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Intersectional rhythmanalysis: Power, rhythm, and everyday life

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Abstract
This article examines rhythmanalysis within the context of Henri Lefebvre's critique of everyday life and identifies gaps in his framework from the vantage point of intersectional feminist scholarship. Intersectional rhythmanalysis, I argue, provides a framework through which to conceptualize the braiding together of rhythms, social categories of difference, and power on non-essentialist bases. I interweave findings from doctoral research on migrant farmworker rhythms in rural southern Ontario, Canada. The article argues that rhythms help produce unequal subject positions of migrants in Canada, yet also represent lived uses of space and times which permit transgressions of racial, gender, and class boundaries.

Keywords
Canada, feminist geography, intersectionality, migration, mobility, rhythmanalysis, unfree labour

I Introduction

Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life* (2004)[1] outlines an approach centred on the study of daily rhythms as a gateway to Marxist sociology. According to Stuart Elden, in his introduction to the book (2004: viii), the slim volume is the de facto fourth volume of the trilogy of volumes, *Critique of Everyday Life* (2005, 2008a, 2008b).[2] In them, Lefebvre conceptualizes rhythms as starting-points for studying biological, social, and economic ebbs and flows that constitute everyday life under industrial capitalism. Lefebvre was particularly curious about the ways everyday rhythms continuously defy the impositions of linear and abstract space-time. Situated in postwar France, Lefebvre apprehended everyday life, as well as work, as a source of alienation. Commuting, facilitated by mass production of and middle-class access to cars, was a component part of these new postwar rhythms of everyday life. The journey-to-work was emblematic of new experiences of 'constrained time', distinct from work and leisure, but itself a new form of compulsion (to paraphrase Ross, 1995: 20–21).[3] Everyday life had become simultaneously fragmented and regimented, in his view, splitting space-time between work and home, between leisure and work, and between what he called lived and constrained (or 'compulsive') time (Lefebvre, 2005: 53, 58–9). Everyday life was, like the shop floor, defined by monotony, order, and alienation, itself a terrain of struggle between linear and cyclical time, between abstract and lived spaced, and between alienation and utopia.

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At various points in *CEL*, Lefebvre demonstrates that he was aware of French women's specific experiences of postwar life; women were entering the labour market – in particular, the service sector – while also targeted as home-based, feminized consumers of domestic products (Ross, 1995). Despite this cognizance, Lefebvre's focus unassumingly dwells on white, settled, citizen men's experience of postwar urban life. Women's experiences remain relevant only at the level of observation rather than systematic analysis; there is no reference to men of colour and immigrant men's subjectivities. I delve into these tensions and gaps by building from Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis using feminist intersectional thought (with a special focus on geographers' engagement with intersectional thinking), and examples from my own research. Intersectional feminist research attends to the inseparable, co-constituted, and contingent processes underpinning social categorization and social inequality, namely race, class and gender. In doing so I propose an approach called intersectional rhythmanalysis. I argue that Lefebvre's framework can be transposed from its original empirical context (French postwar cities) to other sites, including beyond the 'city' proper, focusing on rural roads as sites worthy of critical geographical analysis. I therefore argue that rhythmanalysis can be adapted and harnessed to encompass a broader range of subject positions and spaces than those we encounter in Lefebvre's work (see Buckley and Strauss, 2016).

The broad purpose of the article is to assess how rhythmanalysis can be used to study intersectional power relations (McDowell, 2008; Nash, 2008; Valentine, 2007) and how intersectional analysis can give greater analytical edge to rhythmanalysis. Using my own research, I focus on migrant workers' experiences of low-wage, unfree labour migration, patterns to which geographers have become increasingly attentive (Buckley, 2014; Lewis et al., 2014; McDowell and Dyson, 2011; Strauss and McGrath, 2016). Using rhythmanalysis, I argue for intersectional analyses of power differentials on a 'more than metaphoric' basis. I contextualize the approach I propose here by discussing findings of my dissertation research on migrant farmworker (im)mobilities in southwestern Ontario, Canada. Building from Lefebvre's original intervention, in conversation with intersectionality theory, I suggest the following: Rhythms create quotidian disciplinary conditions upon which exploitative migration and mobilities regimes rest. Rhythms reflect and reproduce intersectional power categories. Third, rhythms represent lived uses of space and times; as I will explore below, migrant subjects negotiate and sometimes transgress racial, sexual, gender, class, and colonial boundaries embedded in spatial and temporal orders.

Rhythmanalysis research has been harnessed in urban and cultural geography to consider the temporalities and flows that characterize particular streets, squares, festivals and other spaces of contemporary consumption (Borch et al., 2015; Crang, 1999; Edensor, 2010; Jirón, 2010; Lager et al., 2016; Meyer, 2008; Schwanen et al., 2012; Simpson, 2012; Spinnney, 2010). There is literature that explicitly 'rhythmanalyses' employment-related spatio-temporalities (Borch et al., 2015; Jiron, 2010) as well as difference and inequality (Jiron, 2010; Schwanen et al., 2012; Lager et al., 2015; Spinney, 2010). Indeed, power differentials and temporality go hand-in-hand, as time configures economic, political and social relationships (see Edensor and Holloway, 2008), like migrant labour (Axelsson et al., 2017; Rajkumar et al., 2012; Robertson, 2014; Yea, 2017). These authors show how states, employers, and other actors use time to discipline and organize migrant status and labour. Time enters into migrants' lived experiences, access to space, and circulation, identities and agency in the labour market, in the workplace, and in terms of access to services and belonging. My

article places rhythmanalysis in conversation with this small body of research, as well as other subfields, in particular intersectional feminist scholarship on migration, mobilities, and labour. The article connects longstanding interest in Lefebvre's body of scholarship with pressing political questions about labour migration and mobilities today.

The first half of the article is dedicated to unpacking Lefebvre's approach to rhythmanalysis in relation to intersectional research. Using field observations from my research (described in Section IV), the second half of the article examines daily and weekly patterns in which migrants negotiate limited 'free time' and access to social space. I highlight several challenges and risks migrant farm workers face at the level of these daily and weekly rhythms, and in doing so I harness rhythmanalysis to argue that migrant farm workers' unfreedom becomes routine and patterned in rhythms. Rhythms are therefore implicated in making and reproducing unequal race, class and gender categories, while at the same time migrants' rhythms reveal agentive uses of space and time.

II Why rhythmanalysis?

Taken as a whole, Lefebvre's work provides us with a useful framework centred on lived experiences of capitalist space and time. Reading *Rhythmanalysis* in relation to *CEL*, Lefebvre shifts critical analysis from 'the factory floor' – then the site par excellence for Marxist sociology and French communist critique – to urban space and the realm of what he called everyday life. In *CEL* and *Rhythmanalysis*, Lefebvre posits that the abstract time-space of industrial capitalism and postwar modernization is manifest in 'lived, daily, almost imperceptible rhythms' (Ross, 1995: 6). His framework is instructive in underscoring how capitalism organizes and restructures lived experiences of space and time. Both capitalist space and linear time shape daily and longer-term rhythms. The originality and richness of Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* lies in apprehending the less perceptible and overlooked rhythms involved in lived experiences of urban space-time. In an early *Antipode* article, Marshall Feldman ambitiously proclaimed that the journey-to-work had the 'more or less contradictory function as commodity, reproducer of labor power, social control mechanism, and structurer of space' (Feldman, 1977: 30). Curiously, Feldman notes that this travel is part of the 'work' of consumption required for production, and therefore 'essentially unpaid labour' (p. 32). Indeed, the journey-to-and-from-work has been the normative framework for understanding daily urban rhythms. Our daily travel practices tacking between home and work are not considered paid work, despite the ubiquitous fact that all manner of travel is often required to get to-and-from paid employment.

Framing rhythms as an aspect of mobilities, Tim Cresswell (2010: 23) notes: 'Rhythms are composed of repeated moments of movement and rest, or, alternatively, simply repeated movements within a particular measure' (see also Edensor, 2010: 6). Cresswell points out that rhythms exude both spontaneous and measured qualities, that there is a relationship between rhythms and everyday life, and that rhythms are necessarily implicated in the structure and restructuring of social worlds. These distinctions are crucial, because the lived, residual character of rhythms denotes rhythmanalysis' particularity as an analytic framework. Rhythmanalysis refers to the inalienable, lived, and interstitial aspects of social space and time which systems-level analyses of mobility may neglect or overlook. This is not to suggest that mobility research on systems is unimportant. My intent is rather to suggest that rhythmanalysis in Lefebvre's formulation focuses on the specificity of *everyday* patterning and routines of movement and rest existing at once within but never entirely subsumed or determined by such systems.

Several additional dimensions to Lefebvre's study of rhythms are worth identifying here. Rhythmanalysis lends time a role alongside space, though it occupies a relatively marginal position in geographical research more broadly (see May and Thrift, 2001). His analysis is also keenly relational and inter-scalar. Throughout *Rhythmanalysis*, Lefebvre analytically scans rhythms across scale, remaining especially attentive to the biological, lived body ('so neglected in philosophy that it kicks up a fuss', p. 20). While observing street life from his window, his method starts from the observer's own embodied sensory capacities (listening to street-level rhythms) as means to understanding the social realities that rhythms disclose.

Lefebvre discerned three notions of rhythms – *polyrhythmia*, *eurhythmia*, and *arrhythmia* (2004: 16). *Polyrhythmia* refers to diverse, co-existing rhythms; *eurhythmia* to ensembles of rhythms so routine as to have normalizing and naturalizing qualities; and, finally, *arrhythmia* to discordant rhythms that break apart, and may create 'a fatal disorder' (p. 16). Eurhythms are, he highlights, the product of repetition and *dressage* (training, to break-in) (2004: 38–9). Lefebvre refers to 'dominating-dominated rhythms', which he defines as 'everyday or long-lasting [rhythms] . . . aiming for an effect that is beyond themselves' (2004: 18). The social times of revolution, he mentions, necessarily involve transformations in rhythms: 'for there to be change, a social group, a class, or a caste must intervene by imprinting a rhythm on an era' (2004: 14). Finally, rhythms are also place- and region-specific (2004: 85–100). As others have taken up, rhythms are imbricated in place- and nation-making processes even if such places may themselves be mobile (Edensor and Holloway, 2008; Jirón, 2010).

Typically, studies on unfree labour migration examine more overtly coercive and vertical forms of domination by recruiters, state actors and employers. For the purposes of this article, rhythmanalysis is significant because it brings into focus how unfree and exploitative labour migration regimes are constituted, re-constituted, and disrupted in everyday patterns, routines, repetitions, and flows. Lefebvre's distinctions between different typologies of rhythms provide a useful entry point for understanding how intersectional categories of social difference are enacted through daily rhythms in exploitative labour migration arrangements.

III Why intersectional rhythmanalysis?

Feminist scholarship and feminist social movements evolved considerably between the publication of *CEL* (1947) and *Rhythmanalysis* (1992). Women and the domestic space in the postwar era were, for Lefebvre, essential sites of investigation in his critique of everyday life. Kristin Ross (1995: 58) notes that Lefebvre 'discovered' the concept of everyday life 'when his wife walked into the apartment holding a box of laundry soap and said, quite seriously, "This is an excellent product"'. Here, a moment of intellectual breakthrough for Lefebvre was in fact work for his wife. In his writing, Lefebvre addressed the domestic sphere, new household consumer goods, women's magazines, and even new labour market processes as women entered the service sector (see *CEL*, 2008: 78–87; Ross, 1995: ch. 2). But his analysis fails to synthetically theorize gendered exploitation, spatialities and subjectivities, let alone discuss how these combined with class and racial oppressions in the postwar era. Questions of sexual, gender, racial and colonial exploitation in French everyday life have only been 'read into' Lefebvre's scholarship, by interlocutors like Kristin Ross. What Lefebvre characterizes as everyday life cannot justifiably be viewed as a gender, class, or race neutral arena and neither can rhythms. There is also Lefebvre's claim, with the Situationists, that everyday life was subject to patterns of 'interior colonization' by consumerist and state bureaucratic capitalism (Merrifield,

2006: 44; Ross, 1995: 7–8, ch. 4). Here too, however, Lefebvre's analysis fails to attend to the specificity of French racism and colonialism (on this point see Kipfer et al., 2012: 122).

My critique of Lefebvre in this regard is not new. Feminist geographers have interrogated Lefebvre's own oeuvre and Lefebvrian-inspired urban research. Examining Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, Heidi Nast and Virginia Blum (1996) distinguish how his sociospatial concept of subjectivity remains heterosexist, particularly as it relates to gender schemas and heterosexual family norms. In blunter terms, others have noted:

> Lefebvre was as little a feminist or queer theorist of gender and sexuality as he was a theorist of colonial history. In fact, Lefebvre had a basic tendency to describe women and men in essentialist terms or deploy gendered or heteronormative imagery to describe the world. (Kipfer et al., 2012: 124)

Buckley and Strauss (2016) focus on the politics of knowledge production and 'epistemological frictions' latent in Lefebvre's body of work; in much urban research, Lefebvre's ideas have been used and applied in ways which reproduce categorical and hegemonic notions of the urban, while systemically eliding and minimizing feminist, queer, and postcolonial urban research. Still, most of these authors continue to recognize the possibility that Lefebvre's ideas hold for what might be loosely labelled intersectional research – research that seeks to identify gender, sexuality, race, and colonial categories of inequality and difference in order to undo them.

Beyond Lefebvre-specific critiques, diverse feminist scholarship has drawn attention to the intersectional dimensions of rhythms *qua* forms of labour and everyday life. 'Inequalities', recent feminist scholarship has argued, 'influence not only which social groups engage in different types of employment-related geographical mobility, but also its conditions (for example, who pays), rhythms (that is, work schedules), and specific consequences' (Roseman et al., 2015: 178). Daily work-life schedules, and the flows, frictions, and stasis associated with the boundaries between leisure, work, and employment, provide an empirical foothold for studying intersecting gender, race, and class positions (among other signifiers of social difference), how power differentials are organized through rhythms, and how risk and vulnerability are borne at the level of rhythms. Social differences and social oppressions are not static, but are made and remade through spatio-temporal arrangements like rhythms. As early as the 1950s feminist critics and thinkers were identifying how the separation of productive and reproductive spheres was essential to the gender exploitation of women's unpaid labour under capitalism, patterns which have continued as women have entered the paid labour force (Dalla Costa and James, 1975; McDowell and Dyson, 2011). Others, like Glenn (1992) and Collins (1990), interrogated and theorized labour from the vantage points of working-class, racialized, and immigrant women who worked outside the home, who were *multiple* job holders. For these workers, and racialized working-class men, their experiences of urban rhythms could be equated with the monotonous ordering that Lefebvre discerned among male industrial workers (who were supported by unpaid caregivers in the home, thus allowing male workers their 'leisure time') and also among middle- and upper-class female homemakers.

Feminist geographical and urban research provided evidence as to the gender-differentiated character of the journey-to-work and the gendered configurations of women's rhythms within cities (see *inter alia* England, 1993; Massey, 1994; Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Wekerle, 1984). Their research showed that women travelled shorter distances to work and less frequently, particularly in female-dominated occupations, and relied more heavily

on public transit. Kim England stated that women's journeys-to-work reflect 'an effort to juggle a multiplicity of overlapping and often contradictory roles and spatial factors' (England, 1993: 237). Women's rhythms complicated clear-cut distinctions between work and home, and between work and leisure – the order of everyday life that Lefebvre critiqued. Feminist geographers identified how the normative qualities of the postwar North American city were masculinist and classist (Hayden, 1980; Wekerle, 1984), serving to extract women's labour on a subordinate and segmented basis. Susan Hanson and Geraldine Pratt (1995: 8) poignantly explain: 'the spatial separation between residential suburb and urban workplaces is integral, not incidental, to the conceptual and practical separation of home and economy and to the difficulties that women experience in combining domestic and wage labor'. Together, this research critiqued normative schemas of everyday life, both in terms of how cities and the labour market were socially, temporally, and spatially organized as well as in terms of how urban and labour scholarship itself normalized and naturalized these gendered structures and relationships.

The majority of this research, however, was not intersectional. White women's experiences were construed as women's experience (see the introduction to Hanson and Pratt, 1995, as well as Johnston-Anumonwo, 1995; Parks, 2016: 4; Burgos and Pulido, 1998). Intersectionality in feminist research refers to the inextricable and inseparable relational character of social differences (of race, gender, sexuality, class, dis/ability, etc.) in lived experience and on conceptual and legal grounds (Crenshaw, 1991; Nash, 2008; Valentine, 2007). In a passage from *Gender Trouble* obliquely referencing intersectionality, Judith Butler (1990: 3) emphasizes the geographical and historical contingency of social categories of the subject. This is, of course, central to Butler's rejection of foundational and essential concepts of identity and subjectivity.

> If one 'is' a woman, that is surely not all one is; the term fails to be exhaustive, not because a pregendered 'person' transcends the specific paraphernalia of its gender, but because gender is not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical contexts, and because gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities. As a result it becomes impossible to separate out 'gender' from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained.

Butler refers not only to intersecting social differences but also to 'regional modalities' and 'political and cultural intersections'. The historical and geographical contingencies of difference formation have been central to geographers' use of intersectionality theory (Gahman, 2017; Valentine, 2007).

Intersectionality has been roundly debated on conceptual and methodological grounds. As a spatial metaphor, an 'intersection' of social differences supposes independent a priori categories coming into relation with one another and 'adding' to one another. Though most feminist research seeks to document the processes that create social categories, Jennifer Nash argues that research on intersectionality replicates the very same cumulative concept of identities research seeks to critique (2008: 6; see also Brown, 2011: 2; McDowell, 2008: 492; Valentine, 2007). In geography proper, there are considerable divergences in geographers' theorizations and applications of intersectional analysis. Ruthie Gilmore (2002, 2007) analyses race, class, and gender differences in the context of the California prison system, but outright avoids referring to intersectionality theory, opting instead for the metaphor 'fatal couplings' – she argues that power/difference couple to create racism, which she defines as exposure to premature death. Gilmore's provocation is one that asks both how categories are produced, and more so what categories *do* – how they contain, segregate, maim, warehouse, and take life. In

the remainder of the article, I will use the term intersectionality. In recognition of Gilmore's critique, however, I have devised the term 'fatal intersections' to more fully capture the effects of intersectionality, which I explore in the discussion below.

In rhythmanalysis research specifically, there is limited engagement with intersectional questions and critique of power and difference: How are rhythms organized, how are they experienced, and what power relations do rhythms secure? How are differences configured, enacted and negotiated in everyday life? What labour divisions and forms of exploitation are involved in everyday rhythms? In Schwanen et al.'s research (2015) on the promotion of the nighttime economy in Dutch cities, they show how race and ethnic exclusions against racial minorities articulate along spatial lines, while women's participation varies on temporal terms, over the course of the day/night. Lager et al. (2016) examine neighbourhoods and age differences among older adults, again in Holland. Neoliberal-informed discourses of ageing, they argue, devalue the slower, static, and 'non-working' rhythms of older adults in the context of ageing-in-place policy. Slowing down is associated with 'feeling old', and these negative connotations attached to rhythm and age are relational, posited against the busy re/producing timings of younger adults with children and paid work lives. They state (2016: 1569):

> [F]ocusing on the everyday reveals how the rhythms of both places and people are ordered, and how these orderings may vary by social group and/or by age group. Essentially, the rhythmic orderings of the everyday contribute to how people experience daily life and how they value their own rhythms in relation to those of others.

Their research provokes several questions: What are the continuities and transformations in our everyday and embodied rhythms? How are rhythms perceived as valuable or lacking value, or as normal or deviant? Lager et al. suggest that the reworking and intensification of rhythms of work and reproduction are not unidirectional but rather manifest and materialize unevenly, in terms of how older people's slow, neighbourhood- and home-bound rhythms are seen as unproductive. In a quite different but complementary vein of social theory, Lauren Berlant (2011) engages Lefebvre's framework of everyday life, but argues that risk, unpredictability, and constant negotiation define contemporary life, rather than the ordered rhythms of Anglo-American middle-class postwar life. Consequently, Berlant considers 'crisis ordinaries' (2011: 8–9) more conceptually appropriate in capturing the lived vagaries that contemporary social worlds signify and pose.

An intersectional rhythmanalysis can help to unpack and theorize unpredictable and risk-laden rhythms that articulate along intersectional lines. Based on my own research, I build from the literature above to develop, in what follows, intersectional rhythmanalysis. The sections below describe how rhythms play a role in producing, reproducing, and disrupting constellations of interrelated race, gender, and class categories in the context of migrant farm workers' everyday lives. I explore: (1) how migrant farm workers are exposed to disproportionate risks as bicyclists on rural roads; (2) how migrants negotiate and transgress spatio-temporal boundaries in creating social spaces in rural towns; and (3) finally, how intersectional differences between migrant farm workers are produced within rhythmic practices.

IV Research note

This article is based on a sub-set of research findings from my dissertation, which focused on migrants' travel practices and experiences in rural Ontario, namely how migrants' travel practices were restricted and enabled. I conducted the study over two growing seasons,

collecting qualitative data through interviews, surveys, and participant observation. In this article specifically, I draw from field notes compiled over the course of the project, based on approximately 400 hours of time spent as a volunteer with local migrant advocates and in migrant social spaces, mainly weekends and evenings in various areas in southwestern Ontario. I recorded notes about all aspects of the research process, including how I met, interacted with and recruited participants, the textures and atmospheres of the places where I was doing the research, how interviews proceeded, and so forth. Alongside observation, I interviewed and surveyed[4] migrant farmworkers from Mexico, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, as well as agricultural employers, and local government officials and migrant advocates. In all, there were 70 participants in the project. In this article I do not draw directly from interviews or surveys, yet my analysis and claims are based on broader set of qualitative data and analytical context. The identities of research participants are confidential and pseudonyms are used; some identifying details have been changed to ensure participant identities remain confidential.

V Fatal intersections

On a Tuesday evening in September 2005, a man driving toward Delhi, Ontario,[5] hit three bicyclists, killing two of them, William Bell and Desmond McNeil, and seriously injuring a third man, Frederick Smith. It was dusk and a clear night. The driver, Charles Morris, a Canadian-born Caucasian, was irregularly employed as a farmworker in this rural area. Bell, McNeil and Smith were men from Jamaica. Like Morris they were farmworkers but were employed as seasonal guestworkers on a nearby vegetable farm through Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP). That September evening, they had been on their way to use a payphone after work.

Eventually, Morris was charged and convicted for dangerous driving, but received a conditional sentence,[6] involving house arrest and other mobility restrictions over a two-year period. He could leave his home only to travel to and from work. To shop and run basic errands, Morris was permitted to go out for three hours per week, and he was prohibited from driving for ten years. In his sentencing, the judge noted that Canadian citizens rely on cars as their primary means of transportation, with no public transit in many rural areas. The sentence would make getting to work challenging for Morris. Unable to retain his job, Morris eventually left rural Ontario to work in heavy machinery in western Canada, just like thousands of others who travel to find work in Canada's resource extractive industries, which relies heavily on international and internal labour migrants. Restrictions imposed on Morris' mobility for the length of his sentence are somewhat akin to the everyday (im)mobility that farmworkers like Bell, Smith, McNeil and roughly 30,000 others experience within the context of Canada's SAWP (Government of Canada, 2016).[7] Morris' sentence forced him to experience *to a limited degree* the conditions of institutionalized *unfreedom* (Perry, 2012; Sharma, 2006; Strauss and McGrath, 2016) his victims lived in their everyday lives and workplaces.

The SAWP is Canada's longest-standing low-wage guestworker program, a sub-stream of Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP). Under the SAWP, migrants from Mexico and the English-speaking Caribbean are authorized to work on Canadian farms for up to eight months a year, but lack access to permanent status in Canada. Their legal status is thus best characterized as 'permanently temporary' (Rajkumar et al., 2012). Regulating migrants as subordinate in the labour market and as essential but non-citizen others within Canada rests upon multiple exclusions and restrictions, resulting in a highly docile, flexible farm workforce (Basok et al., 2013; Preibisch, 2010; Sharma, 2006).

Migrant farmworkers in the SAWP enter Canada seasonally under closed work permits, restricting them to work for one specific employer. Employers are contractually obligated to provide migrants with housing, usually on-farm. Migrants are given short periods of time off-farm each week, to shop on Friday evenings between roughly 6 pm and 9 pm, and are often required to inform their employers as to their whereabouts during their free time. Most migrant farmworkers in Ontario lack access to cars and are reliant on their employers and on bikes to get around. Migrants' 'free time' and access to social space is carefully monitored and controlled by employers and state officials charged with managing migrant labour at daily levels. This control and monitoring is essential to securing and extracting value from migrants' labour.

First, rhythms buttress and undergird the systems of spatial and social control described above. As Lefebvre emphasizes, rhythms imply an element of repetition, involving varying levels of measure, obligation, and calculation (2004: 8). The SAWP is composed of multiple inter-scalar and inter-connected rhythms. Canadian agricultural cycles shape transnational labour migration flows. Migrants cannot remain in Canada for more than eight months and must return to their countries of origin by 15 December of each year. Deportation is used as a disciplinary tool to ensure worker compliance with this regime (Basok et al., 2013). Citizenship exclusions and the demands of Canadian agriculture drive seasonal migratory rhythms. At weekly and daily levels, migrants work long hours and face strict restrictions around their free time and access to non-work social space. I consider the daily and local patterning of migrant rhythms important facets of the internal and often intimate border logics of labour migration management. In other contexts, agricultural migration regimes are managed quite differently from the SAWP (see Simpson, 2011; Gertel and Sippel, 2014). Despite these distinctions, the 'queer time' (Oswin, 2012) and spatialities of migrants' everyday lives (their blurred work/live spaces, experiences of confinement and detention, etc.) are well-documented by feminist geographers and other migration scholars (Buckley, 2014; Conlon, 2011; Constable, 2009; Robertson, 2014; Seo and Skelton, 2016; Yeoh and Huang, 2010). The ubiquity of overt constraints around where and how migrant workers dispose of their 'free time' signals the fundamental role such constraints play in the regulation of 'hyper-precarious' living and conditions for migrants (Lewis et al., 2014). While Lefebvre referred to interior colonization to explain the effects of modernization and bureaucratic capitalism on French postwar life, the SAWP represents a *neo-colonial* labour migration regime. To say that everyday life is colonized is not simply a metaphor in the case of the SAWP, but a direct reference to its patent coloniality.

Second, I argue that the road collision between Morris and the bicyclists was a *fatal intersection* between unequally situated subjects, materially rather than metaphorically speaking. What intersected in this context was not social differences per se, but assemblages of human and non-human bodies (i.e. machines) with unequal capacities to move, work, reside, and access services. My use of the term 'fatal intersection' distinguishes how energy, space, and time interlace with power to produce violent outcomes – in Lefebvre's terms, an *arrhythmic* event. Arrhythmic yet also normalized; the ecological and physical violence of auto-dependency is deeply ordinary (Spinnney, 2010), as are the risks that migrants' face in Canada's SAWP. This fatal intersection is not anomalous, it is akin to Ruth Gilmore's (2002) argument that power and difference produce 'fatal couplings' for racialized subjects. Indeed, holding Morris individually culpable for these violent events in the legal proceedings hid the broader spatial, temporal and legal forces that generated these violent events. Researchers

have documented how migrants in the SAWP face significant occupational health and safety hazards related to the exploitative nature of the program (Preibisch and Hennebry, 2011). The spatio-temporalities of bicycling fatalities suggest that occupational hazards do not solely occur at the site of the workplace proper, but bleed into non-work spaces – rural roads. This brings into play a broader set of actors, while also demonstrating how migrant farmworkers' insecurity and disposability is braided into the social and spatial fabrics of daily life (Berlant, 2011; Jirón, 2010).

If rhythms help configure and are symptomatic of oppression and labour exploitation, and if rhythms predispose migrants to greater violence in workplaces and other spaces like rural roads, it is clear that rhythms serve and reinforce extant power relations – within the workplace, within the nation, and in relationships between North and South.

VI Negotiating rhythms

If rhythms imply imposed orders as well as lived cycles, according to Lefebvre (2004: 8, ch. 4), how might migrants' enactment of everyday rhythms confound oppressive logics of migration and work regimes? This section explores how migrants' rhythms reshape social spaces and create room where relationships beyond their workplaces (to which they are otherwise relatively confined). Migrants negotiate and transgress the strict boundaries described in the passage above. Migrants' arrival in rural communities creates encounters between drivers and migrants on rural roads during warmer months of the year. Rural roads are marked by different ensembles of rhythms from the ones Lefebvre observed from his Paris apartment window. These rhythms shape rural places (Conlon, 2010; Jirón, 2010; Massey, 1994: 146–56) as seasons unfold, dynamically related to transnational circulation of agricultural labour migration and daily constraints around migrants' access to and use of space and time. Rural places, then, are shaped by coexisting, multiple, polyrhythmic assemblages.

On warm summer evenings, the town of Delhi feels almost lively.[8] Otherwise, it is a sleepy place. On those nights, if you know where to look, you can find somewhere to have a drink, and even dance. There is a bar in a local motel, where for CAD $10 you can get plate of rice and peas with jerk chicken, prepared by a Canadian-Jamaican couple who run the motel and spin reggae while patrons shoot pool and play dominoes. At a Polish Veterans' Legion you can head to the basement with a bar and dance floor. Some nights they spin rancheras and cumbias, other times country music, and at other points, dancehall and reggae. These spaces flourish because of the seasonal influx of migrant farmworkers from Mexico, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados. Most migrants are men, at least around Delhi. Farms clustered around Delhi allow migrants to bike to-and-from the town either daily or weekly, depending on distance, and how much energy migrants have left after very full, difficult days of work. There are also Christian sidewalk proselytizers who gather in an attempt to convert the men who converge on the town. An evening medical clinic run by volunteers offers services for migrants who cannot attend regular 9–5 clinic hours.

The mise en scène sketched above draws attention to qualitative, lived experiences of so-called 'free' time and space, or leisure. While critics of the SAWP justifiably label it is as an unfree labour regime, in the SAWP time and space are arguably unfree, too. Lefebvre was particularly critical of the notion of 'free time' and leisure as new social needs, arguing that there is 'alienation in leisure just as in work' (2005: 39), much as Marx had highlighted how free waged labour was not truly 'free'. Lefebvre notes, '*leisure activities* are also produced (and productive), although they are proclaimed *free* and even "free time"' (2004: 32,

emphasis in original). In desiring breaks from waged work through leisure, rhythms represent concrete critiques of alienation (2005: 29). Claire Revol (2015), a leading French Lefebvre philosopher, argues that rhythmanalysis ultimately refers to that which critiques everyday life *in practice* – what she calls an 'urban poetics' of lived space-time that refuses abstraction. Migrants' use of time at differing intervals reshapes rural spaces.

These agentive forms and uses of time and space are discernible among migrants within the SAWP and other contexts. The transnational social spaces that migrants' local rhythms generate reveal how migrants' lives in Canada's SAWP are not solely marked by control, segregation and stasis. Access to a bike or an employer or friend's vehicle is precisely what makes public space in Delhi and elsewhere accessible for workers. Feminist scholars, among them geographers, have documented how migrants use and shape social spaces, spaces often formed around their free time. Sometimes these spaces engender explicitly political spaces for advocacy (Constable, 2009) and other times involve the production of ethnically specific spaces of identity formation, comradeship, and sociality (Rogaly, 2009; Seo and Skelton, 2015; Simpson, 2011), what Cravey (2003) calls transnational spaces of social reproduction. By openly or covertly defying constraints around their use of time and accessing social spaces outside of agricultural workplaces, workers in the SAWP disrupt and transgress geographies of racial segregation and confinement, reshaping local social spaces.

VII Differentiated rhythms

One day in mid-summer as I was in the midst of my fieldwork, I received a call from a friend who I will call Lucho. I had only met Lucho a few Sundays earlier. It became immediately clear that Lucho is well-connected, being actively involved in an informal network between migrant farmworkers in south Essex County, Ontario. He organizes social events, like dinners hosted in bunkhouses, but also comes to the aid of workers facing emergencies like illness. An essential part of Lucho's week is attending Spanish mass. Mass services, held on Sunday evenings in a nearby Catholic church, are one of the channels through which migrants connect with one another. Lucho serves as a connector in part by having access to a van that his employer lends to him. When Lucho called me, he asked for a favour – could I drive someone to mass on his behalf? I said I could. He gave me contact and pick-up details.

I picked up several migrant women from the farm where they had just arrived in Canada to pack vegetables. The reason Lucho had connected us was because the women were concerned about being seen by male co-workers or their male boss getting into a vehicle with an unknown man. There are relatively few women who participate in the SAWP; studies have shown, however, that these women face more severe spatial restrictions and confinement at the level of workplaces and dormitories relative to their male counterparts in temporary labour migration programs in Canadian agriculture (Preibisch and Encalada Grez, 2010: 308). My passengers proceeded to tell me how their time on the packing line was highly surveilled by male counterparts. Just as they were monitored in the pack barn, sorting and bundling vegetables, their women-only dormitory – where they cooked, slept and rested – was closely supervised too. Over the next months, through these trips, I witnessed how these women were consumed by efforts to negotiate and make liveable what was a very difficult and exploitative work-life arrangement. What they faced as migrant women was different from Lucho, who had greater autonomy over his free time and access to a vehicle. While I knew a limited

number of migrant men who had access to farm vehicles for their own use, I have never encountered or heard of a migrant woman on a Canadian farm who did.

Gender and sexual exploitation enters into regulating both male and female migrant agricultural workers' access and use of space and time, albeit on different terms. Migrant men's rhythms stand out from the normalized, routine rhythms of white rural Canadian everyday life; the latter includes car ownership, heteronormative families, permanent settlement, participation in paid work from 9–5, and having "roots" in rural communities. These normative patterns are interlaid to produce what Lefebvre called eurhythmic arrangements. Migrants' position in rural Canadian contexts is out-of-place in relation to these normative rhythms of everyday life, in a number of different ways. They move back-and-forth between Mexico and Canada on a seasonal basis and do not have access to Canadian permanent citizenship; they do not have access to cars, they are racialized, and they live in single-sex dormitories with fellow male migrants adjacent to their workplaces, with limited autonomy over their private space and leisure time.

Migrant men's experiences overlap with but remain distinct from migrant women, who face strict feminized constraints from employers and male migrant counterparts. Thus, gender and sexual regulation configures migrant men and migrant women's relationships *to one another*; migrant women are not only monitored by men but can be dependent on them outside of work in order to circulate and gain access to services and social spaces like church or simply going out for coffee. Migrant women are much less visible in public spaces relative to migrant men. Indeed migrant spaces (like those described in the previous section) are coded as masculine. It should be noted that I too, as a white Canadian woman with access to a car, entered differentially into these relationships, both vis-à-vis Lucho and my female passengers. Their rhythms of daily and weekly travel (to church, to shop, to grab a beer or coffee, to meet friends) represent residual aspects of how and whether migrant men and women in the SAWP can move, where they can go, and who they encounter. This example indicates how repetitive uses of space, time and energy (what Lefebvre conceptualized as rhythms) are deeply unequal, but also relational.

Rhythms are eurhythmic in the sense that world historical differences like gender, race, and citizenship normalize in everyday rhythms. It is challenging to draw any further from Lefebvre on this point because Lefebvre largely essentialized gender differences between men and women (see Blum and Nast, 1996) and failed to attend to cross-cutting intersectional relationships. A spatial, intersectional and anti-essentialist concept of difference, inequality and rhythms is required here (Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Massey, 1994; Roseman et al., 2015). In this context, power differentials are enacted between migrant farm workers (here, men and women) as well as between differently situated women (migrant women and myself as a Canadian woman). Indeed, a priori power differentials between Lucho, migrant women, and myself (in this instance) manifest through our relative freedom and lack of freedom to dispose of our 'free time' and to circulate within rural communities, wider regions, and across international borders.

VIII Conclusion

In this article, I specifically argued for reading, theorizing, and applying rhythmanalysis within the context of the full set of volumes that constitute Lefebvre's *Critique of Everyday Life*. It was through the concept of everyday life that Lefebvre drew attention to transformations in lived space and time under postwar capitalism and, in particular, observed transformations in 'free time', including leisure and private space. Rhythmanalysis fundamentally represents, for Lefebvre, a critique of everyday life (Revol,

2015). Despite Lefebvre's rich theoretical legacy for studying everyday rhythms, his suggestive commentary on everyday life, 'free time', and postwar domestication leave out a great deal. Feminist, postcolonial and anti-racist interventions have identified Lefebvre's essentialist treatment of gender difference and outright elision of colonial, racial and sexual differences in his work (Blum and Nast, 1996; Buckley and Strauss, 2017; Kipfer et al., 2012). With recent exceptions (Lager et al., 2016; Schwanen et al., 2012), the majority of rhythmanalysis research does not address intersectional inequalities, exploitation and difference. Using qualitative research with migrant farm workers in southern Ontario, the article shows how rhythmanalysis provides a framework through which to conceptualize rhythms, social difference, and power on non-essentialist bases. I argue that rhythmanalysis emphasizes the processual and repetitive patterns and routines within which social categories of difference are both constituted and contested.

Control over rhythms is integral to reproducing labour migration regimes and the social differences upon which migration regimes rest. Just as Lefebvre argued that rhythms are imprinted on eras and regions, my argument here is that migration regimes are imprinted with rhythms as well. The SAWP tightly organizes and manages migrants' daily, weekly, and seasonal rhythms. Much like the unfree labour arrangements in which they are situated, migrants' 'free time' is subject to restrictions and migrants have limited and uneven access to social spaces outside of work. There is a racial, colonial, gender, and sexual politics to rhythms and the differential and deeply illiberal interventions operating at the level of rhythms. These controls over migrants' time and space predispose migrants to well-known and less predictable risks and vulnerabilities, such as in the case of bicycling fatalities; together these generate racial forms of risk (Gilmore, 2002) in migrants' everyday lives. I use the term 'fatal intersections' in concrete rather than metaphoric terms to argue that difference, power, and rhythms intersect materially as well as discursively. Migrants travel on rural roads by bike, often at night, during warmer period of the year when they are working in Canada. As bicyclists, migrant farmworkers' rhythms of local travel exist in the shadows of the wider community; migrants circulate in spaces, at times, and through modes different from normalized rhythms of rural Canada. Passing encounters (Wilson, 2011) between migrants and the driving public intermittently generate violent and tragic outcomes. My emphasis here is on the systemic character of violence in routine practices in the SAWP, reproducing embodied risks for migrants as racialized, poor and unfree subjects in Canadian communities. Placing more attention on intersectional forms of violence in rhythmanalysis research is therefore crucial.

Nonetheless, rhythms create opportunities for counter-rhythms, place-making and disruption. My research also shows how migrants negotiate the spatio-temporal constraints placed around them on Canadian farms. Building from critical and feminist migration research (Constable, 2009; Cravey, 2003; Rogaly, 2009; Silvey, 2004), I describe how, while migrants' use of time and space is restricted, they create relationships with each other and appropriate social spaces. Seasonal agricultural labour flows leave traces in relatively quiet rural places, where migrants congregate during their limited non-working hours. Rhythms shape the visibility and invisibility of migrants in public space and their ability to claim space. Rhythms are therefore transgressive rather than overtly political, as migrants breach boundaries.

Other lines of investigation could enrich further analytical uses of intersectional rhythmanalysis. These include issues of power, embodiment and the layering of rhythmic patterns. Lefebvre was emphatic that rhythmanalysis starts from the biological body. Consequently, exploring issues of embodiment and

rhythms – without essentializing and naturalizing the body – is an avenue for deepening intersectional rhythmanalysis. There are also significant outstanding questions on how to conceptualize power in rhythmanalysis, particularly the verticality of power and its relationship to everyday life. In terms of power 'from below', there are other forms of migrant counter-rhythms and disruption – interruptions that occur when workers quit mid-season, when they are threatened with removal, or when a migrant worker decides not to return to Canada for another season. Further research should explore interrelated *transnational* as well localized 'lines of flight', escape and counter-rhythms (as well as state and industry responses to these disruptions) in labour migration programs. In this vein, there is further potential to consider how migrant workers' spatio-temporal rhythms relate to labour agency, identity, and negotiation in labour migration processes (Axelsson et al., 2017; Coe, 2013; Datta et al., 2007; Rogaly, 2009).

Rhythms are deeply political and social phenomena. Management through algorithms, for example, is having profound effects on both consumers and producers – in logistics and transportation in particular. Intimate and predatory forms of algorithmic exploitation are introducing calculation through into new arenas of everyday life. Moving forward, how can research address – analytically and politically – the relationship between newer and older (re)configurations of rhythm, power, and everyday life? A specifically intersectional rhythmanalysis can be a useful tool for studying and confronting new techniques for governing everyday life while remaining attentive to continuities in race, gender, class, and other inequities and oppressions.

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Notes

1. I will refer to this volume as *Rhythmanalysis* from here.
2. I will refer to *Critique of Everyday Life* as *CEL* from here, with reference to all three volumes, unless otherwise noted.
3. Kristin Ross' *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies* (1995) contextualizes and extends Lefebvre's critique of everyday life, providing rich cultural-economic description and analysis of postwar modernization in France, the context in which Lefebvre was thinking and writing.
4. I conducted interviews with Spanish-speaking participants in Spanish.
5. Delhi is a small municipality in southwestern Ontario, Canada, pronounced 'del-*hi'*, not 'del-*ee'*.
6. The details from this account are based on news reporting (see Legall, 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008; Pearce, 2012).
7. According to government statistics, in 2014, there were 36,718 labour permits issued to Canadian farms for annual SAWP entrants, of which 22,639 were issued to Ontario farms specifically (Government of Canada, 2016).
8. This section is based on my own observations of Delhi which I compiled into field notes.

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