

THE FIVE CORRIDORS PROJECT - CORRIDOR 5

Mexico to Canada: Fair recruitment in review

JULY 2021



ABOUT THIS DOCUMENT

The Five Corridors Project is an initiative led by FairSquare Projects, which aims to identify key measures that governments can take to ensure that migrant workers can migrate safely and with dignity. FairSquare Projects is a non-profit human rights organisation that tailors rigorous research with communication and advocacy work to promote systemic change. The Five Corridors Project is supported by Open Society Foundations, Humanity United and Porticus. The organisations that funded this project played no role in the design or execution of the research, and our conclusions and recommendations may not necessarily reflect the viewpoints of Humanity United, OSF or Porticus.

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Cover photograph: Mexican migrant workers picking strawberries, Quebec, July, 2020. © Pierre Desrosiers / Getty Images

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3. Bilateral labour arrangements

“One of the biggest issues with the SAWP is that it lacks worker voice.” PROFESSOR LEAH VOSKO, YORK UNIVERSITY, 2020.

Summary

The section focuses primarily on the Mexico-Canada SAWP Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), since both countries have relatively few bilateral arrangements regarding labour migration. The Mexico-Canada SAWP MOU is the most significant such arrangement for either country. Canada also has SAWP MOUs with Caribbean countries, and four Canadian provinces have MOUs with the Philippines.

The Mexico-Canada SAWP has a high profile in Mexico and Canada. While the underpinning MOU is only available via freedom of information requests in Canada, the programme’s key provisions are widely accessible, including the standard annual employment contract. The MOU makes no explicit reference to internationally recognised human rights and labour standards, but outlines the principle of non discrimination for Mexican workers, stating that workers are to receive, “adequate accommodation and treatment equal to that received by Canadian workers performing the same type of agricultural work, in accordance with Canadian laws.” As such, the degree to which migrant workers’ human rights are protected depends primarily on Canada’s domestic legislative regime, which - in several important provinces - limits the rights and protections for agricultural workers, irrespective of nationality, with respect to trade unions and labour standards.

The Mexican government’s commitment to the “selection, recruitment and documentation” of workers - in response to Canadian requests for labour - is arguably the core fair recruitment mechanism within the agreement, eliminating the need for private sector recruiters. This has an effect in reducing the risk of exploitative fee charging and fraudulent recruitment, as explored in section 6. The Mexican government also has authority to directly involve itself in the implementation and monitoring

of the programme in Canada. A representative of the Mexican government signs the employment contract alongside the worker, and the consulate must formally approve the accommodation (alongside Canadian inspectors) and the private insurance provided by the employer. Mexican consulates conduct site visits to farms and play a direct role in managing complaints they receive from workers. Worker transfers must be approved by the consulate. As explored in section 7, many workers consider that the consulates could do more to support them, and quality of provision appears highly dependent on the personnel at specific missions and the geographic location of the workers in Canada. Housing conditions, wages and working hours, among other issues, remain significant concerns. Nevertheless, most experts agree that the enhanced authorities the SAWP awards to origin state officials improves workers’ abilities to raise complaints, as compared to workers outside the SAWP.

The SAWP MOU provides for annual reviews by both Mexico and Canada “after consultation with employer groups in Canada.” Changes to the employment contract are agreed at this review. At present, workers are not represented in the meetings, and thus are not able to directly negotiate improvements to working conditions and the fair recruitment of migrant workers under the SAWP. Employers have resisted the inclusion of unions, on the basis that because workers cannot unionise in many provinces of Canada, Canadian unions are not the right actors to represent their interest. For its part the Mexican government says it represents workers’ interests in SAWP meetings and seeks contract amendments based on feedback from workers each season. However a former official told us that the government has to prioritise keeping demand for Mexican seasonal workers high, reducing its appetite for tough negotiations over the SAWP contract.

Recommendations to both the Mexican and Canadian governments

- Allow worker representation and participation, including by Mexican and Canadian unions and civil society organizations at SAWP annual meetings, in line with ILO guidance on bilateral agreements.

Recommendations to the Mexican government

- Make data available from the Report of Return and the STPS' Information System of Labour Mobility (SIMOL) publicly, to allow academics and civil society organizations to undertake analysis of worker outcomes under the SAWP and the LMM on wages, remittances, and other relevant programme information, while respecting workers' confidentiality.

3.1 Are the agreements publicly accessible in relevant languages? Are migrant worker organizations aware of them?

Mexico

We were unable to locate the SAWP MOU itself on any Mexican government site. However, information related to the bilateral Mexico-Canada Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP), including general guidelines,³³³ operational manuals,³³⁴ and summaries of the MOU³³⁵ are accessible online from Mexican government websites. More generally, the SAWP has a relatively

high profile in Mexico, and information to promote the program is communicated by the Mexican government via the internet, radio, and social media.³³⁶

Migrant worker organizations such as ProDESC, Centro de los Derechos del Migrante and the National Network of Agricultural Workers, are aware of the SAWP and its provisions. Information on the SAWP for migrant workers available online is relatively basic and directs migrant workers and job seekers to visit local offices of the SNE to obtain additional information related to the program.³³⁷ Migrant worker interviewees told us that they obtained the majority of information related to the SAWP at local offices of the SNE during the selection process, and during information sessions prior to their final departure to Canada, rather than online.³³⁸

Copies of the SAWP employer-employee contract are not available online in Mexican government websites, and Mexican SAWP guidelines explain that “since the 2017 season, the employer-employee contract was integrated into a single version that is published every year by Employment and Social Development Canada through its website [in English, French, and Spanish]”.³³⁹ Migrant worker interviewees told us they only received the employer-employee contract from Mexican officials once selected for work in Canada.³⁴⁰

Canada

We were unable to locate the SAWP MOU itself on any Canadian government site and instead obtained a copy via an access to information request.³⁴¹ Nevertheless information related to the programme, including employer requirements,³⁴² the annual SAWP employer-employee contract,³⁴³ and modifications to the employer-employee contract negotiated at annual SAWP review meetings,³⁴⁴ are available online from Canadian

333. Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, “Lineamientos generales del programa de trabajadores agrícolas temporales México-Canadá (PTAT)”, (March 2019).
334. Subsecretaría de Empleo y Productividad Laboral, Coordinación General del Servicio Nacional de Empleo, Subcoordinación General del Servicio Nacional de Empleo, “Programa de trabajadores agrícolas temporales México-Canadá (PTAT): Manual de Reclutamiento y operación”, (January 2016).
335. Elma del Carmen Trejo García and Margarita Alvarez Romero, “Programa de trabajadores agrícolas temporales México-Canadá (PTAT)”, Centro de Documentación, Información y Análisis Dirección de Servicios de Investigación y Análisis Subdirección de Política Exterior, (June 2007).
336. See for example: AIEDMX, “8/11/17 Reportaje: Trabajadores Agrícolas Mexicanos en Canadá”, Youtube, (8 November 2017).
337. Servicio Nacional de Empleo, Programa de Trabajadores Agrícolas Temporales México-Canadá (PTAT).
338. Remote interviews, 7 July, 15 July, 16 July, 19 July, 22 July, 24 July, 26 July, 29 July, 30 July, 2 August, 14 August, 14 August 2020.
339. Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, “Lineamientos generales del programa de trabajadores agrícolas temporales México-Canadá (PTAT)”, (March 2019).
340. Remote interviews, 7 July, 15 July, 16 July, 19 July, 22 July, 24 July, 26 July, 29 July, 30 July, 2 August, 14 August, 14 August 2020.
341. Government of Canada and Government of Mexico, “Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States regarding the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)”, 1 January 2001, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599.
342. Government of Canada, “Hire a temporary worker through the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program: Overview”, 5 February 2021.
343. Government of Canada, “Contract for the employment in Canada of seasonal agricultural workers from Mexico – 2021”, 15 January 2021.
344. Government of Canada, “2021 Amendments to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Employment Contract with Mexico”, 15 January 2021.

government websites in English, French, and Spanish. Information on worker rights, complaint mechanisms, and COVID-19 is also available online.³⁴⁵ Comparable information relating to the SAWP for workers from Caribbean countries is available on government websites.³⁴⁶

The Mexico-Canada SAWP and its provisions has a relatively high profile in Canada, and labour unions and a number of migrant worker organizations are active in advocacy initiatives and the provision of direct assistance to migrant workers employed under the SAWP. Unions and worker organizations that actively work with SAWP migrant workers in Canada include the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union, the Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, Justicia for Migrant Workers, Niagara Migrants Workers Interest Group, Migrant Workers Health Project, the Canadian Council for Refugees, the Network of Assistance for Agricultural Migrant Workers in Quebec (RATTMAQ), and many others.

3.2 Does the government prioritise fair recruitment in the negotiating and drafting of bilateral agreements, including involving social partners and basing its position on evaluations of existing recruitment practices?

Mexico

The Federal Labour law commits that when entering in a bilateral mechanism, “the general working conditions for Mexican nationals in the destination country will be dignified and equal to the ones provided to workers in that country, [and] the conditions related to repatriation, housing, Social Welfare, and other benefits will be determined in the agreement.”³⁴⁷ Consistent with

this, the 2001 bilateral MOU for the Mexico-Canada SAWP states “that workers are to be employed at a premium cost to the employers and are to receive from their respective employers, while engaged in employment in Canada, adequate accommodation and treatment equal to that received by Canadian workers performing the same type of agricultural work, in accordance with Canadian laws.”³⁴⁸

Mexican officials told us that they base their requests to the Canadian side for amendments to the SAWP employment agreement partly on the feedback from migrant workers received through a “report of return”, which migrant workers provide to the STPS and the SNE at the end of each season.³⁴⁹ The report of return includes feedback from all SAWP migrant workers on working conditions, accommodation, transportation, payments, treatment by employers, and additional support for workers.³⁵⁰ Modifications made to the employment agreement are made public in the Employment and Social Development Canada website each year.³⁵¹

Nevertheless, a former Mexican government official told us that Mexico is unable to effectively negotiate for workers’ rights beyond minor amendments, and will ultimately accept whatever is requested by the Canadian side: “Mexico is afraid that if they ask for any request or proposal, the Canadian employers will not want to work with Mexican workers anymore and request workers from other countries, therefore they agree and accept any kind of conditions.” The government, she said, “is starting to consider itself as a travel and recruitment agency. Officials working on the SAWP are in their comfort zone and minimal changes are being introduced to the program.”³⁵² A 2016 internal Canadian government briefing ahead of a SAWP meeting noted that the Mexican government is “unlikely to raise” media reports of unfavourable conditions for workers employed on the programme.³⁵³

345. Government of Canada, “[Foreign Worker Rights](#)”, 5 May 2021.

346. Government of Canada, “[Hire a temporary worker through the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program: Program requirements](#)” 5 February 2021; Government of Canada, “[Contract for the employment in Canada of commonwealth Caribbean seasonal agricultural workers - 2021](#)”, 15 January 2021.

347. *Ley Federal del Trabajo*, Article 28-A, 1 April 1970.

348. Government of Canada and Government of Mexico, “Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States regarding the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)”, 1 January 2001, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599.

349. Interview with Mexican Consular Officials, Consulate of Mexico in Toronto, Ministry of External Relations (SRE), Toronto, 4 March 2020; interview with Director, Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, Mexico City, 10 March 2020.

350. Luis Manuel Muñoz Carrillo, “[Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Mexico-Canada: Costs and Benefits](#)”, *George Washington University*, (2010).

351. Government of Canada, “[2021 Amendments to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Employment Contract with Mexico](#)”, 15 January 2021.

352. Interview with former official, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (STPS), interview, Mexico City, 4 December 2019.

353. Global Affairs Canada (GAC), “[Canada-Mexico Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program \(SAWP\)](#)”, April 2016, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599, internal briefing note in preparation for annual meeting of Canada-Mexico Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program.

As noted in section 7.6, this can affect consular support for Mexican workers, with one 2010 study arguing that “the Mexican government’s interest in maintaining the status quo for economic reasons” reduced its ability to advocate for its nationals.³⁵⁴ Highlighting the perception that any raising of human rights issues risks reducing SAWP opportunities for Mexicans, a senior official - discussing a case of women who had made formal complaints of sexual harassment against their Canadian employer - told us that, “now this employer will not ask for Mexican workers but for Guatemalan, as they are more submissive.”³⁵⁵

As noted in 2.4, while civil society organisations do work with the Mexican government on information dissemination campaigns for prospective migrant workers (see section 8), there is limited ability for worker organisations to feed into government policy on the recruitment of migrant workers, including in its negotiations with destination state governments.

Canada

In its SAWP bilateral MOUs with the governments of Mexico and the Caribbean, Canada has committed to ensuring migrant workers enjoy “adequate accommodation and treatment equal to that received by Canadian workers performing the same type of agricultural work, in accordance with Canadian laws.”³⁵⁶

As such, the degree to which migrant workers’ human rights are protected relies primarily on Canada’s domestic legislative regime. Nevertheless, origin state consulates play a significant role in the inspection and complaint processes of the SAWP. Some unions have raised concerns that the importance of their role reflects the Canadian government stepping back from and delegating its role as host state in protecting workers’ rights.³⁵⁷

There is very little explicit content in the Mexico-Canada SAWP MOU or its additional protocol specifically relating to human rights protections, as the agreements primarily function as a framework for the recruitment and employment process, establishing the different roles of the two governments and the private sector organizations authorized by Canada to assist employers and administer elements of the scheme. The SAWP is described in internal briefings as “vital to the sustainability of Canadian agriculture [and] ... an international model for the managed migration of seasonal agricultural labour”, illustrating the two key objectives of the government in its management of the scheme.³⁵⁸ Nevertheless, access to information requests demonstrate that when Canada engages in discussions and reviews over the SAWP, its officials evidently factor in issues related to worker conditions as one element of the wider management of a temporary migration programme.

One issue where Canada has demonstrated its ability and willingness to dictate terms to its MOU partners on an issue of labour standards is in regard to the forced saving schemes which were until recently imposed on workers from the Caribbean - with 25% of workers salaries deducted by their employers to be passed on their governments, 5% for the administration of the scheme and 20% put into compulsory saving schemes in their home country. Such policies, which reduce the agency of workers to control their own earnings but are favoured by some origin state governments, are not consistent with international labour standards.³⁵⁹ Specific worker complaints include delays in receiving these forced savings at home and the low exchange rate used to convert their savings into their national currency.³⁶⁰ In any case the deductions are not compliant with labour law in several provinces and between 2015 and 2017, Canada informed its Caribbean partners of its intent to remove the 20% deduction from the standard contract, leaving only the 5% contribution to the programme administration. As one official noted in a 2016 email, “ESDC indicated that they would not be

354. Jenna L. Hennebry and Kerry Preibisch, “A Model for Managed Migration? Re-Examining Best Practices in Canada’s Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program”, *International Migration*, (2010).

355. Interview with Director, Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, Mexico City, 10 March 2020.

356. Government of Canada and Government of Mexico, “Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States regarding the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)”, 1 January 2001, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599.

357. Elizabeth Kwan, Canadian Labour Congress, remote interview, 19 November 2020.

358. Global Affairs Canada (GAC), “Agenda item: Labour/SAWP”, 14 September 2015, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599, internal briefing note in preparation for meeting between Canadian and Jamaican officials.

359. ILO, “Bilateral Agreements and Memoranda of Understanding on Migration of Low Skilled Workers: A Review”, (2015).

360. Philip L. Martin, “Migrant Workers in Commercial Agriculture”, ILO, (2016).

able to approve a contract with any illegalities.”³⁶¹ The change of policy caused some bilateral difficulties with the Jamaican government, in particular.³⁶²

As noted in section 3.5, Canadian trade unions, in particular the UFCW, have pressed for substantive involvement in the annual SAWP discussions, arguing that their absence undermines their ability to advocate and secure protections for workers. The government instead attempts to consult workers, unions, and worker organizations directly, outside the sphere of bilateral discussions. For example in 2017 and 2018, ESDC conducted a review of provisions related to the employment of migrant workers in primary agriculture - including the SAWP - that included, amongst others, discussions with 75 migrant workers, working with trade unions.³⁶³

3.3 Do bilateral agreements incorporate relevant internationally recognised human rights and labour standards?

Mexico and Canada

The SAWP MOU itself does not make references to internationally recognised human rights and labour standards, acting primarily as an administrative framework for the recruitment and employment of workers.

The MOU does state “that workers are to be employed at a premium cost to the employers and are to receive from their respective employers, while engaged in employment in Canada, adequate accommodation and treatment equal to that received by Canadian workers performing the same type of agricultural work, in accordance with Canadian laws.”³⁶⁴ This is broadly consistent with a key provision of the International Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Families, to which Mexico - but not Canada - is a State

Party: “Migrant workers shall enjoy treatment not less favourable than that which applies to nationals of the State of employment in respect of remuneration and: (a) Other conditions of work [and] ... (b) Other terms of employment.”³⁶⁵ The *IRPR* requires Canadian government officials to apply this principle when considering work permit applications, assessing “whether the wages offered to the foreign national are consistent with the prevailing wage rate for the occupation and whether the working conditions meet generally accepted Canadian standards”.³⁶⁶ In practice, unions have highlighted systematic policy areas in which SAWP workers do not always receive equal treatment to Canadian residents, for example in relation to access to Employment Insurance (EI) regular benefits, and regarding barriers to practical access to parental, maternal, and compassionate care benefits.³⁶⁷

The SAWP MOU contains no guarantees relating to freedom of association, a key area of international standards for migrant workers. As noted in section 9, agricultural workers in multiple provinces are denied the right to join a union and engage in collective bargaining, a prohibition on which the ILO and the Canadian Supreme Court have clashed.³⁶⁸

3.4 Do bilateral agreements contain specific mechanisms on fair recruitment for example on consular protection, collaboration on enforcement, and coordination on closing regulatory gaps?

Mexico and Canada

In keeping with the government-to-government nature of the agreement, the Mexican government has specific authorities under the SAWP MOU, additional protocol, and attached employment contract to directly involve itself in the implementation and monitoring of the

361. Global Affairs Canada (GAC), “Agenda item: Labour/SAWP”, 14 September 2015, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599, internal briefing note in preparation for meeting between Canadian and Jamaican officials.

362. Teresa Wright, “Minister urged to press Jamaica over wage deductions of migrant workers in Canada”, *National Post*, (28 September 2018).

363. Government of Canada, “What we heard: Primary agriculture review”, 12 February 2019.

364. Government of Canada and Government of Mexico, “Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States regarding the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)”, 1 January 2001, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599.

365. *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families*, 18 December 1990.

366. *Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations*, SOR 2002/227, Part 11, r. 203(3)(d), 30 April 2020.

367. UFCW Canada and the Agriculture Workers Alliance (AWA), “The Status of Migrant Farm Workers in Canada, 2020”, (2020).

368. ILO, “Interim Report - Report No 358, November 2010”, Conclusions: 351-360, Recommendations: 361,(November 2010).

programme. The Mexican government's commitment in the additional protocol to the "selection, recruitment and documentation" of workers - in response to Canadian requests - is the core mechanism that should ensure fair recruitment.³⁶⁹ The degree to which the replacement of the private sector by the state for the recruitment phase of the migration journey contributes to better outcomes is explored in sections 1.4 and 6.

Additionally, the Mexican government is directly involved in mediating the relationship between the employer and worker, giving it a stronger role in consular protection than origin states enjoy in the case of the entry of migrant workers under the TFWP when there are no MOUs with origin states. The "government agent" (meaning, in effect, Mexican consulate staff) signs the employment contract in addition to the worker, while the accommodation and private insurance provided by the employer must meet with the satisfaction of the consulate.³⁷⁰ Employers must share details of hours worked and wages paid with the consulate, notify them of any workplace injuries within 48 hours, agree to any worker transfer with them, and consult them before any dismissal or repatriation if the worker is accused of not fulfilling their contract. The Mexican government commits to paying the repatriation flight in the event of employer insolvency. If employers do not meet their side of the contract, the Mexican government - in consultation with ESDC - is entitled to rescind the contract, and if alternative employment cannot be found, the employer must pay the cost of repatriation and at least wages that would have been owed to the worker under the minimum duration of the contract.³⁷¹ These provisions create the overall framework for the Mexican consulates' role in protection of migrant workers employed under the SAWP. They allow the consulates to pay on-site visits to farms and to play a direct role in managing complaints they receive from workers. However, as noted in indicator 7.6, concerns have been raised about the consulates' discharge of these duties in practice.

Canada's other MOUs, with Caribbean states under the SAWP, establish similar mechanisms to the Mexico-Canada MOU.³⁷²

3.5 Are there effective measures - that meaningfully involve social partners - to implement and review bilateral agreements, including oversight mechanisms?

Mexico and Canada

Under the Additional Protocol to the SAWP, "the present Operational Guidelines may be reviewed and amended annually through consultation between officials".³⁷³ These review meetings take place and review the employment contract. Amendments are published following this process.³⁷⁴

Decisions of the SAWP review process can have a material impact on migrant workers as they directly influence the terms of their contracts with employers. In this context, the major issue of contention relating to this process is participation. As well as officials, these annual meetings include employers: the Canadian Horticultural Council (CHC) is the employer representative, via its Labour Committee, in addition to a number of other sectoral industry associations.³⁷⁵ Experts in agriculture, migration and labour may be invited to address the review process. However there is no formal representation of workers at the meeting. In particular, the UFCW, the main agricultural trade union in Canada, is not a stakeholder to the process. A leading academic expert on temporary migration in Canada who has submitted to the SAWP review process told us that "one of the biggest issues with the SAWP is that it lacks worker voice", and argued that unions should not only be included in review discussions, but should be directly involved in the recruitment and deployment

369. Government of Canada and Government of Mexico, "Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States regarding the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)", 1 January 2001, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599.

370. Government of Canada, "Hire a temporary worker through the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program: Program requirements", 5 February 2021.

371. Government of Canada, "Contract for the employment in Canada of seasonal agricultural workers from Mexico - 2021" 15 January 2021.

372. Government of Canada and Government of Mexico, "Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States regarding the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)", 1 January 2001, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599.

373. Government of Canada and Government of Mexico, "Operational Guidelines to the Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States", 1 January 2001, obtained through Access to Information (ATI) request to ESDC A-2017-00599.

374. See for example: Government of Canada, "2021 Amendments to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Employment Contract with Mexico" 15 January 2021.

375. WALI, "Annual SAWP Review Process", (28 September 2018).

process.³⁷⁶ A Mexican migrant rights organization told us it believed that the UFCW should be recognized as a formal stakeholder to the SAWP and represent workers' interests in bilateral discussions and negotiations.³⁷⁷

Mexican officials told us that workers' input informs their negotiations at annual review meetings,³⁷⁸ while employers have opposed the involvement of Canadian trade unions in the process, as the vast majority of SAWP workers are not unionized due in part to provincial legal restrictions. As the Canadian Federation of Agriculture

told us, "the challenge is that the workers who are actually on farms are not unionised. So the question is whether unions are the right body to represent the workers".³⁷⁹ There are also concerns among some employers about inviting parties to the table who may not support the SAWP's overall framework. The UFCW told us it was hoping things might change in upcoming meetings, but that as of early 2021, "workers are not represented at the SAWP committee, so their concerns and their issues are not part of the discussion. This is totally unfair and very problematic."³⁸⁰

376. Leah Vosko, York University, remote interview, 14 December 2020.

377. Andrea Gálvez, Centro de los Derechos del Migrante, interview, Mexico City, 4 December 2019.

378. Interview with Mexican Consular officials, Mexican Consulate in Toronto, Ministry of External Relations, Toronto, 4 March 2020.

379. Scott Ross, Canadian Federation of Agriculture, remote interview, 19 January 2021.

380. Santiago Escobar, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union, remote interview, 18 February 2021.

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