Examining the Demand for Migrant Labour by Employers in Prince Edward Island's Agricultural Sector

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A Thesis Submitted to the University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, P.E.I. in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Masters in Business Administration

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> > March 1, 2012 Charlottetown, P.E.I.

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Abstract

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Recruitment and retention of agricultural workers was identified by the Prince Edward Island Agricultural Sector Council in 2007 as a major issue facing the Prince Edward Island (PEI) agricultural industry. Although there have been numerous studies on the supply and demand for agricultural workers, there has been little research on the demand for migrant agricultural labour on PEI. To date, the research has primarily focused on analyzing and estimating labour shortages, skills development requirements and understanding labour recruitment and retention practices. This study examined the current demand for migrant labour on PEI and revealed both a high interest in migrant labour and a high level of dissatisfaction with local seasonal and full-time workers. As yet few agricultural employers have recruited migrant workers. The findings from this study also identified a number of factors such as a lack of accommodation and the cost of airfare which have deterred agricultural employers from recruiting agricultural workers from abroad. The findings also indicate that many seasonal agricultural positions go unfilled. Thus, before employers can begin to actively recruit migrant workers from abroad, several improvements are needed to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP).

Acknowledgements

To my wife Geraldine, I thank her for her patience, understanding and support over the course of this program. To my advisors Tim Carroll and Wendy Carroll for their guidance and to Scott Wilson who helped format the internet survey. I would like to thank all the instructors in the MBA program and my student colleagues, especially those I worked with on group presentations. I am also thankful for the various persons who participated in the pre-test of my survey and to the respondents of the survey who made this project feasible.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Background

The many underlying labour issues facing Canadian agriculture today have precipitated the move toward recruiting migrant workers from abroad. There are various factors that have contributed to this change including:

- A shortage of locally skilled and reliable farm workers;
- Competition from other sectors which pay higher wages;
- The perception that agricultural work is unprofitable, and
- Unemployment insurance and social programs which could act as disincentives for domestic workers to look for full-time or seasonal work in agriculture.

Finding skilled and reliable workers has become a major human resource challenge for Prince Edward Island (PEI) agriculture today. Even though farmers have adopted greater mechanization to lessen their reliance on labour and have increasingly used the services of custom work operators to harvest their crops, various news articles and human resource studies (Mussell &Stiefelmeyer, 2005) suggest an increased interest and reliance on migrant labour in the agricultural and fishery sectors of Prince Edward Island. Historically, the work on farms has been associated with low economic returns and issues related to poor working conditions and safety concerns. With increased interest and reliance on migrant labour, the economic plight of farm workers is now again the subject of research and media coverage.

Overview of Agriculture

The total land area of Prince Edward Island is approximately 1.4 million acres of which 620,000 acres were allocated to agriculture in 2009 (PEI Industry Highlights, 2009). A National Agricultural Census in 2006 estimated that there were 1,700 farm units on PEI. Since then, the

number of farms active in agriculture has been on the decline. According to PEI Agriculture, there has also been a trend toward larger farms with acreages in excess of 750 acres per farm. The census also revealed that about 60% of the farm operations were individually operated while the remaining farms are either managed through a partnership arrangement or had become incorporated.

The most important commodity produced on PEI is the potato. Its importance as measured by total farm cash receipts was approximately 50 percent in 2008. Other important commodities include dairy, beef, hog and grain products; however, the overall trend in agriculture shows a decline in the number of operations involved in potatoes, beef cattle and hogs. Those operations experiencing some modest growth include fruit, oilseed, grains and other types of animal production (PEI Industry Highlights, 2009).

Agricultural Employment

The agricultural sector in Canada has faced a dwindling number of farm workers over the past century. The supply of farm workers has gradually declined as rural populations began to relocate to urban centers in search of higher wages and better working conditions. Farm work is typically hard physical work which many people find unattractive. Farmers have even encouraged their children to leave the farm to obtain an education to prepare them for life off the farm. As a result there are fewer farm workers around to work on farms.

To maintain low food prices even as input costs increase, wages must be kept low in order to satisfy the Canadian appetite for cheap food. Farmers, thus, find it difficult to pay higher wages and to recruit and retain farm labourers or improve working conditions because of low food prices. To protect the image of the family farm, the Canadian Government has nevertheless

allowed various types of quotas to protect commodity prices and has set up protectionist tariffs to discourage competing products from entering Canada.

The 2006 census reported that about 3,100 persons were employed in PEI agriculture in 2006 and that agriculture on PEI tends to be very seasonal. The number of individuals involved in agriculture fluctuates from low in the winter months to high during the planting and harvesting periods. PEI Agriculture estimates that the seasonal variation in employment is in the 30 to 40 percent range. According to a study commissioned by the PEI Agricultural Human Resource Development Council (AHRDC, 2003) seasonal work is much more important to PEI farmers than to farmers in other Canadian Provinces. AHRDC (2003) reported that the number of seasonal paid work weeks on PEI farms in 2000 was 50.3% of the total paid weeks whereas seasonal work represented only 35.3% of the total work weeks nationally.

While mechanization in agricultural production is credited for the growth of the agricultural industry on Prince Edward Island, mechanization, along with advances in crop science have been responsible for reducing the demand for labour or eliminating jobs. Certain types of farming activity have endured more mechanization such as tasks related to grain combining and field plowing and cultivation; however activities such as picking, pruning and thinning tend to rely more on human labour activity.

Although mechanization has reduced the demand for labour it has also created new types of jobs. Mechanized jobs have created employment in factories where machinery are produced and assembled as well as a variety of jobs which now require new operational skills. Other add-ons include service and repair jobs. For example the potato sector on Prince Edward Island has seen many technological changes which have reduced the need for hand labour.

Another key observation is that, in response to the environmental concerns about pesticide use, fish kills and the choking impact of sea lettuce in rivers and estuaries, farmers have been turning to "organic" farming methods and production practices that reduce the use of synthetic chemicals. This has increased the demand for local labour by relying more on hand weeding and selling output through farmer's markets, community supported agriculture (CSA's) and direct farm sales.

According to PEI Agriculture, between 2004 and 2008, the labour force in the agriculture sector averaged 4,300 persons. This is a decline of 800 persons compared to the previous decade. The majority of persons who quit the agricultural industry were between the ages of 25 and 54 and the number of youth involved in agriculture is also on the decline. To summarize, the number of farms on PEI is on the decline; the remaining farms are becoming larger in acreage; there are fewer people employed in agriculture; employment in agriculture is becoming increasingly seasonal; there are fewer new entrants into agriculture and those still working in agriculture are becoming older.

Agricultural Employment Outlook

The PEI agricultural sector is facing labour challenges as shown by the high vacancy rate and the number of employers reporting difficulties in finding workers. Competition with other industries on PEI and the other provinces including the poor image of agriculture are also hampering recruitment and retention efforts (PEI Agricultural Sector Council, 2007). The major challenge which PEI agricultural employers face is the recruitment of seasonal labour. The PEI Agricultural Sector Council Study (2007) found that over 75 percent of the farmers surveyed on PEI favoured access to migrant worker programs as a solution to the ongoing shortage and uncertainty of domestic seasonal labour. PEI agricultural employers indicated in the 2007 study

that they wanted access to migrant worker programs in order to expand production and reduce their harvest losses. This finding is reinforced by Greg Webster of Webster Farms who writes (Eastern Kings Chamber of Commerce, 2005), "there are few things more frustrating as a farmer, than growing a great crop only to have it lost in the field because I cannot find the people to harvest it."

Migrant Labour

The main premise behind recruiting migrant labour is to assist agricultural employers to meet their labour requirements during key planting and harvesting periods when domestic workers are not available for employment. Currently, migrant workers represent only a small number or percentage of the total agricultural labour force on PEI; however, according to the above mentioned labour human resource studies and news reports, the share of migrants in the agricultural labour force is expected to increase in the coming years. For example, a recent study conducted by the Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council (CAHRC, 2009) states that by 2013, 38,800 seasonal positions will need to be filled across Canada. On the regional level, the study reported that employers in Atlantic Canada had the highest proportion of vacant positions in seasonal and non-seasonal positions.

Agriculture is not the only sector with labour recruitment difficulties. The PEI fisheries are also finding it increasingly difficult to hire local labour and are turning to foreign workers to fill positions. This difficulty is highlighted by Stephen Stewart of Stewart Mussel Farms in Baltic PEI when he said "I don't want to go through another season like this. I have seven people, I think, working in there today and we should have at least twenty. Even the people that do work, they come and go. A couple of guys didn't show up today. Their boots were still wet from vesterday so they didn't come today" (CBC News – PEI, 2006). The trucking industry on PEI

also has trouble filling drivers' seats according to Danny Comeau of the Charlottetown-based trucking company Seafood Express. Mr. Comeau says "it's been tough to fill those last six or eight, 10 seats on a regular basis" (CBC News, Prince Edward Island, 2008).

Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)

The entry of migrant workers into Canada falls under a federal program called the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP). Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC) is the federal ministry charged with responsibility for the program. Agricultural employers who wish to recruit migrant workers must submit a hiring plan and demonstrate that they have been unsuccessful in finding a Canadian for a particular agricultural position. Those applications that are successful are then handled by the Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Service (F.A.R.M.S). Currently, the administration of F.A.R.M.S (now a non-profit organization) is controlled and operated by Canadian agricultural employers and is funded by service fees.

SAWP is a program which is run jointly with the governments of Mexico and participating Caribbean states (North-South Institute, 2004). The SAWP program is governed by the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* and *Regulations*. Under this program, employers can hire seasonal workers from Mexico and certain Caribbean countries; however if an employer hires temporary workers under the NOC program (Temporary Foreign Workers Program) they are not restricted to workers from Mexico and other Caribbean countries and are also allowed to employ foreign workers in other commodities which are not listed under the SAWP program.

Workers under the SAWP program are only allowed to work in certain commodities. As well, the country where the seasonal worker originates from typically assists in the recruitment and

selection of foreign workers to be sent abroad. They also ensure that the necessary documents are in order and they appoint representatives to assist their workers in Canada. According to the SAWP, the employment must be a minimum of 240 hours of work with a period of six weeks or less and for a maximum duration of eight months between January 1 and December 15 to fill labour shortages on Canadian farms. The agreement stipulates the obligations of the employer and employee with respect to the provision of free housing, transportation costs and wages etc.

According to a study conducted by the North-South Institute (2004), migrants spend an average of 17 to 20 weeks in Canada each year between January 1 and December 15. They perform manual work on some 1,800 farms in nine provinces, the majority in Ontario. When their seasonal contracts expire, the workers return to their country of origin. The North-South Institute (2004) report concludes that the participation of foreign workers has become essential as fewer and fewer Canadians are willing to accept the low wages and onerous working conditions typically found in agriculture work.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine migrant labour in the context of the issues surrounding recruitment and retention of labour in agriculture on PEI. This study also hopes to fill in research gaps of previous labour studies by gathering more current data on the supply and demand for agricultural workers on PEI. There is a limited amount of information, data and analysis on this subject which explains why some agricultural employers recruit migrant labour while others refrain from doing so. Farm operations that currently employ migrant labour through SAWP tend to be primarily in the potato and vegetable crop sectors.

Research Overview

Previous labour studies have consolidated agricultural labour statistics for the Atlantic region thus making it difficult to specifically analyze the PEI agricultural labour situation and the demand for migrant workers. Building on previous studies, this research focuses on PEI's current agricultural labour hiring practices and on the reasons agricultural employers are recruiting or wish to recruit migrant labour.

This study also seeks to understand whether the recruitment of migrant labour can impact agricultural production decisions, lead to farm operation expansion and if the recruitment of migrant labour will actually meet the demand for agricultural labourers on PEI especially between 2011 and 2016.

These research findings will also attempt to answer some questions related to migrant labour training needs in the areas of language and occupational skills development and the challenges agricultural employers face in recruiting migrant labour under the SAWP program. These findings could also be useful for decision makers in developing a labour strategy for agriculture and provide a foundation for future strategic human resource planning in agriculture on PEI.

Organization of this Research

The remainder of this thesis is organized in the following manner.

- In Chapter 2, a review and discussion of the literature relating to labour and migrant labour in agriculture
- Chapter 3 describes the methodology used in this research study;
- Chapter 4 reviews the findings from the survey, and

• The final chapter offers a discussion and summary of the study findings including the limitations of the study and opportunities for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Research Background

According to a CBC Media Release (2006), "The agriculture and fisheries industries on the Island are finding it increasingly difficult to hire local labour and are turning to foreign workers to fill positions." The 2006 report gives an example of a vegetable farmer applying for foreign workers through the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP); however it also mentions that one of the caveats of SAWP is that the applicant will have to prove that he/she needs workers and has actually looked for them locally. The report states that, "there is such demand for the program on the Island that the Province is offering help to people with filling out the applications."

A Harvest Labour Force Analysis Study conducted by Gardiner Pinfold Consultants (2003) found that most producers in Nova Scotia had difficulty recruiting hand harvest labour. The study found a very high turnover of harvest labourers and that many producers suffered crop losses and were unable to expand their operations due to uncertainty in the labour supply. The study also found that there were a number of disincentives such as employment insurance, employment support policies, income assistance rules and Canada Pension Plan polices which discouraged seasonal and harvest labour as a viable employment option, thereby reducing the pool of potential workers. The study concluded that when the labour source becomes unstable; this can result in employers looking outside of Canada to meet their labour demands.

The Canadian Agriculture Human Resource Council (CAHRC) was created to address human resource issues facing agricultural businesses across Canada. In 2009, the Council conducted a study on recruitment and retention in primary agriculture across Canada. Several farm operations across Canada were selected for further in-depth analysis and to characterize the issue. The Council selected Brookfield Gardens of Prince Edward Island. The owners of Brookfield Gardens identified two key issues impacting recruitment and retention:

- 1. Many local unskilled workers moved to higher paying jobs in places like Alberta.
- 2. The lack of public transportation from worker's homes to the farm.

According to the same report, in 2005, the company experienced a severe shortage of farm workers and a turnover rate of 700%. The labour shortage was overcome by hiring temporary foreign workers from Mexico which improved employee retention significantly. The image of the agriculture industry was identified by the CAHRC study to be a major human resource challenge. The owners of Brookfield Gardens stated that in the past, they found it easy to recruit rural youth with farming experience, but this was no longer the case. Consequently, most local workers come from the city and have never worked on a farm before, according Brookfield Gardens.

The CAHRC study (2009) estimated the agricultural sector vacancy rate to be approximately 9% nationally for all types of agricultural workers. Based on the survey responses, the vacancy for seasonal positions was much higher at 20%. In response to the high vacancy rate, the study concludes there has been a steady increase in the use of temporary foreign workers.

In another human resource labour study, The PEI Agricultural Sector Council commissioned a Study of Labour Supply and Demand within the PEI Agriculture Sector, (Atlantic Evaluation Group, 2007). The study identified the recruitment and retention of agriculture workers as a

major issue facing the PEI agriculture industry. One of the objectives of the report was to analyze labour shortages/surpluses and project future supply and demand in the PEI agriculture sector. The study noted that the pool for both general farm workers and harvest workers was quickly shrinking. The report states that many employers were moving toward increased mechanization and to migrant farm workers to address this growing labour gap. These employers believe that the increased use of 'off shore' labour will become a more prominent labour recruitment strategy in the future. The study also identified employment insurance and other government employment programs as having a negative impact on the availability of local workers during harvest periods.

A comprehensive agricultural labour study conducted in 2005 by The George Morris Centre for the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, noted a negative public perception of careers in agriculture as a major human resource issue. This finding is similar to the CAHRC Brookfield Gardens report which spoke about the negative image of agriculture. The George Morris Centre also identified the unavailability of seasonal and harvest labour, the difficulty of recruiting and retaining quality people, the long-run tightening of a skilled workforce in agriculture and the lack of a pro-active culture oriented toward agricultural training and continuous learning as major human resource challenges in agriculture.

Dr. Glenn Fox from the Food, Agricultural and Resource Economics (FARE) Department at the University of Guelph says that migrant labour is important to Canadian agriculture because "there just aren't enough Canadians willing to work for that level of compensation" (Huffington Post Canada, 2012). Steve Martin, retail sales manager and a shareholder in Martins Family Fruit Farm in Ontario, similarly suggests that "Canadians are simply not available for seasonal work,"

especially in remote areas... The Canadian work force is just not there" (Huffington Post Canada, 2012). In fact, the number of Canadians willing to work in horticulture declined by 25 per cent in the 1990s, according to research conducted by the North-South Institute (NSI), a Canadian non-partisan research institute that focuses on international development (North-South Institute, 2003).

The PEI Agricultural Human Resources Development Council conducted a study in 2003 which examined the issues of recruitment and retention of seasonal labour. A number of issues were identified which impacted workers in agriculture. The study found that combined employment insurance (EI) and seasonal work do not offer a viable living (Matheson Consulting Ltd., 2003). Workers stated that they were frustrated with long waiting times for cheques, low payouts and disincentives built into program which discourages workers from working a longer season. Inequalities of EI benefits between the fishery and agricultural sectors were also cited. Agricultural workers also expressed that safety and working conditions needed to be improved on farms. PEI farm workers did recognize that migrant workers offered reliability; however, they also felt that if they were paid more, there would be less need for migrant workers.

The 2003 study also examined issues important to farm managers and owners. The top six issues in order of importance were: labour recruitment; employment insurance benefits on labour recruitment; worker turnover; paying employees in cash; worker attitude and absenteeism. Both owners and workers agreed that EI programs need to be modified to ameliorate the shortage of seasonal labour; however they disagreed on the practice of hiring migrant labour which was what the majority of farm owners advocated. Farm owners in the study also expressed concerns about competition for labour and wages from other sectors which offered more lucrative pay and

permanent work. Seasonal work is typically a physical demanding job which is another possible reason why fewer people may be attracted to this type of employment.

A National Study by the Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council (CAHRC) also found significant gaps in the agricultural sector human resource capacity. The survey study found that only 25% of employers have a human resource plan and a third are not undertaking any specific activities to recruit or retain workers (Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council, 2007).

Recruitment and Retention

The issue of farm labour is a familiar and recurring issue. Already in 1921, the problem of ensuring a sufficient farm labour force led Lescohier of the University of Wisconsin to publish an article in the Journal of Farm Economics stating that, "To the farmer, this farm labor problem has consisted of serious and persistent difficulty, and often increasing difficulty, in securing an adequate supply of labor competent to do farm work" (Lescohier, 1921 p. 10). Lescohier goes on to write about the undesirability of farm work as a means of livelihood, and the fact that a lot of farm work is seasonal meaning irregular employment. He also addresses the problem of low wages compared to manufacturing jobs in his article.

The issues surrounding labour recruitment and retention are not unique to agricultural alone. An examination of various sectors in the economy across various geographical regions reveals similar challenges with labour recruitment and retention. For example, the Yukon government (Labour Market Framework for Yukon, 2010) sponsored initiatives to build an inclusive and adaptable labour market to meet the demands of a strong and diversified economy. These initiatives included a broad group of labour market stakeholders to represent labour markets. One of the main objectives to support the implementation of recruitment strategy was to increase the awareness of the Yukon as a desirable location to work and live. Overall, the report emphasized

the importance of developing and implementing human resource strategies to assist in the recruitment and retention of workers.

Many jurisdictions in Canada face similar labour challenges. Demographic trends such as an aging workforce, differences in lifestyle values between generations, seasonal workforces and retirement options are all contributing factors that play a significant role in the availability of labour. On top of that, one must also consider factors such as technological advances and globalisation which impact labour supply.

Concerns over recruitment and retention of medical personnel in the health care sector are other areas that are reported frequently in the media. For example, the supply of registered nurses in Canada is not expected to meet future demands (Fact Sheet: Recruitment and Retention, 2000). Several issues were cited which contributed to this situation such as the negative portrayal of nursing in the media. This type of negative portrayal has been similarly documented in agriculture. Other factors cited in the report include the fact that more women are entering traditionally male dominated careers and the failure of elementary and secondary school to promote nursing as a career choice. There is also stiff competition from international recruitment agencies which offer higher wages and attractive bonuses and benefits. The report recommends targeting the media to create greater positive awareness and to promote nursing as a career. On the retention side, the report suggested that working conditions need to be improved, that there should be a regular review of compensation and benefits and more attention paid to flexible work scheduling.

A similar proactive approach to attract and retain people to work in agriculture is also necessary.

Leaving the recruitment of employees to informal channels such as word of mouth or just

through family and friends has drawbacks. According to the CAHRC study (2009), just over one-half of employers surveyed advertise in newspapers and less than half used the internet or government centres to find farm workers. In addition to appropriate advertising, wages also need to be attractive.

A University of Vermont (2005) report cites a 1999 study by Cornell University researchers which found three factors that are most important to agricultural employees' job satisfaction: competitive wages, good working conditions and job security. The loss of good employees with skills and expertise may be difficult to replace and good employees can also reduce dissatisfaction in other employees. Thus, the study suggests that the advertised wages need to be competitive with direct competitors such as those offered by retail stores. In terms of working conditions, it is recommended that employees be offered a consistent number of hours per day and a regular pay period which they can count on. Equipment should be in good repair to avoid accidents and the areas employees work in should be comfortable. There should be some flexibility in scheduling work hours and employees should be challenged to use their skills and given the opportunity to be creative.

Recognition is also an important link to job satisfaction since employees need to know periodically how they are performing in their jobs. Employees need to feel appreciated; they need a sense of purpose and be offered the opportunity for advancement. It is imperative that employers discuss the work habits of their employees in ways which will boost morale and self esteem. What essentially is required from employers is a basic understanding of human resource (HRM) management principles. Some of these principles include written job descriptions for

employees which allow them to know what they have been hired to do and allow a more in-depth performance evaluation and opportunity to discuss training needs.

According to Stup (2006) there is a need for HRM practices that will help increase performance and retain valuable employees, since good employees are essential to the overall profitability of a farm operation. Stup conducted a study in 2006 which collected data on HRM practices used on dairy farms to see how HRM practices impacted employee attitudes toward the farm operation. The impact of HRM practices on commitment and support of the farm operation were examined as viewed by employers and employees. Both qualitative and quantitative data were captured from the participants in the survey.

Another related study by Billikopf (2003) concluded that people with managerial skills can be broken into three essential ingredients: a concern for productivity and employees; an understanding of human resource management and purposeful action. Effective people management skills call for a mix of all three ingredients.

Local Labour and Local Food

The issues surrounding recruitment and retention of agricultural employees can also be examined in light of the current emphasis on local food production on Prince Edward Island and elsewhere. A local sustainable agricultural labour pool may result as interest in locally grown food increases. As more consumers demand that their food come from local sources, as demonstrated by the popularity of farmers markets, the growth of community supported agriculture (CSA's), and demand for organically grown food, this could translate into growth in the employment of local labour.

It is important to note that local food produced by migrant workers may not make sense to those who espouse the principles of 'buy local' or those concerned about food sovereignty. As interest in local food increases, the demand for more local food production including locally sourced labour may increase as well. The future of sustainable food production that draws on local labour will require people, politicians and educators to recognize that farmers and their employees are an important part of local food system including all the resources which go into making food available.

To successfully build a sustainable local farm labour pool, people from all walks of life will be required to recognize farming as a valued profession and to appreciate the benefits of local food production. The recruitment and retention of local farm labour will only be realized when the general public understands and supports the role of farm labour in producing local food. The media is one tool which could be used change the perception of farm labour; promote the use of local labour and increase interest in agriculture. Education will be paramount in introducing agricultural concepts to youth in order for agriculture to be recognized as a viable career.

Introducing agricultural concepts and experiences into school curriculums could be an important link in developing a sustainable farm labour system. Agriculture could be related to lessons in biology and economics where children can learn about food production methods and animal husbandry. This could increase their awareness of locally produced food and perhaps introduce the potential of agriculture as a career choice.

Education should also be offered to farm employers and farm managers in areas of human resource management. This education could include courses in HRM, conferences and farm

hosted workshops where participants are exposed to new farm management principles, new agricultural methods and techniques and farm financing, etc.

Migrant Labour under Scrutiny

Migrant labour has been the subject of many research studies since the beginning of SAWP. The focus of the research varies; however, much of the research tends to examine the limited social rights of migrant workers and their conditions of work under SAWP. Basok's research in an article entitled 'Tortillas and Tomatoes' (2002) show how contract labour in the Canadian agricultural sector has been made captive to "unfree" labour. Other researchers such as Binford (2003) have focused on the economic aspects of migrant workers and how remittances are spent and invested.

Sharma's (2006) research has focused on contracts which restrict migrant workers ability to choose employers and negotiate wages and working conditions. Colby (2006), has investigated the rights of migrant workers and documented the sparse living conditions offered by employers under SAWP while Smart (1998) tackles the social issues faced by Mexican migrant workers. Preibisch's (2004) work on migrant workers explores gender inequity, race and racism under SAWP, as well as how Caribbean migrant farm workers are being replaced by Mexican workers within SAWP.

In general, many academics and migrant labour activists have observed that migrant labour is part of an unjust immigration system. Housing conditions, health and safety issues, long hours of work and low wages have been documented which has brought calls to action. Preibisch, an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Guelph, has done extensive research in the area of international migration and development with

a focus on farm and food industry workers. According to Preibisch, "it is difficult to gauge just how rampant the abuse of migrant farm workers is, but it is serious enough to demand our attention" (Vidayakauri, 2011). Preibisch says he has observed poor housing conditions such as broken screens, holes in the floors, mould on walls, standing water around trailers, no working indoor toilets and indifference from employers to migrant workers concerns. Preibisch cites one situation where workers were not provided with a working indoor toilet, but a portable toilet outdoors. When it got full, their employer said to them, "why don't you go out in the bush like you do in Mexico" (Vidayakauri, 2011). In another situation, when the employer refused to fix a gas leak from a tube attached to a camper stove, the workers had to patch the leak with duct tape.

Several studies related to human resource management have also found language to be a major barrier when it comes to training migrant workers. McEwen (Vidayakauri, 2011) conducted a study in 2006 which found that fewer than half of the SAWP workers surveyed in their home countries said they received adequate training in the handling of machinery or agricultural chemicals, and many said they were not given protective clothing or equipment to wear. Other workers complained of being sent into fields shortly after or during pesticide spraying. Workers said that they often feared reprisals if they took their concerns to their employers or to their home government representatives. On the other hand, McEwan also found that many farm employers have made the effort to learn the language of their workers and have provided good housing and consumer products such as televisions and bicycles. There are even some who have arranged spousal visits to Canada and arranged outings and trips to town on days off.

Despite the criticism, some cited benefits of SAWP include easing the pressure of a labour shortage in Canada. Employers get reliable and experienced workers and their crops get

harvested in time. This in turn generates further employment in the processing industry. Migrant workers spend some of their earnings on local goods and services, however, the money spent back home generally has been used to improve housing, improve education for their children and allowed better access to health services. SAWP has also been helpful in reducing smuggler and recruitment fees and migrant workers do not over stay by returning to their country of origin.

Critics of SAWP mainly cite the restrictions on the mobility of migrant workers and the control of employers over their workers. Migrant workers fear they will lose their jobs if they complain about wages, voice concerns over safety or complain about their housing. SAWP has also been criticized because it restricts migrant workers from exercising their employment rights. Migrant workers have been known to refuse time off to see a doctor when they are sick in fear of not given a chance to return to Canada for work.

Summary

The literature suggests that there are many factors which are motivating farmers to fill vacancies, especially seasonal vacancies with migrant workers. The reasons agricultural employers are recruiting offshore labour are not always well understood from research; and even less research has been conducted on the specific reasons PEI agricultural employers are turning to migrant labour. Although it was clear from the Atlantic Evaluation Group Study (2007) that agricultural employers on PEI want access to migrant workers to meet their seasonal labour shortages, the number of agricultural employers accessing the SAWP program is still quite low on PEI. One could question why despite stating that they want access to migrant workers, few employers have initiated the application process to recruit migrant workers.

The issues related to recruitment and retention of farm labour is not unique to agriculture alone. Many sectors of the economy as well as geographical regions of Canada experience similar ongoing labour challenges. The agricultural sector has been greatly impacted by demographic trends, the migration of rural labour to urban centers in search of higher paying jobs and changes in lifestyle values have all contributed to labour shortages in agriculture.

The current emphasis on supporting local agriculture could enhance prospects for developing a local sustainable farm labour system. As interest in local food increases so could the demand for local labour increase. The recruitment and retention of labour in agriculture may be only partially solved by education, a supportive media, improving wages and working conditions and by better human resource planning.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The objective of this study is to examine migrant labour in the context of the issues surrounding recruitment and retention of labour in agriculture on PEI. The area of study included all of Prince Edward Island. Data was collected from an agricultural employer survey which was conducted between March and April 2011.

Research Framework

This research followed the standards of the Research Ethics Board (REB) to ensure that the survey was conducted ethically when using human participants. The survey was conducted online and by mail-out. The internet survey was e-mailed to members of the PEI Federation of Agriculture and a mail-out survey was made available to members of the PEI Farmers Union. The survey was used to collect data on the current agricultural labour market on PEI including current job vacancies and potential labour requirements for the years 2011 to 2016.

Prior to administering the survey, a pre-test of the survey was conducted to determine the suitability of the questions and to address any gaps in the survey questions. The survey questions were modeled on previous labour surveys conducted by the PEI Agricultural Sector Council in 2007 and by the Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council in 2009. Various media outlets including the "Island Farmer" the "Guardian" the "Ministry of Agriculture of Prince Island" the "ADAPT Council" and the "Agricultural Sector Council of Prince Edward Island" were contacted and they subsequently issued press releases regarding details of the study. The PEI Federation of Agriculture was interested in offering an internet based survey to their membership; however, the Farmer's Union chose the mail-out survey for their membership. The PEI Federation of Agriculture contacted their membership base via the internet on two separate

occasions advising them of the agricultural labour survey. The number of potential survey respondents is unknown since both agricultural organizations chose not to disclose their membership numbers.

There were 23 completed surveys in total. This relatively low number was disappointing given the publicity the research had received. Within the last five years, there have been several agricultural labour market surveys including a recent survey by the Cooper Institute, Charlottetown. A certain amount of fatigue with surveys or privacy concerns could have resulted in low employer participation rates. The Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council, in its employer survey in 2007, also experienced a low number of completions with only 60 completed surveys from all of Atlantic Canada.

The format of this survey is such that the data cannot be considered statistically valid due to the small sample size. There was no sample size and this study was not able to ensure that a representative sample of agricultural employers completed the survey. The results from this study can only be used as a preliminary study or as a snapshot of a point in time, as it only provides information directly from employers who responded to the survey. The descriptive analysis approach was used to examine the data from the survey. A copy of the survey is provided in Appendix A.

The lack of information about the membership base and the anonymous nature of the survey was a major drawback to this study since it was not possible to follow up personally with agricultural employers. Interestingly, the response to the internet based survey was very low, compared to the mail-out survey which generated a higher response rate.

Internet-based surveys are wide spread because they are based on three assumptions; they are cheap to conduct, they are faster and they could yield a higher response rate than mail-out surveys.

According to Fricker and Schonlau (2002), there is little evidence in the literature that Internet-based surveys always achieve higher response rates than conventional surveys. The few internet-based surveys that have achieved higher response rates tend to be either university-based populations or small, specialized populations. The majority of results reported in the literature show that internet-based surveys at best achieve response rates equal to conventional modes and often they even do worse. The reasons for this difference are not yet clear and require more study according to Fricker and Schonlau. In another e-mail survey study conducted by Sheehan (2001), concluded that e-mail survey response rates have been declining. She also indentified various methodological techniques to improve the response rate of e-mail surveys.

As stated, the lack of information about the membership base and the anonymous nature of the survey was a major drawback to this study since it was not possible to follow up personally with agricultural employers. It is recommended that any subsequent research on this topic which involves a survey should have complete contact information of the participants. Survey follow-up can generate a higher response rate and yield additional information.

It was presumed that the two main PEI farm organizations would yield a sufficient number of respondents; however, this was not the case. It is recommended that any future research on this topic also include focus group discussions with employers and employees. It is further recommended that a mail-out survey be used to conduct research with agricultural employers on Prince Edward Island and that e-mail, letters or telephone be used to follow-up. The internet

survey approach used in this study had the advantage of being inexpensive; however, a full mailout survey would have cost several thousands of dollars. It is recommended that research funds be made available to Graduate Students to cover the cost of surveys.

Data Analysis

The data compiled from the mail-out surveys were entered directly online and incorporated with data obtained from the internet survey. In addition to the survey, this study also reviewed available secondary data such as census data.

Research Summary

This study is important for advancing our knowledge of the agricultural labour market on PEI. It is important to understand some of the challenges agricultural employers face in hiring seasonal workers and the steps they are taking to ameliorate the vacancies in their operations. This study should also be of interest to policy makers and analysts who are in the process of developing future labour strategies for the agricultural industry on Prince Edward Island.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

This chapter outlines the survey results and summarizes the data which was obtained from the participants. Table 1 indicates the distribution of farm activity by commodity group from the employer survey. Respondents were asked to identify their primary, secondary and tertiary farming activity.

Table 1: Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Farming Activity			
Commodity	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Potatoes	6	0	0
Grains	4	3	3
Vegetable/Cole Crops	2	1	0
Small Fruits/Fruit Trees	3	2	1
Dairy	3	0	0
Beef/Swine	1	3	1
Poultry/Eggs	1	2	1
Sheep/Goats	1	0	1
Other	2	4	0
Total	23	15	7

The primary farming activity was potatoes followed by grains and small fruits/fruit trees. The second most active farming activity was grains. Potato and grain farming are complementary because both types of operations are typically integrated into a crop rotation cycle. Table 2 presents information on farm gross sales in 2010. Farm gross sales were spread evenly into three categories with a third of the sales occurring under \$100,000, another third between \$250,000 and \$500,000 and the final third over \$500,000.

Table 2: Gross Sales in 2010			
Gross Sales	Number	%	
Under \$100,000	6	29	
\$100,001 to \$250,000	1	5	
\$250,001 to \$500,000	6	29	
\$5001,000 or more	7	33	
Prefer not to say	1	5	
Total	21	100	

Table 3 presents information on the number of years the surveyed farms have employed workers. There were two main categories with the greatest representation: 10-20 years and 30 or more years; however when the other ranges are factored in, there are as many respondents employing workers 0 to 20 years as there are 20 or more years.

Table 3: Number of Years as a Farm Employer			
Number of Years	Number	%	
Less than 10 years	4	17	
10 to 20 years	8	35	
20 to 30 years	3	13	
30 years plus	8	35	
Total	23	100	

The question of employment in terms of finding local agricultural workers, as illustrated by Table 4, was evenly split between the surveyed farms' ability in finding or not finding local workers. This may suggest a high of degree vacancy in agricultural employment.

Table 4: Finding all the Local Workers Needed			
Local Workers	Number	%	
Yes	11	48	
No	11	48	
Unsure	1	4	
Total	23	100	

Local workers were further broken down into three categories, namely full-time local workers defined as working between 49 and 52 weeks; seasonal local workers working between six and 32 weeks and temporary local workers working less than six weeks – Table 5.

Table 5: Number of Full-Time, Seasonal and		
Temporary Workers Employed in 2010		
Type of Employee	Number	%
Full-Time (49 – 52 wks)	38	20
Seasonal (6-32 wks)	110	57
Temporary (< 6 wks)	45	23
Total	193	100

There appears to be a high reliance on seasonal workers and a lesser extent on temporary workers. Another type of employee is the migrant worker. This survey found a total of nine workers under the SAWP program - Table 6.

Table 6: Number of Migrant Workers Employed in 2010 under SAWP		
Type of Employee	Number	%
Migrant Worker	9	100
Total	9	100

The question of employment was further analyzed in regards to agricultural employment vacancy. The category of seasonal local agricultural worker showed the highest vacancy rate with 26 vacancies followed by temporary local workers with 13 vacancies. Finding full-time local workers appears to be less of a problem; most likely for the reason that it is easier to recruit local workers for full-time work – Table 7. By comparison, the Canadian Agricultural Human Resource Council found a seasonal vacancy rate of 32% for the Atlantic region in its 2009 employer survey. The same study also reported that survey respondents from Atlantic Canada and British Columbia reported having the most difficulty in hiring agricultural workers and thus had many unfilled positions.

Table 7: Number of Employee Positions Unfilled in 2010		
Type of Employee	Number	%
Full-Time (49-52 wks)	3	7
Seasonal (6-32 wks)	26	62
Temporary (<6 wks)	13	31
Total	42	100

The issue of agricultural vacancy was further analyzed in terms of retention. It was found that the seasonal worker category was more problematic in terms of worker retention followed by temporary workers – Table 8.

Table 8: Employee Retention Difficulty			
Type of Employee	Very Difficult	Somewhat Difficult	Not Difficult
Full-Time (49-52 wks)	3	6	6
Seasonal (6-32 wks)	5	10	3
Temporary (<6 wks)	1	12	5
Total	9	28	14

The PEI Agricultural Sector Council conducted an agricultural labour study in 2007 and documented an interest by PEI farmers in employing migrant workers. This study also surveyed employers about hiring migrant workers under the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. Fifty-two percent of the respondents indicated an interest in migrant labour while 33 percent of the respondents showed no interest and a further 14 % were unsure – Table 9.

Table 9: Interest in Migrant Workers under SAWP			
Interest in Migrant Workers	Number	%	
Yes	11	52	
No	7	33	
Unsure	3	14	
Total	21	100	

While there may be an interest in migrant labour, only 43% of the survey respondents said that they planned to recruit migrant labour within the next two to five years as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Agricultural Employer Plans to Employ Migrant Labour, 2011 - 2016		
Hiring Plans	Number	%
Yes	9	43
No	7	33
Unsure	5	24
Total	21	100

Further light on migrant labour recruitment can be found by examining the reasons why employers postpone their recruitment of migrant labour. A majority of the respondents identified "lack of accommodations" as the major reason for not pursuing migrant labour followed by "costs of the program" such as airfare and accommodation. (Employers are required to provide housing and pay airfare and work permit application costs. Only part of the airfare cost can be

recouped.) The actual labour cost (hourly wage rate) of the migrant worker was considered to be only a minor issue – Table 11.

Table 11: Reasons for Not Hiring Migrant Labour at this time						
Reasons for Not Hiring	Major	Minor	No Issue	Total		
	Issue	Issue				
Lack of accommodations	13	2	1	16		
Lack of awareness of	7	8	2	17		
programs (SAWP)						
Unsure of the application	7	6	4	17		
process						
Costs of the program	11	5	0	16		
Labour costs of the	1	8	7	16		
migrant worker						
Potential conflict with	1	5	10	16		
local workers						
Language barriers	7	7	3	17		
Not enough steady work	7	6	5	18		
Not having specialized	5	7	4	16		
skills						

Two respondents from the survey, who employed migrant workers under the SAWP program, indicated that a lack of supply of local labour, a lack of reliable local labour, local poor work ethic and lack of skills were the primary reasons for their decision to employ migrant workers – Table 12.

Table 12: Reasons Why Employer Hired Migrant Workers					
Reasons for Hiring Migrant	Major	Minor	Not a		
Workers	Issue	Issue	Problem		
Lack of supply of local labour	1	1	0		
Lack of reliable local labour	2	0	0		
Lack of work ethic and attitude of	1	1	0		
local labour					
Lack of skilled local labour	1	1	0		
Cost of local labour	0	1	1		
Unemployment Insurance and social	0	1	1		
assistance programs Assistance					

In terms of future migrant labour employment, only one employer expected to hire additional migrant workers whereas the other employer was unsure – Table 13.

Table 13: Employer Hiring Expectations, 2011-2016			
Hiring Expectations	Number	%	
Hire more migrant workers	1	50	
Stay about the same	0	0	
Hire less migrant workers	0	0	
Unsure	1	50	
Total	2	100	

Both respondents indicated that the labour cost of a migrant worker was similar to the labour cost of a local worker – Table 14.

Table 14: Cost Comparison of a Migrant Worker to a Local Worker		
Cost Comparison	Number	
More than a local worker	0	
Similar to a local worker 2		
Below a local worker 0		
Unsure	0	

The respondents also indicated the importance of labour security and reliability, less turnover, good work ethic, able to better plan and expand production, reduce harvest loss and lowering their stress levels as reasons for hiring migrant workers – Table 15.

Table 15: Reasons why Employer Hired Migrant Labour					
Reasons for Hiring Migrant	igrant Very Somewhat				
Labour	Important	Important	Important		
Labour security	1	1	0		
Labour reliability	1	1	0		
Less turnover	2	0	0		
Good work ethic	2	0	0		
Able to better plan production	2	0	0		
Able to expand production	2	0	0		
Reduce harvest loss	2	0	0		
Less stress	2	0	0		

Respondents to the survey indicated that 'word of mouth' was the main way they became informed about SAWP followed by newspapers and the internet job bank – Table 16.

Table 16: How Employer Heard About Migrant Worker Program (SAWP)				
Source	Number	%		
Word of Mouth	6	43		
Newspaper	2	14		
Local Employment Centre	0	0		
Placement Agency	1	7		
Internet Job Bank	2	14		
Unsure 3 21				
Total	14	100		

When questioned about the structure of the seasonal agricultural workers program; the respondents were given the opportunity identify various concerns about the program - Table 17. The major issue appeared to be the transfer of workers to other employers, followed by wage, health and safety concerns and the costs of the program such as accommodation and airfare. The re-application process which must be done on a yearly basis and the length of workers stay were also considered major issues. The transfer of workers to other employers could be indicative of certain farm types which are unable to offer steady employment for a period of time. There could be days or weeks of down time before the next crop would be ready for harvesting. During this time period, a farm neighbour could use additional help but is prevented by SAWP rules to hire their neighbour's migrant workforce.

Table 17: Issues the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program Should Address						
Issues Major Issue Minor Issue No Issue Not Sure						
Length of workers stay	7	2	1	4		
Transfer of workers to other	9	2	1	2		
employers						
Wages, health and safety	8	2	2	3		
concerns						
Costs of the program	8	4	0	3		
Language	4	7	2	2		
Skills training	4	8	2	2		
Re-Application process	7	3	0	5		
Total	47	28	8	21		

Respondents were asked if their plan to hire migrant workers between 2011 and 2016 would result in farm operation expansion such as the purchase or rental of additional land or livestock. Forty-three percent said that expansion would take place while almost an equal number were unsure – Table 18.

Table 18: Plans to Hire Migrant Labour Between 2011 and 2016 and Expand Farm Operations				
Increase Farm Size Number %				
Yes	6	43		
No	2	14		
Unsure	6	43		
Total	14	100		

Some turnover of employees occurred more frequently in the seasonal and temporary workers category although lots of turnover (3 or more times within the year) did not appear to be a problem with the respondents – Table 19.

Table 19: Employee Turnover in 2010				
Type of Employee	Lots of Turnover (3 plus times)	Some Turnover (1-3 times)	No Turnover (0 times)	
Full-Time Worker (49-52 wks)	0	5	8	
Seasonal Worker (6-32 wks)	1	9	8	
Temporary Worker (<6wks)	1	7	9	
Migrant Workers (Under SAWP)	0	0	1	

Sixty-seven percent of the respondents expressed a degree of dissatisfaction with the availability of local seasonal workers. There appeared to be more satisfaction with the local temporary workers. Even with the availability and higher retention level of local full-time workers, the respondents still expressed a certain degree of dissatisfaction with full-time workers – Table 20

Table 20: Satisfaction Level with the Availability of Local Full-Time, Seasonal and Temporary Workers					
Type of Employee	Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Full-Time Worker (49-52 wks)	0	8	6	4	1
Seasonal Worker (6-32 wks)	5	9	1	3	3
Temporary Worker (<6wks)	1	9	5	4	2

Almost 75% of the respondents indicated that their farm operations had expanded between 2005 and 2010 – Table 21

Table 21: Change in Operation Size between 2005 and 2010				
Operation Size	Number	%		
Expanded (greater than 25%)	4	20		
Expanded (between 10% and 25%)	10	50		
Stayed the same	2	10		
Decreased (between 10% and 25%)	0	0		
Decreased (more than 25%)	3	15		
Unsure	1	5		
Total	20	100		

When questioned about the possible reasons why expansion took place, the primary drivers for expansion were the purchase of more equipment, making more efficient use of resources and the purchase of land and livestock – Table 22.

Table 22: Reasons for Farm Expansion between 2005 and 2010					
Reasons Expansion	Mostly	Somewhat	Not	Not Sure	
	Responsible	Responsible	Responsible		
Purchase more equipment	5	8	2	0	
Hired migrant workers	1	0	4	0	
Hired local workers	1	8	4	1	
Hire both migrant and local	0	0	5	1	
workers					
Made more efficient use of	4	9	0	1	
resources					
Purchased production assets	11	2	0	0	
such as land and livestock					

The employment of additional local workers was also considered to be somewhat responsible for the farm expansion which took place between 2005 and 2010.

In terms of future farm expansion (2011to 2016), the purchase of additional livestock, farm equipment and land would be the primary reasons followed by making more efficient use of resources. The additional employment of both local and migrant workers was also considered to be somewhat responsible for future farm expansion plans – Table 23.

Table 23: Reasons for Possible Farm Expansion from 2011 to 2016					
Reasons Expansion	Mostly	Somewhat	Not	Not Sure	
	Responsible	Responsible	Responsible		
Hire migrant workers	3	5	3	2	
Hire local workers	1	9	1	4	
Hire both migrant and local	1	8	2	2	
workers					
Make more efficient use of	6	8	0	2	
resources					
Purchase more livestock,	8	8	0	0	
equipment and land					

The two respondents, who had employed migrant labour between 2005 and 2010, felt that migrant labour was very helpful in solving the issues of recruiting and retention and that they were able to expand their farm operations by increasing the amount of land under cultivation. They were also able to say that migrant labour was helpful in getting a timely start to the planting season, in reducing possible harvest losses as well as reducing their own personal stress levels. Respondents were asked to think about their farm operations in the next two to five years. They offered the following scenario. The purchase of more equipment to replace labour was the most common response. Several respondents said they would decrease the overall size of their operations – Table 24.

Table 24: Farm Operation Plan between 2011 and 2016		
Operation Size	Number	
Decrease overall size of operation	3	
Increase the overall size of operation	7	
Stay about the same	5	
Change mix of commodities produced	3	
Buy more equipment to replace labour	9	
Do more work yourself	5	
Have family members to more work	4	
Contract out work to custom workers	6	

The question of wage comparison to other farm employers in their area showed that 60% of the respondents felt that they were comparable to others. Twenty-five percent of the respondents felt that they were paying above what other farm employers were paying in – Table 25. Although a dollar amount comparison between local and migrant workers was not obtained by this study, the North-South Institute (2007) found that wages for migrant workers were the lowest in Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia compared to the highest rates in the country found in Ontario and British Columbia.

Table 25: Wage Comparison to other Farm Employers				
Wage Comparison	Number	%		
Above	5	25		
About the same	12	60		
Below	0	0		
Not sure	1	5		
Prefer not to say	2	10		
Total	20	100		

In terms of offering future training for migrant labour for those who presently employed migrant labour and for those anticipating hiring migrant labour, the majority of the respondents indicated an interest in training in the areas of language, farm safety, machinery handling, machinery mechanics and pesticide handling.

Table 26: Training Resources for Migrant Workers						
Type of Training						
	Interested		Interested	Interested		
Language training	8	3	0	1	1	
Farm safety	7	4	0	2	0	
Machinery handling	7	3	0	2	0	
Machinery mechanics	6	3	1	2	0	
Livestock training	3	0	1	2	0	
Pesticide handling	8	2	0	3	0	

As to the question who should pay for this training, the majority of the respondents said that the training costs should be borne by different levels of government including the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program – Table 27.

Table 27: Migrant Training Courses – Who Should Pay?						
Who Pays?	Number	%				
Federal Government	1	5				
Provincial Government	1	5				
Employer	0	0				
Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)	2	11				
Combination of Above	15	79				
Total	19	100				

Fifty-seven percent of the respondents (12 out 21) felt that their farm operations would continue in agriculture when they retired. Forty three percent (9 out 21) were unsure of what would happen once they retired.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research was initially motivated by various news reports and agricultural labour studies about the challenges PEI farmers were facing in recruiting and retaining agricultural labour; especially seasonal labour.

Summary of Study Findings

This study is exploratory in nature and uses the descriptive analysis approach to describe the agricultural labour market on PEI. The findings suggest that there is an interest in migrant labour, despite some misgivings about the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program. To qualify for agriculture workers under the SAWP program, employers must demonstrate that they have attempted to recruit Canadian workers for that position. This also includes a labour market opinion from SWAP to ensure that the employer qualifies for migrant workers.

Farming Activity

This study shows that the primary farming activity was potatoes followed closely by grains.

Although other commodity groups were represented, the dominant type of agriculture on PEI is potato farming.

Agricultural Employment Picture

In terms of the agricultural employment picture on PEI, half of the survey respondents were unable to find all the local workers they required. Upon closer examination, over half of the labour force employed in agriculture was of the seasonal type defined by weeks worked (6 to 32 wks). This finding corresponds to the Agricultural Human Resource Development Council (AHRDC, 2003) study which concluded that seasonal work was more important to PEI farmers than to farmers in other Canadian provinces. Given the heavy reliance on seasonal

workers, this study also found the greatest amount of positions going unfilled with this category of employment. In terms of worker retention difficulty, the seasonal type of employee was also the most difficult to retain.

Interest in Migrant Labour

The PEI Agricultural Sector Council conducted an agricultural labour study in 2007 which found an interest in migrant workers. This study also found a similar level of interest by the agricultural employers surveyed. Half of the survey respondents said they were interested in migrant workers; however, less than half intended to actively recruit migrant workers between 2011 and 2016. There are several reasons why agricultural employers are interested in recruiting migrant labour. The survey respondents pointed to the lack of reliable local labour as the major issue confronting them. Less so was the lack of supply of local labour or the work ethic and skill level of local labour. Other factors considered important to the practice of hiring migrant labour were issues related to employee turnover, reduction in harvest loss, better production planning, the ability to expand production and reducing one's personal stress levels are all aspects of securing a dependable labour force.

Roadblocks to Migrant Labour Recruitment

This study identified several concerns or reasons for not hiring migrant workers at the present time. Whereas the costs of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program were a major concern, the actual labour cost of the worker was only a minor concern. To qualify for the SAWP program, employers must provide accommodation and pay the cost of airfare. A portion of the airfare cost can be recouped through deductions. These two factors were considered major issues and acted as disincentives in pursuing migrant labour. Another interesting point was the issue of "not enough steady work". When respondents were asked to comment on the SAWP program, the

major issue was the "transfer of workers to other employers". This seems to suggest that employers may not always have enough steady work, or that work gaps exist between the planting and harvest of crops. There are also employers who may only require a month of help. The costs of the SAWP program would not be feasible or difficult to recoup for this type of employer. Current SAWP rules prohibit employers from lending workers to other agricultural employers. If changes could be made to this rule; it anticipated that there would be greater interest in the SAWP program.

Farm Expansion

Farm expansion or an increase in operation size usually requires a certain amount of additional inputs such as the acquisition of land, livestock, machinery or agricultural help. This study found that the respondents who indicated that those who planned to hire migrant labour between 2011 and 2016 also planned to increase their operation size. The reasons for farm expansion between 2005 and 2010 mainly occurred as the result of the purchase of additional equipment and the purchase of production assets such as land and livestock. The hiring of additional agricultural workers had the least impact on increasing operation size. This could mean that employers are acquiring additional resources such as land and machinery to expand their farm operations at the expense of agricultural workers. This should come as no surprise given the difficulties agricultural employers are having at recruiting and retaining agricultural workers on PEI.

Even though this study shows an interest in migrant labour as a possible solution to the persistent shortage of seasonal labour on PEI, this study also reveals that agricultural employers have several options available to them to ameliorate the labour shortage including the purchase of equipment to offset labour shortages, labour recruitment and retention challenges.

Dissatisfaction with Agricultural Workers

The survey found that sixty-seven percent of the respondents expressed a degree of dissatisfaction with the availability of local seasonal workers. There was also a high level of dissatisfaction with local full-time workers, even though this category of worker tended to be the most stable, the easiest to recruit and retain. Dissatisfaction with seasonal workers primarily stems from the fact this group is highly transient and often difficult to recruit and retain.

Training Resources for Migrant Workers

Assuming that migrant workers will continue to fill the labour gaps found in PEI agriculture, the question of training becomes pivotal to the discussion. The survey respondents indicated a high level of interest in various types of training possibilities. They included language training, farm safety, machinery mechanics and handling and pesticide handling. Currently the SAWP program prohibits migrant workers from handling pesticides and repairing machinery since migrant workers are to be engaged in general farm labour only. This would suggest further necessary changes to the SAWP program. As for who should pay for these training costs? The majority of the respondents indicated that the burden should be shared by different levels of government and the SAWP program. Interestingly, the respondents felt that the employer alone should not bear the cost of these training programs.

Research Implications

This study confirms a number of issues surrounding seasonal agricultural labour which have been the subject of previous studies. There is currently a high level of seasonal vacancy in PEI agriculture which has fuelled a high level of dissatisfaction among agricultural employers. This dissatisfaction has led employers to purchase additional equipment as a means of expanding their farm operations; replace agricultural workers with machinery or it has resulted in recruiting

migrant workers. Although this study shows that employers are interested in migrant labour, there are various concerns with the SAWP program which have precluded employers from hiring migrant workers. It is anticipated that if improvements to the SAWP program are made and if employers are able to provide accommodations for migrant workers in a cost effective manner, more migrant workers might be employed in the PEI agricultural sector.

This research should also encourage SAWP program administrators to establish rules and conditions where employers can transfer migrant workers to other employers and allow for cross-over employment with other sectors such as those involved with fish and food processing. The Re-Application process could also be improved to improve service standards for application processing.

Limitations and Future Research

To obtain insight into the employment requirements of the agricultural sector on PEI, an employer survey was undertaken. The survey included questions related to the issues surrounding agricultural employment, recruitment, seasonal labour, employment vacancy, migrant labour, operation expansion and questions about the SAWP program. The response rate to the survey was low and as such the data cannot be considered statistically valid due to the small sample size. Although the findings of this study are limited, they do offer a snap-shot of the labour situation in PEI agriculture and support data obtained from previous agricultural labour studies.

Further research is required to investigate labour vacancy rates in PEI agriculture to better understand the labour market dynamics affecting that sector. It would also be helpful if agricultural vacancy rates could be calculated for each specific commodity group. There also

appears to be few if any calculations for future labour force requirements in agriculture on PEI.

Future research could examine recruitment strategies which could help fill existing vacancies to meet future labour demands.

Research should also investigate the human resource tools which are necessary for employers to manage their employees and the steps employers should take in attracting and retaining domestic workers. New research could also focus on action plans which would increase the supply of domestic workers in agriculture such as incentive programs or how the 'buy local' campaign can build a sustainable agricultural labour pool. In addition, the relationship between agricultural profitability and human resource management should be further researched.

This research focused on SAWP; however, additional research is required to examine another migrant labour program called the 'Temporary Foreign Workers Program' or "low skill" program. Migrant workers who come under this program typically work in the fish plants and in the trucking and food processing sectors. The term "low skill" has a negative connotation since in reality many of these workers have a University degree. For example, my brother who operates a dairy farm in Ontario employs a worker from Mexico with a University Degree in Engineering. Prince Edward Island could also benefit from these educated workers if they were allowed to stay under the Provincial Nominee Program.

Conclusions

The major human resource challenge facing PEI agricultural employers is the recruitment and retention of seasonal labour. Several national and local agricultural labour studies have concluded that access to migrant labour is a possible solution to labour shortfall and uncertainty. This, however, may only be a short-term solution since the real challenge for PEI agriculture is

to develop its own comprehensive human resource strategy to address the long-term challenges facing the agricultural industry. In the foreseeable future, this strategy may have to include a combination of migrant and local domestic labour to satisfy agriculture labour requirements. There is a need, however, to examine a range of initiatives to increase the number of local workers in the agricultural sector such as the expansion of agricultural apprenticeship programs. The role of education in exposing agricultural concepts to youth is also necessary to promote interest in agriculture as a career.

Food sovereignty becomes a concern when there is too much of a reliance on temporary workers in agriculture. With the current emphasis on local food production and with the increasing popularity of culinary tours on Prince Edward Island, the development of a sustainable agricultural labour pool is essential. When more consumers demand that their food come from local sources as shown from the popularity of farmers markets, the growth of community supported agriculture (CSA's), and the demand for organically grown food; this could potentially encourage more local people to seek work in agriculture.

Currently, many local farm labourers simply cannot sustain themselves on seasonal work. Who can? Of those who do choose to engage in seasonal work only, often do so as a lifestyle choice. For the majority, however, especially those workers with families, they require consistent year round income. The only possible way for farm workers to remain living in a community is for them to have access to other types of employment, even if it is temporary employment. Farm labourers do not work under the same labour laws and employment standards as other workers in the economy. This makes farm work less attractive.

One also has to question whether the wages paid to farm labourers is connected to the cost of food. On the one hand, Canadians readily complain about rising cost of food and on the other they feel that domestic and migrant workers should be paid a fair wage. Farm employers have indicated that they are willing to pay more than just the minimum wage they currently offer, but are Canadians willing to pay more food? One could argue that Canada's "cheap food" policy is behind the drive to expand migrant labour programs in order to keep the cost of food low and under control.

Drawing on my own personal experience in working part-time on dairy farms on Prince Edward Island since 2008, building a local sustainable labour force will require farm employers to offer workers higher wages than they are now currently receiving. In the long term, a wage settlement around the minimum wage is not feasible. Further, farm employers should also consider offering housing to farm workers to reduce travel time to and from the farm or travel assistance.

Advertising is also pivotal to recruiting farm labour. In recruiting farm workers, websites which post agricultural positions online need to be kept current at all times. A variety of resources are available to employers which include newspapers, various websites, word of mouth, employment agencies and networking with other farm employers.

Consideration should be given to immigration-based programs which increase the pool of agricultural workers or to modifying immigration programs to include immigrants seeking jobs in agriculture. Perhaps there should be changes to employment and social assistance programs which do not penalize those taking short-term employment in agriculture. Another option would be career counseling for students which promote the benefits of working in agriculture. Other efforts should be made to improve the image of agriculture to attract new entrants. The issue of

human resource management in agriculture which deals with recruitment and retention also needs to be addressed. Employers need training in developing plans for hiring and dealing with labour in their operations which includes wages and benefits, safety training and skills development.

There is a large body of research which has examined the social and economic aspects of migrant labour. Much of the research has been critical of SAWP, often using the word 'harsh' to describe the working conditions in Canada. Farm employers who currently employ migrant workers to build their agro-business or who intend to do so should be reminded to treat their migrant workers with respect. Farm employers should offer safe working conditions, safety education and equipment handling and provide standard housing. Migrant workers should also have access to social justice organizations and language resources. On farm inspections should be more rigorous in dealing with issues related to housing and work safety as well.

Migrant workers who participate in SAWP are primarily motivated by the wages they earn in Canada to help raise their economic situation in their home country. Despite all the criticism leveled at SAWP, migrant labour earnings are used to improve housing, offer more educational opportunities and provide better access to health. Migrant labour earnings also support agricultural activities such as the purchase of land and inputs or other types of investments. Overall, a higher level of consumption is supported from the earnings reaped in Canada. In summary, this study should advance our knowledge of the evolving PEI agricultural labour market; uncover some of the challenges PEI agricultural employers face in hiring migrant workers and offer insight to policy makers and industry who are in search of or in the process of developing comprehensive labour strategies for agriculture on PEI.

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Appendix A: Copy of Letter and Survey

Examining the Demand for PEI Migrant Labour

I am a graduate student in the Masters of Business Administration in the School of Business at the University of Prince Edward Island. As part of my MBA degree I am conducting research on labour issues in Agriculture. I am inviting you to participate in this study. Specifically, I will examine the 'Demand for Migrant Labour' as an emerging trend in Prince Edward Island's agricultural sector. I am asking you to voluntarily participate in this survey by answering the questions. You have the freedom to not answer any question. It will take approximately 15 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Please return the survey in the return postage paid envelope. In completing this survey, there are no risks to you since the date collected from this survey will be maintained on a secure server and your name and e-mail address will not be associated with any of your responses. The data will be kept for five years, from January, 2011 and will be destroyed (deleted) once the duration of the five years has been reached. This research has been reviewed and approved by the University of Prince Edward Island's Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns about the ethics of the study, you understand that you can contact the UPEI Research Ethics Board at (902) 566-0637 or by emailing Lynn MacPhee at Imacphee@upei.ca The researcher is Pieter Ijsselstein, Master of Business Administration Candidate - University of Prince Edward Island and can be contacted at (902) 566-6474 (s) or (902) 621-0280 (h) or e-mail pijsselstein@upei.ca By completing the survey, you are indicating that you fully understand the above information and agree to participate in this study.

Q2 Please identify your primary farming activity. Follow that with a second and third activity in order of importance. (If applicable)

0	0	•	0	0	•	0	0	0
•	O	O	O	O	•	•	•	O
O	O	•	O	O	•	0	•	O

Q3 How many years have you been a farm employer? (An employer is one who makes hiring decision) Less than 10 years 10- 20 years 20 - 30 years 30 years plus						
Q4 In 2010, were you able to find all the local workers you needed? Yes No Unsure						
49 to 52 weeks) #Q6 How many seasons worked between 6 to 3 Q7 How many tempor worker worked Under Q8 How many migran #Q9 How many migranQ10 Please record the	Q5 How many full time local workers did you employ in 2010? (Full Time means the local worker worked between 49 to 52 weeks) # Q6 How many seasonal local workers did you employ in 2010? (Seasonal Local Workers means the local worker worked between 6 to 32 weeks) # Q7 How many temporary local workers did you employ in 2010? (Temporary Local Workers means the local worker worked Under 6 weeks) # Q8 How many migrant workers did you employ in 2010 under the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program? (SAWP) # Q9 How many migrant workers did you employ in 2010 under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program? (TFWP) # Q10 Please record the number of worker(s) you were looking for in 2010, but were unable to hire? Full time local workers (49 to 52 weeks) # Seasonal local workers (6 to 32 weeks) # Temporary local					
Q11 How difficult was	s it to retain of keep the	ionowing types of work	ers from 2003 to 2010?			
	0	-				
				۵		
Q12 If you have never employed migrant workers, are you interested in hiring migrant workers under the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP)? O Yes O No O Unsure Q13 If you have never employed migrant workers, are you interested in hiring migrant workers under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP)? O Yes O No O Unsure						
O Unsure Q14 If you did not employ migrant workers in 2010, do you plan to employ migrant workers within the next two to five years? O Yes						

Q15 Please rate the ex time.	tent to which each of the	e following affected you	ir decision not to h	ire migrant labour at this	
	•	0	•	0	
	•	•	•	O	
	0	0	•	O	
	•	O	O	O	
	•	•	0	•	
	•	0	•	•	
	•	•	O	•	
	O	O	O	C	
	•	o o		•	
Q16 If you employed affected your decision	migrant workers betwee to hire migrant workers	n 2005 and 2010, please	e rate the extent to	which each of the following	
	O		O	•	
	O		•	0	
	O		0	0	
	0		O	O	

Q17 If you employed migrant workers between 2005 and 2010, how would you compare the labour cost of a migrant worker to the cost of a local worker?

 \mathbf{O}

O

 \mathbf{O}

O NoO Unsure

O

0

O More than a local worker

Similar to a local workerBelow a local workerUnsure						
Q18 If the cost is more than a local worker; approximately how much more per hour? (\$/Hour) (Include all Costs associated with the migrant worker) \$						
	n migrant worker is more than to which each of the following					
			Ü			
	0	O	0			
	0	O	•			
	0	O	0			
	•	0	•			
	•	•	•			
	•	•	•			
	0	O	O			
	0	O	O			
Q20 If you employed migrant workers in 2010, what do you expect to happen within the next two to five years? Hire more migrant workers Stay about the same Hire less migrant workers Unsure Not Applicable Q21 How did you hear about the migrant workers program? Word of Mouth Newspaper Local Employment Centre Placement Agency Internet (i.e. Job Bank) Unsure						
Q22 If you did employ migrant workers under the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP), what year did you start? (Year - Format YYYY) Q23 If you did employ migrant workers under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) program, what year did you start? (Year - Format YYYY) Q24 Are you satisfied with the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP)? O Very Dissatisfied O Dissatisfied O Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied O Very Satisfied O Very Satisfied O Not Applicable						

Q25 If you employed migrant workers, were you satisfied with the work ethic of the migrant workers?

\mathbf{O}	Very	Dissatisfied
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O Dissatisfied

O Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied

O Satisfied

O Very Satisfied

Q26 What issues should the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) address?

Q20 WHAT ISSUES SHOW	la ure Beasonar rigirear	www.youngram	arrwr) waares	
	0	0	0	0
	0	0	•	0
	•	•	•	•
	0	0	0	0
	0	O	•	O
	O	O	O	O
	•	•	•	•

operation? (i.e. in O Yes O No O Unsure O Not Applicab	crease crop acreage,	, purchase more live	stock)		·	
Very DissatisDissatisfied	fied or Dissatisfied	oility of local full tin	ne workers?			
O Very DissatisO Dissatisfied	fied or Dissatisfied	oility of local season	al workers?			
Very DissatisDissatisfied	fied or Dissatisfied	oility of local tempor	rary workers?			
Q31 How much en	mployee turnover di	d you experience in	2010?			
	0	0	•	•	•	
	0	•	•	0	•	
	0	•	•	0	•	
	0	O	O	O	O	

Q27 If you plan on hiring migrant workers between 2011 and 2016, do you plan on increasing the size of your farm

Q32 In the past five years (2005-2010), what happened to the size of your operation? (i.e. expanded crop acreage, purchased more equipment/ livestock)

- O Expanded substantially (Greater than 25%)
- O Expanded somewhat (Between 10% and 25%)
- O Stayed the same

\mathbf{O}	Decreased somewhat (Between 10% and 25%)
O	Decreased substantially (Greater than 25%)

O Not Sure

Q33 If the size of your operation expanded within the past five years, 2005 to 2010, please rate the extent to which each of the following were responsible for the expansion of your operation.

O	O	•	O	O
O	O	O	O	C
•	•	•	•	0
0	O	0	O	0
0	0	•	•	0
O	O	O	•	0

Q34 In the next two to five years, 2011 to 2016, if you think the size of your operation will expand, please rate the extent to which each of the following will be responsible for the expansion of your operation.

•	•	•	•	O
•	O	•	•	O
O	O	O	O	O
•	•	•	•	O
•	•	•	•	•

Q35 If you employed migrant labour between 2005 and 2010, please rate the extent to which migrant labour helped you to achieve the following?

you to achieve	ine ionowing	; <u>!</u>					
	O	O	0	0	0	0	0
	0	•	•	•	•	•	•
	O	O	O	0	0	0	0
	O	0	O	•	0	0	0
	•	•	•	•	•	•	O
	O	O	O	•	•	•	C

	36 If recruiting workers is still a current problem, how will you operate your farm within the next two to five ears? Check all that apply							
	11 7							
	e overall size of t	-						
☐ Stay about		op						
•	e mix of commod	ities produced						
_	equipment to repl	•						
•								
	ly members do m	ore work						
Q37 How would you compare the wages you offered to local workers in 2010 to those of other farm employers in your area? Above About the same Below Not Sure Prefer not to say Q38 If you employed migrant labour between 2005 and 2010 or hope to employ migrant workers in the future, how interested would you be in obtaining training for your migrant workers? (check any that apply)								
				٥				
		٥ -	٥	۵				
				۵				

 Q39 Who should pay for training courses to upgrade migrant worker skills? (check only one) Federal Government Provincial Government Employer Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) or Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) Combination of above
Q40 When you retire, will your operation continue in agriculture? O Yes O No O Unsure
Q41 What is your age range as the primary farm employer? (An employer is one who makes hiring decisions Q Less than 35 years Q 35-54 Years Q 65 Years Plus
Q42 What were your gross sales in 2010? (i.e. total farm cash receipts includes sales of crops and livestock products and program payments) Under \$100,000 \$100,001 to \$250,000 \$250,001 to \$500,000 \$500,001 or more Prefer not to say
Q43 Where were you born? O PEI O Other Canadian Province O Another Country O Prefer not say
Q44 If born outside PEI, what year did you move to PEI? (Year Format YYYY) Q45 Additional Comments: