“A Human Face”?

The Social Movement for Migrant Farm Workers’ Rights in Canada during COVID-19

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Abstract:

With this paper, I explore the recent struggles of migrant farmworkers in Canada in the context of the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. I investigate how media depictions and social-network- platform-based migrant-rights activism are framed and deployed to push for increased health and workplace protections and for full immigration status for migrant farmworkers. My analysis is grounded Sareeta Amrute’s (2019) work in her article “Of Techno-ethics and Techno-affects”, in which she considers digital labour through the lens of affect and feminist theories of attunement to propose new ways of approaching ethical dilemmas between people and the technologies they create and use. I argue that this digital social justice movement — surrounding the struggles of migrant farmworkers during COVID-19 — reflects the complexities of migrant bodies and the tension between visibility, invisibility, and obfuscation in service of status and safety. I question whether those two things (being ‘seen’ and being safe) are at odds in this context.

Keywords:

migrant labour; COVID-19; obfuscation; digital activism

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Over the past year, the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) has spread across the world and countries have scrambled to address the crisis and the tension between health and economic stability. In Canada, as with many nations, the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic include increased unemployment, an economic downturn, social isolation, and limits on mobility, in addition to illness and death from the virus itself. Accordingly, words like *precarious*, *anxiety*, *unprecedented* and *risk* have become commonplace in everyday conversation, in media, and in politics. However, for many, anxiety, precariousness, and risk are already pillars of existence, and this reality has only been exacerbated by the pandemic.

COVID-19 has disproportionately affected vulnerable populations and marginalized groups, including racialized minorities, lower-income workers, and migrant workers (Haley et al., 2020). Migrant workers are an important part of Canada's workforce and are present in numerous sectors, including domestic work, long-term care, the service industry, and agriculture (Bilefsky, 2020). This paper is focused specifically on the struggle of migrant farm workers in Canada, in the context of COVID-19, and on the ways media coverage and migrant-rights activism frame advocacy for protections and immigration status for migrant farm workers.

The National Farmworkers Union commented that the pandemic has shed light on "deeper problems" in Canada's agricultural worker programs (Haley et al., 2020, p. 26). An independent member of the Quebec National Assembly believes the pandemic has positively impacted public discourse on migrant rights by "giving the issue of asylum-seekers a human face" (Bilefsky, 2020). While many migrant farm workers are not asylum seekers, the idea of "a human face" being revealed through the COVID-19 crisis is poignant to explore. I aim to probe the notion of "a human face" being put onto the experiences of migrant farm workers during the pandemic. How are migrant bodies depicted, and does the humanity or personhood of migrant farm workers appear in this social movement and historic moment?

Framework

In this paper, I draw upon several scholarly perspectives and theories. A central framework I explore is that of attunement. In her article "Of Techno-ethics and Techno-affects", Sa-reeta Amrute (2019) considers digital labour through the lenses of affect and feminist theories of attunement in order to propose new ways of approaching ethical dilemmas between people and technologies. Amrute (2019) references Kathleen Stewart, who describes *attunement* as "an atmosphere for living"; attunement refers to both "an orientation among people, technologies and environments, and an opportunity for people to try to create new 'potential ways of living through

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things''' (p. 59). While migrant farm workers' agricultural work is not digital labour, Amrute's analysis is applicable to the ways migrant workers navigate various attunements as they push boundaries of risk, both on the job and in advocacy for better treatment, safety, and status. Furthermore, media representations — of the migrant workers' issues and the migrant rights movement during COVID-19 — exist primarily in digital spaces, including online articles, publications, and social media platforms. I argue that this social justice movement surrounding migrant farm workers during COVID-19 reflects the complexity of migrant bodies and the tension between visibility, invisibility, and obfuscation in service of status and safety. I question whether those two things (being 'seen' and being safe) are at odds.

Brief Overview of Migrant Farm Workers in Canada & COVID-19 Impact

The Canadian food industry relies heavily on migrant labourers to work to seed and harvest crops (Gatehouse, 2020; Haley et al., 2020). In fact, around 10% of Canada's agricultural workers are migrants, and over 50,000 migrant workers come to Canada through Temporary Foreign Worker Program agricultural streams (Haley et al., 2020). The largest stream is the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP), which has a relationship with Mexico and eleven Commonwealth Caribbean countries (Haley et al., 2020; Caxaj & Cohen, 2019). Workers of other nationalities come to Canada via non-governmental organizations (Caxaj & Cohen, 2019). The term *migrant farm workers* can refer to workers who come through these programs or to undocumented workers. In Canada, around 58% of migrant farm workers work in Ontario, while 17% and 15% work in British Columbia and Quebec, respectively (Dias-Abey, 2018, p. 184).

Currently, migrant farm workers under SAWP do not have a pathway to permanent residency or to rights equal to either citizens or permanent residents in Canada (Weiler & Hodgson, 2020; Haley et al., 2020; Migrant Rights Network, 2020). The legal restrictions placed on migrant farm labourers and their working conditions are deeply limiting. For example, SAWP mandates that workers can only be in Canada for eight months of the year and must be explicitly named by an employer to return to work the following season (Haley et al., 2020). This mandate deepens the power asymmetry between worker and employer and cultivates a culture of compliance and exploitation (Justicia for Migrants, 2020). Farm employers often pay migrant farm workers less than minimum wage, and workers are expected to work incredibly long hours outside in the heat. In a 'typical' year (i.e., without a global pandemic), migrant farm workers experience ongoing abuses of power from employers. For example, some employers take away workers' passports, iJournal, Vol 6, No. 2,

implement curfews and prohibit visitors, and establish surveillance mechanisms to monitor workers (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018, p. 97). Additionally, unsafe conditions on farms jeopardize migrant workers' health, particularly during the pandemic. For example, overcrowded accommodations increase the risk of spread, and limited personal protective equipment and handwashing facilities in the fields leave workers vulnerable (Haley et al., 2020). These conditions were, sadly, ripe for the spread of a contagious virus.

As the COVID-19 virus emerged in North America in early 2020, there was concern about the looming growing season. Borders were closing and farmers were concerned about their access to foreign labour (Bilesky, 2020; Gatehouse, 2020). Migrant farm workers were eventually permitted to travel to Canada, where they had to quarantine for two weeks once they arrived (Haley et al., 2020). However, the adherence to and efficacy of quarantine protocols varied, and there were multiple outbreaks of COVID-19 amongst agricultural migrant workers. For example, an outbreak at a greenhouse in Kelowna, British Columbia resulted in 43 positive cases (Haley et al., 2020, p. 37). In Southwestern Ontario alone, over 1,000 migrant farm workers were infected with the virus in Windsor-Essex County municipalities of Leamington and Kingsville by the summer of 2020 (Gatehouse, 2020). Three of these workers died. Their names are Bonifacio Eugenio-Romero, Rogelio Munoz Santos and Juan Lopez-Chaparro (Glauser, 2020; Mojtehdzadeh, 2020). As the pandemic continues in 2021, there is serious concern that the tragedies of last year's growing season could be repeated. As of mid-March 2021, Ontario is allowing migrant farm workers to travel directly to farms and to isolate in a bunkhouse with other workers, where it is hard to contain spread (Star Editorial Board, 2021).

Embodied Risk & Disposable Bodies

Before the pandemic, migrant farm workers' bodies had become attuned to the context of precariousness and pressure to perform and comply in order to maintain a livelihood. Amrute (2019) analyses computer programmers from India and how they "embody risk as a habit of working" in order to survive legal requirements that move them from job to job (p. 60). Referencing Martin (2007), Amrute (2019) contends that risk can be "somatized as a way of being" (p. 60), and I argue migrant farm workers demonstrate this somatic embodiment of risk. While Amrute (2019) discusses a "corporeal attunement towards risk" amongst technology workers (p. 61), I contend that migrant farm workers demonstrate a similar bodily attunement towards risk in their own contexts. Amrute (2019) explores how bodies are "trained and erased" within technological systems (p. 59). Within government programs like SAWP, migrant farm workers are trained to endure threats to their physical health, accept unfair conditions, and perform temporary labour that

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takes them away from home, in order to survive.

Workers' physical bodies pay a high price for this attunement, even as this attunement is part of their survival. In narrative research published in 2019, Susana Caxaj and Amy Cohen discuss their conversations with migrant farm workers in British Columbia. Workers shared perspectives on their complex relationships with their own bodies, which were "sacrificed in exchange for a job that wants them only for as long as their bodies are intact" (Caxaj & Cohen, 2019, p. 8). Caxaj and Cohen (2019) found that migrant workers believed their "bodies were both their key asset and liability" in keeping their jobs on the farms, and they accepted tenuous workplace conditions in order to make a living (p. 2). Describing the physical toll of his labour, a farm worker named Ernesto said, "I will not leave my body here" (Caxaj & Cohen, 2019, p.7). Ernesto's comment alludes to his sense of his own personhood and subjectivity attached to his body. Perhaps to leave his body 'here' would be to lose something even more profound than his physical form: the essence of who he is as a person, rather than only a worker. In a way, Ernesto's comment marks his resistance to the disposability of migrant farm workers' bodies placed upon them by the exploitative structures and dangerous work conditions (Caxaj & Cohen, 2019, p. 2).

These occupational risks and detriments to migrant workers' bodies have worsened in the context of the pandemic, as their workplace conditions and legal status render them even more vulnerable (Migrant Rights Network, 2020; Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, 2020). As previously stated, during the COVID-19 pandemic to date, three migrant workers have died on Canadian soil. Migrant farm workers have been encouraged to work even if they are feeling sick, and even if they have tested positive for COVID-19 but are asymptomatic; additionally, workers live in tight quarters with poor sanitation (Haley et al., 2020; Weiler & Hodgson, 2020; Migrant Rights Network, 2020; Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, 2020). Workers fear medical repatriation and being fired for speaking about abuses and poor conditions (Haley et al., 2020; Weiler & Hodgson, 2020; Migrant Rights Network, 2020; Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, 2020). The threat of a livelihood lost is a powerful weapon the employers possess, and this, along with employers' neglect, contributed to the spread of COVID-19 on farms (Weiler & Hodgson, 2020; Haley et al., 2020).

To Be Seen or Not to Be Seen in Migrant Rights Activism?

In early 2020, migrant-rights activism was further galvanized by the uncertainty of migrant worker entry into Canada and the subsequent spike of COVID-19 cases on farms. Organizations, such as the Migrant Rights Network, Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, Justicia for Migrants,

and Solidarity Across Borders, called for full immigration status for migrant workers, conducted public awareness campaigns, and organized pressure on provincial and federal governments to act (Migrant Rights Network, 2020; Justicia for Migrants, 2020). This work has continued through the pandemic.

Reflecting on migrant farm workers' corporeal attunement to risk and the imposed disposability of their bodies, migrant farm workers and migrant-rights advocacy groups navigate the tension between workers' visibility and invisibility in service of the migrant-rights movement. In her book *The Undocumented Everyday: Migrant Lives and the Politics of Visibility*, Rebecca Schreiber (2018) writes about media representation and self-representation of undocumented migrants in the United States. She notes that in modern American culture, "visibility is associated with empowerment and invisibility with powerlessness, including an absence from political and culture life" (Schreiber, 2018, p. 5). This tension illuminates the complexity of how humanity is understood. Must it be visualized, in what ways, and for whom, in order to be seen?

To reiterate what Caxaj and Cohen (2019) found: migrant workers believed their "bodies were both their key asset and liability in maintaining their livelihoods in agriculture" (p. 2). Similarly, the visibility of migrants' bodies, as well as their identities or personhood, can be both a tool and an affliction in migrant rights activism. Stasiulis (2020) contends that "greater visibility" is useful for "urgent pressure" towards goals, such as status (p.47). However, my exploration of digital media representations of migrant-rights activism suggests that concealing their bodies is often vital for migrant farm workers. Several migrant-rights organizations have mentioned how migrant workers often do not wish to be named, pictured, or otherwise identified due to safety concerns and fear of reprisal from employers and unemployment (Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, 2020). What is not visible serves to emphasize what is unsafe to show: a human face. See Figure 1.

Figure 1. An image of a migrant farm worker with their face blurred (Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, 2020, "Unheeded Warnings", p. 24).

Often, migrants whose faces have been shown are those who have lost their jobs and are seeking recourse through a more public display of presence (Mojtehdzadeh, 2020). For example, migrant worker Luis Gabriel Flores Flores spoke out after he was fired from an Ontario farm for speaking to the press about his concerns regarding the spread of COVID-19 and the poor conditions on the farm (Mojtehdzadeh, 2020). However, while in some circumstances migrant farm workers reveal their identities when advocating for their rights, many workers use methods of counter-visibility in their favour. For example, accompanying an article about the COVID-19 crisis' impact on temporary foreign workers, Global News posted a video on June 14th, 2020, that included migrant farm workers' first-hand accounts of mistreatment and anxiety on a farm. The workers' faces were blurred and their voices were altered, so they could not be identified as they denounced the "slave labour" they were experiencing in unsafe conditions, as the virus spread amongst the farms (Canadian Press, 2020). Additionally, Justicia for Migrants shared a video taken by a migrant worker that depicted the terrible conditions of their accommodations on the farm during the COVID-19 pandemic. A migrant worker documenting their living quarters is a form of counter surveillance against an oppressor, in this instance their employer (Schreiber, 2018). By covertly sharing the video with Justicia for Migrants, the worker performs a significant act of resistance that does not require the "face" of the worker (Schreiber, 2018). In another instance, when their roommate was very ill, a worker called migrant-rights activist and academic Amy Cohen to seek advice (Glauser, 2020). Both the counter surveillance and the personal call to an activist are forms of resistance to the structures that try to prevent workers from pushing back, even in seemingly minor ways (Caxaj & Cohen, 2018).

As mentioned, in her discussion of corporeal attunements, Amrute (2019) explores how bodies are "trained and erased" in the formation and operation of technological systems (p. 59). While migrant farm workers do not navigate a technical system, they navigate Canada's foreign worker systems and oppressive employers who do try to train and erase migrants' bodies in pursuit of economic gain. Attuned to these systems, migrants' choice to obfuscate themselves as part of their resistance subverts the dynamic of erasure. Rendering themselves undetectable to their employers is a tactical form of obfuscation and resistance enacted by migrant workers (Bruton & Nissenbaum, 2015). Finally, while migrant workers seek status and protections from the Canadian government, there is an element of personhood that cannot be bestowed from above. Governments have the power to decide which people and groups are worthy of rights; however, migrant farm workers' innate personhood exists regardless of the actions of or recognition from a dominant group. I contend that through obfuscation tactics, migrant farm workers not only keep themselves

safe from employer reprisal: they also keep the more intimate element of their personhood to themselves.

#StatusForAll & the Rhetoric of 'Essential'

In this section, I explore common hashtags and words used in social media advocacy for migrants' rights, because these rhetorical choices illuminate complex dynamics regarding visibility and notions of worthiness within the movement. In social media awareness campaigns and advocacy, migrant-rights organizations used hashtags such as #StatusForAll, #Status4All, and #StatusNow. These hashtags relate to one of the primary demands amongst migrant-rights organizations: full immigration status and a path to permanent residency for migrant workers. From my qualitative assessment between mid-July 2020 to mid-August 2020, the most common hashtag in reference to immigration rights appeared to be #StatusForAll. The Migrant Rights Network even has this hashtag in their Twitter name: "Migrant Rights Network #StatusForAll" (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Tweet posted on August 12, 2020 by the Migrant Rights Network. The Tweet shows the #StatusforAll hashtag in the body text and in their Twitter name.

Another significant thread in online migrant-rights activism and pandemic discourse is the rhetoric of "essential" workers and jobs. As governments responded to the pandemic, delineations of work began to emerge. The term essential has been used to denote jobs and workers whose labour must continue to ensure the functioning of Canadian society. Migrant farm workers were

designated essential workers “due to the essential role they play in supporting Canadian farmers and the food supply” (Haley et al., 2020, p. 36). Some migrant-rights organizations are capitalizing on the language of ‘essential’ to underscore the chasm between the importance of migrant farm workers’ labour and the way they have been treated and harmed, particularly during the pandemic. Haley et al. (2020) make the important point that, while migrant farm workers are “excluded from immigration policies that privilege ‘skilled’ workers”, the pandemic has changed the discourse to “emphasize that migrant farmworkers are essential due to their expertise and skill” (p.37). The essential designation is used by activists to bolster demands for full immigration status and increased health protections, services, and support for migrant workers. See Figure 3.

Figure 3. @SolidariteMTL re-posts an announcement regarding migrant workers and asylum seekers with the hashtag #weareallessential. (August 18, 2020).

Furthermore, hashtags pertaining to status (such as #StatusForAll) and pertaining to essential workers (such as #weareallessential or #nous sommes essentiels) were diffuse in the contexts in which they were used and the groups that were using them. These hashtags were used not only by migrant-rights organizations but also by adjacent social justice causes or even other groups with starkly different agendas. For example, #StatusForAll is used in other Tweets regarding labour movements more broadly, such as the Fight for Fifteen and Fairness organization and fair wages movement (@fairwagesnow on Twitter). Comparatively, many Tweets containing the hashtag #weareallessential were from users advocating for their region or country to re-open and for life to return to ‘normal’ (See Figure 4). These Twitter users expressed the sentiments that their jobs,

whatever they may be, were also essential, and the lockdown or distancing precautions were a detriment. Clearly, these hashtags are not centralized around the migrant-rights movement or migrant farm workers' efforts. However, the adoption of diffuse hashtags could be part of a broader strategy, particularly in regard to a hashtag like #StatusforAll, which remains connected to like-minded campaigns while avoiding specific, centralized visibility.

Figure 4. Twitter user @J3SUS_SAVES tweeted about reopening America protests and included the hashtag #WeAreAllEssential along with other hashtags like #ReopenAmerica and #TRUMP (April 29, 2020).

Racial Justice in the time of COVID-19

It is important to acknowledge that, as COVID-19 surged in North America, there was a rise in public protests, both online and in person, regarding social justice movements and particularly addressing race and anti-Black racism. In the spring of 2020, the murders of Black Americans Ahmaud Arbery, George Floyd, and Breonna Taylor, at the hands of white police officers and other white Americans, contributed to large-scale protests and demands for racial justice across the United States and around the world. Migrant farm workers are predominantly people of colour – Black, brown, and Indigenous people, often from Mexico, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Justicia for Migrant Workers, 2020a) – and racism towards migrant farmer workers is long-standing. In 2013, the activist organization Justicia for Migrant Workers wrote an open letter to the Mayor of Leamington in Ontario to point out the municipal government's inaction concerning some residents' prejudice against and hostility toward migrant farm workers, particularly Black men (Stasiulis, 2020, p.38).

Several migrants-rights organizations have been mindful of this context as they advocate for migrant farm workers, using hashtags that reference racial issues. For example, in August of 2020, the #puttingraceonthetable hashtag was created by Justicia for Migrants (@harvestingfreedom on Instagram and @j4mw on Twitter). Justicia for Migrants created several infographics, most suited for the Instagram format, which highlight how migrant farm work is an extension of the settler-colonial project and ongoing subjugation and exploitation of brown, Black, and Indigenous individuals (see Figure 5). The original post encourages people to take a picture of their dinner or food in a grocery store and then follow up this picture with the infographics from Justicia for Migrants in an accompanying photo-set (i.e., multiple images in a single post that can be swiped through).

Figure 5. Justicia for Migrant workers (@harvestingfreedom on Instagram) shares an infographic with a call-to-digital-action for their #puttingraceonthetable awareness campaign. August 20, 2020.

The notion of 'putting food on the table' and equating it to race is an interesting one to unpack. It is important to point out that primarily racialized people harvest the food items people consume in Canada. However, the origins of the hashtag and whether migrant farm workers relate to this sentiment or find it resonant should also be considered. #puttingraceonthetable is punchy and thought-provoking, but, in a way, it reduces migrant workers to the literal fruits of their labour. Those who engage with this hashtag and campaign may learn more about where their food

comes from, but not much else. In his recent article "Towards a Black Media Philosophy", Armond Towns (2020) contends that,

the Black body exists to serve a function by and for others, rather than for itself; or as Benjamin argues, 'the most dangerous place for Black people is in white people's imagination' (Benjamin 2019, para. 20), that realm inventive of Black bodies. (p. 3)

Can hashtag-oriented awareness campaigns organized by migrant-rights groups unintentionally bolster the idea of racialized migrant workers in a position of servitude and functionality, while they endeavour to do the opposite? As Towns (2020) maintains, for a long time, Western media has been geared "not to what the Black body means, but what it does" and how it can support white society in their "self-conceived control over nature" (p. 12). As argued by Vasquez and Guiñansaca, migrant-rights activism wrestles with the tension between, first, maintaining workers' privacy and supporting their obfuscation tactics, and second, centering migrants in their own complicated stories. It is here where the broad scope of attunements might be useful, because in recognizing and exploring the dynamics between people, environments, and systems, there is the possibility for imagining "potential ways of living through things" (Stewart, 2011, quoted in Amrute, 2019, p. 59).

Narratives of Worth

It is necessary to also consider if the narratives which underlie media portrayals of migrant farm workers come from advocacy groups or from journalists. For example, it is common for publications or posts by migrant-rights organizations to emphasize migrants' long work hours on the farm or in the greenhouse, their families and children at home that they provide for, and their years of seasonal service to a particular farm or region in the Canadian food industry (Beaumont, 2020; Chabria, 2020; Gatehouse, 2020). These points are significant, and if they serve to galvanize engagement, they are undoubtedly useful. At the same time, these points bolster narratives of worthiness (Schreiber, 2018). As Tina Vasquez (2020) points out,

in all of the popular narratives about immigrant labor — 'They do jobs Americans don't want to do'; 'They contribute billions of dollars to the economy'; 'They are essential/skilled workers,' etc.—migrants aren't regarded as whole human beings, and their cultural contributions certainly don't come into play. (para. 4)

In this way of thinking, the workers deserve rights, status, and better treatment and services because of their diligent labour or familial roles (Schreiber, 2018). It is difficult to escape the entrapments of rhetoric appealing to meritocracy and notions of deservedness. In the summer of 2020, there was discussion about whether migrant workers who work in healthcare or in long-term care homes should receive immigration status because of their contributions on the 'front lines' of the pandemic (@SolidariteMTL, 2020). This is a direct example of a meritocracy, where other migrant workers are excluded and unworthy.

In the context of Dreamers in the United States, migrant poet Sonia Guiñansaca comments on the "dehumanizing" ways immigrants and migrant workers are represented (Vasquez, 2020). She notes how even well-intentioned people "romanticize" migrant labour and "only uplift shining examples of model immigrants" (Vasquez, 2020, para. 4). Guiñansaca further advocates for the necessity of migrants writing about their own experiences, in order to create nuanced understanding of migrants' lives that "like everyone else's, are complicated and not aesthetically pleasing" (Vasquez, 2020, para. 5). With Guiñansaca's thoughts in mind, I imagine that there are migrants who use social media and other technologies to tell their own stories, share information, or otherwise engage. These migrants may use alternate hashtags to control visibility and hide their activity from those outside the intended audience.

Limitations & Reflections

In terms of methodological limitations, my analysis of social media posts and other media was small in scope and could be further extended to in-person activism. A quantitative analysis of the previously mentioned Twitter hashtags could yield more comprehensive findings. Further, there are numerous future directions for this research. For instance, this work could be grounded in a broader history and context of migrant labour and settler colonialism in Canada. I think a gendered analysis of the experience of migrant farm workers during COVID-19 would be beneficial as well, given the many forms of abuse that are experienced differently by men, women, and non-binary people. Additionally, future research could provide a deeper, more nuanced analysis of resistance through counter-visibility and obfuscation methods deployed by migrant farm workers.

Conclusion

With this paper, I have considered the notion of "a human face" for migrant farm workers' struggles exposed by the COVID-19 pandemic. Inspired by Sareeta Amrute's (2019) exploration of feminist theories of attunements, I argued that migrant farm workers navigate both their working conditions and their efforts for increased rights through their attunement to this challenging

context. Workers assert their humanity by denying the dominant public a view of their 'face', both literally and figuratively, in such a way that protects them from reprisal from their employers and conserves their personhood. Though balance between migrant farm workers' being seen and being safe is a delicate one, it is essential for migrant farm workers' voices to be centred in ongoing advocacy efforts and strategies. As another growing season approaches, it is critical, as always, to prioritize migrants' imagining and articulating of ways their lives and labour could be experienced.

Author Positionality Statement

It is important to disclose and emphasize that I am a white, cis woman with immense privilege. I am not part of or connected to the communities of migrant farm workers, in Ontario specifically, or in Canada more broadly. Members of, or those close to, the migrant community should be at the forefront of scholarship and stories in this space, and I aim to support this work in any and every way I can.

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