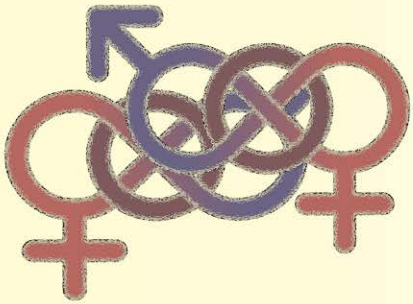
Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion

International Workshop

Proceedings

Edited by

Habiba Zaman, Chen Shaojun,
Zhu Xiujie, and Sanzida Habib



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On behalf of the organizers of the International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion, we sincerely thank all attendees and presenters. Without your presence and enthusiasm, this workshop would have never been successful.

Our heartfelt thanks go to Simon Fraser University's Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies, especially GSWS Chair Professor Lara Campbell, and Hohai University's Faculty of Public Administration, especially Dean Professor Taozhen Huang. Special thanks must go to Professor Guoquing Shi, Former Dean of the Faculty of Public Administration, Dr. Hongsheng Chen, Director of the International Office, and Dr. Xiujie Zhu, Director of the Research Center for Gender and Development, all from Hohai University. Further, we thank our three colleagues from Hohai University—Dr. Zhonggen Sun, Vice Dean of the Faculty of Public Administration, Associate Professor Amy Yu, and Associate Professor Dr. Emily Li—as well as You He, a graduate student and amazing research assistant for Habiba Zaman during her tenure at Hohai University.

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We are personally grateful to all the facilitators—Dr. Rebecca Yoshizawa of Kwantlen University, Professor Shaojun Chen of Hohai University, Professor Habiba Zaman of Simon Fraser University, and Dr. Sanzida Habib of the University of British Columbia. Our sincere thanks to the recorders and notetakers from both Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia: Sanzida Habib and Parboti Roy from UBC, and Jessica Horsnell, Veronica Sudesh, Shoak Alhussami, Leena Hasan, Somayeh Bahrami, and Reema Faris from SFU.

Without GSWS manager Roberta Nielson's unequivocal support, this collaborative international event would never have happened; our heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to her. Further, we thank conference assistant Somayeh Bahrami for her generous help. Our special thanks go to the workshop videographer, Mazhar Haque, who preserved this historic moment on video. The video is available on YouTube.

We must extend our deepest thanks to Dr. Sanzida Habib, who not only designed the poster and program, but also worked relentlessly behind the scenes. Our deepest gratitude goes also to Dr. Mohammad Zaman for his exceptional support to this international workshop. Heartfelt thanks to GSWS Library liaison Moninder Lalli and SFU Burnaby Campus Library digitized section staff, especially Kate Shuttleworth and Kevin Stranack, for making the digitized copy of these collaborative conference proceedings available for the global community. We also thank UBC alumnus Andar Wärje for his excellent editorial services. Any remaining errors are the sole responsibility of the authors and editors.

Finally, we respectfully acknowledge that this one-day international workshop took place on the ancestral land and unceded territory of the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh Nations. We, as immigrants, were uninvited yet welcomed by these Indigenous nations who shared with us warmth, traditional knowledge and wisdom, and lands to produce and exchange new knowledge. We are thankful to them for sharing and for taking care of this land and its resourceful nature since time immemorial.

Editors:
Habiba Zaman, PhD; Shaojun Chen, PhD; Xiujie Zhu, PhD; Sanzida Habib, PhD

MESSAGE FROM PROFESSOR SHI GUOQING

Professor SHI Guoqing
Director – National Research Center for Resettlement
Director – Social Development Institute
Former Director – Research Center for Gender and Development
Former Dean – School of Public Administration
Hohai University, Nanjing, Jiangsu, China

I am very happy that the organizers of the joint International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion hosted by Simon Fraser University (Burnaby, BC, Canada) and Hohai University (Nanjing, Jiangsu, China) have taken initiative to publish the proceedings of the workshop. I would like to thank the editors of the proceedings for their hard work and congratulate them on the occasion of this publication.

The joint workshop was an outcome of the collaboration signed in 2017 by the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies at Simon Fraser University and the Research Center for Gender and Development at Hohai University. A stated goal of the collaboration was to organize a joint international workshop on Gender and Diversity at SFU in 2019, which was successfully held on June 1st at SFU's downtown campus with the participation of faculty members from Hohai University. I extend apologies for my inability to attend despite an invitation from Professor Habiba Zaman of SFU, one of the key organizers of the workshop.

On our end, I feel that the proceedings will be extremely useful as reading materials for our colleagues and students at the Research Center for Gender and Development. We want to acknowledge the fact that many of our graduate students—both national and international—have benefitted from the visits by our Advisory Professor Dr. Habiba Zaman in the past years (2016–2019). We are thankful to Professor Zaman.

I look forward to reading the Proceedings of the International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion.

SHI Guoqing

01 January, 2021

OPENING REMARKS I: LARA CAMPBELL

As the Department Chair of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies (GSWS) at Simon Fraser University, I am delighted to welcome you all here today to this International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion organized by Professor Habiba Zaman. We acknowledge the importance of the land this university was built on; we join together today to listen and learn on traditional and unceded Coast Salish Territory—the original lands of the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh Úxwumixw (Squamish), səl̓ilw̓ətaʔɬ (Tsleil-Waututh), kʷikʷəƛ̓əm (Kwikwetlem), and Katzie Nations. We are grateful for the opportunity to be present here.

Simon Fraser University was the first university in Canada to develop a credit Women's Studies Program. In 1971, the first credit course—the Geography of Gender—was offered. GSWS now has a number of undergraduate programs including a major and also offers an MA program and a PhD program.

This International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion was organized by three professors working together across national boundaries: Habiba Zaman, Professor of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies at Simon Fraser University, and Shi Guoqing and Xiujie Zhu from Hohai University in Nanjing, China. Dr. Zaman has been working with her colleagues at Hohai University for several years, and I know that she has found these research and teaching partnerships to be generative and inspiring. For those of you who have travelled so far to take part in this workshop, I thank you for taking the time to travel here in order to get to know us a bit better. On behalf of the department, I hope that you find your time with us to be interesting, inspiring, and informative, and that our scholarly connections will be enriched over time.

I would like to commend Dr. Zaman for working so hard to integrate a wide range of approaches and people to the study of gender diversity and inclusion, which you see reflected in today's program. Today, we welcome graduate students, faculty, and research associates from Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia, Kwantlan University, China Three Gorges University, and Hohai University. This workshop embodies the hope and vision of our department—a place where we bring feminist intersectional understandings to the analysis of power in a local and global context, and a place to develop critical, meaningful, and engaged research on inclusion, academic freedom, diversity, rights, and social justice.

Please enjoy the rest of the day together, and welcome again to Vancouver and to Simon Fraser University.

Dr. Lara Campbell
Chair and Professor, Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies, SFU

OPENING REMARKS II: XIUJIE ZHU

Good morning! On behalf of Hohai University in Nanjing, China, I welcome you all to this collaborative workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion. I have two other colleagues with me—Professor Shaojun Chen and Dr. Yanhua Wu—who arrived in Vancouver yesterday just to attend this international workshop. We have two other colleagues from China Three Gorges University—Professor Peter Duan and Dr. Kevin Zhao—who are attending this workshop and will then join the 2019 Congress at the University of British Columbia next week.

Dr. Habiba Zaman has been committed to promoting exchange and collaboration between our universities. She was honored as visiting professor and senior advisor to our Center in September 2016. She visited us in Hohai twice, where she delivered seminars and public lectures and conducted our first ever International Graduate Students' Workshop in 2018.

This international workshop is an outcome of the collaborative efforts between Hohai University of Jiangsu Province in China and Simon Fraser University of British Columbia in Canada. The partnership began when Professor Habiba Zaman visited Hohai University during her study leave in 2016. Later on, both universities signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 2017, and the duration of this MOU extends up to five years. We hope to do more collaborative projects under the MOU. As Director of the Research Center for Gender and Development at Hohai University, it is my great pleasure to be part of this historic event.

On this special occasion, I would like to provide a brief history of Hohai University. The history of Hohai University can be traced back to the establishment of Hohai Civil Engineering School, which was founded in 1915 by Zhang Jian, a famous industrialist and educator in China's modern history. It was the first higher education institution that focused on water conservancy in China. Currently, Hohai University is a multi-disciplinary institution affiliated directly with the Ministry of Education in China as a central university.

The Research Center for Gender and Development of Hohai University was founded in 2010. The Center became a member of the Chinese Women's Research Society in 2012. The Center is one of the 32 "Women and Gender Research and Training Base" members of the All China Women's Federation/Chinese Women's Research Society. It aims to provide an open and cohesive platform for students, teachers, and scholars interested in social gender study through scientific research, teaching, and training. Currently, the Center is supported by the School of Public Administration, School of Law, School of Marxism, College of International Languages and Cultures, and Social Development Research Institute. The Center organizes cross-disciplinary academic exchanges, conferences, lectures, and training courses.

The Center was originally led by Professor Shi Guoqing and co-directed by me. I am very pleased and proud to represent the Center as well as Hohai University today. I thank

Simon Fraser University—especially the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies, GSWS Chair Professor Lara Campbell, Professor Habiba Zaman, and GSWS Manager Roberta Neilson—for making this workshop happen. I also thank you all for your participation at the workshop.

The theme of this workshop, "Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion," cannot be stressed enough for its importance and timeliness. The workshop will contribute to the continuing cooperation and exchange between our two universities. We will bring an innovative spirit and a pragmatic attitude to our work to promote further collaboration in the future. Thanks, and welcome again!

Dr. Xiujie Zhu
Director, RCGAD & Associate Professor, Hohai University

INTRODUCTION: INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON GENDER, DIVERSITY, AND INCLUSION

Habiba Zaman, Shaojun Chen, Xiujie Zhu, Sanzida Habib

This International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion was an outcome of the collaborative effort by the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies (GSWS) at Simon Fraser University (SFU) in Canada and the Research Center for Gender and Development of Hohai University (HHU) in Nanjing, China. In 2017, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the SFU Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS) and the HHU School of Public Administration was signed by both universities. One of the stated objectives was to organize a collaborative international workshop on gender and diversity at SFU in 2019.

Background to the International Workshop

Dr. Habiba Zaman visited Hohai University as an advisory professor at the Research Center for Gender and Development (RCGD) a total of three times (in 2016, 2018, and 2019). The current Director of RCGD, Dr. Zhu Xiujie, was her counterpart during these three visits and organized all events and programs, which included lectures, graduate seminars, public lectures, and day-long conferences. These events and activities were organized and/or sponsored by the School (Faculty) of Public Administration, which consists of five departments (Sociology, Social Work, Public Policy/Administration, Land Management, and Resettlement Management Science). The Research Center for Gender and Development is also located in the School of Public Administration. The School has a large pool of international students from many countries, including Ghana, Tanzania, South Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Niger, Madagascar, Samoa, Peru, Liberia, Russia, Nigeria, France, Tajikistan, Laos, Cambodia, Pakistan, Iran, and Bangladesh. There was a very vibrant and impressive international student community on campus. It should be mentioned that the International Office of Hohai University coordinated all aspects of Professor Habiba Zaman's lectures, travel plan, and accommodation. The International Office also provided her with a Research Assistant. The support and services at HHU were exemplary.

In addition to many graduate seminars and public lectures delivered at HHU, several collaborative efforts were planned under the MOU. In 2018, under the leadership of Dr. Zhu Xiujie, Professor Habiba Zaman organized a one-day workshop offered on May 20 at HHU. The first part of the workshop comprised presentations by academics from three more universities in Nanjing and representatives from the China Women's Federation. The second part of the workshop was an information session on gender and women's studies in Canada. This session inspired the idea of organizing an international workshop on gender in 2019 at Simon Fraser University in Canada, as well as the possibility of attending and

presenting at the Canadian Federation of Humanities and Social Sciences 2019 Congress at the University of British Columbia.

Another important event was led by Professor Chen Shaojun, with support and assistance from Professor Habiba Zaman. For the first time, the School of Public Administration at Hohai University organized the International Graduate Forum on Migration, Development, Gender, and Poverty Alleviation on May 22, 2018. In all, 21 national and international graduate students attended and presented their research papers. The objectives of this one-day forum were to: (i) bring graduate students together to share their research; (ii) build graduate students' capacity as future academics, researchers, and community organizers; and (iii) promote development awareness on a global scale and thus support global leadership and citizenship. Professor Habiba Zaman delivered the opening remarks and chaired two sessions entitled "Migration" and "Gender."

In 2019, Professor Habiba Zaman attended the International Workshop on Development Forced Displacement and Resettlement (DFDR), jointly organized by the NRCR (National Research Center for Resettlement), Hohai University, and the INDR (International Network on Displacement and Resettlement) at Hohai University's downtown campus. Professor Shi Guoqing (Former Dean of the School of Public Administration) was the key organizer of this conference. For the INDR conference, Dr. Zhu Xiujie and Professor Habiba Zaman proposed a session on gender and diversity at the DFDR Meeting. Based on the proposal, the Research Center for Gender and Development at Hohai University, Nanjing, organized three special/concurrent sessions consisting of 12 papers on gender in resettlement forums. This was the first time the DFDR organized any separate forum on gender. Professor Shi Guoqing (the first and former Director of RCGD) proposed the international workshop at SFU and served as one of the organizers, although he was unable to attend the event. Professor Shi's message to the workshop has been included in the published proceedings.

International Workshop at SFU, Vancouver Campus

The objectives of the workshop that took place on June 1, 2019 were to: (i) provide an overview of gender variations, various discourses on genders, and conceptions/misconceptions of genders; (ii) examine conventional gendered and sexed narratives in various societies including in Canada by using the diverse and intersectional nature of gender and sexuality as an integral tool of analysis; (iii) understand how gender roles/norms crystallize in various contexts, and by so doing, marginalize non-binary groups; (iv) identify and discuss the extent to which international development projects either neglect or incorporate genders; and finally, (v) illustrate inclusive and effective languages and strategies to incorporate various forms of genders and their intersections with other forms of sociocultural diversity as well as inequality in research and literature.

Five academics from China—three from Hohai University in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province and two from China Three Gorges University (CTG) in Yichang, Hubei Province—attended this workshop. These professors were Dr. Chen Shaojun, Dr. Xhu Xiujie, and Dr. Wu Yanhua of HHU, along with Dr. Duan Yuefang and Dr. Zhao Kevin of CTG. Both Dr. Duan

and Dr. Zhao also delivered lectures on the Three Gorges Dam in Professor Habiba Zaman's GSWS 309: Gender and International Development class at SFU's main campus in Burnaby.

In contrast to the traditional 20-minute paper presentation followed by comments and questions, the workshop intended to maximize discussion, participation, and exchange of ideas among the attendees. The workshop facilitator briefly introduced and invited each presenter to deliver a short 10-minute presentation, after which the next 10 minutes were devoted to engaging discussion through questions and answers. After each presentation, facilitators and panelists raised questions, but did not necessarily answer all of them. Following this, workshop participants were invited to offer comments and questions. This created an opportunity for maximum input on the topics by all speakers as well as effective interactions among speakers and participants.

Recorders were recruited to take notes for all the sessions, enabling the organizers to prepare a session summary for both the hard copy and digitized version of the workshop proceedings. We are thankful to SFU Library for publishing the proceedings electronically for the larger/global community. Video recordings of all the sessions are also available on YouTube. We express gratitude to Mazhar Haque, an event volunteer, for meticulously recording and editing all the presentations. Additional hard copies of the proceedings are expected to be published by Hohai University for the use of students and researchers.

Professor Lara Campbell, Chair of the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies at SFU, delivered the opening remarks and welcomed the participants of the workshop. Professor Campbell eloquently set forth the vision of GSWS, which aspires to offer feminist intersectional analysis of power in local, national, and global contexts. According to Professor Campbell, SFU's GSWS is a department that fosters and nurtures the creation of critical, engaged, and meaningful research on inclusion, diversity, rights, and social justice.

Dr. Campbell's remarks were followed by the opening remarks of Dr. Zhu Xiujie, Director of the HHU Research Center for Gender and Development. Professor Zhu provided a brief historical background of Hohai University and the RCGD, pointing out that the goal of the RCGD was the creation of an open platform for students, faculty members, and academics interested in "social gender research" through teaching, training, and research. Both sets of opening remarks are included in the workshop proceedings.

The workshop was structured into four independent sessions (see program attached in the Appendix): Session I was titled *Gender and Diversity*; Session II addressed *Gender and Sexuality*; Session III covered the issue of *Gender and Society*; and Session IV employed a *Gender Lens in International Development Projects*. Dr. Rebecca Yoshizawa, Dr. Habiba Zaman, Dr. Shaojun Chen, and Dr. Sanzida Habib steered the corresponding sessions as workshop facilitators. In all, 13 presenters put forward innovative academic insights on the respective topics, generating lively discussions in each session. The presenters included faculty members (representing institutions such as Simon Fraser University, Hohai University, the University of British Columbia, and Kwantlen University),

graduate students, community activists, and development practitioners. Of the 13 presenters, seven submitted expanded and completed versions of their papers for publication. One presenter submitted a written version of their paper as presented at one of the sessions, and this has been included in the Appendix. We are sincerely indebted to all the authors who reworked their papers even during the pandemic period, which has disrupted lives around the world in numerous ways. These papers are compiled in Section I of the proceedings.

The absence from the proceedings of the five other papers originally presented at the workshop is compensated for by the inclusion of session notes captured by our brilliant notetakers. They diligently recorded the presentations in all four sessions. There were eight note-takers in total, with two responsible for each session: Dr. Sanzida Habib and Parboti Roy for Session I, Jessica Horsnell and Veronica Sudesh for Session II, Shoak Alhussami and Leena Hasan for Session III, and Somayeh Bahrami and Rima Farris for the final session (Session IV). All except Dr. Habib were either PhD or MA students of SFU and UBC. Six out of seven were from the GSWS department at SFU. These notetakers documented the presentations as well as the question-and-answer sessions in a comprehensive way so that readers could understand the breadth and intensity of each session. As editors, we decided to include the gist from each session in Section II of the proceedings.

Summary and Contributions of the International Workshop

This collaborative international workshop jointly organized by the SFU Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies and Hohai University's Research Center for Gender and Development is the first ever initiative undertaken by both units. This one-day event has brought together scholars from the two countries for mutual learning experiences on binary and non-binary gender as well as emerging academic discourses and knowledge. The editors recognize that this joint international workshop created a number of significant contributions through collaborations by all involved at the community, university, and international levels. The following is a brief summary of the key contributions.

The topic of the International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion fits perfectly with Simon Fraser University's current overarching vision of *Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion.* Further, SFU's principal motto has always been *Community Engagement*. The first presentation at the workshop as well as the first paper in the proceedings, by Reema Faris, critically dissects the binary notion of gender and argues for the significance of non-binary gender. June Scudeler brings up "Indigenous ways of knowing" and explains "Two-Spirit" as an Indigenous term for special people who do not belong to the gender binary, distinct from Western notions of LGBTQ+ identity. Locating her positionality as a colonial settler, Tiffany Muller Myrdahl explains the significance of decolonization and unlearning colonizer's tools. Tiffany's work centers around sex and sexuality in the city as well as in urban spaces. Ann Travers, based on in-depth research with trans children, strongly argues for a paradigm shift in the medicalization of trans kids—i.e., from corrective to affirming healthcare. According to Ann, many non-binary kids encounter binary-confirming education, identity politics, classism, racism, and so on.

The next set of presentations and papers link gender with women's experiences of migration and settlement in a new country, specifically China and Canada. Wu Yanhua links gender and migration with poverty among women in Myanmar who marry Chinese men in the novel marital and gendered migration system. Highlighting women's migration and settlement experiences in Canada varied by age, education, nationality, and English-language skills, Sanzida Habib demonstrates how structural barriers such as socioeconomic and financial hardship due to unemployment and underemployment, isolation, childcare, household responsibilities, and systemic racism adversely affect women's health (both mental and physical) and access to healthcare services. Zhu Xiujie explains the role of the All China Women's Federation (ACWF) in tackling gender discrimination in employment through such measures as gender equality assessments and policy regulations at both the national and local level.

Zafar Adeel reports that approximately 1.8 billion people in parts of India, China, the Middle East, and Africa will likely face water scarcity by 2025 and remain vulnerable, particularly in conflict zones in the Middle East where women and girls face the risk of ongoing danger, instability, and conflict—a troubling sign not only for gender equity but for peace and security as well. Rina Pradhan has identified health risks associated with teenage pregnancy in Nepal, such as obstructed labour, postpartum infections, pregnancy-induced hypertension, spontaneous abortions, maternal morbidity, etc.; intervention programs are required at an early age (as soon as girls begin puberty) and should continue through secondary school, including improved healthcare during and after pregnancy. The issue of reproductive rights and justice is further reflected in Rebecca Yoshizawa's presentation, in which she argues that no woman or child should have to live in fear of violence in their own home or experience a lack of access to resources due to intimate partner violence. Accordingly, not only should abortion remain legal, but all women, including women living in poverty—who are disproportionately likely to be Black, Indigenous, and racialized—should actually have access to it. Chen Shaojun's paper argues that gender impact assessments are necessary for all development projects; further, gender mainstreaming as a planning tool should serve to minimize the adverse impacts of development projects on the lives of women and ultimately empower them.

The presenters and scholars—both emerging and experienced, and coming from multiple universities in China and Canada—offer diverse perspectives, including non-heterosexual, anti-homophobic, trans-positive, feminist, Indigenous, decolonizing, antiracist, and intersectional approaches to challenge gender binaries and heteronormativity. Their work highlights not only the diversity within gender and other markers of unequal relations, but also the diverse ways of knowing and crafting a sense of our social worlds. This international workshop has promoted the inclusion of gender and diversity perspectives in research and scholarship to understand individuals' personal, interpersonal, collective, local, national, and international experiences in the family, community, and nation, in healthcare and other social-service settings, and in economic and development activities—in times of peace, transition, and conflict. The workshop has also fulfilled our commitment to the inclusion of a gender and diversity lens to facilitate critical understandings of the diverse experiences of women, men, trans children, and

young girls in local, national, and global contexts. It has demonstrated that such perspectives and convictions can enable vulnerable individuals' empowerment as well as social justice and equity for all, irrespective of gender, age, race, ethnicity, sexuality, ability, and other dynamic social relations of power.

This international workshop has further served as a training platform for students, particularly SFU's GSWS PhD and MA students. Not only did they attend and actively participate in the day-long workshop from 8:00 am to 5:00 pm, but some of them took comprehensive notes on each presentation and Q&A session. We hope our readers will find their notes practical, informative, and valuable from an academic point of view. Without the support of the energetic student volunteers and emerging scholars, the workshop would not have happened smoothly, nor would the contributions of these scholarly exchanges have been completely documented.

The proceedings will be published in the beginning of 2021, although the international workshop was held in June 2019. The Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 has caused extraordinary levels of stress and difficulty, especially for women balancing academic work with childcare, eldercare, and other responsibilities at home. Writing and editing papers during the pandemic has generated an exceptional burden for some authors (and the editors, across multiple continents) and thus delayed the publication. Coincidentally, SFU GSWS will be celebrating its 50th anniversary in 2021. This is a time for all of us to remember the prolonged and profound path GSWS has trekked over the past 50 years. We hope the published proceedings of the international workshop—the outcome of a ground-breaking collaborative effort across borders and disciplines—will be considered an important milestone for the historic journey of SFU's Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies Department, as well as for the HHU Research Center for Gender and Development. As editors, we humbly recognize this unique outcome.

GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND DIVERSITY

- I believe that gender is something between your ears, not between your legs.

  —*Chaz Bono*

- No government has the right to tell its citizens when or whom to love. The only queer people are those who don't love anybody.

  — *Rita Mae Brown*

REEMA FARIS

It's a Fact! Or is it? The Turbulence of Gender

Abstract: Gender categorization based on binary distinctions of male/female, man/woman, and masculine/feminine is a feature of many cultures and societies. These binary boxes offer certainty. They represent a traditional approach that helps keep individuals anchored in place socially, culturally, economically, or politically. But is the certainty of gender really all that certain? What about those who resist these constraints? How do different theorizations of gender help to tackle the question of human social organization? This paper looks at fundamental understandings of the gender binary system, explores theoretical views that have upset those understandings, and discusses human lived experiences that challenge them. It offers an overview of the ways in which normative gender roles have denied people—particularly women and minorities—agency, economic independence, social freedom, reproductive justice, safety, and security. As a critical analysis, it argues that enforcement of the gender binary system contributes to the perpetuation of power, privilege, and status in social hierarchies even today. It also shows that those who speak up and speak out to challenge this system, historically and in contemporary times, have radically reshaped notions of gender in their struggle for equality, social justice, and fairness.

"It could be that given his sex, he made an easy immersion into his gender role; given mine, transition out of the gender role ascribed was my only chance at sovereignty."

Dionne Brand (2018), p. 193

"There's a breathtaking power in self-determination."

Francisco Fernández (2010), p. 133

"Freedom depends on its abundance. For it to mean anything more than another layer of oppression, my emancipation necessitates the emancipation of others—even of those who have oppressed me."

Ryka Aoki (2010), p. 151

Gender is a classification system that divides the human species into two discrete categories on the basis of visible, external, physical markers of difference. Humans in different geographical and historical contexts have organized cultures and societies and constructed systems of knowledge and power according to this principle of a gender binary. Through this process, gender appears as certain, stable, and immutable. Challenges to these notions of gender are seen as threatening because to question the conceptual

framework of the gender binary is to question more than individual identity. Such challenges shake the foundations of human development and establish complexities rather than simplifications within understandings of human lived experience. The gender binary based on distinctions of male/female, man/woman, and masculine/feminine embeds injustice because it does not allow for and cannot accommodate different realities and expressions of gender. It is a system that excludes manifestations of otherness. It is an anchoring mechanism that keeps individuals in place within a hierarchical order—be it social, cultural, economic, or political—through control of the physical self (i.e., the body). The enforcement of this binary system perpetuates the status quo when it comes to power and privilege and denies equality, agency, and freedom to marginalized populations including women and minorities.

One of the challenges of discussing gender arises from the limitations of language—an essential system for making sense and meaning of the world. This problem is reflected at different levels of experience and thought in both academic and non-academic settings. The controversy around pronouns for non-binary individuals, for example, demonstrates this constraint. While pronouns beyond he and she acknowledge a broader spectrum of gender identities, this nod to human diversity may still bolster the normative force of gender and the oppressive force of sexist ideologies (Enke, 2016, p. 215). Similarly, when talking about theories, concepts, and social issues related to gender, it is important to clarify the meaning of terms such as "sex," which people may use interchangeably in dialogue without differentiating among the various meanings associated with them. For the purpose of the discussion that follows, I will use "sex" to refer to physical acts of intimacy between people. When referring to visible physical differences between individuals (which some call "biological sex"), I will use the term "genitalia." I will not use "sex" to indicate gender, and what I mean by gender will become clearer throughout the course of the analytical discussion I present here.

As a mature woman and student, perhaps the most significant area of learning for me since beginning my PhD studies in 2016 has been the complicated and turbulent issue of gender. Let me start with a personal anecdote about my experience as a mother to demonstrate the assumptions individuals confront in contending with gender. I became a Mom in June 2001, and for the December holidays that year, I used a photo of my child to create a card that I mailed out to friends and family. In that photo, I used certain props, including a hand-made baby blanket gifted by a friend and a ribbon wrapped around the baby. When I look at the photograph today, eighteen and a half years later, I realize the extent to which I was invested in the notion of gender at the time. The blanket and the ribbon I used were blue, and I relied on the colour of the items to tell family and friends that this six-month-old child was a boy. In other words, I relied on clues and codes, which I knew would be understood, to communicate to those receiving the card that my child was a boy. Before my child had the opportunity to develop a sense of who they would be, I was telling the world he was a boy, with all the assumptions embedded in and associated with that identity.

In relying on this shorthand to communicate gender, identity, and subjectivity, and the conflation of these various meanings, I was not alone at the time, and despite the social

and cultural changes of the past two decades, I am not alone now. A Google search of the phrase "celebrity gender reveal," for example, will produce 16.2 million links in approximately 0.36 seconds.[1] My reason for including "celebrity" in the search term is because of the impact popular celebrity culture has on the practice of social and cultural norms in contemporary times. Celebrities exert a significant impact on what consumers deem cool, fashionable, and acceptable. While some celebrities may use their fame to challenge norms, broadcast media, mass media, and the current networked reality of social media more often use the conduct of celebrities to repeat, reiterate, and reinforce normativity as the standard to emulate. One standard that celebrities and non-celebrities enact and adhere to is the gender-reveal party, an event where the gender of the fetus is revealed and celebrated. While the impending birth of a child is a joyous event, there have been recent instances of people dying when these parties go horribly wrong as parents try to outdo each other by staging bigger and more spectacular stunts (Elliott, 2019).

In essence, what these feel-good gender-reveal parties are celebrating (beyond the future delivery of a baby) are exclusionary social and theoretical constructs. These include the gender binary, the dominance of heterosexuality and marriage, the focus on sex as reproduction, and essentialist notions of femininity and masculinity. Many gender-reveal videos can be viewed online, and the number of links in the above search result illustrates the amount of time one could spend doing just that. Many celebrities use their own gender-reveal parties to market their image or brand, as well as any products they endorse. In this way, gender-reveal parties become yet another commodified item promoting consumerism and consumption; aside from building loyalty to a particular celebrity brand, they encourage purchasing and contracting products and services to host a gender-reveal party in a suitably fashionable manner.

Referring back to the terms I clarified earlier, a gender-reveal party celebrates public knowledge of a baby's genitalia, with blue representing a child who is expected to be born with a penis and pink representing a child who is expected to be born with a vagina. These events valorize the gender assigned at birth according to the infant's genitalia and endorse the gender attribution, role, and identity associated with boy-girl designations. Gender-reveal parties are highly gendered events. In cases where the baby is a boy, gender reveals often involve hitting, pummeling, or exploding items. By contrast, gender reveals for girls often involve glitter, the gentle popping of a balloon, the release of butterflies, and so forth. In sum, these parties celebrate social norms that have been constructed on the basis of genitalia and a patriarchal status quo that has historically marginalized and oppressed the "other," primarily women. The challenge presented by this continuing emphasis on the gender binary is that it perpetuates the idea of an infallible, reliable, factual system that is not harmful, and is beyond question.

However, this impression of certainty is illusory. Experts increasingly recognize the gender binary as a constructed categorization that humans have developed. Despite doubts raised by experts, people still turn to existing knowledge systems perceived to be accurate, objective, and unassailable to provide evidence for their persistent belief in the gender

[1] Search results will vary. This result is based on a December 29, 2019 search.

binary system. One such field is science, and yet even science cannot provide unequivocal support for the notion of "biological sex" difference. Anne Fausto-Sterling, Professor Emerita at Brown University in the USA and a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, is a leading expert in biology and gender development. Her many publications include such works as *Myths of Gender* (1985, 1992), *Sexing the Body* (2000), and *Sex/Gender: Biology in a Social World* (2012). Fausto-Sterling asserts that the complexity of the human body eschews the ability to provide clear answers about biological differences and refutes the notion that sex is a discrete physical category (Fausto-Sterling, 2000, p. 4). Rather, she asserts that the signals and functions humans categorize as male and female are enmeshed with concepts about gender and the choice of criteria that science uses to determine sex (and even the need to provide such an identification) are "social decisions for which scientists can offer no absolute guidelines" (pp. 4-5).

Another area of science adding increasing complexity to the study of gender is contemporary neuroscience, which is shattering the myth of the female brain according to Gina Rippon. Rippon is an international researcher in the field of cognitive neuroscience based at the Aston Brain Centre at Aston University in Birmingham, UK and was made an Honorary Fellow of the British Science Association in 2015 for her contributions to the public communication of science. In *The Gendered Brain: The New Neuroscience that Shatters the Myth of the Female Brain*, Rippon (2019) explains that discoveries in neuroscience challenge the binary labels of male and female because neuroscience is providing more and more evidence of the inextricable intertwining of nature and nurture (p. xviii). That is, the human brain is a mirror and reflects the lives that individuals have lived and not just their sex. In Rippon's (2019) words,

> What used to be thought fixed and inevitable is being shown to be plastic and flexible; the powerful biology-changing effects of our physical and our social worlds are being revealed. Even something that is "written in our genes" may come to express itself differently in different contexts. (pp. xviii-xix)

In the absence of scientific certainty upon which to ascertain a physical basis for difference, the analysis of gender, gender roles, and gender norms must turn to the ways in which societies and cultures have constructed these notions and the impact of their enforcement on the lived experience of the panoply of humankind.

As language, science, and experience show, the essential shortcoming in ascribing set qualities to gender is that a simple binary is insufficient to capture the complexity of human reality. Those living the reality of a non-binary existence have been instrumental in change-making through their insistence on the complexity of gender and their challenge to the oppressive nature of the traditional binary. One such proponent is Kate Bornstein, an American author, playwright, performance artist, actress, and gender theorist. Bornstein's work throughout the years has unravelled the threads of gender and identified a variety of components that constitute gender. These elements are separate from genitalia and the way in which genitalia is linked to specific and restrictive gender roles and norms. The effect of Bornstein's work has been to fashion space for a collective that lives in opposition to the normative, to allow those who do not conform to find a way of belonging (Freiwald, 2001, p. 38), and to challenge the "fiction of race, class, sex, gender, or nation" (p. 40).

If gender is a fiction, then what individuals understand as gender are in fact the cultural meanings attached to masculinity and femininity—attributes predicated on the physical difference of genitalia. Given gender's influence and impact, particularly the harm it has promulgated as an oppressive and exclusionary principle put into practice, it makes sense that gender has become a subject of intense study and been theorized in numerous different ways. Various theories explore gender as a social construction, as performance, and as a system of power relations in which the female and feminine are devalued in relation to the male and masculine. While these theories and others contribute to a more nuanced understanding of gender and its complicated, contested, and controversial legacy, in my view the issue is even more fundamental. Gender operates as an ideology, and its ideological basis contributes to the imperviousness of the gender binary to sustainable systemic and structural change.

Thinking of gender as an ideology helps to explain the continuing resistance to shattering the binary despite the presence of information and proof of experience identifying its limitations. Within the structure of an ideology, adherents cling to an inherent denial of evidence in order to reinforce the belief system they espouse whether individually or as a collective. In a 1982 essay, Susan Griffin, a radical feminist philosopher, essayist, and playwright, asserts, "Always, inevitably, no matter what the ideology, the idea of the other is born. For another must become a symbol and a scapegoat for the ideologist's own denied knowledge that this ideology is not more real than reality and must bow to contradictory natural evidence" (p. 646). With respect to the non-adaptive nature of ideology, Griffin (1982) poses this question: "What if all our efforts toward liberation are determined by an ideology which despite our desire for a better world leads us inevitably back to the old paradigm of suffering?" (p. 642). Applying this consideration to gender, efforts toward liberation from this ideology inescapably revert to a paradigm of inequality and suffering because inherent in the concept of gender is the concept of the other. In the trajectory of human history, the other is consistently positioned as lesser to the white male default and always subject to the control of the default powerholders.

The effect of gender operating as an ideology is to create a carceral system. Gender imprisons people into a contained existence and embeds injustice into social and cultural organizations, which are not only resistant to change, but which become reactionary forces when threatened. The reason a gender ideology becomes a means of imprisonment is that if one does not fit into the defined category of either/both genders, then society, culture, and other institutions of authority, privilege, and power ascribe to the individual an inability to conform and view that individual as flawed. The dominant collective regards such a person as deficient, bad, immoral, unnatural, and disposable. That is, the inability to conform lies with the individual and not with the limitations of an insufficient binary model. As a result, human-constructed systems and structures seek to control, discipline, and punish those who do not belong because it is easier to discipline than to change. This reinforces the status quo and confirms the right of the privileged and powerful to assert control and domination over the bodies they deem deviant and perverse.

While the impact of the gender binary system and gender as an ideology affect all people no matter their self-identification, the limiting consequences of adhering to the

gender binary system can be demonstrated by the ways this system has limited the participation of women in society. As a result of gender ideology, women have been denied economic independence and social and sexual freedom because of dominant normative discourses and practices such as the domestic sphere, marriage, motherhood, and compulsory heterosexuality. They have been denied access to reproductive justice and experienced a lack of safety and security due to the proliferation of gender-based violence. Perhaps the most exacerbating factor has been the way in which the dominant narrative of a hierarchical gender binary has continued to deny women voice and power despite the accomplishments of successive waves of feminist action, revolution, and social justice movements and the changes they have wrought.

In regard to the issue of women and power, the consequences of enforcing the gender binary can be traced to the roots of Western Civilization in the ancient world. Mary Beard, a professor of classics at Cambridge University as well as a television personality, blogger, and social media star, demonstrates that the incompatibility of women with power and privilege is a prevalent trope in Ancient Greek drama. In *Women & Power: A Manifesto* (2017), Beard talks about power holders such as Medea, Clytemnestra, and Antigone, some of the original cultural representations of women in the Western world. Beard (2017) argues that rather than serving as role models for women as power holders, these characters of myth, legend, and drama are depicted as power abusers. Their access to power is secured illegitimately, and by exercising their illicit power, these women undertake actions that "lead to chaos, to the fracture of the state, to death and destruction" (Beard, 2017, p. 59). These women are "monstrous hybrids"—not women at all in the conceptual framework of the time (p. 59). To Beard, the inescapable conclusion of these dramatic representations is that these women must be stripped of their power and "put back in their place" (p. 59). She avers that "it is the unquestionable mess that women make of power in Greek myth that justifies their exclusion from it in real life, and justifies the rule of men" (p. 59). In other words, women, by their very nature, represent disorder, and this understanding is only one way in which gender has been employed as an oppressive regime that denies women the right to gain, hold, and exercise power. It is a contention that continues to thwart women's political, social, cultural, and economic aspirations in the present era.

It is easy to critique the gender binary system as simplistic, unhelpful, exclusionary, and oppressive, but what can proponents of change offer as an alternative? Julia Serano is a writer, performer, activist, musician, and biologist whose publications include *Whipping Girl: A Transsexual Woman on Sexism and the Scapegoating of Femininity* (2007) and *Outspoken: A Decade of Transgender Activism and Trans Feminism* (2016). Serano holds a PhD in Biochemistry and Molecular Biophysics from Columbia University and has spent 17 years as a researcher at UC Berkeley in the fields of genetics, evolution, and developmental biology. She comprehends the issue of gender from a scientific perspective as well as through her own lived experience. Serano's answer to the need for an alternative construction of gender is to refuse a definitive description and instead embrace gender as constitutive of multiple meanings. She writes about gender as follows:

> It's an amalgamation of bodies, identities, and life experiences, subconscious urges, sensations, and behaviors, some of which develop organically, and others which are

> shaped by language and culture. Instead of saying that gender is any one single thing, let's start describing it as a holistic experience. (Serano, 2010, p. 87)

Challenges remain, however, as any understanding that acknowledges gender's multiplicity of meanings embodies a complexity that remains anathema to many.

In this discussion, I have attempted to delineate the challenges of understanding gender and the need to support new approaches to this identity factor. Though I have focused a single aspect of the issue, there are many other angles to explore, including the ways in which gender connects to the understanding of human desire and sexuality. No matter the obstacles to engaging in a discourse on gender, it is, in my view, a necessity. This gender ideology must be disrupted along with other vectors of human categorization including race, income, location, disability, and more. It is a matter of social justice, and justice can only be realized by overcoming resistance to different conceptualizations of gender from those who have comfortably identified as male or female throughout their lives. The challenge for academics, advocates, agitators, and resistors is to help such individuals see that the benefits of changing an oppressive system accrue to them as well. No one is trying to demolish the identities of those who are comfortable saying "I am a man" or "I am a woman," but their right to self-determination and self-expression cannot preempt the rights of others to claim, without threat to their bodies and their personhood, a variable, distinctive, and unique gender identity.

Similarly, if such individuals insist on the primacy of a simple binary model for understanding and designating gender, that is their choice, and their ideological rootedness will make it almost impossible to change their minds. However, it is the personal and social responsibility of these adherents to determine how they propose to deal with those who do not fit nicely and neatly into either of the two categories. Will their response be to pathologize, punish, and exclude these others on the basis of a physical marker that in effect designates nothing more than genitalia? Or will their response be to recognize the essential humanity of all persons and question the systems and structures that turn binary-busters into the other, the lesser, the not-valued, the discarded, the bullied, and the defiled?

This ability to explore the question of gender without confronting a personal identity struggle and without having to suffer the societal and cultural consequences of non-conformity is in fact a position of privilege and freedom. The challenge for those with such liberty and power is to exercise their critical faculties to understand the discrimination and oppression others have faced historically and continue to face. We live in a time of increasing populist authoritarianism that undermines the rights of minorities as well as vulnerable and marginalized populations worldwide. One of the most alarming ways in which the dangers of this gender binary paradigm are manifested is the continued violence inflicted on transgender people around the world, even in liberally progressive countries such as Canada (Curlew, 2019). The ability to secure and sustain the rights of all is predicated on new ways of thinking and the willingness to change embedded systems, structures, and ideologies including gender. As fundamental as the question of gender is, it is just one factor that must be confronted by the collective citizenry in each national context as they actively work to construct a more equal, equitable and just world.

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ANN TRAVERS

Transgender Children on the Margins: Impacts of Colonialism, Racism, and Poverty

Abstract: Transgender children are to be found in every population of children, whether they make themselves visible or not. The trans kids who are visible tend to be disproportionately white, relatively wealthy, binary-conforming, and supported by activist parents. This chapter makes the case that social justice for all trans kids is impossible without targeting the interlocking systems of colonialism, white supremacy, capitalism, and national security state policies and institutions for transformative change. Putting the most vulnerable trans kids at the center of social change efforts is crucial to this project.

Trans kids are present in every population whether they make themselves known or not. Educational scholar Mark Hellen (2009) observes that the majority of them are "non-apparent" (p. 92); they hide because they expect a lack of acceptance. This is the self-perpetuating logic of "the Thomas Theorem," whereby "situations that are defined as real become real in their consequences" (Thomas & Thomas, 1928, p. 301). Ultimately, both visible and invisible trans kids are vulnerable to high-risk behavior, self-harm, and suicide. It is important to emphasize that it is not being transgender, *per se*, that increases the likelihood of self-harm and suicide; rather, it is cultural and social prejudice that does the damage. Trans kids represent normal and healthy gender variation and are not new, as Jules Gill-Peterson (2018) documents in her recent book, *Histories of the Transgender Child*. I should know; I was one of them.

I identify as trans-non-binary. For the past eight years, I have been attending conferences and meetings for trans kids and their families in Canada and the United States, conducting interviews, participating in online groups, and publicly advocating for queer and trans kids as well as LGBT people in general. This research resulted in the publication of my (2018) book: *The Trans Generation: How Trans Kids (and Their Parents) are Creating a Gender Revolution*. The central argument of the book and this chapter is that we need to center the most precarious trans kids—those who are some combination of Indigenous/racialized/living in poverty/disabled/undocumented—in our scholarship and social change efforts. I begin by outlining the importance of an intersectional analysis and focusing on the shortcomings of mainstream trans rights initiatives that center more privileged trans people.

It is crucial to situate trans kids within broader relations of power and oppression. Canada and the U.S. occupy huge, varied, and contested geopolitical spaces. Both nations brand themselves as democracies, but each is more accurately understood as a "white settler society" (Thobani, 2007) albeit with different histories of displacing/committing

genocide against Indigenous populations and subjugating racialized minorities. These histories provide a crucial genealogy of contemporary socio-economic inequality and the contexts within which we find trans kids.

I will now talk about three trans kids in particular—Wren, Finn, and Hunter —to emphasize the importance of paying attention to ways that varying degrees of social inequality shape the life chances of trans kids. I will then discuss problems with mainstream approaches to supporting trans kids and conclude by outlining key aspects of an anti-oppression approach to supporting trans kids.

The hostility to children who are assigned male at birth but express feminine qualities is keenly felt by kids like Wren. When I first interviewed her at age seven, she told me, "I was born a boy, but I like being a girl." Wren wishes she had been left alone and not forced to identify as *any* gender. Yet she switched to female pronouns because the gender confusion she provoked in other people—and their insistence on making it *her* problem—was too anxiety-producing for her.

When I asked Wren about her vision of herself in the future, she was very matter of fact in explaining that she did not see transgender womanhood as an option. She told me of her plan to "change back" into a boy when she turned 10. I was a bit surprised to hear this given how stereotypically feminine she is, although I never doubt anyone's assertions about their gender identity. When I interviewed her again at age 11, her timeline for changing back had shifted, but the vision of her future had not: she was operating in stealth mode at a new school and now planned to "change back into a boy" at 14 or 15. Wren consistently refuses the possibility of trans adulthood for herself, explaining, "I'm Black. I don't want to be trans too." In seeing no future for herself—literally—Wren displays a sophisticated and heartbreaking awareness of the harmful effects of trans-negativity and anti-Black racism.

Finn also saw no future for himself. Two years ago, I learned, via his mother's heartbreaking announcement in an online group for parents of trans kids, that Finn had committed suicide. I obtained permission from his mother, Heidi, to share some of what she wrote:

> It's been five weeks since my 14-year old transgender son Finn took his life. We had a discussion that night at dinner about his next hormone blocker shot, and how we were going to pay for it since we'd just gotten a letter that day of our second denial of state insurance and had been told by the drug's owner company that we were slightly over income for their patient assistance program. We couldn't afford the $1400 a month out of pocket payment. He begged me to do a GoFundMe for him, but I told him we couldn't do it for something ongoing. He left the table upset. Oh, how I wished I would have checked in on him. But he spent most of his time holed up in his room, and I was trying to be respectful by not intruding. Later that night, while I slept in the next room, he quietly left the house and walked to the railroad a few blocks away and lay his body across the track. It was the 11:00 train.

Finn found puberty too difficult to bear, and faced with what he saw as limited options for

the future, chose death. I am struck by the power of his will. This was no cry for help but rather a grim and determined choice.

Heidi agreed, saying, "I was struck by the [sheer] determination and courage it must've taken to stay on those rails as the train roared down towards him." Heidi described Finn as gifted and wise but lacking the maturity to manage his considerable emotional sensitivity, saying:

> He had to lay down that load he was carrying somehow. The hopelessness he felt in the road ahead of him is what broke him that night. Even if he had no problem getting hormone blockers, he still had his internal demons. But if the barriers to taking the drug were not there, I don't think he would have died that night.
> Hunter was attending a special education program for kids with learning disabilities when he announced to his class one morning that he was transgender. He says his teachers responded by calling his mother to ask her "if she was accepting this."
> He continued: And, of course, she said, "I wouldn't be sending my kid to the school dressed like this or saying a different name if I wasn't accepting it," but they called her at least three or four times, like farther apart, and just kept asking the same question. But they would never say anything straight to my face.

Hunter was understandably angry that they didn't take *his* word for it. However, the multiple calls to his mother bespeak another troubling dynamic: Hunter's mother is poor, First Nations, and a single parent, all of which make her particularly vulnerable to state surveillance, oversight, and child apprehension. The fact that adults at Hunter's school responded to his transition by questioning his authority and that of his mother is consistent with both the pervasive assumption that children lack knowledge about and authority over themselves, and the Canadian assumption that Indigenous parents do not know what is best for their children.

As with many trans kids, being trans is only one dimension of vulnerability for Wren, Finn, and Hunter. However, lack of family support is not one of them. Family acceptance is known to be the most significant factor in shaping mental health outcomes for trans kids, yet the socioeconomic status of their families is also key to their life chances.

Activist parents of trans kids have been one of the driving forces behind the emergence of support networks for kids and families, legal and policy changes, and increasing access to affirming healthcare. Although not exclusively and often with the support of their children's fathers, most parent advocacy on behalf of trans kids in Canada and the U.S. is carried out by well-educated white mothers, many of whom at least appear to be heterosexual. Given the gendered nature of emotional labor in general in Western societies, it is not surprising that the frontline fight has been led by women, most of whom are able to call on a degree of race and class privilege and/or the cultural capital that comes from experience engaging in other social justice struggles. Political scientist and parent of a trans kid Kimberley Manning (2017) explains this tendency by pointing out that more marginalized families are also struggling under the harmful effects of racism and/or poverty and the disadvantage their trans kids experience is not confined to gender identity.

However radical the more mainstream-appearing activist moms of trans kids may *actually be*, their ability to project as nonthreatening and motherly enables them to intervene on behalf of queer and trans kids in uniquely powerful ways. Trans and queer adults *have* certainly played a major role in pushing schools to be more LGBT-inclusive, but the power of these "normal" moms to challenge schools and other institutions to change the way they do gender and sexuality cannot be overstated. Sometimes the challenges faced by trans kids from marginalized families can be overlooked in this process because their parents face more barriers in advocating for them. Manning (2017) observes,

> Under the glare of the media spotlight personal testimonials can contribute to the erasure of some trans* lives: it can become easy to lose sight of the struggles of parents who may not teach at a university, for example, and of the racialized transgender kids who are at far greater risk of violence than are our own white children. (p. 590)

Kai, a parent of a trans kid and an LGBT youth worker, addressed this reality by asking, "How do we protect young people who don't have privileged activists as parents?"

I began writing my book in 2015, amid unprecedented yet far from mainstream support for lesbian, gay, and transgender rights in Canada and the United States. LGBT activism had been successful in achieving significant changes in legal and policy landscapes, although more uniformly in Canada than in the United States. There are now consequences for discriminating against queer and trans people in many institutions and jurisdictions.

Canada legalized same-sex marriage in 2005. Bill C-16 became law on February 14, 2017, amending the *Canadian Human Rights Act* to include gender identity as a prohibited ground for discrimination and updating the *Criminal Code* to make transgender people an identifiable group protected by hate speech provisions. Though many Canadians appear to feel smugly superior about Canadian inclusiveness, viewing racism and intolerance as an American rather than a Canadian problem, colonial, racist, and heteropatriarchal patterns of oppression persist as foundational components of Canadian society. Additionally, while trans rights have been enshrined at the federal level in Canada and in all but two provinces, the current hateful shift in the political landscape of the United States, the election of right-wing governments in Ontario and Quebec, and ongoing anti-sexual orientation and gender identity inclusion policy movements continue to negatively impact the life chances of trans kids.

In 2011, in her capacity as U.S. secretary of state, Hillary Clinton declared that "gay rights are human rights" (Capehart, 2011). State bans on same-sex marriage were ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2013. On May 9, 2016, then U.S. Attorney General Loretta Lynch announced that the federal government was taking the North Carolina state legislature to court over HB2, its controversial law requiring transgender people to use the bathroom corresponding to their assigned birth sex (Davis & Apuzzo, 2016). The Obama administration followed this statement on May 13, 2016 by sending a letter to every school district in the U.S. directing them to allow transgender students to use the bathroom appropriate to their *self-determined* gender identity. This letter clearly communicated the federal government's intention to include gender identity as a protected

category under the gender-equity provisions of *Title IX*.

I do not need to tell you that the 2016 U.S. presidential election resulted in a dramatically different political landscape for vulnerable groups, LGBT people and trans kids among them. In the first two years of the Trump presidency, executive orders radically deepened forces of precarity for Muslim people, racialized migrants, and undocumented people, people of color in general, Jews, refugees, the poor, Indigenous people, people with disabilities, women, and queer and trans people. Trump specifically targeted trans kids for persecution on February 22, 2017 when he announced that he was revoking the directive by the Obama administration to interpret gender-equity provisions in *Title IX* to allow trans students to use bathrooms and locker rooms consistent with their gender identities. The Trump administration has reversed a number of pro-LGBT decisions by the Obama administration, including most recently the right of transgender people to serve openly in the military.

Mainstream LGBT campaigns tend to focus on gender and sexual identity in isolation from other dynamics of oppression, and this is a problem because queer and trans people are not all white and financially secure; the impact of colonialism, racism, and/or poverty makes some of us more vulnerable than others. Dan Savage's "It Gets Better" campaign, initiated in response to highly public suicides of gay teens, for example, has been criticized for speaking only to those LGBT kids who are otherwise privileged. It fails to acknowledge that for many visible minority and poor LGBT young people, it *does not* get better. As they grow to adulthood, they remain dogged by discrimination and poverty, continue to be vulnerable to self-harm and suicide, and are disproportionately at risk of spending time in prison.

LGBT scholars and activists of color and their allies draw attention to the ongoing violence of settler colonialism, the prison industrial complex, and neoliberal restructuring and trouble historically inaccurate narratives of Western progress and national myths of foundational social justice propagated by Western political leaders when making pro-LGBT statements. When she announced that the federal government was filing a civil rights lawsuit against the state of North Carolina to declare its bathroom bill discriminatory, for example, then Attorney General Loretta Lynch invoked the mythical narrative of the U.S. as a justice-seeking country, referencing "the founding ideals that have led this country—haltingly but inexorably—in the direction of fairness, inclusion and equality for all Americans" (Lynch, 2016). Lynch stated that North Carolina's anti-trans bathroom legislation harmed "innocent Americans." The implication is that harm remains the just deserts of the "non-innocent"—those who are racialized, impoverished, incarcerated, disabled, undocumented, street-drug-addicted, and suspected brown terrorists. In an unprecedented statement, toward the end of her announcement, Lynch spoke directly and movingly to transgender people:

> No matter how isolated or scared you may feel today, the Department of Justice and the entire Obama Administration wants you to know that we see you; we stand with you; and we will do everything we can to protect you going forward. Please know that history is on your side. This country was founded on a promise of equal rights

> for all, and we have always managed to move closer to that promise, little by little, one day at a time. It may not be easy—but we'll get there together (Lynch, 2016).

Although such historically inaccurate statements obscure ongoing structures of oppression, they have undeniable cultural power to lessen the vulnerability experienced by some trans kids. What would we give to have a U.S. Attorney General speak in this way now?

Two things are true here: it was definitely better for some trans kids under Obama, but that administration was far from heroic. Things are definitely better for some trans kids under the Trudeau government than they were under Stephen Harper, but Trudeau's loyalty to big business and resource extraction and his government's refusal to equitably fund Indigenous children amounts to no meaningful redistribution of wealth and power. Advances in LGBT rights in Canada and the USA have taken place at the same time that we have seen widening social inequality, the expansion of a racialized prison system, ongoing colonial relationships with Indigenous peoples, and severe cutbacks to public education and social services. These contexts continue to disproportionately increase the precarity of trans kids who are impoverished, racialized, Indigenous/disabled, and/or undocumented.

Movements that focus on achieving transgender rights and changing government policies rely on legal discourse as a strategic frame and view legal and policy changes as key mechanisms for improving the life chances of transgender people of all ages. These are part of broader LGBT campaigns and typically focus on achieving two key measures:

1. The inclusion of gender identity and expression as protected categories in human rights statutes and public policies that recognize these rights by enabling transgender people to access sex-segregated facilities and sex-differentiated activities according to self-determined gender identities.
2. The enactment of hate crime legislation as protection from anti-queer and anti-trans violence.

The basic rights that LGBT movements have achieved and that I benefit from include freedom from discrimination and police persecution, marriage rights and/or benefits for same-sex couples, and the right to adopt and retain custody of children.

On a visceral level, when I stand in the dugout as a coach at a Little League game, although I experience feelings of gendered otherness quite often, I am still able to do so as an openly queer and gender nonconforming person. That this was not possible in the past but is now is not a small thing, and frankly, when I was 16, I never imagined this would be possible. Yet in spite of the way the attainment of rights has changed the lives of many of us, there is considerable debate among scholars and activists within trans communities about the appropriateness of prioritizing legal rights granted by the state over working collectively to oppose state and corporate power. Much of this debate mirrors that which occurred within lesbian, gay, and queer communities and scholarship about the appropriateness of same-sex marriage as a primary goal of lesbian and gay movements. The logic of "marriage equality" involves gays and lesbians pushing for recognition as fully human, that is, "respectable" people, thereby qualifying us for the rights and responsibilities that go along with full citizenship. Critics argue, however, that this perspective only rehabilitates and reinforces oppressive liberal humanist hierarchies and systems of governance and expands the power of the state while normalizing private

familial responsibility for social and economic welfare. In this sense, previously rejected but comparatively privileged white, middle- and upper-class, avowedly monogamous lesbian and gay people are "folded into life" (Puar, 2007) or welcomed into the nation and accorded citizenship.

Trans scholar Eric Stanley (2014) laments the "normalizing force of mainstream trans politics" (p. 90). Assemblage theorist Jasbir Puar (2008) observes that "any single-axis identity politics is invariably going to coagulate around the most conservative normative construction of that identity, foreclosing the complexities of class, citizenship status, gender, nation, and perhaps most importantly in the context of very recent events, religion" (n.p.). In writing about queer movements, educational scholar Kevin Kumashiro (2001) observes that a single-issue focus on sexuality risks "complying with other oppressions and excluding their own margins" to the extent that "such movements become just like the mainstream except with different identities taking center stage" (p. 5). Mainstream LGBT social movements privilege queer and trans people who are white, documented, relatively wealthy, and gender conforming. Radical critiques of these movements emphasize the failure of rights-oriented measures to redistribute wealth and resources more equitably, even as they expand legal and cultural recognition.

If the rights framework has such clear limitations, to what extent, then, does it make sense to pursue rights for trans kids? After all, a certain degree of privilege is required for trans kids to exercise these legal rights and the beneficiaries are disproportionately white and relatively wealthy. I am convinced that while rights initiatives have limits, abandoning them would be a terrible mistake. Rights *do* deliver important measures of harm reduction and can be strategically important in challenging oppressive cultures. Anti-homophobia and trans-inclusion policies that recognize and value gender and sexual diversity by focusing on changing school cultures to be more inclusive, for example, do challenge oppressive aspects of heteropatriarchy and are not irrelevant—or the Christian Right would not mobilize so forcefully against them!

Rights do matter, because they shape cultural climates, legitimate experiences of discrimination, and provide avenues for recourse. According to the Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA) (2014), "Studies have shown that LGBTQ students feel safer and more accepted when they know their schools have policies and procedures that explicitly address homophobia" (n.p.). Schoolboard policies that entitle students to form gay-straight alliances are also crucial, as they "contribute to making school safer for LGBTQ students" (CCLA, 2014, n.p.). In a recent article in the *Guardian*, Nicola Davis (2017) reports that lesbian, gay, and bisexual students feel safer and report better mental health indicators in states where marriage equality has been achieved, as evidenced by a 14% drop in suicide attempts among queer teens in states that have legalized same-sex marriage.

Bill C-16 in Canada and pro-trans pronouncements by the Obama administration signaled to trans people of all ages that we matter and that hatred and fearmongering should not guide policies concerning us. The value of obtaining trans rights in shaping the cultural climate for trans kids has been driven home very sharply by the damaging change

in tone and policy coming from the Trump administration and the Ford government in Ontario. Rights- and policy-oriented changes can and do make undeniable improvements in the lives of many trans kids that I know and care deeply about, though these improvements rarely contribute to greater socioeconomic equality. Punishment-oriented laws and school policies, on the other hand, do far more harm than good.

While many LGBT organizations celebrate the classification of anti-gay and anti-trans violence as a hate crime, a more critical analysis draws our attention to the way this perpetuates structural racism and classism and reinforces the power of the state to enact violence. Trans scholar Sarah Lamble (2014) notes that race- and class-privileged LGBT people's support for hate crimes legislation and harsh punishment for offenders means "many LGBT communities now partly measure their citizenship status on whether the state is willing to imprison other people on their behalf" (p. 151). In Canada and the USA, evidence that an offence was motivated by hatred or bias towards a particular group may contribute to a tougher sentence for an individual offender,[2] but it *individualizes* anti-gay and anti-trans violence and bolsters the power of the state to harm other vulnerable populations. The structural violence of heteronormativity and patriarchy remain unaddressed. This is complicated by the fact that such measures do not significantly deter people from acts of violence.

A prison abolitionist framework draws our attention to the fact that the employment of state repression against offenders as a measure for improving the lives of trans people reinforces the power of the state to police and incarcerate. Over the past 30 years, a phenomenal expansion of the U.S. prison industrial complex has dovetailed with massive cuts to public institutions and programs that support the most economically vulnerable. The state has a demonstrated record of disproportionately incarcerating Black and Indigenous people of color and poor people, among whom the most vulnerable LGBT people are to be found. According to a 2017 report by the Williams Institute at the UCLA School of Law, the "Incarceration of lesbian, gay, [and] bisexual people is three times that for the general population" (Herman et al., n.p.). While not rivaling the United States and Russia, the two nations with the highest percentages of their populations in prison, Canada's prison population is expanding fast and is equally racialized: Indigenous and Black people are disproportionately subject to incarceration (Lupick, 2018).[3] From this

[2] Under the provisions of section 718.2 of the Criminal Code, "Evidence that [an] offence was motivated by bias, prejudice or hate based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, mental or physical disability, sexual orientation or any other similar factor" may contribute to a tougher sentence.

[3] According to the John Howard Society of Canada (2017), "'*The extent to which blacks and Aboriginals are over represented in Canadian correctional institutions is similar to that of African Americans in the United States*.' Blacks are over represented in federal prisons by more than 300% vs their population, while for Aboriginals the over representation is nearly 500%. The same disparities exist in provincial jails. In Nova Scotia Blacks are 2% of the population but 14% of the jail population. In Manitoba Aboriginals are 16% of the population but 70% of the jail population. In Alberta the numbers for Aboriginals are 6% and 39%. Moreover, these imbalances are getting worse, not better" (n.p.). In addition, "Aboriginal and Black people are more likely to be victims of

perspective, many trans people, kids included, have more to fear from the state than they have to look forward to with regard to protection.

The issues raised by critics of hate crime measures are also at play with regard to the adoption of punishment-oriented "anti-bullying policies" in many school districts. Many schoolboards have passed anti-bullying or anti-homophobia policies that contest what has long been a normalized practice of targeting queer and gender-nonconforming children for harassment and abuse. Without question, official statements that this kind of behavior is inappropriate are an improvement over the long-standing normalization of such violence. Indeed, policies that are accompanied by adequate resources and that focus on changing school cultures and protecting vulnerable students are badly needed. Considerable research demonstrates that punitive responses to bullying, however, fail to protect vulnerable LGBT kids and instead contribute to a "school-to-prison pipeline" for racialized and disabled children and youth. Social work scholar Amanda Gebhard (2012) draws attention to the role of Canadian schools in placing Indigenous students "on a trajectory to prison":

> Getting into trouble at school is often the first slip into the "school-to-prison pipeline." This is a term coined by researchers in the United States, who have been making the links between schooling and prison for several decades. The term describes systemic practices in public schooling such as special education, discipline, and streaming programs that move poor, racialized youth out of school and place them on a pathway to prison. (n.p.)

In the past two decades, many school districts in Canada and the U.S. have passed "zero-tolerance" anti-bullying policies, often in an effort to protect themselves from legal action. Child and youth studies scholars Monique Lacharite and Zopito Marini (2008) cite the 2005 case of *Jubran vs. North Vancouver School District* in Canada, in which a student took his school district to court because he was subjected to extreme bullying for years. The ruling assigned legal responsibility to the school district for failing to uphold its student code of conduct. While the case was a victory in the sense that it placed the responsibility for keeping students safe squarely on the school's shoulders, increasing the punishing capacity of schools has had very negative consequences for vulnerable kids.

Evidence suggests that punitive responses to bullying do not make LGBT kids safer because rather than attending to heteronormative structural factors, they individualize anti-gay and anti-trans aggression and punish troubled kids rather than marshaling appropriate resources on their behalf. In their analysis of the zero-tolerance policy associated with *Ontario's Safe School Act*, Lacharite and Marini (2008) observe that the policy "outlines specific punishments for inappropriate behaviors by using suspension and expulsion more often as well as police involvement and disciplinary measures"; they go on to note that as the policy "was employed more and more, expulsion and suspension rates

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crime. The Aboriginal murder rate in Canada is 7 to 8 times higher than the overall rate. In Toronto, where Black people are 4% of the population, they account for as many as 40% of murder victims" (John Howard Society of Canada, 2017, n.p.).

rapidly increased, leading to another problem altogether. . . an increase in dropout rates" (pp. 306-307).

Research establishes that Indigenous, Black, and immigrant youths of color and disabled and LGBT kids are disproportionately targeted for discipline practices that push them out of school. Such exclusion is a strong predictor of future precarity, as many of these children in fact drop out, remain or become poverty stricken, and are later incarcerated (ACLU, 2013).[4] As critical childhood studies scholar Lucia Hodgson (2013) observes, "The criminalization of black children is a major component of their social oppression" (p. 41). Strong-armed anti-bullying policies actually reinforce institutional racism by exposing more kids to criminalization, family intervention, and systems of law enforcement. This is complicated by the fact that bullying and interpersonal violence are often multidirectional. In a 2011 report titled *The Health of Canada's Young People: A Mental Health Focus*, the Public Health Agency of Canada noted that "33% of the students who reported high involvement in bullying or victimization" did so as dual participants, that is, they were involved in both" (Freeman et al., 2011, p. 157). Another study notes that students are often bullied because they are visibly poor, and often resort to violence as a mechanism of defense.

In the context of ongoing cuts to school budgets, policies that respond to student behavioral problems by allowing expulsion are attractive. Educational scholars Therese Quinn and Erica Meiners (2013) observe that if teaching staff are cut and those remaining are pressured to meet the needs of the same number of students, there is a greater likelihood of authoritarian systems of discipline. This does not benefit any kids and is particularly harmful to the most vulnerable.

As I emphasized at the outset of the chapter, trans kids are to be found in *every* population, whether they make themselves visible or not. No discussion of trans kids' life chances in British Columbia—the province where I live—and Canada as a whole would be complete without talking about children living in poverty and/or in government care, among whom the most vulnerable trans kids are to be found. One in five BC children grow up in poverty, and Indigenous children, children of new immigrants, and visibly racialized children are disproportionately likely to be part of this 20%. This statistic also applies to Canada as a whole.

According to the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA), one in two status First Nations children live in poverty (MacDonald & Wilson, 2013), with the number climbing to 60% for Indigenous children living on reserves (MacDonald & Wilson, 2016). As of 2011, the National Household Survey showed that 38% of Indigenous children in Canada live in poverty compared to 7% for non-Indigenous children (Government of Canada, 2020). Two-thirds of the 6,500 children in government care in BC are Indigenous, with 45% of the 185 babies under 31 days old taken into care in 2018 being Indigenous

[4] A 2013 ACLU report "concluded that students of color and disabled students are disproportionately suspended, expelled, and sent into the justice system, in comparison to white and nondisabled students" (n.p.).

(MacDonald, 2019). In Canada, 52% of children under the age of 14 in care are Indigenous, in spite of constituting only 7.7% of all children (Government of Canada, 2020).[5] The particularly precarious position of Indigenous children in Canada reflects ongoing colonialism, intergenerational trauma from residential schooling, and the unwillingness of the federal government to fund Indigenous children at the same level as non-Indigenous children (Blackstock, 2018). [6]

It is important to note that a central aspect of colonialism in Canada and the United States has been the forceful imposition of Eurocentric binary gender and hetero-patriarchal systems upon Indigenous peoples. Forces of oppression relating to racism, poverty, and colonialism combine with an imposed binary gender system to impact the life chances of some trans kids more than others. In order for social change to support *all* trans kids, social movements must build powerful coalitions with other marginalized communities.

The trans kids we see via mainstream and social media are typically the ones with the most support. Yet centering social change efforts around these kids will not produce a sufficient increase in life chances for all trans kids. We need to do this the other way around, by focusing on increasing the life chances of the most precarious trans kids, because this will incorporate the gender self-determination needs of all trans kids. To support *all* trans kids, we need to do four things:

1. Generate room for all kids to determine their own gender identities within a wider range of possibilities.
2. Transition environments away from the binary gender system while respecting and supporting people for whom binary identity is meaningful.
3. Protect trans kids without harming other kids: it's not a zero-sum game where only some kids can thrive.
4. Put the most precarious trans kids at the center of our social change efforts by fighting for intense social and material investment in all children via an expanded welfare-state model.

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[5] Some additional statistics: "Forty per cent of homeless youth were in foster care at some time. Almost half of former youth in care will go on income assistance within a few months of their 19th birthday, compared to 2.5 per cent of youth (age 19-24) in the general population. More than two-thirds of youth in care will reach age 19 without a high school diploma" (Vancouver Sun, 2014, n.p.).

[6] According to Cindy Blackstock, Executive Director of the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada, "While the multi-generational effects of residential schools and other colonial policies explain some of the outcome gaps, the federal government's chronic underfunding of public services for First Nations children and families on reserves and in Yukon rubs salt into the colonial wound…inequalities arise because the Canadian government funds public services on First Nations reserves whereas the provincial/territorial governments fund it for all others. Federal funding levels for First Nations fall far below what non-Indigenous Canadians receive and Canada has repeatedly squandered numerous opportunities to fix the inequalities…The result for First Nations children is that they experience inequality across all areas of their life experience, ranging from an under-funded education system to water and food insecurity" (Blackstock, 2018, n.p.).

Social justice for trans kids requires establishing a baseline of security for all by not only reversing cuts to social services, school budgets, community centers, and healthcare services but also transforming our current National Security State and its primary allegiance to global capital into an expanded welfare state. Crucial components of this model include guaranteed housing and basic income for all, fully public not-for-profit delivery of healthcare, and equitable nation-to-nation relationships with Indigenous peoples that include concrete reparations for land theft and genocide. Thinking in terms of the most vulnerable trans kids is a powerful orientation for a vision of a more just and equitable future for all of us.

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Sexuality and the City: What are the Links?

Abstract: What are the links between gender and sexuality? Further, how do these links matter in people's everyday lives and their experiences of urban spaces? This paper explores these questions by looking at the theory and practice of gender and sexuality in the city. The first segment highlights the connection between gender and sexuality and their relationship to other axes of social difference, positing these as foundational to the logic of the city. The second segment unpacks the significance of gender and sexuality in people's everyday lives by examining municipal social policies and practices. Opportunities and challenges for inclusion are explored through three examples: rainbow crosswalks, city services and data collection, and safety.

Introduction

Sexuality is a critical and foundational component of cities, in terms of both functionality and the built urban form. Just as dominant frameworks of gender, race, and settler-colonialism contribute to the shape of cities and their service provision, so do dominant norms of sexuality. While this is widely recognized in geographical scholarship (see, e.g., Brown, Muller Myrdahl, & Vieira, 2016; Doan & Higgins, 2011; Hubbard, 2001; Knopp, 1992), it is less readily discussed in the context of planning or urban governance. As municipalities strive to embrace the mandate to achieve equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) in their workplaces and in municipal programming and service provision, it is critical that sexuality be understood as a key organizational logic of urban life. The purpose of this short paper is to illustrate links between sexuality and the city, in both general and specific terms. For the latter, I will draw upon examples from municipal policy, looking primarily but not exclusively at the City of Vancouver.

Organizing Logics

Sex and sexuality are part of the urban DNA (Hubbard, 2001). We can understand this conceptually by thinking about capitalist urban development and its reliance on the reproduction of wealth. In masculinist, heteropatriarchal discourse, empire-building (one city block at a time) and inheritance (through which empire is maintained) are assumed to emerge from heterosexual unions sanctioned by church and state. Here, specifically, settler imperialist notions of kinship are legally codified and imprinted into urban morphology through such mechanisms as "marriage, the transmission of property, home ownership, [and] zoning" (Rifkin, 2011, p. 14). Dakota scholar Kim Tallbear speaks and writes extensively on this point in her work on critical polyamory. In a podcast interview called "Decolonizing Sex," Tallbear (2019) defines the idea of compulsory monogamy and the historical and contemporary stakes for citizenship and property ownership:

> [Compulsory monogamy is] the idea that that is the normative standard to which we all aspire. So there's that in a kind of informal way…but there's also the way it's been imposed legislatively in the U.S. and Canada. For example, in relationship to Native people, we talk about the Dawes Act, we talk about the break-up of the collective tribal land base into individual allotments, we talk about the role of blood talk in that. Monogamy was just as central. The imposition of state-sanctioned marriage was just as central. You get one hundred and sixty acres if you're head of household, but you get eighty for your wife and you get forty for each kid. So there's a real incentive there to be married and to biologically reproduce….You cannot be a good, legitimate, upstanding, moral citizen unless you're monogamous: that is the law.

Tallbear helps us to understand how particular notions of sex and sexuality provide the foundation for how space is organized via private property at the scale of the household and beyond.

In Vancouver, the transmission of property is a racialized discourse; property ownership is brokered not just through the mechanisms of settler-colonialism but through whiteness as well (Baldwin, Cameron, & Kobayashi, 2011). This translates to a history in which the urban form reflects both the growth of the settler population and efforts to erase Indigenous histories, residents, and practices. In the *c̓əsnaʔəm: The City before the City* exhibit at the Museum of Vancouver, this was captured precisely by an image of the landscape after the imposition of the grid [see Figure 1], which enabled stolen land to be subdivided, claimed, and owned as property (see Blatman-Thomas, 2019).

After this subdivision, Indigenous presence was further erased through the naming practices used to mark property; these same practices also served to confirm Anglo-male dominance. Such practices are portrayed "as being beyond politics because their primary 'function' is to provide a means of spatial orientation," as Reuben Rose-Redwood (2011, p. 40) notes. Far from being apolitical, place-naming provides visibility for dominant norms as part of our everyday landscapes; in doing so, place names become understood as "common sense" and contribute to the hegemony of normative frameworks. Taken together, then, these practices show the intricate *co-production* of sexuality as part and parcel of systems of settler-colonialism and dominant notions of whiteness and patriarchy in the development of the urban landscape.

Yet sexuality serves another role in the basic organization of the city through its framework of normative land uses: residential zoning here, industrial zoning there, red light district even further afield. Notions of "legitimate" (reproductive) sex and illicit sex and sexualities are cornerstones of the urban. Often, the only time this relationship becomes visible is during campaigns to "clean up" the city. Elizabeth Walker (1999) details how early street names in Vancouver were changed—Dupont to East Pender in 1907, and Union to Adanac in 1930—to distance them from an association with brothels and sex work (as cited in Mackie, 2020). So-called "urban renewal" efforts have achieved similar effects on a much greater scale. Writing in the early 1990s, Gayle Rubin delineates how urban renewal zeroed in

> on the main areas of prostitution, pornography, and leather bars [in San Francisco and New York]… Anti-sex ideology, obscenity law, prostitution regulations, and the

alcoholic beverage codes are all being used to dislodge seedy adult businesses, sex workers, and leathermen. Within ten years, most of these areas will have been bulldozed and made safe for convention centers, international hotels, corporate headquarters, and housing for the rich. (Rubin, 1993, p. 119)

Figure 1: The imposition of the grid on Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh territory and what would become Greater Vancouver, 1879. c̓əsnaʔəm: The City before the City. Photo taken by the author.

What Rubin describes continues to happen across many North American cities, where developers have nearly unlimited access to capitalize on areas that have been subject to disinvestment. The discourse of "beautification" is a key tool at the disposal of developers (see, e.g., O'Keefe, 2017; Zeidler, 2017); it is also attractive to municipal governments, who benefit from privately funded "improvements" aimed at high-income workers and residents. It has even been used by gay activists in an effort to claim respectability (Ross & Sullivan, 2012). Central to this practice, as Rubin notes, is pushing sex work elsewhere, ostensibly to make neighbourhoods "safe."

Despite these many links, sexuality is largely ignored when attending to the urban. Whereas renewed and well-deserved energy and attention are being paid to women and gender in cities, sexuality is too often absent from the discussion. Yet normative notions of

gender are not all that constrain women's mobility and facilitate toxic forms of masculinity. Such boundaries are also rooted in fears of abject sexuality, coalescing around lesbians, "loose" women, and other perceived threats to heteropatriarchal dominance.

Contemporary Illustrations

The dominant norms of heterosexuality—or heteronormativity—may be embedded into the foundations of the urban fabric, but they are also visible in the everyday practices and spaces of North American cities. In everything from housing policies to leisure spaces, notions of sexuality are at work. In *Feminist City: A Field Guide*, Leslie Kern (2019) asserts that households where "chosen families" of friends reside together make sense because friendship (especially among women) includes not only emotional support but also "the very material support of shared childcare, elder care, transportation" and other essentials under the category of care labour (Kern, 2019, p. 82). Yet the shape of housing continues to rely on an outdated model of nuclear families as the dominant norm (Kern, 2019). The reasons for this are numerous: governments' reliance on private developers; developers' assumptions about what consumers will buy; zoning that restricts "the number of 'families' that can occupy a shared space; and condos and other multi-unit dwellings…not [being] designed with the needs of different kinds of family shapes and sizes in mind" (Kern, 2019, p. 83). The result is a shape and type of housing— and, concomitantly, cities—that respond to and reinforce sexual norms.

In a different part of city life—urban leisure—similar dynamics are at play. In the mid- 2000s, I documented the relationship among gender, sexuality, and the city by attending to the spaces of professional women's sports. My findings (related primarily to women's professional basketball and the Women's National Basketball Association in the US, but also to US women's professional soccer) suggested that cities and sports leagues had uneasy relationships with lesbian fans. On the one hand, both cities and sports leagues had an economic incentive to welcome a diverse set of fans. The idea of diversity had begun to take on more importance for cities; wooed by the notion that creative economies could solve some economic woes, many cities clamoured to embrace certain forms of (high spending) diversity (Muller Myrdahl, 2011; McLean, 2017). Likewise, sport leagues struggled to counter the still-dominant notion of sport as men's exclusive domain, needing to cast a wide net in order to grow their economic base; neither league I examined could afford to alienate fans. On the other hand, not all diverse bodies were equally embraced. For the sports leagues in particular, the fear that lesbian fans would disrupt their well-crafted image of heteronormative family-friendliness prompted leagues to adopt practices (such as outreach to Evangelical Christian groups) to dissociate from the spectre of the lesbian fan (see Muller, 2007; Muller Myrdahl, 2010).

While North American social norms have shifted since I undertook this research, and the embrace of sexual diversity is a little less uneasy and more widespread for both women's professional sport and municipalities, concerns about *which* diverse bodies are welcomed remain at play. Discomfort arises, for instance, around bodies that disrupt the normative gender binary. In a sporting context, we see this in the case of athletes like Caster Semenya; the #LetHerRun campaign arose as an effort to combat discriminatory outcomes stemming from this discomfort (https://letherrun.com.br/en-us/). In the

municipal context, such discomfort can be seen (for example) in trans and non-binary people's experiences using public transit, where reports of harassment and violence are commonplace (see, e.g., Lubitow, Carathers, Kelly, & Abelson, 2017). Taken together, these examples demonstrate the "trouble" associated with bodies that reject or otherwise do not correspond with gender norms. When we recall that assumptions of sexuality are read through a person's presumed gender identity and gender performance, the link back to heteronormativity becomes clear: bodies that disrupt the gender binary are also understood to trouble hetero-norms. These instances of disruption can enable us to see what hegemonic structures often render invisible.

Challenges and Opportunities

What can we take from unpacking the heteronormative framework at play in North American cities? Two illustrations come to mind, each of which offers insights into the opportunities for and challenges to inclusion. The first is the rainbow crosswalk. The rainbow crosswalk has become a somewhat ubiquitous symbol in North American cities as evidence of a municipality welcoming diversity and inclusion. Typically, it is a municipally funded project in which one or more pedestrian crosswalks are painted in the colours of the rainbow flag symbolic of the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. When funded by the city and situated on a city street (rather than on private property), the addition of a rainbow crosswalk requires approval by city council. In bigger cities, these crosswalks are often located at symbolic intersections such the entrance to the historic gay village. In smaller communities, their siting may be more random; nevertheless, they occupy an important place in the symbolic landscape of the city for many. As one news report featuring the rainbow crosswalk in Terrace, BC explained, "Although the rainbow crosswalks originated as symbols of the LGBT community, increased social acceptance also means a reduction of homophobia and transphobia, both of which can be used against people who aren't LGBT" (Takeuchi, 2015).

As shown by my research in Lethbridge, Alberta, a regional centre with a population of just over 100,000, the uptake of the rainbow crosswalk is driven by a number of factors. Some of these factors are tangential to urban governance, such as changes to federal marriage legislation and provincial human rights codes. The proliferation of gay-straight alliances in secondary schools has been another important driver, to the side of City Hall. Other factors have more direct links: for instance, a number of municipalities have joined the Coalition of Inclusive Municipalities (previously titled the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination), which compels cities to approve (and, ideally, implement) a framework of inclusion that fosters equity and diversity.

However, a willingness to address some barriers or forms of exclusion does not ensure motivation to address all of them. Indeed, one aspect of my Lethbridge research (Muller Myrdahl, 2019) highlighted strict limits to the willingness of municipalities (councils and staff) to engage in conversations about sexuality or see sexual diversity as part of the City's business of inclusion. A particular example centred on City leadership and administration's response to homophobic harassment faced by a local theatre company; when presented with an opportunity to show how inclusion frameworks must explicitly address barriers faced as a consequence of homophobia, the City fell short. Instead, despite

a painted rainbow crosswalk and an annual rainbow flag-raising at City Hall, most City officials refused to recognize how homophobia played a role both in the initial harassment and in the City's handling of the situation. In other words, rainbow crosswalks may provide a critical element of visibility, especially in smaller urban centres, but inclusive practices must extend beyond the painted streetscape.

Figure 2: Rainbow crosswalk in Terrace, British Columbia, population 11,643 (Statistics Canada, 2017). Photo taken in April 2018 by the author.

A second example can be found in the City of Vancouver, where changes in Park Board services have resulted in significant knock-on effects. There are many reasons why the City of Vancouver should be applauded for the way sexuality is embedded in its framework for inclusion. Sponsorship of Pride events, symbolic gestures like flying the Pride and Trans Equality flags over City Hall, and heightened visibility of gay activism and same-sex relationships abound, at least in limited parts of the city. Jim Deva Plaza is one example of the latter: redesigned as a vibrant public space that commemorates gay activist Jim Deva, this plaza was built and is maintained by the City as part of its public space improvements. However, the most remarkable shift came out of a consultation process related to local parks and recreation services. In 2013, the Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation struck a working group to "identify barriers to equal access to park and recreation services" (TGVI Working Group, 2014). Recently renamed the Trans, Gender Diverse and Two-Spirit Inclusion (TGD2S) Advisory Committee, this working group produced 77 recommendations that would make park and recreation services more accessible to all. One signature programming change—notable because it was subsequently adopted by several other municipalities—is the "All Bodies Swim" (Zeidler, 2013), a program aimed at making pools available for every type of body and eliminating the body shame that can accompany using pool facilities. One important feature of this work is that

recommendations were implemented in a way that touched on people's everyday experiences of the city. Another is that programming is responsive to changing needs: for example, the All Bodies Swim has evolved into a TGD2S swim at a pool where staff have received TGD2S competency training (City of Vancouver, 2020).

Equally significant has been the scope of this inclusion effort across City Hall and how City operations have shifted as a result. Initial recommendations were developed further by a subsequent consulting report, which emerged out of consultation with City staff and other stakeholders and identified recommendations, quick-starts, and long-term strategies in five areas (pillars) within the City's jurisdiction: Public Spaces, Facilities, and Signage; Programs and Services; Human Resources; Communications and Data; and Community Consultation and Public Partnerships. To name one example, a key priority in the Communications and Data pillar is to "create and conduct TGD2S inclusive data collection methods" (Trans Focus Consulting and Equity Labs, 2016). This type of priority may seem less tangible than recreational programming, but it, too, has effects on people's everyday lives. Indeed, if there is no data to highlight community needs, these needs are much easier to ignore. Additionally, this example clarifies how City operations are implicated in addressing inclusion. The report notes that revising data collection methods "requires coordination between several City departments, including City Manager's Office and Human Resources/Digital Services and Information Technology Services" (Trans Focus Consulting and Equity Labs, 2016, p. 26). In other words, recommendations like these have the capacity to break down bureaucratic silos.

The strides made toward inclusion of sexual and gender diversity in City of Vancouver operations and services are commendable. As with any policy, however, the proof of the pudding is in the eating: Council may have supported these goals in principle, but whether and how they fund and support their implementation and evaluation is another matter. Moreover, policy should always be taken as a starting point, not an ending point: inclusion is not a destination where we arrive. The goal should be to support the evolution of policy and programming to ensure an ongoing commitment to inclusion work.

Concluding Thoughts

Consider the following topic, one that has been at the centre of many development agendas: the safety of women and girls. Innumerable decisions, policies, and programs have targeted women's and girls' safety around the globe. We have annual campaigns like the 16 Days of Activism; we have women-only transit options; we have global networks like Metropolis commissioning research on gender, safety, and public space (Metropolis and Women in Cities International, 2018); and safety for women and girls is at the heart of two United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (#5, Gender Equality, and #11, Sustainable Cities and Communities). While sexual violence is readily discussed in this context, sexual diversity and heteronormativity are rarely examined. As a parallel example, reports that address hate crimes targeting LGBTQ people, which do attend to sexuality and heteronormativity, rarely make the link to the work on safety for women and girls (see, e.g., ICPC, 2019). Yet, at their base, the issues of safety for women and girls and safety for LGBTQ people are fundamentally linked: the logics of patriarchy and heteronormativity, concurrently with white supremacy and, in many contexts, settler-colonialism, shape how

these problems are perceived and experienced. These logics also shape the ways that solutions are conceptualized. It is difficult to imagine that safety, which is a profoundly embodied experience, can be fully solved without attending to sexuality.

In a world that is becoming more urbanized—projections for urban growth suggest that 68% of the world's population will be urban by 2050—sharp attention is needed to ensure equitable access to city programs and services across the many social divides embedded in our communities. While we have some robust metrics for belonging and inclusion, they almost never include or even hint at sexuality or sexual and gender diversity. As I have argued here, sexuality is an integral part of urban development historically, and dominant sexual norms continue to drive use and adaptation of the built environment as well as the policies and programs of City Hall. Given that, frameworks of diversity and inclusion must incorporate sexuality as one of the many co-constitutive elements that inform the experience of, and barriers to, urban life.

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IMMIGRANT WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN CHINA AND CANADA

❖ I remember how being young and black and gay and lonely felt. A lot of it was fine, feeling I had the truth and the light and the key, but a lot of it was purely hell.

— Audre Lorde

❖ Never be bullied into silence. Never allow yourself to be made a victim. Accept no one's definition of your life; define yourself.

— Harvey Fierstein

WU YANHUA

Migration Relations and Survival Strategies of Vietnamese Female Marital Immigrants in Fujian Province, China

Abstract: This paper mainly addresses the important functions of migration relations in contemporary transnational marriages by analyzing the motives, paths, and post-migration lives of Vietnamese female marital immigrants (VFMIs) from *Y County* in Fujian Province. It shows that these immigrants' strong or weak ties to their native country as well as foreign countries play significantly different roles during the three stages of migration (i.e., pre-migration, during migration, and post-migration). Strong ties in native countries often manipulate migrants' decision-making processes while weak ties provide them with more migration paths, and strong ties in foreign countries decisively impact their post-migration lives.

Preface

With the rapid development of the Chinese economy during the past few decades, the issue of foreign marital immigrants in mainland China has attracted wide attention among the international community. To date, most of the existing research on female marital immigrants has been limited to empirical studies of illegal Vietnamese female marital immigrants (VFMIs) in the bordering areas of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Yunnan Province; little attention has been paid to the ever-rising number of legal VFMIs in Fujian Province and other developed coastal areas in Southeast China. Since 2013, we have conducted in-depth field research on this immigrant group in *Y County* in the City of Quanzhou, Fujian Province. Working from the perspective of migration relations, we selected three cases to carry out empirical analysis and theoretical discussion in hopes of understanding these migrants' motives, paths, and post-migration lives in China.

Introduction to the Theoretical Perspectives of Relation Studies

Every stage in the migration process—including the decision whether to migrate and where to go as well as strategies for surviving in the new place—is closely linked to migrants' social relation networks (Feng, 2011, p. 12). Empirical studies on migrants in Europe, the USA, ASEAN countries, and Australia further confirmed that the relation networks of migrant groups exert dominant influence on the migration process, survival strategies, and social mobility paths of migrants (Li, 2005; Liu, 2000; Wang, 2000).

Hypotheses regarding the influence of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973, 1982) vs. strong ties (Bian, 1997) in this regard are hotly debated in the academic community. In "The Strength of Weak Ties," Granovetter (1973) stated that strong ties refer to the intimate social relations shared by closely acquainted friends and relatives, while weak ties refer to more limited interaction between individuals from different groups. For Granovetter, compared with friends (i.e., strong ties), unfamiliar persons (i.e., weak ties) may be apt to provide more useful information due to their vastly different positionality

and perspective (Grannovetter; Grannovetter, 1982). Through an array of empirical studies in a few Chinese communities (including Tianjin, Singapore, and Hong Kong), however, it has been established that for most Chinese individuals, strong ties tend to be much more important in the course of help-seeking behaviors (Bian, 1997; Bian and Ang, 1997).

In effect, Granovetter focused mainly on individual behaviors under Western civilization, while Bian studied Chinese social relations against the backdrop of Confucian culture. For our purposes, these two perspectives are fundamental and complementary in expounding on the social relations of VFMIs as influenced by both cultures. For VFMIs, the continuous development of relations is a dynamic process ranging from the nation of emigration (Vietnam) to the nation of immigration (China). For example, previously strong ties (e.g., intimate friends in Vietnam) may turn into weak ones due to insufficient interaction after migration, or they may be kept strong as a result of frequent communication. Meanwhile, weak ties may be transformed into strong ties, which may in turn trigger more weak ties. In short, as VFMIs embrace more and more information, resources, and opportunities, relations are no longer considered static; rather, they become dynamic at each different stage of the migration process.

General Introduction to VFMIs in *Y County*

Y County is situated in the northwest region of Quanzhou City, Fujian Province, with a population of 569,400 and an area of 1,468 square kilometers. Since the Hongwu Year of the Ming Dynasty (1381 AD), people have travelled to the Malay Archipelago and settled down there. Thanks to such spirit of exploration, *Y* has long been a famous hometown of the overseas Chinese. To date, there are approximately 1.2 million VFMIs living in 47 countries and regions throughout the world.

According to statistics from the Department of Immigration in *Y*, VFMIs do not have a long history. Before 2011, they were rarely seen except in a few families of returned overseas Chinese from Vietnam. The earliest recorded VFMI in *Y* is Le Thanh Thuy, who came to Hengkou in *Y* from Tinh Kien Giang in Vietnam in April 2011. Since then, various Sino-Vietnamese social networks including returned overseas Chinese, their relatives living in Vietnam, and a few transnational couples from both nations accounted for a total of 53 VFMIs. Between 2012 and 2013, another 112 VFMIs from the provinces of Tinh Can Tho, Tinh Dong Thap, Tinh Hau Giang, Tinh Ca Mau, etc. in Vietnam settled down in *Y* through the efforts of marriage brokers, who fully utilized the ties of VFMIs as well as bridegrooms' families in China and their relatives in Vietnam. From 2014 to 2015, dozens of VFMIs kept on migrating to *Y*. Currently, the total number of VFMIs in *Y* is well over 200 except for a few run-away VFMIs for complicated reasons.

A survey of 165 VFMIs indicates that 95% of them came from rural areas near the Mekong Delta, and 5% from Southeast Vietnam, Red River Delta, and Tay Nguyen. They are principally composed of farmers (36.5%), unemployed persons (37.5%), workers (2.4%), and other (23.6%, with most working as matchmakers). These VFMIs are mainly from Tinh Can Tho in the Mekong Delta Region. VFMIs in *Y* entered China legally and registered their marriages according to Chinese law. VFMIs in *Y* have diverse origins, are moderately educated (i.e, middle school level), and are of a fairly young age (20-35). However, their

activities and choices are relatively restricted due to cultural shock, communication barriers, marital issues, and geographical isolation.

Migration Processes and Survival Strategies of Different Types of VFMIs

VFMIs experience transnational migration through marriage, which not only provides opportunities but also brings about challenges in their lives. During a long period of field research, we have studied more than 30 individual VFMI cases including farmers, workers, and matchmakers. For this paper, we choose three typical cases to analyze the mechanisms of decision-making, migration paths, and post-migration lives throughout the transnational migration process and explore the function of strong and weak ties therein.

Case 1: Ajiao's business as a matchmaker

Madame Ajiao, from Tinh An Giang in Vietnam, is 27 years old. She migrated to *Y* in 2012 and has one daughter now. She is an active matchmaker in *Community T* of *Y County*. She shares her migration experience:

> *I came to China in August 2012. In the past, I was working in a factory in Vietnam with a salary of 100 USD per month. My parents suggested that I should marry abroad, such that I could transfer money back and help them build houses and buy lands as other families did. I decided to marry a Chinese by following my cousin's advice, plus the fact that his daughter married a Chinese and my younger cousin married a Korean in ROK. Helped by his friends, together with nine other Vietnamese females, I flew from Ho Chi Minh to Hanoi and finally arrived in China with my husband-to-be. In Fuzhou, the broker helped us with the marriage registration.*
>
> *Life is very complicated these years. At the beginning, my husband decorated houses in the town, and I stayed at home, bored to death, since my mother-in-law did not allow me to go anywhere. Half a year later, my husband bought a mobile phone and a computer for me to communicate with my parents in Vietnam. In 2013, my father told me that my cousin made a fortune by being a marriage broker in Vietnam, and he asked me to join my cousin. What a wonderful idea! But it was pretty difficult to be a matchmaker. Neither did I know anyone nor speak Chinese. Besides, they distrusted me, and I accomplished nothing after half a year. As a turning point, my husband joined us and introduced single males to the Chinese broker, and I looked for Vietnamese females from my cousin. Meanwhile, I helped the Chinese broker to contact my cousin. And voilà, it succeeded. During these three years, I have matched dozens of couples, to my delight, about 20 couples in 2014. Of course, I have earned much more than in Vietnam (2,000 RMB per couple). Frankly speaking, there are three important factors in the matchmaking market; that is to say, sincere Chinese males, honest Vietnamese females, and trustworthy marriage brokers. The Chinese males used to be my husband's colleagues and my husband knows them well. In Vietnam, my cousin introduces only those honest females. And we get along very well with the Chinese broker and often visit him and have dinner together. In 2014, my husband and I began to sell fish sauces and other Vietnamese articles to them [VFMIs], and in turn, we mailed local teas to my cousin to sell in Vietnam.*
>
> *At the moment, many colleagues of my husband married Vietnamese females and I have made friends with their wives. We spend lots of time chatting, shopping, and having dinner together. Sometimes, I help them to resolve domestic affairs and mail*

things to their parents in Vietnam. Anyway, it is great to be a matchmaker. In 2013, my husband sent 2,000 RMB to my parents in Vietnam, 1,000 RMB in 2014, and 2,000 RMB in 2015. Now, since my baby was born, my husband has to do lots of work. I will continue when my kid grows up.

Case 2: Ayin's clothes workshop

Madame Ayin, who comes from Tinh Bac Lieu in Vietnam, is 26 years old. She migrated to *Y* in 2012 and has one daughter now. She manages a family clothes workshop in *Community F* of *Y County*. Here is her story:

I came to China in May 2012. My parents are poor, and I have many younger brothers and sisters. I was forced to give up my schooling and wash clothes at the age of 10. It was really hard for me and I was always crying in heaps of clothes. Then, an aunt [colleague] felt pity for me and introduced me to work in a fish shop. My family needed money to send the younger brother to school and I looked forward to changing my destiny in a foreign country. As a result, I was introduced to an adoptive mother [in Vietnam, adoptive mothers choose and train those beautiful girls from the countryside who want to marry men in foreign countries]. My adoptive mother offered food [and] accommodation and trained us to win men's favor. At last, I met my husband-to-be through my adoptive mother's arrangement. He paid my adoptive mother and asked her to apply for my travel visa to China. As soon as we arrived, the Chinese broker led us to the Bureau of Public Security and submitted the application of residence. After being registered as husband and wife in Fuzhou, we went home [to Y].

My husband has many brothers and sisters, and they are all very rich. I wanted to make money [but] my husband did not agree. Sometimes we quarreled and I cried. The aunt persuaded my husband to allow me to make clothes with her and I worked in her family workshop from thenceforward. The orders were from the bosses in Quanzhou and we mainly made women's and children's clothes, [and we were] able to earn approximately 10,000 RMB per year. I once stayed in Malaysia and knew some Chinese. From 2013, I opened my own workshop and asked the bosses in Quanzhou to send machines and orders to my home. By 2014, I had eight machines and employed seven Vietnamese brides to work in my house. Actually, there were more [VFMIs] willing to come, but my husband did not agree. We were very happy working together. After getting paid by the bosses, we went shopping [and] bought some fashionable clothes and cosmetics. Of course, there are twists and turns in life. For instance, some Vietnamese brides disliked their husbands and did not want to give birth [to their offspring]. They complained to me and searched for help. Out of sympathy, I asked the Vietnamese marriage brokers to sell contraceptive pills to them. Unfortunately, their parents-in-law found out and cursed me. They were so angry that they did not allow their daughters-in-law to work in my house. What's still worse, I was also severely scolded by my husband and parents-in-law. Anyway, I do what I [want]. Due to pregnancy reasons and protest from the parents-in-law, in 2015, there were only two Vietnamese brides working in my workshop.

I have kept a good relationship with the bosses in Quanzhou. These years, the whole economy is turning worse and there is not so much work to do. In the future, I want to open a supermarket with mahjong rooms with my husband.

Case 3: Ali's life in captivity

Madame Ali from Tinh Ca Mau, Vietnam, is 24 years old. She migrated to *Y* in 2012. She has a son now and is a typical Vietnamese bride in *Community F* of *Y County*. She shares her story:

> *I have younger brothers and elder sisters and led a leisurely life in Vietnam before I came to China. During that time, I was helping my mother manage a café bar. In recent years, more and more Vietnamese females chose to marry the Chinese, especially in the regions neighboring Ho Chi Minh. The business of the café bar gradually turned worse. And my father had [begun] an affair and did not take care of us anymore. As a result, I was forced to marry in order to pay my younger brother's college fees. My mother contacted a marriage broker and then I was introduced to my husband-to-be. At first, I did not want to marry him, though he liked me a lot. He bribed my mother with more money, and I had no choice but to marry him. So, I came to China in July 2012.*
> *Soon after, I found my husband very weird. He liked to run around on a motorcycle and did not care about the family. He idled his time away and did not make a living. Sometimes, he even lied to me. For example, he promised to buy a mobile phone for me to speak with my parents but never fulfilled [the promise]. I was quite angry and wanted to go back to my hometown. However, my mother did not comfort me but asked for more money from my parents-in-law. Once again, my father-in-law bribed my mother with 800 USD. For almost a whole year, I was held in captivity like a caged bird. I knew nothing and was like an idiot. Meanwhile, I was also terribly scared and telephoned my mother three to four per week. Most of the time, I watched TV at home. Though understood nothing [I watched], I was not bored anyway. Occasionally, I read some [Vietnamese] books from the marriage broker and learned to paint. At the end of 2013, I gave birth to a son and the family and relatives began to be nice to me. My father-in-law is a successful businessman and earns lots of money. When I meet with difficulties, I often ask for his advice. In 2013, he sent 800 USD to my mother as a reward and in 2014, 1,000 USD and articles were sent to Vietnam by him. In 2015, he taught me to run a business. My mother-in-law is a very kind woman and likes to prepare delicious food for me, though I do not talk much with her. The younger sister-in-law is running a convenience shop and often visits me. Also, the elder sister-in-law treats me well and gave me this gold ring as a present. Except for them, I rarely speak to any neighbors. I have run the business for one year and want to ask my younger brother to come and help in the near future.*

Using a Relations Framework to Understand the Migration Process of VFMIs

Strong Ties Predominate in the Decision-Making Process of VFMIs

From the preparation to the realization stage of the migration process, relation networks play a vitally important role for VFMIs. In regard to the motives for transnational migration, there exist several theories in Western society; for instance, Ravenstein's push/pull theory, neoclassic economics theory, the new economics of migration theory, Wallerstein's theory of world systems, and the segmentation of labor markets (Li, 2000). I find the new economics of migration theory most appropriate for VFMIs. This theory asserts that the migration decision is formed through personal interactions, with the key influential factor being the relative income gap between the place of origin and the

relocated place (Stark, 1991). More often than not, it is a collective, family-based decision-making process rather than an individual one (Taylor, 1986).

Ajiao was persuaded by her parents to marry abroad; this is not unusual, since some relatives are rewarded with real estate, land, and cash through transnational marriages. Ayin came to China in search of a better life, to escape poverty and contribute to her family of origin. Ali, who came from a broken family, had a different story. She was forced to marry a foreigner since her mother's business went bankrupt and her younger brother needed money for college fees. As these examples indicate, the financial status of the family of origin, the attitudes of parents and other family members, and any previous successful migration experiences (by relatives) combine to influence the decision-making process of VFMIs. In particular, the vast income gap between Vietnam and China is a dominant factor. Successful migrants whose relocation brings real estate, land, and cash to their families of origin often encourage their families still living in poverty to increase their fortunes in a similar manner. Consequently, either passive or active migration decisions are made to alleviate the sense of depression caused by this income gap. Thus, the direct impetus for VFMIs to move abroad originates from strong ties to parents, relatives, and other family members.

Weak Ties Promote the Realization of the Migration Process of VFMIs

There are several classical theories concerning the transnational migration process, such as the theory of migration systems, the theory of migration networks, theories of organizational structure, and cumulative causation theory (Zhou & Li, 2012). I believe the theory of migration networks can best explain the case of VFMIs. A "migration network" is a combination of interpersonal relations bonded by blood, township, and affection (Massey, Alarcon, Durand, & Gonztlez, 1987). Through a series of operations among kinship networks and social networks, migration will be finally realized (Hugo, 1981). At the same time, social networks will be expanded during the course of migration and will significantly influence upcoming waves of migrants by providing additional information and support (Wang & Qian, 2006).

In our three cases, the function of migration networks is evident. Through legal tourist visas and short-stay permissions, these Vietnamese females were enabled by local brokers to enter China. Through standardized and streamlined marriage networks, these females married Chinese citizens and gradually migrated to China according to corresponding policies and laws. These three women's experiences are generally representative of the cases of VFMIs in both coastal and central areas of Southeast China in recent years.

Around the Mekong River Delta, many complicated underground marriage migration networks exist to help females migrate globally. Madame Ajiao mentioned that both her younger female cousin and her cousin's daughter married abroad through a broker who is her cousin's friend. Once she adapted to life in China, Madame Ajiao found the matchmaking business profitable and started to help other Vietnamese females migrate to China by using existing networks in both countries. Similarly, Madame Ali was

introduced to her husband-to-be by a broker paid for by her mother, while Madame Ayin came to China through her adoptive mother's arrangement.

These marriage migration networks are complex and thorough, managing everything from the organization of Chinese males' dating activities in Vietnam, to the application for passports and visas for Vietnamese females, to the designing of travel schedules and marriage registrations in China. Besides their sophistication, the scale of these Sino-Vietnam migration networks is also amazing. According to Madame Ayin, every year, several hundreds of Vietnamese females are sent to China with tourist visas by her adoptive mother. This coincides with Wei Wang and Jiang Qian's (2006) viewpoint that migration networks serve as the mechanism and cause for the unflagging process of migration. In our three typical cases, marriage brokers or an adoptive mother helped the Vietnamese females migrate to China successfully, embodying the function of weak ties in the promotion of the migration process of VFMIs.

Using a Relations Framework to Understand the Survival Strategies of VFMIs

After arriving in China, the next challenge for VFMIs is surviving in a new location. It is evident that participation of VFMIs in work and life during the post-migration period involves a coordination of both strong and weak ties in their migration network. Weak ties can gradually become strong ties through frequent interactions, and these new strong ties can in turn facilitate the expansion of weak ties. It is worth noting that strong ties have a comparative advantage in that they provide more information, trustworthiness, and social resources in the moment, while the strength of weak ties lies in the potential opportunities they may offer in future.

Existential states of VFMIs with strong-strong ties in their original and relocated places, respectively

In the case of Madame Ajiao, strong ties in both the place of origin (e.g., her parents and cousins) and the place of relocation (e.g., her husband and his colleagues, relatives, marriage brokers, and Vietnamese friends) formulated her lifestyle through an exchange of information, finances, and social resources. Initially, Madame Ajiao was helped by her cousin (strong tie) to arrive in China with legal documents. After her marriage, she worked as a matchmaker under the guidance of her cousin (strong tie). However, her business did not go well at first due to the language barrier and lack of local social relation networks. At this point, she utilized various relation networks to adjust her strategies and improve the situation. For example, she asked her husband and cousin (strong ties) to search for optimal male and female candidates from their social networks (colleagues, relatives, friends, etc.). She then introduced the male candidates to a Chinese marriage broker. She assumed responsibility for the communication between the Chinese broker and her cousin, and as a result, managed to obtain a fair commission.

Madame Ajiao knew the importance of maintaining and expanding interpersonal relations in the matchmaking business. Not only did she establish direct interaction with the Chinese broker, but she also made friends with the VFMIs. Gradually, she turned these weak ties (with both the Chinese broker and the Vietnamese females) into strong ties via frequent interaction, thus laying a solid foundation for further development of her relation

networks. Besides her matchmaking business, she also explored other strategies for survival and growth. For instance, she provided fish sauce to Vietnamese women and sold Chinese tea in Vietnam through her cousin. In addition, to fulfill the original mission of her migration, she sent money several times to her parents in Vietnam. This further strengthened her existing strong ties in her place of origin.

Existential states of VFMIs with weak-strong ties in their original and relocated places, respectively

In the case of Madame Ayin, weak ties in her place of origin (i.e., a Vietnamese marriage broker) and strong ties in her place of relocation (e.g., her husband's aunt, bosses from Quanzhou, and Vietnamese friends) together played a significant part in her post-migration life via various exchanges in her relation networks, including exchanges of information, financial aid, social resources, and sentiment. According to Madame Ayin's detailed account, she preferred to be a migrant worker, but her husband (strong tie) strongly opposed the idea. Helped by her husband's aunt (strong tie), she got her first job as a garment-processing worker. As soon as she mastered the necessary skills, she established her own workshop by taking advantage of her relationships with the bosses in Quanzhou (strong ties).

As an earlier immigrant who had learned to speak Chinese, Madame Ayin made friends with many local Vietnamese brides (strong ties) and hired them to make clothes in her workshop. In addition to monetary income, the setup provided these VFMIs with an ideal place to share their life experiences, seek emotional comfort, search for methods to overcome difficulties, learn about job opportunities, and discuss plans for the future. By working together, these VFMIs established a brand new social relation network—namely, a township network in a foreign country. Madame Ayin made use of this network in several ways. On the one hand, she tried to make a profit by meeting various needs expressed by the VFMIs; for instance, she sold contraception pills (obtained from the Vietnamese marriage broker) to VFMIs who did not want to have children. On the other hand, by assisting the VFMIs in everyday life with her knowledge of Chinese language and culture, she successfully established authority among them and organized them into a workforce. She was considered a prestigious local leader of the VFMIs, as established in the interviews.

Madame Ayin's strategies contributed significantly to the short-term prosperity of her family workshop. Unfortunately, the selling of contraceptive pills directly harmed the core interests of the families into which these VFMIs had married, and thus ended up backfiring. In addition to this issue, the workshop encountered numerous challenges related to the pregnancy of a few VFMI workers, a macroeconomic downturn, and a lack of extended social relations. This phenomenon corresponds with Granovetter's observation that the poor people who lie at the center of a reciprocal network that is relatively closed and isolated seldom gain the opportunity to get in touch with the weak ties in other networks, which consequently curtails further development (1973; 1982). To alleviate this crisis, Madame Ayin planned to open a supermarket by using her savings and seeking out other possible sources of funding. In summary, Madame Ayin got her first job through her husband's aunt (strong tie). Helped by the bosses in Quanzhou (weak ties converted to strong ties via collaboration), she then established her own family workshop. She

employed local VFMIs (weak ties converted to strong ties via collaboration and township) to work for her. Her unique survival strategy thus made use of both weak ties in her place of origin and strong ties in her place of relocation.

Existential states of VFMIs with null-strong ties in their original and relocated places, respectively

Madame Ali had almost no ties in her place of origin. Thus, the strong ties in her place of relocation (e.g., her husband, parents-in-law, sister-in-law, and other relatives) played a dominant role in her life, providing exchanges of financial aid, social resources, self-development, and sentiment via the new relation network.

In comparison with Ajiao and Ayin, Madame Ali's experience seems much simpler. Though dissatisfied with her husband-to-be, she was forced by her mother to migrate to China. Irritated by a series of odd behaviors and deceptions by her husband, she intended to give up the marriage and go back to Vietnam. However, due to financial pressure from her family of origin (who were bribed by the groom's family), she had no choice but to stay. To prevent Madame Ali from running away, the groom's family restricted her activities through powerful relation networks (strong ties). For a total of five years in China, Madame Ali did not establish any social relation network except her family and her husband's family.

After giving birth to a son, her life improved significantly within the family network. Her father-in-law promised her job opportunities and constantly sent money to her mother in Vietnam, her mother-in-law made delicious foods for her, and her sister-in-law and other relatives gave her material gifts (such as a gold ring) as well as emotional care. As a result, Madame Ali led an easier life and could choose what she wanted to do within the scope of the family, such as painting, studying the new language, and watching TV. Familial love and contentment thus brought some happiness into her life.

Though Madame Ali did not establish a broader so
cial network, her social relations were sufficient for her to achieve several goals of migration, including meeting her original family's demands for money as well as satisfying her own emotional desires and development perspectives. Her strong ties in the place of relocation are now so powerful that she has adapted to her new lifestyle and is even encouraging her brother to migrate to China, too.

Conclusion

Social networks have different influences on the different phases of the migration process. During the preparation period, strong ties with their families of origin significantly contribute to the decision-making process of VFMIs. These VFMIs arrive in China mainly through guidance from weak ties such as marriage brokers (who arrange dating, visa applications, travel arrangements, etc.). Once settled, they take advantage of both strong and weak ties to meet their survival demands. In particular, strong ties with their grooms' families tend to reformulate these women's lifestyles in China. Many Vietnamese female migrants choose to marry abroad in search of a new and better life by taking full advantage of social networks in their places both of origin and relocation. Finally, from a global

perspective, it is important to consider to what extent and in what respect these VFMIs will impact migration management and population development prospects in China.

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SANZIDA HABIB

Gender, Health, and Empowerment: Experiences of South Asian Immigrant Women in Greater Vancouver

Abstract: This paper situates South Asian immigrant women's health experiences in the contexts of their everyday lives as shaped by their immigration, relocation, and settlement processes in the Greater Vancouver area of Canada. Qualitative data was collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews with 30 self-identified South Asian immigrant women. Using the social determinants of health and intersectionality framework, this paper will show how intersecting social determinants including migration and gender affected South Asian immigrant women's priorities and understandings of self-care and also impacted their health and wellbeing. The material and everyday life conditions of these women intersected with systemic barriers to accessing healthcare and community resources and shaped their healthcare practices including the use of preventative cancer screening services. All of these intersecting issues, challenges, and barriers have significant implications for the marginalization and disempowerment of racialized immigrant women. Further implications of these intersecting social determinants of health in developing policies and practices to improve healthcare access and empowerment of South Asian immigrant women will be discussed.
Keywords: South Asian immigrant women, social determinants of health, healthcare access, migration and health, immigrant women in Canada

Introduction and Background

South Asians represent the largest visible minority group (close to two million) in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017). Visible minority groups include people born in or outside of Canada who are neither Caucasian nor Indigenous. In the province of British Columbia, South Asians are the second largest ethnic minority group after the Chinese, and they are generally concentrated in the Metro Vancouver area (Welcome BC, 2020). Women from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, and women of Indian origin coming from Fiji, East Africa, and the Caribbean are usually grouped together in Canada's common discourse as South Asian women. Yet significant ethnic, linguistic, religious, and national or regional diversities exist within this group, and these are often blanketed within this broad category (Islam, Khanlou, & Tamim, 2014). Rather than presenting South Asian immigrant women as a homogenous cultural group, this paper portrays their common experiences and struggles as racialized immigrants and how these influence their experiences of health and illness. It also identifies the differences in their experiences as determined by immigration, settlement and employment status, age, level of education and English language skill, and many other issues. The term "immigrant" has been used as a social construct (Li, 2003) rather than a legal one, as it is used in common discourse in Canada to refer to visible minority people irrespective of their legal status, length of stay, or place of birth.

Although Canada has high living and health standards and a publicly funded universal healthcare system, considerable social and health inequities persist for all women, particularly for ethnic minority, racialized, immigrant, and other disadvantaged women who face multiple forms of oppression (Varcoe, Hankivsky, & Morrow, 2007). Migration, an important social determinant of health, intersects with gender, class, level of education, poverty, and systemic racism and amplifies the experiences of inequities and discrimination for many immigrant women. The challenges immigrant women face in the new host country considerably influence their physical and mental health and access to healthcare (Islam, Khanlou, & Tamim, 2014; Vissandjée, Thurston, Apale, & Nahar, 2007). However, Vissandjee, Apale, and Wieringa (2009) note that the immigration factor has long been relatively ignored as an important health determinant within the social determinants of health literature, and also within intersectionality and health literature. The gendered experiences of migration as an important contributor to health and health iniquities among women has been integrated into health and migration research only in the past few decades, especially when it comes to how the relationship between migration and health may be strongly influenced by diverse experiences prior to, during, and after migration (Vissandjee, Apale, & Wieringa, 2009, p. 190).

In the area of breast and cervical cancer screening among immigrant women, a large number of studies show that compared to Caucasian and non-immigrant women, South Asian women have a low level of use of such screening services, namely mammograms and Pap smears (Habib, 2012). Few of these studies have examined migration as a predictor of low cervical cancer screening among South Asian and other ethnic minority women; even fewer have explored the ways race, class, age, and gender relations intersect with immigration and settlement status to shape South Asian women's access to preventive healthcare such as cancer screening services. In most of these studies, the ethnicity or nationality of different immigrant groups are conflated with their culture while ethnicity and culture are viewed as homogenous and static. Migration is understood only in terms of length of stay or the number of years women have lived in Canada, while the complex relationships among migration, health, and access to healthcare remain unexplored. Such theoretical and methodological approaches fail to take into account the broader contexts of ethnic minority immigrant women's lives including the challenges facing recent immigrants such as discrimination in the job market and the racialization of poverty. Intersectional analysis of migration as a complex social determinant of health and healthcare access was particularly absent in research about South Asian women's underutilization of cancer screening services (Habib, 2008). Thus, further research was needed that would be "sensitive to the experiences of migration above and beyond the recognition of cultural diversity" (Vissandjée et al., 2007, p. 222). To fill these gaps, South Asian immigrant women's access to healthcare services in general and cancer screening in particular were examined in the broader context of their migration and settlement experiences in Greater Vancouver. The qualitative study aimed to understand these immigrant women's health practices and access within the broader contexts of their everyday life experiences as shaped by the intersections of gender, migration and resettlement processes, and structural or systemic inequities.

My dissertation research focused on the wider socioeconomic contexts of racialized South Asian immigrant women's lives (Habib, 2012) by examining the intersecting impacts of their gendered experiences of migration, resettlement, and integration processes on their health and access to the Canadian healthcare system, especially breast and cervical cancer screening services. Drawing some examples from the South Asian immigrant women's breast and cervical cancer screening study, I will show in this paper how intersecting social determinants including migration and gender affect South Asian immigrant women's priorities and understandings of self-care, which in turn impact their physical and mental health. This paper will particularly focus on the gendered impact of migration on these women's health and wellbeing and generally discuss their access to healthcare including preventative cancer screening. Women's narratives in this paper about their migration, settlement, and health experiences will illustrate how they endured financial and job insecurity and stress caused by un/der/employment as well as isolation with loss of family ties, support, and social status, especially during the first few years following immigration. Their material and everyday life conditions intersected with gender ideologies and roles to shape their self-care and general healthcare practices in the broader contexts of systemic barriers to accessing healthcare and community resources. Lack of community support and accessible information about cancer screening services such as Pap smears and mammograms created additional barriers for the newly arrived immigrant women and for older adult and senior participants, especially those with little to no literacy. All of these intersecting issues, challenges, and barriers have significant implications for the marginalization and disempowerment of racialized immigrant women in Canada. Therefore, socioeconomic and healthcare policymakers and practitioners need to develop policies and practices in light of the social determinants of health in order to improve health outcomes and healthcare access, which will have empowering effects for South Asian and other racialized immigrant populations.

Theoretical Framework

Dominant biomedical conceptualizations of health usually focus on disease and ignore the social forces and contexts that shape women's health and lives. Although biomedical models have started to recognize social, psychological, behavioral, and gendered dimensions of health, it is feminist models of health research that place women at the centre of analysis and emphasize how gender as well as other social roles, rules, and relationships affect their health (Ruzek, Clarke, & Olesen, 1997). Critical feminist researchers conceptualize gender as a socially constructed power relation reflected in the social, political, material, discursive, and attitudinal differences in men and women's roles, entitlements, privileges, and positions in family, community, and society as a whole. Due to society's discriminatory beliefs, attitudes, and arrangements, women are denied autonomy and access to resources and positions of power in society (Wilson, 2000). Thus social, economic, and political inequities are produced, and these structural inequities impart profound negative influences on women's health. Yet gender should not be understood as an immutable social construction, because not all women are equally and completely powerless (French, 1985, p. 239). Rather, critical feminist and intersectionality perspectives recognize that gender often gives us power and options in some arenas and contexts while restricting our opportunities in others (Weber & Parra Medina, 2003).

Women's health in this paper has been understood and analyzed in light of the social determinants of health framework informed by critical feminist antiracist and intersectionality scholarship. This framework views the health differences among Canadians as the result of social forces such as poverty, education, food security, employment, housing, racism, social exclusion, and neoliberal economic restructuring (Anderson, 2006; Raphael, 2004). It also recognizes "the dynamic interplay between different levels of determinants" (Vissandjée & Hyman, 2011, p. 259), as these factors complicate and intersect with each other. Additionally, women's migration and re/settlement experience has been considered as an important social determinant of health and access to healthcare. The multiplicity and complexity of these determinants and the multi-dimensional nature of health inequality in vulnerable populations demand that we pay attention to the processes through which the complex intersections of gender, race, class, and other social relations including immigration and settlement status operate in everyday interactions to determine women's health and impact their ability to manage health and wellbeing (Anderson, 2006; Kobayashi & Prus, 2012). An intersectionality framework conceptualizes race, class, gender, and other social relations as social constructs and considers gender as inseparable from other forms of power relations (Varcoe, Hankivsky, & Morrow, 2007; Varcoe et al., 2015).

For immigrant women of color, Anderson (2006) correctly insisted that gender relations cannot be separated from the processes of racialization, class relations, and other social relations that structure their lives, including ghettoization in the low-paid sectors of the labor market and exclusion from positions of power and privilege. Gender, race, immigration status, and class intersect to put immigrant and minority women at a great disadvantage and impact their ability to manage health and well-being. Therefore, a synthesis of race, gender, class, and sexuality through the lens of intersectionality may avoid inappropriate essentializing of women's experiences, and by so doing provide a better understanding of the diversity, subjectivity, and agency of women of color.

Method and Sample

A qualitative study was designed in order to situate South Asian women's health experiences in the contexts of their everyday lives as shaped by their immigration, relocation, and settlement processes. Qualitative data was collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews with 30 self-identified South Asian immigrant women. Purposive or convenience sampling methods were used through an emergent and inductive process. Ethical approval was received from the Behavioural Research Ethics Board at the University of British Columbia. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of the participants. All the interviews were conducted by the researcher in English, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, and/or Punjabi mixed with English with the help of interpretation from a family member or friend in some cases. In all cases, the participants and the researcher dialogued and negotiated to co-construct the data, and where an interpreter was involved, the interpreter also shaped the data construction.

Using an iterative and dynamic process, and with the help of qualitative data management software, all the transcribed interviews and researcher's notes were categorized according to codes and sub-codes and examined for emerging themes. The

analytical themes appeared from the perceived similarities and differences or contrasts in the women's experiences. While the focus of the original study (Habib 2012) was preventative cancer screening, such health practices were examined and analyzed against the backdrop of participants' general health and wellbeing as shaped by the process of migration and its intersections with other social, structural, and discursive forces in their lives. Much of those general background data and analyses have been presented and focused here.

The South Asian women who participated in the study were born in India (15), Pakistan (7), Bangladesh (5), Sri Lanka (1), Fiji (1), and Kenya (1); they were all first-generation immigrants who had migrated to Canada directly from these countries or from a third country such as Tonga, the UK, or the USA and were living in the greater Vancouver area as either citizens or permanent residents. The majority of the women in the sample were from Punjab, India, which is reflective of the size of the Punjabi population in greater Vancouver. The majority were Sikh, while 13 were Muslim and one Buddhist. The majority were over 40 years old, with ages ranging from 31 to 76 years old. Nine had lived in Canada for five years or less, five had lived in Canada for over 20 years, and the rest fell somewhere in the middle. Most of them had post-secondary level education, while eight had little or no literacy or schooling. Overall, there was a good mix of highly educated to less educated women engaged in paid employment ranging from seasonal farm work or part-time service jobs to full-time self-employment and semi/professional jobs, while a few were retired, and most were housewives. Attempts were made to include a small but heterogeneous group of South Asian women with diverse ages, religions, countries of origin, mother languages and English-speaking skills, lengths of stay, and educational and employment backgrounds.

Findings and Discussion

The experience of migration and resettlement brought new challenges along with new expectations, opportunities, and roles for these women. Gendered roles of parenting and childcare, balancing paid/unpaid work, isolation and dependence, lack of self-care, and financial/physical/mental stress impacted their health and access to healthcare services. As the women shared information about their gender roles, migration experiences and challenges, healthcare practices, and experiences with the Canadian healthcare system, their experiences of health and wellness and their healthcare access shaped by these intersecting factors will be understood through the following themes:

Gendered experiences of migration and settlement

Women's experiences demonstrated that their roles and responsibilities as mothers, wives, caregivers, and homemakers were often complicated, amplified, and even transformed in the contexts of immigration and settlement in Canada. Most of the women were married with the exception of one single and one widowed woman, and eight were either divorced or separated. All of them were in heterosexual relationships, and all except the single woman and one married woman had children. For most of these women, immigration was mainly a family choice. Most women followed their husbands and came through family migration, even those with high levels of education and professional backgrounds. There were a few professional women who came as principal applicants, but

almost all of these skilled immigrants decided to migrate to Canada for the sake of their children or family. This is what three women shared about their reasons for migration:

> *– It's just that my husband wished to come here. He wanted to be here. He came here, so we came with him to stay together.*
> *– Well, my husband came here before me to make a good life. So I came here automatically.*
> *– Well, actually I didn't choose, because when I got married, I knew that my husband lived in Canada and that's how I'm here. It's not like I wanted to be in Canada and that's why I got married with someone in Canada.*

Early marriage along with lack of access to education was a gendered phenomenon observed among many participants, especially those from rural Punjab. Most elderly women experienced marriage and motherhood in their teens. For example, a 63-year-old woman who migrated from Fiji lost her mother at the age of four, got married when she was 14, and became mother of three at the age of 19. A couple of young Punjabi women were married at the ages of 16 and 17, and both went through divorce due to experiences of domestic violence. Most of the older adults and seniors from Punjab were sponsored by their adult children who came to Canada before them. They usually had a little or no formal education or English-speaking skills and lived in extended families with their sponsors. If sponsored by a daughter, they often lived alone or with a son who was sponsored along with them. Most of them were dependent on their sponsors in numerous ways: legally, for up to ten years; financially; for navigating and accessing Canadian healthcare and other systems; for transportation; and sometimes for care including medical care. Most seniors helped their older children with household chores and the care of younger children. By contrast, mothers from Pakistan and Bangladesh mentioned experiencing a lack of support with childcare from parents and extended families. As Zinnia shared,

> *Punjabi people bring their families—parents who can handle the kids. But we don't have anyone, right? If both of us get out of home, then who's going to take care of the kids? And then men care more about their kids than us, women! ... My husband says, you better stay home and take care of kids. We've come here for the sake of kids, for their betterment. We can't allow something bad to happen to them—they are our most precious assets, right? So for the sake of the kids, we better stay home and work from home.*

Immigration to a new country often transforms "traditional" gender roles and increases women's workloads. For example, a couple of housewives mentioned how they were forced to take on responsibilities in the public sphere, blurring the strict gender division between private housework and the public work of taking children to schools and doctors. "Everything you have to do by yourself here!" said Poppy. Zinnia explained:

> *We go to kids' school. Kids are completely our [women's] responsibilities, right? Husbands just work outside and earn money. Dropping off and picking up kids [to and from school], taking them to doctors when they are sick—everything is my responsibility.*

Zinnia also shared a story about how difficult it was for her to handle the new challenge of banking in public, something she had never had to do back home. As her friend Rose laughingly commented, "Some women don't even know where to sign on a check!" Such

gendered experiences of migration, settlement, caregiving, and parenting in Canada shaped participants' health and wellbeing.

Gender, migration, health, and wellbeing

Women's experiences revealed that the process of immigration can cause physical, mental, and financial stress and can affect health. Almost all of the professional women at the time of the interviews were un/der/employed; in particular, those who had been in Canada for less than five years endured financial hardship due to difficult employment situations. Financial stress caused by un/der/employment, isolation, and loss of social status, family ties, and support were some of the common challenges shared by the newcomers. Lack of meaningful employment can create barriers to settlement and successful integration for immigrants and can impact their health. A newcomer immigrant professional woman voiced the frustration and mental stress experienced by most immigrants from South Asia due to the non-validation of their professional degrees and lack of employment opportunities in their fields of expertise:

> *I'm frustrated for sure! I can't get a job despite all these foreign [Western] degrees in my pocket! All these degrees are in vain! These degrees will give you jobs in other countries but not here! This is very hard to accept…. It's a lot of stress! No matter how hard I think I wouldn't stress out I can't help it!*

Lack of employment or earnings created not only financial stress but also a feeling of helplessness for Camellia due to her economic dependence on her husband: "If I had a job, at least I wouldn't have to ask for even for pocket money from my husband. So I definitely feel helpless!" Champa felt it was disgraceful for a skilled woman to start working completely outside her professional field, but she realized that financial struggle and poverty force new immigrants to do such jobs, and this affects their health:

> *During this immigration process, after coming to Canada, my health has been affected too. On many occasion[s] I felt that yeah, it is not as good as before, and it is because of stress…. My health was fine … I was a regular exercise lady! Every day I used to exercise in the morning. I was regular to go to [the gym] for my sports. I like playing squash, and every evening I played for one hour.*

Migration to a new country often disrupts people's social and financial status and lifestyle and creates stress. Gulmohar, another newcomer, was concerned about the high cost of medicine in Canada. She had a strategy to cope with the situation: "Even I have some medicine from home, so I don't have to buy here … so healthcare cost is minimized." As a skilled immigrant, she was working on obtaining Canadian accreditation; meanwhile, she has been meagrely sustaining "a rock bottom lifestyle" since immigration until she can obtain her qualifications to practice as a healthcare professional in Canada.

Many recent immigrant women in the study experienced isolation and the emotional stress of leaving parents and extended families behind. Rose described the initial social isolation:

> *When I came here, I didn't know anybody here. I was all alone, so lonely! My husband left for work early in the morning. He came home late at night … few times I went to mosque to see if I knew any people. They were mostly Arabic people so I didn't go even*

there. I didn't know about the Fraser street, Main street. I didn't even know there was such an area. I was living in an area [where] just totally, like, white people live … the first three or four years [everything was] so unfamiliar … I didn't even see any woman in salwar-kamiz [a traditional South Asian outfit] ever… I used to cry a lot!

Stress and anxiety disorders were found to be important mental health issues for South Asian immigrant populations in Canada (Islam et al., 2014). Despite having knowledge about healthy lifestyles and health-promoting behaviors, women from South Asia may be unable to continue some of these practices as a result of migration, which may interrupt regular healthy behaviors or lifestyles practiced back home (Choudhry, 1998). Bela, for example, thought that South Asian immigrant women may have increased vulnerability towards certain health conditions and diseases due to the transformation of their "lifestyle and work habits" as a result of migration to a modern Western country like Canada:

Women in our [home] country, when they work like sit to do something or cook, they often stretch or squat and that's sort of an exercise as you bend your body and knees. Women in our country inadvertently do some kind of physical exercise [just through their daily housework].

Bela thought that many health problems may be the by-products of a Western lifestyle, with its increased dependence on modern appliances and amenities that demand less physical labor. She also elaborated on how the physical stress of her menial job impacted her overall health, adding that she believed many South Asian women suffer from similar problems:

I noticed that after working for a long time standing on my feet for eight hours at a stretch, I started having joint pains. And since then, I started having swelling legs and feet and many more physical or medical problems related to this. I saw doctors and still taking medication, but I know I'm not alone—a lot of South Asian immigrant women I know also have similar complaints because we're required to work standing on our feet for such long hours. For women like us, we're not used to this, so we have problems. And it was really bad for me and that's why I had to change this [menial] job.

Such material conditions of immigrant women's lives can not only impact their health but also shape their experiences of mothering and self-care.

Migration, parenting, and self-care

South Asian mothers in the study provided "family-centric" or "altruistic" rather than personal reasons for self-care (Choudhry, 1998; Koehn, Habib, Bukhari, & Mills, 2013). Most South Asian women tend to put the care of their children and other family members ahead of their own; especially the elderly are more inclined to place low priority on self-care (Koehn, Habib, & Bukhari, 2016) because the wellbeing of the family is central to their understanding of self-care (Koehn et al., 2013). This gendered and cultural notion of self-care combined with the material conditions produced by migration—especially the double-duty of childcare/domestic work and paid work—made it difficult for many to make time for self-care. For example, Manju, a mother of three children, was managing full-time paid work as well as household and childcare responsibilities without much support from her husband. She recalled that when her children were younger, she did not have any time for

self-care although she was not working outside the home at that time. Once she went to a physician who noticed her pink eyes, of which she was completely unaware; the physician asked her, "Don't you even look at yourself in the mirror?" Manju said that being alone to raise her three children born as a result of shortly spaced pregnancies, she indeed had no time to look in the mirror.

Thus, the gendered roles of homemaking and caregiving along with the challenges of immigration and settlement had particular impacts on women's health and access to healthcare. Willson and Howard (2000) also observed that immigrant women and women living in poverty are particularly vulnerable to time stress and the health consequences of unpaid work because of their limited or lack of access to time-saving devices and resources. Women in the current study did become subject to time stress, which affected their scope for self-care as well as their access to "non-urgent" and preventative health services such as Pap smears and mammograms. Henna recollected an incident where she faced the challenge of balancing both unpaid and paid childminding work with self-care:

> *I had something pierced deep into my foot and I'm diabetic. But I couldn't go to the doctor to get [a] tetanus [shot]. I went a day after because there was no one at home at that time and I was babysitting two other kids along with my own at home. So, how could I go? …When I went on the next day, you know what happened? I went to a walk-in clinic and they made me wait there for three hours! My daughter took a half day off [to babysit the kids] and then she had to leave all three kids with me at the clinic because she had to go to her work!*

Unlike the Punjabi community, where most women lived in extended families, most Bangladeshi and Pakistani women did not have the presence and support of relatives or extended family members. A Bangladeshi mother with a special-needs child narrated her struggle to make time for a doctor's appointment:

> *I have to make or adjust doctor's appointments according to my work schedule and often I can't even make it to a specialist appointment due to work. Or maybe I need to go for ultra-sound test or to a doctor but I have work at that time, or my son is at home and so I have to stay with him at home as there's no one to take care of him at that time, then I have to cancel the appointment. In case of my family doctor's appointment I still need to check all these stuff to see if I can make it. I have to make cancellations quite often or change the appointment.*

Despite these challenges, some of the South Asian women in the study said they tried to take care of themselves by eating healthy, taking regular medications, going to doctors when needed, doing light exercise and yoga at home, and spending time with friends. One Bangladeshi woman said,

> *I started taking simple short courses like childcare [and] crafts-making—because that was my hobby and I needed that hobby just to hold myself together. Without that, I'd have lost my sanity! That was my way out [from stress]!*

Some of the women thought they should stay healthy because sickness can make taking care of family and children even harder and more stressful. Three women from Pakistan who were friends with each other expressed their thoughts and feelings about self-care:

Rose*: Yeah, I try to keep healthy because if I'm sick who's going to take care of my four kids!*

Zinnia*: Yes, I always think this way.*

Poppy: *I pray a lot to God that no mother may ever get sick! May everybody stay healthy!*

Another mother said,

> *My health has been affected because of my financial constraints and this kind of stuff…. I don't have enough money to take good food, but I think okay, for my baby I always try to buy good food, balanced food as they are in growing age. But for myself and my husband it is a problem.*

Such selfless mothering and "family-centric" or "altruistic" notions of self-care were even more prominent in another study about immigrant mothers' practices of parenting and infant-feeding, where expectant and young mothers from South/Asia often went above and beyond to take care of themselves during pregnancy and postpartum to ensure they would give birth to healthy babies and breastfeed them for the longest possible time, and felt a moral obligation to nourish themselves for the wellbeing of their babies (Habib, 2018; Chapman & Habib, forthcoming). Women, irrespective of their migration status or ethnic background, can be subject to the ideologies of "good motherhood," but the experiences and difficulties of immigrant mothers can be magnified by the intersection of these ideologies with the economic, social, and cultural conditions of their lives as immigrant women (Liamputtong, 2006, p. 49).

Access to health information and healthcare

Nineteen of the 30 women had one or more chronic health conditions such as diabetes, hypertension, high cholesterol, arthritis, or back pain, and managing such conditions was prioritized over preventative cancer screening. Generally, the participants seemed to be more aware of and knowledgeable about these chronic health problems than about breast or cervical cancer. Many found it especially difficult to understand biomedical terminologies and processes like Pap smears and mammograms. Information about cancer screening services was not abundantly available to the new immigrants or to the senior participants. Vissandjée et al. (2007) pointed out that lack of information and familiarity regarding existing services and the challenges of adapting to novel healthcare practices represent significant barriers to many recent immigrants' access to healthcare in Canada. The experiences of many newly arrived immigrant women in the current study also confirmed this, as participants did not have sufficient information, resources, and support to help them navigate the Canadian healthcare system. Gulmohar, a relatively recent immigrant from Bangladesh, was unfamiliar with some aspects of the Canadian healthcare system, even with the process of obtaining a family physician. She did not know that a Pap smear can be done by a family physician, despite being a very health-conscious person with a background as a healthcare professional.

In general, new immigrants with employment and settlement priorities and older adults with a lack of education/literacy and English language skills coming from rural Punjab were likely not to use screening services unless they had some symptoms, a family history of cancer, or knowledge of prevention, or if they received a recommendation, referral, and/or support from family physicians or community support workers (Habib,

2012). In fact, a complex set of personal, social, and structural issues coexisted and intersected to impact their use or lack of use of cancer screening services: not/having a family history, symptoms, or knowledge; not/having information or a recommendation from a physician or community resource provider; not/having familiarity with the Canadian healthcare system; not/having fear, discomfort, or embarrassment about exposing personal body parts; not/having beliefs about God's will and the inevitability of illnesses; not/having childminding or extended family support; and not/having gender roles and responsibilities along with financial in/stability shape their self-care and other priorities. Often, lack of transportation and dependence on family members for rides created additional barriers to accessing cancer screening and other healthcare and community services. Another recent study (Hulme et al., 2016) found that many Bangladeshi and Chinese immigrant women encountered difficulties related to obtaining transportation, childcare, or time away from work, as well as language barriers, which led to dependency on family members for accompaniment and interpretation support; all of these impacted their cancer screening behavior.

Community health promotion programs and services for older South Asian adults and seniors are few and far between. Most of the Punjabi seniors and the Bangladeshi women, irrespective of their length of stay in Canada, did not seem to be well-connected with community health services. For example, a South Asian Pap Test Clinic has been set up in South Vancouver to provide culturally acceptable services and increase the participation of immigrant women in screening practices (Grewal, Bottorff, & Balneaves, 2004); yet only a few women in the study, particularly those who were well-connected with community service organizations, were aware of and used such services. Overall, there was insufficient information, resources, and support available for the under/never-screened women in the cancer screening study (Habib, 2012). Bangladeshi women in a recent study in Toronto highlighted how the Canadian system is different from the one in their country of origin, and how they used screening for the first time in their host country after having received the information in their own language as well as support from peers through a community-based project called Cancer Awareness: Ready for Education and Screening (Hulme et al., 2016). However, without additional and appropriate support, health literacy programs designed to educate women about cancer screening through pamphlets published in English or Punjabi alone may have limited success, because many South Asian immigrant women, especially the elderly, do not have literacy in either English or Punjabi. As an observant and concerned participant, Camellia also pointed out the limitations of such an approach in educating women of diverse language, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds:

> *I doubt that the leaflets or other stuff provided by the system actually can reach South Asian, especially Bengali, women. Even if they do make it to the hands of these women, how many women can actually read and understand those! I don't know! And can they really fathom the significance or seriousness of the issue [of cancer screening]? I don't think so. I think either they don't understand or nobody really helps them to understand. Especially within the healthcare system, in hospitals, the doctors or the nurses—nobody talks to the women to make them realize that this is serious and you've got to do it regularly. I don't think anybody takes that time to talk about these to the women.*

Obviously, language and cultural barriers make healthcare services inaccessible for many immigrant women and men in Canada. However, older South Asian immigrant adults and seniors, especially those coming from rural areas and conservative religious backgrounds, face multiple intersecting barriers to accessing health and social services and community programs, including isolation due to language issues, transportation difficulties, lack of knowledge of local resources, and childminding responsibilities (Koehn et al., 2016). Very few resources and community-based health promotion programs are available to address such barriers and fulfill the unique needs of South Asian subpopulations such as Bengalis or Pakistani Muslim women.

Implications for Health Care Access and Empowerment of South Asian Immigrant Women

Findings showed that women's gendered and racialized experiences of migration and settlement created the broader social and structural contexts of their everyday lives within which they accessed healthcare services. Overall, women's settlement status and level of socioeconomic integration in Canada were impacted by traditional gender norms related to parenting and housework which became compounded by the social isolation, financial stress, and lack of extended family support experienced by most new immigrants. Women's length of stay in Canada since migration and their settlement status as well as their literacy, English language skills, and empowerment status were some of the key determinants of their participation in preventative cancer screening services in Canada (Habib, 2012). Elderly women with limited or no education and literacy or community networks were not using either or both cervical and breast cancer screening services.

Women's agency, empowerment status, and healthcare access

Findings showed that women's agency and empowerment status pertaining to their health-enhancing activities were shaped by their language ability, immigration and settlement status, time constraints due to gendered roles and family responsibilities, and community involvement. Anderson's (1996) study on chronic illness management among ethnic minority immigrant women showed similar trends where those with high levels of education and fluency in English with middle-class backgrounds were usually sufficiently empowered and able to manage their chronic conditions through changing jobs and gaining access to appropriate resources even when they did not receive much help from healthcare providers. On the other hand, women who were older and didn't speak English had fewer choices and less job mobility and access to community resources. Women in the latter group were "othered" or blamed as "discredited citizens" for their poor health within the neoliberal discourse of "individual responsibility" and "patient empowerment" (Fiske & Browne, 2006). Within the same discourse, immigrant women, especially older adults and seniors, who are sponsored or "dependent" on family members for support and care due to language, cultural, and other structural barriers, are constructed as "deficient," a "burden," or the "other" (Habib, 2012).

Patient empowerment may have different meanings to different women. Yet the liberal rhetoric of empowerment, choice, and control over one's own body tends to overgeneralize or universalize men and women's experiences while ignoring the power relations and inequities between and among them. Such discourses of patient

empowerment and choice also render those unable to access resources and exercise their power and agency in so-called egalitarian and multicultural clinical and other settings into the "other." Critical feminist paradigms of healthcare suggest that empowerment is an outcome of changes in the fundamental structures and relations of power, including the relations between practitioners and patients, rather than individual actions and behaviors (Anderson, 1996, 2006). According to the same paradigm, as Anderson (1996) argued succinctly, handing over responsibility for care to the patient, who is viewed as a consumer, and involving all patients as decision-makers in matters pertaining to health, irrespective of their unequal socioeconomic, political, cultural, and historical positions, should not be equated with "empowerment." Such notions of empowerment embedded in the neoliberal ideology of individualism provide a rationale for shifting responsibilities to people who are least able to assume such liabilities and for victimizing and victim-blaming (Anderson, 1996; Fiske & Browne, 2006; Ponic, 2007). Within such discourses, despite recognition of the unequal socioeconomic structures that create health inequities, there is very little effort to enable disenfranchised people to become empowered by shifting those structures and arrangements.

Since language and effective communication play important roles in the negotiation of treatment choices and decisions, when women are not able to communicate well with their physicians, they may feel disempowered (Anderson, 1996, 2006; Tang, 1999). Elderly women without literacy and English language skills who have to depend on family members or other people not trained in medicine or healthcare for communication have little scope to show their agency, especially in relation to doctors whom they view as authority figures and experts. Anderson, Blue, and Lau (1991) pointed out that even when the patient and healthcare provider come from the same ethnic or linguistic background, "speaking a similar language does not guarantee communication" (p. 110). Interactions between healthcare providers and patients cannot be isolated from the power structures of the bureaucratic organizations within which they take place. Many patients feel intimidated by the bureaucratic nature of healthcare institutions and therefore hesitate to ask questions (Tang, 1999). Moreover, difference in educational status and social class hinder patient-practitioner interactions (Anderson, Blue, & Lau, 1991; Tang, 1999).

Social capital and healthcare access

Another important issue pertinent to South Asian immigrant women's empowerment is their community involvement, networks, and social capital. Social exclusion of immigrants with limited to zero literacy and/or English-speaking skills forces them to depend on their family and community members for access to services and support. As Vissandjee, Apale, and Wieringa (2009) noted, due to the poor health outcomes and health inequities resulting from social isolation and marginalization of immigrant women, health researchers, policymakers, and service providers have developed an increased interest in the social capital theory and focused on community-based approaches to health promotion. Such approaches can be beneficial to facilitate marginalized people's including South Asian women's access to important health information and resources and can have an empowering effect on them. Yet just as community can be a source of both support and oppression for racialized immigrant women, understanding social capital based on unity in racialized communities can impart both empowering and restraining

impacts on women's health and access to quality healthcare. Uncritical understandings of community as well as social capital tend to idealize and romanticize the notion of community and community bonding, hiding existing over-dependency, competition, jealousy, lack of unity, class discrimination, and exploitation (Bannerji, 2000). Depending on friends and community members may also lead to receiving inaccurate information or create stress and misunderstanding among friends who may not always be able to help.

From a critical gender perspective, social networks can be viewed as resources that support women's health, wellbeing, and empowerment, and alternatively as sources of control, isolation, and manipulation. Vissandjee, Apale, and Wieringa (2009) cautioned, "… a positive relationship between social capital, women's health, and women's empowerment initiatives cannot be guaranteed" (p. 195). They explained that in some contexts, high levels of social capital may enhance access to health information, break off isolation, and foster a more supportive and empowering environment leading to immigrant women's wellbeing and good health. However, in other contexts, women's participation and investment in maintaining traditional and cultural norms and values may not necessarily contribute to empowerment, opportunities, resources for themselves or for other women. These factors may actually enhance such women's "otherness" in Canada and hinder healthy behavior and access to health information and quality healthcare. Vissandjee, Apale, and Wieringa (2009) therefore suggested that "community health researchers and policy makers must contest and address policies that reinforce social inequity and marginalization as well as forms of social capital that are damaging to women's health, autonomy, and empowerment" (p. 195).

Healthcare access and the social justice perspective

The social determinants of health and intersectionality frameworks are informed by a social justice perspective to research and practice, which diverts our attention from individual responsibility for health and fairness in healthcare access to the broader structures, unjust systems, power relations, and social factors that create socioeconomic inequities and determine health inequities for individuals and communities (Varcoe et al., 2015). For example, underemployment and unemployment can have stressful and disempowering impacts on racialized immigrant women who are overwhelmed by the demands and stress of successful settlement and socioeconomic integration in a new country with limited support from the state. These women cannot be empowered simply by being showered with health information without any improvement in their sources of secured income. Improved access to basic literacy, English language training, employment with better payment and more benefits, childcare support, community resources, and appropriate health information will likely result in marginalized women's empowerment as well as long-term positive health outcomes and better access to healthcare, especially preventive care such as cancer screening. In general, more equitable social systems, arrangements, and policies will create empowerment for disenfranchised groups and result in more equitable health outcomes and healthcare access.

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GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA

- Give to every human being every right that you claim for yourself.

  — *Robert G. Ingersoll*

- It is quite simply one of the touchstones of what a liberal society should be: open, tolerant and free of prejudice.

  — *Nick Clegg*

SHAOJUN CHEN, YANG SHEN, LEI GAN

Bridging the Gender Gap in Development Projects: A Gender Impact Assessment (GIA) of Resettlement in a Hydropower Project in China

Abstract: Compensation as well as relocation is key to resettlement activities in water conservancy projects. At present, reservoir resettlement in China is mainly based on land and people's rights to land and has revolved around land rights and compensation for land acquisition. This paper describes a study investigating the life experiences of migrants in Q village among the affected villages of W reservoir. It uses the Social Relations Approach as a tool to analyze gaps between the lives of migrant women and men in three categories: rules, resources, and power. It is found that there are gender gaps and biases in the content and implementation of local policies, regulations, and folk laws regarding land acquisition compensation related to W reservoir. In particular, women have been absent from the process of formulating these rules. Resource allocation tends to be male-centered, while migrant women within the reservoir area have no guarantee of financial compensation or production from land and curtilage allocation. Migrant men enjoy leadership privileges within the village, including freedom of speech and expression in meetings; they also hold higher decision-making power within the family compared with migrant women. This paper shows that gender gaps related to various dimensions of land acquisition rights and interests of reservoir migrants are the result of numerous factors. These include: patriarchy; gender norms; marital mobility; village rules and regulations; the "profit first" laws of a market economy; and internal factors, specifically migrant women's lack of education and consciousness about their rights. In order to balance these gaps, it is suggested that equal sociocultural environments and opportunities be created for both genders and that migrant women's positions and abilities be improved overall.

Introduction

To promote China's economic and social development and improve people's livelihoods, water conservancy and hydropower projects have gradually been established in the country with remarkable results. Between 1949 and 2018, China had more than 25 million reservoir migrants, about half of whom were women. Compensation and relocation are major issues in the resettlement work of water conservancy projects, affecting the levels of livelihood reconstruction, social relations, and network reconstruction of reservoir migrants (Shi, Yan, & Sun, 2015). In response to the vulnerability of reservoir migrants, the Chinese government has adopted measures such as early compensation and subsequent support to aid these migrants' livelihood restoration, survival, and development. A diversified model has thus been formed, rooted in land resettlement and supplemented by multiple resettlement methods (Li & Yu, 2014). Compensation methods

include "long-term compensation," which entails a "combination of long-term compensation, share dividends and social security" (Fan, Lu, Qiang, et al., 2015), among others. According to *Guiding Opinions on Improving the Compensation and Settling System for Land Acquisition*, issued by the Ministry of Land and Resources in 2004 on the issue of "agricultural production resettlement," the acquisition of farmers' collective land outside the urban planning area shall be obtained through the use of rural collective mobile land, contracted land voluntarily returned by contracted farmers, transfer of contracted land, and newly developed arable land after land consolidation. The first goal is to ensure that the land-expropriated farmers have the land they need to continue farming. Landless reservoir migrants receive direct compensation and resettlement support for land acquisition. At the same time, reservoir migrants obtain indirect rights and benefits related to politics, culture and education, labor and social security, property, life, marriage, and family due to reservoir construction. Direct compensation includes the price difference between the expropriated and the resettlement lands (i.e., labor resettlement fees and green seedling compensation fees) and a compensation for village collective land and attachments, while resettlement support mainly includes land for agricultural production and curtilage allocation.

Land acquisition compensation mainly involves land rights and property rights. The *Law of the People's Republic of China on Property Rights* (2007) stipulates that land rights belong to real property, which refers to the rights of the landholder to directly control the land according to law, mainly including land contract and management rights, the rights of income distribution in the village collective economic organization, and the rights of distribution of land acquisition compensation and curtilage. With the complete abolition of agricultural taxes in China since 2006, farmers' obligations have continued to decrease. Due to this limited involvement coupled with the urbanization process, the enthusiasm for land expropriation has inevitably led farmers to leave the land actively or passively (Liu, 2009); rural land acquisition has become one of the focal points of farmers' rights. Land rights and interests are the issues most relevant to the survival and development of rural women. "Women, as members of society and citizens of the country, shall enjoy the sum of various inviolable rights and interests." The *Law of the People's Republic of China on Rural Land Contracting* (Art.6) stipulates that "rural women have equal rights with men when contracting land." The *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests* (Art.32) requires that women enjoy equal rights with men in all aspects of rural land contracting and management, the distribution of income of collective economic organizations, the use of land acquisition or compensation fees, and the use of curtilage. In reality, however, disputes over the land rights of rural Chinese women have proliferated for years, along with accompanying petitions. From 2016 to 2017, the All China Women's Federation (ACWF) received 8,807 complaints about women's land rights—a 1.82-fold increase over the previous two years. The third survey of Chinese women's social status, jointly conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics and the ACWF, showed that 21% of rural women aged 18–64 years had not implemented their land contract rights due to marriage, widowhood, and land loss. As China's reservoir projects are mostly carried out in agricultural areas, rural female reservoir migrants face more serious land rights concerns than do ordinary rural women due to the impact of involuntary migration. Their property rights—such as land contract management rights,

curtilage use rights, and land transfer decision-making rights—are undermined by the dilemma of gender and power imbalances.

Gender mainstreaming, as defined by the United Nations Economic and Social Council, is the process of assessing the impact of any planned action (including legislation, policies, or programs) on gender in all areas and at all levels. In 2003, the World Bank's OP/BP 4.20 established a national-level strategic approach to mainstreaming gender issues into work. As a thematic issue involving many sectors, gender is addressed directly or indirectly in the nine official business policies and banking procedures contained in the *World Bank Operation Manual* (World Bank, 2011). Today, most international development agencies including the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, the Australian Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Agency for International Development have adopted gender mainstreaming as their overall framework for developing and implementing plans and services. In the past decade or so, this concept has been incorporated into the policies of global governments and has had an important impact on aid projects, including gender neutrality projects (Adusei-Asante & Hancock, 2015). As a tool to implement gender mainstreaming, the Gender Impact Assessment (GIA) evaluates whether policies have direct or indirect impacts on women and men. The authors of this paper examined gaps in gender impacts of reservoir resettlement compensation on a case-by-case basis, analyzed the status of the rights and interests of female reservoir migrants in terms of rules, resources, and power, and proposed countermeasures for female reservoir migrants to enjoy equal rights to compensation for land acquisition.

Literature Review

Chinese scholars' research on reservoir migration is mainly holistic or non-specific to women and gender issues. There are fewer studies on gender gaps related to reservoir migrants' rights and interests. Some studies on female reservoir migrants' rights and interests have been carried out in the areas of human capital (Sheng & Shi, 2008; Yan & Shi, 2012), public policy and social governance (Liu & Chen, 2006), land rights (Qin & Han, 2011), ideological construction (Chen, 2013), pension (Chen, 2010), resource utilization and participation (Cheng & Chen, 2015; Lin, 2003; Wang & Yang, 2011; Xia & Cheng, 2014), and social relation networks (Chen, 2013). Studies have shown that migrant women in rural reservoir areas face a more severely problematic situation than men do, as they are more likely to fall into poverty, and it is more difficult for them to restore their social systems (Chen, 2008; Chen, 2013; Cheng & Chen, 2015; Liu & Chen, 2008; Shi, Yan, & Sun, 2015). Foreign scholars argue that resettlement caused by the construction of water conservancy dams has simultaneously taken away the economic, social, and cultural resources of migrants and caused poverty in communities and families. Compared with their male counterparts, female reservoir migrants suffer even more adverse effects (Koenig & Diarra, 2002). Land acquisition disrupts the livelihood development of local women, causing poverty, and these women's experience of adverse effects is profound in most cases (Scudder, 2005). For this reason, many scholars have pointed out the importance of gender analysis in water conservancy and hydropower projects and have provided a detailed GIA process with a view to bettering the situation of women as well as improving men's production and living conditions (Simon & Simpson, 2016).

A large number of studies have discussed gender gaps related to land ownership, control rights, and inheritance rights in developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Agarwal & Bina, 2003; Deere & Diana, 2003; Deere, Diana, & Magdalena, 2003; Guerny, Daphne, & Topouzis, 2001; Jacobs & Moi, 2008; Manji & Ambreena, 2003; Stolen & Anne, 1991). Studies also have pointed out the causes of such gender gaps, such as the interpretation of laws tending to support men's ownership and control of land use rights (Guerny, Daphne, & Topouzis, 2001). In terms of the land rights and interests of rural women in China, studies have attributed such disparities to various social systems and land systems during various periods (Wang & Li, 2014). It is found that the infringement of rural women's rights and interests mainly occurred in the areas of land confirmation rights (Li, 2014, 2016), land contract management rights (Wang, 2004; Wang, 2007; Wu & Zhang, 2004; Zhang & Wang, 2008; Zhang, 2016), rights to use and distribute curtilage (Liu, 2011; Mo, 2010), and rights to distribute collective income (Wang & Zhang, 2014). To cope with current violations of the rights of rural female reservoir migrants, especially married women, some scholars have put forward suggestions to protect such rights by improving land compensation distribution methods for married female migrants, adjusting the identification policy of married women, modifying migration policies and laws, insisting on long-term compensation mechanisms, and so on (Qin, Han, & Shi, 2011). In addition to perspectives from disciplines such as law and land management, studies of gender and culture can provide ideas for scholars to analyze gender inequality and the loss of women's land rights. The duplication and perpetuation of patriarchy (Li, 2002) and traditional gender concepts in modern society have received the attention of scholars who point out that China is at a critical stage of social transformation, and the perspective of gender research is critical to the study of the "Chinese experience" (Li, 2004). Such scholars suggest that the formulation of laws and regulations regarding the protection of women's rights and interests need to consider factors such as gender and culture.

The concept of gender, from a sociological perspective, is used to describe all the socially ascribed attributes, roles, activities, and responsibilities connected to the experience of being a male or female in a given society (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhay, 1999). This study has used a Social Relations Approach (SRA) as a basic framework to explore gender differences in the area of compensation rights and interests among reservoir migrants; this approach is a novel addition and unique contribution to the current academic research on reservoir migrants.

Methods

The Social Relations Approach (SRA), a prominent gender analysis framework coined by Kabeer, is a method of analyzing existing gender inequalities in the distribution of resources, responsibilities, and power, and for designing policies and programs that enable women to be agents of their own development (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhay, 1999). SRA enables the institutional analysis of five elements—rules, activity, resources, people, and power— as well as their control structure to see who has done what, who has gained what, and who has lost what among men and women (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhay, 1999). In the current context, land acquisition compensation policy and its implementation are actually "rules" that include four different interrelated elements; meanwhile, "people" and "activities" exist across land acquisition rules, resource allocation,

and power structure. Therefore, this study condenses the elements of SRA into three categories or dimensions: rules, resources, and power.

<table>
<tr><th>Dimension</th><th>Content</th><th>Activity</th><th colspan="2">People</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="12"></td><td rowspan="12"></td><td rowspan="12"></td><td rowspan="12">Male migrants</td><td rowspan="12">Female migrants</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Rules</td><td rowspan="2">Policies and regulations of W reservoir</td><td>Identification rules for migrant population</td></tr>
<tr><td>Compensation rules</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">Resources</td><td rowspan="3">Restorative resources</td><td>Capital compensation</td></tr>
<tr><td>Production land</td></tr>
<tr><td>Curtilage</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Developmental resources</td><td>Skills Training</td></tr>
<tr><td>Employment opportunities</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">Power</td><td rowspan="2">Leadership</td><td>Village committees</td></tr>
<tr><td>Migration council</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Rights of expression</td><td>Formal meetings</td></tr>
<tr><td>Informal meetings</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Decision-making power</td><td>Family routines</td></tr>
<tr><td>Important affairs</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1: Analysis Framework

This ethnographic case study used in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis methods for collecting data. In-depth interviews were conducted with 25 reservoir migrants including village cadres and members of the resettlement council in Q village of W reservoir. There were 13 women and 12 men in the participant sample, and this included staff from the development company's resettlement office, the construction team, and the staff of the petition department in resettlement command. Through these interviews, the implementation process of compensation and resettlement for W reservoir migrants was thoroughly examined, and the gender differences in reservoir migrants' experiences with compensation and resettlement were analyzed.

Case Introduction

The W Water Conservancy Project is an international loan project under which the dam site was constructed in F County of J City mainly for the purpose of flood control along with water supply and power generation functions. In July 2011, during the substantive construction phase of the project, land acquisition, house demolition, and resettlement took place in 38 villages of 13 townships/towns affecting a total of 16,104 people in 4,423 households. Based on the investigation of the production resettlement and relocation intention of the reservoir migrants, the overall conditions of the resettlement area and the submerged and dam-affected areas of the reservoir were analyzed with the villager group as the unit. In accordance with the principle of "equal conditions," a combination of backward resettlement, outward resettlement, and self-employment was adopted.

Q village is located in the north of F County. The source of the villagers' economic income is mainly agriculture and migratory work. In 2015, the per capita disposable income of the residents was 7,589 yuan. There was no industry in the village, and economic

development was lagging. The village has seven natural villages and 12 different villager groups, with a total of 1,713 people in 376 households. As a result of the construction of the W reservoir, 1,125 villagers from 251 households needed to be relocated. There were 716 women of which 65 were girls under the age of 14 years, 165 were unmarried, 322 were married at the childbearing age (including five divorced and 65 widowed women), and 164 virilocal women with *hukou* (户口) in Q village. There were 552 women identified as migrant population, of whom 487 were above 14 years old. The village had the largest number of affected people among all the villages in F County, and the problems of resettlement were the most comprehensive and typical in nature.

The land contract management right is a product of China's rural household contract responsibility system. It is a basic facet of the current rural land system and the main mode of agricultural land use and management. Under this system, agricultural production operators have the right to possess and use land owned by rural collectives or the state, or used by rural collective economic organizations through contracts, to produce and benefit through crop cultivation, forestry, animal husbandry, and fishery in accordance with the law and land contract (Jiang & Chen, 2005). The main holder of the land contract management right is a citizen or collective engaged in agricultural production and management (i.e., members of the collective economic organization to which the agricultural land belongs). Each member of the village collective, regardless of age or gender, is entitled to hold a contract to the land of the collective economic organization. However, the current system of rural collective land ownership in China is still an institutional framework within which the rights of individual or collective members are dependent on their social identities or locations. For the members of a village, the acquirement and enjoyment of their rights is based on a certain membership status. If their status is lost, their land rights and interests will follow suit. Thus, a change in marital or relationship status will inevitably lead to an encroachment on women's rights and interests regarding land. For example, the tradition of virilocal residence means out-married women leave their original village collective while most of their land remains in the village of their parents. Further, separation of people and land causes women's land contract rights to be easily invaded by other members of their mother's home. Since the signing of the rural land contracts on December 1, 1998, Q village has strictly followed the principle that "land contracts remain unchanged for 30 years" and has never made land adjustments. However, through 21 years of marriages, births and deaths, the population and demographic structure of the village has changed; in the case of land contracts, major differences between households have replaced unconditional equality. In particular, the land rights enjoyed by women have changed a great deal. Most of the land owned by out-married women has been occupied by their brothers—a widespread phenomenon that has rendered most women ignorant of their own land rights. Some women who were aware of such infringement simply gave up their rights due to traditional ideas such as "face and favor" and "non-litigation."

Gender Gaps in Land Acquisition Compensation Rules

Rules refer to both formal and informal working methods followed in land acquisition compensation activities in general. Formal rules refer to relevant laws and

regulations for population identification, compensation, and resettlement programs such as the "Women's Rights Protection Law," the "Rural Land Contracting Law," the "Land Management Law," the "Land Compensation and Resettlement Regulations for Large and Medium-Sized Water Conservancy and Hydropower Project Construction" (Order No. 471 of the State Council, promulgated on July 7, 2006), the "Implementation Measures for Resettlement and Compensation for W Water Conservancy Project Construction," etc. Informal rules include village rules, customary law, folk law, and so on. The relationship between rules and people determines whether the equal rights of migrants can be guaranteed during the rule-making process, whether the content of rules can guarantee equal rights and interests of migrants of both sexes, and so on. Order No. 471 established a new management mode of "safeguarding the interests of migrants, paying equal attention to construction and resettlement," with emphasis on protecting the property rights, democratic rights, and development rights of migrants. Although Order No. 471 treats migrants equally without distinguishing between male and female, the local formal regulations of W reservoir and the informal rules of Q village showed gender biases in the formulation of compensation and settlement programs, identification of migrant population, and compensation contents.

For example, reservoir migrants express opinions through public participation as they partake in the formulation of rules for land acquisition compensation and resettlement programs. The core part of the resettlement program involves site selection and housing structure design. It was mainly migrant men who provided specific opinions on resettlement plans, site selection for curtilage, overall layout and external structure design of resettlement houses, and future development planning for resettlement areas; they were also the main group to conduct field surveys and site selection for resettlement programs. One female interviewee said,

> The current house looks good from the outside, but the inside is not very good. The bathroom and kitchen are too small. They are not as good as before. I didn't know the house was like this until it was built. It was my husband, they were negotiating. They went to visit and choose places. I didn't know. (Interview with migrant woman LX, 2017)

The absence of migrant women in the programming process makes it difficult for their needs to be reflected in the rules of compensation and resettlement.

Since the identification of a "migrant population" was the basis of compensation for land acquisition of W reservoir, non-recognized migrants cannot enjoy such rights. According to the *Implementation Measures for the Compensation and Resettlement of W Water Conservancy Project Construction*, migrant women are divided into four categories: unmarried, married, widowed, and divorced. Unmarried women were those over 14 years old that had been registered before the reservoir design unit carried out a physical index survey during the feasibility study phase. Married women were those who had been married and lived in the reservoir area for a long time before the reservoir design unit carried out investigation on the physical indicators during the feasibility study stage. This category included the matrilocal women in the village and the women who had married into the village from outside. Divorced and widowed women had been living in the area for a long time before the feasibility study took place and were still living in their houses in the

village due to divorce or widowhood. During the initial survey, we found another group of women who were not included in the compensation and resettlement process although their lives and production capacities were also affected by reservoir construction. Having been excluded from the identification rules of the migrant population, it was difficult for them to enjoy any rights. These were the virilocal women. The following section will focus on the rights and interests of virilocal women in terms of resource distribution under the land acquisition compensation process.

In the context of villagers' autonomy, local discourses such as village regulations and customary laws also caused gender imbalances related to the land rights of migrants. Villager autonomy is a basic socio-political system entrusted to all rural populations in China by the constitution. Villagers' committees establish a system of meetings including representatives' meetings and open village affairs, formulate self-government charters or village regulations, and implement democratic management. The *Organization Law of the Villagers' Committee of the People's Republic of China* provides guidelines for the implementation of villagers' self-determination wherein decisions on village issues can be approved by two-thirds of villagers. These so-called folk laws, which reflect the common interests expressed by most villagers, are similar to civil society rules relative to national laws. Although they are informal in nature, they govern many important aspects of rural social life often beyond the scope of formal institutional planning, creating an order space that is not the same as a formal institutional system but is widely recognized by many villagers. Therefore, it may be even more effective than formal laws (Zhang, 2012). Beyond national laws, the most formal norms at the village level are undoubtedly village regulations and the resolutions of village meetings (Wang, 1997). However, freedom without restraint can easily develop into autocracy, thereby infringing on the legitimate rights and interests of others. At the villagers' meetings, when the economic interests of all villagers are involved, those forming the majority can still subordinate the minority by virtue of the power granted by the system of village autonomy and by the "village rules," and can thus "legally" deprive minority groups such as virilocal women of their rights to access the collective profits of the village (Chang, 2010).

According to the distribution method of land acquisition compensation for curtilage in Q village, the population whose *hukou* is not in the village—that is, those who have relocated to other villages or have converted from agricultural to non-agriculture based life—will no longer be allocated curtilage in that village. The resettlement policy of W reservoir also stipulates that only the displaced affected population can get curtilage. Native men who have worked and resided outside the village for a long time and perhaps even purchased homes elsewhere but have still kept their *hukou* in Q village do not belong to the migrant population; however, when they are old, these men often return to live in Q village again due to the traditional idea of "deciduous leaves returning to the roots." This means Q village considered them as migrants and allocated them curtilage, as shown in the following narrative:

> Our village has always done this. People who are old and want to come back to the village and have the financial ability to build a house, we would offer them curtilage of different sizes. This time, houses are demolished due to reservoir construction, [but] the distribution of curtilage also takes them into consideration. People who die

> are returning to their hometown for burial, not to mention that they just want to come back when they are old. You can't say no. (Interview with HXD, president of the migration council of Q village 1 group, 2017)

The curtilage area obtained by migrants of Q village was not large. On the premise of guaranteeing one curtilage for each family, priority was given to the unmarried male who had reached legal marriage age in the village; however, the curtilage application rights of women were not considered. As a result, most of the extra homestead land was taken away from vulnerable groups, mainly female. The village rules treated special cases in accordance with customary rules rather than population identification rules and compensation methods for W reservoir migrants; as such, curtilages were allocated to native males who could not be identified as migrant population. Thus, the land rights and interests of women, especially multi-female families, were overtly infringed upon.

Gender Gaps in Resource Allocation of Land Acquisition Compensation

In this study, "resources" refers to new means provided to migrants to counter and restore the effects of the damage to their original possessions caused by reservoir construction. This includes restorative materials such as capital compensation, production land, and curtilage compensation, as well as developmental methods such as skills training and employment support. It is the embodiment of migrants' rights to property, cultural and educational resources, employment, and social security. The availability of resources is integral and directly related to the enjoyment of these rights.

Capital compensation mainly includes repayment for house demolition, refunding for the loss of collective assets, and land substitution for any outstanding balance after land replacement. It is calculated according to the migrant population and issued directly to the bank account of the migrant householder. Except for the head of the household himself, other family members including his wife cannot obtain compensation funds from the bank. One woman said,

> The money is in the bank [account], it is in my husband's name, and only he can take the money out. Some families will re-open a bank [account] and save it [the money], also using the name of the head of the household. When my family needs money, he [my husband] will take it and give it to me. (Interview with female migrant ZY, 2017).

Since most heads of household are male, women's right to income is concealed or undermined by the *hukou* system. Women encounter much difficulty in using and controlling compensation funds, and it is especially difficult to protect their legal rights in cases of conjugal conflict.

Thus, financial compensation received by female migrants in Q village varied according to their varied marital status. The most controversial cases were mainly the virilocal, divorced, and widowed women. Virilocal women from Q village did not get the contracted land of their husband's family; rather, their contracted land was kept at their mothers' homes, which were regarded as a part of their family's property and became irrelevant to them. A few of these women who had left Q village not only faced opposition from family members but also had to accept condemnation from the village committee and

collective when they asked their parents for rights to their own lands. Therefore, the contracted land allocated to them during the second round was basically occupied and cultivated by their parents and brothers because they had been married outside Q village. The loss of ownership and use rights as well as income and disposal rights by virilocal women became "de facto transfer" (Wang, 2003). The reservoir project expropriated the land of virilocal women in their maternal home without providing them corresponding capital compensation, or providing very little. This was because the government does not pay out funds to compensate individuals but rather makes compensation payments to households as a unit under the name of the father or brother.

Divorced women in Q village can be roughly divided into two types: those who participated in land contracting during the second round, and those who did not because they were no longer married to men in that village during that time. The survey found that no matter whether they remarried or not, as long as they had not lived in Q village for a long time, the female divorcees were not allowed to continue to occupy or use the contracted land, nor could they receive land compensation. On the contrary, in the case of virilocal women who returned to their maternal homes due to divorce or the death of their husbands, as long as their *hukou* still remained in Q village and they had been living in their mother's home for a long time before the physical indicator survey started, they were considered migrant population and consequently enjoyed land compensation.

Widowed women did not directly lose their land rights and interests due to widowhood, but were affected by factors such as children, remarriage intention, and relationship with the in-law's family. Our survey found that the land rights of older widowed women could generally be guaranteed because they had lived in Q village for a long time, had a relatively stable position with their in-laws and extended families, and had little desire to remarry. Younger widows who did not remarry after widowhood often continued to occupy and use the contracted land; but once they remarried, the original contracted land would be occupied and used by other members of the in-law's family. Here is an example:

> It was only more than two years after I got married and my baby was one year old when his father [my husband] died in a car accident. We were both left behind, and the baby was too young. I stay home to take care of my baby and my father-in-law pays the bills, the capital compensation is all owned by him and I don't know how much. Apart from the money my baby needs, I can't get any other money. It wasn't long before I got married, and life here is still adapting. An auntie next door told me that my mother-in-law said that I would remarry sooner or later, and could not give me all the money, otherwise they would have nothing. If I had not given a grandson to their family, they would not have given me a penny. I don't want to fight for anything, after all we are family members, not to mention I have no friends or relatives here, and the child is still young. (Interview with a 24-year-old widowed woman, LM, 2017)

It was also found that after the resettlement of the reservoir migrants, the widows who had married a male in the reservoir area and lived there for a long time before the reservoir design unit conducted the physical index survey during the feasibility stage were

also identified as migrant population; they were qualified to obtain labor resettlement fees, crop compensation fees, and compensation for village collective land and its appendages. However, the ability to use and control capital compensation was affected by many factors including the nature of their relationship with their in-laws.

In summary, there was little to no difference between men and women with respect to obtaining financial compensation as long as they belonged to the migrant population. Migrant women whose contracted land had not been recovered by Q village after divorce, also enjoyed financial compensation under the second round of land contracts. However, virilocal and divorced women whose contracted land had been recovered no longer enjoyed financial compensation (see Table 2 for details).

Division of *hukou* population	**Capital Compensation Policy and Obtainment**		
	Labor Placement Fee	**Crop Compensation Fee**	**Compensation for Village Collective Land and its Appendages**
Migrant man	●	●	●
Migrant woman in marriage	●	●	●
Unmarried migrant woman	●	●	●
Divorced migrant woman	●	●	●
Divorced woman (contract land untaken)	●	●	●
Divorced woman (contract land taken)	○	○	○
Widowed migrant woman	●	●	●
Virilocal woman	○	○	◎
● = gain ◎ = partial gain ○ = no gain			

Table 2: Statistic of Capital Compensation

According to the *Implementation Measures for Resettlement and Compensation for the Construction of W Water Conservancy Project*, as long as villagers belong to the migration population in the reservoir area, they can obtain adjusted land for production resettlement. Therefore, all men as well as unmarried, matrilocal, divorced, and widowed women can get allocated production land. However, this study found that it is difficult for virilocal and divorced women not classified as migrant population to enjoy land distribution. These women had to permanently lose lands due to the construction of the reservoir.

In terms of curtilage, the principle of allocation is "one household, one curtilage." Since each household building was considered in the implementation of migrant resettlement, *hukou* was the unit of allocation, which means family splitting determined the number of curtilages for migrant families to enjoy. The *F County W Water Conservancy*

Project Resettlement Measures for Households only stipulated the family splitting method for households with two or more married and unmarried brothers, as well as the households of a purely matrilocal system. It did not include a method for splitting the households of two or more unmarried sisters. In addition, migrant, widowed, and divorced women enjoyed different rights to curtilage distribution. Although widowed migrant women's husbands had died, family ties with the in-laws still existed in many cases. According to the principle of "one household, one curtilage," these women cannot obtain a curtilage alone but must share it with their in-laws or adult sons, while divorced migrant women can be treated as a separate household and therefore enjoy the distribution of curtilages. The following example confirms this situation:

> As long as you are migrant population, we treat you equally. Although your *hukou* is not in our village and you are no longer our daughter-in-law, you have lived here for a long time, and you are familiar with the village. So, you are a member of our village. (Interview with the head of Q village, HAS, 2017)

Table 3 clearly reflects the difference in curtilage distribution of migrant men and women.

Population Classification	**Curtilage Distribution**	
	Policy	Reality
Multi-son migrants (2 sons)	2	2
Multi-daughter migrant (3 daughters)	1	1
Non-migrant man (Household population)	0	1
Non-migrant woman (Household population)	0	0

Table 3: Curtilage Distribution in Q Village

Gender Gaps in Power Allocation of Land Acquisition Compensation

Power and benefits are interrelated issues; power is a means to obtain and generate benefits under certain conditions, while benefits are the driving force for asserting power that serves certain interests. In this study, to understand the power of land acquisition compensation, we ask: 1) Who makes compensation decisions? 2) Whose interests are served? Power translates to leadership in village business, the voice to express opinions about issues, and decision-making ability regarding family affairs. The distribution of such power is reflected in the social and family status of migrant men and women.

Before the construction of W reservoir, men and women in Q village used to perform three types of work: productive, reproductive, and social. Productive activities involved farmland production and migrant labor, done mostly by men. Reproductive activities mainly included cooking, cleaning, laundry, child-rearing, caring for the elderly, and construction and maintenance of housing. This type of work is mainly performed by women, without compensation or inclusion in national economic statistics. Social activities are mainly activities outside of families such as villagers' meetings, business networking, public relations, etc., mainly executed by men. This is also in line with the traditional Chinese ideology of "women inside, men outside" (See Table 4 for details). Such gender

divisions of labor play a significant role in determining the power behind the distribution of land acquisition compensation.

Activity		Female	Male
Productive Activity	Farm work (e.g., farming, harvesting)	●	●
	Pig, chicken, duck and other farming	●	●
	Migrant labor	●	●
Reproductive Activity	Laundry and cooking	●	○
	Cleaning	●	○
	Care for the young and old	●	○
	Construction and maintenance of housing	●	●
Social Activity	Village meetings	○	●
	Daily maintenance of interpersonal relationships	○	●
	Conflict resolution	●	●
● = engage in this activity ○ = do not engage in this activity Note: Engagement and non-engagement are not absolute, but have a high probability.			

Table 4: Gender Division of Social Labor in Q village before Construction of W Reservoir

The "two committees" of Q village were the main bodies of leadership, and the resettlement council was a unique governing body created during the reservoir resettlement period; both were in charge of management and supervision. Compared to migrant men, reservoir migrant women had a lower proportion of representation and less power in the village committees. At the same time, the threshold for migrant women to assume core positions on the "two committees" had been raised implicitly (Shi, Su, & Zhou, 2018). There were seven cadres, of which the secretary, director, deputy secretary, members, and forest guards were male; female members were in charge of women's congresses, family planning, new farm insurance, civil affairs, environmental sanitation, statistics, farmhouses, and bookkeeping. The assistant secretary was a woman who was also a village official; her job was to assist the secretary in charge of party affairs. Thus, women were mainly responsible for peripheral and less important work; they faced difficulty climbing leadership ladders and lacked real power or the right to speak. The hidden imbalance in migrant women's rights to participate in the political affairs of the two village committees directly affected the rights and interests of all women in the village, especially in the face of major events such as land acquisition and house demolition for reservoir construction.

The Q village resettlement council was an unofficial organization set up exclusively for the W reservoir project and was responsible for all resettlement matters related to the villagers; it was mainly for communicating the villagers' opinions and suggestions to the

committees or the project office, and for publicizing timely and accurate information such as policy standards to villagers. Routine matters were usually resolved within the council, generally by holding a discussion meeting on matters relevant to the entire village. Work experiences were often exchanged between village group resettlement councils. The migration councils had a strong voice regarding the migration work of each village group. Based on regulations, each migration council was generally composed of seven people, including three village group cadres and four village representatives (which must include one or two women). In reality, only one of the 10 migration councils in Q village had one female member. One interviewee explained the reason behind this:

> We have no women elected. Women take care of their children and do housework all day. They have never seen anything big. The education level of rural women is inherently low, and they cannot understand compensation and resettlement policy, not to mention the project management of the resettlement site. The members of the council are to do things. We are not excluding women, the key is to see their ability. (Interview with YCS, a resettlement council member of Group 2, Q village, 2017)

Due to the uneven distribution of educational resources between men and women in rural areas, the education level of migrant women is not as high as that of men. Coupled with the fact that women in Q village are mainly engaged in domestic work and rarely go out to work, the limited ability of migrant women was regarded by the council as the main barrier for inclusion. Another important factor affecting the composition of the council is the "acquaintance society" (Fei, 1948) network, as pointed out by a research participant:

> The Yu family is a big family in our village. They have a lot of family members. The number of votes of their own family adds up a lot. They are usually good people, and some villagers who are not in their family also choose them. (Interview with HJ, the director of Q village, 2017)

Q village appears to be a traditional acquaintance society; the selection of the migration council is thus based on blood relations, sentiment, and geography. Most of the council members came from the big family in Q village and included people who had lived there for a long time or had a strong reputation and professional skills. All these factors contributed to the fact that there was only one female member representing the whole village on the council, and that migrant women were rather powerless and marginalized.

Reservoir migrants' rights to expression were mainly reflected in the formal and informal meetings on land acquisition compensation. Formal meetings included villagers' autonomous representative conference, party members' meetings, and resettlement council meetings that involved decision-making on important matters. The informal meetings were organized mainly to collect and exchange opinions of villagers. Due to the minimal representation of migrant women on the committees, parties, and migration councils, the proportion of migrant women participating in formal meetings was significantly lower than that of men. The majority principle, i.e., "two-thirds of the members agree and pass," fully protected the interests of men in the formal meetings. Migrant women had the opportunity to speak because the regulations stipulate a certain number of women can speak in formal meetings, but this was not encouraged or emphasized; rather, it was simply adhered to as a formality or obligation. The chances of women's opinions being heard or adopted in decision-making were quite low, as one participant expressed:

> I spoke at each meeting and talked about my thoughts. In fact, I can only say that I participated symbolically. The ideas I proposed were rarely adopted. They [men] had the final say. (Interview with LQP, a female village representative, 2017)

Moreover, any opposition or counter opinions put forward by women would cause dissatisfaction among the men in the meetings. In this village that values "face" and "men's respect," the women's group slowly "lost voice" in the meetings.

Finally, the current influence of "husband's power" in China's rural areas presents a "hollowing out" trend as men go out to work, and the nature of rural families and gender relations have undergone significant qualitative changes. The pattern of two generations of matriarchs (mother-in-law and daughter-in-law) residing in the same family is becoming commonplace (Li, 2016). The resolution of family affairs during the land acquisition compensation process reflects the gender difference in decision-making power of migrants: daily affairs are mainly controlled by women while major affairs are dominated by men. Migration activities caused by reservoir construction have changed original gender roles and gender division of labor. Before the construction of the reservoir, agricultural production was jointly handled by men and women in large farmland areas. Production of goods as well as management of social and political activities was mainly completed by men, while family production was mainly performed by women. After reservoir construction, the greatly reduced area of adjusted land caused a reduction of labor required for agricultural production. This resulted in an increased number of migrant men working outside and the gradual emergence of the trend of "agricultural feminization." A new gender division of labor—i.e., "male worker and female farmer"—has emerged, and migrant women left at home while their husbands go out to work have gained more decision-making power over daily affairs at home. One migrant woman's explanation is shared below:

> There used to be a lot of farmland in our family. We worked together during the busy season. In the spare time, he [my husband] went out to do odd jobs and I stayed home to do housework. Now there is less farmland, basically I do the farm work by myself. He has been working outside the whole year round and doesn't come home a lot. I also go to meetings in the village; the village chief will call him to tell him about important things. I usually call the shots at home when he is absent. (Interview with LZH, a migrant woman of Q village, 2017)

Major matters for family consideration in the process of compensation for land acquisition mainly involved land, housing, investment loans, etc. The decision-making power of migrant women regarding two major issues (i.e., compensation and new housing) was almost nominal. In terms of investment, wealthy families had surplus funds after the construction of resettlement houses, and how to use the surplus funds was entirely determined by the men. On the surface, migrant women exercised the power to make "secondary decisions" regarding daily household expenses after the men had decided on the main purpose of the funds. One woman said,

> He [my husband] gives me a sum of money at intervals, which is usually used for daily living expenses, which is scattered. I calculate it when I spend it. The things that cost a lot of money must be discussed by the two of us. After all, we are not rich

and can't afford to waste money. But in the end, he still has to decide, and I believe him. (Interview with migrant woman ZY of Q village, 2017)

Men made decisions about whether the land acquired by the family was to be cultivated by the family themselves or by acquaintances free of charge, or leased or transferred; they also signed the final contracts as heads of household.

On the other hand, men's decision-making power in family affairs has been declining while women's decision-making power regarding such matters has been increasing, with their opinions gaining more importance in both urban and rural areas. In urban areas, husband and wife almost share the dominant position within the family, maintaining a relatively equal relationship (Wang, 2013). However, men's decision-making power in major family matters is still more pronounced than women's, with men exercising signing authority over land acquisition compensation and house demolition agreements. Men are generally reluctant to allow women to deal with major issues because they are perceived as incompetent in these areas. Moreover, women's signatures are usually not recognized by village cadres and staff of migration institutions because they require the consent and signature of heads of household— traditionally, men.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study explores gender gaps in land acquisition compensation processes for reservoir migrants in Q village across the dimensions of rules (policies and regulations), resource access (restorative and developmental), and power (leadership, freedom of expression, and decision-making). The local formal regulations of W reservoir and the village rules of Q village show gender gaps in the formulation of resettlement plans, identification of migrant population, and compensation contents. Men are in charge of creating informal local rules where women's perspectives are missing or marginal. The population identification plan for compensation and resettlement ignored the rights and interests of some female groups, especially virilocal women. The *hukou* system represents a male-oriented rule that plays a decisive role in distribution of resources such as curtilages. Local discourses such as village regulations and customary laws have also caused imbalanced land rights for migrant men and women.

Regarding the allocation of land acquisition compensation resources, at the policy level, male and female migrants enjoy equal rights and interests in funding compensation, production land allocation, and curtilage allocation. However, at the implementation level, migrant women's rights are not honored due to the *hukou* system. Virilocal, divorced, and widowed women suffered different degrees of loss in terms of capital compensation. Additionally, virilocal and divorced women of non-migrant population status permanently lost their land during the reservoir construction period.

As regards power allocation, gender gaps exist in the leadership system of Q village in terms of men and women's rights to speak and make decisions about village affairs as well as important family issues. Migrant men dominate on village committees and migration councils, while migrant women face difficulty reaching the core of power. The voices of migrant women at village meetings simply fulfilled formal requirements without influencing decisions much. The new phenomenon of "feminization of agriculture" brought

about by the land acquisition system and the idea of "male outside, female inside" have jointly promoted the pattern of "migrant women in charge of daily affairs and migrant men in charge of major affairs" within the family.

Gender gaps in various dimensions of reservoir migrants' life are the result of a combination of internal and external factors. These factors include a lack of gender perspectives in formulation of regulations and policies, inadequate implementation of policies, the role of the rural collective land ownership and use system, village regulations and civil laws, the profound influence of traditional preferences for sons, the social custom of virilocal residence, and many more (Zhang, 2011). Rural land contract management is based on the unit of the family, and there is no basis for regulating individual interests. Generally speaking, marriage does not change male collective membership (except for matrilocal residence), whereas the marriage model of virilocal residence causes women to migrate, leading to change in their land rights and interests. Therefore, unlike men, rural women's land rights are often lost during changes in marital relationship. Virilocal women, agricultural women married to non-agricultural men, divorced women, widowed women, and matrilocal women are most vulnerable to infringement of their land rights. These rights apply to land contract management, allocation of land acquisition compensation, use of curtilage, land share dividends, and distribution of other collective economic organization benefits. The family, the village collective, and the local government together constitute the agents of infringement.

On the other hand, traditional gender roles assert continuous influence in the history of human development and evolution (Qin, 2019), and gender inequality is rooted in traditional culture and gender norms (Jayachandran, 2015). The concept of gender roles bred by ancient agricultural production methods still exists and significantly affects current gender inequality in the labor field (Alesina, Giuliano, & Numm, 2013; Hansen, Jensen, & Skovsgaard, 2015). As a country and culture with thousands of years of agricultural civilization and Confucian tradition, Chinese patriarchal culture has a profound impact on gender inequality. Gender discourses in Chinese society, however, have undergone significant transformation due to the current market and institutional changes (Wu, 2009). The continuation and reconstruction as well as deconstruction of the patriarchal family structure is a result of the interactions of multiple forces: institutional constraints, market dominance, and the need for patriarchy to continue (Jin, 2010). Official discourses that "every man and woman is the same" and "women can dominate the half sky" gradually lose institutional ground. Under the expansion of market and media, the concept of gender roles, especially social division of labor, have blended with traditional trends. Traditional ideas such as "male outside, female inside" and "married daughter is splashed water" still prevail in closed, economically backward rural areas. Men already have more rights while women's existing political and land rights are transferred to men.

In response to the above gender discrimination, the academic community has proposed some measures to protect rural women's land rights. Firstly, adjustments to laws and regulations need to adhere to the value and principle of gender equality (King, 2002). Secondly, village regulations need to be revised so that cultural changes are synchronized with institutional innovation. People, party committees, governments, and gender experts

must cooperate to achieve gender equality (Li, 2012). Finally, agricultural and rural capacity-building initiatives should incorporate gender equality and equalize gender rights consciously (Wang & Li, 2013). These suggestions are applicable but not limited to reservoir migrants. We believe that compared with ordinary rural women, women subjected to reservoir resettlement and involuntary migrants have their own characteristic and unique needs; therefore, protection measures for their land acquisition compensation rights should not be too general. The following two specific suggestions are therefore advanced:

To create an equal gender environment, factors unconducive to the enjoyment of rights and interests of migrant women in resettlement area should be eliminated through multi-party cooperation. First of all, a reservoir resettlement policy system informed by gender perspectives need to be built. Relevant regulations and policies for reservoir migrants should be revised and improved. Obvious male prejudices and gender blindness are to be avoided, and men and women's rights to enjoy equal status must be ensured at the policy level. Secondly, publicity and education about gender equality need to be strengthened in the entire reservoir area to influence public perception of women's positioning at the ideological and consciousness levels. Next, reservoir resettlement staff will be trained in gender-consciousness and awareness of women's equal rights and interests at each stage of reservoir resettlement. The Women's Federation should receive full authority to lead, organize, unite, and aid female migrants. Lastly, complaint channels for migrant women should be set up with an accountability system to improve the efficiency of resolving complaints.

At another level, targeted efforts should be made to reduce the vulnerability of reservoir migrant women and improve their capacity. First, the independent "individual" status of migrant women needs to be changed to avoid damage to their capital compensation, production land, and curtilages caused by the *hukou* system. Secondly, increased levels of resources such as continuing education and skills training opportunities should be invested in for the development of human capital among migrant women. Migrant women must participate in activities throughout the resettlement process and exercise certain leadership and expression rights in those activities. Finally, income sources for migrant women need to be increased, with their agricultural planting capacity strengthened and maximum agricultural income ensured. At the same time, enterprises with high demand for female workers should be introduced in resettlement areas, and companies should be encouraged to hire female employees to create more employment and income-earning opportunities for female migrants.

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ZHU XIUJIE

The Role of the All China Women's Federation in China

Abstract: The All China Women's Federation (ACWF) has established a systematic organizational method from the central to the local level and has long been supported by the Communist Party and the government in terms of staffing and financing. As a mass organization, the ACWF represents women's federations (WFs) at all levels, protects women's interests, and promotes women's development. It constitutes a bridge between the Communist Party, the government, and women. WFs have played an important role in promoting women's participation in the construction of the New China as well as its production, reform, and growth. They also have contributed to the advancement of women's status in the country. Due to the expansion and complexity of women's issues and the diversification of women's groups and their needs, the forms, functions, and roles of WFs are also going through a process of change and transformation. Based on the existing research, this article reviews the development of the ACWF's role from the perspectives of rural and urban women and their rights and interests.

As a mass organization, the All China Women's Federation (ACWF) represents women's interests, promotes their development, and plays the role of a bridge linking the Communist Party, the government, and the female citizens in the country. Since its founding in 1949, the ACWF has been leading women to play an important role as Half the Sky in the revolution, construction, and reform undertaken under the strong leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC). This article mainly reviews the growth and development history of the ACWF and describes its role in representing women's work and experience. It will provide a reference point for understanding the organization's part in women's development in China, especially within the new social and political climate.

The Establishment of the All China Women's Federation and the New Beginning of Women's Work

In order to meet the needs of the successful development of the national revolution and the women's movement, the First National Congress of Chinese Women was held in Peiping from March 24 to April 3, 1949. The Congress summed up the great role of Chinese women under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression (1931-1945) and the War of Chinese Liberation. It worked as a platform to exchange experiences related to women's work in various localities, and to formulate the principles and tasks of the Chinese women's movement. The Congress decided to establish the All-China Democratic Women's Federation (ACDWF) and adopted the Constitution of the ACDWF, which stipulated its purposes as the following: (i) to unite women at all levels, (ii) to strive to abolish all feudal traditions and customs

against women, (iii) to protect the rights and interests of women and the welfare of children, and (iv) to actively organize women to participate in various construction undertakings to help achieve equality between men and women.

The ACDWF assumed the National Women's Congress as the supreme organ of power, and the Executive Committee (EC) as the body to represent that power between sessions of the Congress. It elected and formed a Standing Committee to implement the resolutions of EC meetings and handle the daily business of these meetings. The Standing Committee consisted of spokespersons from the Organization Department, the Ministry of Publicity, the Ministry of Production, the Ministry of Women and Children's Welfare, the Kuomintang District Work Department, the International Work Department, and the Secretariat.

The practical experience of women's activities in this period showed that the development of women's organizing must focus on the central task of serving the interests and situations of all women, and such a realization has been the vital force of women's federations for a long time. The development of women's work must have a solid and profound organizational foundation and a high-quality and energetic team of WFs as well as sufficient mobilization and appeal. Women's work must be rationally carried out in accordance with urban, rural, and regional characteristics to meet the needs of women and provide targeted services and aid. Such work has not only learned from the experience of the international women's movement, but has also raised and learned from the voices of Chinese women.An Historical Review of the Promotion of Rural Women's Work by the Women's Federation is presented below.

Mobilizing rural women to fight for the construction of socialism

After founding the People's Republic of China, the Party and the state liberated rural women so they were able to become leaders of the state and society through a series of key measures such as land reform, democratic elections, promulgation and implementation of marriage law, and elimination of illiteracy. WFs organized women to participate in agricultural production and national construction and become an important force in socialist construction. In June 1950, the *land reform law* was promulgated, and women's federations adhered to the principle of "men and women jointly launch" to mobilize women to participate in land reform. In the same year, the *marriage law* was promulgated to publicize the new marriage system establishing freedom of marriage with monogamy and equality between men and women and opposing arranged marriage. Rural women gained the rights to marriage autonomy and equal status with men in marriage and family. The *electoral law* of 1953 mobilized rural women to participate in general elections. A large number of small-scale WFs were set up in rural areas, a process which decentralized women's literacy classes and empowered women's groups to carry out cultural education for rural women and improve their quality, awareness, ability, and confidence to rebuild the country.

Mobilizing rural women to engage in agricultural production

The First Women's Congress established the new concept of "labor glory" and the strategy of "organizing qualified women to work on the production front." WFs embraced

the issues of labor and production as the central features of rural women's work and demanded that the vast number of rural women change their old ideas and stop feeling ashamed of labor. In the meanwhile, WFs fully equipped rural women to participate in agricultural and sideline production by launching patriotic and productive campaigns and agricultural production competitions and by organizing and selecting rural women's agricultural labor models. As a result of increasing agricultural production in the whole country, the magnitude and scope of rural women's participation in agricultural production have reached unprecedented levels.

Promoting policy implementation to protect the rights and interests of rural women

After the land reform had taken place, rural women joined agricultural cooperatives with the provision of land shares. They participated in agricultural labor and were paid for their work in the form of grading and remuneration. The central government formulated policies to protect the economic interests of these women and stipulated very clearly that equal pay for equal work should be implemented unconditionally among men and women. Local WFs made every effort to implement the policy and ensure equal pay for equal work by both men and women. They also paid attention to the inequality between men and women in the distribution of agricultural labor income and earnestly safeguarded women's labor and economic rights. At the same time, WFs worked hard to improve the protection of rural women's labor. In 1961, after much investigation and research, the ACWF pointed out that it was necessary to recognize the division of labor between men and women in agricultural production and to arrange women's labor forces rationally. The system of labor protection for rural women has gradually been formed since then. General participation of women in production in rural areas created new difficulties including lack of childcare, which was urgently needed. In response, various forms of childcare have been developed for the mutual benefit of individuals and organizations in rural areas, largely through the efforts of WFs. Rural women's participation in agricultural labor was thus facilitated and guaranteed.

Leading rural women's role as half the sky in the reform and expansion of socialist modernization

After the third plenary session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, various reform practices within the Party created unprecedented opportunities for rural women's development. WFs launched in-depth and ongoing economic activities such as "double-learning and double-comparison" that encouraged women to devote themselves to agricultural production and rural construction in order to improve the quality of their lives. Such activities also encouraged women to push for major reforms and socialist modernization within the Party. Since the mid-1980s, WFs have taken many important steps to help women in poverty-stricken areas get out of poverty. Local WFs have established poverty alleviation centers and household affiliation systems to explore innovative poverty alleviation models such as mutual poverty alleviation assistance. Public welfare assistance projects such as the "Happiness Project" and "Mother's Water Cellar" have been implemented, and small guaranteed loans for women have been launched to help women living in poverty. During the 1980s, the ACWF undertook the fundamental task of improving rural women's quality of life by training them to work and use their talents in the field of modern agriculture. In 1988, the Sixth

National Congress of Chinese Women issued a call to all women, including those in rural areas, to better their circumstances in an all-round way—to become new women through cultivating self-esteem, self-confidence, self-reliance, and self-improvement—and thus enhance their competitiveness in the reform. Furthermore, efforts have been made to solve the major problems restricting these women's development, such as the registration and certification of rights to land contracting in rural areas to safeguard women's rights and interests. Examples of other such efforts include encouraging women's participation in the practice of villagers' autonomy, expanding the scope of screenings for cervical and breast cancers, and caring for marginalized and left-behind women and children in rural areas.

An Historical Review of WFs' Role in Promoting Urban Women's Work

In order to achieve economic reconstruction, ensure social stability, and support women's development, the ACWF has remained committed to improving the quality of urban women's lives, promoting their employment and entrepreneurship opportunities, and solving the contradiction between employment and family responsibilities to effectively guarantee and safeguard the rights and interests of female workers.

Organizing urban women's participation in national economic recovery and industrialization

Promoting urban women's participation in paid work was achieved in two phases. During the first phase (1950s–1980s), urban women were organized to actively take part in productive labor for the restoration and development of the national economy. WFs established various types of projects and production cooperatives to organize urban housewives to actively carry out handicrafts production. Thus, they promoted the recovery of urban economy and solved the employment problem of urban women. During the second phase (1990s onwards), through launching the female meritorious service activity, the ACWF has been encouraging women to compete with men in terms of achievements and contributions towards the country's economic and social development, and to strive for excellence and success in their jobs and professions. Over the past 20 years, in response to the reform of the urban economic system and the requirements of women's development, the female meritorious service activity has been adjusted and enhanced constantly. As the problem of female workers being laid off and unemployed became more and more serious, helping urban women to find jobs and start their own businesses has gradually become the main objective of the female meritorious service activity. Since 1995, the ACWF has established information and guidance centers for women's employment as well as re-employment training bases throughout the country.

Promoting women's work in cities and resolving the contradiction between productive and reproductive work

Since the founding time of the People's Republic of China, urban women have stepped out of their familial households and participated in outside work. The contradiction between employment and housework became prominent as a result. Concerns over childcare mainly kept urban housewives away from outside employment; therefore, WFs promoted the development of childcare centers and kindergartens in various neighborhoods in the cities. With the reform and expansion of economic activities, the need for infant nurseries in cities became very prominent. The ACWF has actively

carried out nursery work and promoted the development of nursery organizations through various channels at the state, collective, and individual levels, and advocated the restoration and establishment of nursing rooms, nurseries, and kindergartens by government organizations, military units, schools, and industrial and mining enterprises.

Safeguarding urban women's right to development

Childbearing responsibilities have always constituted a significant barrier to women's employment. Since the mid-1980s, with the deepening of enterprise reforms, childbearing has become the main reason for some enterprises to reduce and refuse recruitment of women or to lay off female workers. This has seriously damaged women's rights and interests when it comes to participating equally in paid employment. Having completed in-depth research and discussion, the ACWF pioneered the pilot project of social pooling of women's maternity expenses, proposed the formulation of social pooling measures for female workers' maternity funds, and promoted the establishment of a reproductive social security system. All these measures and steps culminated in the promulgation of the *trial measures of enterprise workers' maternity insurance* in 1994.

Expanding the coverage of urban women's work

After the New China had been founded, urban women—including retired female workers and housewives—practiced housework as their main job. Urban women's federations at the grassroots level mainly set up women's congresses within the jurisdictions of police stations. With the establishment of neighborhood committees, women's organizations were set up in various neighborhoods and communities, and since the economic reform and expansion, urban women have been widely employed. Professional women now make up a major force of female urban employees. In view of continuous changes in the employment sector, living patterns, and lifestyles of women, WFs have actively explored and promoted building women's organizations in new fields, new forms of business, new social strata, and new groups, and have thus expanded the scope of women's work in urban areas.

Establishing women's colleges and vocational schools to train women's talents

To increase the number and proportion of women at decision-making and management levels, WFs actively promoted education, training, and selection of female cadres. In the late 1990s, the ACWF implemented the "women's quality project" to help female workers improve their competitiveness for professional positions and increase their participation in the fields of scientific and technological innovation. Since 2009, the ACWF has continued to promote the improvement and implementation of policies for the development of high-level female talents. It has also increased the retirement age of female cadres at or above the department level, which could now be delayed to 60 years.

Protecting and realizing the legitimate rights and interests of urban women

WFs have been earnestly performing the duties involved in safeguarding women's legitimate rights and interests to address gender discrimination in employment. They have been paying attention to the formulation of policies at the source and the introduction of relevant laws and policies conducive to the development of urban women. Examples of such initiatives include the *law on the protection of women's rights and interests*, the

provisions on the protection of female workers, the *law on employment promotion*, and the *labor contract law*. Since the implementation of the universal two-child policy, women's equality in employment has been confronted with new challenges. The ACWF has taken active measures to address these challenges. For example, the ACWF urged nine departments including the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security to issue the *notice on further standardizing recruitment practices to promote women's employment* in February 2019 with a view to addressing gender discrimination in employment.

The Role of the ACWF in Safeguarding Women's Rights and Interests

The ACWF has effectively performed the basic functions of defining women's rights protection work accurately, representing and safeguarding women's rights and interests, and promoting equality between men and women. Parallel to the country's efforts to improve the rule of law, remarkable progress has been made in safeguarding and serving women's rights in accordance with the law.

Focusing on the protection of rights at the source and ensuring more women can benefit from legal policies

Over the past 70 years, by consistently incorporating rights protection work into legislation, law enforcement, judicial work, and the popularization of law, the ACWF has worked to promote gender equality in the formulation and implementation of laws and policies. The ACWF participated in the formulation and revision of the fundamental law of the country and ensure that the principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Constitution. Especially since the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the ACWF has closely followed the national legislative process and has actively promoted the improvement of the legal system for protecting the rights and interests of women and children. By participating in the formulation and revision of more than 100 laws, regulations, and policies and submitting more than 300 proposals, the ACWF has played an important role in the promulgation of laws, regulations, and policies concerning the vital interests of women and children.

Formulation and revision of the "law on the protection of women's rights and interests"

The ACWF was entrusted by the legislature to draft the *law on the protection of women's rights and interests* in 1992, and to amend it in 2005. As the first specialized, comprehensive law protecting women's rights and welfare in China, this law and its amendments clearly state in legal form that "equality between men and women is the basic state policy," strengthening the principal position of the government in law enforcement.

Participation in the formulation and revision of laws and regulations concerning women's rights and interests

The ACWF drafted or participated in drafting laws and regulations along with amendments closely related to women's rights and welfare, such as the *marriage law* and its amendments, the *anti-domestic violence law*, the *female workers' labor protection provisions*, and so on. As an entrusted women's rights agency, the ACWF undertook the main task of drafting the *anti-domestic violence law*. It organized many field investigations and discussion forums over a period of three years and provided the government with

hundreds of thousands of words' worth of research reports on anti-domestic violence legislation. The ACWF made important contributions to the promulgation of the *anti-domestic violence law* by including the mandatory reporting system and the habeas corpus protection order system in the law. It also took the initiative to make suggestions regarding the formulation and revision of laws controlling inheritance, land contracts and property, labor contracts and employment promotion, and criminal and other laws and regulations ensuring women's rights and welfare. In addition, the ACWF has actively promoted local legislation protecting women's rights. For example, 31 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities have formulated and revised measures for the implementation of the *law on the protection of women's rights and interests*, while 28 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities have enacted local regulations preventing and stopping domestic violence, and some have enacted laws and regulations on gender equality in consultation with the ACWF.

Participation in the enforcement and inspection of laws concerning the protection of women's rights and interests

The ACWF has participated in several inspections of the implementation process of the *law on the protection of women's rights and interests*; it has also discovered and analyzed existing problems and barriers regarding its enforcement and put forward specific counter-measures and suggestions for proper implementation. Working together with other government departments, the ACWF has established coordination mechanisms, jointly issued documents for law enforcement deployment, and initiated cooperative law enforcement mechanisms. For example, in 2002, the general office of the ACWF and the general office of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security jointly issued the *notice on the employment of legal supervisors of labor and social security in the women's association system*. This stipulates that administrative departments of labor and social security at or above the county level should employ women's federation personnel at the same level to engage in the work of safeguarding women's rights and supervising the implementation of labor and social security laws.

Establishing a standardized mechanism for safeguarding women's rights

To educate women about the legal system and provide them with legal assistance, the ACWF established a Legal Advisory Office in July 1983. In the second half of the same year, the Women's Rights and Interests Department was established along the lines of the Legal Advisory Office. It was developed as a functional department responsible for the protection and oversight of women's rights and issues. In November 2001, in order to coordinate the communications and activities among the different departments to jointly protect and solve major issues related to the infringement of women's and children's rights and interests, the ACWF led the establishment of a National Coordination Group composed of 17 ministries and commissions. In 2005, the ACWF set up a legal aid center and created public service hotlines and anti-domestic violence hotlines across the country for the protection of women's rights. To guarantee the effective implementation of basic national policies on gender equality, the ACWF has actively aided various localities in exploring the establishment of an evaluation mechanism to reflect gender equality in laws and policies. By the end of 2018, such a mechanism was being established in 30 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities across the country, and the advisory recommendations from

many local evaluation committees had been adopted and successfully incorporated into local regulations and policies.

In conclusion, the ACWF is a mass organization that serves the masses, serving as a bridge between the Party, the government, and women. As has been shown, women's federations have long played an important role in protecting women's status and enhancing women's participation in production, economic reform and expansion, and in the construction of the New China.

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NOTES FROM THE WORKSHOP SESSIONS

June 1st 2019 Saturday
Simon Fraser University, Vancouver Campus

- **Session I: Gender and Diversity**
  Facilitator: Rebecca Yoshizawa, GSWS Sessional Lecturer, Simon Fraser University

- **Session II: Genders and Sexuality**
  Facilitator: Habiba Zaman, GSWS Professor, Simon Fraser University

- **Session III: Gender and Society**
  Facilitator: Chen Shaojun, Professor, Hohai University

- **Session IV: Gender Lens in International Development Projects**
  Facilitator: Sanzida Habib, Research Associate, CISAR, University of British Columbia

SESSION I: GENDER AND DIVERSITY

Facilitator: Rebecca Yoshizawa
Notetakers: Sanzida Habib and Parboti Roy[7]

Reema Faris, GSWS PhD Student, Simon Fraser University
"It's a Fact! Or is it? The Turbulence of Gender"

Reema Faris' exploration of the turbulence and debate around gender started when she became a mother. She began her presentation by clarifying its objective, which was to share her perspective and encourage audience participation in a dialogue about the complex issues and meanings around gender. She said she came to realize how much is invested in communicating about gender when she was about to share photos of her child; she thought that because the baby was covered with a blue blanket, people would automatically assume it was a boy. The child was only six months old and had no idea about gender—how it is perceived or understood, and how people establish and react to different gender norms. She became more self-aware by examining and applying the idea of gender as a socially constructed concept to analyze and understand the cultural phenomenon of acting and reacting to others based on our/their biology.

In 2016, Reema began to study the relationships and debates around biology and gender more seriously in a university setting. She quickly became interested in the trend of the celebrity gender-reveal party. Celebrities tend to influence, inform, and set standards for the rest of the world, and how they tackle the issue of gender at the prenatal stage is no exception. Reema started researching what celebrities do when they become pregnant and want to reveal the gender of their baby to the world before giving birth: "It's a boy!" or "It's a girl!" To help explain the concept further, Reema shared a short YouTube clip with the audience.

The gender reveal can be a special moment of celebration for a woman expecting a child. Also fascinating is the media's response and role in portraying gender at the pre-natal stage. A positive aspect of all these gender-reveal party videos is that the announcements are celebrated equally whether it is a boy or girl, with an equal amount of drama and extravagance. Problematically, however, they also celebrate and normalize the gender binary and heterosexuality, which are in fact social constructions. They continue to reinforce sexist notions of masculinity and femininity—of biology dictating who we are and who we will be—while no affirmed consensus exists among biologists about the role of biology in determining gender roles. Through such essentialist biological and binary constructions of boy and girl, these celebrities also endorse and exacerbate capitalism and consumerism. For example, Jessica Alba promoted her own company and brands via such parties. These celebrities and their parties thus reassert patriarchal social norms and heteronormativity.

[7] Sanzida Habib is a Research Associate and Parboti Roy is a PhD (Department of Asian Studies) at the University of British Columbia.

Reema shared her research on gender, which numerous experts have claimed is a socially created binary system. Sterling's work on the different possible combinations of chromosomes alludes to nearly infinite complexities and variations in human sex and gender. Neurologists have examined brain functions to understand people's perception and behavior around gender norms. Gina Rippon has shown that the brain is flexible and changes over time; our brain actually reads life as it is lived. The human brain seems to be capable of adjusting to different situations or norms, and thus there is no clear scientific basis for a biologically determined gender binary. Where, then, do the notions of gender and gender norms come from? Obviously, they come from society; gender is a performance, a power relation, and an ideology. Referring to Susan Griffin's (1982) work "The Way of All Ideology," Reema pointed out that even when we try to break the gender binary, we still are talking about gender. Thus, gender as an ideology is problematic. Julia Serano has argued that gender has multiple meanings. The gender binary creates inequality because it is hierarchical. If a person cannot fit into this or that category, it is not the fault of the person; rather, it is the flawed system. Gender is like a prison where those who do not conform are rendered deviant.

Question & Answer Session

Q: My question is about the issue of naming a child. Should we consider gender-neutral names?

A: I don't think it really works that way. It is okay if you choose particular names that are gender neutral, but if we ask that you must have a gender-neutral name, that doesn't really promote choice or freedom, or even promote gender fluidity, and I'm not sure how we can reach there.

Q: Why the title "The Turbulence of Gender"? Is this a metaphor? If so, could you explain the metaphor a bit more?

A: I just took the word "turbulence" as an English word basically to mean trouble; it can be compared with the turbulence in the plane. But it can be used as a metaphor. If we look at the basic idea of gender, the objective is to categorize. But it's a much more complicated notion. We need categories because there is a lot of uncertainty associated with this concept that lead to confusion. But gender is not that clear-cut category—there is no A or B; it's not that simple and we need to accept the complexity, and it creates turbulence. But we can't control it. Certainty is not possible. Most of the world is out of our control.

Q: Oftentimes, in certain cultures, naming a child is actually part of an ideology; not a gender ideology, but some other ideologies. Do you have any thoughts on that?

A: Yes, it is. There are many cultural practices and cultural connotations of particular names. It is inscribed into our culture more deeply in the society. A lot of thought goes into giving a meaningful name. A lot of expectations and characteristics are imposed on the child. It is a complicated one.

Q: Celebration of a sex revealing party is a problematic one. But in the case of the conflation of sexes, how do you think the tension is expressed for an intersex child? How does the existence of intersex people fit the idea of the gender binary, or does it complicate the gender reveal?

A: The book by Gina refers to the gender conflation. Conflation happens all the time. Intersex- transgender issues exist, but the gender binary is so strong that the idea of

intersex becomes a fallacy for the gender reveal party. I don't know why people emphasize this. This strong ideology does not open up any space for questions related to the gender binary.

Q: Transgender people have raised the issue of gender rights. Transgender perspectives have also problematized the concept of the gender binary. Trans people can stay in the middle of the gender binary framework. Have you raised the issue of transgender identity in your work?

A: There is a term called "reactionary." There's always some revolution; a stream of change is happening, and people advocate change, then people try to stop those changes. My work is not really reflecting this issue. In the sex/gender-reveal party, the biology of a child is revealed. Why don't the celebrities pose the question, take the time to think? The fascinating fact is that criticizing these celebrities can have a huge effect, and the effect is amplified. Why don't they take a position to promote the idea of fairness, to tell people that it is complicated to reveal the [baby's] gender? Why don't they support people to become who they are instead of fitting the binary? Questioning of the embedded notions is very important. I support LGBTQ+ people and their cause. The idea of fairness is important in this regard. However, they are complicit in maintaining binaries.

Q: When did the celebrity gender-reveal party start? Do you have any idea?

A: I'm not very sure, but probably in recent times with the advent and advancement of technology and media as well. It's supposed to have a relation with the wide use of ultrasonography.

June Scudeler, FNST/GSWS Assistant Professor, Simon Fraser University
"Gender and Sexuality: Indigenous Ways of Knowing"

June Scudeler welcomed everyone including the delegates from China in Meitei language. She thanked the organizers and acknowledged the event's presence on Indigenous land. She also mentioned that her maternal ancestors came from Italy. As a research scholar, she promotes "Indigenous ways of knowing," Indigenous literary texts, Indigenous sovereignty, and Meitei ways of encompassing epistemologies, histories, and culture instead of using Western epistemology. She mentioned that the Trans-Mountain pipeline will be dangerous and will impact the life of peoples, especially Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh people, as well as Simon Fraser University.

June pointed out that "Two-Spirit" is an Indigenous term. This term was created by Indigenous peoples to describe those special individuals who do not adhere to or fit into the gender binary. It is different from the Western notion of LGBTQ+ and the way Westerners tend to define those terms. There are many terms used by distinctive Indigenous nations in North America to describe being "Two-Spirit." Different nations have different and very specific terms to denote all aspects of different gender identities. For Indigenous peoples, it is often not about "coming out" but rather coming "in" to the community.

June mentioned that Alex Wilson, a member of Swampy Cree Nation and a professor at the University of Saskatchewan, has written about Two-Spirit people and their body sovereignty and self-determination. She also highly recommended a book by Joshua

Whitehead, who coined the term 'Indiqueer' (formerly Indigiqueer), and who says his sexual identity is a braiding of two worlds: sexuality and community. It is a more radical approach for Indiqueer people, and a very urban-based Indigenous term. It also values the ethics and principle of non-interference. People can identify themselves as who they want to be as long as they do not harm others in the community.

Another Indigenous artist, Swampy Cree painter Kent Monkman, introduced Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, his alter ego, in his painting "The Daddies" (2016). He portrayed this figure posing nude in front of the "Fathers of Confederation," a remake of the Robert Harris painting. The original Fathers of Confederation portrays 63 men including Mr. Macdonald, representing Canada—it is a colonial picture boasting white supremacy. In his own version, Monkman created a parody of the original scene, ridiculing those white colonizers by presenting a nude Miss Chief Eagle (representing a gay subculture) in front of them. However, he left the final interpretation to the viewers. He has a website: kentmonkman.com.

Question & Answer Session

Q: The fluidity of gender is very clear from the previous to the current presentation. Considering the feature of non-interference in the term "Indiqueer," how did colonization impact this?

A: The Cree language and also other Indigenous languages do not have a gender—there's no he or she. My mind just exploded. The colonizers came with this idea of gender binaries. It is not just a representation or metaphor; it's real actions that change and impact people's life. Colonization has horrendous impacts and interference on Indigenous peoples.

Q: Gender and sex identity is complicated. In China, people often confuse between gender and sex. It is also cultural. I often ask my male colleagues, "What's your thought about the impact of gender on men," but they seem to get offended and avoid such discussion. How do you reveal the difference between gender and sex?

A: It is very difficult to pull apart gender from sex. People also mix up gender with sex and sexuality. For Indigenous peoples, it's very different—who you have sex with is very different from what your gender or sex is. It's the role you are playing. Who you feel you are. It's an Indigenous way of knowing. I like the principle of non-interference. I used Cree ways of knowing in my dissertation. Gender, sex, and sexuality—all are social constructions.

Q: I am from Kenya. I speak Swahili, and there is no he or she in my language either. That's why I mix up he and she a lot while speaking in English. Colonization changed a lot of things. So, the Two-Spirited people—is it only welcomed in Cree nation or is it common across all Indigenous nations?

A: In Cree, Anishinaabe, Ojibwe…Cree and Ojibwe are just two sides of a coin; both have Two-Spirit people. I'm not sure if all other nations have it. There's a Two-Spirited dancer—in Powwow culture, men are allowed to dance as women and vice versa. But because of the impact of colonization, I am not sure how much has remained.

Q: Is there any tension between Indigenous and Indiqeer movements? Has it been reflected in Indigenous or Indiqueer folks' literature?

A: Please read the books by Joshua Whitehead—*Jonny Appleseed* and *Full Metal Indigiqueer*.

Asma Sayed, Faculty, Kwantlen Polytechnic University
"Understanding Gender Justice through the Lens of Cinema"

Asma Sayed began her presentation with an acknowledgement of her presence on Indigenous land. Her research examines the representation of women in cinema and social justice in film (both commercial and documentary), especially in India. She has studied if and how film and other popular culture texts reflect society; the role of popular culture in perpetrating misogyny, masculinity, and rape culture in society; and the role of documentary films in raising awareness about women's rights.

In India, women have held positions as President of a political party and Prime Minister of the country. Yet it remains one of the most dangerous places to be a woman. Rape and violence against women are a regular part of popular culture, including films. Women's rights are a complex issue in India. The women's movement has been led by feminists like Arundhati Roy and Kavita Krishnan. However, one of the most concerning issues is female feticide. A 2011 study published in the *British Journal of Medicine* found an alarming rate of female feticides in India. Women are considered a liability and represented as a commodity to be consumed. Asma is concerned about how the issue of female feticides is related to popular culture's representation of women.

The Indian film industry is huge when measured simply by the sheer volume of films produced by the industry every year. Bollywood also has a tremendous cultural impact on people in India; a huge number of followers and fans worship the film stars. Most films reproduce the objectification and negative stereotyping of women—from "Eve teasing" to hyper-masculinity and heteronormativity. Popular films portray male aggression and violence against women and continue to proliferate rape culture while promoting virginity and chastity for women. Teenage boys' understanding of masculinity has been heavily influenced by popular cinema. It also shapes the views of society and acceptance of rape culture.

On the other hand, some films, particularly documentaries, have focused on positive images of women and raised issues of women's rights in India. One documentary film, *India's Daughter* by Leslee Udwin, was banned by the Indian government in 2015 after it told the story of how a woman was misled into boarding a private bus and then gang raped on the bus and thrown out on the street. A film by an Indo-Canadian woman, *3 Seconds Divorce*, portrays Muslim women's fight against state legislation and Islamic Sharia law that allows men to divorce their wives simply by uttering "talaq" or "divorce" three times; women are working to force the Indian government to change this unjust and disempowering law. In short, the Indian film industry is slowly waking up to create social change. The industry is also a part of capitalist culture, so it is hard to raise awareness and social consciousness; still, it is moving toward breaking the mold gradually.

Question & Answer Session

Q: I was wondering if you've followed a particular timeline. The films you've examined—do they represent any particular time period, or when were those made? I'm asking because I've noticed some changes in contemporary cinema.

A: Yes, since the 1970s and onward, the first shift became visible; films were now being made for the diaspora audience. Then in the 1990s, there came another shift and liberalization promoting India as an ideal place for women—women being portrayed as virgin mothers and negative stereotypes of vamp women. Yes, gradually change is happening (films like *Pink*, *Talwar*), but not necessarily in the right direction. For example, *Lipstick Under My Burka*—I doubt if it's based on pro-feminist ideas because although it paves a way for sexual liberation, I have trouble with the representation of Muslim men and women; they are objectified in a very Islamophobic way.

Q: These days, Indian cinema doesn't show senior people in dominant roles. People don't want wisdom in films. Do you know about movies that represent grandparents? What are your thoughts?

A: In commercial or mainstream cinema, there are some seniors if there are any older characters. But, yes, your observation is right. Movies celebrate privilege and target the youth. There is not much focus on the older population, and they objectify women. The focus has shifted from showing underprivileged society. Satyajit Roy did, and he is great, but how long do we hang on to the past? It's time for another Satyajit Roy to come.

Q: I don't know if the caste system and political system in India has anything to do in this regard, in representation of violence in cinema. Is this that the cinema really produces or induces violence, or does it just represent the real scenario of violence in society?

A: Socially, women who are marginalized are victims of violence. In the current context, particularly in the last four years, the new hyper-nationalist government just got re-elected. Their attacks on Dalits and minorities have been multifold. Forty lynchings happened in the Dalit, tribal, and Muslim communities. The international community has paid no attention to this. Women's oppression is linked with the violence in cinema. The youth waste time on movies and take this back to their home and perpetrate violence. It is a cyclical thing.

Q: I always think India is full of contradictions. There was no military ruling, but violence has not declined in India. In fact, female feticides have increased. After the national election, out of 55 there were only 6 or 8 women cabinet ministers. I saw a picture of the new ministers and there were only two women. Is it a representation of hyper-masculinity in India? I would like to request you to focus on this issue in films.

A: Yes, I agree with you.

Q: The Bengali film industry is also promoting wisdom and making movies on the older population. Films like *Lipstick Under My Burka* have some problems with depiction of certain population in certain ways, but they also try to promote breaking boundaries. But why do you think there's this mixed message? And how do you think the market plays out?

A: Regional film industry like Bengali is also popular and some good things are happening at local levels. But who has access to regional films? The Hindi film industry has taken over all the other regional or local business. How do we make this regional cinema available for everyone? We can bring them in our classrooms. And some films have good intentions, but unconscious biases come out. Some of the progressive ideas are very limited in the Indian film industry. *Lipstick Under My Burka* may be positive in some ways, but not necessarily notice the representation of Muslim women. More holistic understanding is required.

Q: Female actors in Indian cinema wear revealing clothes in films, and their family members watch those but ask women in their families to wear conservative clothes. Is there a link between these films and increasing rape?

A: There is no concrete research or absolute information about this. There is a need for more research. I mean, in Hindi cinema, romance is basically stalking! Hypothetically, you can say this, but you cannot say films are solely responsible for perpetrating such violence. There are also multiple aspects and there are larger bases.

SESSION II: GENDERS AND SEXUALITY

Facilitator: Habiba Zaman
Notetakers: Jessica Horsnell and Veronica Sudesh[8]

The second session in the International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion tackled two themes that tend to be predominantly left out of the spotlight—genders[9] and sexuality. The session featured two Canadian researchers from Simon Fraser University, as well as one researcher from Hohai University in China. These three researchers covered diverse topics from sexuality and the cityscape, to transgender children, to Myanmar marriage immigrants. People on the margins may find it difficult to voice their struggles and experiences of discrimination, but the speakers of this session provided a medium for these voices. The session was a reminder of the long battle for equity, rights, and social justice that is continually ongoing.

Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, Senior Lecturer, Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies and Urban Studies at Simon Fraser University
"Sexuality and the City (Vancouver): What are the Links?"

Tiffany began her presentation by locating her positionality as a colonial settler and stating her desire for her work to contribute to unlearning and decolonizing. She stressed the importance of a decolonial framework to her research, with an overt focus on whose bodies and voices are counted. She further emphasized how her research aims to highlight sexuality as an important issue historically, presently, and for the future, as well as the connection between sexuality, race, and the colonial nation.

The key argument that Tiffany presented was that sex and sexuality are integral parts of the discussion around the city and urban spaces. To begin, she outlined three main points about the normalization of the cityscape:

1) Cities are capitalist, with capitalist production relying heavily on reproduction.
2) Families who inhabit these cities are often presumed to be heterosexual.
3) Families who inhabit these cities are assumed to be white, and property ownership is brokered through whiteness.

These three arguments are enabled by the city grid and street-naming processes, in that street names were created by colonialist men who were racist toward Indigenous peoples. She cited an example of two colonial administrators—Trutch and Mcdonald—who were known for their racist behaviour towards Indigenous people.

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[8] Jessica Horsnell and Veronica Sudesh are both first year MA students in the Department of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies at Simon Fraser University. While this paper is written mostly as a transcription of the session, the authors acknowledge that transcriptions are not inherently neutral, but rather are affected by their interpretations.

[9] The term "genders" is used to encompass more than simply the gender binary, recognizing that gender is a spectrum that goes beyond male and female.

Tiffany further argued that sexuality is absent from discussions about cityscapes and urban spaces, as "legitimate" or heteronormative sex is often assumed as a capstone to the urban. Based on societal norms, we tend to assume that sexuality can be written and read on the body, but that is not always the case. Thus, this absence is a result of sexuality being assumed and heterosexuality being presumed. There is a complicated, interwoven relationship between gender and sexuality. It is quite difficult to imagine that safety for women can be imagined without a discussion around sexuality first.

Politics abound even in discussions about sexuality and urban spaces, where lesbians may be considered threats to heteropatriarchal society while gay men are seen as more permissible within a civic profile of "tolerance." Tiffany underlined the fact that Pride has become a multi-million-dollar industry where corporations can capitalize off the rainbow flag without being overly concerned with allyship or LGBTQ+ rights.

Tiffany referenced her research in Lethbridge, where inclusion and intersection were her primary framework. Lethbridge had an uneasy relationship with lesbian basketball fans due to the perceived masculinity that comes with being a sports fan; ironically, lesbians made up a large amount of the fanbase but were excluded from visibility as such. However, Tiffany noted that women's professional basketball's appeal to lesbian fans has fractured the notion of the basketball arena as a space exclusively for men.

At first glance, a painted rainbow crosswalk may appear as a demarcation of a welcoming city with a framework of inclusion, but there are limits to cities' willingness to speak to sexuality. Tiffany cited examples of flags being raised at City Hall in a gesture of solidarity, arguing that policy should always be understood as a starting point rather than an end point in changing the reality of homophobia. She mentioned that the City of Vancouver has responded to calls to embrace diverse sexuality by highlighting LGBTQ+ symbols and enacting policy changes. These efforts should be applauded, because in some cities (in Alberta for instance), the agency of LGBTQ+ kids is under threat. Finally, Tiffany argued that same sex rights have a long way to go before we achieve full inclusivity.

Question & Answer Session

June mentioned that the presentation reminded her of the rainbow flag flying in Whitehorse. Tiffany agreed and added that there is a flag flying in Lethbridge too, where she has conducted some of her research. Lethbridge tends to be more of a socially and religiously conservative place, so flying a rainbow or Pride flag can be an important symbolic gesture; yet the gesture is not uncomplicated and does not necessarily fix the problems of homophobia and erasure of the LGBTQ+ community.

Rebecca mentioned her interest in the politics of space. In one of the classes she teaches, she asked her students, "What would happen if cities were designed by mothers?" She was shocked to hear that many of them thought it would make no difference, and she was interested to know Tiffany's thoughts on the matter. She asked Tiffany to give her a language that would help her teach her classes about why it was important to depoliticize planning. Tiffany noted that cityscapes have already been seemingly depoliticized by those

who participate in their planning, in that it is typically older, white, heterosexual men who are the decision-makers. These men make up a group who are not asked to think about how the personal is political, as their identities are not politicized. She argued that there must be a shift toward more inclusiveness in city planning, with engagement in the city form through story. Another audience member added that we must mitigate against the fact that science never encourages us to be creative, drawing links to how rigid the education system is.

Veronica, as a former student of Tiffany, asked her to elaborate more on the methodological process of conducting her research and putting together her presentation. Tiffany emphasized that she has been trained in thinking about voices that have not been included historically. Because of this, she has put thought into how these voices need to be welcomed to the conversation and how there needs to be more work done to make visibility a priority. In recent years, she has learned more about decolonial practice, questioning whose stories she should get to tell. Furthermore, she wanted to create a project in which she could think about the ways she has a responsibility to her research participants, so her research is not purely an extractive, one-sided experience.

An audience member then brought up Women Transforming Cities (WTC), asking if Tiffany knew about their work and what they do. Tiffany answered that she is aware of their work and was, in fact, a part of this committee. She stated that they are an organization that puts an intersectional lens on municipal policy and city planning, as this is work that directly affects women. However, Tiffany argued that sexuality could be put more at the front and centre of the conversation. She mentioned some of the projects they have undertaken, including changing pool accessibility.

To conclude the Q&A session, Habiba expressed her appreciation for Tiffany's presentation. She stated that, through the presentation, she could see that social norms have shifted over the years, but only in major cities and not in smaller places in North America; those who are disadvantaged may not yet have enough voice in small areas. She then asked if, given that norms have shifted further in larger cities, were LGBTQ+ people moving from smaller cities to larger ones? Tiffany mentioned that there is a long list of literature that shows such migration patterns, but that movement over the course of LGBTQ+ folks' entire lives tend to be neglected in the discourse. People may move to larger cities, then later go back to small towns. She cited "Get Me to the Big City," which contains a discussion on these migration patterns. Tiffany noted that she wishes to challenge the notion that big cities are always inclusive, and further, to problematize the binary of the big, inclusive city that never has any hate crimes versus the small, backward town that is full of them. Citing the example of Abbotsford, which is part of Greater Vancouver and the Lower Mainland, Tiffany mentioned religious education that is mandated by the city due to its conservative attitude toward non-conforming sexualities. In essence, the narrative is a lot more complicated and nuanced than the good big city versus the small backward town, and we need to work on changing the way we position the two in a competing binary.

Ann Travers, Professor of Sociology, Simon Fraser University
"Transgender Children on the Margins"

Ann, who has done extensive research and published on the topic of sports and justice, began with a personal anecdote about a time when they were standing in line at a concession stand behind a young queer kid they assumed was a boy. The child called Ann out on the assumption, and the two began to have a conversation. The conversation concluded with Ann feeling as though they had reached across time to tell this young woman that it would be okay, that one day she would go to university and things would get better. Then Ann realized what an elitist assumption that was to make, to assume that university would be in this young woman's future, and that university could solve any problem she might face. The majority of trans and queer children will never go to university and must often hide their identities just to get through life.

Ann then went on to share statements made by transgendered children they spoke to while conducting their research. Wren, aged 7, wished she didn't have to identify with any gender, but made it clear that she did not see trans womanhood in her future. At age 11, Wren reaffirmed that she would one day "change back to a boy," as she is already Black and doesn't want to be trans, too. To make life easier for herself, she has consistently resisted being trans. Hunter, another child Ann has spoken with, announced to his class that he was trans, and the school called his mother to confirm that this was true. Hunter is poor and First Nations, and Ann argued that his announcement that he was trans led to heightened surveillance on his mother. Hunter's mother is a single parent, and within a framework of colonial and systemic racism against First Nations mothers, the idea that these women do not know what is good for their children is pervasive. Such discourses have roots in imperial projects where white men appear as the only reasonable actors. Further, there is a narrative in Western society that children have a lack of knowledge about what is good for them, and when mothers are deemed unfit, surveillance heightens.

The politics of trans children's visibility are complex, though children today face a less complicated transition than they did in the past thanks to the introduction of hormone blockers. Complicating factors include lack of access to healthcare, lack of access to locations with trans-affirming healthcare services, and lack of understanding that children are trans in time for them to receive hormone blockers, especially when they are also racialized. Ann argued there must be a paradigm shift in the medicalization of transgender kids—from corrective to affirming healthcare—but they have few concerns about how this might play out:

1) Racism and poverty intertwine in a way that affects access, and even goes beyond the issue of access.
2) It is often a requirement that parents go to appointments with their children, but what if the children don't have their parents' support?
3) The violent gender binary is a result of colonialism.
4) The hyper-sexualization of BIPOC bodies, such as Black and Latina girls, as argued by Gill Peterson.
5) The universalization of white sex norms.
6) The potential emergence of for-profit gender-affirming markets.

Trans embodiment has become a site of politics, and there has been a shift to support some trans kids, but not others. Identity politics play a large role, where white supremacy and colonialism become reinforced. For many non-binary kids, invisibility is compounded, as most education for trans kids becomes about binary-conforming (i.e., "passing"). In this current neo-liberal context, trans kids are being positioned as proto-citizen consumers in a racialized biomedical market that reflects and exacerbates existing socio-economic divides. Therefore, Ann argued, we need trans-affirming healthcare, as some trans children become victims of medical solutions to social problems. Ann concluded their presentation by emphasizing that we need to challenge white supremacy, colonization, and conformity.

Question & Answer Session

Katie asked Ann to elaborate on the variation in what is currently available for trans children. Ann answered that it used to be impossible to get an ID changed without surgery, but that there is now a growing shift in that area. However, some kids that live outside of a city require transportation to get the right kind of care. They cited one example of a family having to pay for flights and accommodation to receive care; families must also be able to pay for the psychological assessment packaged with receiving care. They mentioned they will elaborate further on these issues in their forthcoming book.

Katie followed up by asking about the availability of such care. Ann noted there is generally care available in urban centres, though not necessarily in every province, and it can be an uncertain venture. Barriers to access are quite real, along with provincial differences in providing coverage for hormone blockers or surgeries. Even finding someone who is educated and skilled enough to provide surgery can be a challenge. In Saskatchewan, for example, it took years before there were any trans-inclusive doctors. However, the trans kids that are the most visible tend to be the ones with the most privilege. These are white, upper/middle-class children, often with a well-educated mother that will go to bat for them. Ann argued that these white mothers hold a lot of power when it comes to bringing change because they are generally regarded as non-threatening and have the ability to organize. These mothers can go into schools and talk about sex education, and schools will often make changes when they are challenged. Meanwhile, Ann argued, mothers of racialized children have more difficulty in doing this. They reminded us that in any environment, there are trans kids, whether they are visible or not. We need to stop explaining children's behaviour based on gender, and there is still a lot of work to be done to disrupt gender binaries.

Rebecca expressed that Ann's presentation brought up a lot of emotions for her. She asked how privilege lets trans kids lead a liveable life, and what capacities for resilience exist within children. As a follow-up, she asked whether privilege is synonymous with resilience. Ann responded first by noting that there is a correspondence between privilege and resiliency, but it does not always have to be there. They had seen a mix of experiences. Some kids will somehow keep going, despite adversary, but Ann stressed that most of the kids who showed resilience had strong parental support. These kids had parents who believed in them and fought for them. However, there are also incredible stories of resistance, such as a 17-year-old trans female who made her own hormones, as she

couldn't get them from anywhere else. Ann noted that kids love making up new terms and said how astonishing it is to see young people creating new languages for gender and sexuality, sometimes utilizing online forums. They explained how they were taught some of this new language by kids, saying there is a sense of incredible resilience in developing new languages.

Ann argued that parental support is the single most important factor for mental health; however, kids can find support elsewhere within chosen families if not within their biological families. Moreover, families who are already dealing with poverty and racism have fewer resources and less cultural capital, which makes it difficult to fight this battle for their children. We must therefore step away from this societal norm and racist notion that white parents are the most supportive. They may have more resources, such as the ability to hire a lawyer or pay for gender-affirming care, but this does not necessarily mean they are more supportive, and there are many impoverished racialized trans kids whose parents supported them. Resilience is distributed along the lines of power, but the major takeaway is that it doesn't always manifest that way.

Reema asked about the reliance of urbanity, citing the example of Toronto cutting funding for trans adults. Ann stated that in Canada, most anti-racist and anti-immigrant discourse is rooted in white supremacy. They mentioned the resurgence of conservative values and white terrorism in Toronto and stressed how important it is to locate and understand trans kids within these contexts. One adult showing a trans child respect can make a world of difference. Furthermore, we need to recognize that this is a system of power that lashes out when it becomes threatened.

An audience member shared a story about a white boy from a privileged family whose parents denied them the right to undergo a transition. Ann asserted that we need to fight for the rights of these kids; we must be their allies. Representing them and using their chosen pronouns is one way to show this support. Systems of power like patriarchy, heteronormativity, and colonialism might absorb binary-conforming trans people and not non-binary ones. Ann reinforced the idea that there is no right way to be trans. The nature of the gender binary is culture-specific, which in Canada means Euro-centric. We must not forget the systems of power behind this.

Ann concluded by reminding us that whenever someone relays their gender, you say "yes," and let that be the end of it. It isn't good enough for us to be kinder and gentler; we must also remember how the binary was violently imposed and acknowledge the history of power.

Yanhua Wu, Associate Professor, Hohai University, China
"Myanmar Marriage Immigrants in China"

Yanhua began her presentation by describing various aspects of her research to provide background and context. She discussed how the number of Myanmar immigrants to China have increased over the years, saying her research aims to analyse the problems that these immigrants face in socio-political adjustment and integration in China. Her literature review delved into the influence that government policies and ethnic group

structures have on the social integration process. While explaining her research design, she stated the main question her research addresses: what are the social integration mechanisms of Myanmar marriage immigrants in China in different times and spaces? She argued that little attention is paid to this group and to their social integration, saying she wants to explore the optimal strategies to integration.

Yanhua interviewed 71 Myanmar marriage migrants for her research, looking particularly at key themes of choice, adaption, and fusion. She argued that four types of inter-marriages exist for these immigrants. There is the active type, the forced type, the drift with the current type, and the chaotic type. The active type was explained as women making the choice to marry, whereas the forced type involves marriage being imposed upon them by an outside factor. The drift with the current type is when women travel across borders with friends, and the chaotic type is when they have no desire to marry at all.

Throughout the presentation, Yanhua touched on many different factors that affect Myanmar marriage immigrants, including economic spaces, social spaces, and hierarchical spaces. Some of the main areas of study in her research were as follows:

1) Adaptation on the first arrival.
2) Adaptive fusion process.
3) Transformation after fusion and maturity.

She also raised discussion around whether these women remained immigrants in status or were considered citizens.

Yanhua concluded her presentation with three main research findings:

1) The decision to marry into China makes a difference in the life trajectory of Myanmar marriage immigrants.
2) The level of adjustment in social roles is key to understanding their integration process.
3) Individual initiatives promote differentiation in integration status.

Question & Answer Session

Reema asked if most of the women from Myanmar in Yanhua's study were coming to China to marry Chinese men. Yanhua responded that yes, they were. Reema then asked whether it is difficult for them to migrate across the border. Yanhua said this varies based on the current relationship between Myanmar and China. As the economic connection between the two countries strengthens, it may be easier to cross the border than it has been in the past. There are also connections between ethnic groups across the border, which can further support migration.

Xiujie questioned whether local policies and wars across and between both countries might cause women in Myanmar problems with their identification documents. Further, Xiujie wondered if governments were pushing women across borders and forcing them to marry. Yanhua responded that, as local policies have changed since the civil war in Myanmar, some governments will not issue travel documents; thus, these can be difficult to obtain. However, she mentioned that it may be easier to obtain ID documents in some districts than in others. Habiba mentioned that sometimes Chinese men will go to Myanmar to marry and then come home with their wives, which makes the process easier. Reema

asked about the citizenship status of any children born when a woman from Myanmar marries a Chinese man. Do they receive full citizenship? Yanhua responded that yes, the children do get citizenship.

Rebecca was curious about the male to female imbalance and the recently modified one child policy relevant to this phenomenon. Yanhua stated that the bigger the imbalance, the more migration will increase from the countryside to cities. Further, the imbalance in the countryside tends to be worse than in the city, as men in the country are farmers, land-based, and poor. Economic factors influence this program, and in rural China, it is difficult for women to afford a house or car, so they cross the border as it becomes cheaper. Xu added that to Chinese men, there is a perception that is it cheaper to marry Myanmar women. Mohammed noted that the impacts of removing this policy will take time to see, as it is so recent. However, the impacts we can see are due to racialized poverty, and the demand for wives by Chinese men. Peter Duan added that the gender imbalance is extremely serious in the countryside, prompting men to move to the city. Unfortunately, not all men can afford to do this, which prompts women to be brought from many different countries so that they can be wives.

Xiujie asked how the one child policy, which has changed the population structure, relates to the increasing mobility from rural to urban land. Yanhua noted that there are complex factors involved in this migration, and that many of these women live in absolute poverty. Mohammed mentioned that he was familiar with Yanhua's fascinating research work and applauded her for doing a tremendous job in the field of cross-border marriage. He further emphasized that these men are also very poor, so they do not have enough money to give a dowry to Chinese women. He argued that there are hardly any women available for men to marry in China, so these men go to rural Vietnam and Myanmar to look for wives. Thus, it is mainly due to poverty and the need to find spouses that this migration takes place. Habiba concluded the session by noting that many other big Chinese cities (such as Guangzhou) have women brought over for the purpose of marriage, which is illegal. The highly imbalanced male to female ratio creates a very serious gendered issue there.

Our Reflections

This session was an interesting amalgamation of the nuanced layers of gender and sexuality, and it was significant to see this as a core topic of the workshop. The speakers in the session were able to brilliantly highlight various dimensions of white power, privilege, colonization, and international migration. Their presentations and research managed to explore vastly different topics while still relating to the theme of genders and sexuality. Tiffany's session spoke to the underlying biases in city planning and addressed how sex, race, sexuality, and the colonial nation intersect in a discussion around urban spaces. Ann's research connected well with Tiffany's in that non-conforming sexualities are always targeted and found on the margins. Further, transgender children can be even more vulnerable to exclusion, and we need to advocate for their rights and show our solidarity. Yanhua's work rounded out the session with a discussion of cross-country migration and how it can be deeply affected by race, ethnicity, gender, and poverty.

As students, we are constantly finding opportunities to learn and expand our knowledge, and thus it was a great honour to be asked to take notes for this session. Attending the workshop enabled us to learn more about diverse topics of research as well as engaging with speakers and audience members. Coming from a feminist background, and with our research interests geared toward resisting gender-based violence, we learned immensely from the speakers of this session as they highlighted the multiple layers of invisible violence and oppression present around us. Toward the end of the session, we were left feeling happily overwhelmed with the expansion of our own knowledge and insights. We hope that the knowledge gained from this session will help guide our feminist practice and research, so that we can join hands in the effort to build a more equitable society.

SESSION III: GENDER AND SOCIETY

Facilitator: Chen Shaojun
Notetakers: Shoak Alhussami and Leena Hasan[10]

This session tackled diverse but related topics, at the core of which are gender and society. It featured four speakers who come from different parts of the world and span different disciplines, affiliations, and research interests. Stories and experiences of women's struggles across the globe were presented, ranging from national women's movements and mobilization in China, to societal pressures increasing adolescent pregnancy among Nepali women, to experiences of intersecting oppressions of sexism, racism, and classism faced by Iranian and Bangladeshi women in the process of migrating to and settling in Canada. All the presenters shared their finished research, except one who is still in the process of researching and writing her PhD dissertation. The session covered the progress made through recent history in improving the status of women while also highlighting ongoing structural oppressions faced by women and gaps that need to be addressed to achieve justice for women.

Zhu Xiujie, Associate Professor and Vice Chair of Gender and Development Research Centre, Hohai University "The Role of the All China Women's Federation in Development"

Xiujie began by sharing important milestones in the convening of the First Women's Congress of China and the establishment of the All China Women's Federation (ACWF):

- December 1948: The National Conference on Women's Work arose out of the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.
- March-April 1949: The First National Congress of Chinese Women was held, leading to the establishment of the All China Democratic Women's Federation (ACDWF). This is an important milestone for the ACWF.
- September 1957: The organization's name was changed to the ACWF at the Third Women's Congress in China.

Xiujie noted five key aspects of the ACWF's approach to promoting work among women:

1) To carry out women's work and serve the overall situation, the Women's Federation was led by the Party and government in employment and policy.
2) A solid and profound organizational foundation was necessary, with the ACWF funding different levels of the organization.
3) Rational distribution according to urban and rural characteristics was crucial. While urban women's work was the initial focus, urban and rural women had different needs.
4) Care for women's livelihood in line with women's needs was a priority.

[10] Shoak Alhussami is an MA student at the Department of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies, Simon Fraser University. Leena Hasan, MPH, is a Qualitative Analyst at the First Nations Health Authority.

5) A broad international vision was needed, absorbing the experience of the international women's movement and giving voice to Chinese women. In June 1949, the ACWF officially applied to join the International Women's Federation for membership as a group member; in December, it hosted the Asian Women's Representative Conference.

To promote women's participation in revolution and women's liberation, laws were reformed. The Land Reform Law was promulgated in June 1950, and women's federations organized women's participation in land reform. This historic reform enabled women to own resources and land and to participate in agricultural production. These factors pushed for rural women's protection. Land was distributed by population, for men and women, not just men. This was a meaningful step toward liberating women. The Marriage Law was also promulgated in 1950 to publicize the marriage system of freedom of marriage, monogamy, and equality between men and women, and to oppose arranged marriage. This allowed young people to choose who they would marry instead of parents, who previously decided who their children would marry. The Electoral Law of 1953 mobilized rural women to participate in general elections. This meant more women were able to take part in villages and communities. During the founding of New China, the illiteracy rate of rural women reached 95%. Currently, it is below 5% (according to the Sixth National Census in 2010) after the ACWF campaign.

To mobilize rural women to engage in agricultural production, the First Women's Congress established the working principle of "mobilizing and organizing all women who may work on the production front." Because some women felt shame about labor, the ACWF promoted the concept of labor as glory to mobilize rural women. The ACWF also encouraged women to participate in agricultural and sideline production, promoting the idea that women could do the same work as men. The ACWF also promoted the implementation of policies to protect the rights and interests of rural women. After the land reform, rural women joined agricultural production cooperatives with land shares. Rural women and their production came to the forefront of agricultural labor, and the ACWF was successful in making sure women would be paid equally for their work in the form of grading and remuneration. In 1961, the ACWF, through investigation and research, pointed out that it was necessary to realize the division of labor between men and women in agricultural production and to rationally arrange the women's labor force. With so many rural women going into production, an urgent need for childcare arose; in 1954, the First National Working Conference on Rural Women put forward the idea of creating of mutual assistance organizations for children in busy farming areas, and various forms of mutual assistance organizations for children in rural areas have since been developed.

To lead rural women to play the role of "half the sky" in reform, development, and socialist modernization, the ACWF has worked in the areas of poverty alleviation and training as well as enabling rural women's development. The ACWF decided it should innovate poverty alleviation models and actively aid rural women in eliminating poverty by implementing happiness projects, mothers' cellars, women's microloans, etc. In 1986, the ACWF took on improving the quality of rural women's skills as a fundamental task. Efforts should be made to solve prominent problems restricting the development of rural women,

such as: registration and certification of the right to land contracting in rural areas to safeguard women's rights and interests in land contracting; rural women's participation in the practice of villagers' autonomy; expanding the scope of screening for cervical and breast cancer; and caring for left-behind women and children in rural areas.

Zhu noted two phases in the promotion of women's employment and entrepreneurship: Phase 1 (1950-1980s) established various types of hand-made projects and women's cooperatives to promote women's employment and improve women's socioeconomic situations. Phase 2 (1990s) provided training, employment, guidance, and job introduction for laid-off and unemployed women. It also promoted family work in cities to resolve contradictions between work and family; the ACWF tried to solve the problem of the double burden placed on women of caring for their families while working additional jobs.

The ACWF has focused on the protection of rights at the source so that more women can benefit from legal policies. Firstly, it shaped the formulation and revision of the Constitution to ensure the principle of equality between men and women was embodied, achieving the first specialized and comprehensive protection of women's rights. It also contributed to the establishment of the reproductive social security system and the establishment of women cadre colleges and vocational schools to train women. In February 2019, the ACWF also tackled gender discrimination in employment by ensuring the notice on further regulation of recruitment behavior to promote women's employment. In China, every province has established a gender equality assessment mechanism for regulations and policies.

In summary, the ACWF is a mass organization by the people and serves most women. It has played an important role in promoting women's participation in the construction of the New China, production reform, and the opening up and promotion of the status of women. The ACWF functions as a bridge and link between the government, the Party, and women.

Question & Answer Session

Shiraz: I have a question about Chinese women in the cultural industry, like filmmaking. Are there any Chinese filmmakers who are women? There are a few I think, but are women accepted to make movies as much as men or are they having different problems?

Xiujie: Hawan is a female actor who is famous. This year, a TV series called *Nyan dah* (*How to Become a Mother*) came out that is discriminatory towards women. It tells young women how to listen to their husbands. The ACWF strongly criticized this series and gave it a low score of 2.

Thuy: A professor in Thailand said the one-child policy has improved the status of women because there aren't enough women for men. It has improved the development of women. Is this true?

Xiujie: The one-child policy had a great influence for Chinese, not only because it influences the fertility concept. Most women don't want more children for social and

economic reasons because they want a better life. I think, if they want two children, there's a need. If they don't want a child, nobody can push them. I think it's the same as Canada.

Rina Pradhan, Research Associate, Centre for India and South Asia Research, University of British Columbia
"Adolescent Pregnancy in Rural Nepali Communities"

Rina's research focused on Nepali girls who had children at a young age, defining "adolescence" as ages 10-19 years old. She wanted to explore why young girls were conceiving and whether it was a problem or a choice. Aside from maternal morbidity, Rina identified health risks associated with teenage pregnancy such as obstructed labor, postpartum infections, pregnancy-induced hypertension, spontaneous abortions, and so forth. These young mothers are also more likely to deliver premature babies, and the babies are more likely to die. Ninety-eight percent of these issues occur in low-income settings, hence Nepal was chosen for the study.

The objective of the study was to ascertain the social and cultural factors associated with adolescent pregnancy in Nepal from the perspective of young women and key informants. To that end, Rina conducted in-depth interviews with 30 young women from six villages (unmarried, married, and married with kids) and semi-structured interviews with 15 informants from governmental and non-governmental organizations with experience working on adolescent health programs in Nepal. The major findings covered four themes, showing that adolescent pregnancy was due to 1) socio-cultural context, 2) economic status, 3) educational exposure, and 4) utilization of/access to contraception. In the workshop, Rina presented on the final theme, which had three sub-categories: knowledge, utilization, and access.

Rina found that married and unmarried women provided different input. Concerning knowledge of contraception, young, unmarried women were familiar with contraception methods (mostly oral), whereas it was only *after usage* that married women came to know about it. Key informants all had *some kind* of information. Regarding utilization, the unmarried women did not use contraceptives at all because expression of sexuality is not allowed before marriage, so they were very conscious that they could not share any information regarding usage, if any. By contrast, married women resorted to contraceptives only to space out their pregnancies rather than prevent them. Key informants had a similar perception and knew that married women used contraceptives only after their first child's birth. As to access, technically, the unmarried interviewees had access to contraceptives, but due to cultural factors, they tended to hide this fact. Likewise, contraceptives were accessible to married women but with difficulties. Through the health center, key informants had easy access to married women and unmarried men.

Implications for policy and health programs were identified on three levels. First, at the individual level, empowerment of young women is necessary; girls need to be educated about the proper and timely use of and access to contraceptives. On the family/community level, changes in parents' attitudes towards teenage pregnancy, such as the normalization of having a child *before* using contraceptives, is needed. At the structural (national) level,

health programs for young people should be introduced before puberty, not when the girls are already mothers (as is the case now).

Rina reached multiple conclusions through her research. First, there was a lack of proper contraception information. Second, use and access were risk factors for adolescent pregnancy. Additionally, use was linked to multiple sectors such as education and health, and coordination between the two was necessary. Finally, intervention programs should be initiated at an early stage (as soon as girls begin puberty) and should continue through secondary school, including improved healthcare during and after pregnancy.

Question & Answer Session

Tiffany: I'm curious about what you perceive to be the role of educating young boys and men as part of this work?

Rina: Actually, that is another part of my research which will soon be done. I agree that the role of young boys and men is very important, especially since we are in a patriarchal society. For any social development program, not just health, without the help of men, we cannot do anything. I know it because I work mostly in the community area. And because it is adolescent pregnancy and we are talking about sexuality, it is very important that they understand what that is. When I asked the girls, "Why did you get married at an early age?" most of them told me it was because they were romantically involved with a boyfriend who wanted to be sexually active, and to be sexually active and socially acceptable, they had to marry. If the girls did not, the boys would manipulate them emotionally. This was just a stepping-stone where I wanted the women to have the voice; it was the first time where the primary stakeholder—the young women—had a say in the situation.

Audience member: I am very curious to know if there is any curriculum about sexual and reproductive health?

Rina: Yes, and because they were educated, at least into secondary school, most of the girls shared with me the fact that they did have such a course. However, being a taboo issue, the instructor had skipped most of the content because they had not been properly trained and felt uncomfortable, and so did the girls. Even what was delivered was just the technical, scientific information like how pregnancy or menstruation happens. The social implications were completely left outside the picture. But now slowly the realization is there in the form of informal education, and some governmental and non-governmental initiatives are developing.

Sanzida: I was just wondering if your sample came solely from remote areas; so, did you do any comparison with women and adolescent girls from other areas of Nepal? Do they have a better experience or better access?

Rina: Yes. There was a differentiation between the rural and urban areas. The latter had easier access to contraceptives; women there could get them from any pharmacy or grocery shop. And it is okay for urban girls to do that because no one knows anyone, but in a rural area where only the health center grants access to contraceptives, if unmarried men or women go there and get a contraceptive, they will be the talk of the village!

Somayeh Bahrami, PhD Student, Gender, Sexuality & Women's Studies, SFU
"Iranian Women in Vancouver: Gender, Race, Class, and Post-Revolution Migration"

This is part of Somayeh's ongoing doctoral research. Her research focuses on the migration of Iranian women who left Iran for Vancouver between 1975 and 1985. She explained the reasons behind choosing this timeframe: the Islamic Revolution succeeded in 1979, but it started in 1975, so many people including women felt threatened and left the country. That is why Somayeh established this date (1975) as the beginning of the post-revolution period. She chose the end date for the study (1985) because patterns of migration changed around that time.

Somayeh's research is all-encompassing in that it places race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, language, faith, family, work/labor, and revolution at the center of women's stories to discern the diversity of their experiences. Somayeh wants to explore how these factors have shaped women's experiences as daughters, sisters, mothers, wives, lovers, workers, citizens, activists, etc. This research, according to Somayeh, provides an original contribution to relevant scholarship because there are very few historical works—maybe four—that assess the complex socio-political factors of Iranian immigration to Canada, and because of its intersectional analysis.

For her study, Somayeh will conduct feminist oral history interviews. The languages she will use are Persian for the most part and Azeri—a Turkish ethnic language used in Iran—if the women prefer. She will also employ elicitation techniques through photo/video/art and cultural artefacts from the women's families; she believes this approach will provide information rooted in emotion and gesture and facilitate participation from people who are more visual than verbal.

The major research questions fall under four themes. First, Somayeh is interested in why and how women decided to immigrate to Vancouver, and whether they are single, married, widowed, divorced, and with or without children/family. Second is the question of how migration experiences influence marital, parental, partnership, and familial relationships over time. Third, she will explore women's material and emotional responses to loss of homeland, wealth, prestige, networks, employment, and class status. Finally, she will inquire into women's employment experiences in the new society and how their educational and work experience in Iran shaped their education and labor in Canada. She will discuss the role of power, privilege, and opportunity in their migration experience, their complex search for Canadian society and community interaction, what they feel is expected of them to be considered fully Canadian, what is "Canadian" according to them, and their attachment to/detachment from both societies.

Question & Answer Session

Sanzida: I think you are taking a great path and you will be able to gather great data that will be an excellent contribution to the field. You mentioned that there are only four works on Iranian women; are they about Iranian women in Vancouver or in Canada?

Somayeh: In Canada in general and not on Iranian women, but on the Iranian community as a whole. And they focus only on one or two factors, like gender as in

Zancouver, a word which combines "Zan" (the Persian for "woman") and "couver" to refer to "Vancouver." Another work focuses on race only and another tackles diaspora.

Tiffany: I am wondering if you are looking at other kinds of documentary materials, because what comes to mind for me is Yassaman Ameri's *Marginal Road*.

Somayeh: I have not watched this one.

Tiffany: You might find it useful. So, I was just curious if you were looking beyond the text-based, oral history.

Somayeh: If it helps me, yes please, I would appreciate it!

Adeel: I have a question relating to the ten-year period you have selected. My exposure to Iran is from the late 1990s onward, and what I have noticed is that the stress on women and the pressure of governmental agencies ebbs and wanes; sometimes things are relaxed and sometimes they are not. I am wondering whether that is a factor that you are considering even looking at in that ten-year window and whether it was a constant push that drove people to migrate or not.

Somayeh: I am interested in that particular period because of the socio-political environment at the time. There was a war between Iran and Iraq, so people left for a lot of reasons. The people I am interested in are the ones who left for their lives, mostly they were associated with the previous regime or coming from prominent backgrounds or well-known. What attracted me to that particular demographic, in addition to what I have said, was the fact that they were prominent and had money, so they could have left right away, but with the changes in migration patterns, there were many obstacles stopping them like a visa, education, and experience. Now, whether that was not *constantly* the case throughout the ten-year period is still unknown to me as I have not listened to their stories yet.

Mohammad: What does "Zancouver" mean to Iranian women?

Somayeh: The women who could make a life here and are well-established. The same with "Tehranto" and "Tehrangeles" because many Tehranians live in Toronto and Los Angeles respectively.

Audience member: There is a very large Iranian population in California. Are there similar studies about that?

Somayeh: The studies I read focus on faith as a factor for migration. There were many Sunni Muslims, Jewish, and Zoroastrians who left Iran at that time.

Sanzida Habib, Research Associate, CISAR, University of British Columbia
"Gender, Migration, and Settlement: Examples from the Bangladeshi Community"

Sanzida explained that Bangladeshi immigrant women are those who were born in Bangladesh or in a family of Bangladeshi origin who migrated to Canada from Bangladesh or from other places in the world. She noted that Bangladeshi women, along with women from the Indian province of West Bengal, fall under the category of Bengali women because they speak the Bengali language and belong to the Bengali ethnic group. They can be of Muslim, Hindu, or other religious backgrounds. She also pointed out that Bengalis are classified under the broad category of South Asian immigrants in most social science research and Census data in North America, lumping together people of diverse geographical, national, religious, ethnic, and linguistic origins.

Bangladeshi immigration to Canada largely occurred after Bangladesh emerged as an independent country in 1971. This was due to Canada's discriminatory policies prior to 1972, which barred any people from the Indian subcontinent or other parts of Asian (e.g., China, Japan) to migrate to Canada. In 1976, Canada's immigration policy took a huge turn with the Immigration Act of Canada's new points system, which emphasized skills and educational qualifications over racial or geographic origins to meet the increased demand for skilled labor. This led to a new wave of immigration from "non-traditional countries" starting in the 1980s, including Asian, Arab, and African countries. During this era, highly educated and skilled Bangladeshi men also arrived in Canada, and most Bangladeshi women came as wives and family members. In recent times, the number of younger highly educated and professional women arriving from Bangladesh has increased. They tend to concentrate in big metropolises like Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, the latter of which has the third largest diaspora, with the majority living in Surrey.

The term immigrant is not simply a legal status, because in common social discourse, people who are visibly different from white and Indigenous are perceived as immigrants regardless of their legal and professional status, length of stay, or place of birth. Sanzida also explained that "immigrant women" refers to a socioeconomic and political process whereby only certain groups of racialized or ethnic women—who do not speak English or who speak English with a particular accent, who are members of a visible minority group, and who are engaged in certain low-paying jobs—are labeled as immigrants or the "other" and seen as belonging to the periphery of the nation. This term represents certain groups of women marginalized across race, gender, and class, and can promote stereotypes and overgeneralizations. On the positive side, such terms can denote social and political identities that provide standpoints for common ground for anti-racist solidarity, activism, and struggle against domination.

Sanzida highlighted that while the ability to immigrate to Canada is a privilege, Bangladeshi immigrant women face many challenges, including: lack of accreditation of work experience resulting in un/der/employment; loss of extended family support, social status, and networks; isolation; and the gendered role of parenting and household duties. These combined factors may contribute to financial, physical, and mental stress and anxiety. Such women also frequently lack access to culturally appropriate social and healthcare services and support. Sanzida shared voices of educated women that highlight the stress resulting from the settlement process, lack of accreditation, and lack of social supports. New mothers also expressed fear of living without extended family support and mentioned their inability to bring parents over due to lack of adequate dwelling space.

Sanzida concluded by highlighting that women's migration and settlement experiences vary by age, length of stay in Canada, education, nationality, and professional and English language skills. Structural barriers, such as socioeconomic and financial hardship due to un/der/employment, isolation, childcare and household responsibilities, lack of childcare support, and systemic racism also influence women's health and access to healthcare services. More research is needed to understand the unique experiences and challenges of Bangladeshi immigrant women. Targeted support and tailored services are also needed to address these challenges.

Question & Answer Session

Alice: What do you feel is unique about Bangladeshi women immigrants compared to immigrants from other developing countries?

Sanzida: There are many similarities, such as the racialization and a white-dominated environment. Because Bangladeshis are a smaller community, they don't have access to specialized services; organizations don't get funds for Bengali language services, so they have unique challenges that are not served by mainstream or culturally specific services. There are also many similarities with other immigrant women, such as lack of access to mainstream health and social services. Although we have a universal healthcare system, it is not accessed equally by all communities. Many immigrants, especially women, because of their gender, face unique barriers.

Aman: Whenever I go to mental health or student initiatives in Surrey, they say South Asian, but it mostly means Punjabi and Sikh. It's very hard to make them understand the diversity. Within the South Asian context, Punjabi domination is also somewhat hegemonic. It doesn't allow other issues to come up. What is your understanding of the relative influence and role of Punjabi culture and its impact on other South Asian cultures?

Sanzida: Yes, there is hegemony. It makes me think how power works. I have heard from some Bangladeshi women who were working in a Punjabi-owned shop. They shared how they were looked down upon. They were considered inferior compared to Punjabi women. Bengali women would prefer working for a white employer than a Punjabi employer. These kinds of relationships of power are very complicated and layered. You can't just say all people from one community are equally racist or sexist. In the morning session, we were hearing about white supremacy and white colonizers, hegemony and colonization. Powerful people find their allies in any community and there are marginalized and oppressed people in every community. Those who want to speak for marginalized populations and speak for social justice, it's very important that we find our allies everywhere in all communities. We need to work in collaboration with all communities. In the Canadian South Asian Youth Conference that we organized, there were a lot of conversations about racism against Black people within South Asian communities and those who are poor and marginalized people. A few elites from the South Asian community get to represent all of us, so it is very hegemonic, and it needs to be challenged.

Somayeh: Please correct me if I'm wrong, but I think the first time that the points system was introduced was 1967, not 1976.

Sanzida: 1967 was the first one. There are phases of revisions that it went through. I think 1976 was the final version where it was concretized, and it came into implication in 1978.

Mohammad: The major concentration of Bengalis is in Surrey, but if you're looking for a neighborhood, Fraser Street is coming up as one of the major settlements of Bengalis. The reason is that there are lots of Bengali grocery shops. There is an ongoing struggle, according to grocery shop owners, between the Filipinos to declare one part of Fraser as Little Manila. And then the other part is that they should call it Dhaka Park. This is more of an identity issue in an immigrant society by people who live in a concentrated area, to establish their own political, or otherwise, rights.

Reflections

Both of us believe this session provided an excellent synthesis of feminist research addressing key topics in the field of gender studies. Sanzida's presentation, for example, deepened our appreciation for the difficult experiences of Bangladeshi immigrant women in Canada; it highlighted the flaws in Canada's immigration system that are a manifestation of discrimination against migrant communities. Rina also shed light on a crucial aspect of the lives of adolescent girls in rural Nepal—the spread of teenage pregnancy. Her research was unique in that she went beyond the health implications to analyze traditional gender roles influencing women's sexual and reproductive life. Xiujie's presentation was enlightening in that it showed the power of collective action and women organizing through the persistent work of ACWF; however, it would have been more helpful had the presenter provided insight into some of the challenges the ACWF had faced in changing laws and gaining land, employment, marriage, and electoral rights for women, and how these challenges were overcome. Although Somayeh's research is a work in progress, we believe it will bear promising results because the topic is quite unique in its intersectional lens and its inclusive representation of all kinds of Iranian women (e.g., mother, daughter, sister, etc.) affected by post-revolution immigration to Vancouver, and will be an enriching contribution to the feminist literature on migration.

SESSION IV: GENDER LENS IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Facilitator: Sanzida Habib
Notetakers: Somayeh Bahrami and Reema Faris[11]

Shaojun Chen, Professor, Hohai University
"Bridging the Gender Gap in Development Projects: A Gender Impact Assessment (GIA) of Resettlement in a Hydropower Project in China"

The National Research Center for Resettlement in China was established in 1993 and planners did not initially identify the issue of gender as a requirement in planning assessments for infrastructure projects. It was incorporated later. The questions to consider are: what is gender mainstreaming, why should gender impacts be considered in project planning, and how?

According to Shaojun's historical overview, the concept of gender mainstreaming came to prominence at the 1985 Third World Conference on Women, which took place in Nairobi, Kenya. It was also cited in the document that resulted from the conference, the Beijing Platform for Action. Ideally, gender mainstreaming offers a mixed approach that values the diversity of different populations and genders. In particular, it examines the impact of development projects through a gender lens to ensure that equal benefits accrue to men and women who are affected by the planning, construction, and operation of proposed initiatives. Gender mainstreaming is a process of assessing the different implications for people of different genders of any planned policy action, including legislation and programs. This policy approach also requires organizational change and the introduction of a holistic investigation into the interconnected roots and patterns of the imbalance in relations among all genders in all areas of life. In this context, Chen says, "promoting gender equality is smart development policy" (2019). By incorporating gender analysis, Shaojun feels that projects and outcomes will be more sustainable. Gender mainstreaming as a planning tool also serves to avoid or minimize the negative impact of development projects on the lives of women.

Despite the perceived benefits of this gender-inclusive approach, Shaojun notes that it is not easy to integrate gender perspectives into the project planning cycle. For the particular project she discussed, this cycle comprised six steps: (1) collecting data, (2) establishing context, (3) identifying issues, (4) understanding needs, (5) gender planning and implementation, and (6) review and reporting. These six steps are key to preparing

[11] Both notetakers are PhD Students at the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies (GSWS), Simon Fraser University.

and implementing a Gender Action Plan (GAP), which is similar to a social action plan, but which centers gender issues.

In the water case study Shaojun presented, the objectives for planners included improving the human endowments of the project, providing better jobs, closing the gap between men and women in terms of the ownership and control of assets, and allowing space for the expression of women's voices and agency. In summarizing her experience with gender mainstreaming for this project, Shaojun noted that it offered a pluralistic resolution that empowered women.

Question & Answer Session

Alice: When women's voices are not valued in patriarchal spaces, how does one ensure women's voices are heard and what affirmative action measures can planners take?

Shaojun: As a researcher in rural China, women often tell me that they are not in a position to speak and that they must defer to the male head of the household. Education efforts to create awareness, such as those that the All China Women's Federation (ACWF) undertakes, are helpful. Planners are trying to be more diligent about integrating women's perspectives into policies and are making efforts to consult with women. It's also important to ensure that the gender action plan is actionable and includes measures to target project and government funding towards action items. For planners in rural China, another important issue is the impact of returning urban migrants, especially among women. Overall, it is not easy to implement gender mainstreaming and getting the consensus to do so is a step-by-step process.

Adeel: There is always a balance between quantitative measures and qualitative narratives. Is there a gravitational pull to numbers?

Shaojun: Initially, the government could not understand the rationale for gender mainstreaming and did not comprehend how that might capture social risks. Pressure from the World Bank to consider gender issues helped to set a baseline, and that experience made it easier to include the requirement in the planning of other infrastructure projects.

Comments from Mohammad: In response to a flooding crisis in 1998, the Asian Development Bank required the client, who had no such pre-existing guidelines, to consider issues of gender. That is, the influence and input from external consultants helped to shape new policy and planning approaches. The requirement to consider issues from a gender perspective has now become an established part of developing large infrastructure projects in China, whether such projects are funded domestically or internationally.

Mohammad also stressed that without the active participation of women at all levels of decision-making, the goal of equality cannot be achieved. He noted that institutions must make efforts to broaden women's roles so that women and men are equally represented in any decision-making. Similarly, budgeting from a gender perspective helps to address gender-based concerns such as the hierarchies that have an impact and influence on funding decisions.

Veronica: Is gender budgeting or gender-response budgeting required?

Shaojun: Not yet. The focus remains on the preparation of a gender action plan as part of project feasibility studies. Budgets may include line items for social capacity-building initiatives, education programs for women, and other such efforts.

Zafar Adeel, Professor and Executive Director, Pacific Water Research Centre (PWRC), Simon Fraser University
"Women and Water in the Arab Region"

In Zafar Adeel's work, a guiding principle is to consider water security an entry point for empowering refugee women as agents of change. Adeel noted that according to the UN, water security is the capacity of a population to safeguard sustainable access to adequate quantities of acceptable quality water for sustaining livelihood, human wellbeing, and socio-economic development, for ensuring protection against water-borne pollution and water-related disasters, and for preserving ecosystems in a climate of peace and political stability. For the UN system and for UN-Water, this definition is the starting point for dialogue. Thus, UN-Water supports the inclusion of water security on the agenda of the UN Security Council and the integration of water security into the post-2015 development agenda as part of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals. Estimates are that 1.8 billion people will live in regions with absolute water scarcity and almost half of the world will live in conditions of water stress by 2025. Parts of India, China, the Middle East, and Africa are especially vulnerable.

Adeel explained that the idea of empowering refugee women as agents of change was the central focus of a 2018 symposium held in Beirut, Lebanon called "Women, Water Security, and Peace-building in the Arab Region." He noted that ongoing water insecurity characterizes the Arab region, including declining water resources, a dramatic decrease in water availability per capita, and the impacts of climate change. While some countries rely on desalination, this is an expensive process that is not available or practicable for all. Another obstacle to overcome is the contamination and depletion of groundwater resources, and there is an increasing interest in the possibility of capturing and reusing wastewater.

Overall, the focus is on consumption, which is the defining concern when looking to the future. Among consumers in the region, there are 14 million refugees of which approximately 60% are women. The 17 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the region form an even larger constituency. Since the majority of these vulnerable populations are women, they bear the brunt of life's challenges including adverse effects on personal welfare and wellbeing.

While men often remain in conflict zones, families move away and women become the household leaders. In doing so, they are subject to abuse and violence in the struggle over scant resources. Deteriorating conditions mean that armed groups and human traffickers hold women captive. Equally frightening threats exist in refugee and internally displaced persons (IDP) camps, as explained by a UNHCR report that states, "In many refugee situations, particularly those involving the confinement of refugees in closed camps, traditional behavioral norms and restraints break down. In such circumstances refugee women and girls may be raped by other refugees." The frustration of camp life can also lead to violence, including physical, emotional, and sexual abuse within families. This is according to narratives women presented at the Beirut symposium, including stories of young girls disappearing at night after leaving their beds to use the washroom facilities.

To contend with these various issues, one planning and policy approach is to think of women as water resource managers and develop their ability to be self-sufficient. In fact, in an increasingly water-stressed situation, women and girls face the risk of ongoing danger, instability, and conflict when they are not involved in water sector management and decision- making processes. As noted, this is troubling not only for gender equity, but for peace and security as well. Women's involvement entails empowering women to participate in male-dominated professions and break stereotypes of what women can do. For example, a German-initiated project in Jordan trains women to become plumbers. This initiative and others recognize women as agents of change. It is about building capacity as well as awareness that women cannot be considered or treated as a single, uniform, and undifferentiated block.

To continue pursuing projects along these lines, the Arab League has established a Leadership Task Force. The regional focus is on the countries of Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, and Yemen. Initiatives will be geared toward implementing programs to address three key areas through a mechanism of five-year plans: (1) education, (2) livelihoods, and (3) collaboration. Above all, the imperative is to address the ways in which women can be instrumental in change, particularly in post-conflict reconstruction efforts.

Question & Answer Session

Reema: What is the impact of government corruption on these projects and initiatives?

Adeel: There are problems. For example, if funding is syphoned off, it acts as a disincentive to donors. There are ongoing attempts to improve governance, but in many respects the capacity is not there. However, linking women's issues and water security is one way in which to create targeted mechanisms that help address governance issues.

Rebecca: What are your thoughts on the issue of climate/climate change refugees?

Adeel: The United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) does not yet recognize climate refugees as a category. Internationally, at the political level, governments resist recognizing this classification. The research ambiguity, in terms of quantifying this particular issue, is one of the complicating factors in securing acceptance of the notion of climate change refugees.

Xiujie: Where are the men? What is the most difficult objective to reach?

Adeel: Empowering women is a difficult objective to reach partly because there are social and cultural barriers to what women believe may be possible. There is a social inertia that perpetuates existing ideas of gender and associated gender roles. In addition, the lack of financing and resources makes it difficult to implement programs to support change in social and cultural understandings. The need is also great. The number of vulnerable people in the regions is unprecedented in the humanitarian and development world. Training also has to be directed to men and women because, for example, the majority of relief workers are men.

Aman: How do you position "the ask" for donors?

Adeel: For European and North American organizations, a gender lens and gender focus form an acceptable rationale in seeking donations. It is also effective to incorporate a specific focus, "the flavour of the month" (Adeel, 2019), to secure the attention of a particular donor or donors.

Rebecca Yoshizawa, Faculty, Kwantlen Polytechnic University
"Gender and Reproduction: An International Perspective"

Rebecca introduced herself by reviewing her academic background, which includes degrees in gender studies, communications, and sociology with an emphasis on science. Over the last 10 years, her research focus has been on reproductive biology and its connection to reproductive politics. The entry point to her work and the concepts she explores is the placenta. Rebecca noted that in the production of scientific knowledge, researchers often do not speak to or consult with pregnant women about reproduction.

In terms of framing her presentation, one of the questions Rebecca pondered was what it meant for her as a white settler to take an international perspective. To do so, she chose to explore the movement from a reproductive rights framework to one of reproductive justice and the impact such a shift has on reproductive politics. Rebecca shared her working guidelines and definition of reproductive politics. Reproduction, she argued, is not about conception and pregnancy. It is about intergenerational biological and social intimacies that sustain or end life. Within this conceptual understanding, rights are not secured forever without a fight, and it is important to consider the limitations of rights. Specifically, it is the state and the law that bestow these hard won reproductive rights. This approach individualizes the human person into a legal entity, and rights are given to individuals. The outcome is to centralize the role of the state in granting rights. However, since reproduction itself is inherently biosocial and historical, it also encompasses intersecting systems of power and oppression. Given this reality, the focus on rights is a limited view and one that is associated with a liberal feminist perspective. In contrast, a reproductive justice framework recognizes that rights are distributed unequally, and that justice is intersectional. Therefore, as Rebecca argued, the issues extend beyond reproductive rights and the pro-choice politics that center on abortion and contraception to a more comprehensive picture of what "reproductive justice" means.

Reproductive justice is a framework conceived of by racialized women and defined by the core belief that every woman has the right to decide if and when to have a baby, and to parent children in a safe environment and a healthy community without threat of either interpersonal or state violence. It means having full control over all aspects of our sexual and reproductive lives, and an end to sexual violence. Reproductive justice means that no woman or child should have to live in fear of violence in their own homes, and that victims of intimate partner violence have access to resources that allow them to escape abuse. It means not only that abortion remains legal, but that all women—including women living in poverty, who are disproportionately likely to be Black, Indigenous, and women of color—actually have access to it. That means free abortion available close to home and without barriers like mandatory waiting periods, invasive ultrasounds, or required parental consent. It means empowering all to make truly informed choices about their reproductive healthcare, from contraception to childbirth.

A framework for reproductive justice also means access to quality nutrition and care regardless of age, race, or socio-economic status, in addition to guaranteed paid maternity and/or parental leave. It provides for those performing the un-waged labor of childcare at

home, and makes free, quality childcare available to those working outside the home. This approach also allows for interrogation of the ways past injustices continue into the present, and is a more effective method of recognizing the intergenerational inheritance of trauma. It also extends the conceptualization of reproduction beyond conception and pregnancy to what transpires after birth.

Question & Answer Session

Aman: Why is there a reluctance to engage in questions about consciousness?

Rebecca: Sex-selective abortion highlights why a rights framework will not produce equality and justice. A pregnant person is greater than one and less than two. In the tradition of metaphysical individualism and liberal humanism, selfhood is bounded within a person. It is a fiction.

Adeel: Please explain more about reproductive rights and the umbrella of human rights.

Rebecca: Within a legal framework, rights are not equally enjoyed, and they are not equally accessible. When society views reproductive politics through the lens of rights, it fails to see the entirety of what must be done to achieve equality. The framework of rights can be extended only if society thinks of reproduction through a lens of justice.

Sanzida: What do we mean by reproductive rights? How broad and encompassing is your definition? Where does surrogacy fall?

Rebecca: In a rights framework, persons have rights, and the state grants personhood.

APPENDICES

- Appendix I: Somayeh Bahrami's Presentation
- Appendix II: International Workshop Program

APPENDIX I: SOMAYEH BAHRAMI'S PRESENTATION

Iranian Women in Vancouver: Gender, Race, Class, and Post-Revolution Migration

Iranian politics have undergone dramatic changes in the last 45 years or so, and so has the nature of Iranian migration to Canada. Before the Revolution, there was barely a trickle of Iranian migration to Canada. The creation of the Islamic Republic—a fundamentalist Islamic revolt against the Shah of Iran—initiated major displacements as members of the political elite and affluent classes fled Iran in fear of persecution. It is important to note that although the Islamic Revolution succeeded in 1979, many had already felt threatened and left the country around 1975.

Indeed, most migrants from Iran during this turmoil were political refugees. While there is a body of literature on the Iranian post-revolution diaspora, my dissertation focuses on the immigration of Iranian elite and affluent women who left Iran for Vancouver between 1975 and 1985. I will stop at 1985 because the patterns and reasons for migration changed around this time. By placing gender, family, work, class, and race at the centre of the story of Iranian immigration to Canada, I want to make an original contribution to historical understandings of the impact of revolution on migration patterns of elite and upper class Iranians. This will shed light on the complex social and political factors shaping immigration from Iran to Canada.

Background Information

In 1953, Operation Ajax, a covert operation orchestrated by the CIA, overthrew the freely elected government of Iran which had threatened to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Set in the context of Cold War geopolitics, this intervention led to the reinstatement of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the recently deposed monarch, as head of state, and drew Iran into the sphere of American political influence. Over the next 25 years, temporary migration became an essential component of modernity in Iran as members of the political and economic elite travelled to Western Europe and North America to attend university. The experiences of these earlier journeys became central to diasporic politics after the Islamic revolution of 1979. In fact, the legacy of Iranian immigration to Canada is intimately tied to the highly uncertain socio- economic and political climate of Iran before and after the revolution (Afary, 2009; Afary & Anderson, 2005; Ghamari-Tabrizi, 2006; Hakimzadeh, 2006).

I will employ a number of methods, utilizing oral histories of Iranian women combined with textual analysis of historical documents in both English and Persian. In particular, I will interview elite and upper-middle class Iranian women over the age of 60 who immigrated to Vancouver between 1975 and 1985. Following the work of historians Alexander Freund (2014, 2010, 1994), Franca Iacovetta (2016, 2011, 1992), Nadia Jones (2013), Noula Mina (2013), Susana Miranda (2003), and Joan Sangster (2016, 2010), this

project structures the story of Iranian immigration centered around the collected oral histories of women and explores the extent to which Iranian women's experiences of immigration were shaped by their gender, race, class, and familial and sexual identities. I build on the rich historical and theoretical literature on the intersection of immigration, class, and work to study the material and emotional responses of Iranian women to the process of immigration, their settlement in a racially marked country, and the resulting loss of their class status (Arat-koc, 1997; Avery, 1995; Dossa, 2004; Dua, 2007; Sangster, 2010; Schulze et al., 2008). How do migration experiences influence marital and parental relationships over time? How did women and their families decide to immigrate to Vancouver? What were their employment experiences in the new society, and how did their work and education experience in Iran shape their education and employment in Canada?

Oral histories present historians with a unique opportunity to engage in history with the living (High, 2014). Oral history traces not just what women did, but what they remembered, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did (Portelli, 1991). Drawing on this tradition, I will capture stories of these women's journey by recording and highlighting the changes that took place in their lives. As they tell their stories, I will listen for how they discuss the roles of power, privilege, and oppression in their migration experiences. Current scholarship in oral history upholds the tradition of shared and collective storytelling and examines the relationship of immigration, violence, and memory. I will examine the emotional and traumatic experiences of loss and separation as Iranian immigrant women respond to the loss of homeland, wealth, employment, prestige, and social and political networks (Freund, 2014, 2011; Frisch, 1990; High, 2014; Little, High, & Duong, 2014).

I will also add to the critical literature on the historical processes of Canadianization to examine how race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality shaped what Iranian women were expected to do to become 'Canadian' women. Iranian women came to Canada under a post-1967 immigration system which removed discrimination on the basis of national origin in favour of a point-system based on such criteria as language, skill, and education; yet as many scholars have argued, such a system did not remove or eliminate racial, gender, and sexual discrimination (Arat-koc, 1997; Dua, 2007; Flynn, 2011; Hellwig & Thobani, 2006; Iacovetta, 2006; Joy, 2015; Razack, Smith, & Thobani, 2010; Thobani, 2007). How did Iranian women identify themselves in terms of racial, religious, and national identities? How did these complex identities translate into Canadian terms, and how were they understood and represented by Canadian society? How did these representations change over time? Oral history methodology will be enriched through photo and video elicitation techniques involving reflection on family photographs or videos, archives, newspapers, and film and television resources. This technique expands the possibilities of research and produces a different kind of information rooted in the evocation of feelings, gestures, and memories that may differ from the traditional verbal interview (Little, High, & Duong, 2014; McAllister, 2010). Finally, I will analyze historical textual materials including mainstream newspapers and community papers in English and Persian, such as *Iran*, *Salam*, *Tehran Times*, and *Zan*. My fluency in both Persian and English allows me to critically analyze how Persian-language newspapers in Iran portrayed and commented on

the women who left Iran for Canada while simultaneously analyzing how Canadian media sources understood the revolution and the migration associated with it. All of these newspapers are accessible online or are housed in Canadian or Iranian archives such as the Iranian-Canadian Centre for Art and Culture and the National Library of Iran.

I am now pursuing a Doctoral Degree in the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies at Simon Fraser University. I have completed all course requirements and am currently completing comprehensive exams. SFU is the best university at which to undertake this project. The university has an oral lab and scholars in the field who can provide practical support and critical engagement. My research benefits from the senior supervision of Dr. Lara Campbell, who is an expert in women's and gender history and post-war Canada. Dr. Campbell also taught me the important role university research plays in listening to what communities can tell us about the diversity of the Canadian experience. Since Canada has historically been and continues to be an immigrant-receiving state, my dissertation will add to a vital and growing body of scholarship on the critical study of immigration and settlement in Canada. My supervisory committee includes Dr. Özlem Sensoy, who specializes in Middle-East studies, post-colonial feminism, and critical race feminist theory. Dr. Habiba Zaman, the third member of my committee, has expertise in transnational labour and immigration. My first language is Persian, and I have personal and professional contacts within the Persian community in Vancouver. I am therefore extremely well-positioned to undertake this complex and nuanced project.

Acknowledgments: I am grateful to Dr. Habiba Zaman and Dr. Sandiza Habib for providing me with the opportunity to participate in the International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion. I also extend my gratitude to the workshop participants and attendees for the fruitful discussions. I recognize and acknowledge that SFU is on the ancestral, unceded, and rightful lands of the Coast Salish peoples, including the Musqueam, Squamish, Kwikwetlem, Tsleil-Waututh, Katzie, Kwantlen, and Qayqayt Nations.

APPENDIX II: INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP PROGRAM

International Workshop on Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion
Jointly Organized by: Simon Fraser University, Canada & Hohai University, China

Simon Fraser University Vancouver Campus
Harbour Centre, 515 West Hastings, Vancouver
Ancestral & Unceded Territory of the Musqueam, Squamish & Tsleil-Waututh Nations

PROGRAM
June 1st 2019 Saturday
Time: 8:00 am – 5:00 pm

8:00 am – 9:00 am: Registration and Breakfast
9:00 am – 9:30 am: Opening Session
Welcome Address: Habiba Zaman, Professor, GSWS, SFU
Opening Remarks: Lara Campbell, Chair and Professor, GSWS, SFU
Zhu Xiujie, Director, RCGAD and Associate Professor, Hohai University

9:30 am – 11:00 am: Session I
Gender and Diversity
Facilitator: Rebecca Yoshizawa, GSWS Sessional Lecturer, Simon Fraser University
Speakers:

- Reema Faris, GSWS PhD Student, Simon Fraser University
  "It's a Fact! Or is It? The Turbulence of Gender"
- June Scudeler, FNST/GSWS Assistant Professor, Simon Fraser University
  "Gender and Sexuality: Indigenous Ways of Knowing"
- Asma Sayed, Faculty, Kwantlen Polytechnic University
  "Understanding Gender Justice through the Lens of Cinema"

Note Takers: Sanzida Habib and Parboti Roy, University of British Columbia

11:15 am – 12:45 am: Session II
Genders and Sexuality
Facilitator: Habiba Zaman, Professor, Simon Fraser University
Speakers:

- Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, GSWS Senior Lecturer, Simon Fraser University
  "Sexuality and the City (Vancouver): What are the Links?"
- Ann Travers, Professor, Simon Fraser University
  "Transgender Children on the Margins"
- Yanhua Wu, Associate Professor, Hohai University
  "Burmese Marriage Immigrants in China"

Note Takers: Jessica Horsnell and Veronica Sudesh, GSWS MA Students, Simon Fraser University

12:45 pm – 1:45 pm: Lunch

1:45 pm – 3:15 am: Session III

Gender and Society

Facilitator: Chen Shaojun, Professor, Hohai University

Speakers:

- Zhu Xiujie, Associate Professor, Hohai University
  "The Role of All China Women's Federation in Development"
- Rina Pradhan, Research Associate, CISAR, University of British Columbia
  "Adolescent Pregnancy in Rural Nepali Communities"
- Somayeh Bahrami, GSWS PhD student
  "Iranian Women in Vancouver: Gender, Class, Race, and Post Revolution Migration"
- Sanzida Habib, Research Associate, CISAR, University of British Columbia
  "Gender, Migration, and Settlement: Examples from the Bangladeshi Community"

Note Takers: Shoak Alhussami and Leena Hasan, GSWS MA student and MA, Simon Fraser University

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3:15 pm – 3:30 pm: Refreshment Break

3:30 pm – 5:00 pm: Session IV

Gender Lens in International Development Projects

Facilitator: Sanzida Habib, Research Associate, CISAR, University of British Columbia

Speakers:

- Chen Shaojun, Professor, Hohai University
  "Bridging the Gap in Development: Gender Impact Assessment in Hydropower Project"
- Zafar Adeel, Professor, Simon Fraser University
  "Women and Water in the Arab Region"
- Rebecca Yoshizawa, Faculty, Kwantlen Polytechnic University
  "Gender and Reproduction: An International Perspective"

Note Takers: Somayeh Bahrami and Reema Faris, GSWS PhD Students, Simon Fraser University

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Organizers

Habiba Zaman, GSWS Professor, SFU, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada
Shi Guoqing, Professor and Director of RCGD and NRCR, Hohai University, Nanjing, China
Xiujie Zhu, Associate Professor and Director of RCGRD, Hohai University, Nanjing, China

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Additional Support

Roberta Neilson, GSWS Manager ⁎ Mazhar Haque, Videographer
Sanzida Habib, Poster and Program Designer ⁎ Somayeh Bahrami, Conference Assistant

As a result of gender ideology, women have been denied economic independence and social and sexual freedom because of dominant normative discourses and practices such as the domestic sphere, marriage, motherhood, and compulsory heterosexuality...This gender ideology must be disrupted along with other vectors of human categorization including race, income, location, disability, and more...No one is trying to demolish the identities of those who are comfortable saying "I am a man" or "I am a woman," but their right to self-determination and self-expression cannot preempt the rights of others to claim, without threat to their bodies and their personhood, a variable, distinctive, and unique gender identity.
~ Reema Faris, It's a fact! Or is it? The Turbulence of Gender

[T]rans kids are to be found in every population, whether they make themselves visible or not. No discussion of trans kids' life chances in British Columbia—the province where I live—and Canada as a whole would be complete without talking about children living in poverty and/or in government care, among whom the most vulnerable trans kids are to be found. One in five BC children grow up in poverty, and Indigenous children, children of new immigrants, and visibly racialized children are disproportionately likely to be part of this 20%. ~ Ann Travers, Transgender Children on the Margins: Impacts of Colonialism, Racism, and Poverty

Editors

Habiba Zaman is Professor of the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies at Simon Fraser University in Canada.

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