequently, these kinds of observations helped me to make sense of broader patterns or problems, and to differentiate meaningful things from meaningless ones. For example, it was possible to observe how language was a constant barrier for MTAW. They were frequently in need of a linguistic broker or mediator to understand documents of all kinds and to file for the different kind of benefits to which they are entitled (e.g. parental benefits). But while I was observing this kind of situations I realized that it was not only the language what was an issue, the low literacy level (and the education level) was also a problem. This same problem arose again and again, with different workers and in the different Centres that I visited, so this phenomenon seemed to be a potential category to consider for further analysis.

As it is possible to appreciate, observations are a very important instrument in an ethnographic approach of the study of language that helped me to make connections and contextualize the collected information. But the observations by themselves would be lost information if they were not recorded. Hence, it was necessary to register those observations throughout the whole study using field notes.

Field Notes.

Field notes are the way to record observations and are a very important component of my study. My field notes are meant to describe and explain in detail what has been observed in a specific space, time and context. They provide valuable information of the interpretation, meaning, and connections of 'the what' and 'the how' things happened during the fieldwork. The field notes are part of my researcher's archive, where I can be as subjective as I need to, to explain and express impressions, emotions, feelings, ideas, etc. Field notes are like a personal diary, but it is important to remember that the main objective of the field notes are more than registering observations, they are a way of constructing the knowledge process of the researcher (Blommaert & Die, 2010).

I wrote detailed field notes of all observations. Usually I wrote my field notes as soon as possible, a couple of hours later, because I did not want to lose the facts. I like to write down in my field notes 'everything', from the physical space, the environment, the people, reflections of conversations, the behaviour of people and the participants, etc. But I was also aware that it is very important to write field notes in an analytical way (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Thus, I wrote about informal conversations, possible explanations to different situations and/or moods, reflexions, comments and reminders about particular situations or problems, ideas that others had, my own ideas, and almost always about possible categories that emerged in context. As an

example here is an extract of one my field notes where I show my surprise to find bilingual

speakers with an indigenous language as L2 or L1, and where I make some reflections and

connections with the idea of language ideology and language attitudes.

> *I went back to AWA and kept on going with two more interviews. Both of the participants had Nahuatl as a second language. **OC: I was happily amazed**. But I was surprised about their very different linguistic attitudes toward their indigenous language. The first participant was a little bit ashamed of his language and on several occasions he told me that he was just remembering a couple of words, that he really didn't know the language, but he was contradictory because when he talked about his language use, he told me that he uses Nahuatl in several domains and with different people. On the other hand, the second Nahuatl speaker (participant) waited for me for more than 15 minutes to let me know that he was bilingual. He told me that when he saw the sign of my research and realized that I was looking for 'bilingualism' he wanted to talk to me. He expressed how proud he is of his language and told me that he used Nahuatl as a tool to exclude others from his private conversations with his wife (in Mexico). **OC: The second participant really wanted to tell me that he is a Nahuatl speaker, he is very proud of it. I was surprised to see in a very short period of time the linguistic diversity of MTAW, and also to be able to make connections with language ideologies (e.g. language pride/shame). (OC=Observer comments).**
> MEDEL-006.

In conclusion, in this study the field notes explain what the observations meant to me as a

researcher (Miles & Huberman, 1994). My field notes are the 'space' where I can always return

to remember what is easy to forget during the research process, i.e. my own conceptualization of

the observed phenomena and people, as well as my ideas, reactions, thoughts, and connections

with the literature and research questions.

My data pool contains 30 field notes derived from my observations and for the format I

included at the beginning of each field note my initials, number of field note, date, time when I

did the observation, and the place and context of the observation (e.g. **MEDEL-006. June 21,

2009. 12:00 p.m. to 8:30 p.m., 5th Visit. Leamington, Ontario.), I also used the initial OC

(observer comments) to differentiate my personal reflections. Likewise, I also wrote field notes

from the sociolinguistic questionnaires (80 in total). These field notes were written at the

margins of each document and were transcribed in the descriptive questions section of each

participant's sociolinguistic questionnaire. Here is an example of a fragment of my field notes of

participant number 005.

> **Participante 005**
> *Ignacio (pseudonym) ha comenzado a estudiar inglés después de 19 años de estar en el
> programa, lleva 2 meses estudiando en el Frontier College y está muy contento porque
> está aprendiendo mucho. **OC: Incluso ganó un reconocimiento porque nunca ha
> faltado a clases.** A Ignacio le gusta escribir palabras que escucha por la calle o que ve
> por allí y cuando llega a su clase le pregunta a su maestra qué significan.
> *A Ignacio le gustaría seguir aprendiendo inglés, quiere buscar una beca para estudiar en
> Canadá o en México porque se va a retirar pronto. **OC: pero él quiere seguir
> regresando a Canadá para aprender inglés. No entiendo por qué razón Ignacio
> comenzó a estudiar inglés 19 años después de haber entrado al programa
> (OC=Observer comments).**
>
> [*Ignacio has begun to study English before 19 years of being in the program, he has 2
> months studying at Frontier College and he is very happy because he is learning a lot.
> **OC: He even won an award because he has never missed a class.** Ignacio likes to
> write words that he listen while he is in the streets, or words that he sees, and when he
> arrives to class he ask her teacher to tell him what those words mean.
> *Ignacio would like to keep studying English, he want to look for a scholarship to study
> in Canada or in Mexico because he is going to retire soon. **OC: but he wants to keep
> coming to Canada to learn English. I do not understand why he begun to study
> English 19 years after entering the program.**]

Recordings.

Another ethnographic research instrument is the recording of the observations and

interviews through the use of audio, video or visuals, which is possible with the help of tape

recorders and cameras. In this study, the audio-recordings and the photographs show my own

advance in my research, the refining of my observations and my way of interviewing

participants. At the same time, they also helped me as evidence for the analysis of my data in

more advanced stages of the study (Blommaert & Die, 2010).

I recorded the interviews with different objectives. The structured interviews were

recorded to have the support of the 'actual' interview so I could return and listen to the specific

data that was missing in my notes or that was of special interest to me. But the recordings of the

semi-structured interviews were done with the objective of fully transcribing them (not as the

structured interviews, that were partially transcribed) because while I was doing the interviews I was only taking some notes to complement what was said (i.e. to contextualize the interviews and to add my own interpretation and concepts). Therefore, the recordings of these semi-structured interviews were transcribed in their totality using a transcription machine (Olympus PC Transcription Kit AS-2400) to facilitate the process.

At the same time, I used photographs (78) to record visual information. Photographs are of great help because they are physical evidence of some of the things that I observed. I photographed physical spaces, landscapes, documents, and the linguistic landscape inside the AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centre, as well as those in the locations that I visited during my research (e.g. the Frontier College, the church, etc.). I used these photographs to support my learning and research process, as well as part of my results. At the same time the photographs have also worked as an archive where I can always go back to try to remember and/or understand what I observe during the fieldwork. As an example of photographs I present here, in Figure 2, a photograph that shows the bicycles (which represent the presence of MTAW around the city of Leamington) outside of the office of Frontier College[54]. The bicycles evidence that some of the MTAW are taking ESL classes in that specific location and in that specific moment in time. I know this not only because of the bicycles, but because I attend the class as an observer. The photograph is the physical recording of that event.

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[54] Frontier College is a national literacy organization where ESL, literacy and computing classes are free for everyone.

Figure 2. Frontier College, Leamington, Ontario. Evidence of photographs as recording instruments.

Material Artefacts.

In this category I will include the collection of newspapers, newsletters, booklets, posters, flyers, announcements, advertisements, newsletters, signs and brochures. All these items (44 in total) are an important part of a study with an ethnographic approach. An ethnographer is well known for collecting this kind of materials "in an attempt to get as rich a picture as possible of the environment in which the fieldwork was done" (Blommaert & Die, 2010, p. 58). Therefore, these items have also become part of my research archive and helped me to reconstruct the context of the fieldwork as part of my results.

Artefacts were archived with an explanation of why that particular piece of information was collected in order to make sense at the time of classification and data analysis, as it is possible to see in the following example (see Figure 3 and 4) that show the note and collected artefact. The item is a mini-booklet that Frontier College gives to the MTAW, or any other

interested person, to help them to learn basic phrases to communicate basic needs, as well as to

learn how to pronounce the words. I collected this piece of information at the office of Frontier

College in Leamington, Ontario.
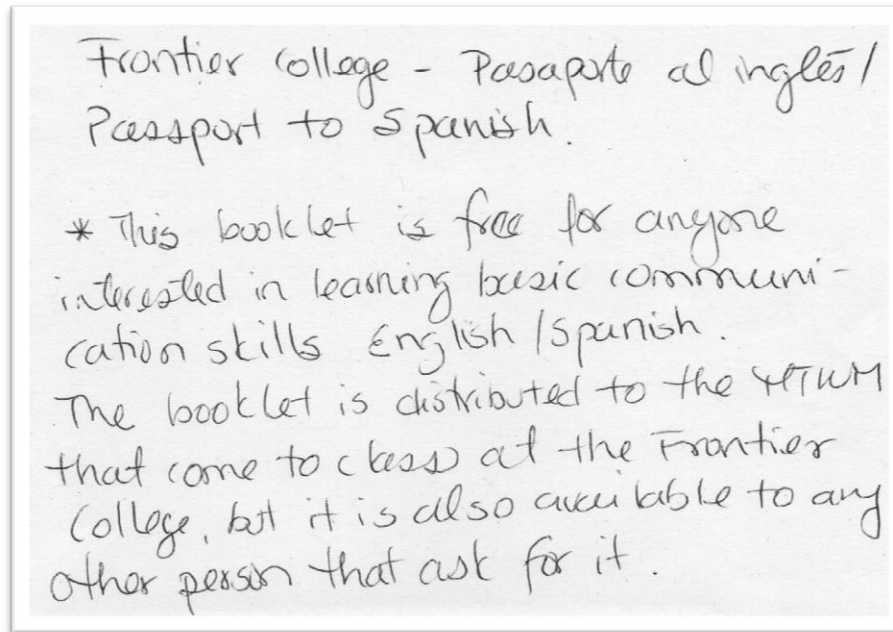
Figure 3. Note corresponding to the artefact "Pasaporte al inglés/Passport to Spanish" collected

at the Frontier College office at Leamington, Ontario.
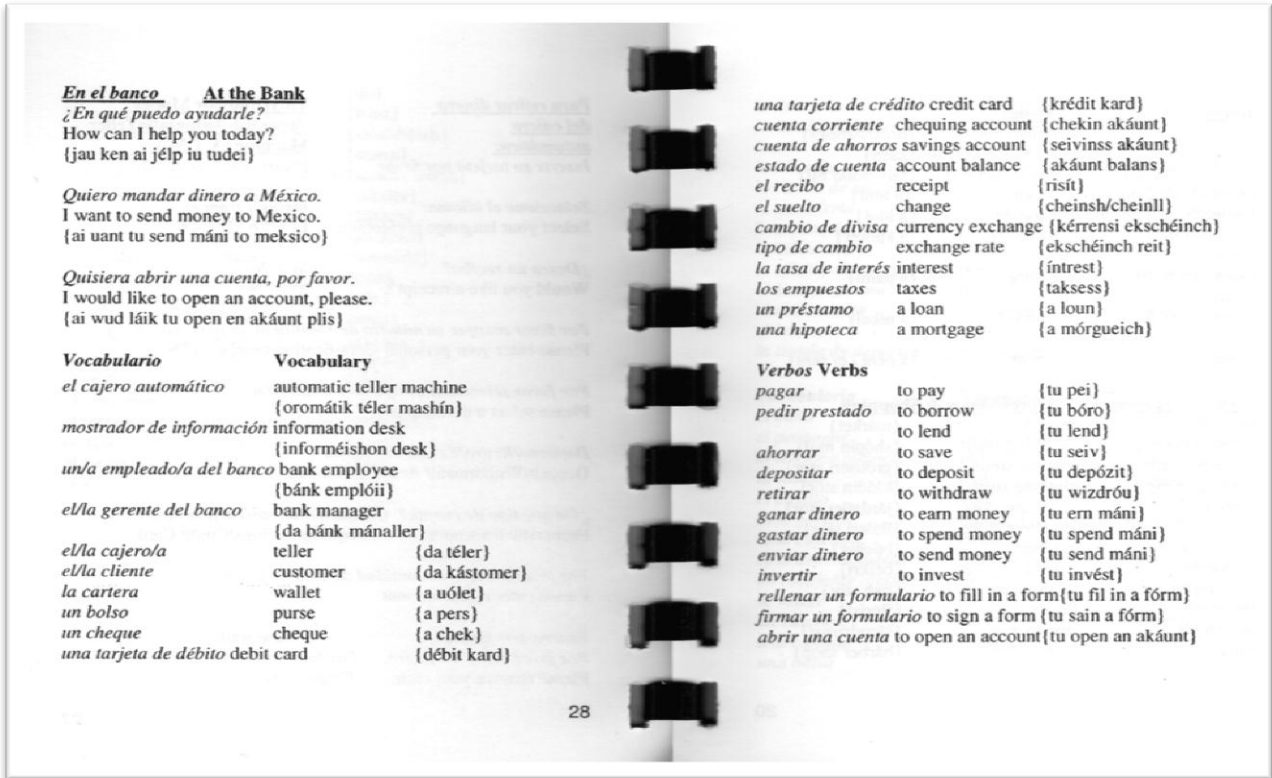
Figure 4. Frontier College Passport to English/Spanish.

Interviews.

The interviews help to obtain access to the context and to the information we need as researchers. Interviews are an essential part of the data and need to be prepared ahead, reviewed, piloted and modified to help researchers to get the best information in the unique opportunity that is the interview time. When interviews have been prepared with time, they can be similar to a conversation with flow and rhythm, but with a clear objective, structure, and order. However, in an interview (as an attempt of a conversation) there are two parts in play and it is important to be prepared to face participants that are collaborative, but also participants that are not as cooperative as needed, or not cooperative at all. For Blommaert and Die (2010),

> "Interviews are like everyday conversations: messy, complex, often containing contradictions and statements that are made off the top of one's head, with people

shifting topics and getting lost in details, losing the line of their argument, not finding the
exact works for what they wish to say, and with silences, hesitations, pauses." (p. 45).

There are different ways in which one can organize an interview. For this study I decided

to use structured interviews with the MTAW participants and semi-structured interviews with

people that worked at the AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centre and AWA's main office and the

Migrant Worker Community Program in Leamington.

Structured interviews-sociolinguistic questionnaire.

The structured interviews that I designed for this study have a combination of open

questions (example (b)) and closed questions (example (a)), which allowed me to have 'a

picture' of the MTAW in the selected locations between 2009 and 2010.

a). 15.	¿Sabe leer? Si____	No___ ¿En qué idioma? _____

    [15.	Do you know how to read? Yes____	No____ In what language? _____]

b). 40. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted saber inglés/francés? Explique sus motivos:

    [40. For you, how important is to know English/French? Explain:]

With the *sociolinguistic questionnaire* (see Appendix B), the name I gave to this

interview, I elaborated a profile of the MTAW divided as is shown in Table 7. In this

sociolinguistic questionnaire I formulated a total of 92 questions divided in 8 categories as

follows: demographic data, education and literacy, language, housing, the program, the family,

the family and the program, and language use. This sociolinguistic questionnaire is the heart and

soul of my research because of the extended and detailed information it provides

Table 7

Sociolinguistic questionnaire structure.

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire							
Demographic Data	Education and literacy	Language	Housing	The program	The family	The family and the	Language use

						program	
Qs 1-13	Qs 14-23	Qs 24-56	Qs 57-66	Qs 67-82	Qs 84	Qs 85-91	Q 92

The use of structured interviews helped me to have control, to some degree. But on the other hand, I had to rely on self-reported data about topics such as linguistic proficiency, in the different languages they reported to obtain, as well as their literacy level. This means that I did not use tests to know that information; on the contrary, I wanted to know what participants reported (i.e. their beliefs), as it can be seen in the following example of question 17 of the sociolinguistic interview.

17. ¿Qué tan bien cree que lee?   [17. How well do you think you read?]
     Muy bien _____   [Very good _____]
     Bien _____   [Good _____]
     Más o menos _____   [Average _____]
     Mal _____   [Bad _____]
     Muy mal _____   [Very bad _____]

All the interviews were done in Spanish. I read each question for them, and when the participants did not understand a question it was reformulated in different ways until I was sure that it was understood. At the same time, I wrote down all the answers and also recorded them as a support, but not with the objective of transcribing all of them because of the design of the interview and the number of participants.

The interviews were done at the AWA-Migrant Support Centres in 4 different locations and with a different number of visits depending of the place (see Table 9, p. 109). The context where the interviews took place was not 'ideal' because they took place in a challenging environment and setting, with many people around, sometimes with time concerns, as well as other people contributing with their ideas or comments. The average time for the interviews was 40 minutes per participant.

Semi-structured interviews.

The semi-structured interviews were used to gather data from the workers, coordinators, and representatives of AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centres and AWA's main office and the Migrant Worker Community Program (MWCP) in Leamington. This kind of interview helped me to explore certain topics in a more detailed way and form part of the results.

Interviews were done, accordingly, in English or Spanish and were recorded and transcribed using a digital tape-recorder and a transcription machine. At the same time, I took some notes while I was listening to the answers to register my ideas and connections with other topics and context.

In total I made 4 interviews, with a total duration of 3.36 hrs., in 4 different places in Canada, with 6 participants. I used pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants. The interviewed people were Javier (coordinator) and Sharon (employee) from AWA-Saint-Rémi, Roberto (coordinator) and Maureen (employee) from AWA-Leamington, as well as Pedro (organizer) from AWA-National Office in Rexdale, Ontario. Likewise, at the Migrant Workers Community Program (WMCP) in Leamington, I interviewed Cheryl, the coordinator of this non-for-profit organization.

The fieldwork.

This study is based on the fieldwork done between June 2009 to December 2010 in Canada, in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Map of Canada. Ontario and Quebec are the selected provinces for this study
(NRCAN, 2007).

I conducted the fieldwork in Spanish because it is the language of the participants and

myself, but also because it is important that the researcher/fieldworker can use the language of

the participants with grammatical and socio-cultural knowledge and appropriateness, as well as

to have the capacity to recognize and repair difficulties during the communication – i.e. being

communicatively competent in the field. Therefore, using language as a cultural resource in the

fieldwork was extremely relevant when language as a cultural practice was being studied

(Duranti, 1997; Moore, 2006).

I collected the data at the Agricultural Workers Alliance (AWA)-Migrant Worker

Support Centres in the selected locations. The AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centres[55] work

with different levels of organizations to create and broaden awareness of the difficulties migrant

workers encounter, supporting and advocating in their name while they live and work in Canada

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[55] The AWA is part of the UFCW Canada, which looks to improve conditions for agricultural workers, both
Canadian and Migrant (UFCW, 2007).

(UFCW, 2007). AWA has its headquarters in Rexdale, Ontario and ten support centres in 4

provinces: in British Columbia in the towns of Abbotsford, Kelowna, and Surrey; in Manitoba in

the city of Portage; in Ontario in the cities of Bradford, Leamington, Simcoe, and Virgil; and in

Quebec in Saint-Rémi and St. Eustache.

I asked for permission to collect data in the AWA-Migrant Workers Support Centres by

writing a letter and sending an agenda, the research proposal and ethical approval notice (by the

Ethics Research Sub-Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of

Western Ontario, see Appendix C) to the President of the association. After revision of the

previous documents, the President granted me written permission, requesting a report of the

study at the end of it. This authorization was communicated to all the coordinators of the centres

that I visited and previous to my visits I contacted them by e-mail to let them know the dates of

my visits. In each case, they announced my visit using my signs and introducing me to all the

people working at the centres, as well as to the MTAW that were looking for the services. This

support was very important to me because the MTAW were less afraid of talking to me, as they

trust the AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centres' workers; therefore it was not risky to have a

conversation with me. However, the MTAW were almost always very reluctant to complain

about the program because of possible reprisals from the farmers and/or Mexican government.

Both provinces of Ontario and Quebec have the biggest concentration of Agricultural

Migrant Workers as can be seen in Table 8, where in 2009 Quebec received 3 754 TMW (i.e.

13.57%) and Ontario received 17 989 workers (i.e. 65.05%). Therefore, I selected both of these

provinces to do my research.

Table 8

Annual number of temporary foreign worker positions on LMO confirmations under the SAWP, by location of employment.

Province	2006	2007	2008	2009
Prince Edward Island	81	131	118	145
Nova Scotia	322	407	622	805
New Brunswick	17	25	19	28
Quebec	3,171	3,595	3,758	3,754
Ontario	18,097	18,744	18,552	17,989
Manitoba	311	299	343	362
Saskatchewan	*42*	84	101	124
Alberta	527	684	950	1,010
British Columbia	1,484	2,614	3,768	3,437
Canada – Total	**24,050**	**26,622**	**28,231**	**27,654**

Source: HRSDC, (2010).

I visited three (3) towns in the province of Ontario: Leamington, Simcoe, and Virgil; and one (1) town in the province of Quebec; Saint-Rémi, as shown in Table 9. I selected these locations because in each one of them there is an office of the AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centres, while at the same time I was looking for a representative sample of the province, as well as to contrast the data between the locations (as each location receives a different number of MTW with consequences such as access to services in their language or not, support from the community and local organizations, etc.). On the other hand, the idea of visiting two Canadian provinces was supported by the desire to look for differences between the language and contacts and the macro-sociolinguistic factors between Spanish/English in Ontario and Spanish/French in Quebec.

Table 9

Locations in Canada where data was collected.

Canada			
Province	**Ontario**		**Quebec**
Location	Leamington	Simcoe	Virgil	Saint-Rémi
Visits	9	4	3	5

Leamington, Ontario.

Leamington is a municipality in Essex County (see Figure 6). In 2006 its population was 28 833 inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2007), while the immigrant population was 7 845 with 935 new immigrants that arrived between 2001 and 2006, and 1 425 non-permanent residents (Statistics Canada, 2006). The visible minority population in Leamington is 2 915 individuals that are divided between the following ethnic groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American (1 390 inhabitants), South Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, and others (Statistics Canada, 2007).   In these data, temporary migrant workers are not considered. Overall, Leamington is considered to be an immigrant city and it has received temporary agricultural migrant workers since 1966. It is the town that receives the most temporary migrant workers in the region.

Figure 6. Map of Ontario. Location of Leamington, Ontario (NRCAN, 2007)

From the total of the population, 16 915 speakers have English only as mother tongue (L1), 470 French only as L1, 45 are bilingual in English and French (i.e. both as L1), and 10 840 have other languages as L1. Finally, 1 630 individuals do not speak either English or French. The languages most often spoken at home are English, French, non-official language, English and French, English and non-official language, as can be seen on Table 10.

Table 10

Language spoken most often at home-Leamington, Ontario.

Language spoken most often at home	Leamington, Municipality		
	Total	Male	Female
Total population[30]	28,275	14,440	13,840
English	21,880	10,880	11,000
French	100	45	55
Non-official language	5,915	3,315	2,600
English and French	10	0	0
English and non-official language	365	190	175
French and non-official language	0	0	0
English, French and non-official language	0	0	0

Source: Statistics Canada, (2007).

Essex County has 1 740 farms and is ranked 14th in the province of Ontario in the 2006 Agriculture Census (Niagara Region, 2011). Leamington has 351 farms and is a town that has been transformed by the presence of the TMW (Statistics Canada, 2006). The main crop in Leamington is tomatoes; the city has even been named the "Tomato Capital of Canada". However, there are other kind of crops such as hay and field crops, vegetables (the most important are tomatoes, sweet corn, cucumber, and peppers), fruits (mostly apples and peaches), nursery products (i.e. flowers and vegetables) and mushrooms (Statistics Canada, 2006).

I visited Leamington 9 times and interviewed 20 MTAW there. Before arriving at the town it is possible to see greenhouses from both sides of the road and as soon as one arrives in the downtown area the presence of MTAW is evident (see photo) because of their physical presence (see Figure 7) as well as the bilingual linguistic landscape in English and Spanish in the main streets of Leamington.

Figure 7. Photograph of Leamington, MTAW at the information centre in downtown Leamington, Ontario.

The kinds of business in the downtown area of Leamington are ethnically oriented, with ethnic food stores, a *tortillería*, restaurants, bars, money order businesses, etc. Likewise, it is possible to see other services developed for MTAW such as religious services from different orientations, but specifically a Catholic mass in Spanish (as most of the MTAW are catholic); Frontier College that offers ESL, literacy, and computation classes for immigrants (with a big orientation towards the MTW); and also the Mexican Consulate, which is the only Consular office established in the cities I visited for my research due to the high concentration of MTAW in the region.

In Leamington, the community has adapted to the presence of the TMW because of a market opportunity, and not precisely to include them into the host society. However, Leamington can be considered one of the best places where MTAW can be placed because of the infrastructure mentioned, as well as the work in the greenhouses that makes work conditions better than in the fields, and with longer contracts.

Simcoe, Ontario.

The town of Simcoe, Norfolk County is located in Central Ontario (see Figure 8) and has a population of 62 563 inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2007a). In Simcoe, by 2006 the immigrant population was 7 830, with 460 new immigrants between 2001 to 2006, and 1 425 non-permanent residents. The visible minority population in Simcoe are 1 025 individuals and they are divided between the following ethnic groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American (135 individuals), South Asian, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, and other origins (Statistics Canada, 2007a).
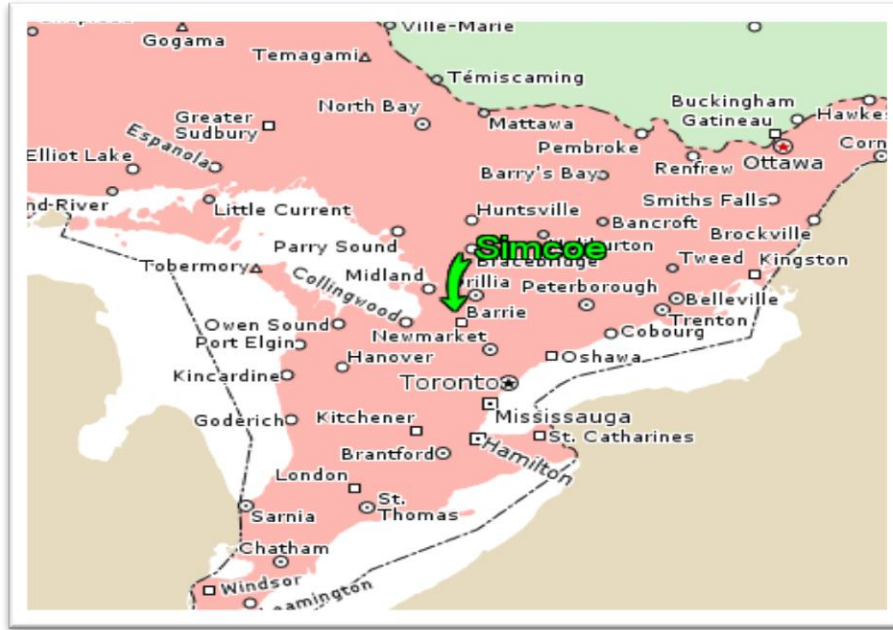
Figure 8. Map of Ontario. Location of Simcoe, Ontario (NRCAN, 2007).

Simcoe is mainly Anglophone. English is the mother tongue of the majority, with 52 660

speakers, followed by 635 who have French as L1 and 75 who has English and French as L1.

The languages most often spoken at home are English, French, non-official languages, English

and French, English and a non-official language, as is shown in Table 11.

Table 11

Language spoken most often at home-Simcoe, Ontario.

| Language spoken most often at home | Norfolk County, City | | |
	Total	Male	Female
Total population[35]	61,860	30,690	31,170
English	58,225	28,750	29,480
French	50	20	30
Non-official language	3,220	1,765	1,455
English and French	25	10	10
English and non-official language	340	145	190
French and non-official language	0	0	0
English, French and non-official language	0	0	0

Source: Statistics Canada, (2007a).

Simcoe County has 2 415 farms and is ranked 6th as for 2006 in number of farms in the

Province of Ontario (Niagara Region, 2011), while the town of Simcoe in Norfolk County

registered 1 525 farms (Statistics Canada, 2006). Simcoe is the city where the AWA-Migrant

Worker Support Centre is located, but the farms are scattered all around the County. This region

has a combination of farms and crops like hay and field crops, vegetables (the most relevant are

sweet corn, tomatoes, cucumbers, pumpkins, peppers, asparagus, ginger, etc.), fruits and berries

(the most relevant being strawberries, raspberries, apples, and pears), Christmas trees,

greenhouse products (i.e. flowers and vegetables), mushrooms and maple tree taps (Statistics

Canada, 2006).

I visited Simcoe 4 times and interviewed 20 participants in total. During my visits I

realized that Simcoe is a typical small mainstream Canadian town (see Figure 9). There is only

one Mexican restaurant and a couple of stores with ethnic products and a couple of people that

bring Mexican products directly to the farms. There are few services offered for the MTAW,

other than those offered at the AWA-Migrant Support Centre like ESL classes and an annual

Mexican party hosted by ENLACE[56], a women's organization that supports the MTWM and

organizes social events in the region (as well as in the Niagara-On-the-Lake region) (ENLACE,

2010). MTAW that arrive in Simcoe-Norfolk County have to work hard to try to adapt to life in

the region as there is a poor *support system* from the community even if the province of Ontario,

in general, excels for the opposite (Valarezo, 2007).

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[56] ENLACE was established to welcome farm workers to Ontario. It offers them support services.

Figure 9. Photograph of Simcoe. Downtown Simcoe.

Virgil, Ontario.

The town of Virgil, Niagara-on-the-Lake is located in Ontario (see Figure 10) and has a

population of 14 587 inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2007b). In Virgil, by 2006 the immigrant

population was 4 035 individuals, with 290 new immigrants, and 115 non-permanent residents

that arrived from 2001 and 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007b). The visible minorities are a total of

845 persons and are divided between the following ethnic groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black,

Filipino, Latin American, South Asian, West Asian, Korean, Japanese and others (Statistics
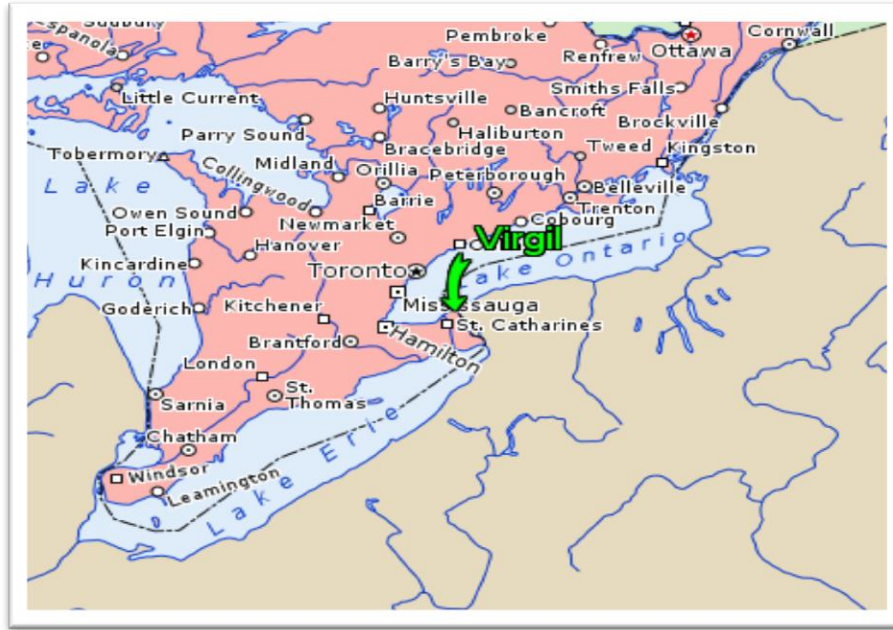
Canada, 2007b).

Figure 10. Map of Ontario. Location of Virgil, Ontario (NRCAN, 2007).

Virgil is an Anglophone dominant population and English is the mother tongue of the majority, with 10 705 speakers, followed by 235 speakers who speaks French as an L1 and 45 speakers who have English and French as L1. The languages most often spoken at home are English, French, non-official languages, English and French, English and a non-official language, as shown in Table 12.

Table 12

Language spoken most often at home-Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario.

| Language spoken most often at home | Niagara-on-the-Lake, Town | | |
	Total	Male	Female
Total population[35]	14,380	7,015	7,365
English	12,975	6,295	6,680
French	75	35	35
Non-official language	1,100	580	520
English and French	0	0	0
English and non-official language	195	85	105
French and non-official language	35	15	15
English, French and non-official language	0	0	0

Source: Statistics Canada, (2007b).

Virgil is located in the Niagara peninsula and this makes the region popular for its wineries, vineyards, fruit orchards, and flower nurseries and vegetable greenhouses, as well as for tourism. In 2006, there were 2 236 farms in the whole Niagara region, ranking 11th in the province of Ontario (Niagara Region, 2011) and 380 farms in the region of Niagara-on-the-Lake (Statistics Canada, 2006). The main crops are fruits (grapes, berries, nuts, plums, prunes, sweet cherries, sour cherries and peaches), vegetables (mostly tomatoes, peppers, pumpkins, and squash and zucchini), Christmas trees, greenhouses (i.e. flowers), and hay and field crops (Statistics Canada, 2006). Agriculture has been a very important part of the region (Niagara Region, 2011).

I visited Virgil 3 times and interviewed 15 MTAW. During my visits I saw that the region of Virgil in Niagara-on-the-Lake is full of charm, from a tourist point of view, with its vineyards and wineries (see Figure 11). It is known as a Wine County; and with its multiple options for accommodations, dining and attractions, it is recognized as a fabulous choice to spend a weekend. On the other hand, its closeness to the U.S. border also is an attraction for visitors from both countries, U.S. and Canada.   But for the MTW it is but another place to work in the fields of Canada. For them, the region does not offer as many services as it does to other members of the community; however the community has been working to help TMW to coexist with them during the months that they work in their farms.

In the region there are only a couple of stores with ethnic products (i.e. Mexican products) and some people that bring Mexican products directly to the farms, there is a Catholic mass in Spanish, a health bus that gives health services to MTW (as well as to the whole community), bicycle support from the Niagara Community Policing (NOTL, 2010), and ENLACE, among other community support groups (Gibb, 2006).

Figure 11. Photograph of the Virgil region. A MTAW biking in front of a winery and vineyard

of the Virgil, Niagara-on-the-Lake region.

Saint-Rémi, Quebec.

Saint-Rémi is situated in Les Jardins-de-Napierville Regional County Municipality in the

Montérégie region of the province of Quebec (see Figure 12). In Saint-Rémi the population is 6

136 inhabitants, and by 2006 the immigrant population was 140 individuals, with 20 new

immigrants from 2001 to 2006, and 60 non-permanent residents (Statistics Canada, 2007c). The

registered visible minority is made up of 115 individuals divided among the following ethnic

groups: South Asian, Black, Latin American (75 persons), Southeast Asian, and others (Statistics
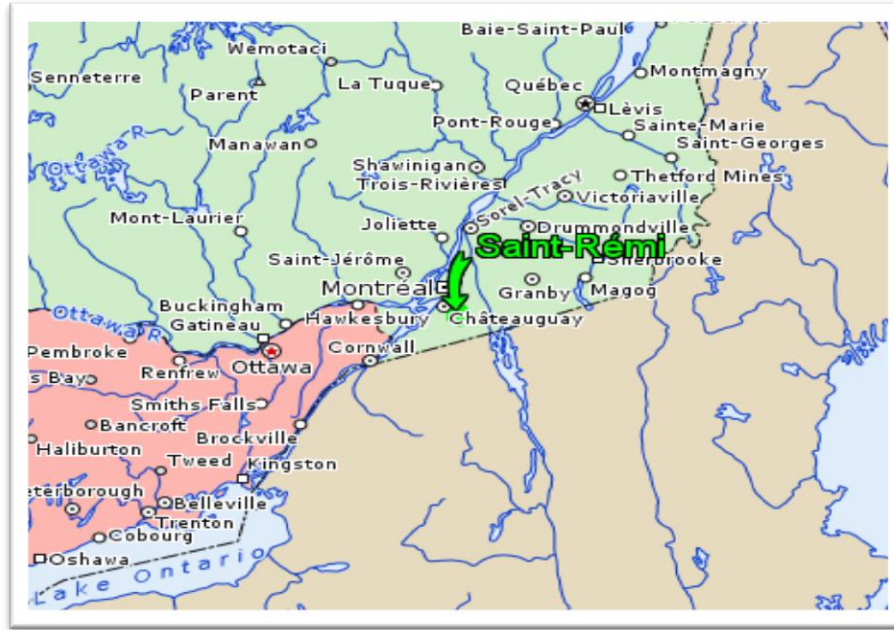
Canada, 2007c).

Figure 12. Map of the province of Quebec. Location of Saint-Rémi (NRCAN, 2007).

In Saint-Rémi, French is reported to be the mother tongue of the majority, with 5 730 speakers, followed by 75 who speak English as an L1, 10 speakers with English and French as L1s and 150 speakers with other languages as mother tongue. The languages most often spoken at home are French, English, non-official languages, and French and a non-official language, as is shown in Table 13.

Table 13

Language spoken most often at home-Saint-Rémi, Quebec.

| | Saint-Rémi, Ville | | |
Language spoken most often at home	Total	Male	Female
Total population[35]	5,970	3,035	2,935
English	50	25	30
French	5,720	2,865	2,860
Non-official language	130	100	30
English and French	0	0	0
English and non-official language	0	0	0
French and non-official language	60	40	10
English, French and non-official language	0	0	0

Source: Statistics Canada, (2007c).

In the Saint-Rémi region, in Les Jardins-de-Napierville Regional County, there were 607
farms in 2006. The most important crops are vegetables (the most representative are sweet corn,
tomatoes, cucumbers, green peas, cabbage, carrots, onions, lettuce, etc.), fruits (the most relevant
crops are apples), berries, greenhouse products (i.e. flowers and vegetables), and maple tree taps
(Statistics Canada, 2006).

I visited Saint-Rémi 5 times. It is a very small town (see Figure 13) in a very rich and
wide agricultural region on the outskirts of Montreal, Qc., and very close to the Mohawk
territory of Kahnawake. Saint-Rémi is predominantly francophone and it is possible to perceive
this at a first glance. Therefore, it only offers some services to the TMW in the region with one
Latin ethnic restaurant, a couple of ethnic stores, money order services, and some supermarkets
with ethnic products. There is a Spanish Catholic mass once or twice during the season, as well
as other Christian religious services offered in the region (also in Spanish). As for the
community, there seems to be little involvement, even more there is a lack of a *support system*
(Valarezo, 2007) and the MTAW rely too much in the services offered by the AWA-Migrant
Support Centre of the region.

Figure 13. Photograph of Saint-Rémi, Downtown Saint-Rémi, Quebec.

Participants

The recruitment and interviews of participants were done through the AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centres, as it is a 'safe-place' for the MTAW. Signs were written in Spanish and placed on boards and walls in the centres to inform MTAW about the aim, dates, and compensation offered to those willing to participate in the study. Additionally, when volunteers showed interest in participating, they were informed orally of the aims of the study, the need of their help as participants as well as their rights, which was done because MTAW have low literacy level and are considered to be in a vulnerable situation. Moreover, in order to encourage participation, all participants were paid $10 Canadian dollars for their time and commitment to the study. The payments were done at the end of their participation, in cash, but MTAW were informed since the beginning of the interview, through a consent letter (see Appendix A), that they were free to withdraw their participation at their convenience and that they would still be paid for their intention to participate (see chapter one for further information).

I (the researcher) read the consent letter and all the questions from the sociolinguistic

questionnaire and wrote down all answers; but at the same time, the whole interviews-

questionnaires were registered using a personal digital tape recorder (Olympus DSS Player Plus

7-Digital System). The use of the tape recorder was important to verify possible missing

information, but these structured interviews were not transcribed in their totality due to the

number of participants and extension of the sociolinguistic questionnaires.

At the moment of the study the general characteristics of the participants were as follows,

all the participants were MTAW working in Canada under the SAWP; 78 were male and 2 were

female. The big difference between the number of male and female participants, is due to the

unequal gender ratio of MTAW participating in the SAWP, as well as by the low ratio of female

seeking services at AWA-Migrant Support Centres (the places where I collected my data).

Spanish was the mother tongue (L1) for 97.5% and an indigenous language for 7.5% of them;

and they had an average of 6 years of formal education. Moreover, their places of origin were

distributed in 17 Mexican States (as shown in Figure 14): Tlaxcala, Estado de México (the major

sender of the participants, with an 18.75%), Chiapas, Oaxaca, Sinaloa, Durango, Campeche,

Hidalgo, Veracruz, Puebla, Morelos, Michoacán, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Coahuila, Distrito

Federal and Nayarit. The participants have been part of the SAWP for an average of 9 years in a

cyclical way and during the year of the interviews, their length of stay was for an average of 6.16

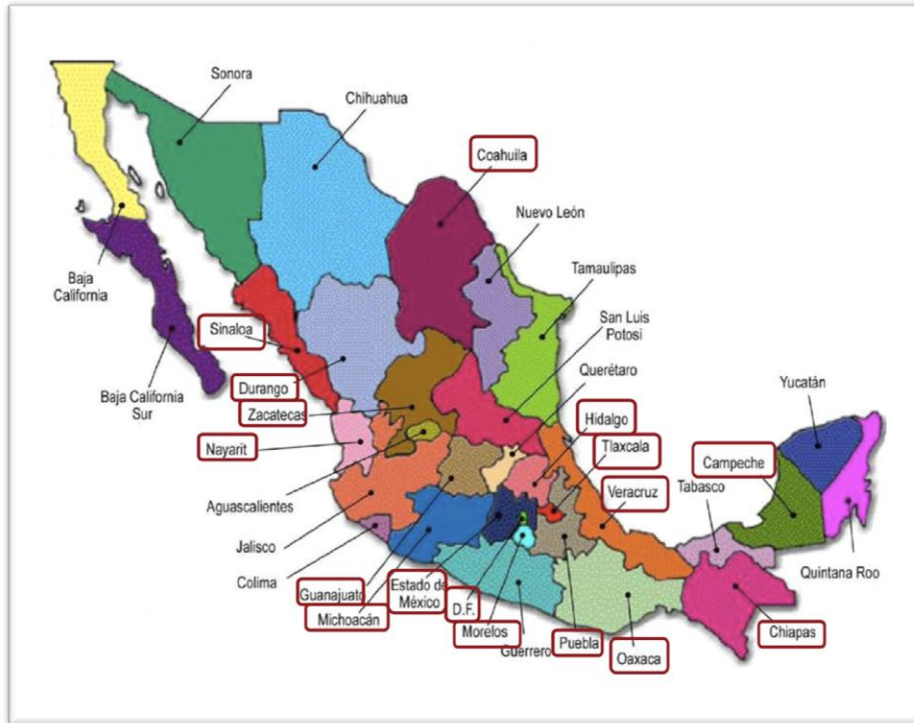months (see more details in chapter 4).

Figure 14. Map of Mexico. MTAW states of origin (marked in red).

Data Analysis

Early in my study and during it, I read my field notes and interviews looking for themes, topics, categories and subcategories, but the data were analysed using statistical methods and represented using charts and graphics. As an initial step once the data was gathered, the data was coded with the help of Microsoft Excel and NVivo9.

I used Microsoft Excel because of its capacity to manage large amounts of data and also because of its flexibility to export it to other software. Specifically, I used Microsoft Excel spread sheets to manage and organize the data that resulted from the structured interviews (i.e. the questionnaires), which later I was able to represent in charts and tables. To begin, I divided the data by visited region and in each visited region I classified the data by the 8 pre-established categories of the structured interviews (i.e. demographic data, education and literacy, language, housing, the program, the family, the family and the program, and language use). After that, I

gathered the results from the 4 different regions on a single workbook to analyze them with statistical methods.

I also used a computer software, NVivo9, to code and categorize research materials or sources such as field notes, observations, semi-structured interviews, datasets, photographs, and artefacts, according to specific themes that make sense for this particular research study in Word documents, PDFs, Microsoft Excel, graphics, etc. All the data were written in English and/or Spanish, but that did not represent a problem using NVivo9 because the software accepts bilingual data and I myself am bilingual, consequently I did not have to translate my sources for purposes of analysis, only for reporting results.

As the data analysis progressed I was able to add, change and collapse individual categories or any combination of categories in my NVivo9 project. The software allowed me to search the data by individual categories or by any combination of categories; and also allowed me to see the data from different perspectives. I revised my categorizations and themes, analysed and reanalysed the data to make connections to the existing literature and finally, after deciding the final categories, I entered them into my NVivo9 project to code the data segments by nodes, which are a space where it was possible to gather coded materials based on the themes, people, organizations, etc. NVivo9 also allowed me to auto code data coming from consistent paragraph styles as a result of a same set of questions, as in the descriptive sections of the sociolinguistic questionnaire. After nodes were created, I could produce a report to show all the data segments coded to a certain category or node.

Once nodes were classified, I was able to add comments, ideas, reminders, and insights by writing annotations in the same software. Likewise, I explored my data with queries (e.g. gathering material coded in a certain way, or combination of nodes, etc.) (see Figure 15), charts,

and visualizations (e.g. creating models, clusters, or tree maps where it was possible to visualize

data connected to a particular node or concept) to look for patterns and connections (see Figure

16).

<u>\<Internals\\Descriptive questions per participant\\012-Horacio\></u> - § 1 reference coded [0.54%
Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.54% Coverage

gustaría aprender inglés si hubiera **oportunidad** y tiempo.
43. Si, depende

Figure 15. Example of search queries and automatic coding in NVivo9.
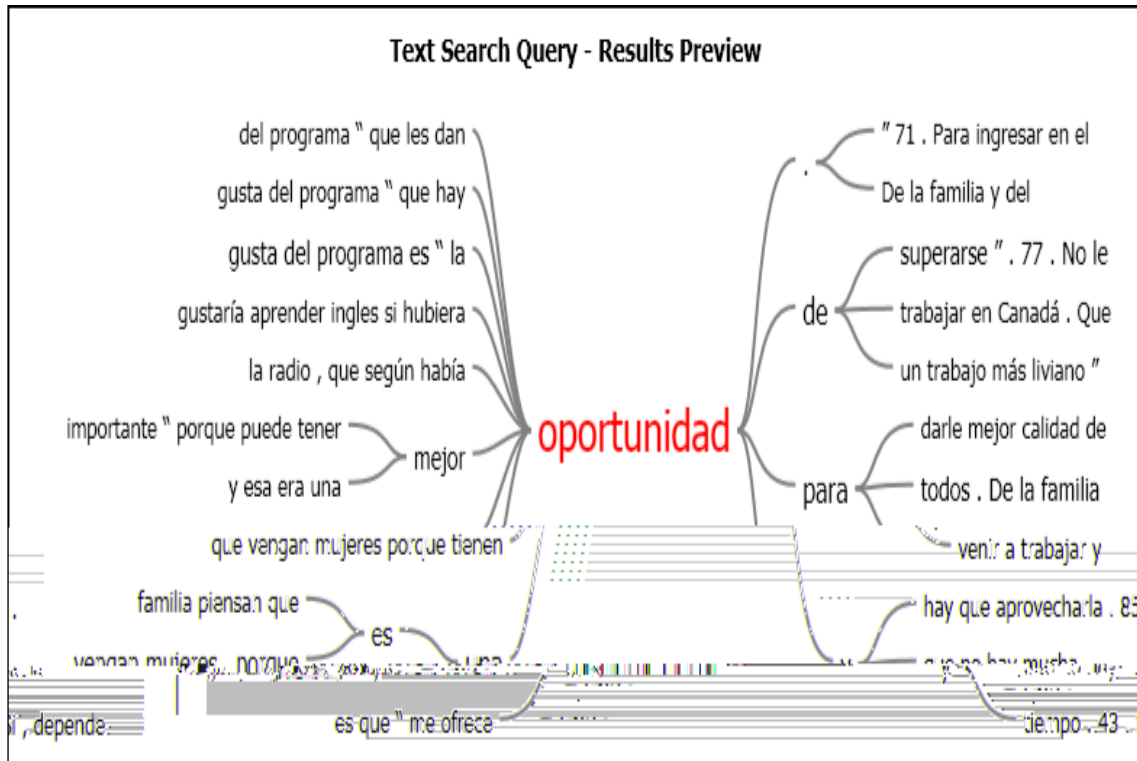

Figure 16. Text search query. Results preview using *tree word,* a visualization tool of NVivo9.

Themes, categories and subcategories.

I divided the results in two main themes: The *Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers
(MTAW)* and *The Community*. For the MTAW theme, the topics, categories and subcategories
are drawn from the design of the structured interviews (i.e. the sociolinguistic questionnaire) and
are presented here on Table 14.

Table 14

Themes, categories and subcategories of the MTAW theme.

Topics	Categories and Subcategories
Demographic Data	Gender Age Place of origin Marital status Housing and housing conditions in Mexico Income and occupation

Education and Literacy	Education Level
	Literacy level
	      Reading and Writing Practices
	Language
	      Linguistic repertoire
	           Linguistic skills
	      Language choice and domains
	         Language brokers
	      Spanish dialects (awareness)
	Language and you

About the program (here, in Canada)	Seniority Duration of contracts Perception of treatment at work What they like of the program What they do not like of the program Training at work and safety information (language) Perception of women at SAWP
Housing	Housing Conditions Access to media Language choice Communication with family in Mexico
Family Profile	Education level Literacy level Linguistic repertoire Occupation

Family and the program (there, in Mexico)	Interest in children coming to the SAWP Returning next season Family and friends as part of the SAWP

On the other hand, for the theme *The Community*, the topics are: *the community adapts to MTAW* and *the community helps MTAW to adapt*. The categories and subcategories are shown on Table 15 and the sources of analysis were the semi-structured interviews, artefacts, and photographs.

Table 15

Topics, categories and subcategories of the Community theme.

Topics	Categories and Subcategories

Community adapts to MTAW	Economy
	    Local businesses
	    Ethnic enclaves

	Religion Access to services in Spanish

	Language
	    Spanish speaking employees
	    Spanish and/or bilingual information
	    Spanish/bilingual linguistic landscape

Community helps MTAW to adapt	Language English/French Classes (ESL/FSL)
	Spanish/Bilingual Media Printed

	Cultural activities for MTAW
	    Festivals
	    Dances
	    Music
	    Sports
	    Trips

To summarize, in this chapter I have presented a description of the methodology and design used to collect data, describing the instruments, the fieldwork, the places where data was collected and the participants involved. At the same time, I explained the tools used to analyze

the results and a list of the categories and themes that emerged from the analysis. In this way,

the following chapter describes and explains the results of this study. The chapter is divided in 2

main sections or themes, *Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers* and *The Community,* where

the results for each topic are reported.

Results

In this chapter I show the results. In the first part of the chapter I present the theme *Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers* and I report the results for the topics demographic data of the participants, followed by education and literacy, language, housing, the program, the family, issues about the family and the program and finally the language and MTAW. In the second (and last) section of this chapter I present the results for the theme *The Community* and the topics the community adapts to MTAW and the community helps MTAW to adapt.

These results gave me the elements to answer the research questions presented below:

1. How do the biographic backgrounds –human capital- of MTAW restrict or allow them to renegotiate their identity and to be able to deal with their new social and linguistic environment?

2. What and how are the communicative practices of MTAW?

3. What linguistic barriers do MTAW face and how does it affect their daily lives?

4. How do the receiving communities include or exclude MTAW?

Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers

Demographic Data.

A total of 80 MTAW participated in this study. Of the 80 participants, 78 are males and 2 are females. The difference between the number of male and female participants is due to the unequal gender ratio of MTAW participating in the SAWP, as well as to the low ratio of female seeking services at AWA-Migrant Support Centres (the places where I collected my data), as I previously explained in chapter 3.

The ages of the MTAW that participate in this study fall within the range of 24 to 65 years old (see Figure 17). Their average age is 40.8 years old, which means that these

participants are in their most productive working years and that they expend these years living

and working out of their home country and far away from their family as a result of their
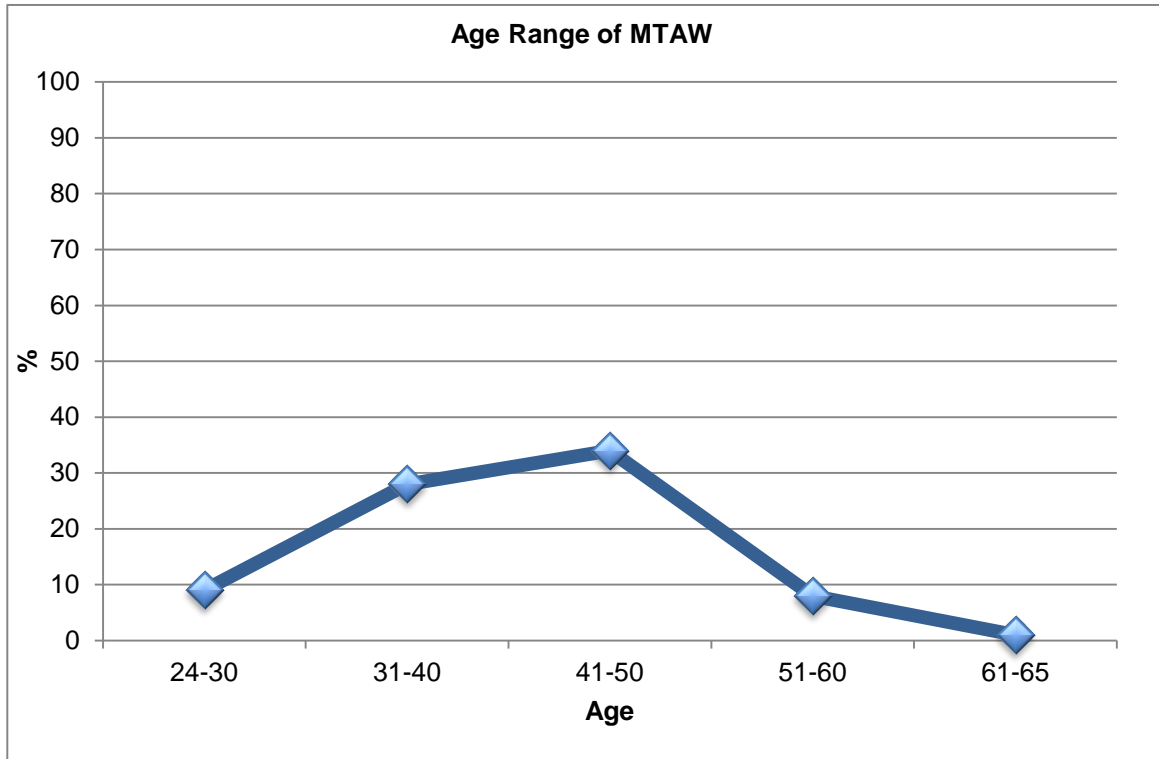
decision to be part of the SAWP.

Age Range of MTAW

Figure 17. Age range of MTAW.

The place of birth and place of residence of participants while they are in Mexico is

different only for the 11.25% of them, which means that internal migration in Mexico is very low

for this population and that they must have strong family ties and social networks in their

hometowns. Regarding the place of residence, the Federal Mexican states that send more

MTAW among these participants are Estado de México, Puebla, and Tlaxcala. All these states

are located in the central area of Mexico (see Figure 14, chapter 3). The lowest representation of

MTAW comes from the states of Coahuila and Zacatecas as seen on Table 16. These data are

consistent with the total of MTAW sent by those same states in 2009 according to the *Secretaría*

del Trabajo y Previsión Social (STPS, 2009).

Table 16

Origin of MTAW participating in this study.

Sending Mexican Federal Entity	Participants (n=80) %	Total of MTAW contracts issued in 2009 (n=15,352) %
Coahuila	1.25	0.69
Zacatecas	1.25	1.57
Distrito Federal (D.F.)	2.50	1.93
Nayarit	2.50	1.77
Sinaloa	2.50	2.21
Chiapas	3.75	2.91
Durango	3.75	2.46
Campeche	3.75	1.30
Michoacán	3.75	5.58
Veracruz	5.00	6.57
Morelos	6.25	5.06
Hidalgo	6.25	4.95
Guanajuato	7.50	6.25
Oaxaca	7.50	4.61
Tlaxcala	11.25	14.00
Puebla	12.50	6.75
Estado de México	18.75	18.69

In relation to marital status, 88% of the participants are married, 5% are living in

common-law, 1.3% are divorced, 1.3% are separated, 3.8% are widowed, and 1.3% are single.

These data are consistent with the selection requirements of the program that specify that men

have to be married and women have to be single mothers (divorced or separated; i.e. without a

partner) to assure that they have strong ties with Mexico and that they will return to their country

at the end of their contract in Canada.

Furthermore, from the total of the participants, 77.5% owned a property, 7.5% rented a property and a 15% lived or shared their household with their extended family (i.e. parents, parents in law and/or siblings) in Mexico. It is important to mention that my participants expressed that one of the most important goals that they want to accomplish by being part of the SAWP is to own their house and build it of what they called *construcción* (i.e. built up walls and roof with materials such as concrete, brick and mono-block), as well as to include services as a kitchen separated from the bedrooms, and a washroom inside the household, which usually takes them several seasons to accomplish. One of my participants, Sergio, explains this as follows, "bueno, hasta apenas pude comprar mi casa, es de ladrillos ahora… solamente viniendo aquí uno puede hacer algo porque la situación en México es difícil, es una vida difícil allá… solamente tengo un año viniendo (al programa), apenas me estoy estabilizando" ["well, until recently I could own my house, it is of bricks now… only coming here can one do something because the situation in Mexico is tough, it's a tough life there… I just have a year coming (to the program), I'm just stabilizing…"][57]

Likewise, 91% live in a house built of brick, block or concrete (many with sheet roofs), only 5% live in an adobe house, 2.5% live in a wood house, and 1.3% live in a sheet house (both roof and walls). Moreover, 90% have a washroom in their home and only 10% do not have one. However, 66.25% do not have a kitchen separated from the bedroom, which means that a single room works as bedroom (sometimes a single bedroom for all the family) and kitchen at the same time. Usually those kinds of kitchens do not have appliances; instead they may only have an *anafre* or *brasero (*a portable stove that works with wood or coal), and some basic furniture.

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[57] I, the researcher, translate this participant's quote, as well as any other participant's quotes included in this chapter. I am not including the Spanish version of the short quotes because the reading of the chapter would be difficult.

Also, most of the MTAW live in rural areas and owning a car is not a common trend, but some of them know how to drive, have a vehicle and a driver's license (many know how to drive even if they do not own a vehicle). So from the total of the participants in this study, 33.75% reported owning a vehicle and 66.25% do not own one; while 45% have a driver's licence and 55% do not have one. From the participants that reported having a vehicle, some of them explained that they were able to buy a car or truck because of the program (SAWP), such as Isidro who has been part of the program for 19 seasons and explains, "Compré mi primer coche el año pasado, es un coche nuevo (directo de la agencia)" ["I bought my first car last year, it's a new car (directly from the car dealer)"].

The income of the MTAW while they work in Mexico is very low and it is one of the main reasons that motivate them to become part of the SAWP. My participants reported having an income that falls in the ranges between $0.00 CAD to $400.00+ CAD as can be seen in Figure 18. Those participants who reported having an income of $ 0.00 CAD were self-employed (so because they work in their own farms, they consider that they did not make an income even if they did), or did not get a job at their return because of the few months they (some of them) expend in Mexico at the end of their contracts in Canada. For example, Roberto who was working in the Virgil area with a contract of 8 months said that when he returns to Mexico, for a couple of months, he cannot work as an electrician. He explains, "no, porque cuando llegué en noviembre… no porque uno… estuve allí solamente por un par de meses, y no vale la pena que me contraten por uno o dos meses, no quieren gente así" ["no, because when I arrived in November… no because one… I was there only for a couple of months, and it is not worth it to hire me for one or two months, they don't want people like that"].

The low income of MTAW while they are in Mexico is also related to their low level of education and occupation. However, it is important to remember that the salaries that participants reported are related to 'whatever' kind of employment they were able to find at their return to Mexico while they were waiting to come back for another season in Canada.

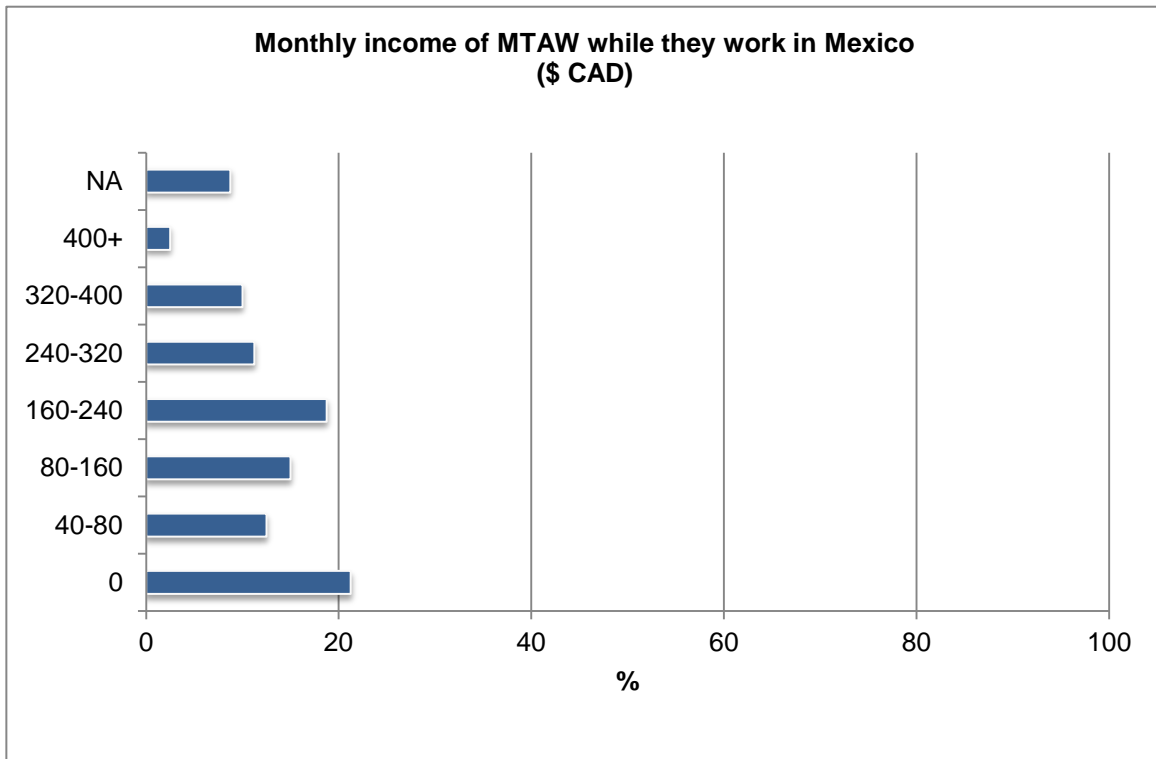**Monthly income of MTAW while they work in Mexico ($ CAD)**

Figure 18. Monthly income of MTAW while they work in Mexico. Salary converted to Canadian Dollars.

The occupation of my participants while they are in Mexico is reported as follows, 53.75% work as farmers, and the rest (i.e. the 46. 25%) labour as builders, drivers, shoemakers, woodcutters, cattle farmers, electricians, blacksmiths, bakers, tailors, traders, janitors, and even bodyguards (see Figure 19). These results show that even if SAWP's recruitment guidelines specify that applicants have to be farmers, in reality it is not always the case.
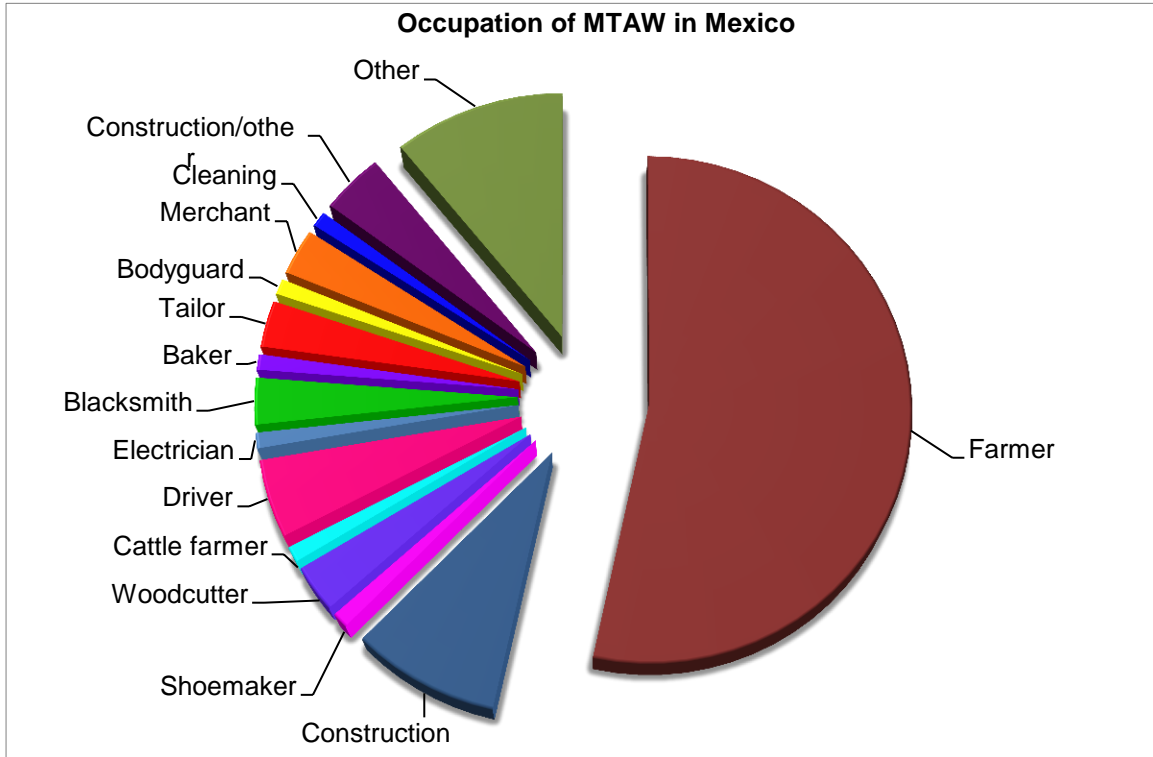
Figure 19. Occupation of MTAW while they are in Mexico.

Education and Literacy.

Here I present the results related to education, literacy, and literacy practices of the participants. To be part of the SAWP, candidates must have a level of education of at least grade 3 and maximum of grade 10. Most of the participants of this study fall in this range; however, it is possible to see in Figure 20, 10% have less than grade 3 and 12% have more than grade 10 (i.e. 22% do not have the education requirement to be part of the program). Grade 6 and grade 9 are the grades where most of the participants fall, but on average the years of formal education are 10 years.

Abelino is one of the 4% of participants that did not go to school, and he seemed to be ashamed of this fact. When I asked him until what year he attended school, his answer was "allí está el problema porque no tengo estudios… pero ponga escuela primaria… como en segundo de

primaria, digamos" ["there is the problem because I did not have studies… but write down elementary school… like grade 2 let's say"]. But even if Abelino did not meet the education requirement to be part of SAWP, he found the way to enter the program and has been part of it for 9 years. On the other hand, there are participants such as Alvaro, who finished high school and even mentioned having other studies. He showed pride talking about his education as follows, "Yo… yo estudié preparatoria, pero tengo varios certificados técnicos como aire acondicionado, soldadura, eh…. máquinas de coser y… tome algunos cursos de derechos humanos y relaciones humanas, y también cursos de capacitación" ["Me… I studied high school, but I have several technical certificates such as air conditioning, welding, eh… sewing machines and… I took some courses of human rights and human relations, and also some computer courses"]. But Alvaro never mentioned having had a problem entering the program because of his level of education. At the same time, Jaime reported to me having studied until university (Business Administration) and to enter the program he only reported having studied until secondary school to avoid being rejected because of his high level of education.
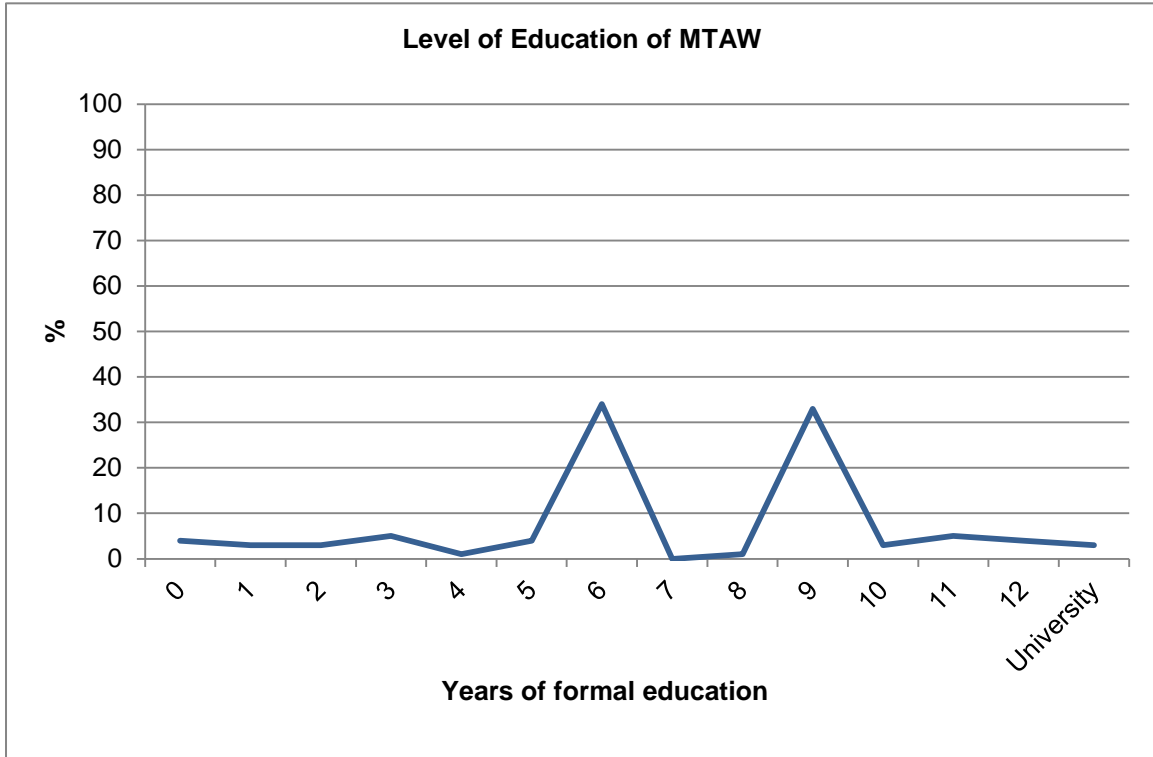
Figure 20. Level of Education of MTAW.

In relation to literacy[58], the results show that all the participants can read and write, except for one participant who cannot write, but can read. I also asked participants about their own perception regarding their reading and writing skills (i.e. very good, good, average, bad, very bad) and results show that overall they have placed themselves as average readers (66%) and writers (74%), although they were very hesitant about making a decision, so it was very difficult for them to tell what kind of literacy practices they had. In that sense, questions number 18 and 22 from the Education and Literacy section (see Appendix B) helped us (the participants and myself as researcher) to make an inventory of their literacy practices. The reading practices results are shown in Figure 21, where it is possible to see that, overall, participants' reading

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[58] Literacy level and skills are self-reported in this study.

practices are very varied but only in Spanish, meaning that even if there are participants who

reported being bilinguals or multilinguals, they are not necessarily biliterates or multiliterates.

The most popular reading practices are reading newspapers, books, magazines, signs and

labels, while the less popular are those related to digital literacies. In this manner, the results

show that digital literacy practices of my participants are very limited, which is consistent with

the results that indicate that only 25% of the participants know how to use a computer, and from

that group only 56% have access to one. However, the use of cell phones to write text messages
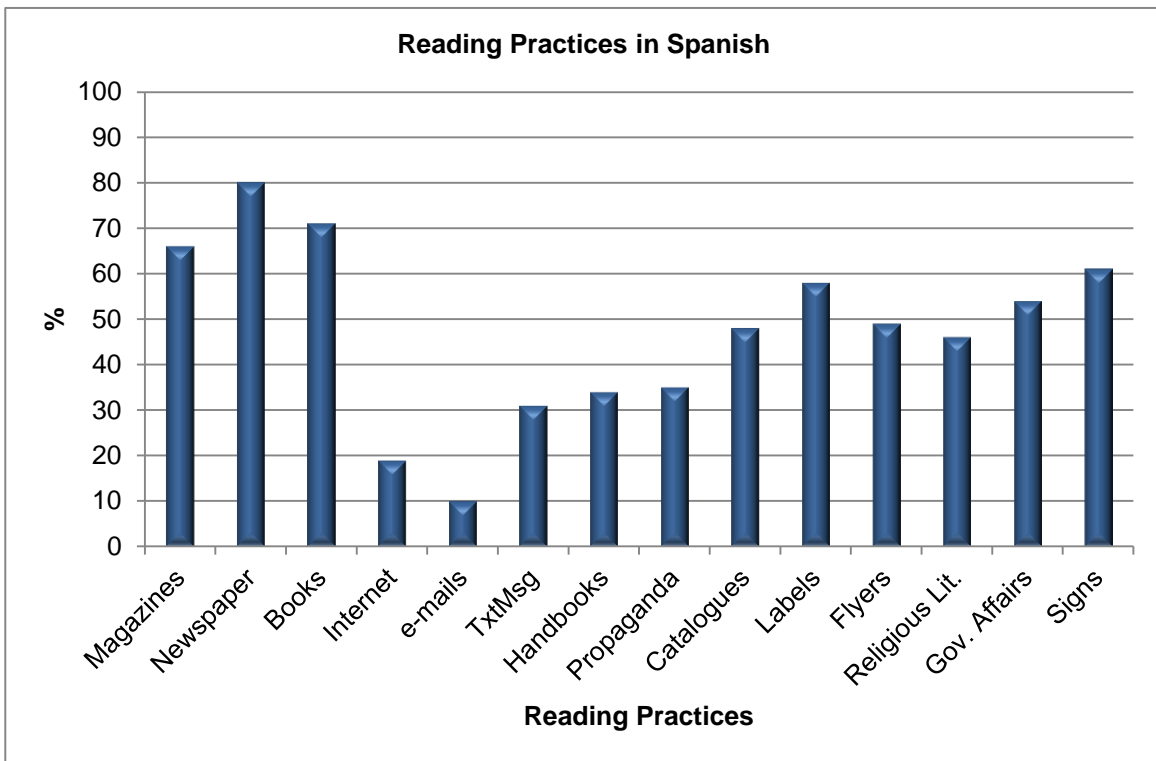
is more popular among this group.

Figure 21. Reading Practices in Spanish of MTAW.

Regarding writing practices, shown in Figure 22, the most salient reported writing

practices are bookkeeping at home, writing work affairs, writing letters, lists, messages and

signs; while writing e-mails, journals, notes and TxtMsg were the less frequent practices.
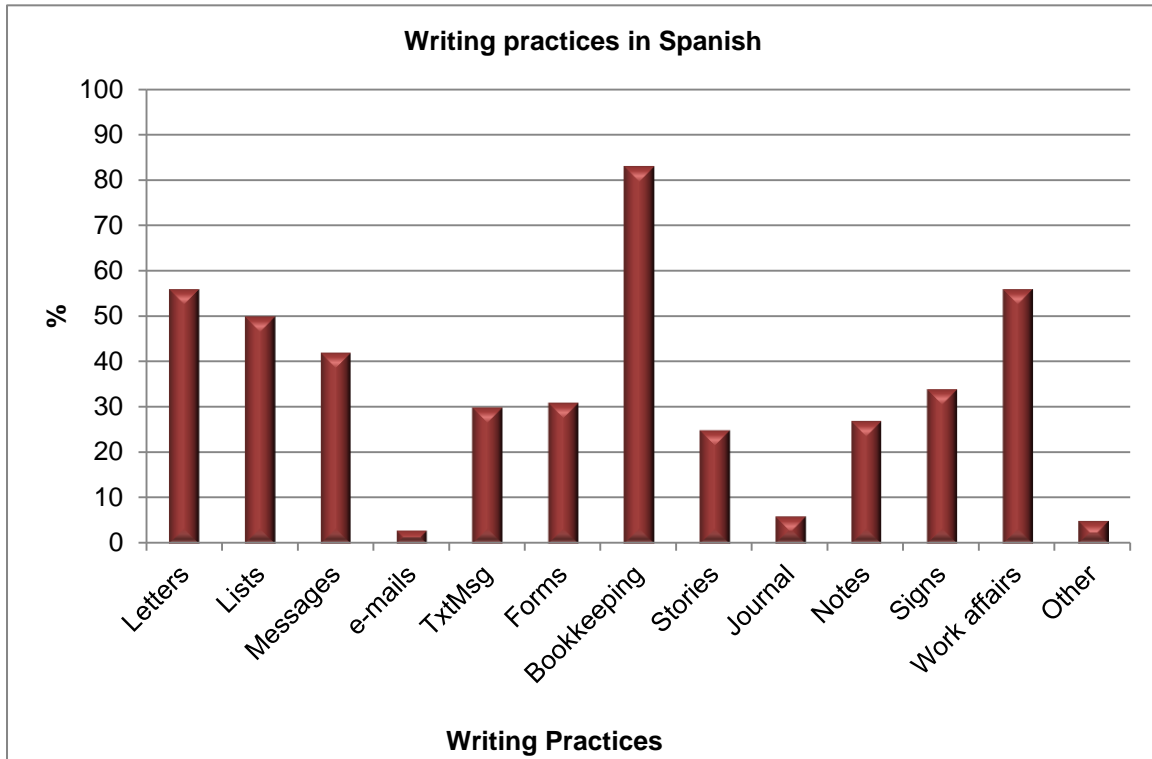
Figure 22. Writing practices in Spanish of MTAW.

Language.

The results show that Spanish is the mother tongue (L1) for 92.5% of the participants,

and an Indigenous language (either Nahuatl, Mixteco, Huichol, or Zapoteco) for 7.5% of them.

Moreover, only 1.25% reported being bilingual from birth (Mazahua/Spanish), 66.25% reported

having a second language (L2) (either English, Spanish, French or an Indigenous language) and

21.25% reported to have an third language (L3) (either English, French, Mexican Sign Language

(MSL) or an Indigenous language).   Likewise, English is the language that most of the

participants know as L2 (i.e. a 40%) and French as L3 (i.e. a 12.5%) as can be seen on Figure 23.

However, it is important to notice that in Saint-Rémi, 52% of the participants (n=25) interviewed

in that region reported to have some French knowledge (either as L2 or L3), 32% English, and

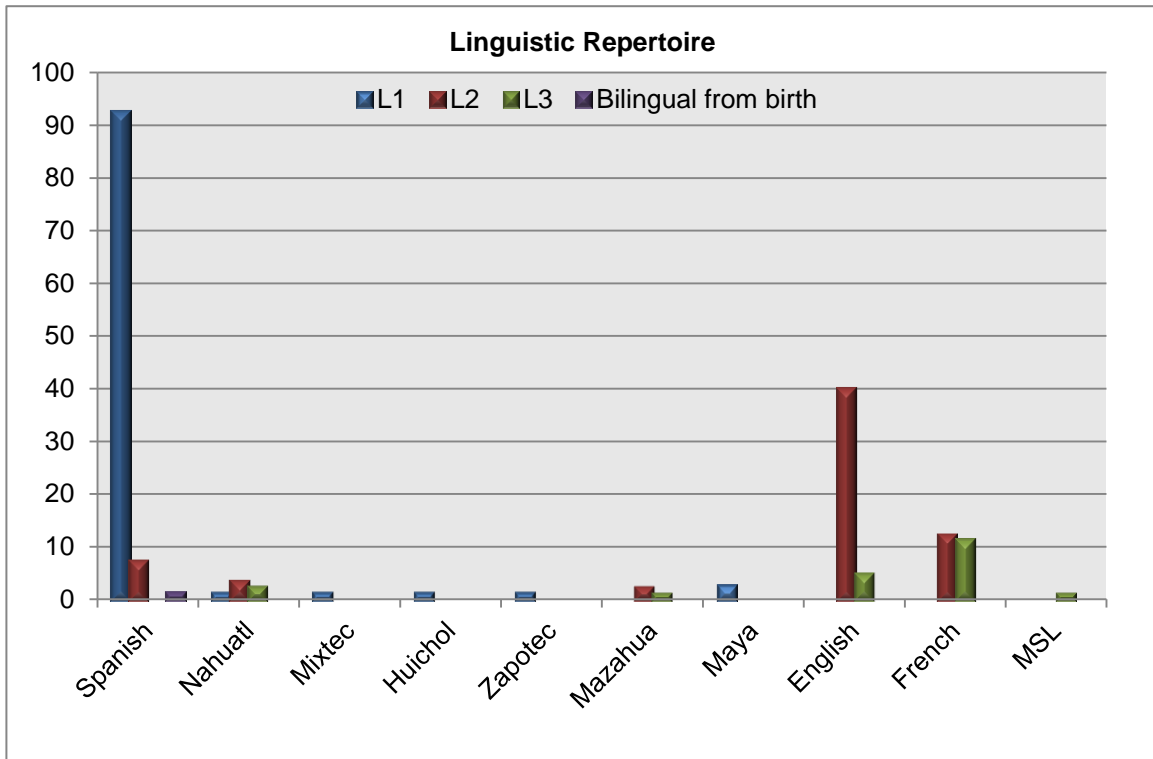only 2% reported knowing both languages.

Figure 23. Linguistic Repertoire of MTAW.

MTAW reported their linguistic skills (i.e. reading, speaking, writing and understanding) in each of the languages they know (i.e. L1, L2, L3). As it is possible to see in Figure 24, in the L1 97.5% reported having reading and writing skills, while 100% reported speaking and understanding the language. Furthermore, in the L2 (whichever language they reported having as L2) the results show that 43.18% know how to read, 95.45% know how to speak, 27.27% know how to write it and 95.45% can understand it. Finally, in the L3 the results show that only a 27.27% reported that they have reading skills, 81.81% speaking skills, 18.18% writing skills and 100% understand it.

Regarding the participants that have an Indigenous language in their linguistic repertoire, 5 of them reported that they have forgotten (i.e. experience attrition) some of their language. For example, Medardo, whose mother tongue is Huichol, explains that he speaks "solamente un 60%

de huichol porque lo olvidé y ahora tengo otro acento" ["only a 60% of Huichol because I had

forgotten it and now I have another accent"], while Juanjo believes that he has forgotten some

Mazahua "por la lengua y el diálogo" ["because of the language and the dialog"] (i.e. because he

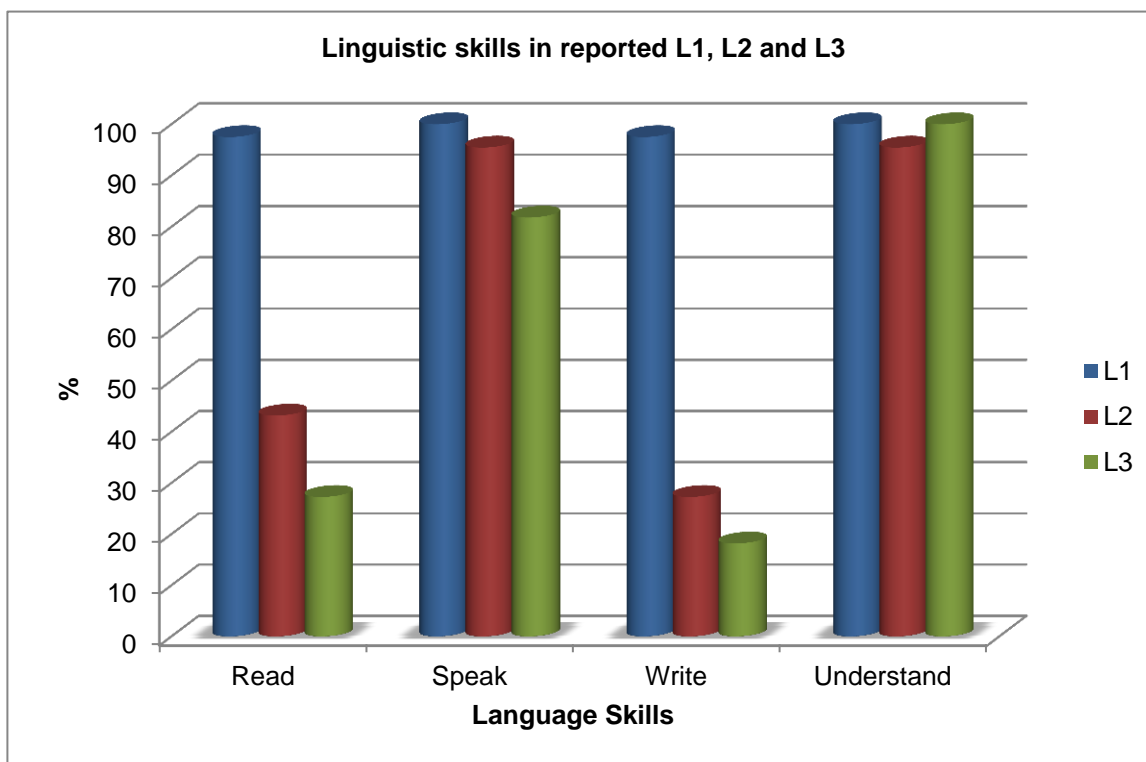speaks in other languages other than Mazahua).

Figure 24. Linguistic skills in reported L1, L2 and L3.

All participants reported that they consider important to learn English (in Ontario) and

French or English (in Quebec) and that it would help them to communicate in the different

spaces of their life. For example, Martin explains, "… es imporante saber inglés para poder

depender de mí mismo, para comunicarme con los patrones, en las tiendas y para uso personal"

["…it is very important to know English to be able to depend on myself, to communicate with

the *patrones*, in stores and for personal use"]; while Roman thinks English will be useful for

work and explains, "…trabajar más efectivamente, entender mejor y trabajar con más confianza"

["…work more efficiently, to understand better and work with more confidence"]. Moreover, Adalberto explains, "…es muy importante saber inglés, es esencial porque es el primer idioma del mundo" ["…it is very important to know English, it is essential because it is the first language of the world".]

However, only 56% of the participants think that learning the language would be helpful for doing their job, as they will be able to understand and to communicate with their immediate boss (supervisor, *capataz* or *mayorodomo*) and/or the *patrón* and therefore, they would understand instructions and maybe have the opportunity of having a better job and income. Along these lines Manuel explains, "es muy importante aprender inglés para poder comunicarse en el trabajo, para conocer las herramientas, los cultivos, las variedades de uvas, los vinos, etc." ["it is very important to learn English to be able to communicate at work, to know the tools, the crops, the variety of grapes, the wines, etc."]; while Abel says, "Pienso que necesito saber inglés para hacer mi trabajo… algunas veces me siento mal y no sé cómo comunicarme" ["I think that I need to know English to do my work… sometimes I feel bad and I don't know how to communicate"], also adding "Me gustaría aprender inglés para poder comunicarme con el patrón… y no sé cómo hacer eso" ["I would like to learn English to be able to communicate with *el patrón*… and I don't know how to do that"].

On the other hand, 4% of the participants expressed being unsure of the importance of knowing English or French to do their job and 40% said that it would not be helpful to know English or French to do their job because of different reasons such as: agricultural jobs can be learned by doing, agricultural jobs become a routine, or their experience as agricultural workers. But most of the participants that answered in this way explained that their immediate boss and/or *patrón* spoke Spanish, or that they have an interpreter at work; so as Humberto, who works in the

Saint-Rémi region, explains, "… si en tu *farma* te hablan español, no tienes la motivación para aprender francés" ["…if in your *farma* they speak Spanish to you, you do not have motivation to learn French"].

I also asked my participants if they like English or French. The results are as follows, 7.5% of the participants state that they do not like English or French; 12.5% did not know if they like those languages; and 80% do like one or the other. So even if a large percentage of the participants agreed they liked either English or French, only 33.75% of them have had a formal class of ESL/FSL and of these, 8% took classes in Mexico, 2% in the United States, and the rest (i.e. 90%) in Canada (at no cost and among different organizations such as, AWA-Migrant Support Centres, the Church (different affiliations), community organizations, and Frontier College). However, 85% of the participants reported that they would like to learn either English or French (according to the province where they work) but they have not done so because they have long working hours; therefore, they do not have free time to attend classes or to study.

Assuming that the participants had difficulties attending ESL/FSL classes for reasons such as the ones stated above, I asked if they would stay in Canada to study English or French and 55% expressed that they would agree to stay at the end of their contract to study the L2 of the province if they were legally entitled to do it; 40% said that they just want to return to Mexico at the end of the contract and staying more time in Canada would not be an option and finally, 5% explained that they did not know if they would stay in the country to study English or French and to consider it the option would have to be available. In this manner, Adalberto says that he would overstay in Canada to study French because he wants to learn a little, but he is not aware of any classes; while Eustaquio explains that he would not stay to take French lessons because he has to return to Mexico to work, and José also explains that he would like to learn

French, but English would be better because it is a world language (universal) but still, he would

not stay more time in Canada to learn the language because "es difícil estar 7 meses lejos… la

familia necesita atención" ["it is difficult to stay 7 months away… the family needs attention¨].

Additionally, Enrique brought the factor of age as a reason for not studying English and explains,

"Pienso que es tarde, soy viejo para estudiar inglés" ["I think it is late, I mean I'm old to study

English."]

The language choice of the participants, while they are in Canada, depends on the space.

However, the language that predominates is Spanish. The results show that Spanish is used

every day by all the participants; English in Ontario, and French in Quebec, are mainly used at

work and at stores, but also with friends, neighbours and others (e.g. bank, streets, doctor, etc.) as
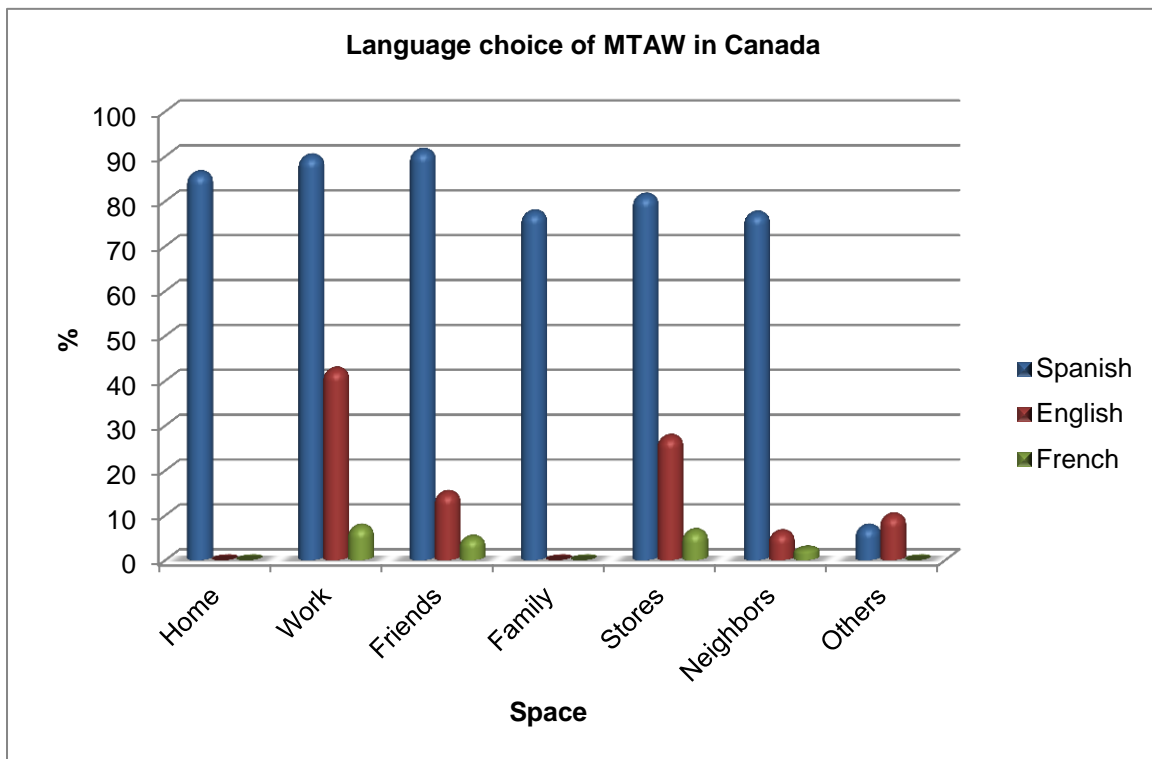
is shown on Figure 25.

Figure 25. Language choice of MTAW while they live in Canada.

Most of these participants (80%) consider they have a basic proficiency level in English or French, while the rest (20%) consider they have an intermediate level (no one reported having an advanced level). And in relation to a possible language loss, i.e. Spanish loss, 3.75% of the participants think that they have forgotten some Spanish words and the majority, i.e. a 96.35 % do not think that the language and contact situation has had an impact on their Spanish knowledge.

On the other hand, an interesting result relates to questions 51 to 54 (see Appendix B) in which the participants answered how they communicate in specific spaces or situations such as work, stores, health, and legal; it is possible to see in Figure 26 that the results in the space 'stores' are not consistent with the results for the language choice showed in the previous figure (see Figure 25) where participants reported using mainly Spanish in stores, while in question 51 (for the stores space) 30% reported using more English; 30% paying attention (i.e. to paying attention to the cash register and to the price tags); while only 8.75% reported using Spanish.

Likewise, the results for the space 'health', which corresponds to what language they choose to use when they have to communicate with a health provider (or at health services), show that 26.35% need an interpreter to communicate, 16.25% use English and 42.5% of participants answered NA (i.e. not applicable) because they prefer to not use the health services in Canada and wait until they return to Mexico because they fear to be returned by their *patrón* before the contract ends and then not being called back for the next season.

Interestingly, gestures and paying attention emerged as new categories that are both used, mainly, at stores (7.5%) and health (6.25%) spaces. For example, Juancho explains, "básicamente le digo, cuando voy a pagar la cuenta solamente pongo atención a la cantidad que la máquina enseña" ["basically I tell you, when I'm going to pay the bill I only pay attention to

the amount that the machine shows"], while Pablo says that if they do not understand him when

he goes shopping he makes gestures. These kinds of answers were consistent among the

participants that answered that they combine gestures with Spanish, English or French.

Moreover, the results are very different in the legal space because more choices for

communication emerged. The language broker category emerged here (56.25%), which is

different from the category interpreter (even if an interpreter can be considered a language

broker), and includes the Mexican Consul, someone from the AWA-Migrant Support Centres,

the *Patrón*, a lawyer, and the police. Finally, in the work space is there is some consistency with

the previous results of language choice, as 58.75% of the participants reported using Spanish,

16.25% English, 12.5% Spanish and French and 11.25% Spanish and English (both new
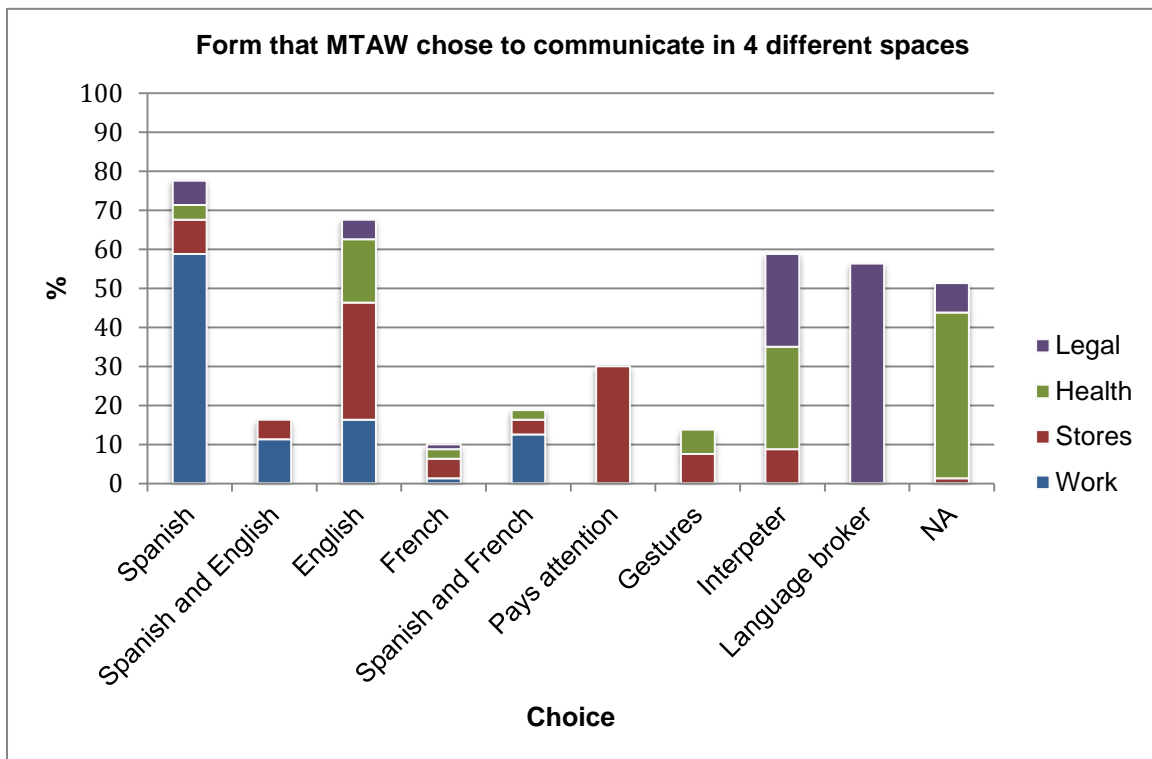
categories), while only 1.25% use French.

Figure 26. Form that MTAW chose to communicate in 4 different spaces.

As we have seen, MTAW frequently rely in someone else (i.e. a language broker) to help them communicate their needs in English or French, in different spaces and in different situations (e.g. when they need to go to the bank, doctor, drugstore, etc). Thus, the results show that from the 50% of participants that reported having access to a language broker, 42% explained that their broker was a friend, 30% mentioned a colleague, 14% mentioned an immediate superior from their work (e.g. supervisor, *capataz, mayordomo* or boss), 8% mentioned someone from AWA-Migrant Support Centres, and 6% answered whoever (e.g. someone in the streets, an interpreter, etc.) (see Figure 27). But the need for a linguistic broker positions MTAW in a difficult situation because they have to depend on someone else to do daily activities. For example Felipe explains, "No necesito saber francés para hacer mi trabajo porque el patron está con nostros, él sabe español… pero ser dependiente, depender de alguien más no me hace sentir bien. Quiero estudiar, quiero aprender" ["I don't need to know French to do my job because the *patrón* is with us, he knows Spanish…. but being dependent, depending on someone else doesn't make me feel good. I want to study, I want to learn."]

It is important to notice that the selection of linguistic brokers for general situations is not consistent with the selection of linguistic brokers for an extraordinary situation (e.g. if they need assistance to communicate when they have a legal problem) (see Figure 28). For example, Seferino explains in a detailed way the problems that they, as MTAW, face because of their lack of French knowledge in legal situations. In the following paragraph, he talks about a recent experience.

> "como un compañero ahora que vino, migración lo que hizo cuando llegamos le quito su pasaporte, lo recogió… bueno a dos compañeros se los quitaron, y que asegún ellos estaban reportados en Estados Unidos, pero le dijeron bueno que ¿por qué? y ya pues tuvo que entrar una persona que más o menos, que hablaba el español y ya le comunicó en francés pues le digo, y ya dijo que, ya dijo que tenía como… como… como le diré, como un reporte o algo así en Estados Unidos y por eso tenía el pasaporte y ahora tienen que pagar esa condena allá según, pagar ese dinero por no se qué para que lo perdone

Estados Unidos. Y ahora le digo, le digo y eso que migración es legal, pero ahora te agarran y no sabes ni por qué te agarran y ahora no le entiendes al lenguaje." (Seferino).

["…like a colleague now that he came, in immigration what they did when we arrived, they took his passport, they picked it up… well they did it with 2 colleagues, they picked up both passports, and they said that it seemed like they were reported in the United States. But they asked why? And someone had to enter, someone that more or less spoke Spanish and that communicated in French too. As I tell you, and he said, he said that they had like…like… like how can I tell you… like a report or something like that, a report in the United States and that was why they picked up the passports, and now they have to pay that sentence there, they have to pay that money… I don't know… for their forgiveness in the United States. But I tell you, I tell you and it was in immigration services, it was legal, but what if they catch you elsewhere and you don't even know why they capture you… and now, you don't understand the language."] (Seferino)
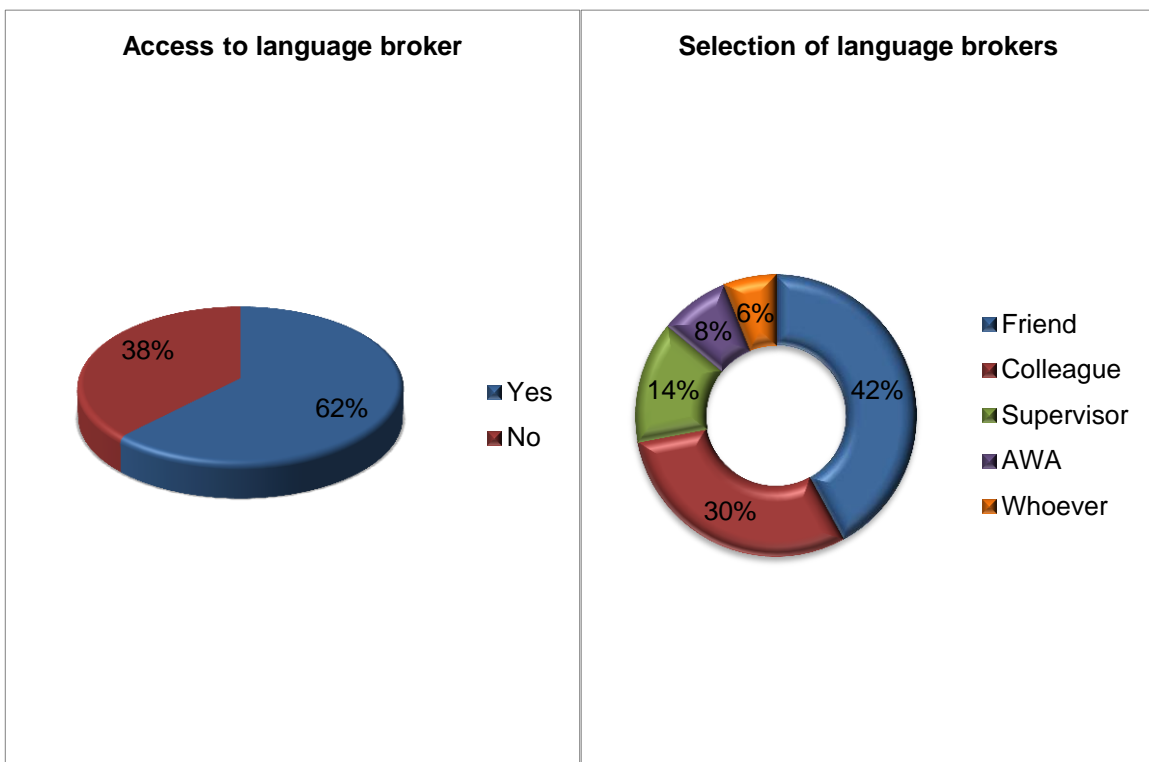

Figure 27. Access of MTAW to a language broker.

Figure 28. Selection of language brokers.

In relation to Spanish and the contact of different varieties of the Spanish of Mexico because of the diverse places of residence of MTAW, I asked my participants if they were aware of differences in the Spanish of others (colleagues) and if they had learned new words or

expressions. The results show that 72% of the participants believe that they have learned new

Spanish words from their Mexican colleagues, while 28% do not think that the language and

dialect situation that they experience had impacted them in this way.

Here I present some of the answers that participants give. Jesus explains, "las palabras se

pegan" ["words do stick"]; while Edgar explains, "el español es diferente de un estado a otro"

["Spanish is different from one state to another"]; and Leopoldo says that that the 'new' words

"son lo mismo pero con un significado diferente" ["are the same but with a different meaning"],

but Jaime (and others) thinks that they are just "nuevas expresiones" ["new expressions"], while

for Horacio, their fellow colleagues "hablan como… de una manera diferente" ["talk like… in a

different way"]; and Isidro says that he only learned 'bad words' from others.

For other participants such as Abel, the only difference between the different *Spanishes*

of Mexico is the accent; and Medardo explains, "no todos tenemos el mismo acento" ["we don't

all have the same accent"], and Sergio says, "Donde vivo… ahí en el pueblo, porque hablan un

español diferene como el de los Negros de Guerrero, es como si les faltaran las *s's* (letra 's')"

["Where I live… there in the town, because they speak Spanish different like the black people of

Guerrero, it is as if they miss the *s's* (letter 's')"]. Also, Manuel says that he has learned other

words or accents of Spanish "porque vienen de diferentes estados como Chiapas, Jalisco, etc. y

hay veces que se pega (la lengua)" ["because they come from different states like Chiapas,

Jalisco, etc. and there are times that it (language) sticks"], and finally Alfonso says that when he

goes back to Mexico his family corrects his Spanish constantly because he speaks in a 'different'

way.

About the Program.

As I explained in chapter 3, data was collected in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. In Ontario 65 MTAW participated (i.e. 81.25%) and 25 in Quebec (i.e. 31.25%). The participants in Ontario were working in the region of Leamington (25%), Simcoe (25%) and Virgil (18.75%); while in Quebec, they were working in the region of Saint-Rémi (31.25%).

The number of seasons that participants have been working in the SAWP differs from each participant and each location (see Figure 29), but on average MTAW have worked in 3.16 farms during their stay in Canada. It is important to say that MTAW usually move between farms, locations, and even between provinces. For example, Roque has been in the program for 22 years, he worked in Leamington for 18 years, near Toronto for another year and presently he works in the Simcoe region; while Alberto, who works in the Virgil area, has been in the program for 24 years in 10 different farms between Manitoba and Ontario. Likewise, Juan, who works in the Saint-Rémi region, has been in the program for 7 years and has worked in 6 different farms between Nova-Scotia, Ontario and Quebec; and finally, Gustavo, who works in Leamington, has been in the program for 18 years and he has only worked in 4 different farms in Ontario.
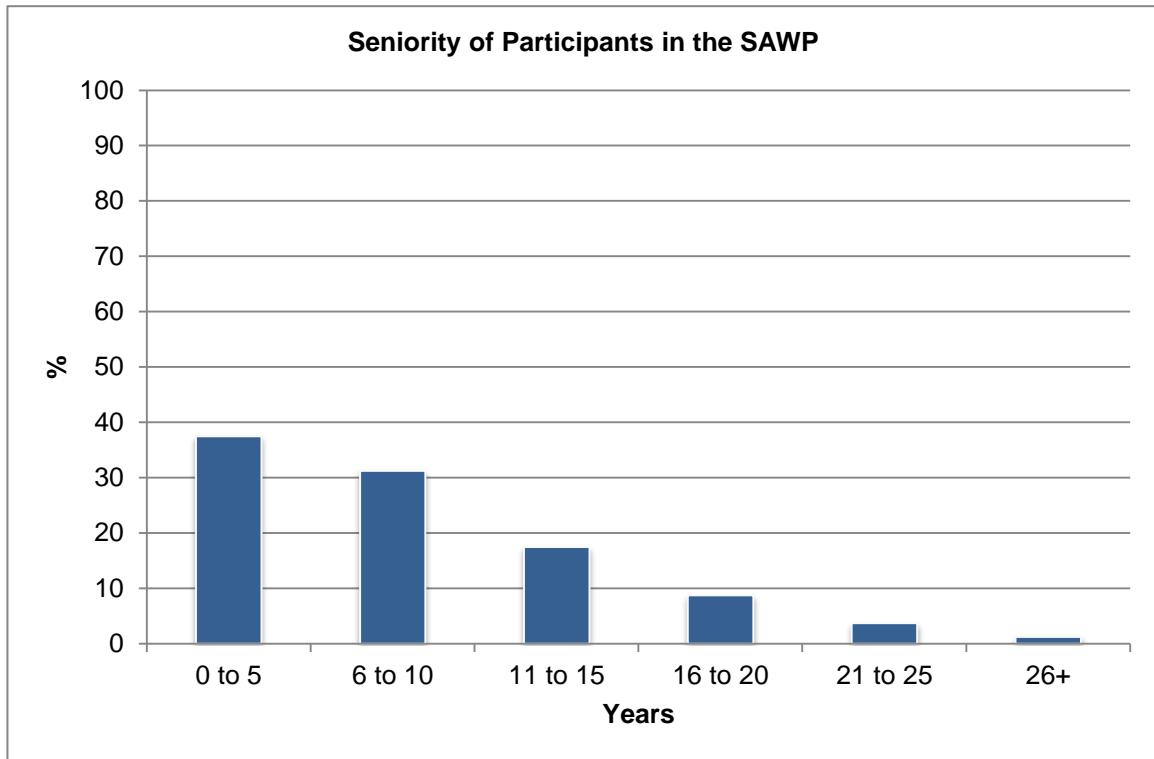
Figure 29. Seniority of participants in the SAWP.

In relation to seniority, 37.5% of participants have been in the program from 0 to 5 years,

31.25% from 6 to 10 years, 17.5% from 11 to 15 years, 9% from 16 to 20 years, 3.75% from 21

to 25 years and only 1.25% 26 years and more. It is also important to mention that some

participants reported having been part of the SAWP in an intermittent way (i.e. with a couple of

years being away from the program) for different reasons. For example, Isidro, who has been

part of the SAWP for 19 seasons, left the program 4 years to fulfil a popular position called

Mayordomía (a very important position as part of the *usos y costumbres* (i.e. customs) of his

culture). When his position as *Mayordomo* ended, he returned to the SAWP (not an easy

endeavour).

Regarding the period of the contracts, the results are highly variable per participant but

especially per location (see Figure 30) due to the kind of farm (i.e. field, nursery, or greenhouse)

and crop type. Thus, Leamington region has longer contracts, i.e. 90% have contracts for 8

months and 10% for 7 months; while Simcoe region has a wider range with 5% of the

participants with contracts for 3 months, 20% for 4 months, 20% for 5 months, 15% for 6

months, 20% for 7 months, and 20% for 8 months. Likewise, Virgil region also has a wide range

in the duration of contracts with 7% of participants with contracts for 3 months, 13% for 4

months, 7% for 5 months, 13% for 6 months, 20% for 7 months and 40% for 8 months. In

contrast, the region of Saint-Rémi shows different tendencies with 24% of contracts for 3

months, 12% for 4 months, 32% for 5 months, 20% for 6 months, 12% for 7 months, but 0% for
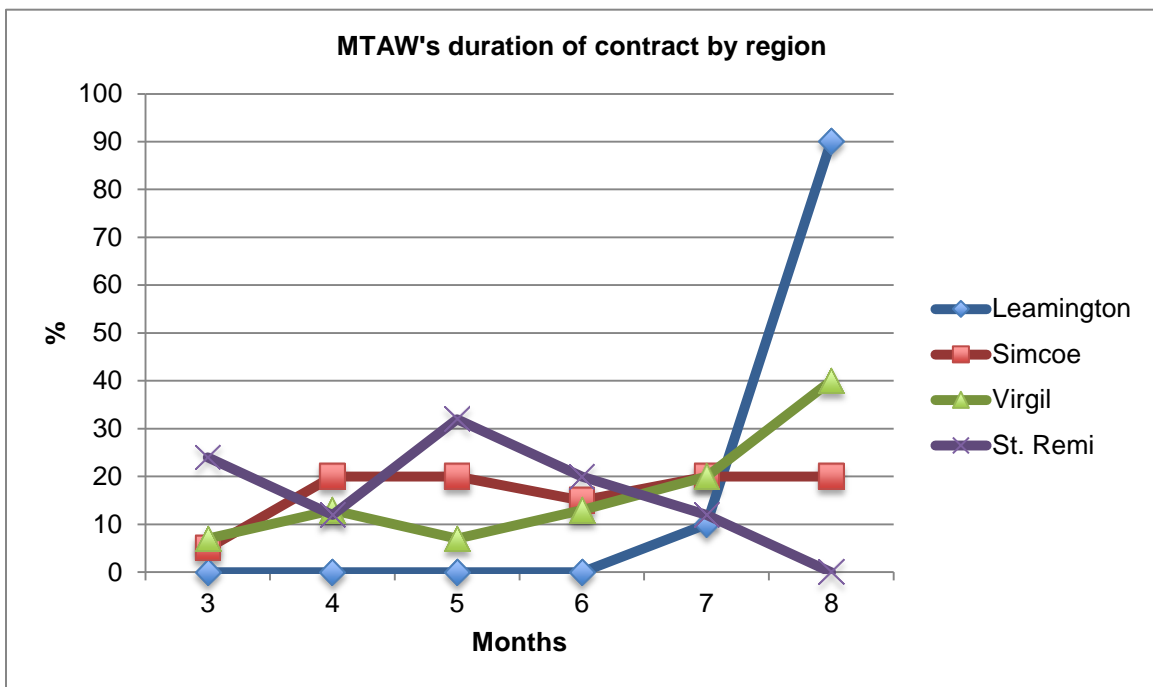
8 months.

Figure 30. MTAW's duration of contract by region.

On the perception of treatment at work, MTAW express that overall they are well treated

by their *patrones* at work in the 4 regions (i.e Leamington, Simcoe, Virgil and Saint-Rémi).

Interestingly, both in Leamington and Simcoe, participants agreed that in no way do they receive

harsh treatment; while in the region of Saint-Rémi 8% perceived that they are treated badly at

work and 4 % in the Virgil region as it is possible to appreciate in Figure 31.
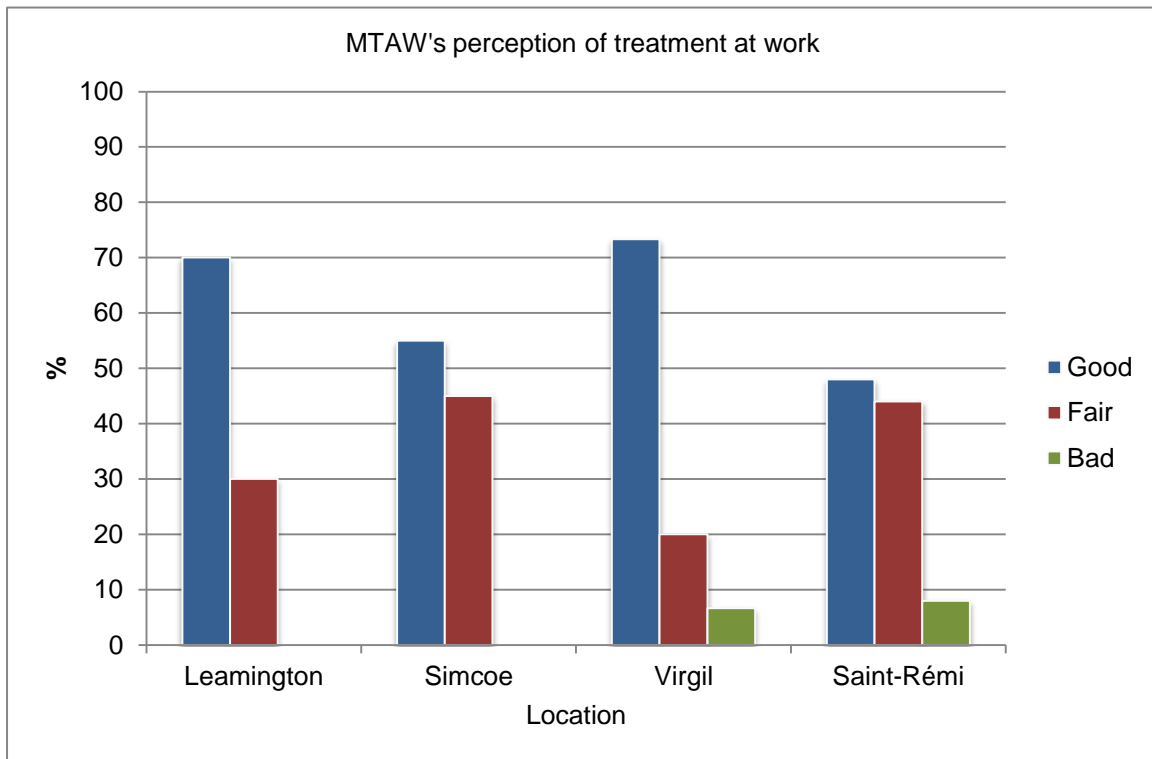

Figure 31. MTAW's perception of treatment at work.

Additionally, I asked participants what they like about the program (SAWP) and because

the answers were very consistent, I group them into 5 categories (see Figure 32) even if answers

did not focus exclusively on the program but also on life in Canada. *The opportunity to have a*

better life (68.75%) includes all responses related to the economic benefits of the SAWP and the

opportunities to have and give a better life for their families. Along these lines, Isidro explains

"Mejoré, le di una carrera a mis hijos, pagué mi departamento, escuela, algunos lujos y las

cuentas" ["I improved, I gave a career to my children, I paid my apartment, school, some

luxuries and bills"]; while Sergio says, "sí, es bueno porque gracias a Dios… cuanta gente viene

a través del programa y mejora poco a poco… la casa, los niños…" ["yes, it's good because

thanks to God… how many people come through the program and improve little by little… the

house, the children…"]. Likewise, Julián expresses, "me gusta que el programa nos ayuda con la

economía de nostros los mexicanos" ["I like that the program helps the economy of us

Mexicans"], while Carlos says, "…yo no tenía nada y allá (en México) no puedes hacer nada…

tienes que estar separado de la familia (en Canadá) ¡Pero vale la pena!" ["… I didn't have

anything and there (in Mexico) you cannot do anything… you have to be separated from the

family (in Canada). But it is worth it!"]; and others such as Sebastian, Leopoldo and Jorge

simply answered "el dinero" ["the money"] or "el ingreso" ["the income"].

Secure and stable job (18.75% of responses) is also a category that expresses the

importance for participants of having a secure job for a specified time and knowing that they can

make plans to improve the lives of their families and support their children's education. About

this, Abelino says, "Puedes venir aquí teniendo la certeza de que tienes un trabajo" ["You come

here having the certainty that you have a job"]. Interestingly, the answer safe and friendly

people (6.25% of responses) emerged here, but it is not surprising that my participants value this

as a result of the program and life in Canada, when in Mexico there is insecurity due to current

socioeconomic and political conditions in the country. In this manner, Humberto says, "…hay

gente que te ayuda. Puedes caminar con confiaza aquí (en las calles) y es seguro" ["…there are

people that help you. You can walk with confidence here (in the streets) and it's safe"]. Finally,

the categories technology at work (3.75% of responses) and nothing (2.5%) also arose in this

question. Technology at work refers to the 'new' technology they have access to at work such as,

computerized greenhouses, tractors, machinery, etc.

Report of what MTAW like of the SAWP and being in Canada

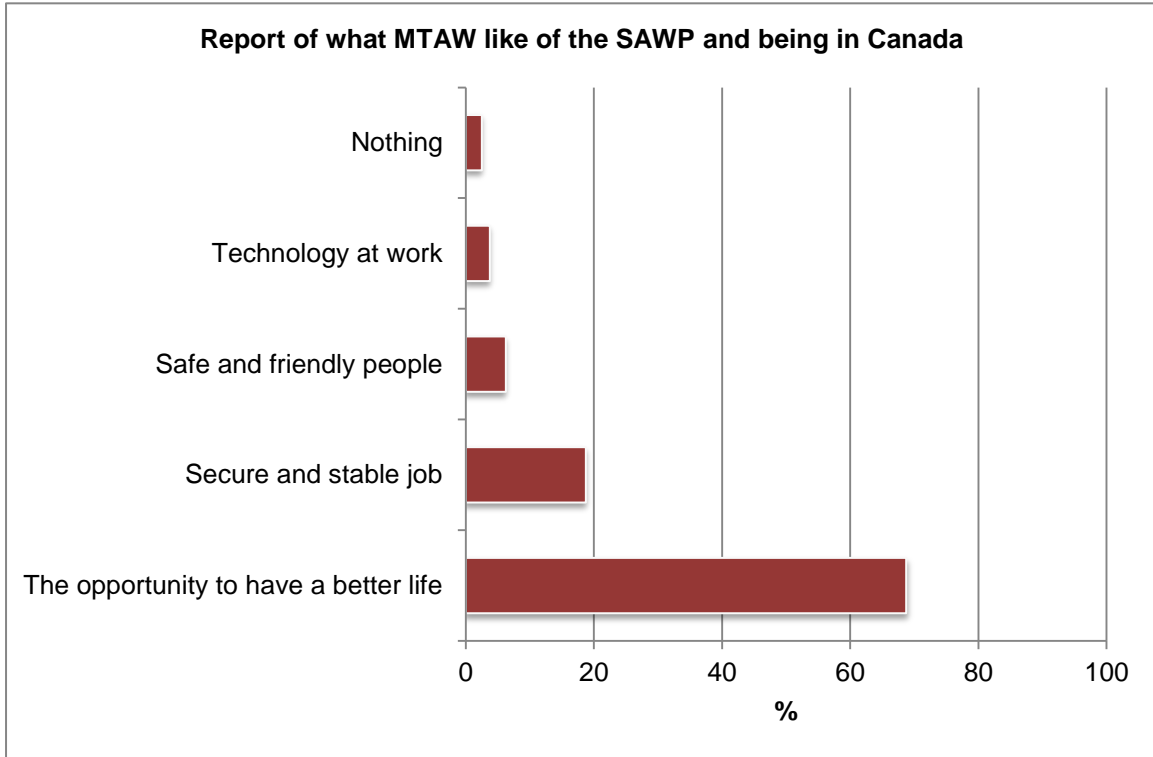| Category	%
Nothing	2
Technology at work	3
Safe and friendly people	6
Secure and stable job	18
The opportunity to have a better life	69

Figure 32. Report of what MTAW like of the SAWP and being in Canada.

On the other hand, I also asked the MTAW participating in this study what they did not
like about the program. Answers were very different and it was not possible to group them,
however the most frequent answer (42.5% of responses) was 'nothing'. Apparently the
participants are happy with the program and do not believe that there is something important to
change about the SAWP, or even improve. But there is also the possibility that the participants
did not feel confident expressing their opinions.

Yet, 57.5% of the participants felt that there was something that they would like to
change about the program, such as longer contracts (those with contracts of 3 or 4 months),
shorter contracts (those with contracts of 8 months), better treatment of migrants, eliminating
intermediaries and being hired directly by the *patrón*, better attention from the Mexican

Consulate, having no deductions in salary from the government of Canada, having more training,

and also bringing their families with them, among others.

I also asked participants whether they had been trained to do their job, as well as if they

received information on safety measures at work and if so, in what language. In reference to the

question of job training (see Table 17), the results show that participants in the Virgil region

receive more training than in Saint-Rémi, Leamington, and Simcoe.

Table 17

Participants who reported to have job training.

	Leamington %	Simcoe %	Virgil %	Saint-Rémi %
Yes	45	35	73.33	48
No	55	65	26.67	52

Likewise, training was given either with the help of an interpreter, Spanish, English,

French, or Mixed (a combination of French and Spanish) (see Figure 33, where participants that

did not receive training are also included and labelled as NA (not applicable)). Spanish was the

language most used in training in each region, followed by the help of an interpreter. However,

the region of Virgil shows a difference in the use of English as the language for training, while

French and Mixed were used in a very low proportion in the francophone region of Saint-Rémi.
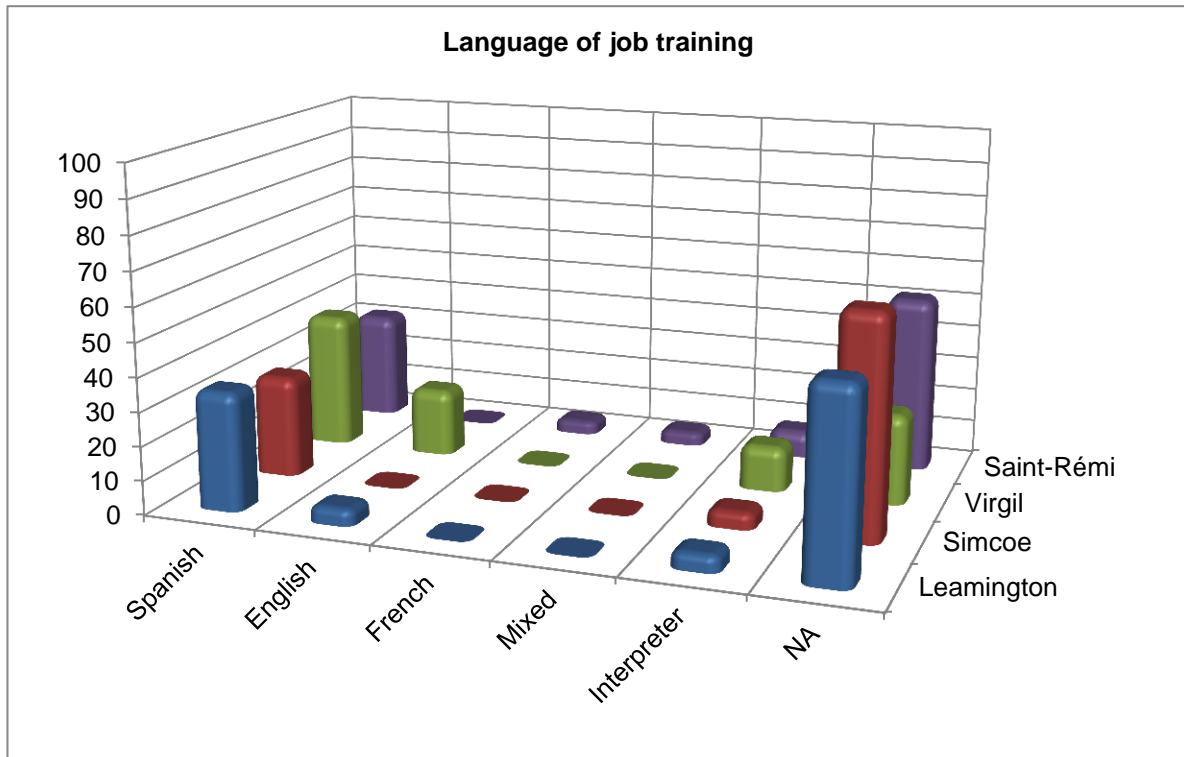
Figure 33. Language of job training.

Regarding the information about safety measures at work, I expected the results to be

similar to the results of 'training at work' but only the area of Virgil (80%) is consistent with

those, while the results for Leamington, Simcoe, and Saint-Rémi (see Table 18) show that more

farms are giving information about safety regulations to their workers.

Table 18

Participants who reported to receive information about safety measures at work.

	Leamington %	Simcoe %	Virgil %	Saint-Rémi %
Yes	55	60	80	56
No	45	40	20	44

The languages used to inform participants about safety measures were Spanish, English,

French, Mixed, as well as the use of flyers and interpreters. Spanish was the language most used

in the 4 regions, even if the region of Saint-Rémi shows a bigger use of Spanish both in relation

to this question and the previous one, followed by the help of an interpreter. Also, in the region

of Virgil it is possible to see (again) that English was the second most used language for

informing workers about safety measures at work; while French was only used in Saint-Rémi.

Finally, the use of flyers was a new reported form used to inform participants about this same
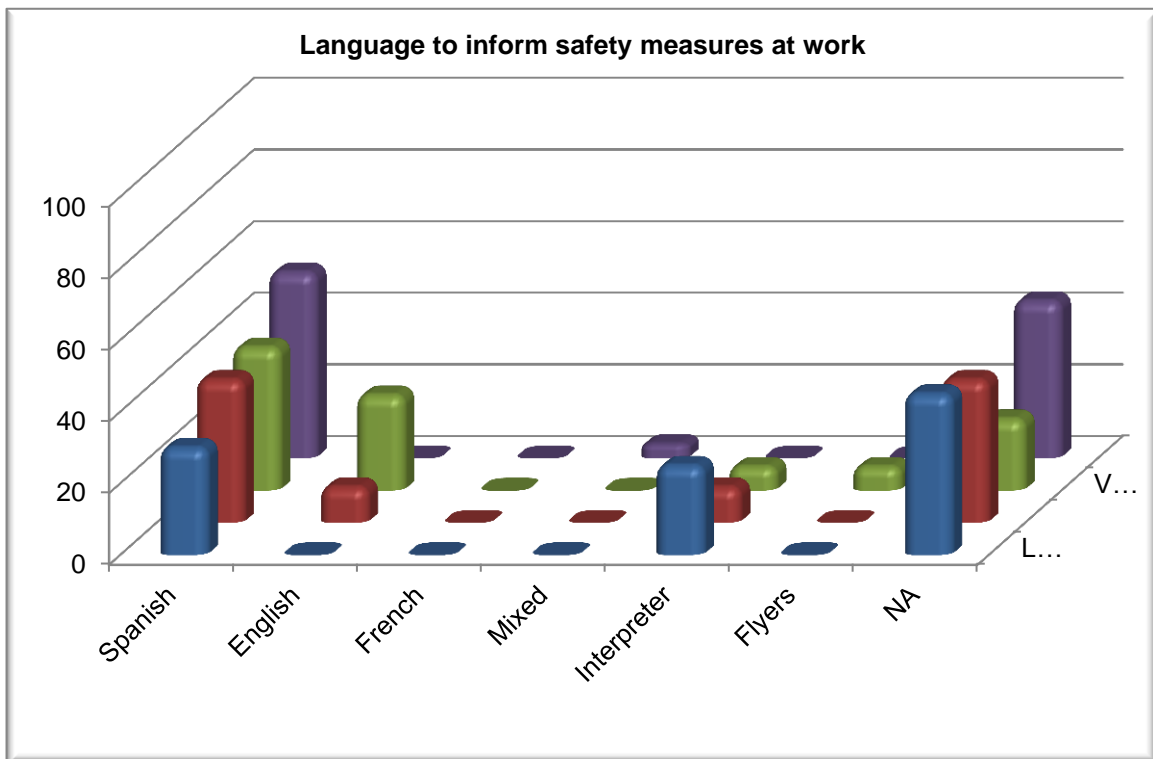
aspect and was only used in Virgil (see Figure 34).

Figure 34. Language to inform safety measures at work.

Furthermore, I also wanted to know if in general my participants like their jobs. The

results show that 93.75% like their job, 1.25% likes it somewhat, and only 5% do not like it.

These results are interesting, but not unexpected because I perceived since the beginning of the

study that my participants want to be part of the program and they like their work.

To finish this section, about the program, I wanted to know how participants perceive the presence of women in the program. Surprisingly, given that 97.5% of the participants of this study are men, 97.5% think it is good for women to participate in the program (SAWP), 1.25% think it is difficult for women, and 1.25% did not answer. Despite these results only 6.25% reported having women co-workers (included Celia and Patricia, the 2 female participating in this study).

Some of the examples that support women's participation in the program are Manuel's response, who says "Pienso que es realmente bueno que las mujeres puedan venir porque todo el mundo tiene el derecho, muchas son madres solteras" ["I think it's really good that women can come because everyone has the right, many are single mothers"]; also, Santiago explains "Pienso que está bien que las mujers vengan, yo diría que Dios proveerá" ["I think that it's OK that women can come, I would say that God will provide"]; and Celia states, "es realmente bueno para nosotras las mujeres, hay veces que nos volvemos solteras y no tenemos recursos para nuestros hijos" ["it's really good for us women, there are sometimes when we become single and we don't have resources for our children"]. As for the participants that did not agree with the participation of women, Sebastian expresses "No creo que sea bueno que las mujeres sean parte del programa porque es difícil para ellas, es muy frío" ["I don't think that it's good for women to come as part of the program because it is difficult for them, it's too cold"] and Juanjo says, "Pienso que es complicado que las mujeres vengan al programa, en mi granja ellas tienen problemas así es que mejor piden *Guatemalas*" ["I think that it is complicated for women to come to the program, in my farm they (women) had problems so they better ask for *Guatemalas*"].

Housing in Canada.

As explained in Chapter 3, the MTAW who participated in this study live and work in 4 different regions in Canada divided as follows: 20 in Leamington, Ontario; 20 in Simcoe, Ontario; 15 in Virgil, Ontario; and 25 in Saint-Rémi, Quebec. Farmers must provide them with housing, which should be in good condition, as a requirement of SAWP. Along these lines, all participants reported having good living conditions and all services at home (i.e. bedrooms with enough beds for each and every one, washroom, kitchen with stove(s), refrigerator(s), furniture, TV, washer, dryer, heating and some AC or vents). In many cases MTAW share their house and bedroom with other MTAW. On average they share their bedroom with 5 colleagues, but the range goes from not sharing their bedroom with anyone, to sharing it with 46 colleagues. In Leamington, the average number of roommates is 4; in Simcoe 9; in Virgil 4, and in Saint-Rémi 3. It is important to explain that in Leamington, Simcoe and Virgil, all the roommates are Mexicans and all speak and communicate in Spanish, but in Saint-Rémi things are different and there are workers that also share their house with workers from Guatemala or as they called the 'los Guatemalas'[59] who speak not only Spanish, but also indigenous languages (the most common in the area of Saint-Rémi is Kaqchikel).

Moreover, all workers have television in their home. Watching television is one of the most common forms of entertainment they have, as well as listening to music and radio, but in most cases participants only have access to television programming both in English and French, in order to have access to Spanish-language programming they must contract cable television. In some cases *patrones* pay for cable television, but most of the time they have to watch local programming. Some of the genres they mentioned watching are the news, the weather, soap

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[59] The government of Guatemala signed an agreement (not SAWP) with Canada. The agreement has worse conditions than the SAWP (e.g. workers have to pay for their housing and their flight ticket), and has been replacing Mexican workers with Guatemalan workers.

operas, sports, etc. in English or French (see Figure 36), or they end up buying DVD's to watch

movies and videos in Spanish (see Figure 35). Moreover, for music selection things are different

(see Figure 36) because they can choose their music options without having to pay a monthly

cost. Usually they bring with them CDs from Mexico, but they also listen to the local radio
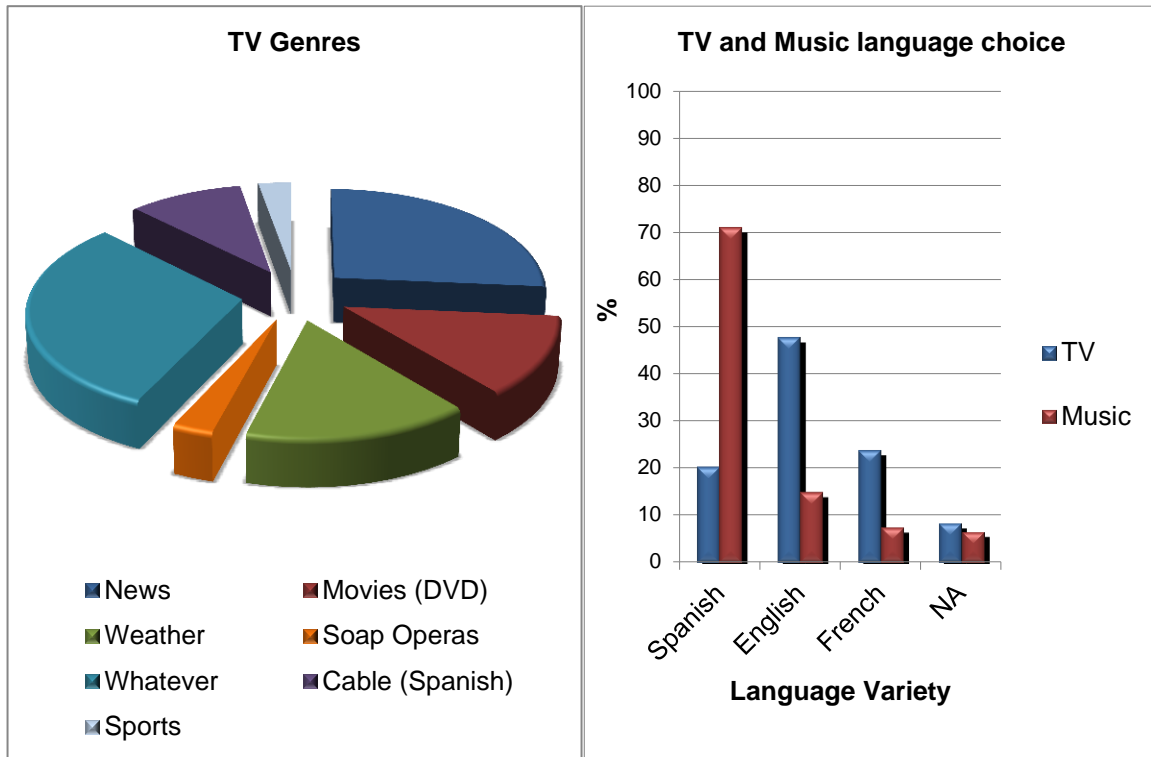
stations.

Figure 35. TV Genres most watched by MTAW.

Figure 36. Language choice to watch TV and listen radio.

MTAW have a very restricted social life and social networks in Canada and because they

come by themselves (i.e. without any family member) to work as seasonal agricultural workers

for long periods of time (ranging from 2 or 3 months up to 8 months on a cyclical basis) they

experience loneliness and social isolation that increases their Diaspora feelings. Thus, they try to

overcome loneliness contacting their families as often as possible. But even if we live in the era

of telecommunications, surrounded by smart phones, tablet personal computers, computers,

laptops, etc., most of MTAW are digital-illiterate and they have to rely exclusively on telephones

(either cell phones, public phones, home phones) to communicate with their family members in

Mexico. So as seen in Figure 37, 36% of the participants call their family once a week, while

58.66% call their family more than once a week (25.33% everyday, 16% 4 times per week,

13.33% 3 times per week and 4% 4 times per week) and only 1.33% call them every 2 weeks
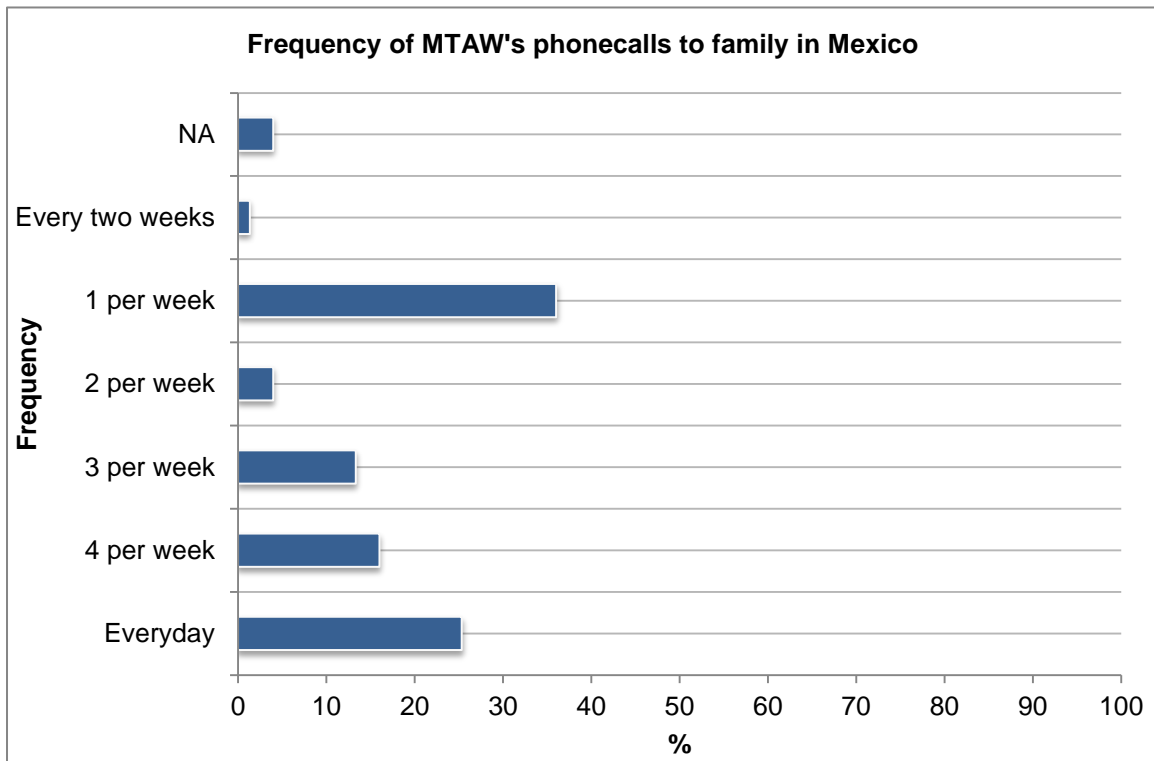
(4% did not answer).

Figure 37. Frequency of MTAW's phone calls to family in Mexico.

Family Profile.

In this section, I present a family profile. Thus, I asked my participants general

information about their parents, spouse and children. For the parents and spouse, the information

requested includes education level (including if they are literate), languages spoken and

occupation. For the children, the questions include the number of children, their ages, education

level (including if they are literate), languages spoken and occupation.

The results show that participants have an average of 3 children, but for example Andrés

has 10 and Roman has 1. As well, ages have a very wide range, from newly born, to grown

adults. Therefore, in this report I will only include the results of the first child (the oldest child)

of each participant to make some generalizations to present the family profile.

I will begin by presenting the results of the education level of different family members.

I categorized education level in 6 groups, 1) did not attend school, 2) some elementary school, 3)

some secondary school, 4) some high school, 5) some technical school and 6) some university. I

decided establish the groups using the term 'some' level of education because the range of

responses between 4 different family members is very wide. There may be family members who

went to elementary school to Grade 1, as there may be others that finished elementary school and

so on.

The results show differences by gender, but also by generation (see Figure 38). In

relation to family members that did not attend school, mothers have the highest percentage

(66.23%), then fathers (56.25%), followed by spouses with a considerable lower percentage

(18.42%) (none of the children did not go to school). As for the elementary school, 29.87% of

mothers have some elementary school, followed by 37.50% of fathers, 43.42% of spouses and

28% of the children. Moreover, regarding secondary school, only 3.90% of mothers attended

some secondary school, followed by 6.25% of fathers, 25% of spouses and 25.33% of children.

About high school studies, both mothers and fathers did not go to high school, 3.95% of spouses

have some high school, and 22.67% of children.

For technical school, again both mothers and fathers did not have this kind of education, 7.89% of wives have some technical school and 9.33% of children. Finally, for some university, neither mothers nor fathers went to university, only 1.32% of wives have some university studies and 14.67% of children.
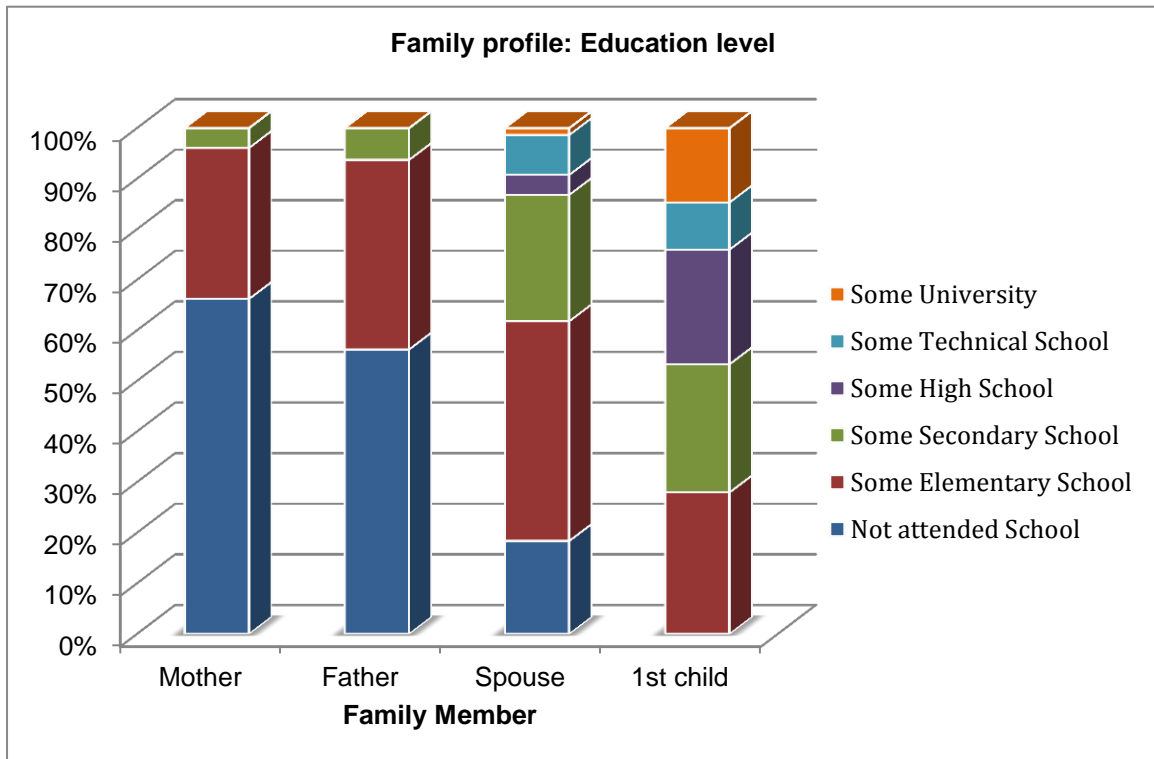

Figure 38. Family profile: Education level.

For the literacy profile (see Figure 39), the highest percentage of illiteracy is for the mothers (39.74%), followed by the fathers (10.81%), spouses (2.53%) and children (1.37%) (the only child that was reported to be illiterate is because of deafness problems and inappropriate schooling). It is interesting to mention that even if 66.23% of mothers and 56.25% of fathers did not go to school they managed to learn how to read and write. Also, it is important to notice the low illiterate rate for spouses and children, which may be due to a generation gap between the participants and their parents.
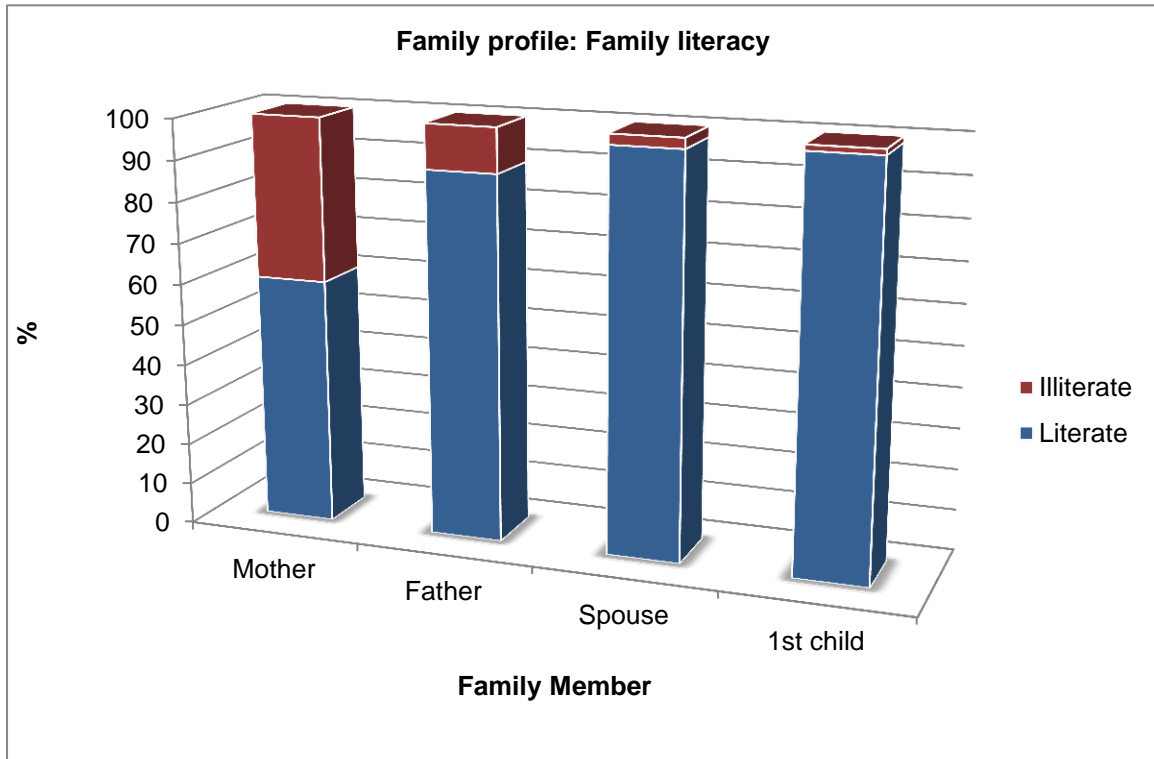
Figure 39. Family profile: Literacy.

In terms of the linguistic repertoire (see Figure 40) of the family members of participants, I decided to include 2 groups, Spanish as mother tongue (Spanish L1), and Indigenous language as mother tongue (IL L1); but it is important to clarify that it does not mean that someone that has an Indigenous Language as mother tongue (IL L1), does not have Spanish as second language (L2) or vice versa. However, due to the way that data were collected (i.e. the way questions were designed) this is the method that is most clear and reliable in reporting the linguistic repertoire of family members.

Thus, the results show that Spanish is the mother tongue for 85% of mothers, 88.57% of fathers, 86.84% of spouses, and 90% of children; while an Indigenous language is the mother tongue for 15% of mothers, 11.43% of fathers, 13.16% of spouses and 10% of children. These results show that even if a small percentage of family members have an Indigenous language as

mother tongue, there is a pattern showing language maintenance. Additionally, in relation to

foreign languages, only 23.81% of the group '1ˢᵗ child' have English as a foreign language.
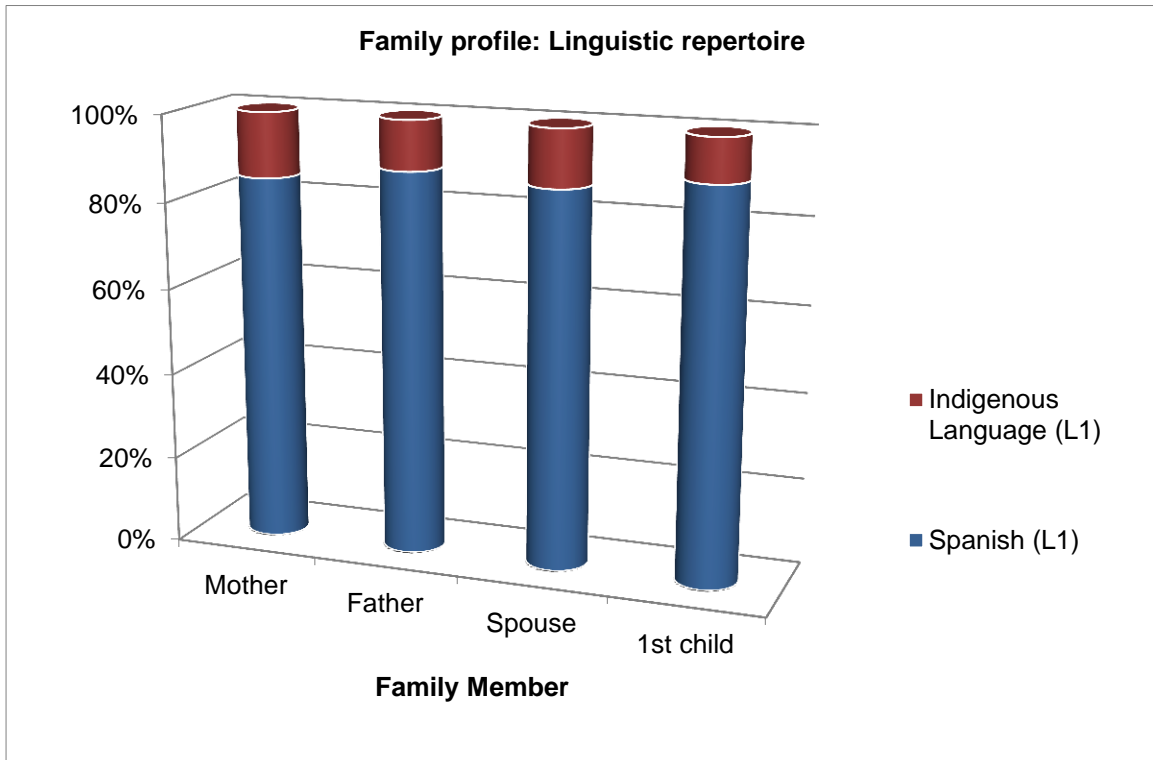

Figure 40. Family profile: Linguistic repertoire.

Finally, in relation to the family profile: occupation, it is divided in 4 groups: 1) stay at

home mother, 2) agricultural worker, 3) worker (which includes any other work that is not an

agricultural work) and 4) student. The results show (see Figure 41) that most of mothers

(97.30%) and spouses (85.90%) are *stay at home mothers*, and only 3.90% of children. For the

occupation *agricultural worker,* only 1.35% of mothers have this occupation, while 78.95% of

fathers are agricultural workers, 3.85% of spouses, and 3.90% of children. While 1.35% of

mothers, 21.05% of fathers, 10.26% of spouses and 14.29% of children, were reported as

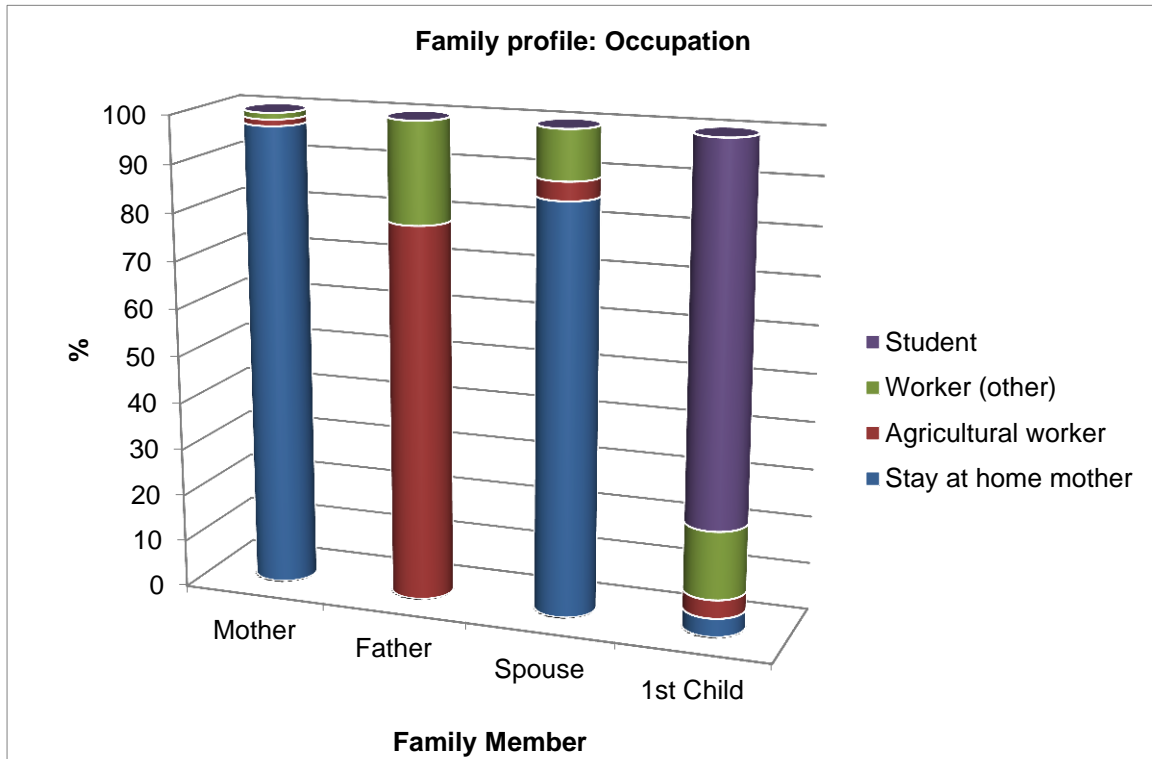workers. Finally, only children were reported as students (77.92%).

Figure 41. Family profile: Occupation.

About the Family and the Program.

In this section I wanted to know how the program impacted the lives of my participants, so I am asking if, because of their experience in the program, the participants were interested in having their children learn English or French. I also asked what their families thought about them being part of the program (i.e. being apart on a seasonal basis). Additionally, I wanted to know if they were planning to come back the next season and their reasons for their answer. Following I asked them if they would like their sons to be part of the program in the future and why, and I did the same questions for the daughters. I made these questions separating gender because I thought that I would find a difference. Moreover, I asked participants if they have a relative or friend working in the SAWP, and finally I asked if they have worked in another

country that was not Mexico or the United States and if their answer was positive I asked the

name of the country. Bellow, I present the results.

About participants being interested in their children learn English or French as a

consequence of their experience as temporary migrants in Canada, 93.85% answered they were

interested and only 6.25% were not interested. Some of the reasons that support their answers

were the importance of the language per se, as Sergio explains, "Estoy interesado en que mis

hijos aprendan inglés porque sería algo necesario saberlo. Saber inglés significa conocimiento"

["I'm interested that my children learn English because it would be something necessary to

know. To know English means knowledge"]; while Alberto explains that English "es el primer

idioma en el mundo y a donde vayas es muy importante" ["is the first language of the world and

wherever you go it's very important"], and finally Jacinto says, "es una prioridad saber inglés"

["it's a priority to know English"].

Another reason that supports the interest in English is that knowledge of English is

related to the absence of suffering. For example, Medardo says, "mis mismos niños me dicen

que quieren aprender y yo quiero apoyarlos porque no quiero que sufran" ["my kids themselves

tell me that they want to learn and I want to support them because I don't want them to suffer"];

and Angel explains, "sí, para ayudarlos, quiero ser útil para ellos, quiero que tengan un mejor

futuro… más fácil" ["yes, to help them, I want it to be useful for them, I want them to have a

better future… easier"], and finally Victor says, "He apoyado a todos mis hijos porque saber

inglés es como comunicarse con el mundo, puedes expresarte y puedes defender tus derechos"

["I have supported all my children because to know English is like communicating with the

world, you can express and you can defend your rights."] At the same time, knowing English is

seen as an equivalent of finding a good job, so in that respect, Pablo comments that he wants his

children to learn English "porque allá (en México) también hay fuentes de empleo (que requieren inglés) y pueden defenderse con este" ["because there (in Mexico) there are also sources of employment (that require English) and they can defend themselves with it"]; and Juventino says, "Es importante para ellos que aprendan inglés, porque no quiero que sean como yo" ["It's important for them to learn English, because I don't want them to be like me"].

Likewise, for Fabián and others English is important for school. Fabián expresses, "He traído libros para ellos porque en la secundaria los piden (para aprender inglés)" ["I had brought books for them because at the secondary school they asked them (to learn English)"]; and Adrián says, "Pienso que es importante para ellos aprender inglés porque lo piden en la escuela. Tienen que saber inglés" ["I think that it's important for them to learn English because they ask for it at school. They have to know English"]; likewise Alvaro says "Me gustaría que aprendieran francés para que pudieran venir aquí a Quebec porque las escuelas son de primera clase" ["I would like them to study French so they can come to study here in Quebec because schools are first class."] But there are others that think that learning a language is a decision of their children, like Hernando and Miguel who explain "Me gustaría, pero depende de ellos" ["I would like it, but it depends on them"]; and Jerónimo who says, "El interés de aprender inglés tiene que salir de ellos" ["Interest in learning English has to come from them"].

For others, English or French are seen like a bridge for migrating. Juanjo explains, "Quiero que mis hijos aprendan algo de francés, quiero que aprendan, que pongan atención, y de esta manera… un día quizás puedan emigrar y entender el idioma, porque eso es lo que nos falta aquí (saber francés)" ["I want my children to learn some French, I want them to learn, to pay attention, and in this way… one day maybe they could emigrate and understand the language, because that is what we lack here (French knowledge)."] Finally, some other participants

expressed that even if they were interested in their children learning English or French, they

(children) did not want to study the language. For example, Manolo explains, "Pienso que es

importante que mis hijos aprendan inglés, pero ellos no quisieron estudiar" ["I think it's

important that my children are able to learn English, but they didn't want to study"]; while

German comments, "Les jalo las orejas (les llamo la atención) porque no se dan cuenta que

(difícil) son estos tiempos, no se dan cuenta que necesitas hablar inglés. En México, para las

computadoras, ¡tenemos que actualizarlos!" ["I pull their ears (I call their attention) because they

don't realize how (difficult) these times are, they don't realize that you need to speak English. In

Mexico, for the computers… we have to update them!"] But other participants simply do not see

how English or French can be useful, as Eustaquio, who says "No creo que sea importante para

mis hijos que aprendan francés porque nadie lo usa allá (en México)" ["I don't think it's

important for my children to learn French because nobody uses it there (in México)."]

Additionally, I asked my participants if they would like their children to be part of the

program. I divided the question in two groups, the sons and the daughters. The results show

interesting things as originally participants expressed positive reaction to the program (SAWP),

but when they had to think about their children being part of it, things were different. In this

way, 52.5% answered *no* for their sons (i.e. did not want their sons to be part of SAWP in the

future) and 56.3% answered *no* for their daughters (see Figure 42). While 35% answered *yes* for

their sons and only 16.3% answered *yes* for their daughters.

For those who said they do not want their children to come as part of SAWP, Abelino

explains, "el trabajo es muy duro" ["…the work is too hard"]; Alfredo says, "…si estudian

tendrán un trabajo en México. Uno como inmigrante sufre de soledad porque dejamos a la

familia. Es muy difícil estar solo y te pierdes mucho de la familia" ["…if they study they will

have a job in Mexico. One as a migrant suffers loneliness because we leave the family. It's very hard to be alone and you lose too much from the family"]; and Felipe also says, "ellos (los niños) han estudiado más para que no trabajen en el campo, para eso estudian… es difícil aquí" ["they (the children) have studied more to stay away from working on the fields, that's why they study… it's difficult here"], and Abel explains, "No me gustaría que mis hijos vengan al programa, me gustaría que estudien una carrera, eso es mejor que estar aquí como una herramienta, somos una simple herramienta" ["I would not like my sons coming in the program, I would like them to study a career, that's better than being here as a simple tool, we are a simple tool."]

Additionally, those who said that they would like their children to come as part of SAWP argued that the program is an opportunity to overcome poverty. For example, Celia says, "Me gustaría que vinieran aquí porque allá (en México) la vida es pobre" ["I would like them to come here because there (in Mexico) life is very poor"], while Polo comments, "Me gustaría que mis hijos vinieran porque es bueno. Inclusive me gustaría que fueran a Australia" ["I would like my children to come because it's good. I would even like them to go to Australia"]. Finally, some said they would like their children to experience the harshness of the work conditions as part of SAWP, like Santiago who explains, "Me gustaría que mis hijos vinieran y vieran cómo se gana el dinero, cómo sufrimos…" ["I would like my children to come and see how money is earned, and how we suffer…"]

The NA category is used for those participants that either do not have children or are already married, or have a profession and job in Mexico. The results for the NA category were 10% for sons and 23.8% for daughters. Moreover, for the category 'maybe', participants explained not being sure about their children coming as part of SAWP because they have not

thought about that possibility and finally 2.5% answered maybe for their sons and 3.75% for
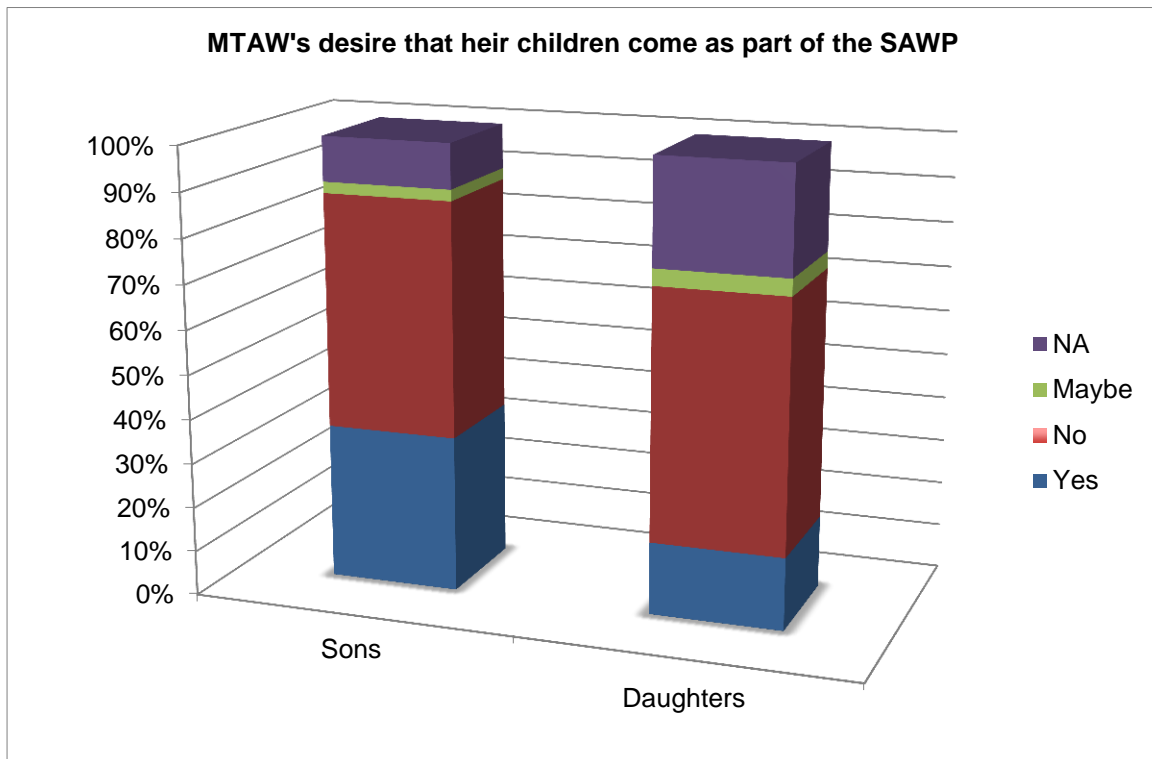
their daughters.

Figure 42. MTAW's desire that their children come as part of the SAWP.

Furthermore, I asked my participants what their families thought about them being part of

the program (i.e. being apart on a seasonal basis) and I classified the answers in *negative* and

positive perceptions. *Negative* perception encloses all answers that included reasons such as the

family do not want their relative to come back anymore; it is difficult for the family; the family

feels sad, etc. The results show that in general, 45% have a negative perception. For example

Maximino explains, "mi familia piensa que es muy malo que venga a Canadá, no les gusta

porque estoy lejos" ["my family thinks that it's really bad that I come to Canada, they don't like

it because I'm far away"]; while Evo explains, "ya no quieren que venga a Canadá, pero tengo

que sacarlos adelante" ["they don't want me to come to Canada anymore, but I have to bring

them up"]; while Fulgencio says, "no les gusta que los dejo solos para venir a Canadá" ["they

don't like that I leave them alone to come to Canada"]; and finally René explains, "mi familia

está triste porque no quieren que venga" ["my family is sad because they don't want me to be

here."]

On the other hand, 55% of the families have a positive perception of SAWP with answers

that include positive reasons such as, the economic results, the opportunity, it is good for the

family, possibility of a better life, and the need for him/her being part of the program. For

example, Roge explains, "mi familia piensa que es bueno que venga a Canadá porque podemos

mejorar" ["my family thinks that it's good that I come to Canada because we can improve"];

while Julián says, "mi familia piensa que es una oportunidad y que tengo que aprovecharla"

["my family thinks it's an opportunity and I have to take advantage of it"]; and Ismael

comments, "mi familia está feliz porque es más dinero para todos" ["my family is happy because

it's more money for everyone."]

Furthermore, I wanted to know if participants would return the next season and their

reasons for that response. 90% of participants said that they would return the next season, while

10% said that they would no return. Among some of the responses that justify the negative

answers, Angel says, "no porque el dinero no es todo en la vida" ["no because money isn't

everything in life"]; Isidro explains, "no creo… por mi propia conveniencia, tengo miedo de

enfermarme" ["I don't think so… for my own convenience, I'm afraid to get sick"]; and Máximo

expresses, "No estoy seguro, me gustaría quedarme allá (en México)" ["I'm not sure, I would

like to stay there (in Mexico)."]

On the other hand, positive responses are related to economic reasons, like Maximino

who explains, "Sí, porque la situación (económica) en México no es buena" ["Yes, because the

(economic) situation in Mexico is not good"]; and Julio who says, "Planeo regresar la siguiente temporada porque la necesidad me está matando" ["I plan to come back next year because the necessity is killing me"]; or Gustavo, who explains, "Planeo regresar el próximo año para poder cuidar a mi familia y también porque soy como 'una mujer de la mala vida' que cuando están aquí quieren irse y cuando están allá, quieren regresar" ["I plan to return next year to be able to lookout for my family and also because I'm like a woman of 'bad-life' that when they are here they want to leave and when they're there, they want to come back"]; and Germán explains, "sí, hasta que terminé con mis hijos" ["yes, until I'm finished with my kids"]. However, others are unsure about their possibilities to return even if they want to come back, as Julián who explains, "No estoy seguro si voy a regresar el próximo año porque es incierto. En México de un momento a otros te dicen que no te pidieron (el patrón), que tú visa no salió" ["I don't know for sure if I'm going to return next year because it's really unsure. In Mexico from one moment to another they tell you that they didn't ask for you (the *patrón*), that your visa didn't come out"]. Finally, there is a group that did not give any explanation and just expressed that they will return next season.

Moreover, I asked if my participants had relatives or friends working as part of the SAWP and 56.3% answered yes for a relative (either their father, brother, uncle, nephew, cousin, brother in law and even their wife); for example, Jaime explained that he met his wife here in Canada and that she also is a MTAW. The positive answer for a friend working as part of the SAWP was higher, 66% answered yes. The friend they mentioned was someone from their own town, not a friend from the same SAWP. On the other hand, 43.8% answered no for relatives and 34% answered no for friends (see Figure 43).
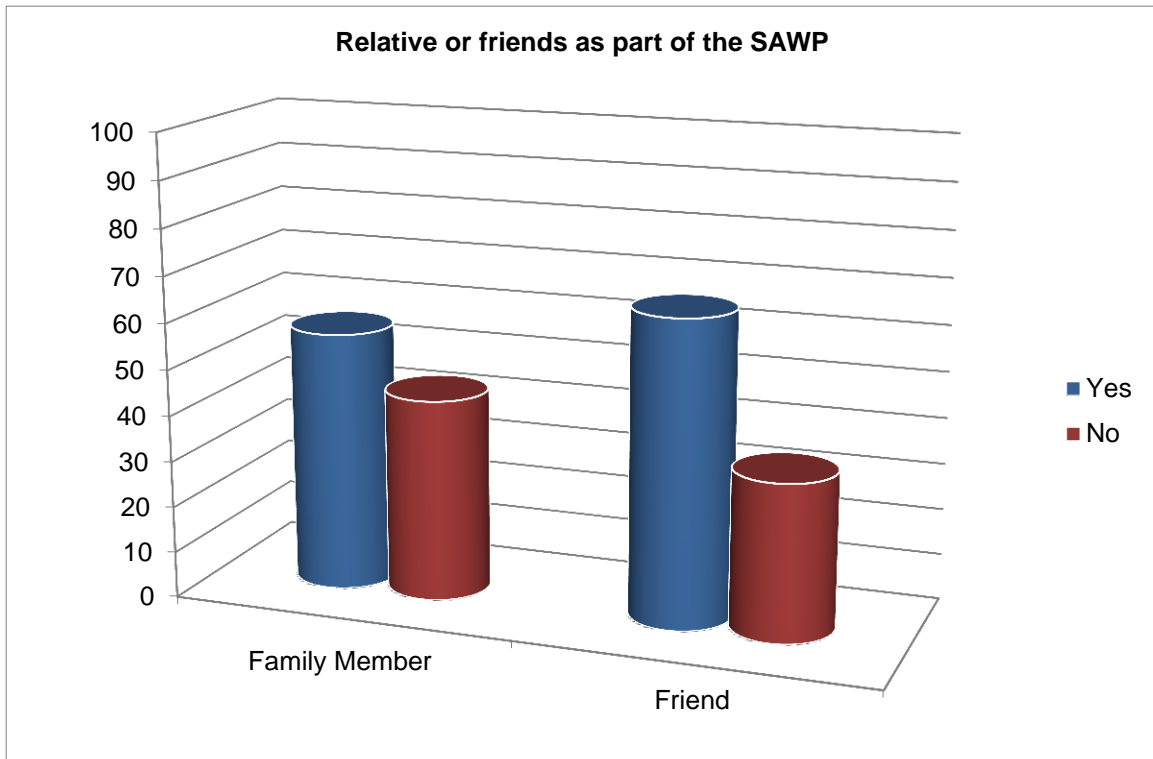
Figure 43. MTAW's relative or friends as part of the SAWP.

Finally, I asked participants if they have worked in other country that was not Mexico. If

their answer was positive, I asked the name of the country. Thus, 82.5% gave a negative

response, while 27.5% gave a positive response and the other country was, for all of them, the

United States.

About the Language and MTAW.

I finished the sociolinguistic questionnaire asking participants about their language

choice to communicate with specific people such as God, grandparents, parents, neighbours,

relatives, their spouse, their children, people in the government in Canada, doctors in Canada,

their supervisor, their boss or owner of the farm, stores, colleagues at work, and with people at

the pharmacy. The results show certain consistency with previous results about language choice

and language use (see Figure 44). It is very interesting to see the linguistic diversity, but linguistic limitations are also salient.

Spanish is the language most used to communicate, even in Canada, with most people; Indigenous languages are mainly used to communicate with family and neighbours; English and French are only used to communicate in Canada in a limited way; bilingual choices (Spanish/English) are used to communicate with the supervisor, boss, stores and children (in a very small percentage), while Spanish/French was only used to communicate with their supervisor and boss in Quebec; the use of an interpreter is used to communicate with doctors, supervisor, boss and stores; gestures were only selected as a way to communicate with doctors in Canada, stores and pharmacies; the use of a dictionary emerged as of use for communicating with doctors, stores and pharmacies.

Finally, a large percentage does not communicate with people in the Canadian government (maybe not because they do not want to, just because they do not need to do it), doctors, supervisor, boss, stores and pharmacies. It is important to notice that *do not communicate* also is selected in a small percentage for parents and grandparents, but because they are dead.
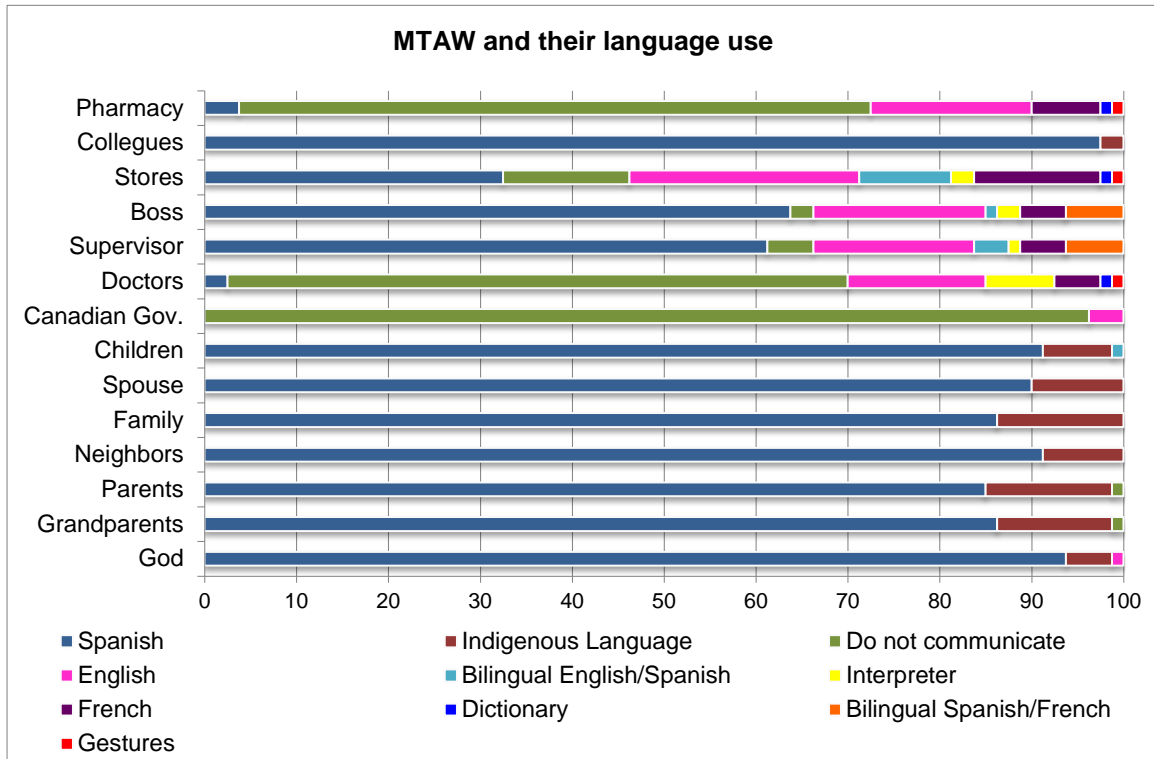
Figure 44. MTAW and their language use.

To sum up, most MTAW are middle-aged married men with children, who have low

education, low literacy level, language knowledge of more than one language, basic English and

French and low-skilled occupations (i.e. they share characteristics that are the requisites to be

part of the SAWP). At the same time, most MTAW have been part of the SAWP between 0 to

10 years, working in different provinces and/or farms and looking to improve the quality of life

of their families in Mexico by keep returning

The community

As part of this study, I did 4 semi-structured interviews with 6 participants in total, 5 of

them worked at that moment for the AWA-Migrant Worker Support Centres in different offices

(Leamington and Saint-Rémi), and one worked for the Migrant Worker Community Program at

Leamington. These 2 organizations are devoted to work with migrant workers by providing a

wide variety of services and information that may help them to adapt to the community as well
as to help the community to adapt to them. I interviewed Javier (coordinator) and Sharon
(employee) from AWA-Saint-Rémi, Roberto (coordinator) and Maureen (employee) from AWA-
Leamington, as well as Pedro (organizer) from AWA-National Office in Rexdale, Ontario.
Likewise, at the Migrant Workers Community Program (WMCP) in Leamington, I interviewed
Cheryl, the coordinator of this non-profit organization.

I also collected 44 artefacts and 78 photographs from the different services offered for the
MTAW in the different areas that I visited, from which I make a selection to present as part of
the results. Finally, I classify all this information in 2 topics: *the community adapts to MTAW*
and the *community helps MTAW to adapt*. Each topic has different categories and subcategories.
For *the community adapts to MTAW*, I used the following categories and subcategories: economy
(local businesses and ethnic enclaves); religion (access to services in Spanish) and language
(Spanish speaking employees, Spanish and/or bilingual information, and Spanish/bilingual
linguistic landscape[60]).   For *the community helps MTAW to adapt,* the categories and
subcategories are: Language (English/French classes (ESL/FSL)), Spanish/Bilingual Media
printed) and cultural activities for MTAW (festivals, dances, music, sports and trips).

Adaptation of the community to the MTAW.

SAWP's host communities tend to adapt to temporary migrants workers. However,
depending on the number of agricultural workers that may arrive to the area, each community
reacts and adapts in different ways, but with certain consistency. The different regions I visited

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[60] I will use the term LL to name the written language used in "public road signs, advertising billboards, street
names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings" (Landry and Bourhis, 1997,
4).

(i.e. Leamington, Simcoe, Virgil, and Saint-Rémi) have adapted to MTAW offering services[61]

and information in different areas such as economy, culture, language and religion (where

language is intertwined at different levels).

Economy.

Temporary migration has an important impact on the economy of the host communities;

so different kinds of businesses (i.e. stores, restaurants, banks, money transfer offices, cyber-

cafes, bars, etc.) try to adapt to benefit form the economic flow that MTAW leave in the region

every season. There are businesses that provide products (see Figure 45) and services for

MTAW, while there are others that also provide information in Spanish, and/or try to hire

employees who speak Spanish. In this respect, the coordinator of the Migrant Community

Workers Program (MWCP) explains the presence of Spanish speaking employees on

Leamington's businesses in the following paragraph.

> **Cheryl:** You know On Friday's nights when it's grocery shop at night, you'll see Spanish
> tellers, Spanish tellers, you know? Just because money it's a good way to get things to
> adapt. And they're (MTAW) an important part of the economy in this region (MWCP).

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[61] It is important to point out that the area that has a wider range of services to offer to the MTAW is Leamington, as
it is the area that receives more MTAW in Ontario and Quebec.

Figure 45. Mexican tortillas at Saint-Rémi's IGA Supermarket. Saint-Rémi, Quebec.

Likewise, a consequence of international migration is the establishment of ethnic economic enclaves. In the regions I visited, these kinds of businesses were established there due to the arrival of MTAW every year (supply and demand) through the SAWP and not necessarily because of the existence of a permanent Hispanic community; but because these agricultural workers are temporary, these ethnic economic enclaves are very vulnerable and from season to season there are always businesses that close and new businesses open. Also, because these ethnic economic enclaves are there to serve a specific population, the number of these kinds of businesses varies widely from one region to another.

At the same time, it is interesting to see how these ethnic economic enclaves modify the linguistic landscape of the towns where they are established with signs and information written in Spanish (see Figure 46), which in one way is evidence of the presence of an ethno-linguistic minority in the area, the possibility of being served in Spanish, but in other ways it may obscure

the linguistic barriers of MTAW in the community with services and information, mainly, in

Spanish.

Figure 46. Ethnic economic enclave. Leamington, Ontario.

Along in these lines, Cheryl form WMCP, explains again that the community has to adapt

to the presence of MTAW (or any other migrant community) and to the language as follows:

> **Cheryl**: Yeah! <Hi> it does, it does indeed <Hi>! If you look to the make of downtown
> even… you see a lot of, a lot of Mexican businesses, and there's some Jamaican
> businesses as well because it's what's needed… right? So… (ahmm), yeah language,
> language is an issue but the community changes an adapts when it's the population that
> needs it. So… (MWCP)

But the community not only adapts to temporary migration at the economic level, it also

tries to adapt in other areas such as religion.

Religion.

In relation to religion, different religious organizations have also adapted to serve and/or

attract their Mexican members. Different churches and parishes such as Saint Vincent de Paul

catholic church in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Saint Michael's Catholic Church and other parishes in

Leamington, Our Lady of La Salette Catholic church in Simcoe, Fraternité Quebecoise Latino-Americaine (with services in Saint-Rémi, Saint Joseph Oratory in Montreal, Saint-Patrice in Sherrington, and Saint-Margerite d'Youville in Chateauguay, Qc.), offer mass in Spanish, spiritual help, host outreach events, and some also teach ESL classes, too. It is important to explain that most of MTAW are Catholic, so this explains why most of the religious services come from catholic churches.

Hence, the religious organizations mentioned above (and others) have adapted to the needs of the temporary migrants. However, the access to religious services and information in Spanish is intrinsically related to the region and the number of MTAW that arrive to that particular region, as it happens with other services. In this manner, religious services can be offered in a regular basis as it happens at the Catholic Church in Leamington, Ontario (see Figure 47 and 48), or they can only be offered on specific dates in different places of the region as in the region of Saint-Rémi (see Figure 49) or in the Simcoe region.

Figure 47. MTAW at Sunday mass in Leamington, Ontario.

Figure 48. Emigrant Liturgics' songs from the Catholic Church at Leamington, Ontario.
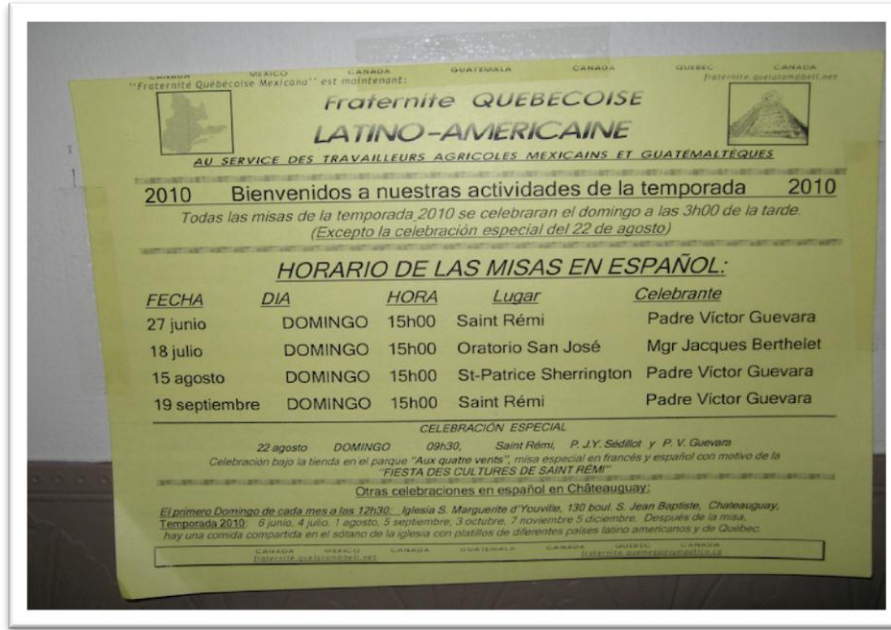
Figure 49. Schedule of Spanish masses from the Latin-American fraternity of Quebec. Saint-

Rémi, Quebec.

At the same time, these religious organizations tend to partner with other community

organizations and/or volunteers to offer services to MTAW such as ESL/FSL classes (e.g.

Frontier College), free meals (see Figure 50), cultural events, and information as shown in the

newsletter "Circulación de Palabra" (Figure 51) that is provided in the Simcoe-Norfolk County

region and is sponsored by the Dioceses of London and the volunteers of the migration minister.

This religious newsletter no only offers religious information; it also offers information about

health and safety issues, rights and benefits at work for MTAW, other relevant information for

the MTAW and also advertises businesses in the region.

Figure 50. Community members offer meal for MTAW after Sunday mass. Leamington,

Ontario.

Figure 51. Circulación de Palabra. Newsletter from the Catholic Dioceses for the Simcoe-

Norfolk region.

Language.

Another way in which the community tries to adapt to the MTAW is by learning Spanish,

but it is important to acknowledge that the motivation for learning Spanish relies on the need to

communicate with MTAW. So in the different regions, there is evidence of the interest in

learning Spanish as is shown in the next excerpts from the coordinators of the MWCP at

Leamington and the AWA-Migrant Support Centre at Saint-Rémi.

> **Cheryl:** Yeah. (Ahmm) Another program, we run is we also teach Spanish classes to the community. And that's being taking advantage of quite a bit, (ahmm) you know… banks and… groceries stores, and municipal employees, interested citizens, everybody from the community takes Spanish classes.
> **I:** That's great!
> **Cheryl:** Yeah, yeah! We have a Spanish-speaking guy that works at the bank and teaches Spanish for us. Yeah we have... our program is really due to the need to have communication… it was so important that our program has really have to fit into those needs… communication is probably our most important… program (MWCP, 2009).

> **Javier**: Las chicas del UNIPRIX que estaban interesadas en hacer como un intercambio. Que decían ellas que les diéramos nosotros cursos de español, que no podemos realmente porque el compromiso es con los trabajadores y <Hi>, para poderse comunicar ellas más fácil con ellos (AWA-Saint-Rémi, 2010).
> [**Javier:** The girls from UNIPRIX were interested in making an exchange. They said they wanted us to teach them Spanish, but we can't because our commitment is with the workers and <Hi>, so they can communicate easier with them (AWA-Sain-Rémi, 2010).]

Likewise, there are businesses and organizations that offer services with Spanish

speaking employees, but again it will depend of the influx of MTAW to those particular places

(i.e. businesses and organizations). Therefore, there is not the same support (or adaptation) from

the community in all regions. For example, in Saint-Rémi region it is not common to find

Spanish-speaking employees that can help overcome communication barriers of MTAW, as

Javier explains in the following excerpt of the interview (and where AWA workers play a very

important role to help MTAW with their language barriers).

> **Javier:** En general son el acceso a los servicios… que no no pueden… o sea es muy difícil para ellos abrir una cuenta de banco. Apenas ahorita este año yo sé que los de Desjardins pusieron a esta chica que les guía, les dice qué papeles… pero en el Banco Nacional no, no este… necesitamos como hacerles todos los datos en una carta y

mandarlos con la carta para que puedan abrirse una cuenta… o obviamente para sacar dinero al principio no le entienden entonces vamos y les explicamos que botones… (AWA-Saint-Rémi, 2010).

[**Javier:** In general it's the access to services… they can't, can't… it's very difficult for them to open a bank account. Just recently, this year I know that people from Desjardins put a girl who helps them, she tell them what papers… but at National Bank no, no… we need like to make them all the information in a letter and send them with the letter so they can open an account… or obviously, to make withdrawals at the beginning they don't understand so we go and explain the buttons… (AWA-Saint-Rémi, 2010).]

However, at AWA-Migrant Support Centre at Saint-Rémi, I found a letter from UNIPRIX (see Figure 52) posted on the wall that was offering services in Spanish for anyone who needed the services at the drugstore on a specific date and schedule (see Figure 53), which means that the fact that the community adapts to MTAW is an ongoing process.
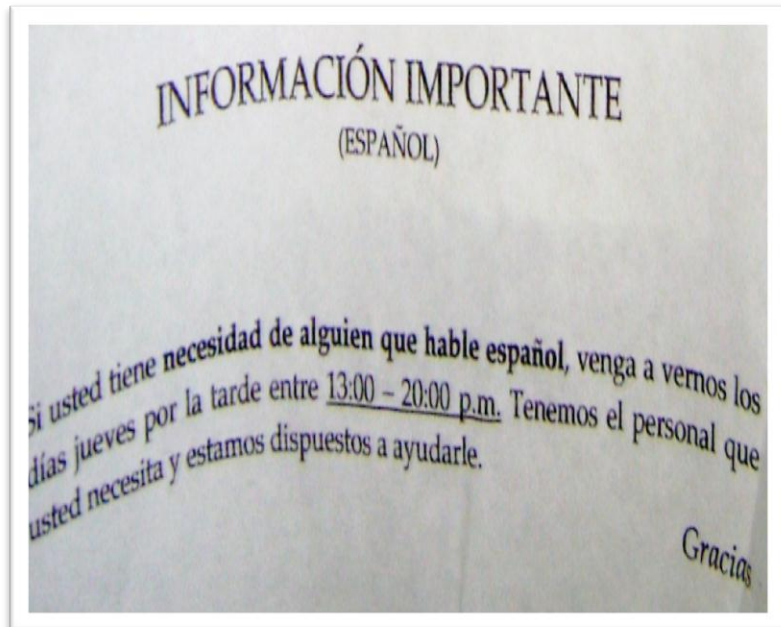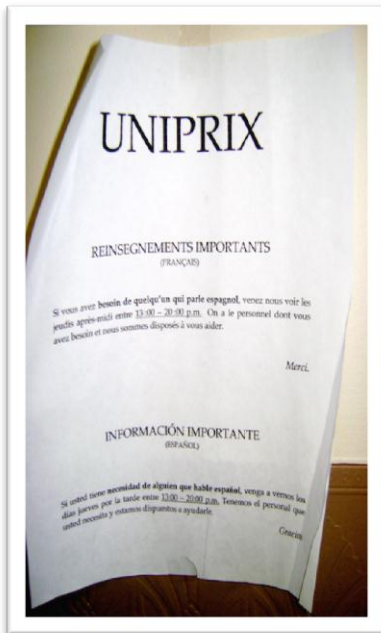
Figure 52. Letter from UNIPRIX (drugstore) for the MTAW offering services in Spanish. Saint-Rémi, Quebec.

Figure 53. Excerpt of the letter from UNIPRIX where it is possible to read the services offered in Spanish.

Moreover, the linguistic landscape is probably one of the aspects that stands out and draws your attention to how the community tries to adapt to the presence, even if it is temporary, of a different ethnic group. The number of businesses (local or ethnic) with ads and signs in Spanish is different from region to region depending, again, on the number of MTAW arriving in the region, as well as to the awareness and impact they can have on the community and the economy of the same region. Therefore, Leamington which is the region that receives more MTAW, has a downtown with a transformed linguistic landscape (see Figure 54), i.e. the downtown of Leamington looks and feels like an ethnic neighbourhood (see Figure 54 and Figure 55) even if *Tortilla Leamington* is owned by Mexican Mennonites and *El Charro Variety* is owned by someone from Iraq (and no one speaks Spanish in the store).

On the other hand, both in Simcoe (Figure 56) and Virgil (Figure 57) it is difficult to identify an ethnic enclave or even a business that may provide Hispanic products, services in Spanish, or the help of Spanish-speaking employees (i.e. these two regions have not suffered the same adaptation process). While in the Saint-Rémi region there are more ethnic enclaves (Figure 58), but still not as evident as in Leamington region.

Figure 54. Linguistic Landscape in downtown Leamington, Ontario.

Figure 55. Sign in Spanish in a local barbershop at Leamington, Ontario.

Figure 56. Linguist landscape in downtown Simcoe, Ontario.

Figure 57. Niagara-on-the-Lake downtown, Virgil region.

Figure 58. Linguistic landscape in downtown Saint-Rémi, Quebec.

The Community Helps MTAW to Adapt.

Access to services and information.

Depending on the region where MTAW come to work during their seasonal contracts in Canada, they will find that the community may provide them with a larger or shorter variety of services and information that may help them to adapt during the term of their contracts. As it was explained previously in Chapter 1, it is important to mention that in recent years community groups, religious groups and Non-governmental organizations have developed social and language support groups. Frontier College, Migrant Workers Community Program (MWCP), The Latin Immigrant Niagara Community Association in Saint-Catherines, ENLACE (Community link) Inc., Community of Agricultural Foreign Workers and Friends of Exeter (CAFFE), the Dioceses of London, and the Agricultural Workers Alliance (AWA) in its different locations, among others, offer services such as free ESL/FSL lessons, computer lessons, translation services, organize social events and outreach services, publish newsletters, and try to work as a bridge between the community and the MTAW.

However, one of the most visible ways in which the community tries to help MTAW in their adaptation process is the language and it will be present in almost every situation, as I will explain in this section.

Language.

The community, with its different organizations tries to provide MTAW with different language services. Frontier College is a national literacy organization where ESL, literacy and computing classes are free for everyone. However, for agricultural workers, Frontier College offers teacher labourers (i.e. English teachers that work as agricultural workers during the day

and at night teach English to their colleagues during the summer) and going to an organization to

teach ESL in a more conventional way.

Frontier College has established an office in Leamington (see Figure 59 and 60) to offer

literacy, ESL, and computation classes for MTAW (but also for the public in general). Cheryl,

from MWCP and Roberto and Maureen from AWA-Migrant Support Centre in Leamington

explain below, that Frontier College established in the region because of the number of

temporary migrant workers that Leamington area receives every season.
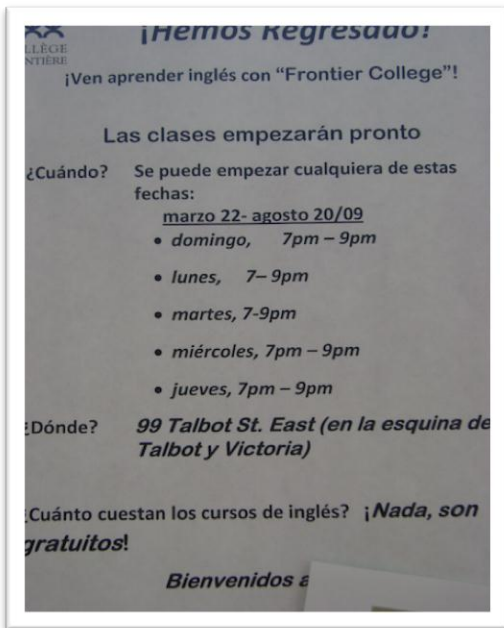
Figure 59. Frontier College information sign.

Figure 60. Frontier College, Leamington, Ontario ESL class.

Cheryl: You may know or may not know we have a full time Frontier College location here in town now ant they offer language classes to the migrant workers as well as to the general public (ahmm) and what they do… they also have students who come in the summers and often times these students work out in the farms and these students teach English while they're working (MWCP, 2009).

Roberto: …one thing we see improving here we have an office (back noise) to teach English to the workers. There is… before it wasn't, now there's an office is Frontier College [overlap]
=Maureen: Oh, Frontier College has been coming since, since we started [overlap]

=**Roberto:** Yes they've been coming, but the good thing is that they have an office, that means they have a base, that's a progress we see. You ask me for progress? That's one. These people are teaching English to these fellows and I'm a volunteer to teach Spanish to the other people (AWA-Leamington, 2009).

There are other organizations that, because of the language needs of MTAW (or language barriers) also offer free ESL/FSL classes, but not always with a structured curriculum, established schedules and teachers, which sometimes is problematic (as Javier explains below) because of the lack of continuity, the perception that students do not advance in their learning process, as well as the lack of resources and teachers.

Javier: Sí, sí es complejo. Era un problema que yo veía mucho cuando a mi me tocaba dar el curso. Yo traté de implementar un libro. Entonces seguíamos el libro y con algunos llegué hasta la lección 6 de 10. Que no se me hace mucho para un libro… digo yo seguí el mismo libro cuando llegué a Canadá y lo vi en 3 meses. Digamos que hubiéramos podido completar el libro en 6 (meses), porque yo iba dos veces por semana, ellos era una. Pero el problema era de que cada vez ahora sí que esperamos el quórum para empezar la clase… siempre había alguien retrasado, entonces teníamos que regresar a la lección uno, mientras que había otros que ya estaban en la lección 5, obviamente los aburría eso y preferían ya no asistir. Y no tenemos nosotros los medios, ahí la sala donde estoy yo también la usamos para dar cursos y es como la sala todo, ¿no? Entonces es la única. Intenté implementar en el comedor, que no tenemos un pizarrón ahí como para que de menos hubiera dos talleres corriendo al mismo tiempo, uno con 4, otro con 5 (AWA-Saint-Rémi, 2010).
[**Javier:** Yes, it's complex. It was a problem that I saw when I was teaching. I tried to implement a book. Then we followed the book and with some of them we finished lessons 6 or 10. That it was not for a book… I mean I followed the same book when I arrived in Canada and I studied it in 3 months. Let's say that we could have finished the book in 6 (months), because I was studying twice a week, for them it was once. But the problem was that each time we waited for the people to begin the class… there was always someone late, so we had to go back to the first lesson, while there were others that were studying lesson 5, obviously they were bored and they preferred not to go. And we don't have the resources, the room where I am, we also use it to teach the courses and it's like the room for everything, no? It's the only one. I tried to use the dining room, even if we don't have a blackboard there, so we could at least have two workshops at the same time, one with 4 and the other with 5 (students) (Awa-Saint-Rémi, 2010).]

Spanish/bilingual Media.

The community also provides Spanish or bilingual (i.e. English/Spanish and/or French/Spanish) information to MTAW about services like cultural activities, entertainment, sports, workshops, classes, health and secure measures at work, bike safety, secure measures at home, MTAW rights and benefits at work, and human rights, among others. All this information is delivered mainly through Spanish or bilingual printed media such as newspapers, newsletters, booklets, posters, announcements, advertisements, flyers, brochures, signs, as well as by radio (in a more limited way). For example, the bilingual newsletter "*El Mensajero*" (see Figure 61), is a biweekly newsletter edited by the Migrant Worker Community Program (MWCP) in Leamington, Ontario, and is part of the programs to support the communication to inform MTAW as Cheryl, from MWCP, explains below.

> **Cheryl:** No, no. Language is something that has been seen and… it's become one of our most important programs. Right? It's through language that we are able to communicate the rest of our programming. Some of the cultural things. As we do in El Mensajero, our newspaper. We do cultural things as well as the last issue, not this one, (ahmm) had a little of history of Canada Day. Right, so stuff like that. This one is about the xxx, some kind of rodeo that's coming up. Day trip to Windsor, some emergency room basics, stuff like that, right? So we try to keep it... safety, smoke alarms, xxx (laughs) cause that's the must important (laughs).

Figure 61. "*El Mensajero*" newsletter for MTAW in Leamington, Ontario.

But the information that is most available is the one related to safety (i.e. secure

measures at work, at home and on the roads), benefits and rights issues. For example,

safety rules for the use of bicycles is always available in different formats such as

newsletters, posters, signs, flyers or brochures because they are the main form of

transportation for MTAW in Canada (as well as driving rules are different form one country

to other).   Along these lines, the Agricultural Adaptation Council of Ontario, Canada,

provides flyers in Spanish with the most important guidelines to drive a bicycle in a safe

way (see Figure 62).

Figure 62. Flyer, in Spanish, from the Agricultural Adaptation Council of Ontario for bike safety.

In relation to security at work, there are different printed media in Spanish to inform MTAW about basic safety regulations when working under the sun, with chemicals, etc. For example, in Simcoe, the Health Clinic for Health at Work for Agricultural Workers provides flyers in Spanish to inform about the use of chemicals (pesticides, as well as to promote the workshop that they offer in the region at the Knights of Columbus Hall (another community organization)) (see Figure 63).

Figure 63. Safety and health at work flyer in Spanish, Simcoe, Ontario.

Likewise, AWA-Migrant Support Centres offer a wide variety of information in Spanish

for MTAW. This information is mainly related to labour rights and work benefits to which

MTAW are entitled by being part of the SAWP (see Figure 64) but that they do not know

because of the language barriers and the lack of information from the Mexican government and

the farmers.

En caso de incapacidad
Si usted está tan enfermo que no puede trabajar más, el Régimen de Pensiones de Quebec le entrega una pensión de incapacidad, si usted trabajó 2 de los últimos 3 años o 5 de los últimos 10 años, o la mitad de los años entre el día de que cumplió 18 años y esta fecha. Si aparte de estar incapacitado, usted tiene dependientes menores de 18 años, su pensión aumenta.
En caso de fallecimiento
Si usted contribuyó al régimen en los últimos 3 años, o si desde que empezó a trabajar pasó un tercio de los años en Quebec sus familiares pueden exigir
-Un monto de aproximadamente 2,500 dólares para gastos funerarios.
-Una pensión para su viuda
-Una pensión para sus hijos menores de 18 años.

Los Centros de apoyo de la Alianza de Trabajadores Agrícolas están a su disposición para ayudarle a resolver dudas sobre los trámites de pensión de vejez, de incapacidad o de fallecimiento. Nuestros servicios son gratuitos y confidenciales.
Desde México,
Llame sin costo al 01-800-681-1591, lo atenderemos con mucho gusto en español.

En Canadá, estos son los números de su Centro más cercano
AWA – Virgil
Tel: 905-468-8329
AWA – St. Rémi
Tel: 450-454-9888
AWA - Abbotsford
604-859-5044
AWA - Kelowna
Tel: 250-765-6843
AWA - Surrey
Tel: 778-578-9411
AWA - Portage
Tel: 204-857-3340
AWA - Bradford
Tel: 905-775-3837
AWA - Leamington
Tel: 519-326-8833
AWA - Simcoe
Tel: 519-426-4056

¿Usted está por retirarse, fue trabajador agrícola en Canadá, y tiene dudas sobre su pensión?

Señor trabajador, usted puede hacer una solicitud para recibir su pensión si trabajó en Quebec, o si trabajó en otras provincias de Canadá pero su último año de trabajo fue en la provincia de Quebec. Es un trámite muy sencillo.

Figure 64. Flyer in Spanish of AWA-Migrant Support Centres to inform MTAW about work benefits.

Cultural activities for MTAW.

The community, through community organizations, try to help MTAW to adapt to their host communities in Canada by providing cultural activities such as festivals, dances, music, sports, and trips; but access and opportunities will depend on the community support and the number of MTAW in the region. As Pedro, from AWA-National Office, explains, the perception is that there are not many cultural events to entertain them and help to adapt to the community (in a certain way, by not missing their hometowns that much).

> **Pedro:** osea, na y eso y eso lo habla mucho ahorita, y también luego el el la comunidad no tienen, no tienen eventos muchos digamos culturales, (mjm) sociales que que los entretengan al al a los trabajadores ¿vea? y es algo que que que ... a/ [la idea esta] más *stress* digamos el trabajador que que que extrana al al a su familia o a su cultura, ¿vea?
> [Pedro: so, no and that and that talks a lot now, but then the the community doesn't have, they don't have many let's say cultural events, (mjm) social ones that may entertain them, the workers right? And that's something that happens… [this idea] but stress let's say the workers that that that miss their family and their culture, right?]

But I found that in every region I visited, to a greater or lesser extent, there are some kinds of cultural activities designed for MTAW as is shown in the following figures (Figure 65 and 66); the first one announces the Day Trips that WMCP organizes and the second one informs the MTAW about the season closure party and the birthday of one employee of AWA-Simcoe office (they celebrate with a Mexican party with Mariachis) and the last one informs the soccer season results from Leamington's MTAW soccer league.

Figure 65. Sign at AWA-Simcoe.

Figure 66. *El Mensajero*, results of the soccer tournament of MTAW in Leamington.

At the same time, Cheryl and Javier explain, in the following paragraphs, that the community organizations provide different cultural activities to help MTAW's adaptation during their temporary stays in Canada. Cheryl explains the services and programs of the WMCP, while Javier explains that the community centre of Saint-Rémi organizes a soccer tournament for the workers.

Cheryl: We provide social, cultural, recreational, communication opportunities to the migrant workers in the Leamington South Essex area and part of our communication programs is we have a bilingual newsletter that goes out every two weeks. We have a bilingual radio show that is on every week during the season is called the Latin Hour. Arturo runs that.

Javier: Aquí en Saint-Rémi sí, porque yo creo que por la misma razón que dice Sharon que ha habido cierta lucha por los trabajadores… aquí tienen el centro comunitario del pueblito y allí les organizan un torneo de futbol. Entonces los domingos que es la temporada, ahí los encuentras a todos. Y pues allí vienen señoras que hacer gorditas, que hacen quesadillas, les venden cervecitas. Y allí se quedan. Y mucho también, por ejemplo nosotros los domingos nosotros damos clases de francés y muchos no vienen porque prefieren irse a divertir y lo entendemos pero sería interesante que también (risas) aprendieran un poco más...

[**Javier:** Here in Saint-Rémi yes, because I think that because of the same reason that Sharon says that there has been a fight for the workers… here they have the community centre of the town and there they organize a soccer tournament. Then on Sundays when it is the season, there you find all of them. And there they come some ladies to cook *gorditas*, they make quesadillas, they sell them beer. And they stay there. And also because, for example on Sundays we teach French and many don't come because they prefer to go and have fun and we understand but it would be interesting too (laughs) if they learned a little bit more…]

As we have seen, there are multiple efforts, both in Ontario and Quebec coming from different community organizations, with different affiliations, that work to help MTAW to overcome the hard working periods that they expend in Canada. However the government of Canada does not take part on the organization of these kinds of activities or even by making accessible funding opportunities for the community organizations that support MTAW by informing and providing services and activities that may help them during their stay in Canada because MTAW are not Canadians or landed immigrants, they are only temporary migrants. In the following paragraph Cheryl explains how the WMCP get funding to organize the different activities they organize for temporary migrants.

Cheryl: Yeah, but since then we have become our own non-for-profit work charitable organization. We do get some funding from the Ontario Greenhouse Vegetable Growers and the Municipality of Leamington and the town of Kingsville. We also have some of our self-sustainable programs, which are *El Mensajero*, our newspaper, and we also seek sponsorship from different companies and we are in the process now of trying to come out with sustainable financing. Because of course we need to do that. We have another year and a half left with our Trillium funding and then we have to be self-sustaining, so

> that's always an issue because the population we serve is not Canadian citizens so access
> to funding from the Canadian government has been really hard, really, really hard.

Finally, it is also important to notice that farmers do not seem to be actively involved in helping MTAW to adapt to the community in Canada, as well as the Mexican government (consulate) that seems to be inexistent in the lives of MTAW and were only mentioned a couple of times along this study.

In this chapter, I have described MTAW's demographics, education and literacy level, language, housing and issues about the program, the family, the family and the program and language use and choice. At the same time, I have described and explained how the host communities in Canada adapt to the arrival of MTAW, as well as how they help MTAW adapt to the community during their temporary, but cyclical, stays in the country. In the following chapter the results presented in this chapter are used to make a brief summary and answer the four research questions on which this study was based. Additionally, I present the study's limitations, implications for practice and suggestions for future studies. Finally, conclusions are drawn.

Discussion and Conclusions

After the results presented in Chapter Four, in this last Chapter I first offer a brief summary of the study. Second, as a guide for discussion I return to the research questions. Third, I present my thoughts about the limitations of the study. Fourth, I explain the implications these findings may have for practice and future research and finally, I make some concluding remarks.

Summary

This study has looked for relationships between language and temporary migration. The main objective has been to bring a sociolinguistic approach, focused on macro-sociolinguistic factors, to the situation of Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers (MTAW) that come to Canada under the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) on a cyclical basis since 1974.

Even after more than 30 years, the SAWP seems to keep assuming that MTAW come from the same linguistic background and that their linguistic skills remain unchanged in spite of the number of years they may be part of the program. If this were so, it would be like assuming that there are no languages and contacts between the MTAW, the farmers and people working at the farms, as well as with the local community and organizations. Therefore, my interest in doing this research comes from the need to know the 'linguistic reality'[62] of MTAW and the social implications thereof.

MTAW appear to be a seemingly homogeneous ethnic group, but in reality they are a very heterogeneous group with members from the same country (México) but with ethnic, linguistic and social diversity that seems to be ignored by both governments, Mexican and

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[62] i.e. to know the linguistic repertoire and linguistic competence of MTAW in the languages reported as part of their repertoire.

Canadian, as well as by the farmers, community and even scholars. Yet it is true that MTAW are

brought to Canada as an ethnic group[63], Mexicans, and that this same ethnic group works and

lives together during the whole season or duration of their contracts (which can vary from

worker to worker), it is also true, as my data shows, that MTAW participating in this study have

different ethnic origins, languages and indeed, different backgrounds. In this way, I have found

that MTAW have a varied linguistic repertoire and choices for their daily communicative

practices that are not mentioned in the literature.

Likewise, MTAW face many restrictions while they are in Canada. As suggested by

Ruhs (2006), MTAW's restrictions are related to the freedom of movement and choice of

employer (their temporary work permits are not portable) as they are bounded to a specific

working sector and employer, which may lead to excessive power and exploitation. In this way,

MTAW are considered to be a vulnerable population, living in a precarious migratory status (i.e.

without full membership rights) and experiencing social exclusion. However, it is important to

say that even if it is true that MTAW experience these conditions, they do have agency and have

chosen temporary migration as a life-style[64] and as a career choice (Ellerman, 2005) that brings

them and their families economic stability, allowing them to plan, to bring up the family and to

overcome poverty; even if Barrón (2000), with whom I disagree, explains that SAWP is not a

choice for MTAW, but instead is a need.

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[63] Remember that the SAWP is the 'new' version of Germany's guestworkers, Europe's temporary migrant programs and United State's Bracero program, all with the same tradition of receiving groups of labour immigrants from the same ethnic origin on a temporary basis because of their countries' labour shortages (Martin, 2003; Plewa & Miller, 2005; Martin & Miller, 1980; Castles, 2006; Escobar-Latapí, 1999; Durand 2007).

[64] Life-style is a collective way of life sharing preferences and practices with colleagues (Giddens, 1991, cited in Pederson, 2010).

Moreover, my data show that MTAW are not necessarily trying to escape from unemployment, but from poverty (Werner, 1996), as the minimum wage in Mexico[65], compared to the minimum wage in Canada[66], is very low. At the same time, being a temporary migrant as part of the SAWP is a way of life for MTAW (Ellerman, 2005) where they acquire migration-specific capital (Vertovec, 2007) that help them to keep returning season after season (i.e. being permanently temporary migrants), moving from one province to another and/or from farm to farm, but without having a choice or voice in these relocation decisions.

On the other hand, I do not agree with Ellerman (2005) who explains that labour migration or low-skilled migration is detrimental to the development of the sending countries because of the drain of the 'best and the brightest'. On the contrary, I believe that MTAW have taken advantage of SAWP's meritocratic system to make a difference that impacts the lives of their families, as I have already mentioned. They invest their labour and human capital in the receiving country and the revenues are invested in their home communities, with their families in Mexico.

Thus, it may be true that the Mexico's development is not a consequence of temporary migration, but MTAW are standing up for their right to be agents of change with the important contribution of economic remittances (a common, or the most typical transnational practice of international migrants), social remittances (i.e. different kinds of social practices, ideas and values that are part of migration), technological remittances (i.e. technical knowledge and skills acquired in the host country) and political remittances (i.e. identities associated to migration)

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[65] The minimum wage in Mexico is divided by zones, the highest being $ 59. 82 MXP/day ($ 4.95 CAD/day) and the lowest $56.70 MXP/day ($4.67 CAD/day) (SAT, 2011).
[66] The general minimum wage paid to an agricultural worker in Ontario is $10.25 CAD/hr and $9.65 CAD/hr. in Quebec (HRSDC, 2011).

(Goldring, 2004).   All these have positive economic and developmental effects on the community (Basok, 2003), and social repercussions for the family and the community in Mexico.

On the other hand, I want to point out that the positive economic consequences of MTAW and the expected improvement in the quality of life of their families in Mexico as a consequence of the SAWP do not translate as a better quality of life for MTAW in Canada. In the host country, i.e. Canada, MTAW face risks and restrictions to their fundamental human rights. In agreement with Wickramasekara (2008), I think that the SAWP needs to humanize, granting individual development benefits to MTAW, protection to their human and working rights (e.g. right to unionize), developing means to help MTAW adapt to the host community (e.g. ESL/FSL free courses offered, supported or funded by the government with accessible schedules that fit their long working schedules) and even more, allowing them social membership, as Basok (2003a) also proposes, because MTAW will never become permanent residents nor Canadian citizens (unless policies change in the future).

In this way, it is important to acknowledge that for MTAW not having legal citizenship does not exclude them from being members of the SAWP, therefore of the host country where they work and live for long periods, participating and contributing to Canada's economy with (limited) rights and obligations. However, MTAW are unable to exercise their membership in Canada due in part to the sociolinguistic barriers that prevent them from social inclusion and that also push them to regroup as members of their ethnic group (Mexicans) to overcome exclusion and in search of a sense of belonging, while they lose their individuality to become part of a collective. A collective that participates in the process of building a nation but that keeps them in a precarious status as individuals and socially excluded as a group.

In the next section, I will use the research questions that guided this study. In each subsection I will address each question in discussion format.

Discussion of Research Questions

Research Question No. 1: How do the biographic backgrounds –human capital- of MTAW restrict or allow them to renegotiate their identity and to be able to deal with their new social and linguistic environment?

Borders, territories, nations and identities are conceived as imagined, spatially bounded and linguistically homogeneous; but when people move between nation-states, these social constructs are challenged and reconceptualised as a consequence of migration and the asymmetrical power relations that are formed across spaces and different kinds of migratory status. In this way, when MTAW migrate to Canada, for the season, they have to go through a process of re-conceptualizing who they are (on both sides of the borders). In this process or renegotiation of identity, in Canada, their human capital plays a determinant role, but also the migration phenomena (per se), SAWP membership, and Canadian society.

In this way, I propose that the SAWP influences MTAW's (im)possibility to self-construct and renegotiate their identity in Canada and adapt to their new sociolinguistic environment because, by design, the program's entry requirements are already asking for individuals with low skills (even if in reality there is a variety of backgrounds) and no language requirement to perform agricultural work, that is not fulfilled by Canadian citizens because of the difficult working conditions and low wages (in relation to other jobs in Canada). In this manner, MTAW are perceived and identified as a disadvantaged temporary ethnolinguistic minority group in Canada (similar to Mohanty's (2010) explanation of linguistic minorities in India),

which remain outsiders even after more than three decades of the existence of the program and

their presence in Canada.

Likewise, MTAW in Canada are perceived as an homogenous ethnic group that is

primarily identified with their national identity (i.e. Mexicans, even if they have different ethnic

origins) and with one language (i.e. Spanish, even if they also may have other languages as

mother tongue) that indexes who they are. As Urciuoli (1995) explains, languages are mapped

onto individuals and ethnicities (and I will add nations); thus, language indexes individual and

group differences that become identity markers of linguistic communities because language,

nation and ethnicity are fundamentally related. In this way, even if identities can be negotiated,

constructed, altered, renewed, recreated, competed with, defeated and challenged in different

time dimensions, MTAW nationality and language use (i.e. language practices) identify them as

a social collective (Jupp et al, 1982; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001) that hinders their capacity of

renegotiating their individual identities. Thus, MTAW have been through the *deterritorialization*

and *reterritorialization* process in a specific TimeSpace in history, which consequently helped

them to form a reified shared, imagined, identity with multiple voices (Jacquemet, 2005) –i.e. a

collective identity.

In this manner, according to the specific context and TimeSpace, MTAW can or cannot

communicate, while at the same time their sociolinguistic repertoires and identities (self-

constructed or ascribed) are valued or devalued accordingly to lower and higher scales. As

Vigouroux (2005) explains, space is a multidimensional concept; therefore, Canada has become

this multidimensional space for MTAW where the same influences their language practices in a

specific time in history. Thus, *time* or temporality is a very important factor that may affect not

only the language of people or groups of people that migrate, but also their idea of belonging and even their re-conceptualization from individual/personal identities to collective/social identities.

Beyond this, results from this study show that even if MTAW are not a homogenous group, it is possible to make some generalizations in relation to their biographic backgrounds because most MTAW have low education, low literacy level, language knowledge of more than one language, basic English and French and low-skilled occupations (i.e. the shared characteristics that are the requisites to be part of the SAWP). But human capital (including language resources and skills) can always be acquired and deployed either in Canada or in Mexico, renegotiating, in this way, individuals' identities in different forms.

Moreover, the exposure to a new language can be felt as one of the many impositions that MTAW may experience in their new environment leading to the questioning of their own identity. Therefore, their linguistic competence in the languages of Canada impacts their collective identity, if we see language as a social phenomenon (Haarmann, 1986), which most of the times portrays a marginal position because of their linguistic competence in English or French, as well as by the use of interpreters or linguistic brokers in different spaces. Thus, even if results show that not all MTAW are monolingual, in Canada's linguistic market, the languages that have a higher market value are English or French accordingly. Hence, these same languages not only may help MTAW to renegotiate their identities (Rubenfeld et al, 2006; Gaudet & Clément, 2008) and deal with their new sociolinguistic environment, but also represent better opportunities and (some) upward mobility at work (Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Dustmann, 1993; 1994; 1999), the valued 'possibility to communicate' in different spaces and more favourable circumstances to negotiate who they are and adapt to their new sociolinguistic environment.

Furthermore, taking into account that it is through language that cultural knowledge is

transmitted and social representations are shared, it is imperative that MTAW have options to learn either of the official languages of Canada. However, MTAW do not have enough opportunities to learn and improve their linguistic skills because of the same SAWP (i.e. labour work, isolated conditions, long working hours, etc.), the lack of support from the host country, the temporality factor, and their large and cohesive ethnolinguistic group with whom they share most of their time (very similar to Worthy's (2006) results with adult Latino immigrant in Texas that do not take advantage of ESL courses for immigrants).

On the other hand, MTAW also have in-group identities that are performed in their new sociolinguistic environment. This means that they also have to renegotiate their individual identities within the collective (i.e. their own group), where there are more opportunities to have communicative practices because they share a similar human capital and the same language; consequently, languages and contacts, or rather dialects and contacts happen. As results show, MTAW come from the North, Central and South regions of Mexico; therefore, they have different dialects of the same language. Most of MTAW are aware of the differences of their *Spanishes*. They recognize accent, phonetic and lexical differences in their Spanish dialects, showing in addition their language ideologies and attitudes towards other dialects of their same language. While at the same time, a great percentage of participants agree to having learned new words and expressions in Spanish, showing in this way that at the community level linguistic changes may occur, like language levelling, or even the formation of a new dialect or immigrant koiné (Kerswill, 2006); which implies that there is also a process of renegotiation of identities at the interior of the same group, avoiding in this way negative language attitudes and a sense of belonging.

To summarize, MTAW bring their national, personal, and linguistic identities with them to Canada. But because identities are flexible (they are like personal borders), once MTAW are accepted as part of the SAWP, they have already gained a new identity marker. Likewise, depending on their human capital, languages included, MTAW will be able to renegotiate their identities and move from being outsiders to the periphery of the group, but never becoming members of the society. In this way, language as a form of human capital is crucial for MTAW as a communicative resource as important as material resources (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, 2002) that at the same time bring the possibility to access material consequences (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2002; Chiswick, 2002).

Likewise, data show that three factors of MTAW's human capital are very important for them to renegotiate their identities: education, literacy and language skills (English or French basic skills). The lower these factors are the more restricted MTAW are to renegotiate their identity and be able to deal with their new social and linguistic environment, and vice versa. That is why the SAWP, by design, may exclude its members from the possibility to renegotiate their identities and better adapt to their temporary sociolinguistic environment in Canada.

Research question No. 2: What and how are the communicative practices of MTAW?

Results show that MTAW maintain their language in Canada, a 'multilingual' environment; but at the same time their linguistic practices usually flow between a variety of patterns of language use and spaces in their daily communicative practices, while they express their multiple identities and attitudes towards those languages by choosing to use one language or the other (Mohanty, 2010), although most of the time it is not a matter of choice because MTAW's linguistic resources are unequal; hence, they have to adjust depending on the

communicative practices in which they participated, which are complex, multidimensional, and goal specific, as well as socially embedded (Collins et al., 2009). Thus, the kind of linguistic choices that MTAW make can be related to spatial dimensions, the claim of a symbolic territory, economic traits, market value, group affiliation, age, gender, need to communicate and will to communicate, among others.

MTAW keep gaining and loosing communicative competence depending on the space where their linguistic practices take place. According to Zima's proposal (2007) regarding the type of languages and contacts, MTAW fall in the different kinds of intensity, quantity and quality of information exchanges that go from zero contact, minimum contact and extended contact, to real contacts and virtual contacts. In this way, MTAW use different languages, codes, non-verbal communication and gestures to communicate in the different spaces and with different people accordingly; demonstrating they have agency or intentionality in their choice of language practices, while at the same time they have, and sometimes can, adjust to the communicative events. Thus, MTAW linguistic practices will be functional and valuable (i.e. useful or useless) in relation to the space and context, as Blommaert et al. (2005) propose.

In this way, as results show, MTAW communicate with their fellow colleagues in Spanish, either at work or at home, in some ethnic enclaves and businesses that have Spanish-speaking employees, at church, at AWA, at community organizations, and also in their frequent calls to their families in Mexico (i.e. transnational practices). On the other hand, they choose and use French, English and interpreters or linguistic brokers when they have to communicate with their supervisor, *mayordomo* or *capataz* and *patrón* (if they do not speak Spanish), at health services, stores, etc.

When MTAW have to communicate with others that do not speak Spanish, it becomes an opportunity to have languages and contacts, usually in specific spaces and contexts, where their (un)limited communicative resources are brought to be on and linguistic improvisations and innovations can happen. MTAW need to communicate, so both parties taking part in the communicative event have to find a mutually accepted form to negotiate meaning which is usually far away from the standard form (Winford, 2003). In this manner, lexical borrowing results, because of the socio-cultural confusion (Weinrich, 1968) where what we assume to be a 'typical' language contact situation (see Chapter 2, Figure 1, pg. 57) actually turns out to be particular to the Canadian-MTAW context, as it is possible to see in Figure 68, where speakers of Spanish and speakers of English or French have limited contact opportunities and instead of becoming bilingual, they begin to share some lexical items in order to have basic communication.

Thus, MTAW are considered to have the *recipient language* in Winford's framework, because it is the one that provides the morphosyntactic frame (therefore, morphosyntantic procedures can be activated) to help them to "create the grammatical frame on the contact variety" (Winford, 2007, p. 36) where lexical items (primarily content items) are borrowed from the *source language* and the structure of the *recipient language* is preserved (2007). In this way, MTAW become temporary linguistic agents of change.
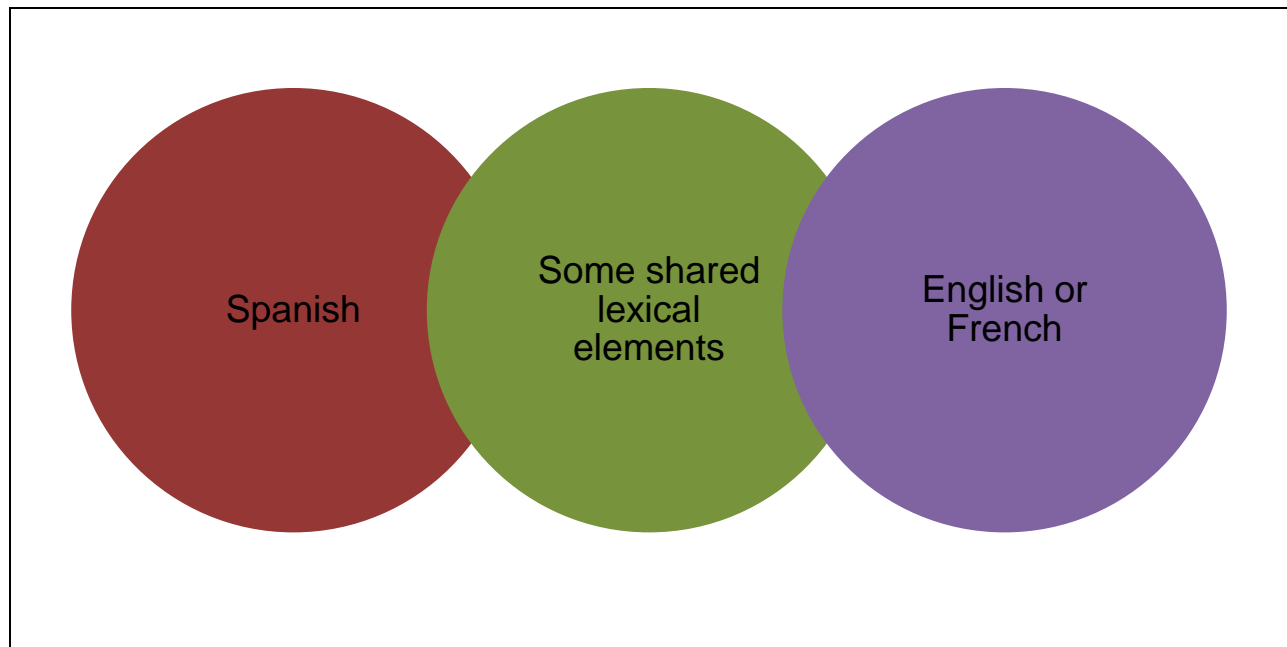
Figure 67. Particular language contact situation to the Canadian-MTAW context.

Moreover, participants who reported having knowledge of English or French may be categorized as individuals with truncated bilingualism/multilingualism (Blommaert, 2005) who went through naturalistic acquisition of English or French. This means that there is little or no formal second language acquisition because of temporary migrants' characteristics (i.e. long working hours, low education level, low literacy level, etc.) and precarious status (i.e. limited rights in the host country and limited access to ESL/FSL classes), but also because for them it is difficult to invest in learning a new language (Dustmann, 1993). At the same time, MTAW receive poor input in English or French, almost always related to specific activities and spaces; hence, their linguistic competence is limited and specific (i.e. truncated bilingualism).

In agreement with Kershen (2000), and as my data show, many MTAW do not have sufficient linguistic skills to be 'linguistically independent'; therefore they have to depend on language brokers. For MTAW being linguistically dependent has become almost something

ordinary, but in reality it causes insecurity, lack of freedom, vulnerability and puts them in a position where they can be easily exploited and excluded.

On the other hand, Spanish communicative practices are extensive for MTAW in Canada and can be considered a situation of language maintenance that is common on temporary migrations contexts because they migrate 'together' (as a group), the context grants them linguistic uniformity (i.e. they live, work, and socialize among themselves), the community provides them with services and information in Spanish and they found ethnolinguistic enclaves. Along these lines, it is possible to say that MTAW experience language maintenance in Canada, with slight changes that are the result of normal language evolution and the limited languages and contacts with the languages of the majority (Winford, 2003), the social isolation, the cyclical patterns where new MTAW are always incorporated into the SAWP and the return to their home towns where they will not socialize with their SAWP fellow colleagues until, maybe, the next season.

To summarize, I have found that high ethnic concentrations in addition to low levels of education, short stays in the receiving country, and post-puberty age at migration, have a strong impact on the linguistic competence of temporary migrants. In accordance with Blommaert et al.'s (2005) results, people's linguistic resources and skills become vulnerable when people migrate and space is an agentive force that organizes languages with the consequence of incapacitating people, becoming a problem *for the speaker*. I have also found that MTAW linguistic resources and skills have lower[67] and higher[68] scales that are challenged across the physical and imagined borders (between nation-states and inside Canada) where the new

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[67] In lower scales time is momentary and space is local.
[68] In high scales time is timeless and space in translocal, widespread.

linguistic environment seems to incapacitate their communicative practices, causing a communicative problem *for them* (the speaker), but also *for the others* (the interlocutor).

In this way, MTAW and their interlocutors (i.e. the community, the farmers, etc.) are taken out of their typical space and context, where new sets of norms and rules come into play with different relations between scales, where one language is legitimized, while the other is disqualified. Thus, the ability to move from one scale to another in terms of linguistic registers means the capacity to play with power and identity strategies of exclusion and hierarchies, as well as having access to linguistic and communicative resources, where macro-sociolinguistic factors (i.e. language ideologies, language attitudes, and linguistic identities) determine MTAW's linguistic choices, but also the sociolinguistic perception from the host community where power relations come into play.

Finally, MTAW show a stable language maintenance phenomenon, with transidiomatic practices[69] (Jacquemet, 2005) where deterritorialized groups, i.e. temporary migrants, communicate using different languages, codes and gestures according to the space and interlocutor (i.e. a communicative recombination, that depend on the needs and wants of the speakers, and that involve multilingual codes).

Research question No. 3: What linguistic barriers do MTAW face and how does it affect their daily lives?

MTAW live in an exogenous linguistic environment where, as we already know, English or French is the language of the majority and where their mother tongue becomes a sociolinguistic marker that places them in a low-prestige position. In this manner, and in agreement with Pujolar (2009) and Mohany (2009), language practices, language ideologies and

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[69] Transidiomatic practices describe communicative practices of transnational groups with linguistic interactions using different languages and codes (Jacquemet, 2005).

language attitudes cause linguistic inequalities and barriers for MTAW because these can be used as instruments to discriminate, marginalize, subjugate, assimilate and homogenize, while they disempower people with less access to resources.

In this way, not knowing English or French (according to the province) disempowers MTAW because language mediates access to social spaces.   As shown in Figure 68, sociolinguistic barriers limit MTAW's access to health services, increase their lack of knowledge about their rights and obligations as temporary migrants, make the 'natural' process of developing social networks difficult, impede their adaptation process to the host community and also shape their linguistic identities, ideologies and attitudes.
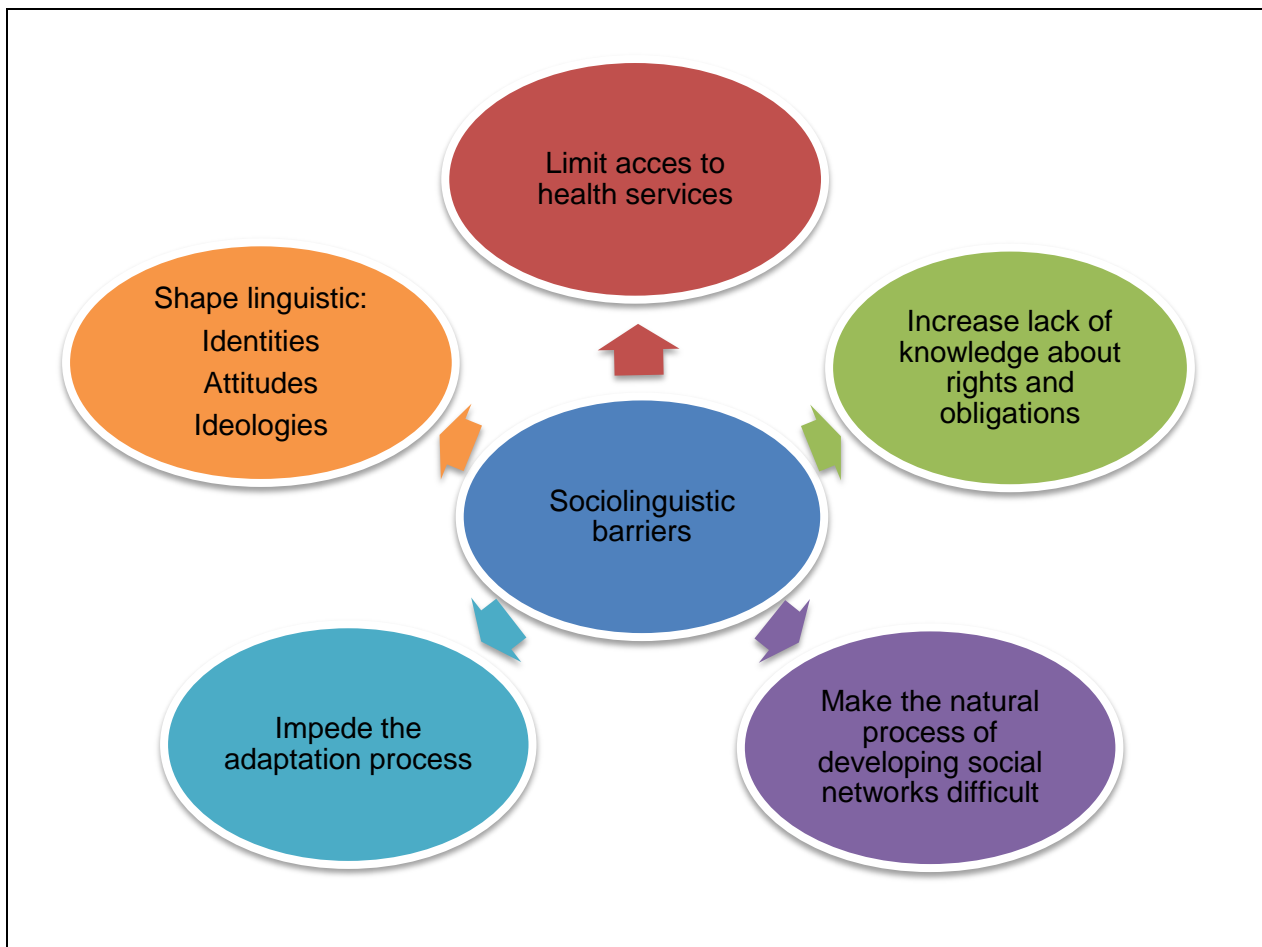
Figure 68. Sociolinguistic barriers of MTAW in Canada in different spaces.

In relation to health services, sociolinguistic barriers are the consequence of their low proficiency level in English or French, the lack of knowledge about health services to which they are entitled, and also the fear of being perceived as unhealthy workers that can be repatriated by their employer without further investigation, among others. Likewise, linguistic barriers increase the lack of knowledge about their rights and obligations as temporary migrants being part of the SAWP; therefore, they have to rely on oral communicative practices from literacy mediators, linguistic brokers or their same colleagues (word-of-mouth). In this sense, results show a sociolinguistic dependency of MTAW on their *patrón*, any representative from support institutions, as well as any other language broker, to help them to carry out their most basic communication necessities, increasing and perpetuating, in this way, their condition of linguistic segregation and exclusion. Thus, loosing autonomy for long periods of time, even if those periods of time are temporary, because of linguistic limitations, places MTAW in a difficult position (linguistic dependency) for an adult who has to rely on someone else to negotiate the most simple and the most personal matters in a wide variety of spaces.

Additionally, sociolinguistic barriers make the natural process of developing social networks in new environments difficult. MTAW are usually excluded from the social life of the community because of the absence of interdependency, i.e. friendship, kinship, common interests, prestige, etc., as result of their migratory status, temporality of their stays, occupation, culture and language barriers that prevent them from having significant linguistic exchanges to build social relationships. Thus, this situation generates a problem *for them* (MTAW) and for their adaptation process to the host communities.

Likewise, sociolinguistic barriers shape MTAW linguistic identities, ideologies, and attitudes. The migratory experience gives MTAW a different perspective of the world as they

use to know it and in that sense it impacts who they are and how they think about others. In this way, experiencing a situation of languages and contacts where they face social and linguistic difficulties to deploy their language practices has had an impact on the way MATW think about languages, as well as on their attitudes towards the language practices of others and themselves. Therefore, sociolinguistic barriers have shaped the way they perceive and value English (and not in the same way French) and their attitudes towards 'this object of power' because of its position as an imperialistic language or world language, but also because of the power that it represents for them (if they learn the language) to gain, at least instrumental functions and resources for social interactions. In this way, sociolinguistic barriers have helped construct new sets of beliefs for MTAW's language ideologies where suddenly for them, 'language matters'.

On the other hand, I have found that MTAW's migratory flows to Canada have increased the status and vitality of Spanish in the host communities where MTAW work, although at different levels and in different spaces. Consequently, MTAW have found a comfort zone where the need to learn the language of the majority is obscured, but the existence of sociolinguistic barriers remains in force and the ethnolinguistic group remains segregated. The ethnolinguistic vitality seems to be high, but it is only subjective. Thus, MTAW use of Spanish in different, but specific, spaces manifests the existence of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of a group that has been institutionally repressed and perceived as inexistent and socially invisible.

To sum up, sociolinguistic barriers impact MTAW's lives in almost every space of their life creating invisible, deep, and dehumanizing barriers that marks them as vulnerable individuals that suffer from linguistic inequalities and exclusion. On the other hand, these same conditions have promoted social awareness among the community at different levels, where there has been

an active participation to help MTAW adapt to the community, while the same community also

tries to adapt to MTAW's seasonal presence.

Research question No. 4: How do the receiving communities include or exclude

MTAW?

Even if international migration is seen as a normal trend in Canada because it has been

decades since the country has promoted itself as a country of immigration where people move

from abroad in search of better living condition, in small and medium-sized Canadian

communities, international migration is not as common as in metropolitan areas (i.e. Vancouver,

Montreal, Toronto, etc.); therefore, integration and adaptation support services are not equally

available.

In this way, small-sized communities such as Leamington, Simcoe, Virgil, and Saint-

Rémi, which are not the preferred Canadian migration destinations but that have an important

flow of temporary migrants under the SAWP (and now also under other temporary foreign

worker programs) have become agents of change working towards the adaptation, maybe not

inclusion, of MTAW to the regions from the bottom-up (i.e. without the help of integration and

adaptation resources already in use and funded by the Canadian government) because of

temporary migrants' different migratory status, rights and obligations ascribed to the bilateral

agreement between Mexico and Canada.

MTAW have arrived in Ontario and Quebec for some decades but still, they seem to be

invisible for a great part of society; consequently they are excluded from social life, experiencing

sociolinguistic distance and isolation. Thus, the support from the community and other

organizations (e.g. religious, non-for-profit, NGOs, alliances, committees, etc.) who work

towards the temporary inclusion of MTAW, by creating awareness of their presence not only as

agricultural workers but also as individuals with needs and human rights as any other migrant, has played a very important role towards their adaptation process.

However, the support from the community is directly related to the size of the host regions and number of temporary migrant workers that arrive every season. In this way, Leamington's region, being the one that receives the largest number of MTAW, is better adapted and organized than Simcoe, Virgil, and Saint-Rémi to develop programs and activities to help MTAW to adapt and try to feel included to the host community. Results show that there is a close relationship between the presence of MTAW and the extent to which the community is organized to provide information and services, i.e. the extent to which the community adapts to MTAW and the degree and form that the community uses to help workers to adapt or adjust. Thus, even if this situation may seem a typical relationship of supply and demand, the fact that the community is or is not as 'welcoming' impacts directly the susceptibility of MTAW to labour exploitation, discrimination and social exclusion or inclusion.

Likewise, having linguistic competence in the language(s) of the nation is part of the exclusion/inclusion realities of MTAW as none or limited English or French proficiency make the life of migrants difficult in every space, because language acts as an agentive force that helps MTAW to move between scales (with their linguistic resources and identity strategies). In this way, to remain without at least a basic proficiency level of English or French, for basic communication needs, is equivalent to remain excluded and silenced (Piller, in press). Thus, one of the most common services that are offered by the community is access to language classes (ESL/FSL accordingly) for adults. In this way, the community is accepting the importance of having and improving MTAW linguistic resources and skills to be functional in the Canadian society, while they also make a contribution towards MTAW's human capital. However, the

challenge of the community to provide the opportunities for language socialization still remains,

because as Jupp et al. (1982) say, language knowledge without language socialization

opportunities does not equal competent communicators.

Furthermore, language tolerance for linguistic pluralism, as well as language attitudes,

differs depending on the regions where this study was conducted. One region may offer more

linguistic support (either in Spanish, English or French), while other regions react more slowly.

Such is the case of the francophone region of Saint-Rémi, where the SAWP and the presence of

MTAW is similar to the one in Leamington (with a similar number of workers if adding the

people from Guatemala who also speak Spanish) but where access to services and information in

Spanish are much more limited in the different spaces of the context and where organizations

such as AWA and the Catholic church play a very important role in helping MTAW to adapt to

the community. For example, the presence of the Spanish language on commercial signs, i.e. the

Linguistic Landscape (LL), is very limited compared to Leamington (not to Simcoe and Virgil,

that receive less MTAW and where Spanish representation is lower at all levels) where the LL

shows the existence of a linguistic demand due to the presence of MTAW in the area, but where

the use of Spanish in different, but specific, spaces manifests the existence of a subjective

ethnolinguistic vitality while it obscures the need of MTAW to learn the language of the

majority. The reasons could be attributed to the language policy of the Province and the defense

of French language at all levels of the society, but also because farms are widely scattered among

the region and MTAW are taken to different towns, not only to Saint-Rémi, to access services.

Finally, I propose that the MTAW that have participated in this study show us that they

represent a *linguistic island*, because they are a group that migrate seasonally, on a cyclical basis,

and experience extensive cultural and linguistic separation from Mexico and Canada (i.e. the

sending and receiving countries), where their identity markers (Mufwene, 2007) can be their

nationality (misunderstood as ethnicity) as it is no longer restricted to a specific context (i.e.

Mexico) or language, while at the same time they are both perceived by others and self-perceived

as an isolated and (self)segregated group that is not looking to be integrated, but neither will be

integrated by the country because of immigration policies. The most MTAW can hope is to be

included rather than excluded from the life of the community in Canada, as long as the

community is there to welcome them.

Limitations of the Study

In this section, I present a discussion of design and methodological limitations I see in

this study concerning data collection. To begin, a design limitation was the selection of four

different regions without considering that my participants were in Canada only on specific

seasons (i.e. the temporality) and being in 4 different towns during the same season was a

challenge; therefore, I collected data in two years rather than in a year, which led me to have to

limit the study in terms of number of participants and scope.

A second limitation involved the context. I restricted data collection to AWA-Migrant

Support Centres offices in the four regions that I visited. I did this to have access to potential

participants in a safe environment and to protect their vulnerability. However, it was limiting in

many ways. MTAW usually go to AWA to look for specific services and information, therefore

they were not always available or willing to participate in the study; at the same time, there were

long periods of time where no MTAW visited the Centres and even if I learned that there were

other 'safe' places where I could approach them (e.g. the church, Frontier College, etc.) I could

not do so because I limited the context by the design[70]. On the other hand, women do not visit

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[70] Limiting the context by the design implied that I needed to ask permission to the Ethics Research Sub-Committee
of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Western Ontario, and the organizations where I could

AWA as frequently as men because they are restricted by their employers (AWA employees have to do outreach to serve women's necessities); therefore, restricting the interviews to AWA limited the possibility to include more women in the study and making a representative female sample.

A third limitation involved the following items: language competence, language skills, literacy skills and literacy practices were self-reported rather than observed or tested. When I applied the sociolinguistic questionnaire I realized how difficult it was for participants to position themselves under a category (e.g. basic, intermediate, advanced or almost native for language and very good, good, average, bad or very bad, for literacy). Thus, I needed to help them to construct a framework of what it was to have either level of competence or skills, accordingly. In this way, it would have become useful to test the linguistic competence of the participants that reported having a particular level to increase reliability, but also to have a better knowledge of the linguistic proficiency of MTAW and better understand their advantages or limitations in different spaces and contexts in Canada.

A final limitation of this study is centred on its generalization at the community level. More specifically, given that it was conducted in two provinces and 4 regions, the findings cannot be assumed to be applicable to other regions and provinces if among the 4 different regions that I visited there were significant differences. At the same time, at the participant level, having only two female participating in the study (out of 80 participants) was limiting and did not help to have a better view of the sociolinguistic situation of women as part of the SAWP, as well as the differences between genders. The women's perspective about language and their

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interview MTAW, which also was limiting because of bureaucracy, the time factor and me being the only researcher involved in this study. Indeed I tried to find access through Frontier College and I received an answer when my interview process finished.

life in Canada as MTAW may have produced different findings that would have been a big

contribution to this study.

Implications

The results and analysis of this study generate various implications related to the MTAW,

for the governments, the community, and the connection between MTAW and the community.

Therefore, the purpose of these ideas is to suggest alternative ways in which MTAW

sociolinguistic barriers can be addressed.

Throughout this study I have tried to look at MTAW in Canada with a sociolinguistic

approach and a theoretical perspective that seeks to understand the complex interrelation

between migration and language, and language and migration. Doing so has helped me to see

how the results of this study have implications for practice. To begin, SAWP regulations do not

permit the selection of its members in relation to their human capital (high levels of education

and linguistic skills in English or French) which clear by represents the best predictor of success

in adapting to the host community (Alboim, 2009 cited in Nakache and Kinoshita, 2010) Thus,

how can migrants' linguistic barriers be overcome? Both, the host and sending country should

share the responsibility with the farmers, by designing and delivering language courses for

immigrants, as well as creating communicative opportunities or language socialization.

Also, the SAWP must provide access to language classes (English or French) as part of

the program. However, some of the biggest obstacles to MTAW to attend ESL/FSL classes are

availability, accessibility, and willingness to learn. Thus if ESL/FSL classes were part of their

'work' these obstacles would no longer be an impediment to accomplish, at least, basic

communicative skills, overcoming in this way some linguistic barriers that limit MTAW's life in

Canada. However, MTAW will complain if they have to sacrifice a working hour, or a couple of

working hours, to learn ESL/FSL (even in they have expressed the importance of learning); therefore, I suggest that the hours of class at work could be offered on top of their working hours or as part of their working hours (paid by the employer) as it will benefit not only the workers, but the employers. That is, include ESL/FSL classes as part of the benefits of MTAW working as SAWP members.

On the other hand, one of the biggest problems that MTAW face is their low literacy level, which impedes them from acquiring English or French, as Dustmann (1994) explains, because illiteracy is a limitation for MTAW in Canada. At the same time, digital illiteracy is also a limitation in this technological and globalized era. Therefore, one suggestion is to provide MTAW with literacy classes, either in Mexico or in Canada, which is a first step towards opening further opportunities for them to be able to have formal ESL/FSL classes, understand their contracts, therefore their obligations, but most important, their rights. Obviously the language of contracts can be difficult to understand to the great majority, but if their literacy skills improve, they will be able to negotiate meaning with a linguistic mediator. Likewise, digital literacy[71] classes and access to ITC in Canada would be helpful for MTAW to shorten physical distances with their families in Mexico, as well as to gain human capital that can benefit them individually and their homes in Mexico with its ripple effect.

On the other hand, it is well known that language policies and planning (LPP) promote the integration or exclusion of new immigrants. In Canada, a self-promoted multilingual country, LPP for newcomers has the objective of helping them integrate to the nation, while at the same time the maintenance of ethnic languages is promoted. But for members of the SAWP, ESL/FSL courses for newcomers are not available. Thus, I suggest that language programs for newcomers be extended for MTAW with the same benefits that other migrants have, but adapted

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[71] At the moment of the study, Frontier College was already offering computer classes in the office of Leamington.

for their low educational and literacy level. Likewise, the Canadian and Mexican government could fund community organizations, non-profit, etc. and make them responsible for delivering language courses designed for SAWP and other temporary migrant programs, such as Frontier College, that already has a structured ESL program for migrants but that would need more support to be able to reach all temporary migrants interested in learning the language. Another option could be the expansion of Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) services to temporary migrants, with the same transportation support and for the same period (up to three years, or up to three seasons) as it is offered to other migrants such as landed immigrants, convention refugees, or Canadian citizens.

In the end, the gains will be not only for MTAW, but for the farmers as better communication will have an impact on reducing work problems, accidents, and health problems resulting from misuse of chemical agents used at work, improving productivity in this way. At the same time, the community might also benefit with a group with better opportunities to adapt and work together for the benefit of the country and MTAW goals (which are not overstaying, but improving the quality of life of themselves and their families in Mexico).

Moreover, another option to provide MTAW with language courses (part-time courses) would be to expand Québec's initiative of giving opportunities to learn French for temporary foreign workers (TFW) to MTAW in Quebec, but without having to apply for a study permit. The advantage to use the programs that are already working is that language courses are already designed, the availability of different locations and schedules aimed at being as available as possible for interested temporary migrants. Once this program is extended to the MTAW in Quebec (as pilot project) and proven to work, it could then be extended to the other provinces that receive MTAW. In this way, Canada could be more consistent with the idea that language is

essential for the integration (in this case inclusion and adaptation) of migrants to the country, and

help MTAW to improve their precarious status and human rights at different levels and in

different spaces of their life.

On the other hand, if the same Canadian government offers a self-assessment chart, for

other kinds of migrants under the point system (Chapter 2, Table 6, p. 88), would it not be good

to at least assure that at the end of their first season (or couple of seasons, depending of the

length of the contracts) in Canada MTAW had *basic* proficiency level (i.e. you can communicate

in predicable contexts and on familiar topics, but with some difficulty, (CIC, 2010b)) to move

towards their next years to Moderate proficiency level (i.e. you can communicate comfortably in

familiar social and work situations (CICb, 2010)).

All these implications make us think about the value of language policies to enhance

production and reduce inequalities (Dustmann & Van Soest, 2002; Heller, 1995). Thus, it is

important to tell Canadian authorities, and LPP planners, the importance of rethinking language

policies for temporary migrants, as language knowledge and communicative competence are

beneficial for everyone (MTAW, the employers, and the nation-state). Migrants can overcome

social exclusion and work problems, while employers can experience more productivity and

accuracy, and the nation-state can have TMP that benefit all. Therefore, as it has been said

previously, Canada's immigration policy and language policies for immigrants can be modified

because it is a made-to-order, in Spellman's words (2008), immigration designer policy. After

more than 30 years of MTAW contributing to the fields and economic life in Canada, what

prevents the Canadian government from trying to improve MTAW experience in the country and

to better integrate them to the labour market?

Finally, as Castles (2006) explains "if migrant workers are required, they should have the right to change jobs, bring in families, and stay permanently if they want to" (p. 30). Therefore, I will also suggest full legal status for SAWP members (i.e. offering the option of obtaining permanent residence[72], followed by citizenship), even if the results show that a very low number of participants were considering the possibility of permanent residence in Canada. Indeed, they just want to return to their families in Mexico and then return to Canada to work for another season.

Suggestions for Research

The findings and limitations of this study lead to new questions. Further research needs to be conducted to test the second language acquisition process of MTAW who reported having some linguistic proficiency in English or French. The self-reported data is a good beginning to know that MTAW are not a homogenous linguistic group and that *languages and contacts* happen among this population. Therefore, it is important to understand the second language acquisition (SLA) process of MTAW to contribute to the area of study, but specifically to contribute to the understanding of the SLA process of English and French of Spanish speakers in Canada. Factors such as demographic data, educational and literacy level, SLA environment (i.e. naturalistic or formal instruction), and level of interaction, may be useful to understand and measure the differences or similarities of the outcomes. At the same time, I suggest testing the influence of English in the Spanish of MTAW, looking for lexical borrowings that may lead to look for other kind of structural changes in the Spanish of MTAW, assuming that this could be a variety of Mexican Spanish in Canada.

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[72] Canadian Government says that MTAW are free to apply for residence, but under the point system they do not have a chance.

Additionally, it would be valuable to know if there is a process of koineization or formation of a new dialect among MTAW as a result of dialects and contacts. MTAW that have been part of the SAWP for more than one or two seasons seem to fit the characteristics that promote the creation of a koiné, as it occurs, typically, in 'new' settlements where people of the same language variety, but from different dialects, have migrated, sharing in this way the same context for a period of time (Trudgill, 1998). Evidently, it would be of great interest to know what happens to a potential koiné when the cycle is broken (i.e. at the end of the season) and is resumed months later. Would there be different potential koinés depending on the region? Or would there be similarities within the different possible new varieties of Spanish along the different regions?

I also suggest looking for the effect of Hispanic ethno-linguistic enclaves and linguistic landscapes as factors that determine the linguistic vitality of language minorities, but also as a limitation on learning the language of the majority. I suggest focusing on ethno-linguistic enclaves and linguistic landscapes (LL), because they tell us a lot about the sociolinguistic composition and situation of a particular territory. We can observe the predominance of one language (dominant linguistic group) and the subordination of another (weaker linguistic group), the territorial limits of language use, the power and status of the groups, and even the economical repercussion of the existence of certain linguistic groups (Bourhis, 1992). At the same time, I suggest to carrying out this kind of research on medium sized urban centers with a stable or growing Hispanic population. Intermediate urban centers have considerable potential as they are less studied than bigger urban cities, and are struggling with the integration of immigrants and minorities, the sociolinguistic situation being one of those factors.

It would also be beneficial to follow MTAW, as a case study with a transnational approach, to study them across the physical borders and thus to be able to better understand their linguistic and ethnolinguistic identity and attitudes, and the way that this experience (temporary migration) has impacted their homes, families, and home communities. In this way it would be possible to show the impact of temporary migration, with a sociolinguistic approach, which will contribute to the strong body of research in temporary migration, but from a language and migration perspective.

Finally, I also suggest studying how languages include or exclude not only MTAW and other member of SAWP, but also different kinds of temporary migrants and their families (in cases where families can come with the TMW) that come to Canada under the category 'Workers with Labour Market Opinion' (LMO). This category is conformed by Information Technology Workers, Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP), and Low Skill Pilot Program, which also includes workers from Guatemala working in agriculture (CICb, 2010). A study like this would be important to show if there exists linguistic discrimination, which is subtler than racial or ethnic discrimination. Therefore, it is important to know to what extent linguistic discrimination is restricting migrants from being included in the host society in rural, semi-urban and urban Canadian communities of different sizes (i.e. small, medium and metropolitan) with significant migratory flows, suggesting changes to improve temporary migrants' quality of life, as well as their inclusion process to the country.

Concluding Remarks

Through this study I have attempted to bring a sociolinguistic approach of MTAW that come to Canada every year, on a seasonal basis, through the SAWP between Mexico and Canada. I am interested in this approach because language is a crucial factor to

understand the life of temporary migrants between physical borders, but also because I wanted to contribute to the study of language as a contextualized socially embedded communicative process, always subject to ideological (re)interpretations, to better understand the inclusion or exclusion process of temporary migrant populations (Collins et al., 2010). To do this, I designed the following research questions that guided my study: 1.) How do the biographic backgrounds –human capital- of MTAW restrict or allow them to renegotiate their identity and to be able to deal with their new social and linguistic environment? 2). What and how are the communicative practices of MTAW? 3.)What linguistic barriers do MTAW face and how does it affect their daily lives? and 4). How do the receiving communities include or exclude MTAW?

In this way, to try to answer my research questions, the collected and analyzed data helped me to present who MTAW are, by describing their demographic background, linguistic repertoire, educational and literacy level, occupation, income, and housing in Mexico. Likewise, I have described their families by drawing a profile of MTAW's family members (extended and nuclear family), which has helped me to understand MTAW's origins, as well as the structural changes of the families of Mexican temporary migrants. At the same time, I have described the characteristics of MTAW and the program and what their family thinks of them being part of the SAWP, as well as what MTAW think about their family being part of the program in an hypothetical future.

Moreover, I have presented a vision of how the communities adapt to MTAW and also how communities help MTAW to adapt to them in the absence of integration or adaptation support from the governments of both countries, Canada and Mexico, because of MTAW migratory status. I have also described, analysed and discussed the role that the community

plays and its relation to the region and the number of MTAW that arrive to the same, which has

been an important factor that may suggest that with more involvement of the community, the

better the conditions for MTAW at different levels will be.

Likewise, I have found that MTAW are a heterogeneous group that when they arrive in

Canada are perceived as an homogenous group; therefore, they are identified as a an ethnic (or

rather national) collective of Mexican agricultural workers, without individual characteristics,

that come to work to Canada to return to Mexico with their earnings at the end of their contracts

every season. Therefore, MTAW find difficulties renegotiating who they are at the individual

level. These dynamics may occur as a result of the migrant's human capital (language

competence and literacy level included) and occupation, among other factors; but also because of

integration or segregation policies adopted by the host country and its institutions.

Moreover, I have explained that MTAW are exposed to a contact and languages situation,

as well as a dialect and contact situation where lexical borrowing is happening and where more

studies have to be done to describe a variety of Spanish in Canada where the time and cyclical

pattern of the migratory flows may originate important linguistic phenomena and linguistic

practices that may transcend further, travelling with them to Mexico as language missionaries

(Trudgill, 1986).

In this way, I have also explained that sociolinguistic consequences of temporary

migration will depend not only on the type of languages in contact, but also (and mainly) on a

wide range of factors like time, space, society, politics, economy, education, migratory policies,

migratory status, and need and will to communicate. Likewise, the sociolinguistic approach to

migration issues has helped me to understand and explain processes of inclusion/exclusion to the

host society because the sociolinguistic barriers and approach show another dimension of

exclusion and discrimination of Canadians toward migrants' backgrounds and identities. Hence, the relevance of studying in which way language (i.e. linguistic identities, proficiencies and ideologies) mediates social inclusion/exclusion and adaptation to the society in Canada.

Moreover, I have explicated that MTAW may suffer marginalization and linguistic exclusion as a result of sociolinguistic barriers and their communicative practices, but also as a result of the bilateral agreement between Mexico and Canada that restricts them from having the benefits of ESL/FSL programs for newcomers, even if the ability of immigrants to communicate with the members of the host country has been proposed by multiple scholars (Dustmann and Van Soest, 2002; Heller, 1995; Ricento, 2007) as one of the most valuable and flexible determinants for social and economic participation, integration, inclusion and or adaptation to the Canadian environment. English or French, accordingly, are one of the most valuable resources to make use and acquire human capital, either as a resource, symbol or medium.

On the other hand, I have explained how some groups of the Canadian community, organization, alliances, religious groups and Non-governmental Organizations, among others, have reacted to the presence of MTAW (even if not in the same way in different regions) acting towards their temporary adaptation to the country and defending their human rights by providing them with information and services in Spanish, while they also organize and provides them with access to ESL/FSL classes, where even if the response of MTAW is not the expected one for different reasons such as the long working hours, the choice to have a free day instead of going to classes, the idea that they would not learn the language, the curriculum, the availability, etc., it is the only way in which MTAW can have access to language classes while they are in Canada. MTAW rely on the services and information that the community provides them with to have a better quality of life while they are in Canada.

Finally, I have also presented the voice of MTAW, who with their valuable participation have expressed their interest in SAWP as a life-style for them. The SAWP, as it has been said, has become a career choice for MTAW. This choice, has allowed them to overcome poverty in Mexico (a long process, which is why they keep returning each season) and to improve their families' quality of life (specially their housing conditions and children's education). Thus, SAWP has two sides, for MTAW in Canada SAWP is a program interested only in low-skilled labour to work the fields of the country, while in Mexico it is seen as an opportunity to *salir adelante* (i.e. succeed) and improve MTAW and their families' life which seems to be fulfilling MTAW expectations, not without having social consequences for all parts involved in the migratory process.

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Appendix A

Letter of Acceptance

Carta Aceptación   **Participante No. ___**

Me gustaría incluirle en un proyecto de investigación cuyo propósito es estudiar la situación lingüística y social de los trabajadores mexicanos que vienen a Canadá cada año a través del programa de trabajadores agrícolas temporales (PTAT), con el objetivo de conocer la problemática a la que se enfrentan debido a la barrera del lenguaje y sus repercusiones sociales.

La participación en este estudio comprende aspectos como ser entrevistado acerca de sus perspectivas en cuanto al uso del lenguaje, la lectura y escritura, su vida en Canadá y en México, el programa y la forma en que éste ha influenciado su vida y la de su familia en México. De igual manera y con su consentimiento se registrarán los datos lo más adecuadamente posible, por lo cual será necesario el uso de una grabadora que me permita documentar con mayor precisión lo dicho por usted. Teniendo en cuenta que sus ideas son muy importantes para mi análisis es importante compartir con usted la versión preliminar de lo que escriba acerca de las entrevistas realizadas con el objetivo de recibir su retroalimentación en el caso de que usted lo considere conveniente. Si está de acuerdo, es importante que sepa que quizá le contactaré en el futuro (segundo y tercer año) para darle seguimiento a este estudio.

Su participación es completamente voluntaria. Si desea, puede dejar de participar en cualquier momento a lo largo de la entrevista y la información que se haya grabado será borrada en parte o en su totalidad de acuerdo a su voluntad. Toda información recolectada durante este estudio será estrictamente confidencial y nadie más aparte de mi supervisora y yo tendrá acceso a esta información. La información solamente se publicará con fines académicos, publicaciones y congresos, y su nombre e identidad no será revelada nunca.

Es importante que sepa que no corre ningún riesgo al participar en este estudio. Así mismo, tampoco obtendrá un beneficio personal por ser un participante pero su participación puede ayudar a mejorar nuestro conocimiento y entendimiento del contacto entre lenguas y sus hablantes en general.

En consideración a su ayuda en este estudio le serán pagados 10 dólares canadienses por hora, repartido en el tiempo que pase conmigo. Si por cualquier motivo decide no terminar el cuestionario, se le pagará de acuerdo al tiempo que pasó contestándolo.

Por favor indique claramente en la parte inferior de esta carta, u oralmente, si puedo contar con su permiso para incluirle en mi estudio para mi tesis de Doctorado. Si tiene preguntas sobre el proyecto, por favor no dude en contactarme por teléfono o por correo electrónico al número que aparece en la parte inferior de esta carta, de la cual usted tendrá una copia. Igualmente puede contactar al respecto a la coordinadora de este estudio: Dra. Joyce Bruhn de Garavito.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante en este estudio, puede contactar a la oficina de "*Research Ethics*" de la Universidad de Western Ontario.

Esperando contar con su valiosa participación me despido de usted.

Atentamente

Maria Eugenia de Luna V.

( )   Acepto que me hagan esta entrevista.
( )   Acepto que me contacten de nuevo para continuar el estudio.
( )   Acepto que tomen fotografías para documentar la investigación.

He leído la carta de información y me han contestado mis preguntas satisfactoriamente.

Acepto

_____
Nombre y firma del participante

_____
Lugar y Fecha

Acepto

_____
Nombre y firma de la persona que obtiene el permiso

_____
Lugar y Fecha

Appendix B

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

(Cuestionario Sociolingüístico)

Participante No._____

Datos demográficos:

Nombre (pseudónimo): _____

Edad_____   Sexo: F _____ M _____

1. Lugar de nacimiento: _____

2. Lugar de origen: _____

3. Estado Civil: Soltero _____Casado ____Unión libre _____   Divorciado____   Viudo_____

4. ¿Tiene hijos?   Si _____ No _____ ¿Cuántos? _____

5. ¿Cuántas personas viven en su hogar? _____ Parentesco: _____

    Vive en casa:

    Propia _____ Rentada _____ De sus padres _____ De sus suegros _____

    Otro _____

6. ¿De qué tipo de construcción es su casa? _____

7. ¿Tiene baño en su casa? Si _____ No _____

8. ¿Tiene cocina separada de las recámaras? Si _____ No _____

9. ¿Tiene alguna otra propiedad? Si _____ No _____ ¿De qué tipo? _____

10. ¿Tiene algún tipo de vehículo? Si _____ No _____ Modelo _____ Año _____

11. ¿Tiene licencia de conducir? Si _____ No _____ Tipo de licencia _____

12. Ocupación(es) previa(s) en México: _____

13. Salario mensual aproximado en sú último trabajo en México. ¿En qué año? _____

    De 500 a 1000 pesos _____

    De 1000 a 2000 pesos _____

    De 2000 a 3000 pesos _____

    De 3000 a 4000 pesos _____

    De 4000 a 5000 pesos _____

    Más de 5000 pesos _____

Educación y alfabetización

14. ¿Qué grado escolar ha cursado?:

    Primaria: 1º ___2º ___ 3º ___ 4º ___ 5º ___ 6º ___ Otro _____

15. ¿Sabe leer? Si_____ No_____ ¿En qué idioma? _____

16. ¿Hace algún tipo de lectura? Si _____   No_____ ¿Qué lee? _____

17. ¿Qué tan bien cree que lee?

Muy bien _____

Bien _____

Más o menos _____

Mal _____

Muy mal _____

18. ¿Qué lee en esta (s) lengua (s)? Marque con una cruz:

Español	*Segunda Lengua*	*Tercera Lengua*
1. Revistas_____	Revistas_____	Revistas_____
2. Periódicos_____	Periódicos_____	Periódicos_____
3. Libros _____	Libros _____	Libros _____
4. Páginas de internet_____	Páginas de internet_____	Páginas de internet_____
5. e-mails _____	e-mails _____	e-mails_____
6. Mensajes de texto_____	Mensajes de texto_____	Mensajes de texto_____
7. Manuales técnicos_____	Manuales técnicos _____	Manuales técnicos_____
8. Propaganda_____	Propaganda_____	Propaganda_____
9. Catálogos_____	Catálogos_____	Catálogos_____
10. Etiquetas_____	Etiquetas_____	Etiquetas_____
11. Publicidad_____	Publicidad_____	Publicidad_____
12. Literatura Religiosa_____	Literatura Religiosa_____	Literatura Religiosa_____
13. Documentos de gobierno__	Documentos de gobierno__	Documentos de gobierno_
14. Anuncios/Avisos _____	Anuncios/Avisos_____	Anuncios/Avisos _____
15. Otros _____	Otros _____	Otros _____

19. ¿Sabe escribir? Si_____ No_____ ¿En qué idioma? _____

20. ¿Le gusta escribir? Si _____   No_____ ¿Qué escribe? _____

¿Qué tan bien cree que escribe?

Muy bien _____

Bien _____

Más o menos _____

Mal _____

Muy mal _____

22. ¿Qué escribe en esta(s) lengua(s)?

Español	*Segunda Lengua*	*Tercera Lengua*
1.Cartas_____	Cartas_____	Cartas _____
2. Listas_____	Listas _____	Listas _____
3. Recados _____	Recados _____	Recados _____
4. e-mails _____	e-mails _____	e-mails _____
5. Mensajes de texto_____	Mensajes de texto_____	Mensajes de texto_____
6. Formularios _____	Formularios _____	Fomularios _____
7. Cuentas _____	Cuentas_____	Cuentas _____
8. Historias _____	Historias _____	Historias _____
9. Diario _____	Diario _____	Diario_____
10. Notas _____	Notas _____	Notas _____
11. Avisos _____	Avisoso _____	Avisos _____
12. Asuntos trabajo_____	Asuntos trabajo _____	Asuntos trabajo_____
13. Otros _____	Otros _____	Otros _____

23. ¿Sabe usar la computadora? Si _____   No_____ Tiene acceso a una: _____

¿Dónde? _____

¿Para qué la usa?_____

_____

_____

Lenguaje

24. ¿Cuál es su lengua materna? _____

25. ¿Habla alguna otra lengua? Si _____ No _____ ¿Cuál? _____

26. ¿Entiende alguna otra lengua? Si _____ No _____ ¿Cuál? _____

27. Habla o entiende alguna lengua/dialecto indígena? Si _____ No _____ ¿Cuál? _____

28. ¿Cuáles de las siguientes habilidades tiene en esta (s) lengua (s)? Marque con una cruz:

Español	*Segunda Lengua*	*Tercera Lengua*
Leer_____	Leer_____	Leer_____
Hablar _____	Hablar _____	Hablar_____
Escribir_____	Escribir_____	Escribir_____
Escuchar _____	Escuchar _____	Escuchar _____

29. ¿Dónde o con quién la (s) utiliza? Marque con una cruz:

Español	*Segunda Lengua*	*Tercera Lengua*
1. Nadie _____	Nadie _____	Nadie _____
2. Casa _____	Casa _____	Casa _____
3. Trabajo _____	Trabajo _____	Trabajo _____
4. Amigos _____	Amigos _____	Amigos _____
5. Familiares _____	Familiares _____	Familiares _____
6. Tienda _____	Tienda _____	Tienda _____
7. Vecinos _____	Vecinos _____	Vecinos _____
8. Otros _____	Otros _____	Otros _____

30. ¿Con qué frecuencia la (s) usa? Marque con una cruz:

Español	*Segunda Lengua*	*Tercera Lengua*
Nunca _____	Nunca _____	Nunca _____
Raramente _____	Raramente _____	Raramente_____
De vez en cuando_____	De vez en cuando_____	De vez en cuando_____
A menudo_____	A menudo_____	A menudo_____
Todos los días_____	Todos los días_____	Todos los días _____

31. ¿Qué idioma(s) habla en casa?

Español_____ Lengua indígena _____ ¿Cuál?_____

Otra _____

32.¿A qué edad aprendió su segunda/ tercera lengua? _____

33. En su opinión, su manejo de esa(s) lengua(s) es:

Primera lengua	*Segunda lengua*	*Tercera lengua*
Básico _____	Básico _____	Básico _____
Intermedio _____	Intermedio _____	Intermedio _____
Avanzado _____	Avanzado _____	Avanzado _____
Casi nativo _____	Casi nativo _____	Casi nativo _____

34.¿Toma o ha tomado clases de inglés o francés como segunda lengua (ESL/FSL)? Si ___ No ____

35.¿Por cuánto tiempo? _____

36.¿Dónde? _____

37.¿Fue un servicio gratuito? Si _____ No _____

38. Cuáles de las siguientes habilidades considera usted que tiene en inglés/francés:

Leer_____

Hablar _____

Escribir_____

Escuchar _____

39. En su opinión, su manejo del inglés/francés es:

Básico _____

Intermedio _____

Avanzado _____

Casi nativo _____

40. ¿Qué tan importante es para usted saber inglés/francés? Explique sus motivos:

_____

_____

41. ¿Dónde o con quién lo utiliza?

_____

42. Si no sabe inglés/francés, le gustaría aprender? Si _____   No _____

¿Por qué?

_____

43. ¿Si le ofrecieran clases de inglés/francés gratuitas al terminar su contrato, lo aceptaría? Si ____

No _____

¿Por qué? _____

_____

44. ¿De qué manera cree que le ayudaría saber inglés/francés?

_____

_____

45. ¿Necesita saber inglés/francés para desempeñar su trabajo? Si _____   No _____ ¿Por qué

piensa esto?

_____

46. ¿Le gusta el inglés/francés? _____

47. ¿Cree que ha olvidado algo del español? ¿Qué?

_____

48. ¿Cree que ha aprendido nuevas expresiones al conocer otros mexicanos de otras regiones?

Si _____ No _____

Si contesto sí, mencione algunas.

_____

49.   ¿Cree que ha olvidado algo de su lengua indígena? Si _____ No _____

¿Qué? _____

50. ¿Cuenta con la ayuda de algún amigo o conocido para comunicar sus necesidades? Si _____   No_____

¿Quién?_____

51. ¿En qué idioma se comunica en el trabajo?

_____

52. ¿En qué idioma se comunica cuando va de compras?

_____

53. ¿En qué idioma se comunica cuando va al doctor, dentista, farmacia?

_____

54. ¿En qué idioma se comunicaría si tuviera algún problema legal?

_____

55. ¿En qué idioma se comunica cuando necesita algún otro tipo de servicio?

_____

_____

56. Asiste a misa/servicio religioso: Si _____   No _____ Afiliación _____

¿En qué idioma? _____

De la vivienda

57.¿Dónde vive? _____

58.¿Qué servicios tiene ese lugar? _____

_____

59.¿Con cuántas personas comparte su cuarto? _____

60.¿Son mexicanos? Si _____ No _____ ¿De qué lugar son? _____

_____

61.¿Qué idiomas hablan? _____

_____

62.¿En qué idioma se comunican?_____

63.¿A qué servicios tiene acceso en su casa?_____

64. ¿Ve televisión? Si _____   No_____ ¿Con qué frecuencia?_____

¿Qué programas ve?_____

65.¿Escucha música? Si _____ No_____¿Con qué frecuencia? _____

¿Qué tipo de música? _____

¿En qué idioma?_____

66.¿Cómo se comunica a su casa en México y con qué frecuencia?

_____

Del programa

67.Número de años en el programa_____

68.¿Por cuántos meses vino contratado en esta ocasión? _____

69.¿De qué manera se enteró del programa?

_____

70. ¿Por qué razón se interesó en el programa?

_____

71.¿Cómo ingresó en el programa?

_____

72.¿Cuánto tiempo tardó en recibir su visa? _____

73.¿Recibió ayuda o asesoría para entrar en el programa?

_____

74.¿En cuántas granjas ha trabajado? _____ ¿En dónde? _____

_____

75.¿Cómo considera el trato que le dan?_____

76.¿Qué le gusta del programa?_____

77.Si pudiera ¿Qué le gustaría cambiar del programa?_____

78.¿En qué consiste su trabajo?_____

79.¿Recibió capacitación/entrenamiento para hacer su trabajo? Si ____ No____

¿En qué idioma?_____

80.Recibió entrenamiento sobre medidas de seguridad en su trabajo? Si ____   No____

¿En qué idioma?_____

81.¿Le gusta su trabajo? Si ____   No____Explique _____

82.¿Qué piensa de que las mujeres participen en el programa? _____

De la familia

Datos generales

Madre

Grado escolar: _____

Ocupación:_____

¿Qué idiomas habla su madre?

Español_____ Lengua indígena _____   ¿Cuál? _____

Otra_____

Sabe leer y escribir?   Si_____   No _____

Padre

Grado escolar: _____

Ocupación:_____

¿Qué idiomas habla su padre?

Español_____ Lengua indígena _____   ¿Cuál? _____

Otra _____

Sabe leer y escribir?   Si_____   No _____

Su pareja:

Grado escolar de su pareja: _____

Ocupación: _____

¿Qué idiomas habla su pareja?

Español_____ Lengua indígena _____   ¿Cuál? _____

Otra _____

Sabe leer y escribir?   Si_____   No _____

Sus hijos:

No. de hijos: _____   Sexo:_____

Primer hijo

Grado escolar: _____

Ocupación (si es otra que estudiante): _____

¿Qué idiomas habla?

Español_____ Lengua indígena _____   ¿Cuál? _____

Otra _____

¿Sabe leer y escribir?   Si_____   No _____

Segundo hijo

Grado escolar: _____

Ocupación (si es otra que estudiante): _____

¿Qué idiomas habla?

Español_____ Lengua indígena _____   ¿Cuál? _____

Otra _____

¿Sabe leer y escribir?   Si_____   No _____

Tercer hijo

Grado escolar: _____

Ocupación (si es otra que estudiante): _____

¿Qué idiomas habla?

Español_____ Lengua indígena _____   ¿Cuál? _____

Otra _____

¿Sabe leer y escribir?   Si_____   No _____

De la familia y el programa

83. ¿A partir de que estás en el programa le ha interesado que sus hijos estudien inglés/francés? Si_____

NO___ ¿Por qué?_____

84. ¿Qué piensa su familia de que esté usted en Canadá?

_____

85. ¿Piensa regresar la próxima temporada? Si _____   No _____

¿Por qué? _____

86. ¿Le gustaría que sus hijos participaran un día en el programa? Si _____   No _____

¿Por qué? _____

87. ¿Le gustaría que sus hijas participaran un día en el programa? Si _____   No _____

¿Por qué? _____

88. ¿Algún familiar suyo participa en el programa? Si _____ No _____

89. ¿Algún amigo suyo participa en el programa? Si _____ No _____

90. ¿Ha trabajado en otro país que no sea México y Canadá? Si _____   No _____

¿Dónde?   _____

De la lengua y usted

91. Qué lengua usa cuando habla con…

Dios _____   Gobierno en Canadá _____

Abuelos _____   Doctores en Canadá_____

Padres _____   Supervisor _____

Vecinos _____   Jefe o Dueño _____

Parientes _____   Comercios _____

Esposa _____   Compañeros de trabajo_____

Hijos _____   Farmacia _____

¡Gracias!

Appendix C

Ethical Approval Notice

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

The University of Western Ontario
Room 112 University College,
London, ON, Canada N6A 3K7
Telephone: (519) 661-3043 Fax: (519) 661-3640

Review Number	2009-01	Approval Date	May 1, 2009
Principal Investigator	Joyce Bruhn de Garavito	End Date	April 30, 2112
Protocol Title	Rethinking Language Contact : Mexican temporary migrants in Canada		
Outcome of the review	The protocol was considered by the Board and will be approved upon receipt and acceptance of the following modifications and/or responses.		

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Faculty of Arts and Humanities
Research Ethics Board (AHREB) has granted ethics approval to the above named research
study, as modified, effective on the date noted above

The AHREB is a sub-REB of The University of Western Ontario's Research Ethics Board for
Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates
according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.
(See Office of Research Ethics web site: http://www.uwo.ca/research/ethics/)

This approval shall remain valid until end date noted above assuming timely and acceptable
responses to the University's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form
may be initiated without prior written approval from the AHREB except when necessary to
eliminate immediate hazards to the subject or when the change(s) involve only logistical or
administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of research assistant, telephone number etc).
Subjects must receive a copy of the information/consent documentation.

Investigators must promptly report to the AHREB:
 a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of
the study;
 b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
 c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the
study.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation,
and/or recruitment advertisement, the newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or
advertisement, must be submitted to the AHREB for approval.

Members of the AHREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict
of interest, do not participate in discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are
presented to the AHREB.
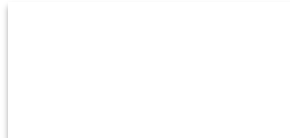
David Heap
Chair, Faculty of Arts and Humanities Expedited Research Ethics Board (AHREB)

Curriculum Vitae

MARIA EUGENIA DE LUNA VILLALÓN

EDUCATION

2007-present
Ph.D, Hispanic Studies-Linguistics
The University of Western Ontario, London, On.
Thesis: Mexican Temporary Agricultural Workers in Canada:
             A Sociolinguistic Approach
Supervisor: Dr. Joyce Bruhn de Garavito

2004-2006
Master of Arts, Applied Linguistics
Universidad de las Américas Puebla, México
Thesis: Prácticas de Lectoescritura en el Hogar: Estudio de
             Caso de Cuatro Familias Mexicanas Inmigrantes en
             Canadá (Homeliteracy Practices: Case Study of Four
             Mexican Immigrant Families in Canada)
Supervisor: Dr. Luz Alba Murillo Benjumea

1984-1990
Bachelor of Arts with Cum Laude, Communication Sciences,
Universidad de las Américas Puebla, Mexico
Thesis: San Pablito Cuna del Amatl (San Pablito: Cradle of
             Amate Paper)-Ethnographic Documentary
Supervisor: Javier Tellez García

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

2007-2010   **Western Certificate in University Teaching and Learning**
                The University of Western Ontario
2010 (Summer)   **Summer School of Sociolinguistics**
                University of Edinburgh
                Scotland
2000-2001   **Diploma in Business Administration**
                Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey
                (ITESM), Mexico

SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS

2010-2011   Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC)
                Doctoral Fellowship
2010-2011   Graduate Thesis Research Award
2010   Alumni Graduate Award
2009-2010   Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS)
2009-2010   Graduate Thesis Research Award
2009   Mary Routledge Fellowship
2009   Lynne-Lionel Scott Fellowship in Canadian Studies
2006   Graduate Fellow/Visitor Scholar, Transnational Literacy

	Researchers Work Group, Center for the Americas, Vanderbilt University, U.S.
2005	Visiting Scholar. North American Grant Mobility Program, Department of Education, University of Manitoba, Canada
2004-2006	Excellence Scholarship, Department of Applied Linguistics, UDLAP, Mexico
1987-1989	Departmental Scholarship. Department of New Acquisitions, Library, UDLAP, Mexico

TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

- Sociolinguistics
- Language and Migration
- Spanish as a Second Language
- Literacy Practices
- Applied Linguistics
- Public knowledge of language and linguistics

TEACHING EXPERIENCE
Instructor

2010   **Language and Migration (SP4407)**
University of Western Ontario, London, On.
- Designed and delivered a Language and Migration course for undergraduate students
- Designed a WebCt site for the course
- Counseled students experiencing difficulties in the course
- Graded presentations, participation, critical essays, and term papers

2010   **Hispanic Sociolinguistics (SP3314)**
University of Western Ontario, London, On.
- Designed and delivered a Hispanic Sociolinguistics course for undergraduate students
- Designed a WebCt site for the course
- Counseled students experiencing difficulties in the course
- Graded exams, presentations, on-line participation, term papers, and final examinations

Teaching Assistant

2009   **Intermediate Spanish (SP2200)**
University of Western Ontario, London, On.
- Designed and delivered laboratory sessions using WebCT and WIMBA tools
- Graded laboratory assignments and participation

2009	**Seminar on Transatlantic Studies (SP9785)**

University of Western Ontario, London, On.
Module: Language, Literature and Migration
- Designed and organized one of the four modules of the course for graduate students
- Invited the speakers and moderated the sessions
- Organized an on-line conference
- Designed and delivered the discussion session

2008-2009	**Intermediate Spanish (SP2200)**

University of Western Ontario, London, On.
- Prepared and delivered an intermediate Spanish course
- Counseled students experiencing difficulties in the course
- Graded tests, exams, compositions, presentations, participation and final examinations

2007-2008	**Spanish for beginners (SP030)**

University of Western Ontario, London, On.
- Prepared and delivered a beginners Spanish course
- Counseled students experiencing difficulties in the course
- Graded tests, exams, compositions, presentations, participation and final examinations

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE
Research Assistant

2009	**University of Western Ontario, London, On.** **Supervisors: Joyce Bruhn de Garavito, PhD and Shelley Taylor, PhD**

- Participated in the design of an Ecology of Language interdisciplinary course (Education and Hispanic Studies)

2008	**University of Western Ontario, London, On.** **Supervisor: Joyce Bruhn de Garavito, PhD.**

- Participated in the design of the Tutorial for Spanish Teaching Assistants for the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures
- Participated in the design of the WebCT site for the tutorial

2008	**University of Western Ontario, London, On.** **Supervisor: Elenza Valenzuela, PhD**

- Participated in the research "Code Switching" at the Hispanic Studies Program.
    - Designed, applied, and analyzed linguistics tests

EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE

2010-2011	**Editor-in-Chief**, Entrehojas: Revista de Estudios Hispánicos

The University of Western Ontario, London, On.
- Contributed to the proposal for the launch of the Hispanic Studies Graduate Journal
- Participated in the design of the journal's website
- Edited the linguistics section of the annual graduate journal

PUBLICATIONS

De Luna, M.E. (2011). ELE: una comunidad de práctica donde se puede promover el diálogo colborativo sobre temas interculturales. *Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional en la Red sobre Interculturalidad y Educación. Educación Intercultural y enseñanza de lenguas*, Vol. 3, 15-21. Retrieved from http://practicaseneducacion.org/

(R) De Luna, M. E (2010). Leer y escribir en español: Una manera de mantener la L1 de inmigrantes mexicanos en Canadá. *In Selected Proceedings 12th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Eds. Borgonovo, C. et al. Somerville, M.A.: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

(R) De Luna, M. E. (2010). Prácticas de Lectoescritura en los exvotos. *In Lectura y Vida: Revista latinoamericana de lectura*, Vol. 31 (2), 70-79.

(R) De Luna, M. E. (2009). Community of Practice: a Multicultural Classroom at the Graduate level. *In Ubiquitous Learning: An International Journal*. Vol. 1 (4), 19-27.

CONFERENCES ATTENDED

De Luna, M. E. (2011). Sociolinguistics Barriers: Constructing and Reproducing Temporary Migrants' Social Inequalities. Poster presented at "Taking Stock of a Turbulent Decade and Looking Ahead: Immigration to North America in 2000-2010", The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, April, 2011.

De Luna, M. E. (2011). World Café: a model that helps to promote collaborative dialogue in the language classroom. Paper presented at "Innovative Approaches to Second Language Teaching: Interdisciplinary Multimodal, Digital Tried and True Practices." The Language Learning Centre of the University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, April, 2011.

De Luna, M. E. (2011). "Homeliteracy Practices: A case study of Mexican transnational families living in Western Canada". Paper presented at the Mobility, Language, Literacy. Cape Town, South Africa, January, 2011.

De Luna, M. E. (2010). "Multilingual Landscape: A Manifestation of Linguistic and Social Segregation". Poster presented at the Sociolinguistics Summer School, Edinburgh, Scotland, June, 2010.

De Luna, M.E. (2010). "Rethinking Language Contact". Paper presented at the Faculty of Education/Multilingual Language Education (MLE) in Global Perspective, The University of Western Ontario. London, Ontario, June, 2010.

De Luna, M.E. (2010). "Escenario Lingüístico Multilingüe: Una evidencia de vitalidad etnolingüística". Paper presented at Mediaciones Transculturales en espacios iberoamericanos. Lenguas literaturas y traducción/Départment de littératures et de langues modernes. Faculté des arts et des sciences/ Université de Montréal. Montreal, Quebec, May, 2010.

De Luna, M.E. (2010). Temporary migrants: coping with language barriers and its implications… temporarily?" Poster presented at the Research Day, University of Western Ontario, May, 2010.

De Luna, M.E. (2010). "ELE: una comunidad de práctica donde se puede promover el diálogo colaborativo sobre temas interculturales". Paper presented at I Congreso en la red sobre Interculturalidad y Educación, Virtual-Spain, March, 2010.

De Luna, M.E. (2010). "Multilingual Landscape: a manifestation of linguistic and social segregation. Paper presented at the American Association on Applied Linguistics (AAAL)-2010, Georgia, March, 2010.

De Luna, M.E. (2010). "Temporary Migrants: Coping with language barriers and its implications… temporarily:" Poster presented at AILA Research Network "Language and Migration", University of Fribourgh, Switzerland, January, 2010.

De Luna, M.E. (2009). "Temporary Migrants: coping with language barriers… temporarily?" Paper presented at the Four Corners Immigration Conference, Mesa State University, Colorado, October, 2009.

De Luna, M.E. (2009). "Migrantes mexicanos temporarles en Canadá: ¿Una diáspora temporal?" Paper presented at ALFALITO: Cuestiones Lingüísticas en relación a la diáspora latinoamericana, Graduate Center, CUNY, New York, September, 2009.

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De Luna, M.E. (2009). "Leer y escribir en el hogar de familias mexicanas inmigrantes en Canadá: transmisión, mantenimiento, y reapropiación de prácticas culturales. Paper presented at Quinto Congrerso Internacional de la Cátedra UNESCO para el Mejoramiento de la Calidad y Equidad de la Educación en América Latina con base en la Lectura y la Escritura, Carácas, Venezuela. July, 2009.

De Luna, M.E. and García-Allen, A. (2009). "Seminario On-line para los TAs de español". XLV Congreso de la Asociación Canadiense de Hispanistas, Carleton University, Ottawa, May, 2009.

De Luna, M.E. (2009). "Teaching Spanish language using on-line technologies". Paper presented at International Linguistic Association, St. John's University, New York, March, 2009.

De Luna, M.E. (2009). "What code-mixed DPs can tell us about gender". Poster presented at the Mind-Context Divide Workshop, Iowa, US, April, 2009.

De Luna, M.E. (2009). "El hogar como un contexto sociocultural de prácticas de lectoescritura de inmigrantes mexicanos en canadá". Paper presented at 30 años de Lectura y Escritura en América Latina, Universidad de la Plata, Buenos Aires, Argentina, January, 2009.

De Luna, M.E. (2009). "Mexican Temporary migrants in Canada: a sociolinguistic approach". Paper presented at WISSRL-University of Western Ontario, London. Februrary, 2009.

De Luna, M.E. (2009). "Migración temporal: un factor importante para repensar las lenguas en contacto". Paper presented at Quebec-Ontario Dialogues on the Acquisition of Spanish (QODAS), University of Western Ontario, London, On. February, 2009.

De Luna, M.E. (2009). "Política y planeación de lenguaje en México: ¿Excesos politicos o falta de planeación?" Paper presented at Aesthetics of Excess, University of Western Ontario, London, On. February, 2009.

De Luna, M.E. (2008). "Leer y escribir en español: una manera de mantenera la L1 de inmigrantes mexicanos en Canadá". Paper presented at the Hispanic Linguistic Symposium (HLS), Laval University, Quebec City, Qc. October, 2008.

De Luna, M.E. (2008). "Prácticas de lectoescritura en el hogar: estudio de caso de cuatro familiar mexicanas inmigrantes en Canadá". Paper presented at the Quebec-Ontario Dialogues on the Acquisition of Spanish (QODAS), University of Montreal, Montreal, Qc., February, 2008.

De Luna, M.E. (2008). "Prácticas de lectoescritura en los exvotos". Paper presented at Tecnologías de la Escritura, University of Western Ontario, London, On. January, 2008.

MEMBERSHIPS

2010-present	**Member**, Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS)
2010-present	**Member,** Research Network on Language and Migration
2009-present	**Member,** Asociación Candiense de Hispanistas
2009-present	**Member,** Canadian Association of Applied Linguistics

VOLUNTEER WORK EXPERIENCE

2005-2006   Reading Recovery Tutor, Ryerson Elementary School Winnipeg, Manitoba

- Facilitated reading recovery strategies for grade 1, 2 and 3

2005   Research Assistant, Universidad de las Américas Puebla/INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT OF FAMILIES
Puebla, México

- Planned and facilitated workshops for deaf children and their parents

2004   Teaching Assistant**,** Jean-Piaget School Puebla México

- Provided guidance for deaf students of grade 2

LANGUAGES

- Spanish: Native
- English: Advanced spoken and written
- French: Intermediate spoken and written
- Mexican Sign Language: Basic

SOFTWARE

- WebCT (Blackboard)
- WIMBA
- NVivo
- Childes