New Sociology:

Journal of
Critical Praxis

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Editor's Introduction

*N*ew Sociology was created by and for graduate students; it is the sole product of our critical insights, creative impulses, radical political energies, and overall willingness to push the boundaries of knowledge. We created *New Sociology* on our own terms, with the ideas, politics, and best interests of emergent scholars, activists, and artists in mind. We created *New Sociology* to make academia a bit more survivable for people like us. We created *New Sociology* to honour the pedagogical power inherent, not just in academic critique, but in art and storytelling. We created *New Sociology* to challenge the idea that only old dead white men have something to say about society. We created *New Sociology* to give graduate students the chance to participate in the creation and dissemination of academic knowledge. We created *New Sociology* to distribute academic publications to a wide and diverse audience. We created *New Sociology* to support other graduate students; to support our friends, our communities, and our ourselves. We created *New Sociology*.

Our inaugural issue is guided, not by a singular theme, but by the stories of those who made it possible. Armed with the unwavering support of the York University community, *New Sociology* quickly went from a casual conversation between Kaitlin and I, to a full-fledged academic journal. Audrey Towkia, Dr. Carlo Fanelli, and the York Digital Journal's staff were especially instrumental in helping to get *New Sociology* off the ground. The creation of *New Sociology* happened fast and at random, with Kaitlin mentioning to me that our department used to have a graduate journal and me subsequently emailing multiple people over several months about how to start a new one. When I think about how exactly

New Sociology happened, the honest truth is: I just kind of started doing it and then I didn't stop. Given the energy I channelled into launching the journal, Kaitlin and I soon decided that it made the most sense for me to be the founder and Editor-In-Chief (EIC), while she acted as the Chief-Deputy-Editor (CDE). I eventually asked Giovanni to become our second CDE, as I thought the three of us would work well together. And I was right — if I have learned anything since founding *New Sociology*, it is that Kaitlin and Giovanni are two of my favourite people to work with, if not just two of my favourite people. If it wasn't for them, *New Sociology* wouldn't have happened, or, more likely, *New Sociology* would have happened, but I would have either spun or burnt out in the process. I thank them immensely for their support, innovation, and colleagueship.

Our general board members also played an instrumental role in making *New Sociology* possible. One thing that really stuck with me was how every single person that I asked to be on our board, not only immediately said yes, but was enthusiastic and excited about doing so. One of our board members, Rawan, even gifted us with our name *New Sociology: Journal of Critical Praxis*. Two of our other board members, Beatrice and Nadiya, also helped to conceive of and manage our *Liminal Grounds* section – which, personally, is my favourite part of the journal. At every single level, our department supported us, and that support sustained me; that support brought *New Sociology* to life.

But of course, the real pulse of *New Sociology* is our authors. The authors of our two academic pieces have been with us from the start. I approached both of them about publishing with us after they each presented at the 8th annual York Sociology Graduate Association (YSGA), which I helped to organize. Since then, both of them have been nothing but dedicated, thoughtful, and engaged authors. I have

watched both of their pieces transform and grow over these last few months and feel the utmost pride and pleasure to be able to help bring these articles to the public. Rana Sukarieh's paper, "(Un) Managing Emotions at the Forefront: Stories from the Shoreham Picket Line", reflects on her experiences as an active rank and file member of CUPE 3903, the union representing contract faculty and graduate students at York University in Toronto, Ontario, during the 2018 York University Strike. By examining moments in which she tried to (un) manage the emotions of drivers passing through the picket line, Sukarieh's analysis opens up space to discuss the overlooked role that the emotions of the public play in shaping the picket line experience, thereby providing a more comprehensive model for theorizing social movement organizing. As three active rank and file members of CUPE 3903 ourselves, all of whom picketed alongside Sukarieh during the 2018 strike, this piece is especially close to our hearts. Sukarieh's words resonate with us on a profoundly deep level, and her willingness and commitment to work with us over these last few months has resulted in a truly outstanding piece of scholarship.

Izumi Matsuzaki Niki's article, "Policymaking Process for Foreign Care Workers in Contemporary Japan: Changes and Continuation", explores the exploitative impulses of recent policy reforms made to foreign care work in Japan. Through working with official Japanese government documents that address policy reform around care work, Niki illustrates how these policymaking processes reproduce a gendered, racialized, and classed international division of labour and a global care chain. Niki's paper has grown so much since she first presented it at the 8th annual YSGA conference, going from a chapter from her MRP research to a well-developed academic article. I witnessed firsthand the hard work that Niki put into making her paper the excellent piece of scholarship it now is and am forever grateful for her patience, perseverance, and commitment. This is also Niki's first publication in English, an accomplishment I am honoured to have helped her achieve.

The remaining pieces of our issue constitute our *Liminal Grounds* section, where we publish alternative works, such as poetry, visual essays, and reflection pieces. This is the section we are most

proud of, as it best exemplifies our commitment to blurring the boundaries of 'traditional' knowledge production. Our featured piece, "Exploring the Boundaries of Critical Pedagogy," is a visual essay written by Fitsum Areguy on his experiences as a Black man and graduate student in Southwestern Ontario. Areguy originally wrote this piece for a course that we both took at the University of Guelph. The course was both a painful and beautiful experience for the two of us, as we, alongside the other two racialized students in the course, sought to navigate the overwhelming whiteness of the classroom. Areguy's essay captures this struggle well, grounding it in his own realities as a Black man living and learning in Southwestern Ontario. At the end of the course, Areguy asked me to grade the piece for him. I was so blown away by the sincerity, beauty, and pain pulsating through his essay that I immediately asked him if he would consider publishing it with us. I am forever grateful to Areguy, not only for saying yes, but for creating this vibrant and powerful representation of a moment I too witnessed but could never so beautifully express.

The second piece in our *Liminal Grounds* section is Maysam Khreibeh's poem "Mama I Don't Know", which uses the intimate geography of familial love to engage the meanings, feelings, and struggles inherent in diasporic belonging. There is an aesthetic and rhythm to Khreibeh's poetry that cannot be overstated; her words are sustaining yet disruptive; dark yet luminous; familiar yet unique; subtle yet powerful. Through this aesthetic, Khreibeh is able to paint a reality known to many of us within the diaspora, while still expressing a story that is uniquely her own. Renee Dumaresque's "Mad Insight: The Revolution Will Be Foggy", is the next piece in our collection; a beautifully haunting poem that uses Dumareque's lived experiences as a non-binary person with chronic vulvar pain, or vulvodynia, to explore the relationships between gender, race, chronic pain, hysteria, and dominant institutions. This poem blends political critique, narrative, and poetic symbolism in a way that leaves the reader both devasted and amazed. Following this, local activists, scholars, and artists Alvis Choi and Elene Lam share with us their essay "Butterfly Voices – Creative Self-Representation of Migrant Sex Workers". This contribution combines

reflection, analysis, and photography to visualize Choi and Lam's activist project *Butterfly Voices*, which is an Asian and Migrant Sex Workers Support Network based in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. It is an honor to be able to provide a platform for dedicated activists and artists like Choi and Lam to share the important work that they are doing with a wide and diverse audience. This is exactly the kind of work and vision we wanted to set out to support when founding *New Sociology*. Moreover, during the time we took to release this issue, the COVID-19 pandemic hit and, in response to the pandemic, *Butterfly*, alongside *Maggie's: Toronto Sex Workers' Action Project,* raised more than $100,000 for Sex Workers affected by the pandemic through their COVID-19: Emergency Support Fund for Sex Workers. At the time of this publication, this fund is still open, and we encourage you to donate to it at: https://www.maggiesto.org/covid19.

We then have Eric Van Giessen's piece, "Reflexive poetry: A Researcher's Poetic Personal Narrative on Social Science Research Praxis", which is comprised of four poems that blur the lines between narrative and social science writing by foregrounding Van Giessen's struggle to do queer research in a world that demands stability and fixity. The vibrancy of Van Giessen's words brings to life the (im)possibilities of doing queer research with painstaking honesty and magnificent beauty. As a fellow colleague of Van Giessen's, I know how important this piece is to him, and I am delighted that he trusted us to share it with the world. Next is a poem written by Bishwa Sigdel's, entitled "We Humbly Stood," which is printed in both English (translated by AnjilaBista) and their native language of Nepali, in preeti font. This poem engages the complexities, pain, and affects of state violence in a way that ignites a strong sense of resilience and rebellion in those who read it. Following this, is another poem by Maysam Khreibeh, entitled "Tayta Loves Pomegranates". I decided not to place Khreibeh's poems together because I wanted to weave her voice throughout the collection, allowing it to energize various moments of the text, opposed to just one. In this poem, Khreibeh once again visits the liminal realities of diasporic being, but this time she does so through the mundane innocence of childhood, leaving yet another undeniably remarkable impression on those

of us who are lucky enough to engage with her work.

Next we have Ali Javeed's photo essay "Radiance in Reclamation". Through photography, Javeed captures the political energies of an action lead by Indigenous activist group *Idle no More*, where they shut down the Bloor Viaduct, in Tkaronto, Ontario, Kanata (Three Fire Territories), to protest the government's forced removal of the Wet'suwet'en First Nation peoples from their land to build a gas pipeline. Javeed's photo essay neither has nor requires words, as their vibrant images speak for themselves. The last piece in our issue is a poem written by Rayan Jamal, entitled "On the one time I lost my virginity and the 3 times I gave it away". I chose to end our collection with this piece because I believe it encapsulates the essence of *New Sociology* quite well, combining the darkness of social injustice with the lightness and resilience of agency. The poem draws on Jamal's sexual experiences to tackle the violent heteropatriarchal forces that inform the social construction of virginity in clever, creative, and charming ways. Through this, Jamal is able to reclaim their own virginity, thereby demonstrating the radical power and possibilities of art and poetic expression.

As the first issue of *New Sociology*, it is my hope, and the hope of our editorial team writ large, that you not only enjoy, but embrace, the power, radiancy, and beauty of our authors' contributions. While not united by a single theme, each of our authors highlight the creativity, insight, criticality, and passion of emergent scholarship, activisms, and art. As academia becomes increasingly neoliberalized and the voices and contributions of disenfranchised groups continue to be marginalized, it is important to foreground the stories, energies, and knowledges of the newly and non-academic world. It is our goal at *New Sociology* to present the voices and visions of our authors with the sincerity and care they deserve, so that you are able to connect with them on a much deeper level than is traditionally 'allowed' in academia. Finally, we hope that these works bring light, beauty, pain, strength, and resilience into your life, in all their many contradicting and complex forms, and that these feelings may inspire you to engage in your own forms of critical praxis. Through critical praxis can come real social change, and it is with this goal in mind that we present you with the

first edition of *New Sociology: Journal of Critical Praxis.*

We would like to thank the visionaries who contributed to *New Sociology*. A Special thank you also goes to our peer reviewers, editorial team, advisory board, York Digital Journals, the York University Sociology Department, Dr. Carlo Fanelli, Andrew Nevin, Robyn Cheung, Lara Termos, Ashna Ray, and York University Printings Services, for their time, energy, and resources. We would especially would like to acknowledge Audrey Tokiwa for her unconditional support and guidance. Finally, we would like to thank our designer, Erika Mulder, whose creativity, care, and overall willingness to collaborate with us through the production process transformed our inaugural issue from an unorganized pile of documents on my computer into a masterful collection of beauty, insight, and power.

Jade Crimson Rose Da Costa, NS Founder and Editor-In-Chief, with Kaitlin Peters, NS Chief-Deputy-Editor, and Giovanni Carranza-Hernandez, NS Chief-Deputy-Editor

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(Un)Managing Emotions at the Forefront: Stories from the Shoreham Picket Line

Rana Sukarieh

Abstract

In this article, I reflect on my experience as an active rank and file member of CUPE 3903, the union representing contract faculty and graduate students at York University in Toronto, Ontario, during the 2018 York University Strike, where I volunteered as a front-line communicator, or "car talker". Drawing on these experiences, I reflect on the ways in which picketers generally try to (un)manage the emotions of drivers passing through the picket line. My analysis is focused on a particular venue - the Shoreham picket line located at the southwest entrance of the university, and centers around my personal interactions with the drivers crossing the picket line during the morning hours from March 2018 to May 2018. My analysis aims to open up space to discuss the largely overlooked role that the emotions of the public play in shaping the picket line experience. In particular, I provide a multi-directional analysis of the encounters that occurred between the picketers and the general public at the Shoreham picket line during the 2018 strike, highlighting the multiplicity of variables, such as the environment, the pre-existing beliefs of the participants, and expressions of collective anger, which informed these encounters. In doing this, I illuminate the complexity of the intertwined relationship between emotional and cognitive framing, thereby providing a more comprehensive model for understanding the role that emotions play in social movement organizing.

Introduction

On March 5th, 2018, members of CUPE 3903, the union representing teaching assistants, graduate assistants, and contract faculty at York University, Toronto, Ontario, started what would become the longest strike in the history of Canada's post-secondary sector. The strike ended on July 25th, 2018, after the newly elected Ontario Conservative government legislated the union back to work. The grievances that led to the strike were related to the precarious working conditions of contract faculty, the introduction of a new and regressive funding model for teaching assistants, the cutting of almost 800 graduate assistant jobs at the university, and more general issues concerning equity and accessibility in the workplace (CUPE3903, 2018). Picketers installed a total of eight physical picket lines, one at each entrance to York University, with one exception, as well as one virtual picket line. Physical lines were considered to be either "soft" or "hard"; soft picket lines delayed the public's automobile entrance into the university's premises,

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therefore disrupting some of the administration's work, while hard picket lines blocked vehicles from entering into the vicinity altogether. Typically, CUPE 3903 held soft picket lines. At the Shoreham picket line in particular, strikers collectively agreed to allow two cars entry into the campus every four minutes; however, this would sometimes change depending on the traffic, the time of day, and the general atmosphere of the picket line. The virtual picket line posted strike updates on CUPE 3903's social media accounts and helped to supply the bargaining team with the research they needed to bargain on the union's behalf.

In this article, I reflect on my personal experience as an active rank and file member of CUPE 3903 during the 2018 York University Strike, where I volunteered to be a front-line communicator, or "car talker", at the Shoreham picket line at the southwest entrance to York University. More specifically, I offer a reflection on how picketers at this location attempted to (un)manage the emotions of drivers passing through the Shoreham picket line during the morning hours from March 2018 to May 2018 by examining my interactions with these drivers as a car talker. My goal is to illuminate the complexity between emotional and cognitive framing by providing a multi-directional analysis of interactions between the picketers and the general public. In my analysis, I highlight the multiplicity of variables, such as the environment, the pre-existing beliefs of the participants, and expressions of collective anger that informed these encounters. Such an analysis demonstrates the complexity of managing the picket line and thus expands the analytical scope of existing social movement literature.

Although previous research has examined the pivotal role of emotions in shaping social movements and collective actions (Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2001; Flam, 2005; Jasper, 2011; Gould 2015), few studies have investigated the micro-dynamics and interactions that inform emotional exchanges between the picketers and the general public. The importance of these micro-dynamics lies in their ability to directly influence the general atmosphere of the picket line. Interactions between picketers and the general public can facilitate or obstruct cross-group solidarity. Positive feelings of solidarity play a central role in shaping the emotional well-being of picketers, often by encouraging them to continue

fighting on behalf of their labour demands. The micro-dynamics of the encounters between picketers and the general public are also determining factors for potential violence, which has a significant effect on the longevity of picket lines. For instance, negative emotions from the public, such as anger, may elicit fear among some picketers, thus contributing to thinning picket lines. Negative public emotions also contribute to the potential demonization of the picketers in the media or among the community, which may also deter workers from picketing.

Despite their instrumental role in shaping the picket line experience, few social movement researchers have taken these variables seriously. Thus, my analysis presents a case study that addresses this lacuna in the literature, specifically by identifying the picket line as a site of sociological inquiry rife with affectual meanings that contain important critical insights. Importantly, my analysis does not engage in a discussion of the internal emotional experiences and realities of the picketers. Instead, I provide an examination of the emotional exchanges between the people picketing and those driving through the picket line, investigating how the former manages and unmanages moments when the latter engages in overt expressions of anger, frustration, and confusion, thereby maintaining (or not) a space of survivability and, at times, even solidarity and support.

This article is divided into three sections. In the first section, I briefly review the role of emotions in existing social movement literature, highlighting the bourgeoning studies of emotions in collective action (see Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2001; Aminzade & McAdam, 2002; Flam 2005). These studies mainly stress the role that emotions play in the emergence of social movements (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995; Jasper, 1998), specifically highlighting how emotions contribute to the recruitment (Snow & Benford, 1992; Gould, 2015), dismissal (Norgaard, 2006) and demise (Adams, 2002) of particular forms of organizing. I argue that while such work adds necessary depth to the study of social movements, there is still a lack of consideration being given to the work that goes into managing the emotions of the general public at sites of protest, such as managing the emotions of non-picketers at a picket line. In the second section, I share personal stories from the Shoreham picket line that demonstrate the ability of

picketers to manage the emotions of non-picketers, namely drivers, in order to get their support. Then, in the last section, I detail stories of anger, drawing attention to how drivers externalize their anger at being held up in traffic by either shaming the picketers for striking or for altogether blaming us for their grievances. Drawing on these experiences, I conclude by arguing that a multi-directional analysis of the encounters that occur between picketers and the general public during strike actions is the best method for highlighting the multiplicity of variables that inform these and similar encounters.

Background

Emotions and social movement literature

From the 1970s to the late 1980s, resource mobilization and political process theories dominated social movement literature. As a result, emotions have historically been absent from the analysis of social movements (Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2000). Resource mobilization and political process theories, which originated from a North American context, situate collective action within the rational choice paradigm. Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) proposes an entrepreneurial characterization of social movements that focuses on the organizational structure, allocation of resources, and the institutional support within social movements (Buechler, 1999). More specifically, RMT is interested in: 1) How social movement participants are mobilized through the efficient use of resources (such as money, time, and human capital); 2) How particular movements attract "constituents" and turn them into "adherents" , and: 3) How different movements compete over material and non-material resources (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). From this perspective, a social movement organization is considered to operate similarly to a business institution - the aim of which is to manage its resources and attract more "customers". Unsurprisingly, the role that emotions play in social movement organizing was dismissed in this paradigm, as RMT's primary focus was on examining what strategies to follow to recruit more participants into a given movement, and not to examine their internal emotional state (Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2000).

Similar to RMT, Political Process Theory (PPT) maintains that political actors in a social movement pursue their interests rationally (Tarrow, 1998; Meyer, 2004). PPT stresses that political actors mobilize when they can seize new "windows of opportunities" (Jasper, 2010, p. 966) within an emergent political environment. Such opportunities include, but are not limited to, changes in elite structure, increased access to political systems, changing or maintaining coalitions, evolving dynamics of the regime, and repression or facilitation from state apparatuses (Diani, 1995; Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2000). PPT approaches overemphasize the role of political structures in shaping social movements while also downplaying the role of individual beliefs, interests, and grievances (Jasper, 2011). Hence, similar to RMT, the role of emotions under PPT is also neglected.

Jasper (2011) identifies reasons for the relevant absence of the study of emotions in RMT and PPT. First, as a result of the prevalence of body-mind dualism in Western scholarship, it was long believed that there was a dichotomy between emotions and rationality. In turn, emotions were considered to be antagonistic to rational thought and therefore cast to the realm of non-academic thought, including the study of social movements (Jasper, 2011; Van Ness & Summers-Effler, 2018). Second, when early studies of emotions started to emerge (Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2001; Aminzade & McAdam, 2002), they did not develop to include a large number of subcategories of emotions. Rather, they were limited to specific feelings that often had overlapping definitions, such as anger and shame. Consequentially, even when scholarly measures for emotion became available, they held little analytical and conceptual utility.

However, over the last three decades, the study of the role of emotions in social movement organizing has become increasingly more prevalent, thereby marking a shift away from the rational paradigm that dominated social movement theories throughout the seventies and eighties (Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2001; Aminzade & McAdam, 2002). Namely, in the early 2000s, we saw scholars begin to address the different typologies of feelings (Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2000). This was in part buttressed by the establishment of the sociology of emotions as a separate subfield of sociology in the early 1990s (Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2000; Benski, 2011),

coupled with the rise of feminist scholars working to integrate emotions into social movement studies (Taylor, 1995). As a result of these initiatives, scholars are increasingly analyzing the effect of micro-dynamics on collective behaviour, including examining the complex ways in which emotions inform social movements (Bosco, 2006). In particular, studies have begun to highlight the role of emotions in the emergence, development, maintenance, and disintegration of social movements (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995; Jasper, 1998; Adams, 2002; Cadena-Roa, 2002; Perry, 2002; Klatch, 2004). However, most research tends to focus on the emotions of the participants and protestors, as opposed to the emotional responses of "bystanders", such as people passing through picket lines.

One exception, however, is Tova Benski's (2011) article "Breaching events and the emotional reaction of the public". Benski offers a comprehensive analysis of the public reactions of bystanders to the Israeli Women in Black Vigil events. These vigils take place every Friday at the main roundabout in Haifa in order to protest the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. These vigils originated in Jerusalem in 1988 after the onset of the first Palestinian intifada (uprising). Protestors are mainly women, wearing black, calling for an end to the Israeli occupation. The vigil events have now expanded to other cities, including the Haifa roundabout, which is the site of inquiry of Benski's study. Framing the vigil as a breaching event that defies the hegemonic social practices that constitute Israeli society, Benski records the public's general negative reactions to the Women in Black movement. Benski observes that the movement's combined politicization and feminization of the roundabout, via the vigil's use of women-identified protestors, constitutes a violation of the patriarchal systems that dominate Israeli society, while also challenging the general opinion that Israel apartheid is a form of protection – rather than a clear example of imperial violence.

As documented by Benski, the emotional expressions of the people witnessing the event are fuelled by anger, threats, and the desire to shame. In particular, Benski observes that the Israeli public uses masculine-related language to defeminize the space, thereby delegitimizing the women's claim to said space as a site of protest, while also using threats and slurs to de-humanize the women themselves.

Benski's work is notable because it combines social movement literature with the sociology of emotions to analyze – at the ground level – how public emotional reactions to a public protest (i.e. a political vigil) are informed by both normative gendered cognitive maps and general public opinion.

It is important to point out, however, that given the fact that this is a silent vigil being held at a busy roundabout in Haifa, bystanders' reactions to this particular protest are unidirectional, as those passing by do not directly interact with the protestors. That is, there is no engaged interaction between the protestors and the public. With this in mind, this paper takes Benski's analysis one step further by bridging social movement literature and the study of emotions to examine interactions between picketers and bystanders at a picket line. More specifically, this paper analyses how picketers at the Shoreham picket line during the 2018 York University Strike attempted to (un)manage the emotions of drivers passing through by mobilizing emotional and cognitive framing aimed at co-constructing feelings of solidarity. My analysis is based on my understanding of a series of moments of engaged interaction between the general public and myself, which often lasted a couple of minutes each. In what follows, I attempt to provide an analysis of these moments of engagement to develop a better understanding of how and why the public reacted at the Shoreham picket line in the ways they did.

Methods

Data collection

The data used in this article was collected through a three-month unplanned ethnography. I use the term unplanned to recognize the fact that collecting this data was the unforeseen result of my participation in the 2018 York University Strike as an active member of the rank and file of CUPE 3903, wherein I passionately fought alongside my fellow union members to assert our demands. I did not participate as a traditional researcher who sought only to collect data, but as a ground-level social justice agent with a personal investment in the action's outcome. During the strike, I participated daily at the Shoreham picket line as a front-line communicator or "car talker", whereby I routinely engaged with drivers crossing our picket line. As a "car talker," my main objective

was to communicate our grievances to the drivers, solicit their sympathy, and to elicit their solidarity. I also joined in on other direct actions and marches held at various locations both within and outside of the university .

While I did not start the strike with the intention of writing about these experiences, I ended up writing reflections in my personal journal about my daily encounters with the drivers, which ultimately contained critical and valuable insights. Moreover, as a long-time activist and researcher in social movements, I have developed the habit of writing down and sharing my thoughts and feelings about the different collective actions in which I participate. Thus, when the strike dragged into its third week, I, in addition to journaling about my experiences, started sharing them on my personal social media accounts, such as Facebook and Twitter, mainly focusing on the positive and encouraging support we received from the general public. I found that sharing positive emotions during heightened times of conflict created positive vibes amongst the York community, especially among the active members in the strike. However, some encounters with the general public were antagonistic and also needed to be documented. Sharing these encounters provided the opportunity to highlight the everyday challenges and emotional violence picketers faced with the larger York University and North York communities. It also offered a moment to share relevant learnings with those activists seeking to learn from our struggles in order to enhance their social justice claims. Hence, given both the richness of these stories as well as the existing gaps in prevailing social movement literature around the emotional micro-dynamics between picketers and the general public (see Benski, 2011 for an exception), I decided to write this reflection piece, hoping that it would be useful for both the activist and academic world.

Defining the public

The Shoreham picket line is located at the intersection of Shoreham Road and Murray Ross Road, at the south end of York University's Keele campus (See Appendix A, Figure 1). On the right side, there is York University's tennis stadium, which leases its facilities to several companies, such as the Ontario Real Estate Association. On the left side, there is the York University hockey arena, which hosts school, provincial, and national events throughout the year. Drivers frequently cross the intersection to either reach the university campus,

and its surrounding houses, or to avoid traffic on nearby streets. People driving through the campus during the duration of the 2018 strike for either of these reasons were considered to be crossing the picket line.

Individuals driving through the picket line at Shoreham were classified under four main categories. The first category is "the general public," which refers to those with no official relation to York University. This group of people constitutes what social movement theorists would refer to as "non-adherents", as they had no institutional relation to the strike (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Many of them were passing through the picket line to reach a destination outside of the York University facilities. For these people, the physical picket lines disrupted the flow of their daily life, resulting in unexpected delays and disturbances. During the early weeks of the strike, they often asked us questions about the nature of the picket line, its legalities, and its effectiveness. The most critical concerns and questions raised by these individuals regarded the injustice of our picket line "trapping them" and, as a result, disturbing their daily routine.

The second category includes individuals who worked either at companies and associations leasing York University facilities, such as the AVIVA center and ice arenas or with contractors for on-premises facilities. These individuals were indirectly related to York University, since their daily work generates profits for the York administration, but is not directly managed by the institution. Originally, picketers would try to communicate to this category of bystanders their (un)intentional complicity in the administration's unjust practices, and their alternative ability to exercise pressure on the administration to bargain with our union. Despite these attempts, however, after a few weeks of the strike, most of these individuals chose to leave their cars at a nearby parking lot and cross the picket line by foot.

The third category of people driving through the picket line was York University employees, who were directly impacted by the strike. While the picket lines delayed their arrival to their offices, many of them were supportive of CUPE 3903's right to strike and picket. Many picketers would engage in discussions with this group of drivers around the happenings of the university, specifically regarding

the problematics of York's bargaining tactics. We would also listen to their suggested strategies of resistance and receive information about the upcoming negotiations between their respective unions and the administration. Further, with those who did not support the strike, we discussed the unequal inflation of the wages of York's senior administration and, more specifically, how it negatively impacted lower-level employees, like themselves.

The fourth category of drivers includes York University students, who were also directly impacted by the strike. Labour disruption resulted in the cancelling of 60% of classes, which were completely or partially taught by contract faculty and teaching assistants, in addition to the complete suspension of classes in various departments in solidarity with CUPE 3903. Students expressed various opinions about the strike, but much of their support thinned out as the strike went on. Further, students received conflicting, if not inaccurate, information about the labour dispute from the administration, which negatively impacted their overall support of CUPE 3903. For instance, the York University administration utilized dishonest communication tactics, such as buying a CUPE 3903 domain name and directing traffic to that website (Newswire, 2018). In addition to receiving conflicting communications, the students' graduation and courses were also put on hold, impacting their ability to apply to graduate programs, work summer jobs, and plan their summer vacations. As a result, most undergraduate students blamed us for the strike and regarded us as selfish. They accused us of taking them hostage, especially since the strike took place four weeks before the end of the academic year (although our collective bargaining ended in September 2017). The inability of undergraduate students to identify the York University administration as the source of the strike and the failure of CUPE 3903 to properly build bridges with them, was often reflected at the picket line. Few undergraduate students visited us, or their teachers, to express their solidarity.

Generally speaking, soliciting sympathy and support from the public required us to develop a mutual understanding of their grievances, especially in cases where we could or sought to link them to our own. Each of the categories mentioned above experienced a specific type of grievance with York

University and the 2018 strike. However, given the general precarity of the Canadian economy (Pupo, Duffy & Glenday, 2017; Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives, 2018), in addition to the inflation of postsecondary educational fees (Statistics Canada, 2018), the main messages picketers tried to communicate (in line with CUPE 3903) to the general public were: 1) The precarious situation of contract faculty and graduate students at York University, and: 2) The unaffordability of university education. We felt that, given the current socio-economic climate of Canadian society, specifically Toronto, where most people can relate to precarious work and the rising cost of education (as well as living), that this was the best way to elicit support and sympathy from people driving through the picket line. Below, this tactic is considered in more detail. More specifically, I draw on the social movement concept of "framing" to examine how picketers utilized mutual grievances between us and the general public to elicit their sympathy and thus (un)manage their feelings at the picket line.

Findings and analysis

Role of the picket line

Workers physically display the withdrawal of their labour during a strike through the use of picket lines, in which they demonstrate their anger with unjust working conditions, communicate their demands, and attempt to materially disrupt the employer's business. In essence, picket lines serve to communicate a central message to the employer that it is not "business as usual." In the case of the 2018 York University Strike, the employer was York University, and this message was delivered with the knowledge that the university could not function normally when more than 60% of the teaching body was on strike, thereby making it clear to the administration that they could not operate without respecting their employees.

Picket lines also offer a space for (re)politicization, as they provide a chance for picketers to construct solidarity with the general public in ways that may not otherwise be possible. For instance, at the Shoreham picket line, we - a diverse group of graduate students and contract faculty - met myriad workers and members from other industries and local communities. Prominent examples included

the Ontario Federation of Labour, the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, Jane and Finch Action Against Poverty, CUPE 2424 (the union representing administrative, technical, library, counsellors, and nursing staff at Carleton University in Ottawa), the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), and other non-unionized workers. Given the diversity of these groups, it is unlikely that we would have crossed paths with these people regularly. Personally, while on the picket line, I met with unionized food delivery truck drivers, as well as other non-unionized drivers, who informed me about their experiences with striking. I also met a unionized factory worker from Sudbury, a city located about 400 km from Toronto, who informed me about their union's resistance strategies. These encounters offered an opportunity in which to (re)construct political solidarity with a wide range of political and social groups, permitting space to discuss and (re)imagine inclusive and non-exploitative political and economic policies between a diverse range of workers.

Most often, we would translate our CUPE 3903 grievances to strike bystanders by framing them in relation to the broader socio-economic problems within Canada. "Framing" is a cognitive tool commonly discussed in social movement literature (McAdam, 1996; Benford & Snow, 2000; Olesen, 2005). Framing is defined as an interpretive schema, "selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment" (Snow & Benford, 1992, p. 137). More specifically, it describes a process of ongoing negotiating, understanding, and meaning-making between variously located actors. During this process of negotiating and constructing meaning, attention is given to important features within a social movement, translating a specific set of grievances in a particular light to collectively mobilize activists from various sociopolitical locations (Snow & Benford, 1988; Olesen, 2005). This, in turn, creates strong bonds between actors and non-adherents, such as picketers and bystanders in the context of a strike, thereby solidifying ties between them.

Regarding my experiences on Shoreham, I often used framing when speaking to people driving through the picket line. After greeting the drivers, I would ask them how they were doing in their own work, and whether or not their employer was offering them the salary and benefits that they felt they not only deserved but needed to live in a city like Toronto. I ended up identifying many common grievances around work precarity between CUPE 3903 members and the drivers with whom I spoke. In particular, just as we were resisting the precarious work conditions imposed onto us by York University, many of the drivers coming through our picket lines also experienced precarity at their jobs.

This finding makes sense, given that experiencing precarity at work is becoming an increasingly prevalent public issue within the Canadian economy (CCPA, 2018). In fact, a recent study done by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives shows that 22% of Canadian professionals with a high school degree and skillset have precarious jobs (CCPA, 2018). Thus, it is not surprising that when I was car talking during the 2018 York University Strike, many drivers would share their struggles with difficult part-time and contract work, often expressing the negative impact that these jobs had on their everyday financial and physical well-being. Given that precarity at work can make securing housing and meeting basic human needs more difficult (Arnold & Biongovi, 2013), people who experience it often have deep-seated feelings towards the issue. Thus, identifying common experiences of precarity among drivers and picketers created a space for us to relate to one another and foster mutual support.

In essence, by drawing on our shared work experiences with drivers, we were able to articulate our struggle in ways that resonated with them, which is essential for creating bonds with bystanders and thus preventing or de-escalating any potential violence at the picket line. Put simply, we used framing, a narrative tool that draws on cognitive structures to frame social issues in ways that connect individual lifeworlds to collective experiences, to construct shared understandings of our grievances, thereby mobilizing a diverse range of people around our cause (Snow & Benford, 1988; Olesen, 2005). This demonstrates the argument made by McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) that frames "dignify claims, connect them to others, and help to produce a *collective identity* among claimants" (p. 41, emphasis added). In the case of the 2018 York University Strike, collective identity was generated through the sharing, and subsequent politicization,

of common experiences around work precarity.

Importantly, the cognitive framing that relates to an individual and collective experience is also associated with an emotional framing (Jasper, 1998; Flam, 2005). Every message that we, at CUPE 3903, communicated to the general public was aimed at provoking feelings of sympathy and support towards us, while simultaneously directing feelings of anger towards our employer: the York University administration. For example, during my face-to-face interactions with the public at the picket line, I always pointed out the problems of labour precarity and the rising costs of post-secondary education in a way that would provoke anger amongst the public, thereby potentially leading them to voice their opinions to and against the university.

Leading questions such as, "Can you afford to send your kids to university?" or "Have you witnessed the increase in the cost of course fees? "or "Do you feel secure at work and is your job providing you the means to survive?" often served as transformative emotional hooks that enabled us to connect to the hearts and minds of the drivers. For instance, some non-supportive undergraduate students changed their minds after these questions prompted them to think about the inaccessibility of post-secondary education or the worsening quality of the university itself. Parents of students would also reflect on the increasing yearly fees and student loans. With these examples in mind, it is clear that emotions played an important role in the framing process at the Shoreham picket line, whereby picketers mobilized personal experiences and feelings to create solidarity with bystanders. In this sense, picket lines are a space in which emotional and cognitive framing is co-constitutive, thereby challenging the rational paradigm and the rational-emotional dichotomy that dominated the field three decades ago.

Forging support

Drivers passing through our picket line expressed their support and sympathy with us in material and non-material forms. Many of them offered us hot beverages, the popular Canadian treat Timbits, homemade cooked food, snacks, face cream, hand heating pads, and umbrellas. Others conveyed their support by soliciting us to "stay strong," or telling us: "You should fight to get your rights," as one middle-aged woman of colour once told me. Others

shared their own stories of labour precarity. One employee in the York University administration explained to me how the prevalence of short-term contracts in his understaffed non-academic department resulted in an insecure and overworked staff without good health and pension benefits. One student recalled the anxiousness that their contract faculty father felt a few years ago when his contract would be renewed less than two weeks before the start of each semester. The student then expressed their disappointment that nothing had changed.

Other bystanders expressed their support by sharing tactics and strategies from previous strikes that they had either been a part of or had personally witnessed. One older man informed me about a 6-month strike that he participated in during the sixties in Italy. Another driver suggested that CUPE 3903 members organize a picket line in front of the York University president's office, in order to bar her from entering it. Two members from UNIFOR, the largest private-sector union in Canada, shared picket line tips with me that they used during their three-week strike a few years back, in which more than 500 temporary and full-time workers formed a 24-hour picket line around the warehouse and distribution centers of Coca Cola in Brampton until their demands were met. These two individuals also kept encouraging us to adopt a hard picket line and completely block all entrances into the university. Their solidarity was so strong that they remained at the picket line longer than was necessary during one especially busy morning to shield picketers from a potentially violent driver who threatened to run us over. In this instance, solidarity was expressed through words and through actions.

However, not all car drivers immediately sympathized with us. With some, we needed to initiate a conversation in order to bridge the gap between our grievances and their concerns. These discussions, framed as "rational arguments", permitted us the ability to shift their emotions away from anger and toward sympathy. In one encounter, for example, I had the following conversation with a student at York University as they drove through the picket line:

(C refers to a car driver. R refers to me, Rana)

C (in an angry tone): Till when you will be on

strike? We are losing a semester because of your (expletive) strike?

R: Are you a student at York?

C: Yes. And I am unable to go to classes because of your (expletive) strike and your greed. I work hard to pay the fees, and now my classes are cancelled because of you.

R: I understand your frustration. I am in the same position. I also pay the fees for my doctoral degree. But have you realized the bad shape of our classrooms? Of our labs? The dirtiness and dust, the leaking roof of the library. And that's not because York does not have money

C: Yes, but that does not justify your-

R: What about the increased fees in a publicly funded university?

C: Yes. My fees have increased since I started my degree 3 years ago.

R: Yes. The university has good profits, but they are invested in specific buildings, or in increasing the salary of top administrators.

C (in a calm way): Yeah.

R: While the contract faculty teachers and the teaching assistants live insecurely. We have to work in different places to be able to pay the bills – if we are lucky to find a job. How will this impact your learning?

C: I do not see the connection.

R: When teachers are obliged to commute from one university to another to be able to get enough income to pay the bills because York is not offering them secure and full-time jobs. Or when teaching assistants have to work another job to be able to pay their fees and their bills, because their funding is below the poverty line. The quality of their teaching may be impacted.

C: Yeah. I get your point. So, what are we supposed to do to help you and get over the strike?

R: Write to the administration. Join us at the picket line. Write to your MPP [Member of provincial parliament] about the strike. Let us all exercise some pressure on the administration to go back to the bargaining table. We want to bargain.

C: Okay. Good luck.

The above conversation exemplifies how, through dialogue, I was able to change the emotions of a student from anger to sympathy. During this conversation, the student ended up diverging his anger away from CUPE 3903 and towards York University, specifically blaming the university for increasing their student fees. Moreover, they came to understand the impact of the precarious situation of contract faculty and teaching assistants at York on their learning experience as a student. The student then ended the conversation by offering to help - a gesture that demonstrates a change in their temperament. Diverting drivers' anger towards the administration in this way was the ultimate goal we attempted to reach while encountering violent bystanders on the picket line.

Collective expression of anger

Importantly, and unfortunately, not all the conversations and encounters we had with drivers were fruitful in forging support. The disenchantment of drivers with our labour dispute and its manifestation at the picket line was expressed through various tactics of humiliation, shaming, and threatening. Hence, in the following sections, I will review stories of anger on the picket line, which were expressed in numerous ways. For one, anger can be collectively expressed in an effervescent manner, in which one person's overt expression of anger can influence others' feelings and expressions of anger. In the case of the 2018 York University Strike, this was specifically true when certain drivers received preferential treatment and got expedited, as discussed below. However, anger can also be externalized and projected onto the picketers by shaming us for our "unprofessionalism" and blaming

us for their grievances.

The most stressful moments of the strike occurred when the general public would verbally threaten or abuse us. This was largely because the rage of one or a few angry drivers would often spread to the other drivers nearby. For example, if one car driver started to honk their horn aggressively, then other drivers would soon join in. This collective expression of anger and distress was intensified by the overt expression of one angry individual, which would then multiply as other drivers would join in, constituting a collective effervescence, or "intensification of a shared mood" (Collins, 2014, p. 299).

The intensification of anger occurred most often after we allowed specific cars to cross the picket line without waiting. At the onset of the strike, our union executive team gave special passes to the daycare workers at the university facilities, which allowed them to get expedited to the front of the picket line. The executive team also made an agreement with the ice arena facilities to expedite attendees of hockey tournaments in exchange for them blocking a private road, which they owned, that provided cars with an alternative route into the university, thereby allowing them to avoid the picket line altogether. In making this arrangement with the arena, we made sure that every car going to or through the campus had to pass through a picket line.

The special treatment of both the daycare employees and the hockey tournament attendees sparked the rage of other drivers, who questioned our integrity and subsequently created a wave of collective anger. One person accused us of offering preferential treatment to rich people, given that many attendees of the hockey tournaments own expensive cars. In one incident, a car driver violently confronted my colleague, humiliating him and spitting at him. At the same time, two other drivers joined in and began shouting and threatening to run us over. In another incident, an angry driver left their car, confronted me, and almost hit me. Another driver then joined them and knocked down some of the barriers at the picket line. In a third incident, an angry driver shouted at me, started pushing the barriers we had installed aside, and retrieved a bicycle wheel from their car to hit me. Other drivers then started honking and signalling to my colleagues, the picketers, to allow them to pass. These instances

demonstrate how, specifically within the context of collective actions, anger can echo throughout a space as a result of the behaviours of one or a few enraged bystanders, emerging as a collective effervescence and thus creating a shared space of affectual violence that is often hard to manage.

Weaponizing Shame

Anger also emerged among drivers in the form of shaming. Shaming often serves as a tool for both political mobilization and demobilization (Goodwin & Pfaff, 2001; Flam, 2005). It is a double-edged weapon that can either lead to participation in collective action or discourage people from active involvement in social movements (Flam, 2005). Goodwin & Pfaff (2000) demonstrate how shaming served as a mobilizing tool for non-participants in various mobilizations in the United States and East Germany. They found that shaming passive community members for not participating in activism during the civil rights movement in the 1960s constituted a helpful tool to encourage these people to become more active in the movement. Here, Black activists would use emotional words to shame and embarrass these individuals into joining the civil rights movement.

Nevertheless, at the same time, activism is often considered to violate social norms (Becker, 1963; Lindblom & Jacobsson, 2014). Thus, shaming can also be used as a tool through which to exhort individuals from engaging in activist behaviour, regulating them back into conformity (Flam, 2005). For instance, the vignette below exemplifies how a car driver attempted to shame CUPE 3903 into reconsidering our strike practices.

C: *"Why do you block the road?"*

R: *"Good morning, sir. We are currently on strike at York University, and this is our picket line."*

C (angrily): *"Who are you?*

R: *"We are the union that represents contract faculty and graduate students at the university. We teach 60% of the courses and*

C (interrupting me): *You teach at the university,*

and you block the road?

R: We are in a legal strike, and it is legal to -

C (interrupting me again): You are a teacher, a tea-cher (emphasizing with louder voice). You should be teaching in the class.

R: Exactly. I should be in-class teaching. But I cannot teach if I live in insecurity and my -

C: (interrupting and shouting at me): Shame on you. You are a terrible teacher. You should be respectful and teach the students. Shame on you.

(closes his window and starts honking to express his discontent with the delay at the picket line.)

The above conversation demonstrates how a bystander can weaponize shame against protestors, discouraging them from pursuing our legal right to go on strike. At the Shoreham picket line, in particular, drivers sought to externalize their anger, projecting it onto us in order to make us feel ashamed for striking. Here, drivers would shame us by attempting to impose a sense of guilt onto our actions, making statements such as: *"You should be ashamed of what you are doing," "You are a terrible teacher"*, or *"You should not be a teacher"*. Further, these sentiments were often accompanied by body language and facial expressions, which signalled disgust, such as the shaking of one's head or the waging of their finger. These types of reactions are intended to belittle and demean us - and it sometimes worked. During the first weeks of the strike, and despite my deep belief that going on strike was the right thing to do, I felt embarrassed after I was unable to convince one angry driver about our right to establish a picket line. This is largely because angry drivers who shamed us did not attempt to listen to or understand our struggle, thereby making us feel dehumanized. Later on, however, I started to turn these instances of shame into teachable moments, telling drivers who sought to shame us that we were modeling how to demand that one's rights be taken seriously.

For many, our labour withdrawal and traffic obstruction represented a deviation from the normative image of how a university graduate student or a professor should behave, which, in turn, led them to shame us. Many believed that educational professionals should be in class, teaching students and preparing them for a better future. Thus, some drivers saw our labour withdrawal as a deviation from our professional objectives. Such instances of "shaming" demonstrate how emotions can be used in line with prevailing moral codes of conduct and belief systems to regulate the behaviours of protesters - people who are largely considered to be violating implied ethical tenets or common-sense notions - into conformity. In this instance, these beliefs included logics such as "teachers should be selfless" or "university teachers are financially secure".

In another instance, a middle-aged man responded to my explanation of the grievances we were facing by stating that: *"I do not believe you," "I do not believe that teachers at the university face these problems"*. He then closed his car window to shut down further explanation. This driver had a hard time accepting the arduous labour conditions we live in and thus accused me of lying. Importantly, he continued to do this even after I handed him a leaflet that explained our wages, which CUPE 3903 produced to provide a counter-narrative to the university's propaganda. This exchange exemplifies how pre-existing beliefs and conceptions can interfere with solidarity building between the picketers and the general public, shutting down dialogue from the onset and thus expanding the rift between the two groups.

Externalizing anger

Emotions also infuse social movements in ways that are determined or informed by the larger social context in which they emerge. For instance, Canada is a neoliberal society operating within a global neoliberal market, whereby the culture of individual responsibility has become more and more dominant (Shamir, 2008). In a neoliberal context, the role of the government is redirected towards business interests and private profit-making, thereby alienating it from its duty to protect and support citizens (Larner, 2000; Liebenberg, Ungar & Ikeda, 2013). Accordingly, individuals are increasingly taught to be mostly, if not solely, responsible for their financial well-being,

healthcare, education, and skillset (Raddon, 2012; Liebenberg, Ungar & Ikeda, 2013). Relatedly, discourses of individual responsibility have become pervasive, routinely selling citizens the idea that managing every and all aspects of their life is a form of individual empowerment and self-improvement (Brock, 2012). However, this process of responsibilization obscures the structural factors that impact individuals' everyday behaviours, many of which this paper has already noted, such as precarity in the post-secondary education or the overall lack of good jobs available in the Canadian economy. Thus, within this neoliberal culture, there is no doubt that some drivers coming through our picket line would blame the picketers for their grievances, as elucidated in the below conversation:

R: Good morning, sir. How are you doing today?

C: Well, I will be better if I can reach my work on time. What is happening here?

R: We are on strike at York University, and this is our legal picket line,

C (looking confused): Strike. What for?

R: We are the contract faculty and the graduate students. We are asking for job security and funding to live above the poverty line.

C: What, what job security?

R: We have contracts that are renewed every semester, we do not have full-time jobs with benefits, and we have to work in different places to be able to pay the bills.

C: If you are not happy with your job, get another job.

R: But we are educators, and this is our job. And this is a publicly funded university. Why not change our working conditions?

C (in an affirmative tone): Change your job. If you are not happy, change your job and do not go on strike. You cannot depend on our taxes to

fund your job. Find something else.

R: Most of the jobs these days in Canada have the same insecurity. So it is time that we ask for our fundamental rights.

C: And do you think you will be able to change it?

R: The university cannot run without our labour, and we are on strike to be able to change the situation.

C: No one will change the situation. This is it. Accept it and go find another job if you are not happy. You can live a decent life if you change your job. You should not depend on our taxes. It is up to you. Now open this road for me. I need to go.

R: We will try to change it.

C: I need to go (in an angry tone)

R: We allow two cars every 4 minutes. Your wait time is less than 15 minutes.

C: Find another job (Expletive).

In the above conversation, the driver is externalizing their anger as a result of waiting at the picket line by blaming the strikers for their personal economic problems. Instead of understanding the root causes of economic distress that led to the strike, the driver blamed us for our own financial distress and job insecurity. This exemplifies the process of responsibilization typical to neoliberalism, in which individuals are constructed as solely accountable for their success and/or failure, thereby disregarding the structural problems that encourage these successes and/or failures in the first place. These structural problems include but are not limited to race, gender, class, and immigration status (Musolf, 2003).

The normalization of discourses of individual responsibility is clearly manifested in the driver's specific statement: *"You can live a decent life if you change your job. You should not depend on our taxes. It is up to you"*. Such statements shift the responsibility of job precarity, job loss, and low

funding away from the employer, York University, and onto us, the picketers. In turn, the driver's anger is, in their mind, justified, as the picketers are not doing their best to live a decent life. Similarly, their lawful act of blocking the road or delaying entrance into the university is rendered deviant. This particular exchange illuminates the effects of hegemonic neoliberal thinking on contemporary social movements: highlighting how such thinking permits the general public the rhetoric they need to portray protestors as lazy and irresponsible workers who are shirking their responsibilities to the economy and are thus unworthy of sympathy and solidarity.

Discussion and conclusion

This article draws on data collected through personal experience and existing literature to highlight the often-marginalized role that the emotions of the general public play in shaping the atmosphere of picket lines. More specifically, this paper reflects upon my personal encounters with drivers at the Shoreham picket line during the 2018 York University Strike to examine the role of bystanders' emotions in social movement organizing. In order to do this, I provide different examples from my time as a front-line communicator or "car talker" to display the spectrum of emotions that bystanders are capable of, ranging from sympathy and support to collective anger and shaming.

Recognizing that cognitive and emotional framing are co-constitutive, I argue that emotional management is closely inter-related to the message that picketers communicate to the general public. Acknowledging the existing economic problems in Canadian society, such as the dominance of precarity in the job market and the unaffordability of postsecondary education, I highlight how CUPE 3903 sought to elicit communal sympathy and support by bridging our grievances with those of the general public. This is otherwise known as the tactic of framing. In using this discursive practice, we were able to evoke solidarity from many of the drivers passing through the picket line, successfully changing their opinions and thus mobilizing their support.

However, at each encounter, I only had a couple of minutes to interact with the driver, which usually started with my salutation and introduction and would then transition into a discussion. These engaged interactions were usually multi-directional: I would communicate my message to the driver, who would then respond to me. Yet, the relative success of these exchanges was also impacted by the pre-existing beliefs of the drivers and their emotional well-being at the time of the encounter. For instance, some encounters only reinforced common-sense belief systems, such as the ineffectiveness of strikes and the neoliberal responsibilization of financial well-being. To demonstrate this point, I engage one example in which a driver blamed us for our poor financial well-being, and consequently shut down any possibility of us forging solidarity with them. Other encounters illustrate how anger has the power to be collectively effervescent, making it harder to manage the emotions of the public. Lastly, picketers can never really know the emotional and physical status of drivers before they reach the picket line. For instance, I met individuals who had just finished their night shift and were passing through the picket line to go home to rest before starting the day shift for their second job. I would watch these individuals sleep in their cars while waiting for their turn to pass, unable to let them through. Another time, I accidentally made a mother sob because my interaction with her triggered the severe anxiety she had around her child with autism. These and similar instances illustrate the fact that bystanders bring a complex constellation of emotions to the picket line experience that picketers themselves cannot reasonably manage. Future research should further investigate the issues that this poses to the longevity of social movement organizing.

The ways in which social agents manage the emotions of the general public are understudied in social movement literature on the ground. This relative blindness to bystanders' emotions negatively impacts researchers' understanding of the longevity of social movements, as it promotes a perspective that negates what a movement looks and feels like to the people who animate it. During the 2018 York University Strike, picket lines were sites of escalated verbal and physical violence against picketers. This paper demonstrates how some drivers intended to shame picketers by humiliating, threatening, and demeaning us. In extreme cases, bystanders physically assaulted picketers, by either

spitting on us, knocking down our road barriers, throwing objects at us, or even hitting us with their fists. Unsurprisingly, such violence was the main contributor to the thinning of the picket lines, as it traumatized many of the picketers. These findings suggest that managing the emotions of the drivers by de-escalating potential violence was of utmost importance for the strike, as it shaped the durability and density of the picket lines. It also points to the importance of building bonds with bystanders around mutual grievances in order to protect against such violence. Hence, by foregrounding these issues and providing an empirical study of the interactions between picketers and the general public, this article contributes to the growth and development of the sociology of social movements.

As a social movement researcher and scholar-activist, I am committed to producing knowledge alongside the movements I study. This requires an ethical commitment to the growth and prosperity of these social movements and to produce knowledge that will positively impact them. Drawing on personal experiences with social movement organizing to study and analyze a movement's development (in this case, I drew on my experiences as an active member of the rank and file of CUPE 3903 to engage the 2018 York University Strike) allows scholar-activists to examine the micro-dynamics that contribute to the development of a social movement and whether or not said movement is effective. My direct engagement with the drivers at the picket line allowed me to offer an analysis of their emotions at that specific site on inquiry. Epistemological practices and knowledge productions stemming from these and similar types of ground-level experiences are of particular importance to the study of social movements and are useful for both academic and activist fields, as such research provides a firsthand experience of activists' interactions with the general public as they fight to protect their rights and dignity.

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Appendix A
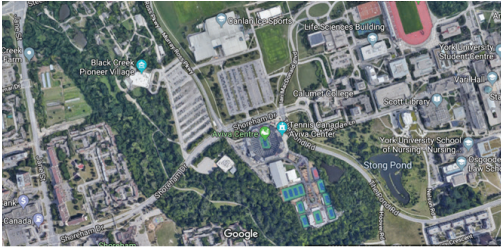
Figure 1: A map showing the location of Shoreham drive

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Author biography

Rana Sukarieh is a Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at York University, Toronto, Canada. Her dissertation focuses on a (re)conceptualization of political solidarity among transnational activists, with focus on the Palestinian Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement. Her specific question examines the (dis)continuity of solidarity with the BDS movement and the process of transcending activists' differences in order to build a sustained solidarity. Rana's research interests are in the areas of transnational social movements, social movements and political economy in the Middle East, critical qualitative research and post-colonial studies. She currently teaches at the American University of Beirut. She holds a B.A in economics from the American University of Beirut, Hons. B.A. in Sociology and M.A in sociology from York University. She is a recipient of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council award (SSHRC), the Ontario Graduate Studies award (OGS), and the Nathanson Centre on Transnational Human Rights, Crime and Security award at York University.

Policymaking Process for Foreign Care Workers in Contemporary Japan: Changes and Continuation

Izumi Niki

Abstract

This paper analyzes recent policy reforms made to foreign care work in Japan. The two policy reforms discussed in this paper are 1. The expansion of categories in the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) and 2. The inclusion of domestic workers into the Japanese labour sector through the use of National Strategic Special Zones. By analyzing these policymaking processes, the following four observations were made salient. 1. That policy reforms were largely driven by economic motivations; 2. That the policymaking processes that determined the nature of these reforms were led by politicians who were acting on behalf of the interests of business leaders; 3. That the Japanese government continues to utilize policies that deny labourers permanent residency or citizenship status, such as temporary worker programs, in order to avoid implementing migration practices that allow workers to become Japanese citizens; and 4. That the government holds contradicting attitudes towards care work, whereby eldercare is increasingly considered professional/skilled work, while domestic work is regarded as low/semi-skilled labour. These findings suggest that Japan's foreign care immigration policies are designed to recruit temporary workers in ways that violate their human rights for the purpose of exploitation, in addition to the original goal of transferring skills to sending countries. With this in mind, I conclude my paper by arguing that these policymaking processes reproduce a gendered, racialized, and classed international division of labour and a global care chain.

Keywords

Japanese immigration policy, migrant worker, domestic worker, Technical Intern Training Program, process tracing

Introduction

Over the last few decades, Japan's population has been ageing, with 27% of the population aged 65 or older, and approximately 6.2 million people using care services through Long-Term Care Insurance (LTCI) (MHLW, 2016a). The Japanese government has been responding to these demographic and family changes with a series of social policy reforms, such as introducing LTCI in 2000. However, Japan's ageing population has caused a rapid increase in the number of people, mainly women, caring for their family members, as well as a severe shortage of professional care workers. Although immigration is often used as a key national policy tool to mitigate labour shortages and population decline in many countries, Japan has been reluctant to reform its

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immigration policy (Peng, 2016). In particular, the country has kept its borders closed to migrants, especially unskilled/semi-skilled workers, and tried to meet labour demands by using existing temporary worker programs, such as the Internship Programs, that deny migrants access to permanent residency and citizenship (Chung, 2014).

By using existing temporary worker programs, instead of relying on immigration, the Japanese government can avoid significant legislative change as well as public debates around the country's notoriously restrictive immigration policies (Chung, 2014; Peng, 2016). Furthermore, the Japanese government's preferential use of co-ethnic migrants of Japanese descent illustrates the state's commitment to maintaining the cultural and ethnic homogeneity of the country (Oishi, 2005; Rosenbluth, Kage & Tanaka, 2016). For instance, the government has insisted that these foreign workers are not "immigrants" and thus the policies designed to accept them are "not immigration policies" (Cabinet Office, 2018, p. 34-35). These and similar positions demonstrate the Japanese government's refusal to reform their immigration policy in favour of open immigration practices.

In what follows, I will investigate how the Japanese government is using de facto immigration policy to increase the intake of foreign care workers in order to address Japan's rapidly ageing population. First, I will outline and discuss emergent debates around migration and social policy that give substantive focus to the intersections of gender, care, and migration. Drawing on this literature, I will then analyze two Japanese policy reforms related to foreign care workers: The expansion of job categories in the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) to include eldercare workers, and the acceptance of foreign domestic workers into National Strategic Special Zones (NSSZs). I treat these policies and surrounding policymaking processes as discursive practices and analyze them

using a process tracing method that involves an analyse of the power dynamics between stakeholders in the decision-making processes and the tactics used by the Japanese government. I conclude by discussing the implications of these policymaking process on both the foreign workers themselves as well as broader society more generally.

Background

The globalized economy

Migration is not a new phenomenon; however, since the 1980s, worldwide migration has dramatically increased (Castles & Miller, 2009). Currently, there are 243 million international migrants worldwide, in comparison to 152 million in 1990, and 48 percent of whom are women (U.N., 2016).[1] Theories on the causes of migration are diverse (Massey et al., 2008; Teitelbaum, 2008). However, what they all have in common is the belief that migration creates transnational economies that have resulted in the creation of transnational communities, as workers are forced to move from one state to another in search of employment, often leaving family members behind (Hollifield, 2008).

Due to the globalized economy, there are economic pressures pushing for open migration (Castles & Miller, 2009; Chung, 2014). Accordingly, domestic politics, bilateral and regional relationships, and national state security policies are increasingly affected by, and in turn affecting, international migration (Castles & Miller, 2009). With the rise of globalization, international human rights agreements have evolved, and social and political rights have been extended to migrants. In turn, migration has become a more complicated process and, as a result, it requires a more comprehensive evaluation (Sassen, 2005; Brettell & Hollifield, 2008). As phrased by Saskia Sassen (2005, p. 35): "it is necessary to examine the transformation of the state itself and what that can entail for migration policy and the

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[1] While there is no formal legal definition, international migrants fall into the following six categories: temporary labour migrants, such as guest workers and overseas contract workers; highly skilled and business migrants; irregular migrants, such as undocumented/illegal migrants; forced migrants or refugees; family reunification migrants; and return migrants, such as people who returned to their countries of origin (UNESCO, n.d.). Generally, short-term or temporary migration refers to migration periods that last between 3 and 12 months. while long-term or permanent migration refers to a change of country of residence for one year or more (UN, n.d.).

regulation of migration flows and settlement".

Moreover, the combination of broader socioeconomic changes and neoliberal social policy reforms[2] in sending and receiving countries have altered how care is understood, provided, and regulated (Gill & Bakker, 2003; Herrera, 2013; Michel & Peng, 2017). For instance, the rising cuts to social resources and provisions in the wake of increased privatization and marketization of care has forced people in receiving countries to rely more on the market and community/voluntary sectors. In sending countries, however, economic and policy changes have increased unemployment and underemployment, intensifying financial insecurity and making care migration an increasingly compelling and necessary alternative for those hoping to escape poverty (Gill & Bakker, 2003; Michel & Peng, 2017).

In Japan specifically, care is largely provided by family members, mainly women, in addition to being purchased through extensive market services (Osawa, 2007; Ochiai, 2009). However, rapid population transformation and a resulting shortage of eldercare workers has made these options less accessible to Japanese citizens (Care Work Foundation, 2018). Yet, despite this, Japan has very limited immigration opportunities for care workers – with some exceptions, such as the bilateral Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) Program. This fact stands in direct contrast to many other countries in Europe, North America, and elsewhere in Asia that actively mobilize the labour of migrant care workers to address population shifts (Ochiai, 2009). It is also important to note that Japan is one of the highest-ranking countries when it comes to gender disparity in both paid and unpaid care work. 70% of public eldercare work and 90% of private care work is performed by women who are paid relatively low wages (Care Work Foundation, 2018). Thus, care work in Japan is restricted by both economic and gendered constraints.

Notably, the rising transnational demand for care labour has produced a global care chain. The global care chain refers to the links between people across the globe based on the paid and unpaid work of caring (Hochschild, 2000). In short, it is the overarching network of transnational dimensions that maintain daily life. This network is comprised of households that transfer their caregiving tasks from one to another on the basis of power axes, such as gender, ethnicity, social class, and place of origin (Orezo, 2009). Care work has historically been foisted onto women in particular, which explains, in part, why care work is one of the biggest industries women engage in (Oishi, 2005). However, with both globalization and the defunding of the welfare state through neoliberalism, women in developed countries who have more economic power are now using migrant care labourers instead of doing this labour themselves. These migrant women are often impoverished and, most commonly, from the Third World (Ueno, 2009; Brigham, 2015). Often mothers themselves must find someone else to fulfill their domestic duties, such as other family or community members (Bakan, Stasiulis & Stasiulis, 1997; Crawford, 2003; Ueno, 2009), thereby initiating a global care chain. Moreover, since care work is often considered to be low-skilled work, it is poorly remunerated, which is only further justified by the fact that racialized women constitute the majority of care workers (Anderson, 2000; Ehrenreigh & Hoschichild, 2002; Yeates, 2009). With this in mind, it is clear that the links of the chain traverse complex axes of inequality that include not only gender but also race, class, generations, geopolitics, and nations (Perez, 2009 in Herrera, 2013; Yeates, 2009).

In the context of Japan, we begin to see the effects of the global care chain emerge in relation to eldercare work and domestic work in particular. For eldercare work, Japan started to accept trainees under the Foreign Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) in 2018, with 257 people arriving in 2018. The Japanese government is expecting to accept approximately 50,000 to 60,000 more foreign eldercare trainees in the next five years ("Kaigo rainichi", 2018). Regarding domestic workers, the Japanese government recently announced that they expect to receive more foreign domestic workers

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[2] The term is most commonly applied to those who change their traditional liberal views in favour of those that espouse fewer direct welfare benefits and other similar programs (Barker, 2014), which implies an ideological shift towards individualism, rationality, and market supremacy (Pratt, 2006).

through a new pilot program (Special Economic Zones) (Nomura, 2016). The first 25 workers under this program arrived in March 2017 and came from the Philippines.[3] The above research demonstrates that, although Japan still employs the "regulated institutional approach," which involves strict immigration control for care workers (Peng, 2017), a more "liberal private market approach" has emerged in specific areas of the economy, such as in domestic work. In the next section, I will elaborate on this discussion by examining Japan's current temporary worker programs for migrant and foreign care workers.

Migrant and foreign workers in Japan

Japan has long been reluctant to create a policy designed to increase the entrance of migrant workers, including care workers, into the country (Ochiai, 2009; Peng, 2017). Until recently, the only policies to accept foreign care workers and nurses in Japan were established through the bilateral Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) program. Since 2006, around four thousand eldercare workers have come to Japan from other Asian countries through the program.[4] And as of January 2019, a total of 3,165 EPA care workers were working in Japan (MHLW, 2019). However, this program is considered to be one of the temporary worker programs (Otomo, 2016), which means that the Japanese government primarily frames the EPA program as a form of international cooperation to help up-skill workers from sending countries, while denying workers permanent residency and citizenship. It was therefore never intended to be an immigration policy aimed at recruiting workers in an effort to address care worker shortages in Japan (MHLW, 2016b). This explains why the program has been largely unsuccessful in securing care workers on a long-term basis. For one, there are many obstacles facing EPA workers seeking to stay

in Japan. In order to stay in Japan after the program (a maximum four years), they must pass a care work qualification exam. However, due to the exam's strict standards concerning language competency, the majority of the EPA workers fail to pass, and as a result, eventually have to leave the country (MHLW, 2019b). Therefore, the EPA program is considered to be unsuccessful at addressing the care needs of the country in economically sustainable and socially meaningful ways.

Beyond the EPA program, another important temporary worker program to consider is the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP). Founded in 1981, the TITP was developed as a form of government aid[5] that supports the transfer of skills from Japan to sending countries. As of December 2018, around 328,000 people have entered Japan through this program (Osumi, 2019). However, program trainees were mostly accepted by industries with a labour shortage, such as construction, agricultural, and manufacturing sectors (MOJ, n.d.). This suggests that the program works more to remedy shortages in the Japanese labour market than it does to transfer skills to sending countries. This is further evidenced by the fact that 1. the Japanese government recently reformed this program to include eldercare work and 2. trainees under the TITP could originally only stay in Japan for up to three years (MOJ, n.d.). Taken together, these two observations indicate that the TITP is being used to recruit migrant labourers on a short-term basis and thus, like EPA, is being improperly used to address the care labour shortage in Japan.

In April 2019, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) government introduced a new policy (*Tokutei ginou*) that allows foreign people to work in Japan for up to five years when employed in 1 of the 14 job categories that the state deems "in need," such as elder care, construction, and agriculture ("Japan's New Labour Visa", 2019).[6] Here, "specified skilled workers," i.e., those engaged in work requiring skills that need a considerable degree of knowledge

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[3] It is important to note, however, that even before this program came into effect, some housekeeping services were already being provided by Filipina maids, who mainly came to Japan with an entertainer visa and acquired residency status by marrying Japanese men.

[4] The program started in 2006 with the Philippines, 2007 with Indonesia, and 2014 with Vietnam.

[5] Official development assistance (ODA): the government aid designed to promote the economic development and welfare of developing countries.

[6] The government is planning to launch an even higher skilled category in the next few years wherein foreign nationals with more skill will be allowed to stay in the country longer. This will allow certain migrant workers to accompany family members and renew work permits in Japan indefinitely. In the next five years, Japan expects to receive about 345,500 foreign blue-collar workers under these categories ("Japan's New Labour Visa," 2019).

or experience, can stay for up to five years in the country. This policy is intended to provide an avenue for foreign workers who completed the EPA and TITP program to remain in the country. However, these workers have little chance to obtain permanent residency or citizenship and are also unable to bring their partner or dependents into the country. This is because the Japanese government insists that this policy is not an "immigration policy", as these workers are not migrants (LDP, 2016, p.2), and should therefore not be treated as such[7].

Unsurprisingly, these temporary worker programs have been criticized by scholars and human rights specialists for the inconsistency existing between their original purpose—transferring skills to developing countries—and their reality—recruiting temporary workers at a low wage (Chung, 2014; JFBA, 2014; Lang, 2018). On the one hand, treating migrant workers as temporary foreign workers allow the Japanese state to benefit from the labour of migrants without also extending them citizen entitlements. Trainees brought in under the TITP are especially vulnerable to labour and human rights violations, as they have temporary status. Not only are they under strict governmental control,[8] many of the trainees face exploitative circumstances, such as being overworked, underpaid, or abused and harassed by their employers (JFBA, 2014). In fact, over the last five years, more than 25,000 trainees in total were reported missing – mainly as a result of trying to flee harsh conditions (Lang, 2018; MOJ, 2018). These statistics illustrate the problematic realities of the program and the vulnerable position in which migrant workers brought in through such temporary worker programs are unjustly put in (Sugi, 2018).

As illustrated above, regardless of Japan's purportedly closed immigration policy, the country has already accepted large numbers of foreign workers. 2.3 million foreign workers currently reside in Japan (Osumi, 2019), and the number of incoming migrants (when foreign workers are included)—approximately 430,000 people a year— is the fourth highest out of all 35 countries associated with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (OECD, 2018). Yet, despite this, the Japanese government insists that these migrants are temporary foreign workers, rather than migrants who merit the entitlements associated with being a Japanese resident - the harm of which is exemplified by the human rights violations associated with the TITP and similar temporary worker programs. However, Japan's ageing population, along with the emergent globalized economic system, will only increase the need to bring more migrant workers into Japan. Accordingly, in the next section, I will examine Japanese immigration policies intended to address care work shortages. By examining these policymaking processes and their associated practices, I will demonstrate how policies related to care work, specifically the TITP and domestic work, are being discussed and mobilized by the current Japanese government.

Methods

Inductive process tracing

For my analysis, I will use process tracing, a qualitative analysis tool intended to analyze case studies, in order to examine Japanese policymaking processes as discursive practices[9]. Positioning policymaking processes as a discursive practice allows researchers to identify not only how public policies represent larger social norms and mores but also the interactive processes by which these norms are conveyed and constructed (Schmidt, 2008). This then enables an explanation of the dynamics of social change and continuity that inform not only 'what is said' in a given policy but also 'who said what to whom, where and why,' in the making of said policy (Schmidt, 2008, p. 305; Bischoping & Gazso, 2016, p. 132). Accordingly, I view policymaking as a discursive process in this paper because it helps to reveal the ways in which policies are socially constructed and thus imbued with symbolic meaning that extends beyond the mere analytic frame of rules and regulations (Fischer, 2003). This view also permits me the ability to disclose how policymakers understand, regulate, and treat subjects in a given society, particularly in relation to the intersections of

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[7] Although the Japanese government insists that these programs are not immigration policies, this paper clearly demonstrates that they are. Hence, in this paper, I will use the word foreign worker and migrant worker interchangeably.

[8] TITP trainees are usually unable to either change their occupational category or employer status upon arrival or visit their home country during the duration of the program (Lang, 2018).

[9] According to Gazso and Bischoping (2016), discourse is a "web of meanings, ideas, interactions and practices that are expressed or represented in texts (spoken and written language, gesture, and visual imagery), within institutional and everyday settings" (p. 129).

care work and immigration policy.

When analyzing public policy as discourse, it is crucial to recognize the role that power relations play in shaping these discursive practices (Goodwin, 2011), as discourses operate as "regimes of truth" that regulate our individual behaviour based on prevailing knowledge-power relations (Foucault, 1973). One way to examine how power structures affect policymaking is through process tracing (Campbell, 2002; Schmidt, 2008). While there is debate over the definition of process tracing and the necessary procedures required for its application (Trampusch & Palier, 2016), process tracing is most typically defined as the analysis of processes, sequences, and conjunctures of relevant events within a given case study for the purpose of either developing hypotheses that might explain the case, or testing existing hypotheses about causal mechanisms related to said case (Vennesson, 2008; Bennett, 2010; Bennett and Checkel, 2015). These mechanisms typically relate to processes involving material power, institutional efficiency, or social legitimacy (Mahoney, 2000). Thus, careful examination by process tracing, such as examining how specific actors carried certain ideas into the policymaking process or how the dialogue started and then came into effect, can reveal how unequal power relations effect policymaking decisions (Campbell, 2002; Schmidt, 2008). It can also show the complex relationships between different stakeholders and their constituents.

For my analysis, I specifically used an inductive process-tracing approach, which uses evidence from within a given case to build hypotheses that might explain the outcome of the case; these hypotheses may, in turn, generate additional practical implications for future cases (Bennett & Checkel, 2015). This study examined the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP), and National Strategic Special Zones (NSSZs) as two policies intended to address care labour shortages in Japan through the use of temporary migrant workers[10]. The goal here was to reveal the mechanisms between the policymaking processes behind these cases and the logics that led to the current (unintended) outcome of them being used to address labour shortages in Japanese care work. More specifically, my analysis

will seek to answer the following three questions: 1. When and by whom was policy reform suggested for each case? 2. What kind of problems were demonstrated within these reforms? 3. Who agreed or disagreed with the implementation of each reform, and why? By framing my analysis with these questions in mind, I am able to reveal the intention behind each policy reform and the power structures in which these reforms operate.

Data selection

The data I used for my analysis came from official Japanese government meeting minutes, reports, and other documents that address policy reform around care work policies relevant to this paper. Documents were obtained from public governmental websites and ranged from 2013 to 2016.[11] The following documents were chosen for analysis:

1. Government policy papers:
Japan Revitalization Strategy (Nippon saikou senryaku) 2013 to 2016; *Basic Policy on Economic and Fiscal Management and Reform 2018 (Keizai zaisei unei to kaikaku no kihonhoushin 2018)*; Policy paper from Liberal Democratic Party of Japan on the *Basic concept of accepting foreign worker for 'symbiosis era' (Kyosei no jidai' ni muketa gaikokujin roudousha ukeire no kihonteki kangaekata)*

2. Minutes of policy advisory groups council within the Cabinet Office:

Industrial Competitiveness Council (ICC) (Sangyo kyousouryoku kaigi); Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy (CEFP) (Keizai zaisei shimon kaigi), and their sub-groups; and Council on National Strategic Special Zones (Kokka senryaku tokubetsuku shimon kaigi)

3. Minutes and reports from meetings held in the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW):

The Study Committees on Foreign Care Workers (Gaikokujin kaigo jinzai ukeire no arikata ni kansuru kentokai)

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[10] EPA program reform occurred concurrently with the two other policy reforms discussed in this paper. However, due to space limitations, the analysis of EPA program reform will only be briefly discussed in this paper.
[11] Cabinet Office: https://japan.kantei.go.jp, Prime Minister's Office (PMO): https://www.kantei. go.jp, Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW): http://www.mhlw.go.jp, Ministry of Justice (MOJ): http://www.moj.go.jp/, Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (LDP): https://www.jimin.jp/

4. Reports from meetings held in the Ministry of Justice (MOJ):

The 6th Roundtable Conferences on Immigration Control Policies (Dai 6ji shutsunyukoku kanri seisaku kondankai); the sub-committee on Consulting Systems of Foreign Workers (Gaikokujin ukeire seido kentou bunkakai)

5. Conference held together by the MHLW and the MOJ:

Combined Experts Conference on Revitalization of the TITP (Ginoujisshuseido minaoshi nikansuru houmushou kouseiroudoushou goudou yushikisha kondankai)

For my analysis, I focus particularly on the following councils: The Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy (CEFP) (Keizai zaisei shimon kaigi)[12], Industrial Competitiveness Council (ICC) (Sangyo kyousouryoku kaigi)[13], and Council on National Strategic Special Zones (NSSZs)[14]. (See Appendix A , Figure 1, for the active period of each Council). Each of these councils act as a policy advisory group within the Cabinet Office chaired by the Prime Minister, who appoints its members, including appointment experts from the private sector. The mandate of these groups is to "enhance the Prime Minister's leadership," namely by providing expert advice on relevant economic and fiscal policies (PMO, n.d.a, p. 1). The members of these councils are business leaders and scholars who support deregulation and privatization (PMO, 2014a; PMO, 2016a; PMO, n.d.b). Each council and meeting

minutes analyzed for this study were coded in accordance with themes relevant to the project (See Appendix A, Figure 2, for the timeline and topics of the meetings).

As seen in Figure 1, topics were first mentioned in the Cabinet Office policy advisory councils, as well as in the report forms produced by the Cabinet, and subsequently discussed in relevant ministry-led meetings. For instance, the EPA program reform was first mentioned in the Cabinet report, *Japan Revitalization Strategy* in June 2013, and then discussed in a Cabinet-led ICC and CEFP joint meeting in 2014, followed by a meeting in the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) in 2016. Unlike previous studies that state Japan's "bureaucratically-driven" policymaking is led by the civil servants within the Ministries (Campbell, 1992), this data indicates that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet Office are taking a leading role in policymaking.

Below, I will analyze two policymaking processes: first those regarding the expansion of categories in the Technical Intern Training Program; and then the policy decisions made around accepting domestic workers through the use of National Strategic Special Zones.

Findings

Technical Intern Training Program (TITP)

Expanding the temporary worker programs.
Despite the fact that associations of long-term care have been lobbying the Technical Intern Training

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[12] The Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy (CEFP) started in 2001, under the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) government, and ceased functioning during the government of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) between 2009 and 2012, and recommenced in 2013, shortly after Prime Minister Abe of the LDP took office. The council typically consists of ten people, including at least four experts from the private sector or academia (PMO, n.d.a). The members of the 2013 council included the head of the Bank of Japan, the head of the Japan Business Federation (Keidanren), and other business leaders and economists (PMO, n.d.b), who is known to be a supporter of deregulation and privatization.

[13] The Industrial Competitiveness Council (ICC) is a council that began in 2013 under the administration of LDP Prime Minister Abe. This council aims to develop strategies to compete in the global economy (PMO, 2013i). There are no guidelines for membership qualifications, no time limitations imposed on the members, or any rules about when and how often they can hold a meeting. The chair of the meeting, the Prime Minister, is responsible for member appointments and scheduling meetings. In 2016, the ICC was comprised of Ministers and nine business leaders and experts from the private sector (PMO, 2016a).

[14] The Council on National Strategic Special Zones (NSSZs) commenced in 2014, again under Prime Minister Abe's cabinet. The aim of the council is to utilize the National Strategic Special Zones as a "breakthrough for regulatory reform" (PMO, 2014a).

Program (TITP) to expand job categories to include eldercare for more than ten years (MOJ, 2014a, p. 4), discussions on this topic only started to emerge in the fall of 2013 with the advent of Industrial Competitiveness Council (ICC)'s Employment and Human Resources sub-group (PMO, 2013a). This sub-group, of which most of the members, including three core members[15], are from business sectors, met between September 2013 and April 2014 with the goal of "smoothly develop[ing] the *Japan Revitalization Strategy* 2013" (PMO, 2013b, p. 1): the government's core policy. The expansion of the TITP categories was first proposed in October 2013 by one member of the sub-committee: Sadayuki Sakakibara, the then leader of the Japan Business Federation, and was then discussed in subsequent sub-group meetings between October and December 2013 (See Appendix A, Figure 2).

Proposed changes were designed to: 1. extend the length of the trainee program and 2. widen eligible occupational categories to include eldercare in order to "eliminate the labour force shortage in Japan" (PMO, 2013d, p. 1). In November 2013, the sub-group held a hearing session with the two regulatory bodies: The Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) and the Ministry of Justice (MOJ). In contrast to business leaders in the ICC sub-group, civil servants from MHLW and MOJ[16] had kept a prudent stance on this reform. MHLW civil servant stated that "firstly, this TITP should be optimized for its intended aim" and cautioned that "expanding the system should be carefully examined" (PMO, 2013e, p. 5)[17]. Despite these divergent opinions, in the final meeting held in December 2013, the sub-group gave their mid-term report (PMO, 2013g), stating the need to expand TITP job categories, such as care work, in order to fulfill labour shortages and sustain the Japanese economy (PMO, 2013g, p. 12). This report, written in line with the Prime Minister and his Cabinet's objectives[18], was submitted to the larger ICC meeting. Not surprisingly, the Cabinet Office accepted the proposed revision, and in January 2014, the government officially announced to expand TITP job categories, including eldercare work (PMO, 2014a).

Including the contents from this report, the *Japan Revitalization Strategy 2014* was published in June 2014. Regarding revisions to the TITP, the strategy stated that "while drastically strengthening the management and supervision schemes, the government will expand the Technical Intern Training systems, including job categories covered by the system, training period (from 3 years to 5 years at most), and admission quotas on trainees" (PMO, 2014c, p. 26). The strategy also set forth a goal to implement this policy by 2015. Following

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[15] Core members of the group consisted of three people from the business sector, including the two most significant business associations in Japan—Sakakibara, from the head of the Japan Business Federation (Keidanren); Hasegawa, from the Japan Association of Corporate Executives (Keizai Doyukai), and Professor Takenaka, who heads the Koizumi administration's economic policies, as well as the biggest temporary staffing agency in Japan (PMO, 2013c).

[16] The MOJ held their own sub-committee meetings regarding the TITP programs in the 6th Immigration Policy Roundtable between November 2013 and May 2014. The subsequent reports released in June 2014 pointed to the problems associated with the TITP, along with its reality; that the program is serving to fulfil labour shortages in Japan (MOJ, 2014b).

[17] In the following hearing in November 2013, MHLW staff explained the pros and cons of TITP raised by different stakeholders and experts. Among them, opinions favourable to expanding the TITP originated from the Japan Business Federation (Keidanren), Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and Small and Federation of Medium Enterprise, while opposing views came from the Japanese Trade Unions Confederation (Rengo) and Japan Federation of Bar Associations (Nichibenren) (MHLW, 2013).

[18] In the meeting on December 2013, Hasegawa, from the Japan Association of Corporate Executives (Keizai Doyukai), mentioned the Prime Minister's recent interview with a newspaper, whereby the reporter stated that "in order for the Prime Minister to revise the New Growth Strategy in June next year, we must meet his expectations by designing strategies with regards to areas of employment and human resources, agriculture, as well as medical and nursing care" (PMO, 2013h, p. 5). This comment indicates not only that topics discussed in the meetings were influenced by either the Prime Minister or larger ICC membership, but also that decisions or recommendations from these meetings were in line with state objectives.

this announcement, the concerning ministries, MJLW and MOJ, were forced to begin consultations on specific measures of policy implementation[19]. From November 2014 to January 2015, these two ministries held four Joint Experts Discussion Panels to discuss details about possible issues and procedures related to the expansion of the TITP (MHLW, n.d.a). The topic was discussed by a MHLW organized study committee on foreign care workers[20] between October 2014 and February 2016, during which time the topic of TITP expansion was discussed only three times. At their first relevant meeting, the chair pointed out that the committee was to proceed "within the framework of the *Japan Revitalization Strategy 2014*" and, although expansion of "TITP has not yet been decided", members were advised to discuss this topic "as if the expansion of TITP on care work has been already decided" (MHLW, 2014, p. 1)[21]. These findings indicate that the policy decision had already been made before the ministry level meetings were held, likely when the *Japan Revitalization Strategy* was published or even proposed.

Despite its original goal to develop international cooperation and provide skills training for trainees from sending countries, the demands and needs of foreign migrant workers and their countries, i.e., the training contents, were never discussed in the above meetings. Similarly, although activists, scholars and international organizations have long spoken out against human rights violations under the TITP, these issues were also not discussed (MHLW, 2013, 2015c). Furthermore, even though the committee (half-heartedly) noted some of the concerns of TITP expansion (MHLW, 2015c), the final report still concluded that "it is appropriate to expand TITP job categories of eldercare work," while simultaneously claiming that the program aim is to "transfer skills

to the sending countries," and is thus not a measure to "fulfill labour shortages" (MHLW, 2015c, p. 1). The report also stated that "appropriate measures" should be taken when conducting revisions so as to: 1. Not lower the social status of eldercare workers in Japan; 2. Ensure migrants have the same working conditions as Japanese workers; and 3. Maintain the quality of eldercare in Japan. It also mentioned that people who have Japanese eldercare certification could work in any setting as "professional/technical workers" (MHLW, 2015d p. 14). Soon after this report was released, the government submitted two pieces of legislative reforms to the lower house of the Diet (parliament) in accordance with cabinet-led decisions to extend the TITP duration from 3 years to 5 years and create a new TITP category for eldercare workers (MOJ, 2015a). From the spring of 2019, Japan started to accept TITP eldercare worker trainees.

Modifying labour categories. The above process shows that Japan is clearly and explicitly continuing to use temporary worker programs to meet its immigration needs rather than use a "front door" immigration policy that would entitle migrants to citizenship benefits (Hollifield, Martin & Orrenius, 2014). For one, TITP reforms have long been discussed with the aim of recruiting trainees for those job categories with labour shortages, and since it is treated as a temporary worker program, the Japanese government has not discussed larger immigration policy reform around social integration or long term migration related to the program, such as granting migrants permanent residency or citizenship. This is exemplified by the fact that "appropriate measures" described in the above report regarding the entrance of more foreign care workers into the TITP appear to be more focused on mitigating the resulting feelings and reactions of Japanese people,

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[19] In April 2014, at the joint meeting of the ICC and the CEFP, the Prime Minister ordered the Minister of Justice mandate legislative reforms for the TITP expansions (Cabinet Office, 2014d).

[20] Members of the MHLW study committee consisted of ten people, including representatives from associations for long-term facilities, associations of vocational schools for certified care workers, and labour unions.

[21] In the following hearing in November 2013, MHLW staff explained the pros and cons of TITP raised by different stakeholders and experts. Among them, opinions favourable to expanding the TITP originated from the Japan Business Federation (Keidanren), Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and Small and Federation of Medium Enterprise, while opposing views came from the Japanese Trade Unions Confederation (Rengo) and Japan Federation of Bar Associations (Nichibenren) (MHLW, 2013).

than of helping the workers integrate into the society successfully. Moreover, the politicians and members on the council in charge of revising the TITP are mostly from the private sector. Civil servants from the ministries not only had little to no influence on the implementation of these policies, they also tended to oppose the reforms in question. The fact that business-oriented federations and their leaders supported the proposed changes to the TITP, while trade unions and their lawyers did not, demonstrates that the expansion of the TITP operates to the benefit of those seeking to use temporary worker programs as a means to address labour shortages in the country. It is thus clear that business interests remain the driving force behind recent changes to the TITP's policy.

In parallel to the TITP reform, the Japanese government also revised the immigration legislation to permit work in Japan indefinitely for people who have obtained national care work qualifications *(Kaigofukushishi)*, which came into effect in September 2017 (MOJ, 2015a, p. 23). These minor policy reforms indicate that the government has started to consider eldercare workers as professional/skilled workers (MHLW, 2016c), and, by doing so, they will likely be able to accept more foreign eldercare without making major legislative changes. More importantly, in the *Basic Plan for Immigration Control*, the government has revealed the stance that the definition of "professional or technical fields" may be flexibly and quickly revised in accordance with society's needs (MOJ, 2015a, p. 23). Accordingly, the residence and landing permission criteria of foreign workers in "professional or technical fields" will be flexibly modified (MOJ, 2015a). In this document as well, it is vaguely indicated that eldercare is now considered to be professional/skilled work.

Similar to TITP reform, the government's revised understanding of eldercare work as "professional/ skilled work" emerged in response to the 2015 and 2016 *Japan Revitalization Strategy* (PMO, 2015, 2016c). In both documents, the government affirmed they would invest in the healthcare and nursing care sector in Japan in order to develop unique professional care skills and techniques that they would then promote as one of the main exporting goods and services in the global market (PMO, 2016c). With this in mind, it is evident that the Japanese government is trying to professionalize eldercare and, in turn, help to grow their healthcare and nursing industries on the global market, thereby bolstering Japan's total economic growth.

Accepting Domestic Workers through National Strategic Special Zones (NSSZs)

Expansion and stratification of care work. Eldercare work was not the only category of care work transformed by the *Japan Revitalization strategy*. In June 2014, the government announced that they would accept "housekeeping support workers" into the National Strategic Special Zones (NSSZs) in major cities. The goal of this was to "help reduce the housekeeping burden" for Japanese women (PMO, 2014c, p. 26) by providing "services to be used cheaply and with peace of mind," thereby supporting their ability to participate in paid labour (PMO, 2014c, p. 53). NSSZs are designated zones that are given priority status for receiving special, more free-market-oriented, economic policies, and flexible legislative measures. Thus, by utilizing these zones, the Japanese government and municipalities can enhance economic activities, which result in the promotion of international competitiveness (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, n.d.).

Although projects operating in NSSZs are typically proposed by municipal governments, along with the private sector, the discussion regarding domestic workers primarily occurred at the national level and, more specifically, in the cabinet council (PMO, 2014d, Tsusaka, 2016). The idea of using NSSZs to mobilize foreign labour as a means of providing housekeeping services to Japanese women was first proposed by a business leader, and member of the ICC sub-group, Professor Takenaka (PMO, 2013f). He argued that Japan "needs to accept maids from foreign countries in order for women to join the labour force" (PMO, 2013f, p. 12). This idea was further elaborated on in a larger meeting between the ICC and CEFP (Cabinet Office, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d).

During this meeting, Minister of Justice and the National Strategic Special Zone Minister shared the idea that utilizing the NSSZs to accept foreign domestic workers could be used as "an experiment" to address the aforementioned concern (Cabinet Office, 2014d, p. 5, 10, 12). They also indicated that the acceptance of foreign domestic workers

was implemented in the scope of enforcing broader immigration policies for domestic workers (Cabinet Office, 2014d). The above implies that the strategy to use NSSZs to expand notions of domestic work is really a means by which to implement a de facto new immigration policy without also implementing major legislative change. By avoiding significant administrative procedures in this way, this policy was implemented much faster than other types of policy reforms in Japan, and was thus less regulated (PMO, 2014e).

It is apparent that the policymaking processes and practices regarding foreign domestic workers in Japan employ a neoliberal approach. For one, in the policymaking process, the idea of bringing in foreign domestic workers through the NSSZs was proposed by business leaders. Thus, similar to TITP expansion, business leaders have a significant influence on the policymaking processes involved. As regards policy practices, in order to efficiently regulate and control the foreign domestic workers, the government decided to hire them through private staffing agencies (PMO, n.d.c), including some of those owned by Professor Takenaka ("Phiripin jin kaji daikou", 2015). Hence, also similar to TITP policy reforms analysed in this paper, it is clear that these policymaking processes were initiated, not by ministries acting in favour of domestic labours and workers, but by moneyed government bodies[22].

Furthermore, rather than trying to reduce the gender gap within Japanese care labour, the government is instead hiring foreign workers to provide cheap housekeeping services to Japanese women so that they can then engage in paid work. This reproduces and reinforces the "international division of labour" and the "global care chain" (Hochschild, 2000; Parrenas, 2003).[23] For instance, some companies in Japan have already started to offer domestic services provided by Filipina staff, most of whom initially came to Japan under an entertainer visa and stayed in Japan by marrying a Japanese citizen. Advertisements disseminated by these agencies are filled with stereotypes that portray Filipina maids as "kind, gentle, cheerful, and hospitable" (Pinay Housekeeping Services, 2016). Similarly, the agencies that coordinate TITP trainees to Japanese companies also use racial stereotypes to depict their workers, such as depicting Vietnamese people are "easy-going but tough," or Thai people as "polite" (Aiwa Corporative Association, 2014, p. 1).

By using these supposedly natural 'traits' to represent foreign domestic workers, matching agencies are trying to promote their perceived positive racial attributes in an effort to decrease Japanese people's apprehension towards foreign workers. However, this tactic is problematic in that it reinforces stereotypes and re-stigmatizes "foreignness" (England & Stiell, 1997; Kelly, 2014; Lan, 2018). This is a clear example of how migrant workers are gendered, racialized, and classed by national identities in the policymaking process, wherein receiving countries capitalize on the idea that some national identities supposedly have qualities that make them well-suited for care and domestic work (England & Stiell, 1997).

Discussion

This study reviewed recent policy reforms in Japan implemented around care work, giving substantive focus to recent revisions made to the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) and the National Strategic Special Zones (NSSZs). In particular, I focused on how these revisions were mobilized as a result of the *Japan Revitalization Strategy*, which sought to address Japan's economic growth and labour shortage, to the benefit of business and state interests. My analysis of these policy reforms revealed four main findings, which I discuss below.

First, it is clear that reforms to these policies are driven by economic motivations and deeply

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[22] When the working group under ICC and CEFP held hearings with concerning ministries such as the MOJ, MHLW, and the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry around accepting domestic workers into Japan (PMO, 2014d) one of the Cabinet Office secretaries stated that "this plan will be included in the new Japan Revitalization Strategy next month" (PMO, 2014d, p.2), which indicates that these hearings are already under the purview of the Cabinet.

[23] There are also concerns regarding human rights issues for these workers since the Japanese government has not signed the ILO Convention #189, Domestic Worker's Convention to protect domestic workers (Hasebe, 2015).

influenced by business leaders' opinions. Most Cabinet council members in charge of these reforms are business leaders and economists from the private sector who support privatization and deregulation (Sadamatsu, 2017). Their proposals are based on economic rationales, as illustrated by the emphasis placed on increasing Japanese women's labour market participation, which is one of the core components of Prime Minister Abe's policy, "Abenomics" (PMO, 2016b). As shown in my review of TITP reform, these programs were used as a tool to mitigate labour shortages as a result of Japan's ageing population. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)'s stance on accepting foreign workers is based on meeting "the society's needs" (LDP, 2016, p. 2), and addressing labour shortages in relevant areas, such as care work, agriculture, construction, and tourism. This idea, along with their argument that one "needs to be cautious that these policies will not be mistakenly understood as if this is an immigration policy" (LDP, 2016, p. 2; Cabinet Office, 2018), suggests that foreign workers are considered temporary workers who should be used to satisfy labour needs in undesirable jobs. In short, foreign workers are primarily understood as tools to meet the demands of the Japanese economy.

Second, in contrast to the previous studies that suggest that Japanese policymaking processes have often been considered to be bureaucratically driven by civil servants in the ministries (Campbell, 1992; Sadamatsu, 2018), my findings suggest that policy reforms, at least those regarding foreign care workers, are primarily driven by council members who are business leaders in the private sector. For instance, TITP policy reforms were first proposed by business-based council member(s), and then discussed in larger meetings with the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. It was only after the policy implementation was announced by the Cabinet, that relevant ministries held meetings, often with experts in the area, around the practical implications of changing the program. Further, in relation to domestic workers, National Strategic Special Zones

(NSSZs) were used as a quick way to expedite the effectuation of new policies with less bureaucratic procedures. In both instances, civil servants in the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) and the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) expressed a cautious stance towards policy reforms. Despite this, however, these views were not meaningfully considered when implementing each policy (PMO, 2013e). Further, similar opinions from labour unions and bar associations, which were given in expert hearings, were also overlooked.

Most importantly, feedback from migrant workers and non-profit organizations that support migrant workers' rights were not considered at all. Instead, policy reform was largely informed by business leaders, who are new power elites (Sadamatsu, 2018). Sadamatsu (2018) explains that new power elites, who compose the Cabinet[24], not only hold power among stakeholders in the policymaking process, but also have major sway when implementing new policies. This is a new 'governance-type' attitude to managing immigration policy and reform, which is different from Japan's former bureaucrat led government approach to regulating immigration (Sadamatsu, 2018). This governance-type policy will create more issues for the country, as it allows new power elites to implement new policies without being monitored by a third party. As a result, power will continue to concentrate around stakeholders and politicians (Sadamatsu, 2018).

Third, the Japanese government continues to utilize temporary worker programs to address issues around immigration and labour, either by revising existing TITP programs for eldercare workers, or utilizing National Strategic Special Zones (NSSZs) to circumvent major legislative change, something these programs were never designed to do. Although policymakers still state that these policies are not technically immigration policies, it is evident that an increasing number of migrant workers reside in Japan through these programs. By continuing to utilize these temporary worker programs, and treat migrant workers as a "foreign human resource"

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[24] For example, during one of the meeting held by the employment and Human Resources sub-group, Hasegawa, from the Japan Association of Corporate Executives, stated that "in order for the Prime Minister to revise the New Growth Strategy in June next year, we must meet his expectations by designing strategies with regards to areas of employment and human resources, agriculture, as well as medical and nursing care" (PMO, 2013h, p. 5).

rather than migrants (Cabinet Office, 2018, p. 35), the government is able to avoid, not only public discussions regarding immigration, but the responsibility they have to help foreign workers integrate into the society.

In addition to the problematic use of temporary worker programs, the government is also slowly trying to modify the meaning of the words used in the policymaking process. This is exemplified by the changes made to the definitions of eldercare in their policy papers, as evidenced by the fact that the ruling party, the LDP, recently announced that the occupational categories in professional/skilled labour should be flexibly defined according to "the society's needs" (LDP, 2016, p. 2). Moreover, the LDP decided to stop using the phrase "unskilled worker" *(Tanjyun roudousha)* due to its "negative image" (LDP, 2016, p. 1). That the government altered the wording of relevant policy documents, while also introducing flexible changes to the concept of professional/skilled labour, implies that they aim to create alternative discourse around migration. In particular, they want to generate a discourse aimed at dispelling the public's negative image of migrant workers, so that these workers can be used to satisfy the labour demands in the least desirable jobs in the Japanese economy.

The fourth and final finding is that the Japanese government seems to hold contradictory attitudes toward care work. Although both eldercare work and domestic work are discussed in the context of Japan's economic promotion and used to enhance international competitiveness (Sadamatsu, 2018), the government increasingly considers eldercare work to be professional/skilled work, and care work, such as housekeeping work, to be low-skilled labour. A main reason for this is that elder care involves nursing care, which is now considered, at least by

the government, to be one of the core industries that Japan needs to thrive in the global market (PMO, 2016c). Accordingly, TITP trainees who have obtained Japanese eldercare (and thus nurse care) certification are considered to be "professional/technical workers"[25] (MHLW, 2015d, p. 14, 2016c, 2016d). This new standard toward eldercare is used as a means to accept more nursed trained foreign workers. For instance, in the fall of 2017, the Japanese government introduced a new visa status that would enable foreign workers with Japanese eldercare work certification to live and work in Japan indefinitely - as long as they continue to work in the nursing care sector. This has led to a huge increase in international students in care work vocational schools (Ebuchi & Takeuchi, 2018)[26].

In contrast to eldercare workers, accepting foreign domestic workers are intended to reduce costs associated with housekeeping services in Japan, and to promote Japanese women's labour participation (Cabinet Office, 2014a; Ishibashi, 2015; PMO, 2014c). This policy represents the mechanisms to create further stratification among people who provide care. For instance, the skill delineation made within care work has resulted in the dismantlement of childcare work into higher-skill educational work and low-skill housekeeping work[27]. Moreover, the words and phrases in the *Japan Revitalization Strategy*, such as "promot[e] women's social participation" or "unleash the power of women," are racially and ethnically biased, as the word "women" only refers to Japanese women (PMO, 2014c, p. 9). Taken together, these two observations suggest that policymaking processes in Japan assume that only women of certain racial-national and socioeconomic statuses should be economically empowered, and that their empowerment has to come at the cost of exploiting and devaluing the labour of women from

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[25] The hurdle remains high for foreign eldercare workers to renew their work permits as they are required to obtain Japanese care work certification by a certain time period, where Japanese citizens working in nursing care are not required to do so. The government states that this measure is to ensure a quality of care provided by care workers and to avoid a wage gap between Japanese and migrant workers.

[26] It is reported that the number of international students in care work vocational school is increasing rapidly and now constitutes one in six students (Ebuchi & Takeuchi, 2018).

[27] Foreign domestic workers can only be involved in simple childcare duties, such as picking up children from daycare. This is because childcare is not a duty that foreign domestic workers can perform because of concerns raised by the Minister of Education in a meeting, whereby they stated that: it is "problematic that foreign people are involved in childcare without fully understanding Japanese language or culture" (Cabinet Office, 2014b, p.11).

divergent national and class backgrounds.

In both the policymaking processes and practices examined in this paper, foreign workers are gendered, racialized, and classed by their national identities, as well as the work they perform. Despite clear evidence to the contrary, these workers are still considered to be temporary workers rather than long-term migrants and, as a result, social policies and support services for foreign residents are severely lacking. Their exploitation and vulnerability to human rights abuses are often ignored or justified to the benefit of the Japanese economy. Hence, current Japanese de facto immigration policies around care work, including both policymaking processes and practices, are reifying the international division of labour and the global care chain (Hochschild, 2000; Parrenas, 2003; Sadamatsu, 2018). .

Conclusion

In this paper, I analyzed the processes involved in the formation of foreign care worker policies in Japan. When examining the policymaking processes, it is essential not to take government statements about policy at face value, but to carefully investigate them to reveal whose interests and voices are being heard, and whose are being marginalized. My analysis revealed the power structures embedded within Japanese policymaking processes aimed at reforming foreign care work. Namely, I demonstrated that the drivers of these policy reforms were acting on behalf of the economic interests of both business leaders and the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. These economically driven policies are creating problematic stratifications in care work, dividing care workers along national and class lines. Moreover, different types of care work are also being stratified, as eldercare is treated as professional/skilled work while housework is still considered lower semi-skilled work. The fact that these immigration policies regarding care work are reinforcing the global care chain by shunting women from sending countries into underpaid work should be recognized.

Regardless of their status, the Japanese government needs to protect the human rights of their foreign workers. This requires them to admit that side door immigration policies, such as temporary worker programs, are being used to enforce economic growth in Japan, thereby reducing

foreign care workers to temporary migrants who are denied access to citizen entitlements. The entire country of Japan must acknowledge that, although they are described as temporary workers, migrant workers are still active members of the society and thus need support and resources.

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Appendix A

Figure 1: The Prime Minister, and major councils and policy

Note. The cells are coloured when the councils and the programs were active.

*LDP…Liberal Democratic Party of Japan. Party said to employ conservative views that have formed the government of Japan almost exclusively from 1955 to present, the only exception being between 2009 and 2012.

*DPJ…Democratic Party of Japan. Party said to employ center-left views. It formed the government of Japan from 2009 to 2012.

Figure 2: Councils and meetings on foreign care worker in 2013 to June 2016

Coloured cells represented the month each meeting was held. Coloured cells are categorized in the following way: gray cells indicate meeting topics not relevant to this research project, whereas green cells (accepting domestic workers), and blue

cells (TITP expansion) indicate when each topic of interest was mentioned or discussed (while red cells allude to EPA reform).

Author Biography

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Exploring the Boundaries of Critical Pedagogy

A Visual Essay

Fitsum Areguy
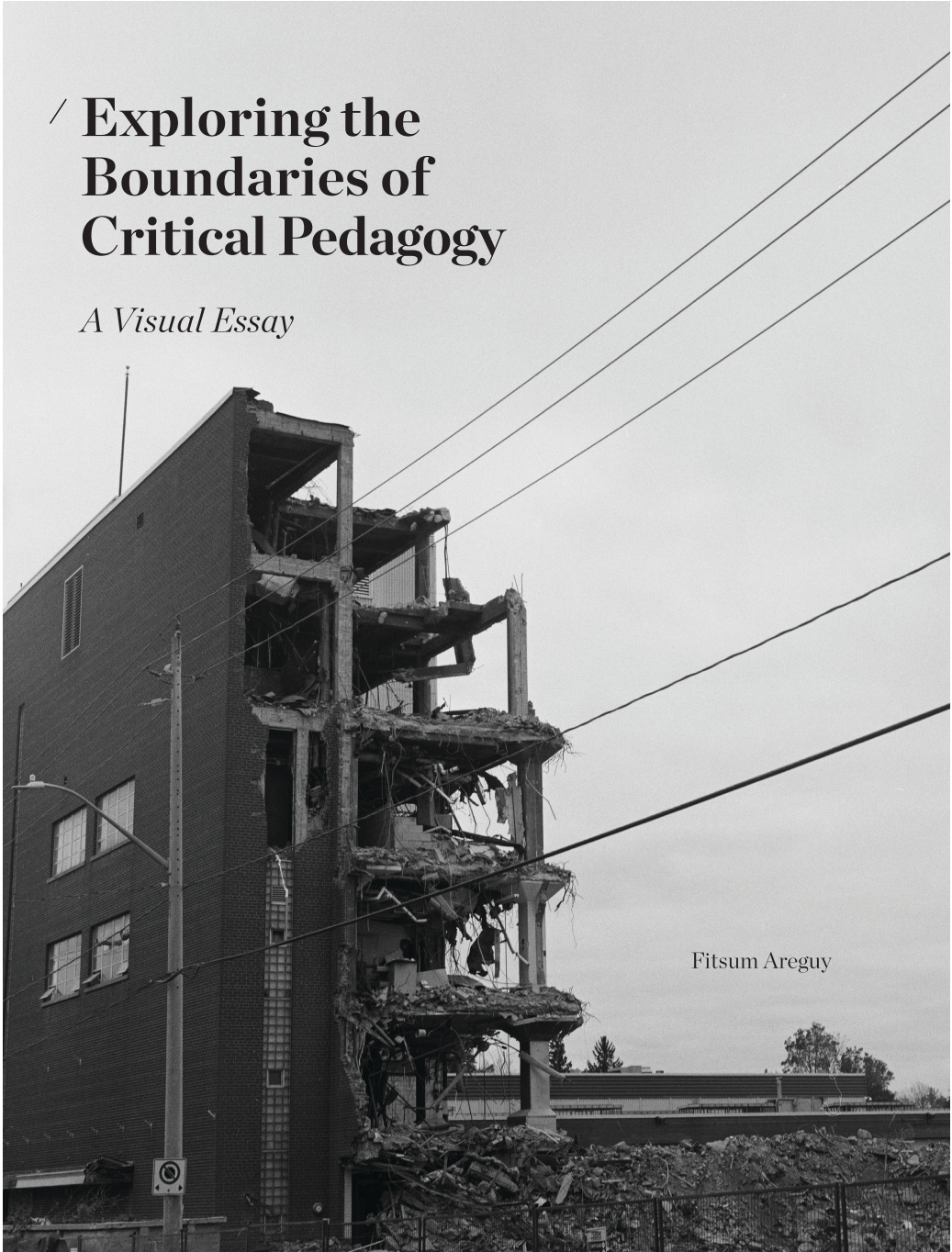
/ ABSTRACT

This visual essay attempts to evoke an aesthetic and affectual entry into the social-spatial terrains I navigate as a Black man and graduate student in Southwestern Ontario. I arrange the relationship between photographs of a factory in my hometown and short reflections into three scenes: The first scene touches on the racial and colonial violence that lingers and manifests in academia, as illustrated through my personal experiences. The essay moves to a second scene, touching on the settler-colonial legacy of the factory, as well as reckons with the anti-colonial implications of photographing the demolition and the troubling of subject-object relationships. The last scene emphasizes that, despite pedagogical efforts, the residue of racial and colonial violence in academic settings will still have some degree of impact on racialized students. Critical pedagogues must contend with the reality that racialized students, by virtue of being and existing in academic spaces, embody a pedagogy that could potentially disrupt and deconstruct learning environments into transformative, radical, respectful and caring spaces.

/ I

In September 2018 I watched a demolition crew descend on the old Schneiders meat processing plant down the street from where I live. Though I had known about the factory for years, this was the first time I saw inside: cracked slaughterhouse tiles and rebar jutted out from crumbling brick walls. Piles of rubble towering almost three-stories high, never static, the construction site in constant movement. As the buildings became mountains and the mountains disappeared, I became frantic wanting to capture this process. I knew I wanted to use a medium format film camera, but I didn't own one. Luckily, I found someone who did, and we met one early morning that Fall to document the demolition.[1]

At the time, I had no definite plan for the photos, so they sat in a folder on my computer for a year while I struggled to acclimate as a graduate student at the University of Guelph. I stood out among a sea of white faces. I found white supremacist recruitment stickers not far from the Guelph Black Student Association. I was called a "fuckin goof" and a "nigger" by a stranger while waiting for a bus on campus.

I shared my experience of being harassed in a public post online. People were shocked; Guelph has a reputation for being a progressive utopia full of environmentally friendly, down-to-earth folks who "buy local" and go to slam poetry events in coffee shops. The University of Guelph as an institution is held in high regard by the larger community, so I imagine it came as a shock when it recently came to light that three founding colleges that formed the University played a significant role in the eugenics movement at the turn of the 1900s. It was in these colleges where destructive ideas that targeted Indigenous, Black, and other racialized populations for segregation in institutions, cultural assimilation and sterilization were perpetuated and taught (Guelph Civic Museum, 2019).

Many Guelph students, most of them white, stroll through campus unbothered and unaware of what it is like for Black people to move through a campus steeped in colonial and racial violence. The combination of being involved in racially-targeted experiences at Guelph, the surge of other institutional racism in my community, and the stress of graduate school became too much for me. I took an official leave from my program over the summer to reset. Like the precarious structures of the Schneider's factory, I, too, was broken over time.

/ ❚

J.M. Schneider started his meat processing business in 1886, and it lasted over 100 years. The Schneider factory used to be one of Kitchener's gems, a giant of industry respected nationwide. His legacy will continue—the developers who bought the land held a contest for the public to decide on a name for the new development. Of all the names offered up, they elected The Metz, a tribute to the Schneider family (Metz was J.M. Schneider's mother's maiden name and his middle name).

Colonial power structures reward colonial-settlers; J.M Schnieder and his ilk will always be lauded by those with the power to claim and name land in the Region. Which bodies do we celebrate, contest, and/or politicize? The factory's spatial and historical importance says something about which people are valued here; I will never meet what Audre Lorde (1984) would have deemed the "mythical norms" of Waterloo County—white, European, cishet, Christian, German, Mennonite.

The collective industrial pride of the county was wounded when Schneider's was taken over by Maple Foods in 2003, and finally desecrated when the factory shut down for good in 2015. If architecture is an act of world-building in the name of capitalism, patriarchy and colonialism (Soomal, 2020), then perhaps the tearing down of Schneider's factory could represent something more hopeful.

To be honest, I often fantasize about leaving to start anew. The push and pull of this place, my hometown, is a process of becoming and unbecoming. I have lived in Kitchener my whole life—I exist, yet in many ways I am rendered invisible. In its demise, the factory's corpus becomes the focal object of this visual essay. However, I have not unwittingly replicated my own invisibilization through this project—I retain my right to opacity (Glissant, 1997). Teju Cole (2019) writes that "photography during colonial rule imaged the world in order to study, profit from and own it." Given the history of the camera as a dire instrument of imperial subjugation, perhaps I reclaim some power by reimagining the factory through my own lens; though I still wish to "study" the world, I intend to reckon with and trouble ideas of "profit" and "ownership" that extend from this lens.

/ III

In 2019, as a requirement for a University of Guelph Fall course entitled *Re-Thinking the Human*, a group of students and I attended three sessions over the summer to co-design the course together. As one of my classmates astutely stated, the course was structured to resist neoliberal ideologies and market-driven learning: from our troubling of the professor-student relationship (as "co-instructors" we took turns teaching each week), to the emphasis on engaging deeply with a multitude of theories, this course became my oasis.[2] In our first class a white person from Brampton declared that as a child she did not see herself as white. She felt that there used to be a freer exchange of culture with other non-white kids in her neighbourhood. She wondered whether these kinds of "innocent" interactions was something we lose the capacity for in our adulthood. In response to this, a racialized student in our class spoke up and countered with her experience, the perspective of a Brown person who grew up in the GTA. The room fell silent as she recounted painful memories of questions about her culture from white kids. From the perspective of this racialized student, these were not innocent interactions, and in fact were the source of much shame and trauma in her life. I watched in awe as she tearfully and powerfully presented a diametrically opposed viewpoint of virtually the same kind of encounter the white student had described with fondness.

The buildings, and my ability to document them, have a limit. Machines break them open, expose their insides, and then destroy them. On campus I experienced being pushed to my limits—and, as I discovered throughout this course, there were limits to the degree to which critical pedagogy could eradicate racial and imperial violence from academic settings. The racialized student was impassioned and eloquent in the heat of the moment, but for one unguarded second, I saw her reflection on another student's computer screen. She looked pensive and exhausted. This moment of resistance stayed with me: in educational spaces there will always be a toll exacted on racialized students vis-à-vis an embodied pedagogy, making this a tricky but critical reality that students and educators must contend with.

We co-designed the course in such a way that, despite inevitable trauma and harm that comes with being radically vulnerable (Nash, 2019), we would always be striving to that place of difficult knowledge and difficult learning (Britzman, 1998). Unfortunately, the white student from Brampton and several other students ended up dropping the course before we could arrive at that place together. Through photography, the deconstructed Schneider's factory is briefly enshrined. Just like our classroom, for a moment, the fluxing deconstruction that is the learning process seems stable.

As I gaze upon crushed concrete and stripped asphalt, I consider violence beyond the boundaries of this essay. Like the ephemerality of the Schneider buildings, there were many moments throughout the course where I felt it was necessary to lean in and lean out. My difference and moments of resistance as the only Black graduate student in the room (historically, the first Black person to enroll in the course) felt magnified during such moments of white fragility and emotional friction. My experience in academia, like these buildings, is defined by both a presence and absence, of being and nothingness.

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[1] Su Buehler, a local photographer, graciously worked with me to capture the shots I wanted. She took them with her Mamiya C220; the colour photos were shot on CineStill 50 Daylight film, and the black-and-white on Ilford HP5 Plus 400. As well, my dear friend and ongoing collaborator Bill Watterson helped me with the design and layout. My kindest thanks to Su and Bill—"doing art" in community proved once again to be a life-giving and transformative process.

[2] One of my classmates Aly Bailey commented that, through a posthumanist lens, she considered the fact that the building was once an active slaughter house; extreme inhumane violence occurred to animals. She pointed out that this parallels violence between humans (e.g. racial violence and eugenics) but also between humans and those deemed 'nonhuman'; but what is 'human?' The socially constructed boundaries between the 'human' and 'nonhuman' reflects the title of the course itself (i.e. *"Re-Thinking the Human"*), the demolition of the slaughter house symbolizing our dismantling of these very constructs.

Tatya Loves Pomegranates

Maysam Abu Khreibeh

Abstract

This is a personal spoken word piece dedicated to moments I spent as a child with my grandmother. My grandmother is a child of the Nakba, the Palestinian "catastrophe" that exiled out over 700,000 Palestinians in 1948. In this piece, childhood observations are made of my grandmother's longing for her homeland, family and safety. The piece explores first-hand accounts of the everyday life of being a child of diaspora, such as the significance of specific foods and cultural dishes, intergenerational conflicts created in the home, and inner conflictions felt around one's faith. The piece makes space for the mundane innocence of childhood, with the striking reality of generational disruptions that stems from the displacement of one's sense of cultural rootedness, language, faith and homeland.

❖

tayta[1] cutting open pomegranates

summer days

in childhood

hands brittle

yet carrying oceans in each pomegranate seed

of something lost

odes to home

hymns to what could have been citrus groves

but now

she is aged

falasteen[2] on her back

labnan[3] under her feet

Allah on her forehead

at age 8

1948

she knew exile

she knew travel across lines

forcibly

       cut

---

[1] The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "grandmother".
[2] The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "Palestine".
[3] The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "Lebanon".

into

dirt

she knew tent house,

ripped from home,

gunshot wounds,

shrapnel,

and loss of young ones,

too young to be named

she knew running

she knew 8 children

carrying them for decades

struggling to uphold

that seemed

so

forgotten

She remembered

prayer

faith

and it's inextricable

connection to place

li ilaha il Allah[4]

habibti[5] remember to eat

are you fasting?

alhamdulallah mashallah aleeki[6]

habibti remember to pray

habibti remember your roots

recite *al fataha*[7] and you will heal

remember your father

he loves you

everything he does is for you

habibti remember

remember

people

in the good

and that Allah is always with you

pomegranate seeds

---

[4] The transliteration for the Arabic and Islamic phrase meaning "There is no god but God", declaring "towhid" – or the oneness of Allah.

[5] The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "my love".

[6] The transliteration for the Arabic and Islamic phrase meaning "thank God" and "praise be to God, upon you".

[7] The transliteration for the first chapter of the Quran, meaning "the Opening".

popping in my mouth

baba[8]

     silent

news

     blaring

cars

     rushing

tayta

     p r a y i n g

habibti i am so proud of you

you share the stories of our people

when i am too far from home

i remember *tayta*

and

when i cannot find my prayers

i remember

somebody is praying for me

---

[8] The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "dad".

❖

tayta would always make us *mana'eesh*[9]

zataar[10]

khobez[11]

olive oil

an ancient mixture

my brothers and i, we laugh now

but she never wanted us to go hungry

i wonder if it's because she knew the pain of a true hunger

she longed for the fruits

of a land

pulled

      from

            beneath

                her feet

                    and away

                        from her eyes

to send one young son

across the sea

to feel the strain of a "better" life

to take the shrapnel from his feet

---

[9] Levantine flatbread baked with a variety of toppings, often served at breakfast.

[10] A blend of dried oregano, marjoram, thyme, cumin and sesame seeds often used as a topping on *mana'eesh*.

[11] The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "bread".

and allow him to walk

a path of safety

for family

i wonder if it's because she yearns for something that she'll never forget

zataar mana'eesh by mamas loving hands

or the way it made her late husband

smile

on early mornings

with a plate of cucumber, olives, tomatoes and onions

and always

a cup of *shai*[12]

i wonder if it's because we're older now

we move in a language foreign

our tongues whip

but they are not of the honey she knows

and yet we still watch the news of a familiar life we've never lived

beside her

we never forget

those left in bleeding lands

lands far gone

from the life she remembers

---

[12] The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "tea".

Author Biography

Maysam is a Muslim settler with Palestinian and Syrian roots, dwelling on the unneeded lands of Turtle Island. She is a 4th year Global Development Studies and Concurrent Education major, with specializations in First Nations, Metis and Inuit studies, and History at Queen's University. Maysam is a part of Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR), and the Levana Gender Advocacy Centre (LGAC), in which she is committed to solidarity projects in her communities. In her poetry, she explores questions of home, intergenerational trauma, displacement and healing through her familial and ancestral connections.

Mad Insight:
The Revolution Will Be Foggy

Renee Dumaresque

Abstract

This poem is informed by the relationships between gender, race, chronic pain, hysteria, and the role of dominant discourses in shaping interpretations of bodily and psychic pain. Drawing on my lived experience as a non-binary person with chronic vulvar pain, or vulvodynia, I challenge the psychiatrization of chronic pain and propose hysteria as a potential state of resistance and refusal (Dumaresque, 2019). I weave fog throughout this poem as a metaphor that captures pain, madness, and perception. Fog symbolizes disruption and disorientation; yet, fog also gestures to the potentiality of being displaced from normative insight (Bruce, 2017). I engage William Connolly's (2010) reading of perception as formed through discipline to think through the silent but subversive waves of knowledge and power that carve the lenses through which we story ourselves and others (Erickson, 2016). As Thomas King (2003) writes, "the truth about stories is that's all we are" (p. 32). This poem is situated in a reading of madness and hysteria as sites of affective protest (Dumaresque, 2019). I ask, what can be resourced from our becoming un-hinged? This poem contributes to mad knowledge that is intersectional and in-service to disrupting medical and psychiatric violence, whiteness, hetero/cis-governance, and "compulsory able-bodymindedness" (Sheppard, 2018, p. 59).

Keywords

chronic vulvar pain, vulvodynia, mad affect, hysteria, poetry

When pain first came

it rolled in like the fog onto Cape Spear.

Thick as pea soup.

I come from Newfoundland and Labrador

where they say "fog   has a mind of its own.

        It creeps   along the coastline and hangs out there."[1]

When pain first came

I was lost at home.

Pain built an empire

and clouded over another.

      Expansive, disorienting.

***

When pain first came

I lay

legs wide in front of a mirror

---

[1] Quote referenced under Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, (n.d.).

poking and prodding

mining my vulvar for evidence.

Without evidence – hysteria.

    Doctor, my lack of insight is what threatens you most.

       Pain, you say

       It's real.

          But you should still see a shrink.

       The research

          Suggests mindfulness

          provides most effective treatment

       For

          maladaptive coping

          unprocessed distress

          femininity.

***

Interpretation is shaped by clouds of power

thick

as to discipline the body and mind with logics

that serve projects

much bigger than you and I.

Projects

      from which we cannot be separated.

Projects

      that our perception helps to maintain.

What else is possible?

When we dine with madness

What other worlds are feasible?

When our perception is unleashed from discipline

      neoliberalism   whiteness

              hetero/cis-governance   ableism

What can be resourced?

from our becoming unhinged

from hysteria

***

My vulva

It's been a site of struggle

a site of pleasure

      (we don't talk enough about pleasure do we?)

intrusion, neglect

a site of practice

a site of profit.

Pain came

and pain stayed;

rolling in

       and rolling out.

Released from insight

I slip into the fog.

I sense what my eyes fail to register

      feel a grip that hauls me forward

          enabling my endless becoming.

This is a transformation that mucks with consent.

My vulva is a non-binary vulva

born from self -

harmed / not

by painful perception.

These are the trappings of hysterical femininity.

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Author Biography

Renee Dumaresque is a Newfoundland & Labrador-born queer white settler living in Toronto. They are a writer, community organizer, and PhD student of Social Work at York University. Renee maintains a transdisciplinary approach in both their scholarship and creative work that serves their commitment to plurality and embraces their tendency for chaotic thought. Renee's doctoral research excavates chronic vulvar pain, also known as vulvodynia, as a critical site of inquiry into race, colonization, gender, madness, disability, and neoliberalism. They are also the co-founder of Crip Rave™, an electronic music collective and event platform showcasing crip talent and prioritizing crip, sick, mad, and disabled folks within more accessible rave spaces.

Butterfly Voices –
Creative Self-Representation
of Migrant Sex Workers

Alvis Choi & Elene Lam

Abstract

Butterfly is an Asian and Migrant Sex Workers Support Network based in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The organization was founded upon the belief that migrant sex workers, like all workers, are entitled to respect and human rights. The following essay on *Butterfly Voices* was written by the project's co-creators, Alvis Choi and Elene Lam, and details the creative energies, political vision, and methodological steps that went into bringing the project to life.

Butterfly Voices –
Creative Self-Representation of Migrant Sex Workers

Whispering Wishes

Butterfly Voices is an ongoing arts-based project that seeks to create opportunities for the self-representation of Asian and migrant sex workers in Toronto/Three Fire Territories and beyond. The project began in early 2015 in light of the negative stereotypes and stigma associated with migrant sex workers. We invited self-identified migrant sex workers around the world, many of whom are silenced because of the lack of understanding and systemic oppression around sex work, to participate in *Butterfly Voices* and share their stories.

One of the popular myths circulated by the state and the media about migrant sex workers is that these workers are always victims of human or sex trafficking; that they are only involved in sex work because they are forced to do so. In reality, migrant sex workers often have varying levels of agency in different aspects of their lives. Their immigration status' and identities also vary. The notion that migrant sex workers are always victims inaccurately portrays them as inherently weak and naïve, as opposed to agentic human beings who make life

choices and compromises just like everyone else, and subsequently diverts public attention away from the systemic forces of oppression that put migrant sex workers' lives at risk on a daily basis. These forces of oppression include, but are not limited to, the criminalization and legalization of sex work, white heteropatriarchy, and whorephobia (Durisin, Meulen & Bruckert 2018; Gallant et. al 2018).

Butterfly Voices uses art and storytelling to engage migrant sex workers in Toronto/Three Fire Territories and beyond by exploring self-determination through creative expression, thereby amplifying the voices of these workers. The first iteration of *Butterfly Voices* was presented at the Migrant Sex Workers' Justice Forum, held on May 12th, 2015 at Ryerson University in Toronto, Ontario, as an installation (Choi & Lam, 2016). We distributed black and white copies of pencil-outlined butterflies drawn by Montreal-based artist Sarah Mangle at migrant sex workers' workplaces in Toronto (including massage parlours and private workplaces) and asked participants to respond to three questions. Their answers were submitted with the paper butterflies that they coloured and decorated.

胡蝶都是花的魂,
蝶在哪里, 我们的姐妹
在加国的一朵朵花, 从前没有魂,
我回了魂, 因为我们找到了迁蝶……
从此以后花开的更鲜艳美丽。

Each butterfly is the soul of a flo
follow flowers. Our sisters are
like blossoming flowers. We fo
our encounter with Butterfly,
brighter, more beautiful flowers.

-- M, Toronto

We used butterflies, for which migration is a given, as a metaphor and a starting point. We invited participants to answer the following questions:

1. What wishes would you whisper to a butterfly if it could make them come true?
2. What is empowering about being a migrant sex worker? How does sex work help you achieve your dream?
3. How do migrant sex workers contribute to society, their clients, and your community?

The responses that we received reflect a wide range of ideologies, concerns, and politics amongst migrant sex workers. We received over 40 submissions – the majority of which were from Toronto, with some from Montreal, Hong Kong, Berlin, Scotland, and France.

When a community artist meets a community activist…

In this essay we share the story that motivated us to launch *Butterfly Voices*, the methods that we used when working with migrant sex workers, the outcome of these methods, and our overall vision for the project. From an organizer's point of view, *Butterfly Voices* has been a delightful and meaningful collaboration between a community artist and a grassroots activist. Both of us believe in the effectiveness of art and creativity in community organizing and the liberatory and transformative potential that it brings. As a community artist, performer, and facilitator, Alvis Choi has conceived a number of social practice-based projects and performances that engage the Chinese-speaking community, the queer of colour community, and a larger art audience. Their work often addresses themes of self-representation, truth, and empowerment within a framework that counters dominant white heteronormative ideologies. As a grassroots activist, Elene Lam has been an advocate for sex workers, migrants, and labour and gender-based justice for more than fifteen years in both Asia and Canada. Her work intersects art, activism, advocacy, education, and culture. For her, art is not only a means by which to engage marginalized communities, it is also a tool for building meaningful
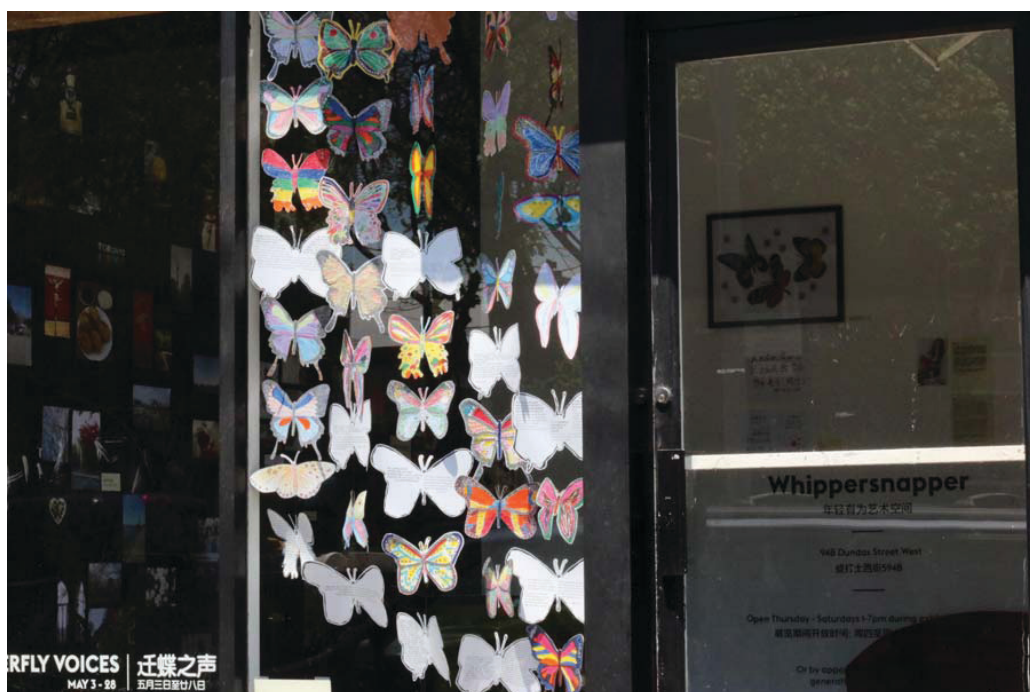
connections between diverse community members, helping to mobilize and develop leadership skills within these communities. When the two of us met, we gradually developed a trusting relationship and began to work together on several projects that would combine our skill sets.

In the mainstream sex worker movement in North America, the voices of racialized sex workers are often missing (Gallant et al., 2018; Lam & Gallant, 2018). While issues such as race and class are inseparable from sex work, they remain under-addressed in these movements. The experiences of racialized and/or poor sex workers are seldom centered, making these movements inaccessible to individuals who are the most marginalized within the sex worker community. For migrant sex workers, an additional aspect that obstructs their participation within the mainstream sex worker community is their (im)migration status. The rhetoric of migrant sex workers as trafficked subjects creates barriers that prevent them from getting involved with or benefiting from the mainstream sex worker movement (Lam, 2016; Lepp, 2018). Through media and propaganda campaigns, migrant sex workers are purposefully

posed as threats or burdens to the state, the legal system, and law enforcement (Gallant et. al 2018). They are often targeted by law enforcement through raids, harassment, and other racist and misogynist practices (Lam, 2018a; Lam, 2018b). Further, they are not protected by the mainstream movement as it is inaccessible to non-English-speaking sex workers whose experiences are unique due to their cultural background and immigration status. Lastly, these workers are also subjected to the stereotypical image of being weak, ignorant, powerless, and naïve, which has to do with the racist and misogynist perception of Asian women and women of colour as submissive (Lam & Lepp, 2019).

The anti-state rhetoric that is commonly used within and by the mainstream sex worker movement, as a strategy, lacks consideration of the lived experiences of many marginalized sex workers. For instance, a common tactic used within this movement is to rally against police and state intervention and regulation. However, participating in a rally that gathers the oppressed and advocates on behalf of fighting against police and state authority might feel life threatening to a migrant sex worker

who comes from mainland China, where any thought or action that consists of anti-government ideologies is deemed illegal. The particular forms in which the current mainstream sex workers movement takes place, such as rallying, petitioning, policy change advocacy, the sharing of first-hand experiences, etc., often require a high level of visibility from participating workers, thereby creating additional barriers that make it especially challenging for migrant sex workers to engage in the dialogue (Lam, 2016). *Butterfly Voices* aims to create a culturally sensitive platform for migrant sex workers to participate in social organizing in ways that ensure that they are safe and heard and that their comfort levels and preferences are being prioritized.

Stories to Tell, Workers to Empower

When we first conceptualized this project, we went through a series of discussions and negotiations about the methodology and ethics of portraying migrant sex workers' experiences. We asked: *How do we design a process of participation in which participants feel empowered and that their experiences are accurately represented in the knowledge we co-produce?* We had considered interviewing some of the local migrant sex workers - with whom Elene has existing relationships with. From these conversations, we would draft an account of the workers' experiences in the form of storytelling and bring these written stories back to the workers for them to review and revise, ensuring that they were comfortable with everything that we aimed to publish. However, we did not end up using this method as we were particularly cautious about influencing the participants' stories with our own assumptions and pre-existing narratives. We wanted to ensure that we were representing the workers' lives as accurately and as genuinely as possible, and we remained cognizant of the fact that there was always a possibility of misrepresentation - despite how conscious we were of the problems around speaking for others (Alcoff, 1991).

We were aware that we needed to design a process of participation that would be accessible to many. In this process, we learned that we had to consider the following factors for an art-based project aimed at successfully engaging the migrant sex worker community:

1. Participants' time constraints
2. Privacy and confidentiality
3. Content relevance to participants' everyday lives
4. Capacity to be fully present during participation
5. Participants' self-identification of the work that they do and the rhetoric that they use to discuss the issues of migrant sex workers' rights

Amongst the local migrant sex workers in Toronto whom we reached out to, many of them worked at a shared workspace and had unpredictable schedules. Thus, we had to design a process that allowed for some flexibility and was easy to participate in. Conventional community arts often emphasize participants coming together at a set time and place. However, in our case, this was not possible. We therefore brought materials and art supplies to the workers' workplaces and invited them to work on the paper butterflies whenever they had time between work sessions. Elene would then pick up the artwork from the workers and follow up with them regarding their responses.

We expected this to be a new experience for many of the workers – to participate in an art-based project and to tell their story to the public. It was therefore necessary for us to invest in explaining the intention of our project to them and ensuring that the workers were well informed. Elene also had many conversations with the workers to ensure that we collected their stories in a respectful way. Some of this work was done in person, while some of it was done over text messages, instant messaging, or phone calls. Participants remained anonymous as they desired. Finally, we wanted the project to be inviting, enjoyable, and intriguing for the workers. Unlike sex workers who are English-speaking, relatively tech-savvy, and have the option to work from home on their own schedule with the help of the Internet, migrant sex workers tend to work long hours. We thus hoped that by bringing art into their workplaces, we could encourage migrant sex workers to tell their stories in a creative and fun way.

Through this iteration of *Butterfly Voices*, we learned that the invisibility and precarious situation of migrant sex workers meant that we needed to emphasize an engaged research process that was
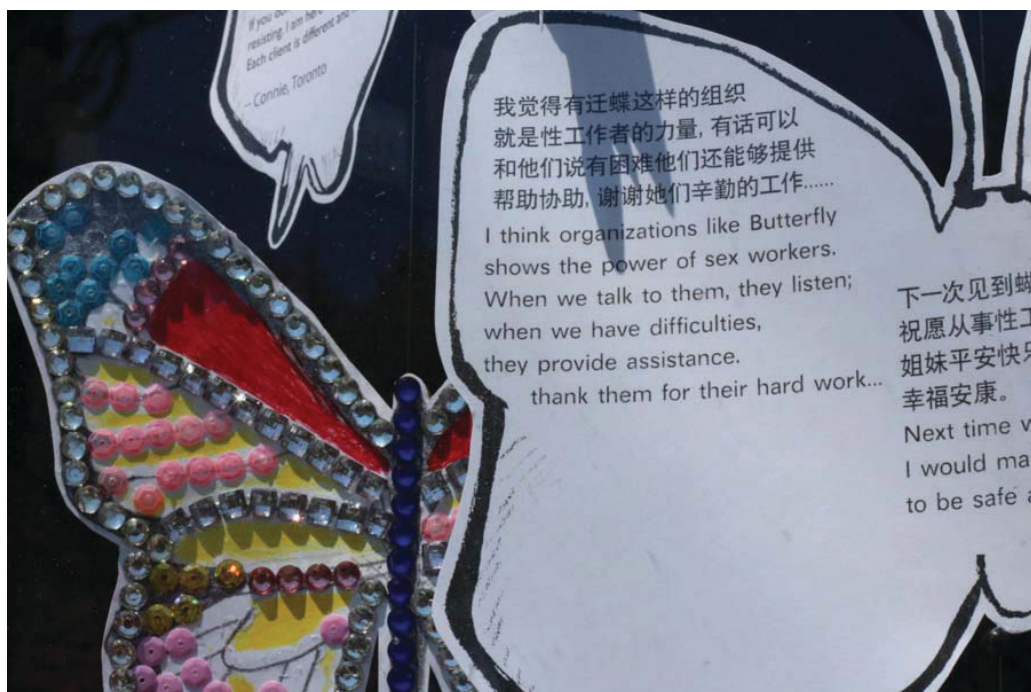
personal and custom-made. In doing so, we were able to make *Butterfly Voices* accessible to migrant sex workers who may or may not have a flexible schedule and thus the time and/or energy to invest in such a project. Accordingly, the method we adopted considered the conditions of the workers' everyday lives and prioritized the needs and desires of the participants. Building on existing relationships and experiences with the community, *Butterfly Voices* is one of the first art-based projects in Toronto that engages migrant sex workers directly in their workplaces, thereby allowing them the opportunity to not only represent themselves, but to do so on their own terms.

Breathing Room for Creativity

For migrant sex workers who do not have the privilege to be visible, as they risk being targeted by law enforcement agents on a daily basis, we wanted to avoid asking participants to directly share their experiences of and with sex work, which would only create stress for them. Instead, we used paper butterflies as a bridge to open up a space for storytelling. In particular, artist Sarah Mangle created six different butterfly drawings for participants to engage with. We offered a variety of affordable art supplies to workers to colour and decorate the black and white paper butterflies - Crayons, markers, colour pencils, glitter, stickers, sequins. This provided variety. Yet, at the same time, Mangle's drawing style offered coherency to the overall presentation. In terms of artistic medium and materials, there were some limitations. We had to consider practicality – *Is it relatively clean or messy to use this material? Does it require additional preparation such as water (e.g. watercolour)? Is it quick and easy for the worker to tidy up when a client shows up?* We wanted to ensure that this art making experience created joy and pleasure rather than more work for the participants.

It was interesting to see how participants used the butterfly templates to express themselves, and we learned a lot about the community as a result. For one, we witnessed the dynamics among workers by observing how they shared the art supplies within the workplace. Secondly, we learned how we could do better in removing barriers to participation, offering workers options and flexibility to encourage them to participate in the project on their own terms. How they participated spoke to their work conditions, interests, and capacities; and we wanted to respect that. Further, not everyone responded to

the questions we asked. Some of them chose to only colour or decorate the butterflies. Others responded to only one or two of our questions. One participant even made small sculptures out of the stickers we provided!

It is also important to note that there wasn't really a unifying voice of any sort. All the butterflies created were unique and different. If you read them closely enough, you can see that workers come from different places, backgrounds and cultures, and political locations. This diversity, we think, is representative of the larger community of migrant sex workers, as it highlights the heterogeneity of the many voices that exist within it.

As Always, It Could Be Better

We had originally envisioned the project to be a global one. While we received some submissions from cities other than Toronto, globalizing *Butterfly Voices* required a lot more than simply broadening the scope of our submissions. For one, we did not have the capacity to translate the call for submissions into languages other than English and Chinese. This is something we were criticized for, as a multilingual call for submissions would have encouraged a much wider participation from migrant sex workers from all around the world. Another issue we encountered was the choice of words we decided to use in the call. In the Chinese version, we used the term "massage parlour workers" instead of "sex workers" as this was a more common way of self-identifying amongst the Chinese workers whom we spoke to. However, we had chosen, in the English version, to go with "sex workers." But we received feedback from a worker outside of our existing network who reminded us that we should include a variety of terms that migrant sex workers of different socioeconomic classes might call themselves, such as hookers, hustlers, or prostitutes. This comment highlighted our initial lack of acknowledgement of the class differences among the heterogeneous community of migrant sex workers. Although the term "sex worker" is the politically correct word to use, it does not necessarily speak to everyone whose voice is important to the sex workers' rights movement, as some workers simply do not identify with the term "sex worker." This experience taught us that, for our project to be successful, we must constantly investigate whether our methods, and

overall approach, is informed by an intersectional understanding of the systemic issues that affect the entire migrant sex workers community.

Connecting without Outing

The first iteration of *Butterfly Voices* was presented as an installation at the Migrant Sex Workers' Justice Forum, which was attended by over 120 participants, including sex workers, sex worker rights activists, academics, legal professionals, journalists, social workers, government officials, artists, and community members. Each butterfly in the installation was coloured and decorated by our participants. Each butterfly represented the voice of a migrant sex worker. The exhibition became a platform for migrant sex workers' experiences to be visualized without "outing" them. Through the empowering acts of first-person storytelling and art making, the exhibition offered a refreshing lens through which the public could gain a better understanding of the diverse lives of migrant sex workers. The materiality of the butterflies coming together signified a connection between migrant sex workers. At the end of the first iteration, we designed flyers and stickers that featured all of the butterflies that were thoughtfully coloured and decorated by each worker. We then distributed these swags back to the community. Many of the participants were delighted to see their own art printed on stickers and flyers. They did not expect this kind of professionally finished product and, just as we did, found pride and satisfaction in their work. They also expressed feelings of being respected and valued. The tangibility of the documentation featuring all of our submissions side by side created a sense of connection. Workers could see, not only their own art in print, but the art of other workers on the same print surface. This follow up work contributed to making the project meaningful to the participants. It also helped to build a personal relationship between them and the society, as well as strengthen the sex workers' rights movement as a whole, which often excludes the voices of marginalized groups. In this sense, the follow up work we did after the first iteration of *Butterfly Voices* was just as important as the actual process of creating the installation.

A critical and foundational part of our activism is to make space for migrant sex workers to speak for themselves. We recognize that each submission we

received played a significant role in the ultimate goal of *Butterfly Voices*: to reduce and remove the stigma surrounding migrant sex work. Through this ongoing project, we hope to demystify sex work, especially sex work provided by migrant workers, through creative art that is grounded in lived experience. We give gratitude to each and every migrant sex worker who contributed their thoughts and stories to *Butterfly Voices*, as well as those who witnessed the process and outcome of our first installation. After the success of this first phase of *Butterfly Voices*, the team at *Butterfly*, in concert with our collaborators, decided to continue to empower migrant sex workers to engage in art-based conversations about their rights. To this point, *Butterfly Voices* has been shown at Whippersnapper Gallery and Workers Action Centre in Toronto, Ryerson University, and Central Cinema in Seattle, and the outcome has been significant. We align ourselves with the migrant sex workers movement under the strong belief that sex work is work. *Butterfly Voices* will continue to bring these perspectives to the foreground of social justice organizing, while laboring to improve the actual working conditions of migrant sex workers, in addition to the working conditions of other workers in the broader migrant workers' movement. We seek your support in meeting our goal to nurture *Butterfly Voices* into a large-scale exhibition and, eventually, a global project.

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Author Biographies

Alvis Choi a.k.a. Alvis Parsley, born and raised in Hong Kong, is a nonbinary queer person whose artistic and curatorial traces can be seen in Toronto, Montreal, Faroe Islands, Berlin, Cardiff, Seoul, and Hong Kong. Alvis holds a Master of Environmental Studies with an area of concentration in Performance as Pedagogy and Community Transformation. Alvis has presented at the National Women's Studies Association, Performance Studies international (PSi) in Faroe Islands, and at the Critical Ethnic Studies Association Conference. From 2015-2017, Alvis was appointed as the Chairperson of the Chinese

Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter. They are a collective member of Marvellous Grounds and have been involved with the work of Butterfly (Asian and Migrant Sex Workers Support Network) since 2015.

Elene Lam is an activist, artist, community organizer, educator, and human rights defender. She holds a Master of Social Work and a Master of Law, with a specialization in human rights. She is currently a PhD Candidate at McMaster University, where she is researching the harms associated with anti-trafficking initiatives. Elene has been actively engaged in work related to human rights, violence against women, migration, gender, and sex work justice for over 20 years. Elene is the Executive Director and Founder of Butterfly (Asian and Migrant Sex Workers Support Network).

Reflexive Poetry: A Researcher's Poetic Personal Narrative on Social Science Research Praxis

Eric J. Van Giessen

Abstract

The four poems presented here are excerpts from a multifaceted project entitled *Queerly Faithful: A Queer-Poet Community Autoethnography on Identity and Belonging in Christian Faith Communities* (Van Giessen, 2016). This project attempted to complexify contemporary studies on LGBTQ+ and faith identities as they manifest in the lives of queer people-of-faith by approaching the subject with a *queer sensibility* (Holman Jones & Adams, 2010). One facet of this approach involved my use of poetry as a reflexive medium used to examine the research process itself. These poems invite the reader into my experience as I wrestled with articulating methodology, theory, data presentation, and the challenges of producing a fixed document to present the findings of a queer project that resists fixedness. By blurring the lines between narrative and academic writing, I invite the readers "to become coparticipants, engaging the storyline morally, emotionally, aesthetically, and intellectually" (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, p. 745). These interspersed poems nuance traditional academic language and prose analysis and serve to challenge conceptions of 'proper' academic writing by positioning the writing itself as a method of inquiry (Prendergast, Leggo & Sameshima, 2009; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005).[1]

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[1] Building on the work of Richardson (2000), Sparkes, Nilges, Swan & Dowling (2003) argue that qualitative researchers should "harness" the "power of poetry," noting: "Poetic representations can provide the researcher/reader/listener with a different lens though which to view the same scenery, and thereby understand data, and themselves, in different and more complex ways. It is, therefore, a powerful form of analysis" (p. 155).

I want to be compost[2]

There is a moment
characterized by
a two-hour mould of my face
on the pillow,
or by
a two-kilometre
shuffle in circles
passed the greenery
and tennis balls
when clarity comes

And flees just as suddenly.

Each keystroke becomes
a backwards production—
a furrowed finger dance
marked by
a desperate remembering
of that moment of clarity.

With.each.hesitant.
tittle.and.dot.
a wonder
at how words error
and devalue walked stories.
And yet, unsaid
too often means unshared:
Can one enrich and destroy
all at once?

I want to be compost.

To gather these sacred stories
and allow their potency
to decay into words
that sow fertile grounds

---

2 *Framing:* This reflexive poem was used to open and frame my major research paper. The poem has the effect of humanizing myself as the researcher and illuminating the sometimes-frustrating process of translating lived experience, story, and insight into meaningful text on a page. The poem also introduces some of the central themes running through my reflexive process – namely, how does one honour the sacred stories of becoming subjects in a fixed textual format? What violence might be done in the process of manufacturing static portrayals of complex, unfolding lived experiences? What value, if any, does the product of such work hold and does this value outweigh the risk of portraying the research participants as fully knowable? How might I actively betray the fragility of these representations such that I might make meaningful claims to knowledge whilst maintaining my commitment to the *becoming* of my participants?

for justice to bloom
in once barren soil.

The smell of that
earthy blackness, that
nourishing impetus
might just be enough
to mourn on the out-breath
but to feast on the in.

However…
does that make
this research
a willing act
of personal
and communal
violence?

Or…
is it not so clear,
more queer,
more fuzzy,
more sacred:
like a sacrificial burning
like the flaming
resurrection story of the phoenix
resurrection story
resurrection story
perhaps
my clarity has come!

…

and it flees.

_____

Creative Toil [3]

This spring sun beckons a labour,
a creative toil
and a turning of soil that may just seed life.

In these hands I grasp the coarse wooden handles of my tools—
edge and point;
curve and blade—
determined to make their way on and in the earth in
a way to each their own.

A garden
wed to a feast of harvest
that may have caught dandelion root
if not for the source of these broken calluses:
these tools.

By these hands…
these hands…
By these shoulders I wield the sinewed strength of these hands—
opposing thumbs;
muscle and nails—
determined to make their way on and in the earth in
a way trained and toned…these tools.

By these shoulders…
these shoulders…
By this self I mind the gyrations of these shoulders—
bound and free;
fixed and fluid—
determined to make their way on and in the earth in
a way strong and stable…these tools.

By this self…
these selves…
By this performance I play with the world as it worlds—
biased and blind
achieved and denied—

---

3 *Methodology.* This poem invites a broadening of our understandings of what constitutes methodology in social science research. Beyond the particular tools we adopt in our pursuit of knowledge production (i.e. community autoethnography, poetry, talking circles, etc.), our embodiment, our situatedness, and the horizons of our selfhood also play an important part in the curation of our methodology. This poem joins with other post-qualitative thinkers who play with and expand on the practice of conceptualizing "writing as a method of inquiry" (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005, p. 473) by illustrating the reflexive consideration of my own embodiment and selfhood as another tool through which to engage in the research process.

determined to make their way on and in the earth in
a way subversive…knowing and showing…these tools.

Beckoned to this creative toil
this turning of soil may just seed life,
and these tools…
these tools…
have a way to each their own.

—————

These Lesions[4]

These lesions compel me
inviting me graciously
to join in the carnage.

That illness
That plague
That sweeps through the study
of things and things.

These badges of puss
and scabby corners
are my VIP declaration
in this epidemiologically
raucous affair of competency.

How might my mucic traces
infect these patrons of pandered
establishment:
fixed frameworks—
disguised diseases of their own.

Made-out in the blur
four walls,
a roof,
and a threshold—
posted with femme seraphim
brothers aw(e)fully
queerly
established
each with lesions of her own.

———

4 *Theory.* This poem playfully engages with Laurel Richardson's (2000) challenge to conceptualize "theory as illness" (p. 940). In my major research paper (Van Giessen, 2016), I reflect on the ways that, "understanding disciplinary conditions to be intentionally chosen ailments that limit my creative exploration beckons me to deeply comprehend the myopia of my theoretical lesions" (p. 23). I specifically work through the question: How might playing with the metaphors that we use in our research allow us to think more critically about the role that our theoretical framing plays in establishing limits to our knowledge production in both productive and destructive ways?

Over and Again They Fly[5]

Over and again they fly
these truths of mine—
out over the horizon
that stretches before me
and behind me.

A great gift! To be who I am
and you who you are—
precious are your stories
your words
and your songs.

Will you play with me?
Will you strain to perceive
new horizons?
Will you dance with me,
and spin me?
Over and again we'll fly!
and truths we'll find
out over the horizon.

Within our dance there is
silk and ribbon, there is
dirt and sweat;
and we will play games
with different rules
with dissonant steps—
our toes swollen from
the other's confidence.

Over and again they fly
these truths of mine—
dancing with your horizon.
Let us embrace at our elbows
back to back
turned outwards and sing out
our invitations
to dance with us;
to play
and in our spinning
may we find a new liberation

---

5 *Methodological Rationale.* This last poem encourages and recognizes the reader's playful participation in the production of knowledge and meaning and explores some of the context surrounding my choice to utilize community autoethnography and poetic exploration as methods of inquiry.

A great gift!
Precious are your stories,
your words,
your songs.

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Author Biography

Eric J. Van Giessen's interests include critical sexuality studies, lived religion, and queer methodologies. In 2012, he graduated from Calvin College with a BA in Philosophy followed by an MA in Social Justice & Community Engagement at Wilfrid Laurier University in 2016. He's spent over 8 years working in the non-profit sector doing community development, advocacy, and consulting and is passionate about engaged, arts-based participatory-action research. He's currently a PhD student in Sociology at York University studying (post)qualitative methodologies and the phenomenology of queer religiosity.

Radiance in Reclamation

Ali Javeed

Abstract

In the sharp frosty winds of the morning of January 9th, 2019, Indigenous activist group Idle no More and their allies shut down the Bloor Viaduct, a well-used truss arch bridge in Tkaronto, Ontario, Kanata (Three Fire Territories) that connects the city's east-side to its downtown core. The action took place during rush hour in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en First Nation. The Canadian government was once again violating unceded land by mobilizing armed federal law enforcement to forcibly remove the nation from their land in order to build a gas pipeline. In response to this violence, allies throughout the city, myself among them, decided to show Tkaronto that it was not business as usual by bringing traffic on the Viaduct to a halt. Importantly, the bridge looms over the Don River. Reclamation of this space was therefore a reminder of the sanctity of water, gesturing to the fact that it is a privilege to be able to access clean water, while also reminding us of the threat of contamination posed by the pipelines' development. As the day came to an end and the sun retreated, cycling through its farewell hues of yellow and orange, the elders began to sing. We round danced, our bodies flowing as one like the river beneath us. Our melodic voices of hope and mourning, joining the gusts of wind that whistled between the bridge supports. After the protest, we continued to chant as we walked back, fists raised with the awareness that, although this action was over, our spirits had been rekindled for the next one. This photo essay seeks to echo the calls of resistance of that day. I capture the warm hopeful tones of the sunset in an otherwise frigid colour scheme, while using wide angles to capture the scope of attendance, and a low depth of field to center the role of femme-identifying water protectors in the movement..

Author Biography

Ali Javeed is an undergraduate student pursuing an Honours Bachelor of Science in Psychology at the University of Toronto. His research interests are broadly located in the topic of social perception: the process with which we gather information from our environments to make social judgements of things like intention, causality or expectations of people and things around us. Through social perception we may implicitly create or accept a set of behaviours that are "normal" for a given environment like a public space. Public social norms (e.g. where to stand on an escalator) may seem trivial, but Ali argues in his present research that based on your political ideology, these simple social norms may actually hold a moral weight. Another one of his research topics is in emotion, where he is collecting longitudinal data of how people are using information-seeking as a way to regulate their emotions during the COVID-19 pandemic. While his brain belongs to science, his heart is reflected in photography as he independently documents actions around Toronto. Ali is also born and raised in Scarborough and may say "styll" unprovoked. More of his photos, and information about his research can be found at www.alijaveed.com.

We Humbly Stood / Hami Binamra Ubhiyaun

Bishwa Sigdel

We Humbly Stood

In white canvas

You first stroked the paintbrush

We stood humbly

The way for the first drop of milk waits

the virgin bosom

Startled, a little inquisitive

Somewhere sweet affliction

Akin to inarticulate fear

That was how we stood

Swinging with heart full of curiosity and assurance

In a murky canvas

You stroked the paintbrush twice

We stood placidly

Contorted due to the weight of the spine since ages

We humbly stood

In the yellowish canvas

You stroked the paintbrush thrice

We stood quiet

If was a spinner would have spun in a moment

The mind thousand whirls

If was a movable would have moved

The mind thousand miles

Flown if could have flown, burnt if could have burnt

But we maintained silence and

We humbly stood

Stroking the brush for the seventeenth times

Searching for white in the eighteenth times

And not obtaining it

You must think of us as adamant ones

Thinking, we humbly stood.

Poet- Bishwa Sigdel

-Translatted into English by Anjila Bista

हामी विनम्र उभियौं

-विश्व सिग्देल

सेता क्यानभासमा
तिमीले पहिलो कुची चलायौ
हामी विनम्र उभियौं
कुमारी छाती
जसरी गर्छ प्रथम थोपा दूधको प्रतीक्षा
चकित-चकित, केही उत्सुकता
कता-कता मीठो पीडा
अव्यक्त डरजस्तो
यसरी नै हामी उभियौं
हृदयभरि उत्सुकता र भरोसाको खेल्दै पिङ

मटमैलो क्यानभासमा
तिमीले दोस्रोचोटि कुची चलायौ
हामी चुपचाप उभियौं
सदियौँदेखिको ढाडको भारीले कुप्रिएका हामी
हामी विनम्र उभियौं

पहेँलो-पहेँलो क्यानभासमा
तिमीले तेस्रोचोटि कुची चलायौ
हामी मौन उभियौं
घुम्ने चिज भए घुम्यो पलमा
हजार फन्का मगज
गुड्ने चिज भए गुड्यो पलमा
हजार कोस मगज
उड्ने भए उड्यो, डड्ने भए डढ्यो
तर हामीले धारण गर्‍यौं मौनता
हामी विनम्र उभियौं

सत्रौं पटक कुची नचाएर
अठारौं पटकमा क्यानभास सेतै खोज्नु
र नपाउनुबिच
तिमीले के कति मानौला हामीलाई अटेरी
सोच्दै हामी विनम्र उभियौं ।

Author Biography

Bishwa Sigdel, a noted poet, lyricist, and critic, is one of the literary figures in contemporary poetry from Banepa, Nepal. He recently just published his first poetry collection, entitled 'Sociology of Applause'. His poetry has appeared in journals and magazines like Drunken Boat (USA), Grey Sparrow (USA), Between These Shores (UK), Eternal Snow (India) and Divine Madness (Volumes 3 & 5, Adrus Publications, Canada). However, Obsession (2013, Red Ink, India), a joint anthology of stories, is his most appreciated contribution, which reflects his versatility and brilliant knack for storytelling.

Translator Biography

Anjila Bista is a dedicated academic who has been passionately involved in the field of education for the last 2 decades. Born and raised in Lalitpur, Nepal, she is a Delhi University graduate who enjoys reading, singing, and enjoying life as it comes. She has an uncanny ability to inhale the beauty that lies in between the lines of any work of literature. She believes that the knowledge and perspective that her reading gives her has strengthened her skills to a level where she can now express her thoughts while also playing with her words.

Mama I Don't Know

Maysam Abu Khreibeh

Abstract

This is a personal spoken word piece dedicated to my mother. The piece is an ode to both her sacrifices as a single mother as well as her journey as a Palestinian-Syrian refugee turned Canadian immigrant, in addition to my own feelings of displacement as a Muslim Palestinian-Syrian of colour dwelling in the lands of Turtle Island. The piece strives to make space for the pain that comes with being a child of diaspora; recognizing one's loss of cultural knowledge, familial connections, mother tongue, and connection to a land never seen. The piece explores how coming to know about one's roots and histories in relation to one's homeland, is a form of resistance to the erasure of a people, in this case – the Palestinian people. The feelings encapsulated within the piece, whether it be of rage, hope or desperation, are driven by the love one has for one's faith, land and people.

Mama I wrote about you

I wrote about you in school

I made a comic book about you

I told my teachers

My classmates

With pride, I looked them dead in the eye

And said

Mama survived a mass bombing on her refugee camp when she was only 13 years old

We're almost 13

What in the world have we experienced?

Honour mama

Kiss mama's feet

Pray for her

For heaven is located under her feet

Her hard working feet

Feet that walked over broken bombshells

Toes that touched the dust of war

Heels split by the displacement of generations through *tayta*[1] and *jido*[2]

Syria and Palestine

Permanence in a temporary *mokheyem*[3], a temporary place of refuge

---

1 The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "grandmother".

2 The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "grandfather".

3 The transliteration of the Arabic word meaning "refugee camp".

But the site of another war

Extensions of the hate, the blood, the darkness shed from home

To the

foreign

place

of Canada

Mama tell me

please

Is it possible to build a true home in Canada - a *home on native land*?

Mama I spoke about you

I spoke about you in a poem

A poem I presented proudly in front of 1000 people

Mama it made my teacher cry

Cry because she felt my love for you

My honour for the name you gave me

The name you carried on your back

Like you carried me once

Balancing a single parent life

Mama you raised

Four hard headed kids on your back

All alone

Our heads

Our heads were stubborn

Our heads harder than the helmets meant to protect IDF soldiers

From the resilience and strength of the rock

The weapon of the *intifada*[4]

Mama

Where did *jido* leave his rock?

Did he take it with him to the temporary place of refuge?

Or did he bury it under decades of blood in the once fertile land back home?

Mama I want to honour you

Mama I want to honour you so bad it hurts my heart knowing

that I can't teach my kids the mother tongue you sung to me on nights I was scared,

the language that *tayta* used to wipe your tears,

the words that you could use to share your *own* story

Mama it hurts that I have never seen it

You have never seen it

Mama it's in our blood

The olives

The lemons

---

4 The transliteration for the Arabic word meaning "uprising", referring to Palestinian grassroots resistance efforts.

The dirt

The skies

It's in our blood but why, why can't I see it?

Time goes on

You're forgetting

We're losing

They're winning

This is what they wanted

Exile

Exile

Exile

Dirty Arabs

Go back to your country

But our land is your land

Your land is my land

No

No

No

Mama we're losing

I can't see

I can't taste

All I ever wanted was to embrace

the olive tree

But they stripped it from its roots

Disembodied

Disembodied

Lost

Its taste

Its home

Its stability

Mama what's you without history?

Misplaced

I find myself retracing crumbs of knowledge in distant lands

Lands where the white man stole from the "Dirty Indian"

centuries before he stole from me

Mama I act because of you

Mama I do

I scramble, I ask questions - ashamed I don't know

But I don't blame you

For the loss

The grief I feel for something I never had

Mama I act because of you

I move

I talk

I sing

I dance

I continue because of you

Mama I want to learn more for you

I want to share with you all that they stole from us

I want to dig into every archive,

every library,

every shelf,

every book,

into the depths of each page

Each word I want to analyze for every life they took,

and every step *jido* took,

and every tree that fell,

and every key that was stolen,

and every child that was taken in the midst of the night,

and every land succession,

and every bomb on the *mokheyem*,

and every *Athan*[5] that was silenced,

---

5 The Arabic term for the call to prayer, recited by the muezzin during the five daily Islamic prayer times.

Impossible silence.

I want each word that I unearth from the land to fly - fly and hit them hard

Hard like a bullet

Hard enough to shatter the rock solid wall of apartheid

that they have carried in their hearts and minds

to ignore our cries

As people,

people continue to die

Mama I breathe for you

For the essence of resilience

you transpire

in all the breaths you've shared with me

Story is our resistance

We are in a place of exile

Separated by generations

Separated by language

Separated by culture

But I swear on my life I will know

Every tale, every legend, every tear that was shed

I will know, Mama

I will know

Author Biography

Maysam is a Muslim settler with Palestinian and Syrian roots, dwelling on the unneeded lands of Turtle Island. She is a 4th year Global Development Studies and Concurrent Education major, with specializations in First Nations, Metis and Inuit studies, and History at Queen's University. Maysam is a part of Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR), and the Levana Gender Advocacy Centre (LGAC), in which she is committed to solidarity projects in her communities. In her poetry, she explores questions of home, intergenerational trauma, displacement and healing through her familial and ancestral connections.

On the One Time I Lost My Virginity and the 3 Times I Gave It Away

Rayan Jamal

Abstract

In this poem, I examine the concept of virginity as a social construct by referencing situations where I was told it could be lost through simple everyday acts, such as riding a horse or inserting a tampon. Through examining such situations, I equate virginity with the mere act of penetration. In doing this, I establish that penetrative masturbation is a loss of virginity, thereby challenging the idea that virginity is something that can be either lost or given. I take the reader through four separate sexual or pseudo sexual experiences to establish a non-linear journey through navigating virginity. The poem ends with the revelation that through the act of masturbating with a dildo, my virginity became something I gave myself.

On the one time I lost my virginity and the 3 times I gave it away

Forward:
I was told I could lose my virginity by
Wearing a tampon
Riding a bicycle
Or a horse
Or a man
Or a dildo
Or fingers that wander

Meaning, virginity is less about sex
And more about a foreign object in the body
Less about sex and more about doors yanked open

The story goes,
The difference between sexual acts and sex
Is the penetration by a foreign object

The story goes,
There are graveyards empty of headstones
And full of honorary hymns

They phrased it "losing my virginity"
Because the process is singularly painful,
Always a theft,
Someone does the colonizing,
And I do the mourning

The story goes,
I lost my virginity once
And gave it away 3 times

1. The Boy

He was fuckboy turn feelings boy
I was just curious
When I saw his penis,
My impulse screamed
POKE IT

Maybe that should have been the first sign
Because vagina was love at first-sight
It was ice cream on a hot summer day
It was …
It was poet turn speechless
Okay okay, getting off track here, the boy

The boy was untrained fingers on guitar strings
I was bruise marks thought love-bites
He was satisfied consumer
I was swallowed dissociation and panic attacks

I mailed him this virginity dressed in unworn Eid clothes,
No tracking number,
Lost

2. The Tampon

Impromptu instructional demonstration
Tampon in tea mug
"Look," my now lover says,
"it could absorb an ocean"
You haven't felt softness
until you've seen a tampon drenched in purple tea
and no apologies

Finally, bedroom turn bathroom turn wedding
Is it not *wedding* when the white turns red?

I feel the tampon travel,
My vagina a void swallowing it whole
The string an only sign of its once existence

This V-card mailed to them who taught me
All the Tampon tactics

3.   (Penetrative) Masturbation

My fingers, in diaspora all this time
Immigrating beyond the art of clitoral cumming
The pitter-patter of fingers
The anxious back-and-forth walk
My fingers, a tampon
A personal penis of sorts
I feel their choreography
A readapted Dabke,
This dance, usually performed in celebrations
Requiring repetitive patterned movement
All the weddings attended taught me its rhythm
My masturbation, a wedding
My fingers a revelation, a prophet's epiphany

This virginity a homecoming party
After years of displacement

4. The Dildo

Purple, glorious, and nothing like a penis
Named her Dickety
Ety- Arabic for possessive
So entirely mine
Dickety, a tip-toe midnight snack
Quiet, patient, and alert
Tip-toe turn to midnight dance party
My vagina making wanted space,
Stretching, building, edging, climaxing

But see,
Dickety cuddled me many times
Before she held me in orgasm
Nothing about her was foreign object
Both of us masturbating the art of patient pleasure

My virginity a thank you card I gave myself
A prayer I did not ask of anyone
A joyous collapse into sleep

Author Biography

Rayan is a self-described mosaic person. Their academic and activist backgrounds blend together to form somebody whose drive is to dig deeper, complicate things, and shy away from a black/white dichotomy. In their MA in Media Production research, they managed to weave their graphic design and creative writing background into their newfound passion for theory. This resulted in the first step towards what became their driving force: a desire to bridge the gap between the academy and the public.