Circular Migration between Guatemala and Canada: Perspectives of Guatemalan Migrant Workers

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

The aim of this study was to find out the development outcomes of circular migration between Guatemala and Canada in the individual lives of migrant workers. This circular migration program is based on the needs of Canadian employers in the agricultural sector to recruit foreign low-skilled labor. Local residents are not willing to work under harsh conditions and for low wages often offered by the sector. Thus, Guatemalan farmers travel to Canada to work on a circular basis. In Guatemala the program is administered by the International Organization for Migration and the Guatemalan government. In Canada, the responsible agency is the human resources and skills development department.

The theoretical paradigm of this thesis is transnationalism. The connections between migration and development can be found in transnational activities of migrant workers, which take place in a space external to both the origin and destination countries. Positive connections between circular migration and development can be found in activities such as sending remittances, brain circulation and transfer of skills and knowledge. It has been argued that circular migration can result in a triple win situation from which the origin country, the destination country and the migrant can benefit.

The method of this thesis is qualitative. Interviews with 25 Guatemalan circular migrant workers were conducted during an internship with the International Organization for Migration. The field research also included a trip to a rural Guatemalan town. All interviewees had travelled to Canada at least once. The interviews were recorded and the interview data was analyzed and coded according to content analysis. Quotes from original data were used to present research results.

The interviews demonstrated that the circular migration program between Guatemala and Canada brought some positive outcomes to the lives of individual migrant workers. All migrant workers sent remittances back home to Guatemala. These were used on consumption, education of children, buying land, harvest and debts. The transfer of knowledge did not realize as well as expected. While Guatemalan workers learnt new methods and use of technology in Canada, most concluded that this knowledge did not benefit their work in Guatemala.

Circular migration between Guatemala and Canada can be connected to the larger discussion of temporary migrant worker programs and their possible links to development. On the one hand the developed world needs foreign workers for sectors such as agriculture and construction because of aging population, low wages on these sectors and increased wellbeing. On the other hand production is being transferred to low wage developing countries. Temporary worker programs have also received criticism due to restrictions on migrant workers' rights. Based on this study the program has its flaws while it brings much needed income to the poor rural participant workers' households in Guatemala.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
migrant workers, circular migration, Guatemala, Canada, transnationalism

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Tämä tutkielma käsittelee Väli-Amerikassa sijaitsevan Guatemalan valtion ja Kanadan valtion välisen kiertomuutto-ohjelman kehitysvaikutuksia guatemalalaisten maanviljelijöiden elämään. Tutkielma on tapaustutkimus niin sanotusta kiertomuutto-ohjelmasta, jonka puitteissa guatemalalaiset maanviljelijät matkustavat Kanadaan vierastyöläisiksi kausiluonteisesti. Ohjelma perustuu Kanadan maatilojen tarpeeseen palkata ulkomaalaisia työntekijöitä, koska kanadalaisista ei löydy riittävästi halukasta työvoimaa. Kanadalaiset eivät halua työskennellä ankeissa oloissa viljelmillä pienellä palkalla. Työvoimapulan takia Kanadan maahanmuuttovirasto ja työministeriö hallinnoivat alakohtaisia koulutuksen tasoon perustuvia kiertomuutto-ohjelmia, jotta työnantajat voisivat palkata ulkomaalaisia työntekijöitä väliaikaisesti töihin. Guatemalassa ohjelmaa hallinnoi Kansainvälinen siirtolaisjärjestö yhteistyössä Guatemalan valtion kanssa.

Tutkielman teoreettisen viitekehyksen muodostaa ylikansallisuuden käsite eli transnationalismi. Siirtolaisuuden ja kehityksen yhtymäkohdat täsmentyvät siirtolaisten ylikansallisten aktiviteettien myötä, joita tapahtuu siirtolaisten kotimaan ja työskentelymaan välillä. Positiivinen yhteys kiertomuuton ja kehityksen välille muodostuu esimerkiksi rahalähetyksistä, aivokierrosta ja taitotiedon välityksestä. Kiertomuuton uskotaan parhaimmillaan tuovan niin sanotun kolminkertaisen voittotilanteen, josta hyötyvät niin lähtömaa, kohdemaa kuin vierastyöläinen.

Tutkimuksen metodi on kvalitatiivinen, ja sen perustan muodostaa 25 haastattelua, jotka tehtiin guatemalalaisten maanviljelijöiden kanssa. Kenttätyö eli aineistonkeruu tehtiin osana kansainvälistä harjoittelua Kansainvälisen siirtolaisjärjestön palveluksessa. Kenttätyö sisälsi myös päivämatkan guatemalalaiseen maanviljelijäkylään. Haastateltavat olivat matkanneet töihin Kanadaan vähintään kerran. Haastatteluaineisto nauhoitettiin ja analysoitiin sisällönanalyysin menetelmin eli aineisto luokiteltiin, jonka jälkeen luokista muodostettiin laajempia asiakokonaisuuksia. Aineisto purettiin nauhoitettuja lainauksia käyttäen.

Haastattelut osoittivat, että Guatemalan ja Kanadan välinen kiertomuutto-ohjelma toi osittain positiivisia kehitysvaikutuksia guatemalalaisten maanviljelijöiden elämään. Rahalähetykset Kanadasta auttoivat huomattavasti vierastyöläisten perheiden arkea. Rahaa käytettiin kulutukseen, lasten koulutukseen, maan ostoon, satoon ja velkoihin. Taitojen siirtäminen taas ei toteutunut oletetusti. Vaikka guatemalalaiset vierastyöläiset oppivat uusia taitoja Kanadassa, he pääosin kokivat, etteivät voineet hyödyntää niitä Guatemalassa.

Kiertomuutto-ohjelma Guatemalan ja Kanadan välillä liittyy laajempaan keskusteluun vierastyöläisistä ja eriarvoisuudesta kehittyneiden ja kehittyvien maiden välillä. Yhtäältä kehittyneet maat tarvitsevat työntekijöitä tietyille sektoreille, kuten maanviljelyyn, hoitoalalle ja rakennusalalle pitkälti väestön ikääntymisen, lisääntyneen hyvinvoinnin ja alojen alhaisten palkkatasojen takia. Toisaalta taas työpaikkoja kehittyneissä maissa siirretään halvan tuotannon maihin. Kiertomuutto-ohjelmien vierastyöläisten vapauteen ja työoloihin kohdistuvia rajoituksia on myös kritisoitu. Tutkimuksen perusteella voidaan havaita, että kyseinen ohjelma jää puutteelliseksi työntekijöiden vapauden kannalta, joskin se tuo erityisesti rahallista helpotusta köyhien maanviljelijöiden jokapäiväiseen arkeen.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords

vierastyöläiset, kiertomuutto, Guatemala, Kanada, transnationalismi

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Abbreviations

ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ENCOVI	Encuesta Nacional de Condiciones de Vida (National survey of living conditions)
EU	European Union
FARMS	Foreign Agricultural Research Management Services
FERME	The Foundation for Enterprises for the Recruitment of Foreign Labor
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
HRSDC	Human Resources and Skills Development Canada
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
LMO	Labor Market Opinion
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SAWP	Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program
TCLM	Temporary and Circular Labor Migration Program
TFW	Temporary Foreign Worker
TFWP	Temporary Foreign Workers Program
UN	United Nations
U.S	United States of America
WB	World Bank

1. Introduction

Migratory flows have taken new shapes and directions throughout history. International migration touches various spheres ranging from social and political to economic issues. Migration is not a new phenomenon, yet public interest in migration issues has grown recently. Migration policy, in particular the management of international migration has become a fundamental topic to decision-makers. Interest in circular migration has resurfaced as attitudes towards migration have become more polarized.

Today, questions such as who can migrate and where are central in migration policy. Restrictions on migration have been placed on some people, while others enjoy privileges of travelling where they wish. Often it is the movement of people coming from outside wealthy Western nations which is being controlled.

Labor migrants account for approximately half or 105 million of the total migrant population of 214 million (ILO 2010: 1-2). Labor and employment have been strong incentives for migration for centuries. Labor needs have also been the basis for formulating migration policies by states. Temporary migration schemes have been popular particularly in the low-skilled occupational sectors. These state driven policies have led to the mobility of millions of people around the world.

Circular migration occurs at various levels, internally and internationally, and in numerous occupational fields, more commonly divided by skill levels, occupations or sectors. Circular migration also occurs spontaneously and through organized programs. Spontaneous circular migration refers to migrants who travel recurrently to work such as seasonal labor migrants without participating in an organized program. Temporary labor migration programs, particularly those for low-skilled workers have already existed since the mid-1900s. After failure of early guest worker programs in many Western countries, interest in circular labor migration programs has resurfaced within the last two decades.

The outcomes of circular labor migration programs are a debated issue. Past large-scale programs such as the German Gastarbeiter and American Bracero program have failed in promoting successful circular labor migration. The rhetoric on temporary migration

has transformed and new circular migration programs have received a more positive connotation. Some experts argue that these programs could result in a win-win-win or a triple win situation for the origin and destination countries as well as the migrant worker. Circular labor migration programs have become a perceived solution for many problems surrounding South-North migration. Fears of failure of circular migration programs still exist and it is doubted whether new programs of the 1990s actually differ from old guest worker programs. In addition, other fears of exploitation and migrants' rights have been raised in the context of organized low-skilled circular labor migration programs and their promotion in democratic states. My thesis will look at a sub-group of labor migration, that of organized low-skilled circular labor migration programs.

1.1 Research Questions, Relevance and Methodology

The management of international migration has surfaced as a priority to decision-makers. Circular migration has been raised as a potential way to manage migration originating from the global South heading towards the global North and creating positive links between migration and development.

In addition to these, circular labor migration has been introduced as a tool to match the needs of the global South and North. Unemployment, instability and poverty in many developing countries push people to migrate. In the Western world, the aging population, higher salaries and the need for workers attract immigrants. Immigration management has also proved challenging for many Western states and the creation of legal ways for workers to enter labor markets has been attempted through circular migration programs.

My thesis focuses on an ongoing circular migration program for low-skilled workers operating between Guatemala and Canada and its positive connections to development of local communities and improvements to the livelihoods of migrant workers. The program is operated by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and through it Guatemalan agricultural workers are able to migrate to Canadian farms on a seasonal basis. Canadian farms employed over 35 000 foreign seasonal agricultural workers in 2010 (CIC Canada). These foreign workers come from a number of countries,

Guatemala being one of them. Unskilled foreign workers enter Canada through skill and sector-based temporary labor migration programs.

The main research question for this study is aimed at *finding out the benefits of the Guatemala – Canada circular migration program in origin communities and the lives of individual migrant workers*. This remains a small-scale case study of the benefits for participants of this program and its connections to development. The benefits are defined based on the perceived positive influences of circular migration for origin countries and migrant workers.

The main research question translates into further specific questions of:

1) Up to what extent do the origin communities and migrants benefit from remittances and knowledge transfer?

2) Under what circumstances and why do Guatemalans choose to participate in the program?

The relevance of this study stems from current focus on international migration worldwide. Management of migration has become a central issue in the 21st Century and this affects a variety of sectors in the society ranging from security to employment. As a thesis of development studies my main interest remains in the development outcomes of this labor migration program. The world order is often dictated by the rich in the West and the poor remain marginal and underrepresented in decision-making. Current debates on how to best manage this migration range from opening up national borders to closing the Western world from the rest of the world. Similarly the debate on whether migration can have a positive effect on development remains unresolved. In this thesis I intend to cover the assumed benefits of circular migration and discuss them in relation to the Guatemala – Canada program. Due to the interest in the impact at the local level in Guatemala, the life of migrant workers in Canada is discussed only briefly. The debate on migrants' rights in low-skilled circular migration programs will be discussed, however, my research does not focus on this aspect and therefore does not draw extensive conclusions on it regarding the program between Guatemala and Canada.

I also have a personal interest in migration due to my background. I have spent my childhood growing up in several countries and migrating has thus been a part of my life very closely.

This thesis is divided into two main sections. These aim to demonstrate the relevant theoretical contributions to the study of low-skilled migration and provide a coherent picture of the basis and past of circular migration and present the empirical case study. The first part defines circular migration in the global context and introduces the theoretical framework. Transnationalism is the theoretical paradigm for this thesis and its strengths and weaknesses will be explained. The second part consists of setting the scene for circular migration between Guatemala and Canada by examining the background situations in both countries. The empirical research and results will also be presented in the second section.

There are some limitations to my research. The results cannot be generalized into any larger scale in the country of origin. The program includes a small number of participants and this research does not aim to find out the overall benefits of the program for the origin country. Hence, the real impact of the program is not measured. This research rather aims to illustrate qualitatively the outcomes of circular migration to Canada in the individual lives of migrant workers and home communities.

The empirical data for this thesis is based on qualitative methodology of interviews with Guatemalan migrant workers. This methodology was chosen because it best suited the research questions. Interviews were conducted during a three month internship at the office of IOM in Guatemala City. The interviews were mainly conducted at the office of IOM, yet a fieldtrip with interviews to a rural town in Guatemala is included in the data for my thesis.

25 interviewees were selected on the basis that they had already travelled to Canada at least once. These interviewees were low-skilled Guatemalan agricultural workers. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed based on content analysis.

1.2 Background and Previous Research

The links between migration and development have been extensively researched. I will summarize some of this literature in the first part of my thesis. Literature regarding the context of temporary labor migration programs and the elements of dependency, the segmented labor market and social stigma are explained thoroughly by Ruhs and Anderson (2010), Martin (2003), Castles (2006) and Castles and Miller (2009). The connections between migration and development I analyze through the work of de Haas (2005, 2010), Glick Shiller and Faist (2010), Sorensen (2002), Stalker (2000), Portes (2009) and Massey (1998).

The theoretical framework of transnationalism used in my thesis is largely based on the work of Vertovec (2009), Glick Schiller and Faist (2010), Portes (2009) and Guarnizo (2003).

Due to limited previous qualitative research on the case study presented in this thesis, some research results on the temporary migration program between Mexico and Canada will be provided in order to shed some light on the topic. While the program differs from my case study and there is a clear distinction between departure countries, there are a variety of similarities between low-skilled migration patterns to Canada and the effects of circular migration in origin communities.

Previous research on the Guatemala – Canada program is scarce. The program has been in operation since 2003 and prior qualitative research has been conducted by Christine Hughes. Hughes' research focused on the impact on women left behind and the question of gender roles while men were away working in Canada (Hughes 2011). Hughes' research concluded three main changes in women's lives once husbands were working in Canada. Firstly responsibilities of women managing the household increased. Secondly, women's lives were ever more restricted by husbands even while being in Canada. Husbands would increasingly instruct wives on remittance usage. The third conclusion made by Hughes also supported increased restrictions in women's lives during the period husbands were abroad. Increased responsibilities meant more time spent at the household compound. The patriarchal culture placed social pressure on

women left alone because communities surrounding them would increasingly monitor them. The expectancy of faithfulness was the purpose of increased observation. Now that women were left alone and husbands were not close by to watch them, this created suspicions among the community. Consequently, the arrangement of women staying behind strengthened patriarchal gender relations (Hughes 2011).

Other research on Guatemalan circular migration to Canada is provided by the IOM Guatemalan office. Evaluations of the program are presented in the *Cuadernos de Trabajo Sobre Migración* (IOM 2005) and produce quantitative results on remittance use, migrant profiles and various other aspects of the program.

Temporary migration from rural Mexico to Canada through the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) has been more extensively researched. Leigh Binford's research of migrants in origin communities in Tlaxcala, Mexico show that agricultural workers participate in the Canada program largely due to poor living conditions and lack of household alternatives (Binford 2002: 14). Remittances from Canada bring relief to poor households. Binford also offers more critical insight on migrants' experiences in Canada and larger-scale changes in the racial and ethnic labor structure in Canadian farms (Binford 2002).

Mexican migrants and their remittance usage in local communities in Mexico, particularly money spent in investment, have been researched by Tanya Basok (2002, 2003). Basok has also researched the farms of Leamington, Canada and their structural need for foreign labor.

Catherine Colby has researched the impact of circular migration to Canada in the indigenous Mexican rural community of Oaxaca (Colby 1997). Colby's study with households in Oaxaca showed that locals had three choices of migration destinations; those of United States, Canada and Mexico City. U.S was considered as a more likeable destination due to existing networks of Mexican communities in the U.S. Mexican circular migrants did not significantly stand out from the native population and received more respect than in Canada. Living conditions in Canada on the other hand, were characterized by strictness and life was more work oriented. However, the wives of married migrant workers preferred Canada as their husband's destination country due to financial security, safety and family preservation (Colby 1997: 27). In addition, Colby states that remittances from Canada are significantly higher, than remittances from the

U.S or Mexico City. Strict life in Canada allows for less spending abroad, while existing Mexican social networks in the U.S tempt migrant workers to spend more earnings on free time activities (Colby 1997: 27).

Colby's research demonstrates that migrants to Canada are more innovative in their agricultural practices in Oaxaca, due to new skills learnt in Canada. Non-traditional crops are tried less hesitantly and salaries from Canada allow workers to buy improved materials needed for harvesting (Colby 1997: 29-30). Colby also concludes that migrants to Canada, differing from migrants to the U.S or Mexico City, keep focusing on home communities with greater interest and therefore invest in home communities as well as households (Colby 1997: 36).

The Canadian temporary foreign worker programs have been studied by other researchers from various perspectives such as the rights of workers and employment conditions in Canada. Some of this literature is provided by for example Hennerby and Preibisch (2010) and Fudge and MacPhail (2009) amongst others.

To sum up, Mexican out-migration to Canada has a lengthy history beginning from the 1960s and involves greater numbers of migrant workers which is also observable from the extensive literature on the topic. Guatemalan circular migration to Canada is more recent and therefore lacks qualitative research on its outcomes. Since this question has not been broadly researched, this thesis gains additional value due to its contribution to an important, yet modestly researched migration pattern between two countries.

2. The Global Context of Circular Migration

There are a number of definitions of circular migration. Circular migration has been defined as *"temporary movements of a repetitive character, either formally or informally across borders, usually for work, involving the same migrants"* (Wickramasekara 2011: 1). All circular migration can be defined as temporary yet all temporary migration is not circular. Temporariness is embedded in the circular movement while temporary migration can occur only once, hence never becoming circular. Temporary programs therefore entail the notion of return. Another differentiation can be made between spontaneous circular mobility and organized circular programs (Wickramasekara 2011). Spontaneous circular migration is often characterized with more freedom and individual choice. The migrant chooses when to leave the origin and destination countries. Organized programs on the other hand operate under stricter regulations and the migrants' duration of stay in the destination country is often predetermined by employers. Wickramasekara discusses the issue of choice regarding low-skilled circular migration. Due to pre-existing program rules, migrants are often left with little choice or freedom regarding the duration of employment or the conditions they work in once entering a temporary worker program. In addition migrants' poor backgrounds might cause a situation where they have no other choice than to participate in a temporary worker program to make ends meet. I will cover this in greater detail on page 66 along with Amartya Sen's work on freedom.

The term circular migration has been used as early as the 1960s and 1970s by researchers such as Walker Elkan (1967) and Graeme Hugo (1977) (Newland 2009: 5). Other terms used for organized circular migration programs include temporary, foreign or guest worker programs.

The European Union (EU) in its turn defines circular migration in the following way *"Circular migration can be defined as a form of migration that is managed in a way allowing some degree of legal mobility back and forth between two countries"* (EU Com 2007: 8) For EU, circular migration receives a dual purpose. The EU is concerned with circular migration originating from both, member states and non-member states.

The migrant profiles migrating internationally are extremely vast and heterogeneous. In order to understand what the essence of circular migration is, it is important to look at who circulates internationally. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines temporary migrants as international students, seasonal workers, artists and trainees, service providers, interns, researchers and exchange visitors (OECD 2008: 47). Further, according to the OECD, information on temporary migration is difficult to gain due to the variations in categorizations and entry requirements of countries. Some countries have detailed entry categorizations based on occupations and duration of stay, while others only differentiate a few classifications of entry (OECD 2008: 47). Temporary low-skilled migrants can include individuals participating in organized programs, free-circulation migrants and working holiday-makers, who can enter the low-skilled labor market in the receiving country (OECD 2008: 135).

The migrants at the center of interest in my research are characterized as low-skilled. Low-skilled as defined by the OECD *"can be based either on the skills required for the job performed or according to the educational level of the worker"* (OECD 2008: 127). Low-skilled can therefore refer to the worker or to the job in question. Ruhs and Anderson draw attention to the difficulty of determining the definition of skills in the global world. Skills can be a result of long-term training or simply a brief course. In addition, the skills of literacy and numeracy are often regarded as an elementary responsibility of governments (Ruhs and Anderson 2010: 19). Skills can also be divided into 'hard' and 'soft' skills. Hard skills emphasize the official qualifications of employees while soft skills refer to more personal characters and qualities, even determining appearance in regard to age, gender and race (Ruhs and Anderson 2010: 20). Soft skills have been used as selection criteria for workers participating in temporary worker programs.

2.1 Conceptualizing Low-skilled Migration

Traditional theories of migration see varying reasons behind international migration. The theories supporting the international migration of low-skilled workers are the neoclassical theory and the new economics of migration (Portes 2009: 7).

The neoclassical theory sets the framework for economic theories of migration. These theories are based on the push and pull factors such as high and low population density or employment opportunities. The economic theories include the push and pull model, the dual labor market theory and the new economics of migration. Demography is a major influence for migration. The 19th century Europe had the greatest demographic pressure, which caused emigration and by 2050 Africa is estimated to have the greatest demographic pressure, accounting for twenty per cent of world's population (Martin 2003). Simultaneously, birth rates are plummeting in many Western European states thus increasing Europe's interest in labor immigration (Castles 2006: 745). According to Castles and Miller, *the push and pull model* assumes that people have in-depth knowledge of destination countries and that the main determinants behind migration are economic. Hence, human capital is the underlying factor as migration becomes a source of investment, similarly to education (Castles and Miller 2009: 22).

The neoclassical theory sees low-skilled labor migration as a natural result of the laws of supply and demand. Workers migrate to regions where they are needed while simultaneously creating a wage increase in areas of origin (Portes 2009: 7).

Counterarguments to the push and pull theory highlight that mobility of economically wealthy people cannot be explained through neoclassical theory. In addition this theory remains blind to certain historical patterns of migration, such as finding reasons to why people from specific areas move to other definite areas in the sense of Algerians migrating to France (Castles and Miller 2009: 23). Moreover historical determinants and social networks such as family are excluded by this theory as influences on migrant activities. The neoclassical theory emphasizes migration being the decision of the individual migrant.

The dual labor market theory introduces labor demand as the ultimate reason for international migration. Castles and Miller introduce the arguments of Piore, who believed that structural demand in developed countries was the underlying reason for international migration. The labor market, divided into two, the high-skilled and the low-skilled occupations, dictates migration patterns. High-skilled workers are demanded because of human capital, while low-skilled workers enter the manual labor areas of production and service for example. The primary sector for high-skilled

workers is characterized by stability (Piore in Edwards et al. 1973: 126). The secondary sector workers experience instability, possible exploitation through personalized employer – employee relationships and inferior working conditions. The mobility chains described by Piore differ in the primary and secondary labor markets. In the primary market there is an upward pattern of mobility, while the lower market often offers vertical mobility and no options of higher status or salaries (Piore in Edwards et al. 1973: 130). Other factors included in the dual market theory are race and gender, which determine partly the workers eligibility and attractiveness along with their legal status, in the case of migrants (Castles and Miller 2009: 23-24). Castles and Miller explain that the role of governments and employers in international mobility is emphasized in the dual or segmented labor market theory. When new workers are needed for the secondary labor market, migration should be encouraged, according to Piore (Piore in Edwards et al. 1973: 147-148).

The new economics of labor migration emphasizes family ties as a root cause for migration (Castles and Miller, 2009: 24). The central concept is the social group or unit rather than the individual. This theory developed in the 1980s and it sees migration as a communal decision rather than an individual one. The new economics of labor migration highlights that migration between two countries is not simply a result of the earning differences within them. Other factors of stable employment, investment possibilities and risk management influence migrants' decisions along with higher earning potential.

The new economics of labor migration theory supports low-skilled labor migration because of the positive impact remittances are believed to bring to families back home. Remittances are a major factor for migration, as migrant workers become facilitators of domestic production by providing credit. (Portes 2009: 7, de Haas 2010: 243). Supporters of this theory do not see the negative effects of networks creating routes which could empty local towns of all capable workers (Portes 2009: 8).The new economics of labor migration theory argues that temporary labor migration creates these positive effects whereas permanent emigration has less desired outcomes. The negative effects of permanent emigration are balanced slightly by transnational activity, yet overall this cannot result in positive development impacts to origin communities (Portes 2009: 12).

These economic theories have differing approaches to migration policy. While the neoclassical theory and the new economics theory advocate for openness in immigration policies, they differ in the main point of focus. The neoclassical theory emphasizes individual earning capabilities and their maximization while the new economics theory focuses on collective issues. The segmented labor market theory centers on demand. Employers in receiving countries dictate the demand for low-skilled labor and this in turn supports the employment of illegal migrants (Castles and Miller 2009: 25).

Economic theories do not provide a sufficient explanation for international migration overall and thus Castles and Miller discuss *the historical-structural approach* and *world systems theory* as well as *the migration systems and networks theory*. The historical-structural approach is based on Marxist ideology and draws from dependency theory. The historical-structural approach argues that labor is a central factor in understanding international migration and the accessibility of the West to cheap labor stems from regional inequalities within Europe, colonialism and war (Castles and Miller 2009: 26). The historical-structural approach focuses on large-scale recruitment of labor such as that of Germany of Turkish workers.

Simultaneously in the 1970s and 1980s along with the historical-structural approach a world systems theory developed. The world systems theory focused on the integration of the least developed regions into the world system controlled by capitalist states. The expansion of international corporations to the less developed world has led to a new order in labor structures, the creation of informal economy, rural transformation as well as poverty. The world systems theory therefore place international labor migration at the center of unequal relations between the capitalist developed countries and the marginalized developing countries (Castles and Miller 2009: 26).

2.2 Explaining Temporary Labor Migration Programs

According to Boswell and Geddes, there are two main schools of thought on how immigration policy is planned. One school argues that policies follow existing traditions and national institutions are significant in formulating immigration policies. In a number of EU countries there is anxiety over limited welfare benefits and the need for

labor to fulfill the positions of aging generations. These concerns can influence immigration policy. The second school believes that the rationale behind immigration policies is the impact of immigration. Hence the correlation between the positive and negative impacts, or costs and benefits are the dominant concern in formulating immigration policy. (Boswell and Geddes, 2011: 81).

Temporary worker programs, which can be sector, employment or skills-based, originate from the need of labor in receiving countries. Low-skilled occupations such as agriculture, fishery, food processing, construction, mining, transportation and services in developed countries are increasingly requiring foreign labor due to demographics, improved wellbeing and the lack of attractiveness of low-skilled jobs (OECD 2008: 130). Seasonal workers programs are an example of sector-based programs (Boswell and Geddes 2011: 86-87).

Genuine labor shortages can receive varying responses from employers and employing migrant labor is simply one option. This option, once taken, can prevail and become a permanent condition in labor markets known as distortion. Distortion occurs when labor markets in the receiving country alter their needs so, that they constantly depend on a migrant work force. Martin argues that all temporary worker programs fail due to the character of temporariness becoming permanent. Migrating temporarily can become a permanent situation for workers, as there is no limit to the times one can travel abroad (Martin 2003, Ellerman 2005: 618). The reliance on temporary foreign labor during a labor shortage may lead to an extended period of conditions, in which wages are low and there is a lack of training (Ruhs and Anderson 2010: 39). This extended period might lead to temporary migrants remaining in the receiving country and settling there, causing the program to fail. Thus, the destination country develops a structural need for migrant labor (Castles in Portes and DeWind 2007: 38). Migrant workers and their families can become dependent on foreign employers, thus creating a relationship of dependence between the migrant and the employer (Martin 2003: 3).

The notion of a social stigma is also discussed by Ruhs and Anderson in relation to migrant workers. Jobs previously done by residents are now done by foreigners, therefore gaining new associations of lower status or second-class jobs. Certain sectors of the labor market are associated with particular workers (Ruhs and Anderson 2010:

39). If general unemployment is low, foreign workers might obtain wider approval in receiving countries (Martin 2003: 3). The element of social stigma can strengthen a segmented labor market and become nourished by institutions and the state. The demand and supply of specific types of laborers can be determined by institutions through policies and regulations (Ruhs and Anderson 2010: 39).

Migrant workers, permanent or temporary, are often willing to work under lower conditions than native employees. This is due to the "dual frame of reference" where workers can earn a better wage under improved working conditions in the receiving country compared to the conditions of their origin country (Ruhs and Anderson 2010: 29). Yet, these condition remain lower than average in the context of the receiving country. Employers willing to maximize profit can thus hire labor for a lower wage and worse conditions when hiring foreign labor particularly in low-skilled sectors. Also some employers attribute their interest in migrant workers due to better work ethics and the lessened likelihood of migrant workers being trade union members (Ruhs and Anderson 2010: 30).

The conditions imposed by employers on temporary labor programs vary greatly. Some programs require the employer to provide for housing and cover flight costs of workers, while other programs leave these costs to the migrant workers. In some programs the employers are monitored in regard to their prior need for foreign labor and they must provide proof that particular labor sectors could not be filled with local resident workers. In addition, some employers can be punished for the recruitment of migrants who overstay their temporary permits (OECD 2008: 135).

The preference over certain nationalities or qualities of workers alternates amongst employers and employment sectors. Employers may hire workers based on soft skills and include assessments of nationality and related stereotypes in determining promising laborers (Ruhs and Anderson 2010: 33).

Temporary workers are often rehired making them circular migrants. Workers return to work for same employers seasonally or annually because it is easier to hire workers with pre-existing skills and who require less paper work (OECD 2008: 135). According to the OECD report in 2002 up to 70 per cent of seasonal workers were repeat migrants

in Canada. These repeat workers also returned for seven years on average to participate in the temporary labor migration program (OECD 2008: 135). The circular nature of temporary foreign worker programs has also been supported by receiving governments.

2.3 Past Temporary Labor Migration Programs

Temporary worker programs also known as guest worker programs were at their peak in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. According to Martin, recruitment to sectors of agriculture, mining, manufacturing and construction involved millions of migrant workers. These early temporary worker programs were characterized by male dominance amongst migrant workers (Martin 2003:4). Early temporary foreign worker programs also tended to grow in size and become large-scale macro programs. According to Castles temporary labor recruiting through bilateral employment agreements began in the 1940s in France, Switzerland and Britain. Guest worker programs were later taken on in Germany and Austria (Castles 2006: 742).

Early guest worker programs did not work as intended. The cases of France, Germany and United States demonstrate some major flaws of guest worker programs. France signed its first bilateral employment scheme with Italy in 1947 followed by Spain in 1956 and Morocco 1963 (OECD 2004: 43). The bilateral agreements signed by France and its partner countries were originally meant to hire guest workers, therefore aiming at temporary work. Algeria and Morocco became partner countries due to their colonial history with France. However between 1945 and 1975 almost two thirds of all guest workers hired were legalized as residents. By the early 1970s France tried to forcibly return Algerian workers yet failed in these efforts and by 1980s France's seasonal worker programs were largely discarded (Miller and Plewa 2005: 62-63).

Transforming from a country of emigration prior to the 1950s Germany created one of Europe's largest guest worker program, known as the *Gastarbeiter* program, initiating in 1955 with recruitment of Italian labor and expanding the pool of countries it could gain foreign labor from. The majority of the guest workers entering Germany's labor force were farm laborers, yet semi-skilled construction workers, teachers and miners were also included (Martin 2003: 9).

The United States operated a large-scale low-skilled guest worker program with Mexico known as *Bracero* "strong arms" which began in 1942 (Martin 2003: 11). The *Bracero* lasted until 1964 and has been characterized by abuse from employers and poor enforcement of regulations. The employment of Mexican labor caused a decrease in local U.S farm workers' wages and caused dependence for rural Mexican workers (Wickramasekara 2011: 41, Martin 2003: 11).

These labor programs involved millions of manual workers. The *Gastarbeiter* involved 2.6 million workers at its highest in 1973 (Martin 2003: 9). The US – Mexico *Bracero* program included 4.6 million admissions of Mexican workers during its operation (Miller and Plewa 2005: 75).

Castles argues that an inherent flaw of these programs was the attempt to "*import labor but not people*" (Castles 2006: 742). Temporary laborers were needed particularly in low-skilled occupational areas, yet the social effects of foreign laborers were not wanted. Martin also argues that "*Foreign worker programs aim to add temporary workers to the labor force without adding permanent residents to the population*" (Martin 2003: 1). The receiving society did not want to accommodate for additional residents in regard to social aspects such as housing or schooling. Moreover, early guest worker programs operated on the basis that migrant workers could be hired at low wages, restrictions on family reunification were imposed and rights of migrant workers could be minimized (Castles 2006: 742). Thus the receiving state had a crucial role in the operation of guest worker programs.

The circular notion intended by the programs originally was successful up to some point. According to Martin 75 percent of guest workers in Germany between 1960 and 1973 left as anticipated. This covered 18.5 million foreign workers. However, the programs assumed a 100 per cent return rate. (Martin 2003: 8). Migrant workers formed families, which gave them an incentive to settle. The 1970s oil crisis and recession was experienced in the countries where migrant workers originated from, such as Turkey and therefore the economic motivation to stay became greater. Lastly, migrant workers became gradually integrated in the receiving country's welfare networks, such as gaining rights to unemployment benefits and education (Castles 2006: 743). The first guest worker programs thus had unintended social consequences, which receiving

societies were not prepared for. The European large-scale guest worker programs ended in 1973-74.

2.4 The Question of Human and Labor Rights

The question of human rights violations was thus present already in early guest worker programs. The new low-skilled temporary labor migration programs face similar critique that the human and labor rights of migrant workers are nonexistent and thus such programs should not be operated in modern democracies. There are multiple questionable factors in terms of migrant well-being and labor rights in regard to circular migration. Some of these include overly reliance and exploitation by employers due to fixed employment contracts, limited access to circular employment for new migrants, the role of enforcement mechanisms ensuring migrants' return to homeland and social and geographical exclusion of migrants in situations of virtually no integration. The nature of work permits being either fixed or transferrable can influence possible exploitation and socio-economic mobility of migrants (Vertovec 2009: 125). Vertovec also questions whether it would be simpler in terms of bureaucracy and costs for employers to continue hiring illegal migrants.

Oke raises the important question of whether temporary labor programs can be seen as aid to developing nations or if they in fact result in the opposite. Analyzing the connection of temporary labor migration schemes to the larger context of policies aiming to improve equality in the world such as trade or aid policies is crucial. Temporary labor schemes are often formed as a part of regional trade agreements and therefore understanding this context is important (Oke 2010: 72).

The receiving state has a crucial role in the operation of temporary foreign worker programs, thus temporary migrants' rights depend on the policies underlining these programs. Due to vast socio-economic disparities between the countries low-skilled migrant workers originate and work in, there might be a lack of knowledge of the required labor rights defined by the country of employment (Ruhs and Martin 2008: 253-254).

Ruhs and Martin argue that there is *a trade-off between the numbers and rights of migrant workers*. The more migrant workers are admitted in quantity, the stricter their

rights are. While the state determines minimum legal conditions for the basis of hiring foreign workers, the actual implementation of predetermined conditions is often left for employers and migrants (Ruhs and Martin 2008: 253). Therefore there is a disproportional relationship between the rights and numbers of high and low skilled labor migrants. The availability of high-skilled labor migrants is smaller in numbers and greater demand than low-skilled foreign laborers. Hence, the high-skilled foreign workers are offered good wages and excessive rights by the receiving country. Low-skilled labor instead is easy to hire as the amount of workers on offer is large and thus the working conditions can be restricted to the maximum under legal parameters (Ruhs and Martin 2008: 254).

Increased rights for migrant laborers often require additional costs for employers and receiving states. The rights of low-skilled migrant workers could still today be limited on similar bases as during the prior temporary labor programs of Western Europe. Low-skilled migrant laborers earn less than average income in the receiving country meaning they pay less tax. The receiving country therefore may wish to limit low-skilled temporary migrants' access to social infrastructure in order to minimize costs and benefits entitled to the migrant due to their small wage (Ruhs and Martin 2008: 255).

The normative understanding of what is morally right and wrong in regard to temporary foreign worker programs and their conditions of employment is discussed through three key factors. Firstly, the programs should be evaluated based upon whether they benefit the lives of migrant workers. Secondly, analysis should focus on whether these programs have the potential of creating opportunities for participating workers. Thirdly, when temporary worker programs benefit the lives of migrant workers and provide increased opportunities to participants then the grounds on which they operate could be found morally justifiable (Ruhs and Martin 2008: 261).

In the Canadian case, migrant workers cannot change employers and breach of contract results directly in deportation. The low-skilled temporary workers programs do not provide a path to permanent residence or citizenship, thus maintaining a possibly exploitative system of vulnerable migrant workers. In addition, Canada has not ratified international conventions protecting migrants' rights such as the ILO or the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and

Member of Their Families (ICRMW) UN convention (Hennerby and Preibisch 2010: 31, UN).

The ICRMW has not been ratified in Canada, according to Piché et al. because this would force Canada to re-establish legislation, which allows temporary foreign workers. Some of the rights of temporary foreign workers that could be provided by the ICRMW include the right to unionize, the right for equal treatment and the right of migrant workers to be consulted (Piché 2009: 211).

While democracy and temporary foreign worker programs have been a dubious equation, there is also an understanding that if temporary migrant worker programs had appropriate regulations, they could be successful, divergent to their earlier versions (Castles 2006: 747). The Global Commission on International Migration provides a nine step recommendation on how temporary foreign worker programs could be made workable in today's world. These steps are summarized as follows; the advisement of migrants' of their rights, respect of migrants' rights in treatment, more flexible employment contracts, gender equality, increased monitoring of permits so that rules and regulations are followed by participating countries and employers, sanction for employers and migrants violating the rules, ensuring that middle actors involved in recruiting are all legal, introducing visas which allow flexible movement between countries of origin and destination and mechanisms to assist in reintegration of migrant workers upon return (GCIM 2005: 17-18).

The GCIM also specifies that deductions made from temporary foreign workers' salaries for social benefits and pensions should be made available for migrants. These can have negative outcomes on migrants' willingness to work legally or return back to the origin country. On the contrary, if benefits are available for migrants once returning home, this can act as an incentive to support the cyclical movement intended by the programs (GCIM 2005: 18-19).

3. Transnationalism as the Theoretical Framework

Transnationalism is the most recent of migration theories and has emerged from globalization and development of new technologies of transport and communication (Castles and Miller 2009: 30, Portes et al. 1999). According to Castles and Miller these improvements enable temporary and circular migration because linkages between the origin and destination countries are easier to preserve.

According to Portes et. al activity can be defined to fit the transnational paradigm under three conditions. Firstly, transnational activity must involve a large number of people. Secondly, activities defined as transnational have to form patterns and stability over a certain period of time. Thirdly, the activities referred to as transnational must not have a previous conceptual definition, which would result in repetition (Portes et. al 1999: 219). Portes et al. also argue that it is crucial to limit the concept of transnationalism to particular activities and groups of people. By applying this term to all migrants undertaking various activities creates a sense of loss of meaning. Early work on transnationalism emphasized most cross-border international activity as transnational behavior and saw it frequently as progressive. The developments in the study of transnationalism have recently begun focusing on single types of activity and limiting analysis on international movement. Separating various types of transnational activity allows for more detailed analysis of migrant behavior (Guarnizo 2003: 669).

The division of the concept of transnationalism is connected with the distinctions of globalization. Globalization has been divided into two categories, those of globalization from above and below. Globalization from above refers to multinational corporations while globalization from below focuses on individual or collective small-scale actors creating global linkages (Vertovec 2009: 2). Defining transnationalism and the level in which the activity is originating from is also important. Similarly, transnational activity can be induced by governments or originate from the local level (Portes et al. 1999: 220). Vertovec states that "Enhanced transnational connections between social groups represent a key manifestation of globalization" (Vertovec 2009: 2).

Globalization has brought a change to the existing understanding of international migration. Largely, transnationalism is a result of this transformation. Changes in the

labor market and the emergence of multinational corporations are a result of globalization. As a result of the removal of protection on labor, production was altered and transferred to low-wage developing countries. Employers could thus gain three to four workers in developing countries for the same price they had been able to hire one local worker in developed nations. This was followed by the surfacing of large-scale production factories, or sweatshops particularly in Latin America and Far East Asia (Castles and Miller 2009: 52).

The expansion of production to developing countries such as Mexico was simultaneously followed by large cutbacks and unemployment in the Northern American industry sectors in the 1980s (Chossudovsky 1999: 95). Developed nations restrict the mobility of cheap labor by bilateral agreements such as the Nafta, which places strict limits of migration of Mexicans to the United States in order to maintain economies of cheap labor. Simultaneously bilateral agreements allow the hiring of workers from these economies of cheap labor into sectors which are not internationally mobile, such as agriculture and construction. Chossudovsky argues that the negative effects of hiring foreign cheap labor includes the weakening of local salaries and the diminished status of trade unions in destination countries (Chossudovsky 1999: 107-8).

Globalization thus did not weaken the status of nation-states. Rather it enforced the role of the Northern Western dominance of the world markets. The effects of globalization were not equal in different parts of the world. The West grew richer, while Africa grew poorer, leaving other areas of the world in between these two extremes. Castles and Miller distinguish between globalization as a political ideology and an economic process. While globalization as an economic process is still continuing through a capitalist world market, globalization as a political ideology has largely failed. The presence of conflict, growing inequality and rival ideologies, in addition to unequal trade policies has shown the weaknesses of globalization as an ideological paradigm (Castles and Miller: 53-54). It is in the globalization of economy where the concept of "immigrant transnationalism" is found (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003: 13).

3.1. Migrant Transnationalism

Vertovec discusses a similar concept of *migrant transnationalism*, which he explains in the following way "a broad category referring to a range of practices and institutions linking migrants, people and organization in their homelands or elsewhere in a diaspora…" (Vertovec 2009: 13). In contrast to integration, the concept of migrant transnationalism aims to highlight new alternative approaches to migration studies focusing on the role of remittances and migrants' ongoing linkages to home or origin countries. An alternative way of defining migrant transnationalism from the old versus new debate is to look at different types of migrant groups. Here Vertovec emphasizes alternative patterns of migration related to circular mobility, where a number of categories of migrants can be identified; unskilled, undocumented, return, retired, forced and high-skilled migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, trained specialists returning to home countries, among others (Vertovec 2009).

Vertovec's work on transnationalism forms the basis of the way the concept will be utilized in my thesis for circular migration. There are six distinctions between different approaches to transnationalism (Vertovec 2009: 4-11). The first approach he calls 'social morphology'. Transnationalism is identified here through social formation and networks. The relationship between states of residence, homeland states and ethnic groups creates new social formations. The central concept in social morphology is networks, defined as systems and structures of relationships creating transnational social arrangements.

The second view sees transnationalism as a type of consciousness. This idea is based on awareness of multiple identities and multiple localities jointly creating new subjectivities. This is explained by Vertovec as a "diaspora consciousness" (Vertovec 2009: 6). Migrants do not only remain in touch with one nation, and hence there are often two or more nations present within their consciousness.

The third approach centers on transnationalism being a 'mode of cultural production'. This view emphasizes formations such as syncretism, hybridity and creolization.

Transnational youth culture acts as an example of cultural hybridity, as socialization occurs amongst multiple cultures and identities. Also arts such as film and music portray this outlet of transnationalism (Vertovec 2009: 7).

The fourth view on transnationalism looks at the concept in terms of 'avenue of capital'. Here, emphasis is placed on transnational corporations, the movement of labor and remittances sent to origin countries (Vertovec 2009: 8). The world market is influenced by transnational corporations for example with the genesis of sweat shops as explained above. Remittances affect international monetary flows and origin communities, even though the relationship between remittances and development is highly debated.

Fifth is the approach according to which transnationalism requires new political channels due to a global space of action. International non-governmental organizations offer channels for discussion and it has increasingly been recognized that diasporas are involved in origin country politics.

The sixth approach to transnationalism highlights the construction of places and spaces through global media outlets and different sources of communication. The surfacing of "translocalities" through transnational media such as internet is at the core of reconstructing local places and spaces (Vertovec 2009: 12).

Vertovec offers a view on how migrants themselves regularly form circular migration patterns. Migrants often are not "first time movers", crossing borders between home and destination countries for employment. Once an individual has moved it is likely that the individual will move again, making this a continuous movement, known as a characteristic within migration. Every move provides the migrant with more information on migration, thus lowering the inhibition to move again. The question of legality of crossing borders becomes less important once a migratory pattern has been established. However, according to Vertovec, increased skills and development in socio-economic mobility influences migrants' concerns on migrating legally. Circular migrants are more likely to send larger remittances to home countries. Circular migrants, upon returning home, can then enjoy the remittances themselves.

Van Hear draws attention to the idea that transnationalism is distinct to the concept of cosmopolitanism (Van Hear 1998: 253-256). While transnational linkages extend internationally, this should not be equated with worldliness. The association that migrants are broad-minded and the ones remaining at home are narrow-minded leads to false assumptions. These connotations have three particular characteristics. Firstly, transnational diasporas have a tendency of concentrating in "global cities" such as New York. The image of cosmopolitanism is portrayed even though this characteristic might not be embedded in every diaspora present in the global city. Secondly, individuals creating international linkages do not automatically have a cosmopolitan world view. Migrants similarly to individuals who do not migrate can be characterized by particularism. Thirdly, international networks are not always considered beneficial. For some diasporas, these linkages and ties to origin communities might resemble hindrance or anxiety (Van Hear 1998: 255-256).

The separation between cosmopolitanism and transnationalism put foreward by Van Hear is important in regard to organized circular migration, because these individuals remain very narrowly in between the origin and receiving locations due to the restrictions often imposed by circular migration programs. Even though circular workers form international networks and take part in transnational activities, their worldview, particularly in regard to unskilled circular migration might remain very narrow.

3.2 The Relevance of Transnationalism

Why is transnationalism an appropriate framework for my thesis? Transnationalism is relevant to circular migration in various ways. In regard to free circulation the points discussed above are all relevant. However, in terms of organized circular labor migration programs the most relevant approach is the use of transnationalism as the avenue of capital. International recruitment by transnational organizations or states influences labor mobility. Low-skilled temporary labor migrants become transnational actors due to transnationalism induced from above, by states or employers recruiting foreign workers.

While transnationalism is often associated with diaspora communities and their activity, also other types of migrant movement can be defined transnational. Circular migrants under organized programs also constitute transnationalism as their mobility between two countries falls outside of national borders. Importance of transnationalism as a "space" to which migrants belong has been identified as transnational subjectivity by Janine Dahinden (Dahinden 2009: 1366). Temporary labor migrants can be identified to belong to this transnational space when circulating between countries. Living in between two countries and being part of the 'transnational space' is crucial for my thesis. These migrants can then become deliverers of social remittances or brain circulation.

Yet, it is the same paradigm of transnationalism which can imply negative consequences for migrant workers. Piper describes how temporary migrants' transnational living makes them vulnerable and excluded from being able to influence their own rights "Their transnationality (being simultaneously "constituents" of both origin and destination countries) means that state responsibilities are difficult to attribute and easy to evade" (Piper 2010: 114). Hence Piper highlights that there is a need for protective agents of migrants' rights in transnational spaces (Piper 2010: 118).

I have outlined the ways in which transnationalism is relevant to organized circular migration programs. However, the theory of transnationalism has received critique. Firstly, while the concept of transnationalism is recent, all the types of activity placed under it are not (Dunn 2005). Hence, the idea of repetition also mentioned by Portes (1999) is one source of critique. Secondly, it has been criticized that instead of focusing on international practices and identities between two nations, transnationalism should focus on activities "above or beyond nations" (Dunn 2005: 25). In addition, transnationalism is often used to describe "translocal" activites, between one town and another, without involving multiple identities (Dunn 2005: 25-26). However, transnationalism as argued by Van Hear can still be applied as a concept in studies where identity remains narrow and not cosmopolitan.

While believing transnationalism gives some insights to migration studies, Dahinden still finds some crucial flaws in the theory. Firstly, transnationalism has been restricted to describe some migrants and their activities, not all. Hence there is a question of

whether transnationalism precludes integration or if transnational activity requires integration in both, host and origin countries (Dahinden 2009: 1366).

The second critique of transnationalism put forward by Dahinden is that this theoretical framework does not address non-mobile individuals. This critique results in the understanding, that people remaining in origin countries cannot be transnationally active (Dahinden 2009: 1366).

Furthermore Dunn argues that the strength of transnationalism as a concept remains in its characteristic of being a paradigm, an umbrella or an overarching concept (Dunn 2005: 27).

3.3 The Debate on Migration and Development: Is there a Link?

The link between migration and development is a highly debated issue. Throughout the past five decades views on the connections between migration and development have altered greatly. Today, interest in the link between migration and development is visible in regard to the types of migration policies recommended by international actors. The interests of the receiving countries are not the only ones policy-makers are concerned with and therefore the influence of migration on development is central to migration issues in the contemporary world. Migrants from developing countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America to Europe, North America and Australia comprise the South-North migratory flows, which are at the center of this debate. While the development impact is felt in the origin country, the sending nation rarely has the chance to be a part of international dialogue on migration policy. International organizations are heavily dominated by the West and Western governments have established the context for the discussion on migration and development (Glick Schiller and Faist 2010: 9). The debate on the link between migration and development is ongoing and influenced by various theories of migration.

A major shift in the debate is characterized by Glick Schiller as “Migration has mutated from being a problem for economic development to being a solution” (Glick Schiller and Faist 2010: 7). According to Glick Schiller and Faist, the current arguments linking migration and development through monetary and social remittances and skill transfer

in the sense of human capital were present already in the 1960s. In between, a wave of varying schools of thought became popular. Between 1973 and 1990 migration was believed to be caused by lack of development and in turn, migration furthered underdevelopment due to brain drain (Glick Schiller 2010: 10, de Haas 2010: 230).This period of thinking has also been described as migration pessimism (de Haas 2010: 230). During the 1980s and 1990s the dominant argument surrounding migration and development focused on negative implications of migration on origin country economic development. Migration was seen to cause dependency (Glick Schiller and Faist 2010: 10). 1990s also saw an implementation of stricter immigration policies and general cynicism was present in migration research. The 2000s marked a new period of ideology, the return to the migration optimism found during the 1960s (de Haas 2010: 230). These two opposing views demonstrate contrasting ideologies of neoliberalism and state-centrism (de Haas 2010: 229).

The migration optimism and pessimism schools of thought can be divided in the following way; migration optimism is supported by the developmentalist and neo-classical theories. Migration pessimism on the contrary is based on historical-structuralist and dependency theories (de Haas 2010). This optimism and pessimism has also been described as vicious and virtuous cycles of migration. Migration causing diminished population and having a negative influence on economies of origin communities has been described as creating a vicious cycle. The virtuous cycle on the other hand draws from the positive connections made by remittances and migrant networks (Delgado Wise and Márquez Covarrubias in Glick Schiller and Faist 2010: 148-149).

The optimistic theories saw return migration as a significant contribution to development through transfer of knowhow and learning of new ideas. Development was assumed to take a similar path to the West and it was believed that developing countries would also industrialize. In the 1950s and 1960s migration was linked to development through labor migration. It was believed that development was essential to modernization (Castles and Miller 2009). Labor migrants became an important part of this ideology and participants of large-scale guest worker programs were believed to invest upon return and further industrial development in origin countries (de Haas 2010: 232).

Remittances also were considered to influence positively origin country economies. Remittances are money, which migrants working away from home send back to origin communities, often to family members. The developmentalist school argued that monetary transfers such as loans, aid or remittances would eventually lead to economic development (de Haas 2010: 231-232). Remittances give short-term relief to local households and contribute to improved housing standards. Remittances spent on consumption of health care, housing, better food and education in particular, can increase levels of productivity (Stalker 2000: 81). Remittances can also have a potentially positive effect nationally by increasing foreign exchange and savings (Sorensen et al. 2002: 8, Massey 1998).

This connects to the idea of migration and development seen through the three R's of recruitment, remittances and return (Sorensen et al. 2002: 7). The recruitment, remittances and return approach to the migration and development linkage focuses on migrants primarily as workers. Return is presumed to be the last stage of migration. This stage is where migrants who return bring knowledge and skills with them. However, Sorensen et al point out that it is often only high-skilled migrants who bring back skills they can use in their origin communities.

Recruitment refers to the underlying reasons of emigration in regard to migrants' motivation and the factors enabling migration. Recruitment is done by various agencies, ranging from private to public sectors, documented to undocumented and from individual to shared entities. These recruiters and recruited eventually form networks between certain communities in sending countries and particular occupational areas in receiving countries (Sorensen et al. 2002: 8). These networks become an important source for migrants. While recruitment networks are vital in forming linkages for migrants, they can also be a source of exploitation. Abella introduces the issue of commercialization of labor recruitment. Today, labor recruitment is often done by public and private sectors. However, the balance has shifted in the past decades. Prior to the 1970s recruitment was government based while today the role of government entities has decreased while simultaneously this has encouraged private recruiters to enter the market (Abella in Massey and Taylor 2004: 201). This commercialization of recruitment of labor has been a negative turn for the migrant workers, because the profit

gained by the private recruiters, is often paid by migrant workers. According to Abella, 80 to 90 per cent of labor migrants from Asia are recruited by private recruitment firms (Massey and Taylor 2004: 201).

These views of the positive link between remittances and development have been critiqued. Migrant labor and their remittances have been unproductive to the origin countries in cases such as Turkey (Castles and Miller 2009: 51). In addition, this thinking has received critique as the burden of development has been laid on the shoulders of vulnerable migrant workers instead of international development aid organizations and governments (Castles and Miller 2009: 58).

The pessimism of the historical-structuralist view and the arguments of the migrant syndrome emphasize migration as a cause of underdevelopment. Brain drain became a major concern in the 1970s and remittances were seen as negatively enhancing consumption and expenditure on goods rather than contributing to investment in business (de Haas 2010: 233, Stalker 2000: 81). The argument of migration causing brain drain in the country of origin has been associated with permanent migration. Brain drain refers to the emigration of the smartest or most attractive individuals in the labor market, therefore causing loss or brain drain for the country of origin. Simultaneously these individuals become an asset for the receiving country. Hence, the loss of human resources in employment markets due to international migration can be detrimental for origin countries (Massey 1998: 224).

There is some debate on whether brain drain is a concern for high-skilled migration alone and can low-skilled migration cause loss of human resources. Brain drain has traditionally been connected to high-skilled migration, because it is the high-skilled individuals who usually have more means to migrate internationally. According to Massey et. al emigrants are mainly high-skilled. A decade ago, emigrants from Latin and Central American countries such as Argentina and Guatemala to the United States had received more schooling than the average citizen. Mexico however portrays contrary numbers, mainly the emigration of low-skilled rural migrants to the U.S due to existing networks (Massey et al. 1998: 236).

Castles and Miller draw attention to the notion that also migration of low-skilled workers can cause brain drain. In the worst case "emigration could lead to a shortage of the young, active workers needed for development" (Castles and Miller 2009: 58). Ellerman highlights that it is the "best and the brightest" from all social classes who leave (Ellerman 2005: 619). The ones being able to migrate already have the means to realize the travel or gain access to work abroad.

Others supporting the negative consequences of migration to development argue that migration from developing countries has become an exit strategy for individuals, while the society can postpone vital social and economic issues due to migration (Ellerman 2005: 620). To quote Ellerman, migration "relieves the pressure to change the structural barriers to development (Ellerman 2005: 620). Therefore in economically weak societies where migration is defined as an accomplishment by individuals, the pending social issues within the society remain unsolved (Ellerman 2005: 621).

Ellerman argues that the migration and development link is best portrayed by the three Ds deal; dirty, difficult and dangerous. The Ds describe the jobs on offer in the Western world, while the origin communities become "bedroom communities" (Ellerman 2005: 627). By arguing for the three Ds deal, Ellerman draws attention to what exactly is meant by development by those promoting international migration in its name. Some measure development through poverty alleviation, improved incomes and upgraded in living quarters. Yet Ellerman suggests that the three Ds deal offer developing governments just another way out of their pressing problems, such as unemployment (Ellerman 2005: 628).

The migrant syndrome is best defined as migration becoming a way of life. Once the migrant has reached improved living conditions in the country of origin, these new standards become the expected norm of migrants and their households. Repeat emigration is thus necessary to maintain new standards of living. In addition, increased emigration can be caused as others in migrants' local communities aspire to the migrant's lifestyle. Hence, the migrant syndrome also considers negative cultural effects and increased inequality in local communities as outcomes of migration (Basok, 2002: 130, de Haas 2010: 237).

3.4 The Transnationalist View on Migration and Development

In the context transnationalism some positive connections between migration and development have been made. Remittances have yet again become a new hope for the promotion of positive connections between migration and the development of the origin community. Financial and social remittances, the emergence of brain circulation in the place of brain drain and temporary and circular migration are seen as activities which promote development (de Haas 2005: 1272-1274). Increased migrant diasporas and their ongoing transnational activities are also a resource for development. Finally economic development is believed to reduce emigration (Castles and Miller 2009: 58).

The major aspect of transnationalism is the shift from assuming that migrants loose contact with origin communities after migration and integration to new destination countries. The transnationalist perspective argues that migrants remain in contact with origin countries and integration to destination countries does not preclude this activity (de Haas 2010: 247, Glick Schiller and Faist 2010: 151). Emigration is not viewed as permanent and resulting in complete separation from origin countries. Rather, transnational ties continue between the two countries due to migrants' activities in local politics, organizations and other social networks. Thus, the theory of transnationalism offers hope in the contribution of high-skilled and low-skilled emigration to the development of origin communities (Portes 2009).

There are two perspectives of the transnationalist view on development. The first is concerned with the transnational activities of migrants. These include the use of communication technologies and remittances and their impact on local communities. These transnational activities can also provide further networks for transnational corporations. The second perspective emphasizes the role of migrant organizations in development enhancing activities (Glick Schiller and Faist 2010: 152).

These involvements between high and low-skilled migrants in circular mobility between origin and destination countries differ greatly. High-skilled migrants might face less legal constraints for circular migration than low-skilled migrants (Portes 2009: 16). Portes argues that circular migration of both high-skilled and low-skilled migrants can be the link between migration and development. The role of both the sending and

receiving country governments is crucial in making circular migration work positively to create a win-win situation. Furthermore, circular migration should operate under certain conditions of which some are the increased cooperation between governments which would result in increased opportunities for migrants to return and sustain circularity on their own. The voluntary nature of return is also stressed (Portes 2009: 19).

De Haas also argues for the presence of a positive link between migration and development. Migration statistics have been similar a century ago, simply the visibility of non-Western migrants in the West influence the idea that migration is larger today than ever before. Also de Haas argues that it is generally and falsely believed that development aid or revised trade policies can cure and reverse the current direction of migration flows (de Haas 2005: 1271).

In conclusion, de Haas agrees with Portes (2009) in arguing for less restrictive circular migration. Highly controlled migration policies decrease circular mobility and therefore minimize the possibility for transnational activity and developmental outcomes for origin countries (de Haas 2005: 1281). However, de Haas also condemns traditional guest worker programs and their more recent versions due to the same strictness of policies, which are implemented in their operation (de Haas 2005: 1280). Increased control for de Haas, results in permanence and settlement rather than circulation and cyclical mobility.

3.5 Circular Migration Resulting in the "Triple Win"?

Why has circular labor migration become newly attractive to policy makers in the contemporary world? Economics are at the center of interests in past and contemporary low-skilled circular migration programs. The need for foreign workers has continued. The traditional countries of guest worker programs have begun implementing new temporary foreign worker admission policies. However the regulations and technicalities of the guest worker programs of the 1990s have changed (Martin 2003). Some fields of occupation where labor force is needed remain the same, such as construction and agriculture, yet others are recent and contemporary for example IT and nursing (Martin 2003: 5). Martin characterizes the temporary foreign worker programs of the 1990s as micro programs.

Main arguments for foreign worker programs in the 1990s were found in globalization, foreign policy, labor shortages and in border-crossing circular labor mobility (Martin 2003: 8). Admissions to a country could be given based on the notion that a laborer could live in one country and cross the border to work in another through commuter programs (Martin 2003: 8). The possibilities for mobility were transformed through globalization. Globalization also brought along with it a new avenue of capital. While low-skilled production could be transferred to developing countries, all labor requiring manual work could not (Castles 2006: 744). The role of networks is also emphasized (Martin 2003).

Temporary worker programs are often praised for their potential to offer solutions in regard to migration management. Today's migrant workers are increasingly illegal or undocumented. Martin argues that the "regular" foreign migrant worker is actually a minority, as foreigners tend to originally be in receiving countries primarily for other reasons than regular labor (Martin 2003: 5). As irregular migration increases the underlying motivation for international migration is often economical. This increase of migrants from developing countries has led to restrictions in entry requirements. Cooperation between European countries has also improved and shared border control has been asserted (Castles 2006). However, restrictions on legal entry channels can also lead to increased irregular migration, which is already an issue in many European states. The situation hence calls for ways to manage the inflow of migrants. Castles also argues that the terrorist attack of 2001 has changed the global atmosphere regarding migration and undocumented migrants are seen as a security concern (Castles 2006: 747).

Concretely, Europe has pursued circular migration policies through sector based programs in an attempt to manage immigration (Boswell and Geddes 2011: 96). Seasonal labor migration has been supported by the European Commission through funding cooperation programs such as those between Spain and Morocco and on the other hand those between Tunisia and Italy in the 1990s (Boswell and Geddes 2011: 97).

International actors such as the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), the European Commission, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the World Bank (WB) have all addressed the connection between migration and

development particularly in terms of circular migration in the past years (Vertovec 2009: 122-124). International organization such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and OECD promoted organized labor migration through bilateral agreements already in the postwar era (Östergaard-Nielsen 2003: 10).

There is increased recognition of migrants' transnational activities, the economic connection between migration and development through remittances and the need for policies to reduce "brain-drain" and replace this by "brain circulation" (Vertovec 2009: 120). Circular migration has been seen as a "win-win-win" possibility, resulting in positive outcomes in terms of sending countries, receiving countries and migrants themselves. Vertovec argues that circular migration policies are believed by policy-makers to be more accepted by the public. Recent opinions in the West towards migration from the developing world have become increasingly hostile. Lastly, Vertovec discusses the increased technology of keeping track of international migrants. These developments could offer a base for policy-making in regard to international circular migration.

Table 1. The positive outcomes of circular migration for migrants, destination countries and origin countries

Migrant	• Increased earnings and remittances • Improved skills • Improved earning possibilities upon return through investment
Destination Country	• Fulfilment of labor shortages • Minimised training costs if same migrants are hired seasonally • Increased domination over workers
Origin Country	• Access to destination country's labor markets • Inflow of remittances • Replacing brain drain with brain circulation • Benefits from investments of migrant workers

Source: Gathered from literature (Vertovec 2002; Castles 2006; Ruhs 2003 and 2006; Martin 2003; Wickramaseka 2011)

Organized temporary labor migration programs are usually based on bilateral agreements between the sending and receiving countries (OECD 2008:135). Hence, the

sending country also has influence on the nature of the agreement. Bilateral agreements can also be developed to support seasonality within the country of origin. For example, certain programs can be specified to include seasonal workers in countries of origin of a different seasonal cycle to the receiving country, consequently supporting employment of the worker all year around in both countries (OECD 2008: 136).

Sending countries have also used circular labor programs as policy tools in promoting their own interests. Sending country governments may be willing to participate in temporary worker programs due to high unemployment rates or in cases where international labor migration has been considered as a positive impact on development, in regard to remittances and obtained skills through training abroad (Martin 2003: 3, Östergaard-Nielsen 2003). An example of this is Indonesia, which included labor export as part of a national development plan in order to increase the inflow of remittances (Hugo in Massey and Taylor 2004: 175). Remittances are desired by labor sending countries because of the need to disburse foreign debt and generate trade. The sending of workers becomes a strategy similarly to trade of commodities in order to gain capital (Hugo 2004: 176). Other benefits of emigration for labor sending countries include the relief on pressing unemployment rates (Massey 1998).

Labor sending countries can develop a structural dependence on emigration. Migration can thus become a form of postponing pressing issues. Castles argues that eventually migration can replace development instead of supporting it (Castles in Portes and Dewind 2007: 37). In addition, Ellerman argues that the contribution of circular migration to development is not significant, if measured according to retired circular migrants' settling back to origin countries and establishing small-scale businesses. However, this career path might portray the migrants' personal views of a successfully completed professional life (Ellerman 2005: 618).

Vertovec cautions, that even though the positives of circular migration might seem generous in terms of fulfilling labor shortages, economic development, tackling undocumented migration and public opinions, there remain challenges and the positives might be overly praised (Vertovec 2009). Boswell and Geddes also emphasize the connection between "rhetoric and practice" of labor migration policies (Boswell and

Geddes 2011: 79). While at times rhetoric places importance on the liberal nature of policies, the practical side may continue as restrictive or in some cases vice versa (Boswell and Geddes 2011: 79).

Today many low-skilled circular migration programs are in operation around the world. The North American low-skilled seasonal and non-seasonal programs in Canada and the United states operate with Mexico, Central American countries and some Caribbean countries. Europe's resurfaced interest in circular migration, both high-skilled and low-skilled has led to increased admissions of temporary workers in various European countries from non-EU member states. Temporary work is also popular in Asia, where contract low-skilled temporary labor is typical for Middle Eastern countries. (Hugo 2009: 28). New Zealand and Australia have introduced seasonal low-skilled circular migration programs in recent years due to labor shortages in agricultural sectors. New Zealand's Recognized Seasonal Employers Scheme (RSE) began in 2007, which allows the fulfillment of labor from abroad and has a seasonal need of 20-30 000 workers (Hugo 2009: 35).

4. Setting the Scene for Circular Migration between Guatemala and Canada

4.1 The Demand for Foreign Labor in Canada

There is a persistent need for foreign labor in the Canadian agricultural sector. The agricultural sector was strongly family-based in the first half of the 20th Century. Farms were owned by families and labor on farms was performed largely by family members, rather than wage laborers. After the 1940s the agricultural sector underwent vast changes. Farms were commercialized and smaller farms merged into larger production units. The Canadian government controlled prices of agricultural products, which caused them to stay low. This in turn affected farmers as they needed to keep production costs low enough to make farming profitable. Hence, others left the agricultural sector for industrial jobs and the ownership of farms concentrated into larger clusters. The formation of large commercial farms introduced the needs for wage labor, permanent and temporary (Basok 2002: 26).

The progress of use of machinery in agricultural production alleviated some of the need for manual wage labor. However, some crops, such as apples and tomatoes still require large numbers of seasonal manual workers due to the nature of their production. A combination of smaller farmer families and lessened opportunities of finding workers traditionally from within the family unit added to the need of wage laborers. A number of attempts were made to recruit labor for Canadian farms on behalf of both private and public agencies, mainly amongst Canadian and European workers. Nevertheless, these attempts failed and the first Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) was introduced in the 1960s in order to enable the recruitment of temporary foreign workers (TFWs) from the Caribbean (Basok 2002: 27-29). Throughout the past four decades the program has continued expanding recruitment of agricultural workers to a number of Caribbean islands those of Trinidad-Tobago, Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean as well as to Mexico since 1974 (HRSDC Canada website).

In the past decades the Canadian agricultural sector has been increasingly dependent of foreign labor. Wages of agricultural workers are low, working conditions can be harsh and the seasonal nature of agricultural work is also unattractive to native workers. Furthermore the mismatch of abilities of employees and the needs of employers is

visible in the Canadian agricultural sector. The unemployed sent to work on farms do not qualify as workers due to lack of effort or desire to work in the agricultural sector (Basok 2002; Colby 1994: 9). When crops or harvests are ripe for collection workers might be needed to work around the clock. Hence, Canadian farmers need workers who are prepared to work on demand (Basok 2002).

Weak labor conditions of agricultural workers in Canada have a lengthy history. Unionization of agricultural workers has been illegal in all provinces except that of British Columbia (Basok 2002: 60). However, some recent changes in legislation have allowed increased rights for workers (see UFCW report 2010). Provisions for overtime and weekend work are rarely paid as there are no set requirements (Basok 2002: 59). Basok argues that TFWs become attractive to Canadian farmers for two main reasons. In addition to the fact that foreign laborers are willing to work in these conditions rejected by Canadian residents for a low wage, they also agree to work as much as demanded by the employer. Hence, in high seasons when there is a demand for workers all the time, TFWs put in extra hours as much as needed, while local residents are free to leave (Basok 2002: 85).

4.2 Temporary Foreign Worker Programs of Canada

Canada has been a traditional country of immigration, attracting migrants worldwide for centuries. In 2008 the estimated number of temporary migrant workers arriving to Canada was approximately 193 000, including all skill levels and occupational sectors, which was higher than the number of permanent immigrants entering Canada. The number of foreign workers has doubled in the last three decades making Canada increasingly more dependent on immigrant labor (Hennerby and Preibisch 2010: 22). The table below presents fifteen origin countries which provided the highest numbers of temporary workers for the Canadian labor market in 2010. From the countries presented in the table, Canada has low-skilled and semi-skilled employment programs with and encourages recruitment from at least Mexico, Jamaica and Guatemala in the agricultural sector and from Philippines through the Live-in Caregivers Program.

Table 2. Origin countries of temporary workers entering Canada

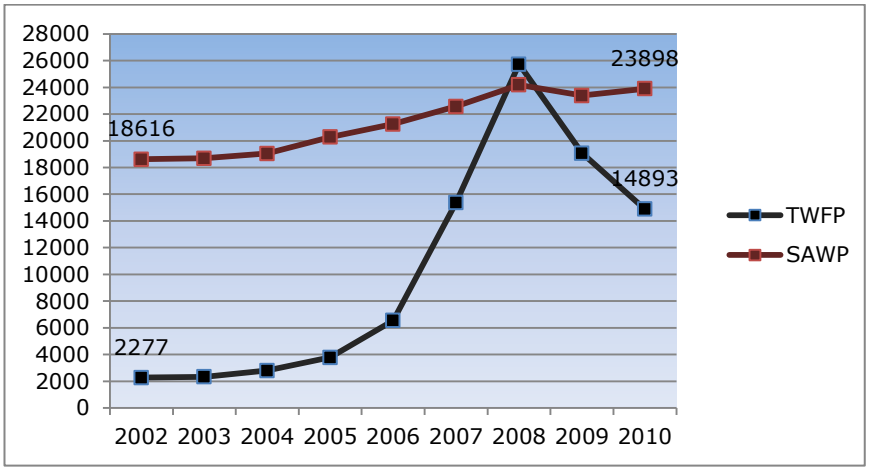
Country	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
United States	42 386	36 204	30 224	30 031	30 846	31 901	31 411	31 965	30 590	34 814
Mexico	11 313	11 514	11 282	11 656	12 946	14 673	17 695	20 955	18 422	18 011
France	5 770	5 320	5 361	7 140	8 769	10 073	10 949	12 443	15 330	17 129
Australia	5 218	6 015	6 392	7 739	7 839	8 513	8 951	12 446	10 199	10 558
Philippines	4 120	4 651	5 008	5 880	6 225	8 853	16 225	19 263	14 495	9 737
United Kingdom	8 532	7 660	7 129	8 810	9 019	9 306	9 883	10 983	10 315	9 444
India	2 321	2 237	2 320	2 863	3 601	4 247	6 183	7 518	6 411	7 972
Jamaica	5 956	5 642	5 980	6 011	6 222	6 530	6 741	7 304	7 036	7 586
Germany	3 139	2 702	2 174	2 762	3 155	4 724	5 704	6 533	6 500	6 884
Korea, Rep. of	837	783	901	1 093	1 585	2 095	2 923	4 898	4 674	5 439
Japan	5 473	6 513	6 445	6 499	6 845	6 689	6 378	7 621	6 361	5 405
Guatemala	33	13	241	355	719	1 281	2 267	3 301	3 861	4 329
Ireland, Rep. of	1 137	1 060	1 103	1 514	1 481	1 971	2 391	2 621	2 967	3 729
China, Rep. of	1 193	1 314	1 128	1 289	1 406	1 698	2 657	2 321	2 271	2 393
New Zealand	1 000	1 062	1 234	1 515	1 801	1 861	2 204	2 647	2 791	2 116

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada accessed at http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2010/temporary/07.asp

According to Hennerby and Preibisch the majority of developed countries have established temporary migration schemes in order to meet the labor needs of the agricultural sector (Hennerby and Preibisch 2010: 22). Canada has two foreign worker programs concerning low-skilled agricultural workers. These are the Seasonal Agricultural Workers program (SAWP) and the temporary foreign workers program (TFWP).

The Guatemalan migrant workers travel to Canada under the TFWP. The TFWP Canada was established in 1973 as the Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program (NIEAP) providing employment to migrant workers in high-skilled and low-skilled occupations (Fudge and MacPhail, 2009: 4). The TFWP operates on the basis of employer needs to fulfill labor shortages. Guatemala sends mainly agricultural workers to Canada. However, the TFWP also provides foreign labor to other low-skilled occupational areas such as construction. The TFWP and the SAWP are both implemented by the Canadian government's labor and immigration departments. The graph shows the admissions numbers of foreign workers admitted under the TFWP and the SAWP. The SAWP has steadily admitted larger numbers of foreign workers, admitting 23,898 in 2010. The admissions of workers through the TFWP have alternated more over the past decade, thus far admitting 14,893 foreign workers in 2010.

Table 3. Admissions of workers under TFWP and SAWP



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada accessed at http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2010/temporary/05.asp

Foreign agricultural workers admitted under SAWP and TFWP have different rights and benefits varying on the destination province and on program regulations. Employers are requested to have an 'employment authorization' or a Labor Market Opinion (LMO). In order to guarantee fair wages to temporary migrant workers the employment authorization requires that available work positions are first advertised and informed on the Canadian employment markets. A contact person for foreign workers must be available in the origin country embassy at Canada. Neither program allows migrants to bring their families with them to Canada. Some examples of specific rules of the TFWP are outlined briefly below:

The TWFP regulations stipulate that:

- Workers are hired for periods of up to twenty-four months (HRSDC website).
- Employers must pay the full costs of airfare to and from origin country.
- Employers must guarantee the availability of cheap housing and ensure medical coverage of workers.

The Canada – Guatemala program operating as a TFWP began with 215 labor migrant workers leaving from Guatemala in 2003 to Quebec, Canada (IOM publication 2008: 22). In 2007 the number of agricultural workers migrating to Canada had increased to 2,255. The yearly increase of numbers of migrant workers is also visible in table 2. This program operates through employers' umbrella organizations of F.E.R.M.E and FARMS depending on the Canadian province. The umbrella organizations provide IOM

Guatemala with requests for workers from Canadian employers. On the Guatemalan side, virtually all practical work is done by IOM. In 2005 there were 60 Canadian farms hiring Guatemalan workers. The largest employer for Guatemalans hired up to 58 Guatemalans that year (IOM 2006: 35).

4.3 The role of IOM

The role of the state, both in the sending and receiving ends, has been dominant in managing low-skilled labor migration programs. How are international organizations involved in these programs today? IOM is involved in temporary labor programs around the world. IOM began as the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME) in 1951 (IOM website). The organization aimed at helping European governments with transport arrangements for 11 million displaced people after the World War II. Throughout the decades IOM has transformed from an agency of logistics to an organization with focus on migration. Today, IOM has a budget of about one billion and operates in over 100 countries around the world (IOM website).

Some major activities of IOM are concerned with assisting in return migration and resettlement, labor migration, providing aid to internally displaced people and conducting research on migration worldwide. IOM's activities are rooted in supporting the view that *"humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society"* (IOM website).

IOM's activities with organized labor migration involve technical assistance as well as policy recommendations. Various labor migration programs include activities in the recruitment process, pre-departure training and assistance to migrants, which IOM is given responsibility to by governments involved in particular labor migration programs. IOM's involvement with labor migration programs aims to: *"...facilitate the development of policies and programmes that can individually and mutually benefit the concerned governments, migrants and societies"*
(IOM website: http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/706).

An organized low-skilled labor migration program operated by Spain for example has been supported by IOM. In this low-skilled scheme, also supported by the European Commission, Colombian workers were sent to Spain through the Temporary and Circular Labour Migration program (TCLM) beginning in 2006 aimed at providing low-skilled labor to the farms of Spain. Hence, IOM acted as a facilitator in operating the project placed in action by bilateral agreements between governments. IOM has also taken part in recruiting and pre-departure activities in other Central American countries of El Salvador and Honduras, in order to send contract workers to Canada.
(IOM website).

The Canada – Guatemala program is similarly a labor migration program supported by IOM. It was formed under a Memorandum of Understanding between the employer organization FERME in Canada and IOM (Urruela, 2011).

The involvement of IOM in low-skilled labor migration programs is thus based on the idea of promoting safe migration. Due to the push and pull factors, which lead to the current situation of migration taking place with or without legal pathways, organized labor migration programs have been introduced as one possible option to avoid the alternatives of irregular migration or fraudulent recruiters.

The practical activities that IOM in Guatemala is responsible for include evaluations of potential workers, arrangement of paper work such as visas for Mexico and Canada, medical checks, pre-orientation lectures for departing migrants and airport assistance. IOM also collects a fee from each participant covering visa costs, medical checks and bus transportation fees to and from the airport in the origin and destination countries. Recruitment in Guatemala is solely IOM's responsibility. IOM recruits new workers based on expected need. New recruits are primarily agricultural workers from rural areas of Guatemala, as one criteria set by employers is prior skill in the agricultural field. Workers cannot apply to the program and recruitment trips are done without prior advertisement. This is to ensure that new recruits are genuinely agricultural workers and to limit the number of people present in the recruitment event. Knowledge of the program has spread through word of mouth. For example, interviewees met during the field trip explained that the whole town knows about this program (see my description of the field trip in chapter 5).

At times, Canadian employers attend recruitment procedures. Evaluations of potential workers include a physical test and basic mathematics if the hiring farm requires mathematic skills. Tattoos are not permitted on recruited workers due to possible gang associations. Finally, recruits have to pass medical checks in order to succeed in the process.

4.4 The Circumstances in Guatemala: Historical and Structural Inequality

The Central American country of Guatemala is often characterized by social, economic and political inequality. Due to vast inequalities, some of the population lives in conditions characterized by extreme poverty. Historical factors have also led to the unfair and discriminatory situation experienced by the indigenous population (Krznaric 2006:117).

Guatemala has a violent past, which is marked by a 36-year civil war. Between 1978 and 1984 Guatemalan indigenous populations experienced mass killings in the rural areas mainly perpetrated by the military government (Beckett and Pebley 2003: 437). A coup led by General Efraín Ríos Montt in 1982 overthrew the military dictator General García. Montt's rule has been described as the most violent eighteen months of the civil war. During this time brutal mass killings of rural Guatemalans, mainly the Maya took place. Complete villages were destroyed. The UN Truth Commission, established after the signing of peace accords, found the killings to be genocidal (Fischer and Benson 2006: 93-97). The UN Truth Commission concluded that the majority, 90 per cent, of the violence and human rights abuses, was perpetrated by the military government (Fischer and Benson 2006: 139). Furthermore, mass emigration internally and internationally to Mexico and the U.S took place as thousands of rural Guatemalans fled to save their lives (Beckett and Pebley 2003: 437).

Guatemala is an ethnically diverse country where indigenous populations make up nearly half of the population. The *ladino*, or the Mestizo and European populations comprise the majority of the country's 14 million population. The second largest ethnic group is the Maya Indian, which is made up of 21 different linguistic groups (World Bank 2004: 56). The largest of these groups are the Maya K'iche comprising 22 percent

followed by the Maya Kaqchiqel making up 21 percent of the indigenous populations (World Bank 2004: 56). Other than the Maya, the Xinka and the *garífuna*, the afro-Caribbean descendants, are officially recognized as separate ethnic groups (INE 2009). Guatemala as a state, has heavily forced an assimilationist policy since its independence in 1821, which aims at integrating indigenous populations to the ladino tradition. The indigenous Maya have been able to preserve their cultural identity and establish a cultural movement in the 1970s, which has strengthened ethnic identity (Beckett and Pebley 2003: 437).

Ethnic divisions are also often found across geographical areas of Guatemala. The rural ladino population is concentrated in the coastal areas and eastern Guatemala while the indigenous rural population resides in the western highlands. In 1994 approximately 80 percent of Guatemala's indigenous population and 50 percent of the ladino population inhabited rural areas (Beckett and Pebley 2003: 437).

The peace accords ending the civil war were signed in 1996 between the Guatemalan government and the rebel forces (Fischer and Benson 2006: 91). While death rates have fallen and mass killings have ended since the end of the civil war, violence is still very much a part of today's Guatemala.

4.4.1 Agriculture and Livelihood Choices of Rural Guatemalans

Guatemala's economy has been dominated by agriculture. Coffee production became Guatemala's largest agricultural export since the 1871 Liberal Revolution, followed by cotton and cattle farms. The coffee plantations grew largely due to the labor of the indigenous populations (World Bank 2004: 61). Forced labor laws originating from the late 19th Century and the early 20th Century required peasant laborers to work on coffee plantations. This period marked a change in Guatemala's economy from small-scale subsistence farming to large farms known as *fincas*. Privatization of indigenous land took place and forced Indians to move.

The forced labor laws were ended in the 1944 – 1954 government lead by Jacobo Arbenz. Redistribution of land was attempted during the Agrarian Reform of 1952, which also introduced banning all forms of forced labor (World Bank 2004: 62). A coup in 1954 conversely brought an end to the land reform yet freedom of labor continued.

However, the influence of these early policies creating inequality is still present in today's Guatemala. Low wages for day laborers and enormous disparities in land ownership characterize the current situation in Guatemala.

Unequal landownership is one of the structures enabling the marginalization of the poor. According to early estimates from the late 1970s two percent of the population owned 72 percent of land for agricultural production, mainly coffee, sugar, banana and cattle farms (Krznaric 2006:114). The Guatemalan government's agricultural survey of 2005 indicates that ownership is still unequal; agricultural workers producing below subsistence level own approximately 3.2 percent of land and comprise over 45.2 percent of producers. Commercial agriculture makes up 3.2 percent of producers while owning 65.5 percent of all land (INE 2005: 4-5). The table below presents the land ownership figures and farm sized of 2005.

Table 4. Land ownership and farm sizes

Type of agricultural production	Percentage of producers	Percentage of land	Farm sizes in hectares
Below subsistence level farming	45.2 <	3.2	> 0,70
Subsistence farming	46.8	18.7	0,70 - 6,9
Surplus farming	4.8	12.7	6,9 - 22,4
Commercial Farming	3.2	65.5	22,4 <

Source: National Institution of Statistics Guatemala (INE) Encuesta Nacional Agropecuaria 2005 pp.4-5

Agriculture remains the dominant economic sector in Guatemala. According to World Bank statistics of 2003, approximately 36 percent of workers were employed in the agricultural sector. Furthermore, 87 percent of the rural poor rely on agriculture (Krznaric 2006:115). The lack of access to land forces poor rural Guatemalans to work as day laborers or subsistence farmers. Access to land in rural Guatemala has a vital role in agricultural production, yet the majority of farmers own only small amounts of land (Beckett and Pebley 2003: 448).

Opposition to the elite rule has been unsuccessful and peasants have been weakened by violence from the state and land owners (Krznaric 2006:117). Due to the fast growing sugar industry, the largest owners in the field have gained political privilege according to Krznaric. Hence, economic reforms for improved labor rights of agricultural workers or land reform are opposed by the influential elite of land owners (Krznaric 2006: 123). The stratification between the rich and the poor is so entrenched in the society that the

rich do not often understand poverty in their own country. Krznaric argues that poverty is thus not considered seriously by the political elite, who mainly reside in the capital area, have access to education and means to migrate abroad (Krznaric 2006: 132).

Open trade policies and growth in agricultural exports has not led to the development of the poorest communities in Guatemala, contrary to the neoliberal view that openness results in poverty alleviation (Krznaric 2006:112). Indeed, Krznaric argues that the presence of rural poverty in Guatemala, demonstrates that the growth of agricultural exports has failed to improve the livelihoods of the poorest.

What then are the livelihood options for rural Guatemalans? Migration has been an option taken by subsistence farmers due to scarcity of land. Either rural agricultural workers migrate in search of seasonal employment within Guatemala or undertake international migration to the U.S and Mexico. Other options for rural Maya are craft and textile vending and factory work (Bossen 2005: 120-121, Goldin 2005: 60). The growing numbers of *maquilas,* or sweatshops of which an estimated half are owned by Koreans are an increasing source of work for many rural Guatemalans (Goldin 2005: 60). Agricultural work is described as unstable and often as the older generation's occupation. Factory work is embraced by young rural Maya. While some women in Goldin's study found factory work physically tiring, others explained that agricultural work was difficult and physically challenging (Goldin 2005: 65).

Another alternative of a livelihood strategy for the rural Maya has been the cultivation of nontraditional crops for export. In the 1980s aid agencies encouraged the cultivation of nontraditional crops as a means of poverty alleviation. Kaqchikel Mayas in central Guatemala had little land yet workforce could be found from within the family (Hamilton and Fischer 2005). Hamilton and Fischer's research shows that livelihoods of the Kaqchikel Maya had improved since including nontraditional crops such as broccoli into their selection of production (Hamilton and Fischer 2005: 46-47). While risks were also attached to nontraditional crop cultivation and export, this research demonstrated that small-scale producers were able to stay in the market. The beneficiaries of production of nontraditional export crops, the Mayan farmers, in this study were described as "middle peasantry" or "middle-class" (Hamilton and Fischer 2005: 34, 52). Yet Krznaric argues that the poorest do not benefit from globalization and livelihood possibilities of smallholders diminish rather than expand (Krznaric 2006).

Table 5. Urban and Rural poverty

Area	Total population	Total population living in poverty	Extreme poverty	Non-extreme poverty	Not poor
National total	12 987 829	6 625 892	1 976 605	4 649 287	6 361 937
Urban	6 250 578	1 875 871	332 349	1 543 522	4 374 707
Rural	6 737 251	4 750 021	1 644 256	3 105 765	1 987 230

Source: National Institution of Statistics Guatemala (INE) Encuesta Nacional de Condiciones de Vida, ENCOVI-2006.

Poverty still today concentrates on the rural areas of Guatemala. Poverty statistics in the tables provided by the Guatemalan National Institution of Statistics measures poverty on two levels; the first measure of extreme poverty includes individuals with annual consumption of less than 3206 Quetzals (approximately 320 Euros), which is estimated to be the minimum consumption of food needed for survival. The non-extreme category covers people annual consumption of 6574 Quetzals per person, which includes costs of basic services in addition to food consumption. Since these figures give indication of poverty levels throughout the country based on consumption, possible remittance money received by families and informally earned income may be included in the statistics.

Rural development policies were included in the signed Peace Accords of 1996. These accepted the necessity to overcome poverty. The civil war had largely been fuelled by extreme political, social and economic inequality (Monterroso-Rivas 2009: 155). Some intended changes to the unequal land ownership situation included the introduction of a land tax for large estate owners and the establishment of improved conditions for peasants to gain ownership of land. Privatization of state owned land took place and international trade was supported. While a Land Fund was created to facilitate access to land, the taxation of large farms has still not concretized (Monterroso-Rivas 2009:155). Statistics of 2000 and 2006 however show, that rural poverty has decreased in between this time from 81 percent to 72 percent while urban poverty has risen (Monterroso-Rivas 2009: 160). Land redistribution has been opposed by the agricultural elite and instead creation of employment in other sectors such as ecotourism and handicrafts has been supported. According to Monterroso-Rivas for agriculture to work in poverty alleviation a larger range of crops produced for export purposes is needed. In addition, the distribution of production to a wider range of small-scale producers could benefit larger numbers of families (Monterroso-Rivas 2009: 161).

According to Goldin and de Tejada development in Guatemala can be characterized as uneven. Factors for this unbalanced development can be found in "economic internal colonialism" and primacy (Goldin and de Tejada 1993). Economic generation benefits only a certain section of the society, while the rest are vulnerable to exploitation. Primacy refers to the large urban centers, which are a common characteristic in Latin American countries. The capital city is more than twice the size of the second largest city within the country. Therefore there is disparate access to infrastructure and resources of labor for example across the country and geographic location can also influence poverty (Goldin and de Tejada 1993, World Bank 2004).

Other factors linked to poverty in Guatemala are education, labor, physical resources, social capital and household size (World Bank 2004: 2, 59). In 1995 non-Spanish speaking indigenous households still lacked basic services such as electricity, of which less than 20 percent had access to (Becket and Pebley 2003: 445). The following table shows that levels of poverty in the department of Guatemala, where the capital city is located, are smaller than anywhere else in the country.

Table 6. Poverty according to department in Guatemala

Departament	Total Population	Total population living in poverty	%	Extreme poverty	Non-extreme poverty	Not poor
Total	**12 987 829**	**6 625 891**	**51,0**	**1 976 604**	**4 649 287**	**6 361 938**
Guatemala	2 975 417	486 405	16,3	13 408	472 997	2 489 012
El Progreso	150 826	63 024	41,8	12 262	50 762	87 802
Sacatepéquez	278 064	101 565	36,5	13 194	88 371	176 499
Chimaltenango	519 667	314 389	60,5	100 444	213 945	205 278
Escuintla	610 731	252 783	41,4	32 887	219 896	357 948
Santa Rosa	332 724	192 733	57,9	33 993	158 740	139 991
Sololá	361 184	269 541	74,6	105 992	163 549	91 643
Totonicapán	395 324	284 059	71,9	79 225	204 834	111 265
Quetzaltenango	735 162	323 403	44,0	74 197	249 206	411 759
Suchitepéquez	464 304	254 018	54,7	63 061	190 957	210 286
Retalhuleu	273 328	137 771	50,4	25 969	111 802	135 557
San Marcos	905 116	592 421	65,5	180 519	411 902	312 695
Huehuetenango	986 224	703 293	71,3	217 289	486 004	282 931
Quiché	769 364	623 282	81,0	197 241	426 041	146 082
Baja Verapaz	245 787	173 071	70,4	52 030	121 041	72 716
Alta Verapaz	914 414	720 865	78,8	397 897	322 968	193 549
Petén	441 799	251 971	57,0	64 279	187 692	189 828
Izabal	364 924	188 713	51,7	66 700	122 013	176 211
Zacapa	215 050	115 998	53,9	40 541	75 457	99 052
Chiquimula	342 681	203 881	59,5	94 961	108 920	138 800
Jalapa	279 242	171 004	61,2	63 287	107 717	108 238
Jutiapa	426 497	201 701	47,3	47 228	154 473	224 796

Source: National institution of statistics, Guatemala (INE). Encuesta Nacional de Condiciones de Vida, ENCOVI-2006.

All in all, the choices for rural Guatemalans are scarce due to historical and structural inequality, which is still strongly present today. Temporary, seasonal and unstable work is an everyday situation for Guatemalan agricultural workers. Thus, circular migration to Canada becomes one option of the few on offer. The Guatemalan government is interested in sending workers to Canada because the TFWP offers a safe and organized option for migration and an alternative to illegal migration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Guatemala). However, the pressure of migrating illegally to the U.S for an improved life is present in Guatemala, similarly to other Central American countries. In addition, the TFWP aims to contribute to enhanced living circumstances of participants.

5. Development and Circular Migration between Canada and Guatemala

5.1 Methodology of Research

My research aimed to find out the positive connections between the Canada – Guatemala low-skilled circular migration program and development. Interviews along with ethnographic observation form the empirical base of this study. The method chosen for the analysis of interviews is qualitative content analysis. Qualitative methodology utilized in my study is not aimed at producing generalizations of a phenomenon. Rather, qualitative methodology is used to describe a certain phenomenon and to give a theoretically enhanced understanding of a certain observable fact (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 85). Research conducted with the Guatemalan migrant workers is more of a case study. The data collected through interviews answers the main questions presented in this study. However the description of the Guatemala – Canada program is presented as a case study and not generalized to other low-skilled migration programs. While some of the elements of the Guatemala – Canada low-skilled circular migration program could be found present in other low-skilled programs around the world the main aim is to show how this particular low-skilled circular migration program operates in practice and what the outcomes are for the migrant workers. The aim is also to make the voices of the migrant workers heard and to present their perspectives on the program and its outcomes. Therefore interviews were the best suited method to gain information on these views. The perspective of my research looks at what is happening at the local level and in the lives of migrant workers. The question "what can be learnt from this one case?" is typical to a case study (Metsämuuronen 2006: 91). I aim to look at this question in the analysis of data and conclusions.

The interviews conducted in this study were structured and semi-structured. Structured interviews refer to interviews which have pre-thought questions and which are presented in the same order to the interviewees (Metsämuuronen 2006: 114). Some of the interview questions are closed and some open-ended. Closed questions were introduced in regard to remittance usage. All interview questions are presented in appendix 2.

5.1.1 Representativeness and Validity of Research

Miles and Huberman explain that qualitative research is often done by a single researcher and thus the process of data collection is selective. Indeed, the whole process of research up to the conclusions is subject to scrutiny in regards to the validity of research and results. From writing transcripts to observation, the researcher is selective in retrieving information (Miles and Huberman 1994: 56). The validity of qualitative research findings however can be confirmed through the four Rs of representativeness, reactivity, reliability and replicability (Miles and Huberman 1994: 262).

The validity and representativeness of qualitative research is important, in terms of determining the strength of the research. An issue which weakens so called objectivity in qualitative data is that all the stages of research, for example the data collection, analysis and conclusions have been done by the researcher. Research done by a single researcher can also be an advantage. Miles and Huberman explain that often field researchers assume a particular example to be representative of a more general occurrence (Miles and Huberman 1994: 263). This is explained as the *representativeness* of a particular research. How can the representativeness of qualitative case studies be assured? The main drawbacks demonstrated by Miles and Huberman are 1) sampling nonrepresentative informants 2) generalizing from nonrepresentative events 3) drawing inferences from nonrepresentative processes (Miles and Huberman 1994: 264). The first point refers to the researcher's error in studying individuals who can be contacted. Easy accessibility thus could characterize individuals participating in the study as the elite and hence make them nonrepresentative. In this research interviewees were selected partly based on access. Most interviewees did willingly participate in this study. Due to circumstances, e.g. the office of IOM where all the workers visited at some point, the validity of representativeness of choosing simply the 'elite' of the target group is not an issue. The interviews were conducted over several weeks.

Other issues concerning reliability involve the clarity of research questions, researcher's position, theory connectedness, coding and quality checks (Miles and Huberman 1994: 278). I have aimed to clarify the research questions by emphasizing that this is a case

study and by discussing the limitations of this research. The value of this research is in illustrating a specific case rather than drawing large-scale conclusions. The process of circular migration has been described in detail and the specific context of the Guatemala – Canada program has been defined. I have discussed theory connectedness and the strength of transnationalism in regard to international recruiting and accentuated global avenues of capital and their role in remittance sending. In addition, a detailed description of methods and stages of research as well as displaying the interview questions in appendix 2 provides the tools for replication of research.

Overall, I have tried my best to bring validity to this study by transparently explaining the steps and processes of the study, discussing weaknesses and obstacles faced with during the research and examining earlier research on this topic and whether the conclusions of these studies support or contradict the conclusions of my research (Miles and Huberman 1994: 278).

5.2 Description of Interviewees

My study is based on interviews of twenty-five Guatemalan circular migrants. The original report written as a part of my internship for the IOM office in Guatemala included thirty-five interviews (Sana 2010). However ten of these interviews were conducted with first-time leavers and therefore do not answer concretely to the questions presented in this study. Rather these ten interviews with first-time leavers were conducted to gain information on the anticipations, desires and expectations that migrants involved in the Guatemala – Canada program might have. Information on these ten interviews will be however used in this thesis in order to provide background information of the program and to illustrate migrants' views of origin communities and reasons for migration.

Twenty-one interviews were conducted at the IOM office and four interviews and observable material were collected at a one-day field trip to an origin community of the migrant workers. This trip included visits to the homes of six circular migrant families and interviews with four of the male migrant workers of these families. All male heads of families had participated in the Guatemala - Canada program. Yet, it was not possible to conduct interviews with all visited families due to time constraints. The field trip

brings to light the circumstances in which migrants participating in this study live in Guatemala. The field trip also demonstrated concretely what migrants had used their remittances on.

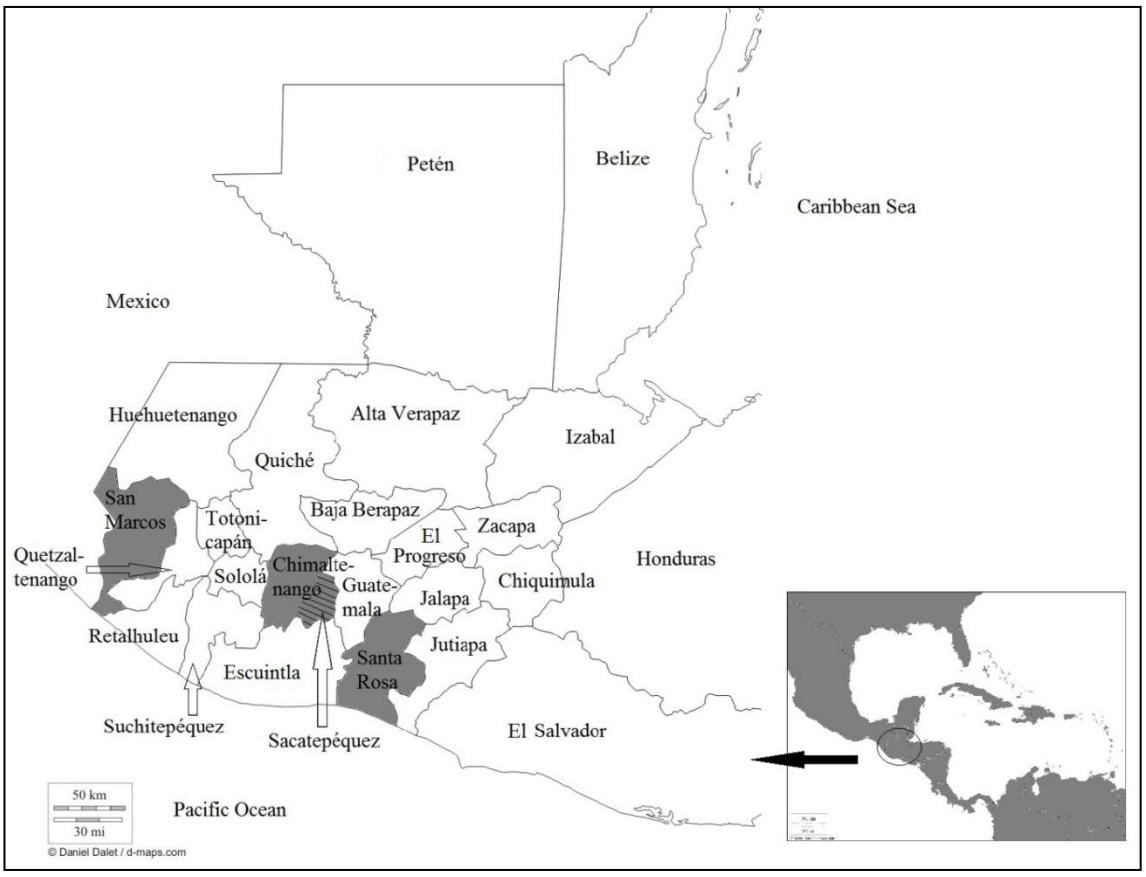
At the beginning of the interviews, the interviewees were approached by the help of an IOM staff member. This was to achieve access to the interviewees and to gain their trust. The whole process was new to me at the time and I was only getting acquainted with the program. I felt that help from an experienced local worker was much needed at the beginning. However, as the interviews proceeded and I gained more confidence, I conducted interviews on my own. All interviewees were explained the purpose of the research. Interviewees were assured of their anonymity and explained the voluntary nature of their participation. The interviewees were also asked permission to record the interview. All were willing to participate in recorded interviews except one interviewee.

The interviewees were selected based on the requirement that they had already participated in the circular migration program between Guatemala and Canada at least once. Additional requirements were made on the basis of their origin community, in order to gain some variety. The majority of the migrants travel from the rural areas of the department of Chimaltenango and interviewees from other selected areas were also asked to participate in this study in order to gain a wider range of information of circumstances at homes of migrant workers. Yet, reflecting back the distinctions on origin community would have not necessarily affected actual content or results of interviews. Another issue affecting the selection of the interviewees was the location where the interviews were conducted. By this, I mean that most of the interviews were conducted at the IOM office in Guatemala City. For the interviews I attempted to find some privacy and ensure that other migrant workers were not present in the situation as some questions could be considered personal. This was to ensure that answers would not alter due to listeners or that other migrant workers would not repeat answers they had heard. Hence, the interviewees participating in this study were narrowed down to those who were visiting the IOM office for various purposes, mainly paper work related to their journeys, during the months of February and March of 2010. With the exception of the field trip, I did not have access to migrants outside the IOM office area as most migrant workers lived outside the capital area. The migrant workers interviewed during the field trip were also contacted prior to the trip by the IOM staff member accompanying me on the visit. Hence, migrant workers who were at their homes during

the time of the trip and willing to receive us in their house were interviewed. A rural town in the province of Chimaltenango, which is largely inhabited by the indigenous Maya Kaqchiqel, was the setting for the field trip. A location close by the main highway was chosen for security reasons. However, more specific details on the location and name will be left out in order to respect the anonymity of interviewees.

I requested for permission from IOM to use the research data which was collected during the internship for my master's thesis. A signed affiliation agreement was obtained and this allowed me to use the material as an independent researcher, while the ownership of the material remains with IOM.

Table 7. Map of Guatemala



Source: Modified from original versions accessed at http://d-maps.com/continent.php?lib=americas_maps&num_con=2&lang=en

A brief overview of the profiles of the twenty-five migrants included in my study is provided in appendix 1. All migrant workers participating in this study came from rural areas. The twenty-five interviews included three migrants from the department of San Marcos, two from Sacatepéquez, seven from Santa Rosa and thirteen from Chimaltenango. These origin departments are highlighted in the map above. The

departments of Chimaltenango and Sacatepéquez have the highest numbers of migrant laborers participating in the Guatemala - Canada program. They were the initial recruitment areas because of the large concentration of agricultural workers. The provinces of San Marcos and Santa Rosa have a higher number of coffee farms and thus became areas of recruitment later, once it was realized that workers on coffee plantations are quick in manual labor. The following table presents numbers of recruited workers by home department in 2005, during the third year of the operation of the program. All departments were not recruited from and therefore are not present in the table below.

Table 8. Origin departments of recruited workers in 2005

Origin Department of Workers	Number of workers
Guatemala	113
El Progreso	41
Sacatepéquez	249
Chimaltenango	143
Santa Rosa	5
Sololá	4
Quetzaltenango	2
Suchitepéquez	9
San Marcos	26
Quiché	25
Alta Verapaz	14
Petén	1
Zacapa	1
Chiquimila	3
Jutiapa	39
Total	675

Source: IOM 2006 Evaluación Proyecto Trabajadores(as) Agrícolas Temporales a Canadá pp.66-67

By 2007 there were 316 migrant workers travelling to Canada from Sacatepéquez, 1,244 from Chimaltenango, 18 from Santa Rosa and 94 from San Marcos (IOM 2008). Gender distribution of migrant workers resulted in men accounting for 93.7% and women for 6.3% (IOM publication 2008: 28). In more recent statistics of 2009 men represented 95 percent and women 5 per cent of migrant workers travelling to Canada.

All migrants in this study are low-skilled. Most interviewees had completed primary school and the highest level of education reached by any interviewee was secondary school. Primary school consisted of the first six school years, and secondary school of an additional three years. More specific information on education levels of interviewees is presented in appendix 1. Interviewees comprised of both the indigenous and ladino populations of Guatemala.

Twenty-three of the migrant workers interviewed were men. The occupational sector of agriculture is heavily male dominated and thus women comprise only a small percent of the workers migrating seasonally to Canada. Two interviewees were single mothers, both traveling to a strawberry farm hiring up to 80 Guatemalans annually. Most interviewees travelled to the province of Quebec. Other destination provinces of interviewees were British Columbia, Ontario and Alberta.

5.3 Analysis of Results

In order to find out the positive connections the circular migration program between Guatemala and Canada might have to development, the actual desired development effects need to be defined. The positive development outcomes were defined according to the perceived positive impacts of circular migration to migrants and origin countries. Furthermore, the division between financial gains and enhanced human capital were made. Monetary remittances and their usage was determined as one category of the benefits brought by this program to migrants and home communities. Transfer of knowledge was the subsequent category in finding out the connections of this program to development.

Coding the material was the first step of analysis referred to as the inductive stage. Accordingly through coding, the material can be arranged in order for the analysis to continue. The initial codes can be formed according to the research questions, research methodology, concepts used in earlier research of the topic, theories or theoretical models, the data itself or the imagination of the researcher (Hirsjärvi ja Hurme 2008: 148, 150). Through coding data can thus be arranged based on words or whole paragraphs. However, Miles and Huberman in their turn emphasize that the important point is to identify meaning of the data (Miles and Huberman 1994: 56). I chose to code the material based on the research question, issues raised by interviewees and on what became relevant from the data itself. I made an attempt to formulate more theoretical overarching categories.

1. Background questions of age, marital status, level of education etc.
2. Salary and earnings
3. Use of remittances in Guatemala
4. Dependency on the program

5. Description of stay in Canada (work, employers, mention of other migrant workers)
6. Employment situation in Guatemala
7. Reasons for leaving to Canada
8. Reasons for returning to Guatemala
9. Mentions of IOM
10. What has been learnt in Canada
11. Applying/difficulty in applying skills learnt in Canada
12. Feelings and experiences while in Canada
13. Unclear questions or answers

After coding the material into preliminary categories further more theoretical overarching categories were made. This is called the deductive stage of analysis (Hirsjärvi ja Hurme 2008: 150). These second categories are made through linking the categories formed in the first stage of the analysis with each other. The connections found in between the different coded categories are theoretical and reflect my theoretical approach as a researcher. The broader categories formed in this study were the following:

1. Reasons for participating in the circular migration program
2. Importance and use of remittances
3. Transfer of knowhow

These categories were based on the set research questions. Hence not all answers are given the equal consideration as some remain more important than others in regard to the questions of my study. Information gained on experiences and opinions on work in Canada, for example, was not covered in detail because these were not significant in answering to the research questions. All quotes were freely translated from Spanish to English. I have chosen quotes to illustrate a particular argument or opinion given by migrant workers.

5.3.1 Reasons for Migration

The motives for participating in the circular migration program between Guatemala and Canada were one of the issues I chose to focus on. The motives for migration

demonstrate the living circumstances of the migrant workers in Guatemala. The interviews showed that poverty was the underlying reason for seasonal migration to Canada. The interviewees described their motives through terms such as *poverty*, *grim economic situation* and *necessity*. The two other factors which demonstrated migrants' motives to leave were *family* and *opportunity*. Poverty was present in the everyday lives of the migrant workers interviewed. As already explained, most interviewees were agricultural workers from rural areas of Guatemala. Hence, some owned their own land for subsistence farming and possible small-scale selling purposes and explained this was their main form of survival in Guatemala. One interviewee said:

"No tenía ningún salario, solo vivimos de las cosechas que sacamos en el campo. Y por ejemplo en este momento todas las cosas de las agriculturas todas son muy malas. Imagines si no tuviéramos esta oportunidad que pasaría?

[No, I do not have a salary (in Guatemala). We live only on the harvest that we get. And for example at the moment agriculture is not producing well. Imagine if we did not have this opportunity, what would happen?] P21

Others explained in the interviews that they worked in agriculture as hired day laborers for an employer. The daily earnings of interviewees ranged from 25 Quetzals to 100 Quetzals daily, which convert into approximately €2.43 to €9.7. The interviewees were asked about the salary they earned in Guatemala in order to gain an understanding of the difference to the earnings migrant workers received in Canada. This salary is also simply presented here as a demonstration of individual's salaries in the study and no generalizations are made from this information. Migrant workers participating in the program were paid a minimum wage in Canada, which was approximately nine Canadian dollars per hour converting into €6.82. Indeed the economic motivation was the first and foremost for migrant workers in this study. Migrants knew they would earn multiple times more daily in Canada. According to the Ministry of Labor of Guatemala, the official minimum salary for work in the field of agriculture was 52 Guatemalan Quetzals per day in 2009 (Website of Ministry of Labor Guatemala).

Seasonality was another aspect, which caused insecurity in the earnings of migrant workers. Some interviewees described that their work in Guatemala was also seasonal by nature and this thus forced them into taking jobs in other occupational fields in addition to agriculture. One farmer explained his situation in the following way:

"Ahorita por el tiempo no hay lluvia ahorita estoy trabajando en una pequeña construcción de albañilería por el momento. Porque no se puede trabajar en el campo porque toda la tierra está seca".

[At the moment (in time) there is no rain. I am working in a small masonry construction for the time being. You can't work in the field because the land is dry.] F3

Other interviewees also mentioned having second jobs. Some jobs taken by the interviewees were in the field of construction, packing, driving and textile vending.

Necessity was described when asked about the living situation in Guatemala. All concepts of poverty, necessity and family are interlinked and demonstrate the economic situation of migrant workers. One interviewee described his reasons for leaving to Canada when asked in the following way:

"Por la misma situación de la necesidad..Aquí en Guatemala hay mucho pobreza y tenemos que salir para mantener nuestra familia" P12

[For the same reason of necessity..In Guatemala there is a lot of poverty and we have to leave in order to support our family.]

Another interviewee explained that he participated in the program because *"Es mucho ayuda asi como para nosotros hemos pobres y vivimos en areas rurales"* P19

[*It helps us immensely. We are poor and we live in the rural areas*]

The lack of employment opportunities was described by migrant workers in this research. As other research has demonstrated (Goldin 2005, Bossen 2005), work opportunities in rural Guatemala are limited. Textile vending and factory work are some of the options outside the field of agriculture. One farmer described the poverty in rural areas and lack of employment options in the following way during the field trip to Chimaltenango:

"Yo pienso que no hay muchas oportunidades de trabajar. Si como que estuviéramos trabajando, ganando por días. Yo creo que no tenemos mucha oportunidad de eso. Porque lo único que tenemos aquí es trabajar propio".

[I think that there aren't many work opportunities. When we are working, we are earning daily. I think that there aren't many opportunities for this. Because the only option here is to work for yourself.] F1

He also added:

"Aquí trabajan las mujeres en el campo, son muy colaboradoras también. Trabajan por dia cuando si hay trabajo. Y si no hay trabajo… lo que ellos hacen es tejer. Hacen huipiles".

[Here the women work in the field…They work per day when there is work. If there is no work..what they do is weave. They make huipils[1]*.]*F1

Due to low salaries the goal for many interviewees seemed to be buying their own land and becoming subsistence farmers. Wives could also work in the field in household owned land. Therefore the family unit provided needed laborers from within itself. This is typical in subsistence cultivation and production of land owned by the rural Kaqchikel Maya (Hamilton and Fischer 2005). Also the presence of family members who were able to work on subsistence farms may have been crucial for allowing men to migrate to Canada and simultaneously sustaining their livelihood at home.

Many felt the salary from Canada will cover their needs in Guatemala. The motivation of *family* received a dual purpose. While interviewees explained that family and children were the reason for leaving, this was also the main motivation for returning and thus supporting the circularity intended by the program. Most interviewees had large families with many children and thus children were mentioned as a motive *"…Porque quiero darles un futuro mejor a mis hijos" […Because I want to give a future for my children*] P6. Most children of migrant workers interviewed were still young and depended on their parents. Some migrant workers participating in my study had up to seven children. The marital status of migrant workers participating in the study was relevant because it demonstrates the motive to continue circulating between Guatemala and Canada. The Canadian employers preferred to hire workers with families for this very same reason. The program rules do not allow for entire families to migrate, forcing workers to leave their families behind.

[1] Huipil is the traditional dress worn by indigenous Maya women. The patterns and embroidery define the origin town and ethnic group of Maya women.

Gender is a concept which also receives attention in the context of this case study. Virtually all migrant workers are men and the ability of women in participating in this program remains vague. Some women did participate, yet the ones in this research were all single or divorced. One first time leaver described her home community as traditionally patriarchal. She hoped to be an example for her community by participating in this program:

"Un ejemplo para que ellos venga. Hay mucho machismo..los hombres digan "no no". Porque no se arriesgan, no hay apoyo".

[An example for the community, that they can leave too. There is a lot of machismo the men say "no no". Because they don't want to take a risk, there is no support]

Therefore it could be questioned whether married women could participate in this program in regard to pressure from husbands' decision-making. Overall, this interviewee described existing patriarchal relations in her origin community.

Many referred to the Guatemala – Canada program as an opportunity. Hence, migration to Canada was seen as an opportunity, given by IOM as the organizer and recruiter in Guatemala. This opportunity was to be taken if given the chance. This possibility could literally come along as IOM aimed at recruiting by surprise and without advertising the program prior to recruitment trips. This method of recruiting without prior notice would give IOM a chance to hire real agricultural workers and evaluate their skills in the field, rather than facing crowds of locals who just wanted to have the chance to leave Guatemala regardless whether they were agricultural workers. An interviewee explained his experience of the unexpected recruitment:

"Tenía una casa solo nada más, y cocina era muy muy angosto. Entonces un día estoy trabajando en el campo cuando llegaron los señores de Canadá y reunieron la gente y dijeron 15 van ir a Canadá. Gracias a dios yo me estaba allí ese día yo me apunte" F3.

[I had a house, nothing else, and the kitchen was very very small. Hence one day I was working in the field when the men from Canada arrived, gathered us and said 15 will go to Canada. Thank God I was there that and I announced myself to become a participant.]

The concept of opportunity hence explained the reasons migrants wanted to return to Canada if they were asked to. One farmer explained he will return to Canada: "*Si. Porque tenemos la oportunidad y tenemos que aprovechar".* P10

[Yes. Because we have the opportunity and we have to take it.]

To sum up, the reasons for migration stemmed from poverty and the specific reasons identified through my research were:

- No employment opportunities in rural origin towns
- Low wages
- IOM recruitment
- Large families and reliance on families members for livelihood

5.3.2 The Question of Choice – or No Choice?

The discussion on choice is important. The reasons for migration demonstrate the lack of options in the origin community of migrant workers. Low-skilled migrants from developing countries often have limited options of migrating legally. Hence, instead of choosing how they want to migrate, they can end up in a "no-option situation" (Wickramasekara 2011: 23). Wickramasekara questions whether circular migration is the migrant's primary choice and states that there is little research supporting that it would be. High-skilled labor migrants with increased options of migrating may opt for migration which is more permanent in nature (Wickramasekara 2011: 23). However, as the low-skilled workers participating in this study show, they have no other options for legal international migration and thus conclusions cannot be drawn on whether circular migration would be the preferred option. In addition to limited options for migration, interviewees in this research had limited livelihood options as presented in the earlier section.

This debate of choice or no choice connects to Amartya Sen's concept of *human development*. This discussion is also elaborated by Sven Jense in his thesis on circular migration (Jense 2010).The freedom approach is based on the idea that increased choices or capabilities are the indicator of development. Development is defined through the process of expanding freedoms, eventually leading to human development (Sen 1999). The freedom approach aims to expand thinking from traditional views such

as economic growth and income expansion to a more comprehensive view of development. Improved capabilities provide individuals with freedoms of civil rights, liberties and choice. Economic development and increased material advancement might improve lives up to some extent, yet Sen argues that this perspective remains insufficient for achieving development. A variety of social restrictions might still hinder lives of individuals despite of economic development and result in restricted lives without freedom. For Sen, freedom is simultaneously the end and the means to development (Sen 1999:10). Poverty as found in the origin circumstances of migrant workers in this study is a restriction on freedom. However, the ability to earn and participate in generating economic growth is a freedom in itself (Sen 1999).

If the freedom perspective would be applied to this thesis, successful development outcomes of circular migration should be evaluated based on whether the Guatemala - Canada program provides increased freedoms for individuals. Successful development is determined by the *evaluative role of freedom*. The *effectiveness role of freedom* requires that individuals must be free in order for development to realize. Free individuals have the means to survive and in modern societies Sen emphasizes that civil liberties and rights are the basis of an individual's freedom. In addition the possibility of choice is significant in determining freedom (Sen 1999).

Overall, it therefore is an issue for debate, whether migrant workers in my research really made a choice, implying that there were other options of equal value on offer. Or did they in fact lack in freedoms up to the extent that there was no other option? The decision to migrate temporarily to Canada however was taken under the circumstances where the interviewees in this study lived in their origin communities.

One interviewee expressed his opinion in the following way when asked if he will return to Canada:

"Si. Para ganar más dinero..Cuando uno va digamos diez veces, no hay necesidad a ir allá a Canadá" P19

[Yes. To earn more money..Once one goes, let's say 10 times, there is no need to go to Canada anymore.]

This indicated that once sufficient earnings were collected, the migrant might not return to Canada. However, he did not elaborate on how he would sustain his living standards if earnings from Canada would no longer be available.

The dual frame of reference is also seen as a factor for sustaining the interest of migrant workers in temporary foreign worker programs. Migrant workers' only reference point is work in their home country (Ruhs and Anderson 2010, Binford 2009). One migrant contract worker explained:

"Bueno, ósea que en Canadá hay diferentes tipos de salario. Según dice que nosotros tenemos el salario mínimo es más bajo, que son nueve dólares, pero a comparación que uno gana aquí es mucho más". F3

[Well, in Canada there are different types of salaries. Say, we have the lowest minimum wage, which is nine dollars; but in comparison to what we earn here it is much more.]

Binford refers to the interior and exterior conditions which migrant workers face as a "dual process of social construction" (Binford 2009: 504). The interior conditioning stems from migrant workers' ideology and reference point to their origin country. Interior conditioning maintains the mechanisms of control at the receiving country and results in migrant workers' acceptance of employment conditions, even if they do not meet adequate standards. External conditioning is concretized in the circumstances of employment at the receiving end, in this case Canada. This concept provides an understanding to the "contract workers' objective experience" (Binford 2009: 515).

Enforcement mechanisms of low-skilled temporary migration programs have been under criticism. These enforcement mechanisms also aim at creating a circular cycle of migration. A restriction which was placed by the organizing parties of the circular migration between Guatemala and Canada was the deposit payment of 4000 Guatemalan Quetzals converting into approximately €387. In addition, migrant workers had to pay visa costs, medical checks and bus travel costs to and from the airports for another 2670 Quetzals. The deposit sum was refunded to migrants upon return. While this deposit was aimed at increasing the motive for migrants' return, this did not seem a major determining factor for return migration based on interviews. Rather families and ties to home communities were emphasized by migrant workers.

In this research, migrants were asked about their opinions regarding these necessary costs enabling migration to Canada and most interviewees seemed to be in accordance with the expenses. Some explained to have taken a loan in order to migrate and others felt it was unjust for first time leavers. A migrant who had travelled to Canada six times explained:

"No estoy de acuerdo con el depósito." [I don't agree with the deposit.] P8

The interviewee continued to explain how others have it but others who travel for the first time don't and therefore need to take loans to cover travel costs. The payments required by IOM prior to travelling were also perceived to be a reason why some workers who were recruited did not end up traveling

"Es necesario hacerlo pero si es difícil conseguir esto cantidad de dinero. Muchos no van por la falta".

[It is necessary to pay but it is difficult to get such an amount of money. Many don't go because of the lack (of money).] P6

Hence, the deposit was seen by some interviewees rather a discouraging element affecting the possibility to participate in the program than an encouragement to return from Canada. Most interviewees did however see that the costs required by the program were fair, because IOM prepared all the paper work necessary for the travel and access to employment in Canada. The deposit was removed by autumn 2010.

5.3.3 Remittances and Transfer Knowledge

The original aim of my research was to gather information on the benefits migrant workers gained from participating in the Guatemala – Canada circular migration program and their connections to development. This study does not intend to measure development impact quantitatively or in any large-scale level. Rather my aim was to gain information on benefits of the program as described by individual migrant workers involved in the study. The possible connections to development have been divided into two categories of 1) remittances and 2) transfer of knowledge. The literature on circular migration, whether high-skilled or low-skilled, has emphasized the triple-win aspect of circular migration. In the best case scenario the outcome could thus be positive for the

receiving state, the sending state and the migrant. I aimed to find out how this particular circular migration program benefitted the migrants themselves and whether there were any signs of advantage to the origin communities of the migrants. These benefits for origin communities are mainly aimed at illustrating the possible positive outcomes. Interviews present information on whether migrants have intended and concretized any actions benefitting their home communities.

5.3.3.1 Monetary Remittances

Remittances are the most obvious benefit received by migrants participating in the Guatemala – Canada circular migration program. Some past research from the 1990s show that remittances in Central American countries of El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua are mainly used on imported goods and food consumption. The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) survey in 1990 showed that remittances sent to Guatemala made up 54 percent of total household income (Massey et al. 1998: 246). Another study done a decade later in 2000 based on the Guatemalan national ENCOVI survey concluded that households receiving remittances from the U.S were more likely to invest in education and housing than households without remittance income (Adams and Cuecuecha 2010).

In 2008 an estimated 11 percent of the Guatemalan population lived abroad. Out of this emigrant population, 97 percent lived in the U.S, 1.2 percent in Canada, 0.9 in Mexico and 0.9 in other countries of the world (IOM 2008: 53). Guatemalan emigrants remitted almost a total of 4.4 million U.S dollars in 2008. (IOM 2008: 65). The majority of these remittances were used on consumption and goods estimated to take 47.5 percent of remittances (IOM 2008: 68).

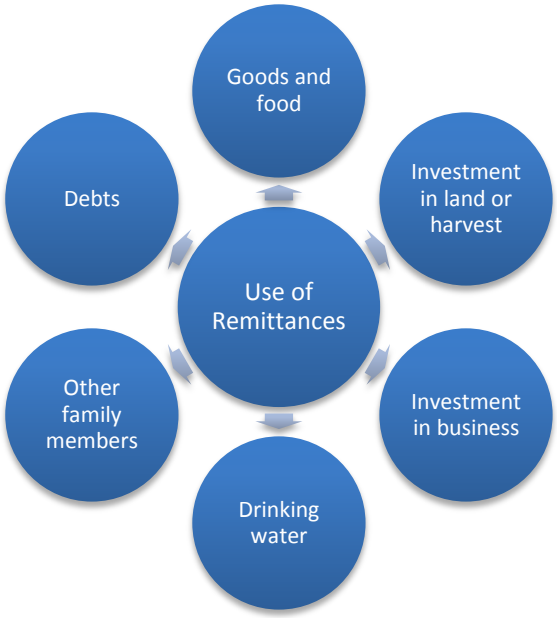
All migrants travelling to Canada gain from seasonal employment and a higher salary than one earned in Guatemala. All migrants participating in this study sent their remittances to Guatemala while working in Canada. Most of these remittances benefitted the migrant directly or his immediate family. Most interviewees said they send their remittances to their wives. In the case of single interviewees, the receiver of remittances was most commonly the mother or the parents. The remittances were most often spent on land and building or maintaining houses of migrant workers. Remittances spent on land could thus also benefit migrant workers' incomes in Guatemala through

subsistence farming. Some migrant workers were lacking in very basic utilities such as electricity and water. Drinking water was a concern brought up by two interviewees. These were also mentioned as a goal of improvement with remittance money.

The town I visited during the field trip illustrated a typical origin town of migrants. Once leaving the main highway there were only dirt roads in deteriorating condition. Most households visited were compounds representative of the rural developing world. These compounds had separate buildings for living quarters, kitchens and toilets. Some households had small farm animals such as chicken. Typically in these households water was available from the well in the yard or from a close by well in the town. Most households I visited during the trip demonstrated firsthand the use of remittances; the compounds had old houses which had served as the main living quarters prior to earnings from Canada. In addition, migrant workers were showing their newly built brick houses, which were now larger and improved in quality. The cultivation lands were located on the outskirts of the town and not close by the living compounds of migrant workers.

Remittances were used on goods for the household and migrant's family members. Electronics, vehicles and other goods for consumption were also bought. Most migrants had cell phones, yet computers were still rarely present in homes of interviewees. However, other uses for remittances were also found. For example, the education of children, the payment of debts, investment in businesses and accessible drinking water in origin communities and the preparations of the next harvest were mentioned by interviewees. Some of the debts migrant workers had were taken in order to facilitate migration to Canada. The following table summarizes the main uses of remittances according to the findings of my research.

Table 9. Expenditure of earnings from Canada



Remittances of interviewees in my research benefit not only the immediate family of migrant workers, but also their parents and siblings. Some married migrant workers explained they still supported their other family members such as parents or siblings. Large family sizes were common among interviewees.

Some migrant workers had invested in small businesses. During the field trip a migrant worker, José (not his real name), demonstrated his shop and bakery, which he had been able to open with earnings from Canada. Now his family members worked in his businesses. José's story seemed like a success all around:

José works in agriculture, his shop and bakery, and in a community project. The position in the community known as *"un cargo"* was offered to him in a project on facilitating irrigation. The significance of irrigation mechanisms is immense for successful cultivation and livelihoods of inhabitants of the village. José had even decided to postpone his travel to Canada until the following year because the position in the community keeps him busy.

The tradition of weaving was also utilized by one family whose home I visited at the field. The migrant worker had bought four sewing machines with his earnings from Canada. The husband and wife both made traditional *huipils*, which were sold once a week at the market in a close by city. In this case, earnings from Canada allowed the

migrant worker to invest in production, which could enhance his and his wives earning possibilities in Guatemala.

While investment in enterprise was present among the research group, it cannot be concluded whether these investments could replace the earnings from Canada. All migrant workers did express intent of returning to Canada, if they were called again. Some migrants were already rehired at the time of the interviews and were preparing to leave for the next season. Also the couple of examples in this study are not sufficient enough to make conclusions on how common it is for migrant workers to start their own businesses in Guatemala with remittance money from Canada. It could also be interesting to research whether these businesses could succeed up to such an extent that migrant workers would opt to stay in Guatemala.

What became apparent during the interviews was that remittances were considered to be a personal benefit rather than a benefit for the whole community. Indirectly however remittances were considered to benefit the origin town through investment in business, land and employment of local workers for example. Some migrant workers during the field trip explained that they had jointly supported their home village by repainting the local school and building a concrete playground for the school.

While most benefits seemed to be personal and for migrants' wives and children, some interviewees did demonstrate essential links between their earnings from Canada and the benefit for the local community:

"A toda la comunidad. Si porque ahorita puedo tener dos trabajadores. Y que yo gané puedo dar a los otros. Generar más empleo para los demás". F2

[The whole community. Yes, because now I can have two workers. What I earn, I can pass on to them. Generate more work for others.]

5.3.3.2 Transfer of Knowledge

The transfer of knowledge or brain circulation is perceived to be a positive outcome of circular migration. This may be considered more relevant to high-skilled circular migration in order to avoid brain drain. However, some literature argues that also low-skilled migrants can cause brain drain (Castles and Miller 2009, Ellerman 2005). This

argument emphasizes the fact that migrants regardless of skill level comprise a group which already has access and skills to work abroad.

I asked the interviewees during the course of the research what they had learned in Canada and were they able to use these skills or knowledge in Guatemala. Answers varied from description of their experience in Canada to actual concrete skills they had learnt. Many interviewees listed language – French or English – as something they had learnt a few words of. Others described Canada as being more modern, sophisticated and clean. Work was done at a faster pace and the technology was something that surfaced in interviewees answers:

"No es la misma tecnología verdad. Aquí se hace con el mano y allá se hace con maquina. Se hace más rápido el trabajo". P17

[It's not the same technology. Here work is done manually and there with machines. The work is done faster.]

It became apparent that most interviewees did learn new skills at work. However, these skills were not applicable in Guatemala. Many interviewees said the cultivation methods were different. The methods used in large-scale production in Canada were not relevant for small subsistence farming in Guatemala. Only a few interviewees said they used new cultivation methods they had learned. Skills learned, such as driving a tractor, were not needed in Guatemala as most workers had manual tools for cultivation. Many also owned small plots of land and therefore machines such as tractors were not necessary. Other issues mentioned when asked what interviewees had learned were respect, responsibility, efficiency and strictness. Efficiency was something that a few interviewees found attractive and hoped they could apply this in Guatemala. The pace of work could be quicker and these interviewees aimed at working faster in the future. However, one interviewee remarked that it will be difficult, because even if he wanted to, this was not the way things were done in Guatemala.

Interviewees travelled to Canada to work in vegetable (tomato, radish, onion) and flower greenhouses, packing and production factories of pepper, flowers and juices and to strawberry and poultry farms. In Guatemala interviewees explained they cultivated maize, beans, broccoli, sweet peas, strawberry and potatoes as some examples of crops. Maize and beans, the traditional *milpa*, is often cultivated for household consumption

(Fischer and Benson 2006). However, broccoli and strawberry are nontraditional crops which the Kaqchikel Maya began cultivating in the 1980s in central Guatemala for export production (Hamilton and Fischer 2005). Yet this research cannot conclude whether interviewees were involved in export activity or simply cultivated for household consumption and possible small-scale selling purposes. One interviewee who had migrated temporarily to Canada to work at a strawberry farm four times explained that cultivation techniques learned in Canada were relevant;

"Aquí en Guatemala por ejemplo en mi caso tengo una cuerda de fresas sembrada que si yo trabajo" [Here in Guatemala in my case I have a block of strawberries planted that I work on.] P21

Another interviewee who had worked at a poultry farm for ten months explained he had learned to recycle and was now applying this at his home in Guatemala:

"Reciclaje pues en mi casa usamos ahora. Allá digamos los desechos van a un lado, el bio va a un lado, aluminio va a un lado. Le llamamos botes, tenemos como cinco botes" P9

[We use recycling in my house now. There, let's say the waste goes on one side; the organics go to one side, the aluminum to another. We call them wastebaskets, we have five wastebaskets.]

The cultivation of tomatoes also received positive feedback from one interviewee, who explained he will try and use new techniques learnt in a Canadian tomato greenhouse with the cultivation of tomatoes. Colby's research amongst Mexican workers showed that experiences from Canada enabled migrant workers to be more innovative with their cultivations in home communities (Colby 1997). These examples of strawberry and tomato cultivation in Guatemala could support this result. Migrants are willing to take a risk and try cultivating a less typical crop.

Albeit these examples of interviewees who had been creative and used what they had learned in Canada, the majority simply remarked that the work was too different. According to the interviewed migrant workers, it can be concluded in this research that the skills learnt in Canada do not directly support the work done in Guatemala. Many also worked in such a different field of cultivation or production that it did not correspond with their work in Guatemala.

Some interviewees did explain that learning in Canada was easy because the foremen taught workers well and spoke Spanish. One interviewee mentioned his foreman spoke Spanish and Kaqchiquel. Another worker explained his negative experience of a Mexican foreman when asked about the treatment he received in Canada: *"Del parte de capataz como era Mexicano, él trata muy mal nos Guatemaltecos"* (P1) *[From the part of the foreman as he was Mexican, he treated us Guatemalans badly]*. These descriptions give light to the fact that also foremen on the Canadian farms, which interviewees had experience from, were migrant workers.

One of the benefits of circular migration related to skill transfer has also been argued to benefit the employers. By being able to rehire workers seasonally year after year, they can minimize costs and time spent on training. This issue surfaced in the perspectives of an interviewee who explained that: *"Aprendí mucho….dos, tres veces que uno trabaja y la próxima vez uno ya lo sabe"*

[I learned a lot. After two, three times one has worked the next time one will already know] P17

The migrants participating in the Guatemala – Canada program could be rehired by employers asking for specific employees by name. In fact, this was the most common way of producing circular migration under this particular program, separating it from a temporary migration program. By name the program, nevertheless, is temporary. However, the majority of migrants travelling to Canada each year were rehired workers rather than first-time leavers. This would support the presumed benefit of circular migration for employers.

This is the feature of low-skilled circular migration programs often referred to as creating excessive dependency and allowing exploitative circumstances to develop between the employer and employee (Vertovec 2009, Ruhs and Martin 2008). Migrant workers may be hesitant to address deficiencies in fear of not being called back for the next season.

It can be speculated whether migrants in this study felt overly dependent on their employer. I did not manage to gain sufficient information on this during the course of the research. Information gained on experiences and stay in Canada is also discussed in minimum as this does not directly answer the research question. However, a migrant

who had returned to Guatemala less than a week prior to the interview did express dependency when asked about his employment plans in Guatemala:

"Ahorita estoy pendiente..si lo hago nuevamente. Depende en la respuesta que tengo de aquí. Algunos que a veces les mandan a llamar nuevo a mes y medio dos meses…a veces muy tarde. Y si vuelvo a trabajar solo por un tiemposito"

[Right now I am waiting..if I will do it again [migrate to Canada]. It depends on the answer I get from here (IOM). Some at times send for again in a month and a half or two months. At times very late. And if I return to work only for a little while.] P17

This type of dependency might affect migrants' lives in Guatemala, if they are waiting for a decision on possibly travelling again and therefore not returning to work. This migrant in question explained in the interview that he had been sent back to Guatemala sooner than the ending of the initial contract he was hired on. The regulations of the TFWP did protect workers up to some point from early breach of contract. Yet, if there was no work due to external factors resulting from the economy, employers could dismiss their workers prematurely. Other two migrants mentioned being unemployed at the time of the interview, whilst previously being employed. Overall, dependency of workers on their employers is present. Further research could be interesting in order to find out whether this dependency results in exploitation or other labor rights concerns in this particular program.

5.4 Discussion

This case study illustrates the opinions and lives of migrants participating in the Guatemala – Canada temporary workers program. The possible beneficial outcomes in regard to development were defined according to what migrants and origin communities could receive from participating in the TFWP. The perceived benefits for migrants included information gathered on remittances and knowledge transfer. According to the findings of this study I argue that remittances are the overriding benefit received by migrant workers participating in the Guatemala – Canada program.

All migrants in this research were undoubtedly in need of improved living conditions, which increased earnings brought relief to. Approximately half of migrant workers in this study owned land and half were day laborers on farms, as specified in appendix 1.

Some also reported having second jobs to sustain their livelihoods. Minimal wages and instability of income were thus a daily situation for migrant workers in Guatemala. Employment in Canada could possible decrease this instability at least temporarily.

Other alleged positive financial outcomes for the origin country included issues such as inflow of remittances and investments of migrant workers in businesses to generate local economy. Based on this research, both of these benefits are met. All migrants sent remittances home and therefore earnings from Canada did end up where they were most needed. The intent of setting up a business was discussed by a greater number of interviewees. In addition, I believe the findings of this case study demonstrate the possibility of migrant workers becoming active agents in generating further income for themselves under difficult circumstances. Further research among Guatemalan migrant workers could investigate the reasons why they do not invest in enterprises. My conclusions are that many of the interviewees in this study spent remittances on more immediate needs such as improvement of houses and consumption. Investment in enterprise therefore remained intent to be realized in the future. Hence, would migrants with increased numbers of circulation such as six or seven be more likely to invest in businesses?

The discussion on whether remittances harm development or enhance it is controversial. Mainly remittances spent on consumption are considered as a short-term relief. Migrants in my research did discuss topics such as their children's education which would be a long-term benefit of their remittances from Canada. Most migrant workers themselves had received very little education and prospects of their children getting a high education may be slim. However, the intention and realization of interviewees in providing a higher education for their children than they had received could be a more sustainable outcome of remittance usage.

While the standard of living of migrant workers rose, it might be interesting to discuss and further research the migrant syndrome and its relationship to the reasons of continued circulation. Basok argues that the migrant syndrome was visible in rural Mexico amongst the migrants in her research. Little investment in income generating activities was placed, making Mexican rural workers dependent on employment in Canada to sustain the level of living achieved through increased income from Canada (Basok 2002: 130-131).

Interviewees learned new skills, which would indicate a positive correlation between the presumed effects of circular migration on development. Yet knowledge transfer on the other hand was not a benefit for the migrant workers in any significant way. Rather, it seemed that benefit to the employers was greater if they chose to rehire migrant workers.

In conclusion, the benefits described by migrant workers themselves were mainly monetary. Through analysis of results and literature, I have attempted to create linkages between sustainable benefits of this circular migration program in lives of migrant workers.

6. Conclusions

My research started out at discovering how the labor migration program between Guatemala and Canada benefitted migrants and their home communities in Guatemala. The research aimed at shedding light on this current low-skilled circular labor migration program between two countries with vast social and economic differences. The theoretical framework of transnationalism provided a strong basis of understanding circular labor migration programs. The traditional perspectives of permanent migration, emphasizing importance of integration and assimilation have given way in contrast to transnationalism and concepts of circular and repeat migration. Migrants' connections to home communities do not cease upon arrival to a new country and this is the basis for linking migration to development. Migrants' organized or individual activities and remittance flows are believed to benefit home communities and encourage brain circulation. Circulating between two countries or participating in circular labor migration programs are a response to the globalization of economy and increased means of transportation. The theory of transnationalism explains international recruitment and how it has become progressively popular.

6.1 Reflections

As a researcher I have learnt immensely from this experience with Guatemalan migrant workers. Firstly, I have learnt that proper preparation if there was more time, would have possibly allowed me to create better and at times more understandable questions. While at the same time learning of the operations of the Guatemala – Canada program, I had clearly not yet familiarized myself well enough with the background and home communities of migrant workers at the beginning of the research. Secondly, cultural factors and language were a challenge in conducting the interviews. In practice I question whether I was able to remain as an impartial researcher and not let my presumptions take a significant role. However, despite these difficulties and feelings of uncertainty I believe that an attempt at impartial analysis of research data will diminish the effect of errors made during the research. This whole experience allowed me to learn a great amount of the history and current realities of Guatemala as a country. Prior

to the internship, circular migration was a relatively new phenomenon for me and learning about it from the local perspective is something I value significantly.

The number of interviewees did seem substantial and the point of saturation was reached early on concerning some aspects of remittance use such as investment in housing and land. Nonetheless, a higher number of informants could have enhanced the information regarding skill transfer. The selection of migrant workers with a higher number of visits to Canada could have also possibly given more information on remittance use in production. The primary concerns for interviewees seemed to be the improvement of their living quarters and other basic needs. Hence investment in business may have been a concern only later once sufficient finances had been collected.

6.1.1 Obstacles

Some obstacles were faced during the course of my research. Firstly, the interviews forming the qualitative data for this thesis were conducted in Spanish and hence, I feel that the desired depth of the interviews was not always necessarily reached. Cultural differences also played a role and my lack of experience in conducting interviews. The role of the researcher in an international setting creates a comparison situation with two cultures and therefore it is important to keep in mind the way interviewees may perceive the role of the researcher. Interviewees might either embellish their own culture or criticize it more freely while speaking to an outsider (Alastalo ja Åkerman in Ruusuvuori et al. 2010: 416). The latter problems in regard to cultural differences reflected in the formation of questions which were not necessarily comprehensible by migrant workers. The help of a local Guatemalan IOM staff member at the beginning of the interviews was crucial because this gave me a chance to see how the interview questions were interpreted. Some questions needed to be altered and made more comprehensible. In addition some closed questions were introduced in order to gather more specific information on use of remittances for example. A major challenge at the beginning was to get interviewees to explain their opinions openly. Another aspect which would have made the interviews easier was if the field trip was conducted at the beginning of the research as this would have given me a better understanding of the origin communities interviewees came from. However, the field trip was very valuable even though conducted during the end of the research.

A second obstacle reflects my position as a researcher. The interviews were conducted during a three month internship in Guatemala at the office of the IOM. Hence, the interviewees may have perceived me as a representative of IOM rather than an independent researcher. This could have affected interviewees' feelings on being able to criticize the program during the interviews. Yet, for my study, the role of IOM as an enabler of accessing the migrant workers and gaining their trust was crucial. Particularly conducting a field trip without the arrangement and contacts of IOM would have been extremely challenging or even impossible for me at the time.

During the field trip I attempted to interview the wives of migrant workers in order to gain their opinions on their husbands' seasonal migration and their role when they stayed behind. I also aimed to gain information on employment options in rural towns particularly for women and other issues affecting circular out-migration. However, this attempt largely failed. All wives met during the field trip were indigenous and some spoke very little Spanish. In addition, the dominating role of their husbands was present in the situation and hence altered the answers. Sometimes the husband even answered directly for his wife.

6.2 Circular Migration between Guatemala and Canada and Development

Up to what extent do the origin communities and migrants benefit from remittances and knowledge transfer?

The research showed that remittances were a major benefit for all migrants involved in this study. The remittances were primarily spent on consumption, yet a few migrants had invested in business or were hoping to do so. Investment in land was common among migrant interviewees as subsistence farming and small-scale selling of agricultural products in Guatemala was a part of their everyday lives. Investment in land thus offered interviewees means to an income. Spending on harvest was also mentioned by interviewees.

The remittances from Canada thus brought relief to the situation of Guatemalan migrant workers. Remittance money was also spent on enterprise. However, this study is unable to conclude whether these businesses would bring sufficient income for migrant

workers in Guatemala up to the extent that the option of migrating to Canada for employment would be discarded.

The benefits of remittances for migrant workers seemed significant in this research, based on measurements of improved livelihoods and consumption. The pessimistic approach to migration and development emphasizes that remittance use on consumption does not encourage development due to fuelling expenditure and providing simply short-term relief. However, I will argue from the optimistic perspective, that remittance use in education, land and harvests will most likely benefit migrant workers' and their children's quality of living and enhance output (Stalker 2000: 81). Nonetheless, further detailed research on remittance use of migrant workers can lead to more accurate results on investment in business and other income generating sources.

Some interviewees believed earnings were personal, while others expressed the interest to invest in some of the deficiencies in their home communities. The accessibility to drinking water was for example mentioned in this context. Home communities also benefitted concretely from migrant workers activities upon return, such as improving community schools.

The main divisions here could be specified as short-term benefits and long-term benefits. Short-term benefits such as improved living quarters or consumption that were present in remittance usage of migrant workers in this study might not lead to poverty alleviation in the long term. Hence, development is not reached on a sustainable level. Most of the literature in my thesis connected migration and development through *economic development.* The optimistic school viewed at the positive connections of migration to development through economic growth (de Haas 2010: 231-232, Castles and Miller 2009). However the paradigm of freedom provided by Sen leading to *human development* cannot be excluded from analysis of the possible development outcomes of this circular migration program. These concepts are interlinked and some topics discussed under each paradigm are overlapping. For example, economic development can provide increased freedoms, while simply material gains are not enough to provide liberty in all social aspects.

Therefore, remittances spent on investment and production could lead to more sustainable income generation. Human development on the other hand could be present in increased investment into education of migrant workers' children. If the children

receive a higher level of education, their choices or capabilities might expand, therefore leading a step closer to human development. Hence, if increased remittances from Canada provide a migrant worker with the option of employing workers for his farm rather than relying on work provided by his family and children, improvement could be visible. The choices made by migrant workers in regard to what they spend their remittance money on are valuable in determining whether any real development can be achieved.

The perceived benefit of knowledge transfer showed negative outcomes for migrants. Most learnt new skills in Canada, however were not able to use them in Guatemala. This mismatch was mainly due to differences in types of crop, farm sizes and technology. Crops cultivated by interviewees in Guatemala were largely traditional while including a few nontraditional crops, and differed from Canadian commercial farms. Skills learned in regard to use of machinery were not applicable in Guatemala due to the dominance of manual farming. However, some innovative ideas were brought back by individual migrants and new understandings of work ethic were described by some interviewees. The transfer of Western values has also been referred to as social remittances, which are perceived to have a positive impact in origin communities (Glick Schiller 2010: 9).

These same conclusions have been reached in studies concerning Mexican migrant workers in Canada. Colby's research showed that earnings from Canada encouraged migrants to be more innovative in choices of crops and allowed them to spend on improved materials needed for agricultural production (Colby 1997).

Under what circumstances and why do Guatemalans choose to participate in the program?

The circumstances under which migrants participate are largely defined by poverty. In this research I was able to identify the particular reasons of unemployment, low wages, opportunity and recruitment, and large families, which all stem from poverty. The no-option situation is relevant in this particular case, as for many subsistence farmers and day-laborers in Guatemala making ends meet can be a significant challenge. Hence, employment, even if it meant being away from the family was a positive alternative.

My research demonstrated some of the development benefits of the Guatemala – Canada circular migration program. Since most of the workers participating in the program are men, the women are left behind to take care of children and homes. For further research it would be interesting to find out how this program affects the lives of women left behind and whether women are free to leave and participate in such a program. Research on the impacts on lives of women has been researched by Hughes and her conclusions showed that out-migration to Canada strengthened patriarchal traditions (Hughes 2011). The women migrant workers in my study were mainly single mothers and therefore were free to choose whether to leave or not if their children were taken care of for the duration of travel. Patriarchal traditions, described by one interviewee as "machismo", are still present in Guatemala and married women may therefore not have the same freedom to participate in this program.

Another perspective for evaluation could be whether this circular migration program meets the objectives of IOM and the Guatemalan government. The main objective state that the program aims to promote safe and organized migration in addition to contributing to the quality of living of participant Guatemalan migrant workers.

This research provided an understanding to what is happening in the origin country once migrants get involved in organized low-skilled circular migration. The evaluation of real impacts remains outside the scope of this thesis. My thesis rather provides a descriptive account of this particular circular migration program.

6.3 Shared Benefit or Mutual Dependence?

The circular migration program between Guatemala and Canada originally began to provide solutions for problems present in both countries. The Guatemalan rural population lives in poverty and therefore has limited education, employment and migration opportunities. These push factors place pressure on the rural poor to migrate either to urban centers, other areas of the country for seasonal work or risk international irregular migration to the U.S. Canadian farms on the other hand need labor, particularly seasonal labor. Farm jobs are physical and unattractive to local residents. Researchers have used concepts such as "unfree labor", "captive labor" and "flexible workers" to describe foreign farm workers in Canada (Basok 2002, Fudge and MacPhail 2009). The

circular labor migration program does indeed provide much needed work for rural Guatemalans and workers for Canadian farmers. In addition, it offers relatively risk-free legal options for international migration. However, what are the costs of this arrangement? Human and labor rights ought to be respected from a liberal democratic perspective. While the Canadian agricultural sector has developed a continuous need for foreign workers, it seems these workers are hired under heavy restrictions and short-term contracts. The cycle for dependence between two states is thus ready. Further research on this program in regard to migrants' lives in Canada and human rights concerns would be interesting.

Dependence is also visible at the individual level. In between employment contracts Guatemalan migrant workers might face periods of unemployment. This is particularly the case for migrant workers who have an employer in Guatemala. Hence returning to Canada becomes a necessity for workers. A perceived positive of organized seasonal labor migration has been the role of the sending state in negotiating terms for agreements. These can stipulate that seasonal migration supports migrant workers employment so that the migrant is employed abroad during an off season in his or her origin country (OECD 2004). The findings of my study do not show that this type of rotation would be specifically supported by the TFWP between Canada and Guatemala. Yet this could be an important measure in regard to making TFWPs more development friendly.

This situation is not unique to Canada or Guatemala. The agricultural sector in a number of Western countries is experiencing challenges in order to find local labor. Farmers in the Southwest U.S for example, still hire largely foreign Mexican workers for agricultural jobs both legally and illegally (Krissman in Foner, Rumbaut and Gold 2000: 280). In Finland, a similar phenomenon can be seen in the berry picking industry in Northern areas. Seasonally, every summer, foreign workers from Thailand enter Finland to pick berries. While not migrating under any organized program, the lives of Thai migrants in Finland have been characterized in similar ways as those of Guatemalans in Canada; hard work and lengthy days (Helsingin Sanomat 2.8.2010). Due to increased wellbeing, locals rarely want to work in this field anymore.

What then are the alternatives for Canadian farmers and Guatemalan workers in a global world? Today, when all production is being transferred to low-wage countries from

high-wage countries, the agricultural sector remains one, which cannot be moved. Hence, the workers from low-wage economies are transported to rich economies to fulfill labor needs. Workers from developing countries are eager to do heavy work for low-wages from the Western perspective. Yet because of the dual frame of reference foreign workers find the salaries on offer high and conditions decent. Employment conditions in origin countries could be much worse and employment standards or rights of the receiving country are not familiar to foreign workers.

Circular and temporary labor migration programs thus function because of a mutual need. Improvement in salaries and working conditions in Canada might attract more local labor. For many farmers however, salary is not significant compared to the "unfree labor" gained through TFWPs (Basok 2002).

6.4 Final Thoughts

On the basis of the results of my study some questions related to low-skilled circular migration programs have surfaced. For further consideration it would be interesting to discuss if current low-skilled circular migration programs offer improvements to their predecessors or whether the rhetoric on new circular migration promises more than it can deliver. Should the development outcomes of TFWPs be further researched and why are they relevant?

There is a perception that TFWPs are a solution to various issues faced by Western countries and therefore there is a current interest in implementing them. Ruhs provides an exaggerated list of alternatives for TFWPs (Ruhs 2003: 24):

- Opening up national borders for free circulation
- Closing national borders from foreigners
- Relying on foreign labor from existing migrants admitted by humanitarian bases
- Enduring illegal labor to satisfy labor needs

A final suggestion would be improved TFWPs to avoid mistakes of earlier programs (Ruhs 2003). Hence, in a world where TFWPs exist, their development impacts should be researched. It seems that TFWPs are today seen in a positive light by international organizations as well as the EU. Circular migration programs such as that between Spain and Morocco are being fostered and there are increased attempts at creating

successful low-skilled circular migration (EU Commission 2007, González Enríquez 2011: 5). Yet, prosperous outcomes from an institutional perspective can overlook the realities low-skilled circular migrants are faced with.

Migrants should be seen as individuals, not simply labor to fulfill shortages. The institutional framework of new programs ought to be shaped into being more development friendly. Hennerby and Priebisch argue that Canada's seasonal agricultural workers program has not created any mechanisms at the institutional level to enhance development. Some mechanisms could be lower costs for sending remittances and increased training opportunities for migrant workers (Hennerby and Preibisch 2010: 33-35).

The overall benefit of the circular migration program between Guatemala and Canada to migrant workers cannot be separated from the experiences migrant workers have in Canada. Hence, the largely restrictive nature of these programs should be considered in relation to their assumed positive development outcomes.

This research began as a particular case study with Guatemalan migrant workers. In the process of writing this thesis, I have explored the global connections related to this empirical case study. I have aimed to link the program between Canada and Guatemala to contemporary issues and debates regarding labor migration programs in general and the situation of low-skilled temporary foreign workers worldwide, while keeping in mind the limitations of my study. I believe that the importance and relevance of this topic is significant. Through this case study I have hopefully managed to present some of the major present-day dilemmas faced by low-skilled temporary workers in the global labor market.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Profiles of interviewees

Interviews	Age	Marital Status	No. of children	No. of times in Canada	Level of education	Occupation in Guatemala
Interview 1	26	Single	-	1	Complete secondary	Electrician / now unemployed
Interview 2	28	Cohabitant	2	4	Complete secondary	Agricultural worker
Interview 3	42	Married	2	1	Complete primary	Subsistence farmer
Interview 4	33	Married	3	1	Complete primary	Subsistence farmer
Interview 5	32	Married	5	1	Complete primary	Subsistence farmer
Interview 6	31	Divorced	2	1	Complete primary	Farm worker and importer
Interview 7	23	Single	-	2	Complete primary	Product packer
Interview 8	30-39	Married	3	6	Complete secondary	Subsistence farmer and driver
Interview 9	25	Single	-	1	Complete secondary	Farm worker
Interview 10	34	Married	2	2	Completed primary	Subsistence farmer
Interview 11	21	Single	-	1	Complete secondary	Farm worker
Interview 12	32	Married	4	2	Incomplete primary (3 years)	Subsistence farmer and construction worker
Interview 13	28	Married	2	1	Incomplete primary (5 years)	Farm worker / now unemployed
Interview 14	39	Married	5	1	Incomplete primary	Merchant
Interview 15	35	Married	7	1	Complete primary	Farm worker
Interview 16	29	Cohabitant	2	1	Complete primary	Farm worker
Interview 17	23	Married	1	1	Complete secondary	Farm worker
Interview 18	30	Cohabitant	3	1	Complete primary	Farm worker
Interview 19	32	Married	3	1	Complete primary	Subsistence farmer
Interview 20	28	Married	1 + 1 on the way	1	Complete secondary	Subsistence farmer
Interview 21	45	Divorced	5	4	Complete secondary	Subsistence farmer
Interview 22	35	Married	5	1	Complete primary	Subsistence farmer
Interview 23	30-39	Married	3	3	Complete primary	Subsistence farmer and business owner
Interview 24	33	Married	7	2	Complete primary	Subsistence farmer and construction worker
Interview 25	38	Married	7	2	Complete primary	Subsistence farmer

Appendix 2. Interview questions

BASIC INFORMATION:

Basic information included questions on gender, age, ethnicity, marital status, education level, children, origin department and occupation in Guatemala.

WORK IN CANADA:

How many times have you been to Canada?

Which province in Canada are you travelling to? For how long?

How long have you spent in Canada all together during your trips?

What work will you do in Canada?

Did you like your work in Canada? Why?

What did you like more/less in Canada? Why?

How were you treated in Canada?

KNOWLEDGE:

What have you learned in Canada?

Have you been able to apply these things in Guatemala? How? Why not?

REMITTANCES:

How does the salary paid in Canada correspond to your needs? How much do you earn in Guatemala?

What have you spent your earnings on?

Did you send remittances back to Guatemala?

Who did you send your remittances to?

Who decides on the spending of your earnings?

Have you allocated your earnings from Canada in any of the following?

-Savings

-Payment of debts (were these debts taken to realize migration to Canada?)

-Health care

-Education

-Other family members

-Pastime

-Basic needs

-Purchase of vehicle

-Construction/extension/maintenance of a house

-Land

-Electronics

-Home appliances

-Tools for work

-Other

OTHER (in random order)

Why are you participating in the program?

Will you return to the same place/same work you left from in Guatemala?

Do you wish to return to Canada? Why?

Do you have access to water and electricity?

What does your wife do?

What do you think about the costs required by the Canada program?

Additional questions asked during field trip:

What employment options do you have in your home community? Employment options for women?